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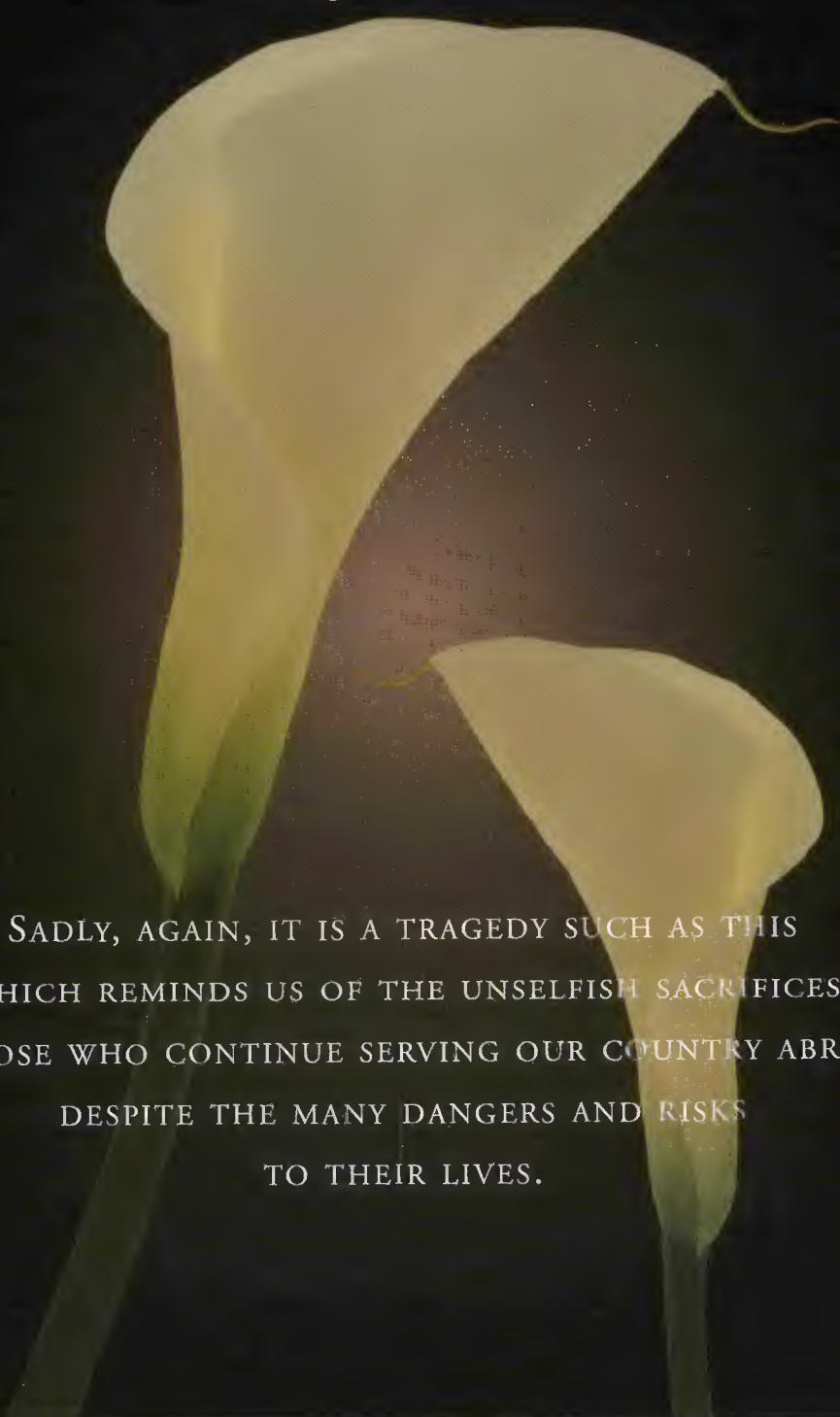
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## We Mourn Our Losses

As this issue of the *Foreign Service Journal* was going to press, we received the terrible news of the August 7 bombings of the U.S. embassies in Nairobi and Dar Es Salaam.

AFSA mourns the loss of the embassy employees and many other people who were killed by the blasts. We extend our sympathies to the families and friends of those who were killed, and we hope for the recovery of the many who were injured.

Cover and inside illustrations by Peter Lacalamita

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# PRESIDENT'S VIEWS

## *The FSO as Military Expert*

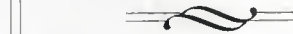
BY DAN GEISLER

This issue of the *Foreign Service Journal* focuses on the role of the military in foreign relations. Although our foreign policy managers don't always agree with their armed services colleagues, we are bound together not only by our common goal — safeguarding America's national security — but also by healthy State-Defense Department institutional links. We share personnel through the exchange of detailees. Our people train together at DOD's war colleges and in State's Senior Seminar. We work together on country teams abroad. These institutional links foster the personal relationships that are vital to policy-making.

There's a fascinating account of the relationship between military action and foreign policy in the opening chapters of Dick Holbrooke's new book *To End a War*. He recounts the tortuous process of deciding whether to bomb the Bosnian Serbs in order to create the conditions necessary for substantive diplomatic negotiations. There's a telling lesson for the Foreign Service in that account. It is impossible for the Foreign Service to lead an intelligent policy debate on issues of crucial importance to our national security unless we have a cadre of people with experience in the military aspects of those policies. The Foreign Service needs people who understand weapon systems, battlefield strategy, force structure and the internal organization of the Pentagon. A year of

*Dan Geisler is president of the American Foreign Service Association.*

*The cadre of  
Foreign Service  
political-military  
experts is on the  
wane, but we can  
change that.*



training at the National War College or a detail to DOD provides some of that. But they do not create Foreign Service officers with the depth that comes only from working political-military issues over time.

We will find it increasingly difficult to play a primary role in national security issues if we are incapable of fielding a credible political-military team. At present, the State Department's cadre of Foreign Service political-military experts is on the wane. That hampers our ability to shape policies that directly affect America's national security.

I joined the Foreign Service not that long ago — in 1985. But my more experienced colleagues tell me that the Bureau of Political-Military Affairs (PM) was once a premier Washington billet. That is clearly not the case today. PM finds it harder and harder to attract Foreign Service personnel,

which of course creates staffing gaps. Consequently, PM has brought in highly qualified Civil Service personnel. The ongoing "virtual integration" of the Arms Control and Disarmament Agency (ACDA), which had very few Foreign Service people, has caused a further decline in the relative number of Foreign Service officers engaged in political-military affairs.

This is a workforce management concern. Part of the responsibility lies with PM management, who need to take seriously their staffing responsibilities. For PM and the Foreign Service, that means having the front office engaged in both recruiting and in "out-placing," i.e., getting good follow-on assignments for current and former staff. It means injecting PM into the assignments process by laying claim to jobs abroad with high pol-mil content.

Part of the responsibility lies also with central system personnel managers. They need to ensure that a consolidated PM-ACDA provides for Foreign Service personnel a clear career path that leads to senior policy positions. AFSA has spoken on several occasions with the upper echelons of PM, ACDA and Personnel about the need to preserve Foreign Service expertise in pol-mil affairs. Failing to do so erodes our ability to meet the first stated goal of the State Department's Strategic Plan for International Affairs: "Secure peace, deter aggression, prevent and defuse and manage crises, halt the proliferation of weapons of mass destruction, and advance arms control and disarmament." ■

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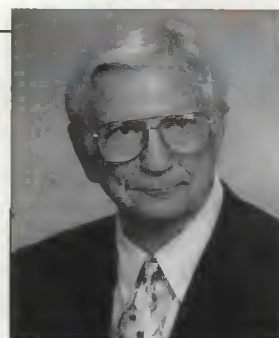
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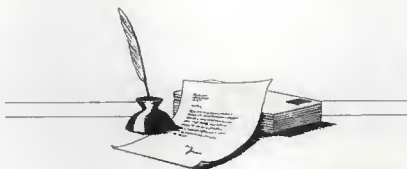
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# LETTERS

## Global Economics Happens

Upon completing Robert Fauver's article, "What Didn't We Know, and When Didn't We Know It?" (May 1998), I was left with two questions: Is there some way the foreign affairs community could have predicted the Asian economic crisis? And if so, could action have been taken to prevent the crisis from occurring? I think the answer to both questions is no.

What reason is there to believe that a group of government economic analysts, even with unlimited resources, could have come up with an accurate forecast of how this crisis was going to occur and play itself out? Profit-seeking companies spend millions of dollars every year collecting and analyzing every last bit of available economic data. They also have hundreds of researchers working their contacts in government and private industry for any additional information that might give them even the slightest competitive advantage in predicting economic changes. And despite their best efforts, even the most successful firms turn out to have guessed right only slightly more often than they have guessed wrong.

It is not realistic to assume that U.S.

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government employees, even those on the ground, can ever hope to match private investment firms in terms of access to information and resources to analyze that information. It is equally unrealistic to assume that those same government employees would somehow be able to take the lead in predicting economic changes and control-



ART VALERO

ling those changes for the public good.

Still, for the sake of argument, assume a crack team of economic experts could somehow come up with overwhelming evidence that the economy of Country X was about to fall through the floor. Then what? Any type of official warning would only trigger the collapse you are seeking to avoid. Congress certainly won't approve funds to rescue a country currently basking in the glory of its 10th straight year of seven per cent-plus

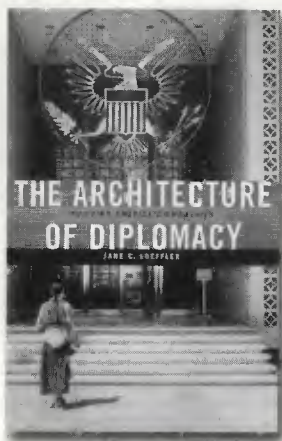
economic growth. Perhaps you send a high-ranking official to tell the leaders of Country X that, even though their economy has been growing at over twice the rate that ours has over the past several years, we think you are facing a crash, so here's a list of potentially destabilizing structural adjustments we want you to make right now?

To claim after the fact that people weren't aware of the various institutional quirks within the countries in crisis, which are now being blamed with the benefit of hindsight as the causes for the crisis, is disingenuous. Astute investors were well aware of the cronyism, opaque banking practices, accounting shenanigans and other problems. The problem is that all these quirks appeared for quite some time to be at least in part responsible for the creation of tremendous amounts of wealth.

The globalization and deregulation of the world's economy is a matter of public policy in the current administration. But a globalized, deregulated economy is bound to fluctuate in unpredictable and sometimes quite negative ways, and it is unrealistic to assume that anyone can predict or control its various twists and turns. The best we can hope for — and this is reason enough for a robust corps of Foreign Service economic officers — is that we are ready and able to step in with effective corrective measures when situations occur that pose a threat to the entire system.

*John A. Wecker  
Foreign Service officer  
Osaka-Kobe, Japan*

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LETTERS

**American Freedom, Disorder**

Ellen Frost's trenchant analysis of cultural and economic globalization, "When Cultures Collide" (*FSJ*, June 1997), while brilliant, contained an important flaw.

Frost writes that the Japanese (and others) are repelled by our "disorderly society." The American scene is tumultuous, largely due to struggles for recognition of equality, freedoms, and civil rights that are now (thank God) constitutionally protected. Japan has no civil protection for its minorities. Groups like the hisabetsu buraku, the Ainu, and ethnic Koreans routinely suffer severe discrimination.

You can be sure that Chinese parents in Indonesia pray that their kids will enjoy the rights of full citizenship that every American child enjoys.

The Japanese recoil in horror at America's ills, drug abuse, violence, racial tensions, and other "social indicators" that "remain dismal." Most world-aware Americans (including FSOs) are cognizant of the global nature of these problems. America's problems are trumpeted around the world by CNN, CNBC, the BBC, and on the Internet. America's friends and enemies may see these issues as symptoms of the breakdown of America. But the abundant media coverage and public debate display our freedoms of speech and the press, and we wouldn't have it any other way.

We need not berate the Japanese for trade imbalances and economic meltdown. They are doing that very well themselves: today's news is of Hashimoto's resignation. We can stand by them as allies and trading partners while remembering, and being proud of, the fact that America's strength is in its diversity, while the weakness of Japan — and so many other countries — is in its ossified monoculturalism.

*Mary A. Ternus*  
FS family member  
Vienna, Austria

**That Was Burke Elbrick**

A brief comment on the article in the April issue, "Celluloid Diplomacy" by Michael Canning, regarding a favorable portrayal of "Charles Burke Elbrick" in a Brazilian movie. In the 1950s, my first assignment in the State Department was in EUR (Italian desk) when Burke Elbrick was assistant secretary. I have never heard him referred to as Charles, as the article and accompanying photo do.

As I was a junior officer, my encounters with Burke Elbrick were infrequent, usually accompanying a visiting Italian dignitary and doing memcons of the discussions. Yet he never failed to remember my name, though I didn't have opportunity to test his ability to spell it. He was indeed, as the article states, tall, soft-spoken, elegantly dressed and with a conservative manner. He was my early idol of the diplomat I wanted to become.

*Paul K. Stahnke*  
Retired FSO  
McLean, Va.

**All My Children**

I consider myself to have been slandered in the letters-to-the-editor column of the April *FSJ*, where retired FSO Mary C. Smith wrote, "I cannot join Mr. Bowen in his concern about the economic effects of immigration on 'our white children.'"

What I actually wrote, in my letter in the February *Journal*, was, "One explanation [for low inflation] is that the current massive waves of immigrants are depressing wages not only of our native minorities, but of our white children, as well."

*A. Dane Bowen Jr.*  
Retired FSO  
Alexandria, VA

## LETTERS

### **Toujours audace!**

I read with interest your interview with Larry Eagleburger in the June 1998 edition of the *Foreign Service Journal*. While I have a great deal of respect for Eagleburger and his impressive career, I differ with his take on our decision not to go after the Iraqi Republican Guard in the late stages of Desert Storm. Like a lot of present and former U.S. policy-makers, he retreats behind a sophistry when asked why we didn't go all the way into Baghdad to remove Saddam Hussein. His main retort is: "If we had then taken a deep breath and said, OK, now we're going to go after Saddam, first, we would have been in real trouble with our allies. Secondly, if you shift the objective in this way, we would have needed more force, and how long would it have taken?"

This argument doesn't hold up, in my opinion, if you look at the facts of the situation at that time (early February 1991). First, the immediate target was not the removal of Saddam Hussein, although that probably would have followed sooner or later. Fact: we literally had the Republican Guard in our gunsights, when Dick Cheney and Colin Powell persuaded President George Bush to "end the slaughter." Fact: we thereby let that elite military unit, chief support of Saddam Hussein's dictatorship, escape relatively unscathed — not as a credible military threat to the coalition anymore, but certainly capable of oppressing Iraqi opposition to Saddam — thereby prolonging his hold on power and making necessary an expensive and long-term commitment of U.S. forces in the Gulf.

Second, Eagleburger makes it sound as if going after Saddam would have been a major policy shift endangering our painfully-pieced-together alliance. But the time involved to

make the crucial difference, probably several days, likely would not have cost much in terms of American lives or dissolved the temporary coalition. It probably would have been over before our Arab allies had time to kick up a fuss.

What is frustrating for me personally as an American who has served around the world for his government over the past 30 years, starting as a soldier in Vietnam and then as a Foreign Service officer, is our lack of instinct for the jugular. We risk American lives around the world and spend billions upon billions of dollars on defense. Then, when payoff time comes, too often we back off. Oh, there are always good reasons in hindsight: the objective, the feelings of our allies, uncertain outcomes, etc. We should not commit easily to military force but, once we do, our policy-makers need to recall that simple motto from the U.S. Army Armor School at Fort Knox, Ky.: *Audace, toujours audace!*

*Joseph Schreiber  
U.S. Embassy Madrid*

### **Rating FSOs Objectively**

After I wrote about systemic problems within USIA (*FSJ*, December '97) colleagues have asked what I would do to correct these deficiencies. What follows is a modest first step, which should be applicable to other foreign affairs agencies as well.

Let's replace the current efficiency report system of Foreign Service evaluation with a yearly written and oral exercise, given the same day worldwide. Most questions would be specific to each specialty, some to be answered orally on tape, others written — on computers, of course. The diskettes and tapes would be identified by number only and reviewed by



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## LETTERS



panels constituted along present lines. Questions could be designed to test knowledge and skills deemed necessary for advancement to the next grade and would also include those which allow the rated officer to comment on significant achievements and problems solved during the rating period.

The advantage would be that by comparing officers directly with others in their grade on identical tasks, a more objective report would result. Rather than receiving a compilation of opinions and unsubstantiated claims by the superior, the rated officer herself would be able to demonstrate knowledge and skills, not the least of which would be in oral and written communication. Those attributes for which it would be impossible to measure by such an exercise would be considered too subjective to have a place in the evaluation process.

An added benefit is that career advancement would not be determined solely by the good will of superiors. This would enable subordinates to speak more candidly about agency policies and practices without fear of reprisal at evaluation time.

*Howard Shapiro*

*USIA*

*Washington, D.C. ■*

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# CLIPPINGS



*"Reports of attacks against international aid workers have become almost routine ... The recent spate of killings of UN [civilian] staff in Burundi, Tajikistan and Afghanistan served as a tragic reminder of the dangers facing the staff."*

— HENNADIY

UDOVENKO (UKRAINE)  
PRESIDENT OF THE  
U.N. GENERAL  
ASSEMBLY, JULY 25.

## NOT SO SAFE AT STATE DEPARTMENT

Although the State Department's exterior may make it seem like a sturdy fortress, it's a lot less secure than it looks. According to the findings of investigators from the General Accounting Office, the State Department's physical and computer security protocols are both ineffectual in keeping out would-be infiltrators, reported the June 22 issue of the *Federal Times*.

The GAO investigators first broke through physical security in the State Department building complex before tackling computer and network safeguards. The results of the tests were less than encouraging: Investigators found and collected passwords displayed on deserted computer terminals, managed to crack passwords on others, and even acquired "systems-administrator-level access" on some machines. One staffer even disclosed her computer password to investigators posing as computer maintenance workers, giving them access to files such as financial information, travel arrangements, personnel records, e-mail messages and performance appraisals.

"Unfortunately, our penetration tests were largely successful," said Gene Dodoro, GAO assistant comptroller general. "[The tests] demonstrated that State's computer systems and the information contained within them are very susceptible to hackers, terrorists, or other unauthorized individuals seeking to damage State operations or reap financial gain." GAO recommended that State draw up plans for new security systems and policies, install a central security unit, and assign a chief information officer to monitor the effectiveness of the system.

## TOO MUCH INTELLIGENCE, NOT ENOUGH SMARTS

In the wake of the U.S. failure to predict India's nuclear tests last May, lots of analysts have been looking at what's wrong with the government's intelligence apparatus. John Hillen, writing in the August 3 *National Review*, says the problem is overreliance on satellites and not enough old-fashioned spying.

"Of the \$30 billion per year the U.S. spends on intelligence, less than 10 percent is spent on 'human intelligence,'" reports Hillen, who is an Olin Fellow at the Council on Foreign Relations and a *National Review* contributing editor. The rest goes for high-tech spy satellites, sensors and the like.

"The CIA with almost 17,000 employees has only half the budget of the National Reconnaissance Office, which has fewer than 1,000 employees. And only one in 20 CIA staffers is in the business of working with real people, writes Hillen.

"During the crisis in Central Africa, in which the U.S. intervened militarily, all our high-tech devices could not locate more than one million refugees in the jungle highlands," Hillen complains. "A good conversation with any one of a thousand refugee workers could have given a government operative half the information the U.S. needed to address the situation."

Hillen's parting shot: If we can't penetrate the nuclear intentions of India, a relatively open society, "how will we ever learn about the intentions of Iran, North Korea, Libya, Syria or Iraq?"



# CLIPPINGS

## SDI COMEBACK: A RUSH TO FAILURE?

The United States seems to be moving ahead with plans to deploy defenses against ballistic missiles, despite testing programs that are "unblemished by success," writes John Pike in the April 1998 *Arms Control Today*. Pike is director of the Space Policy Project at the Federation of American Scientists.

Even though an array of Army, Navy and Air Force anti-missile weapons has failed to score any intercepts, the Clinton administration proposes continued funding. Pike suggests that the administration has moved closer to congressional Republicans on missile defense "to deny opponents a campaign issue."

In the early 1980s, President Reagan made headlines with his plans for a Strategic Defense Initiative (aka Star Wars) that would someday be able to block incoming Soviet missiles. With the disappearance of the Soviet threat, and with budget constraints, the Clinton administration sealed down and renamed the effort. Now called the Ballistic Missile Defense Organization, it received \$3.7 billion in fiscal 1998.

The BMDO formed a study group to evaluate current systems for a national missile defense, headed by retired Air Force General Larry Welch. But when that group issued its report in February 1998, the news was bad. The report said that under political pressure to quickly deploy new systems after insufficient testing, the BMDO was risking a "rush to failure."

Prospects for a U.S. missile defense are also clouded by the 1972 Anti-Ballistic Missile Treaty, which prohibits any nationwide defense. Last year, the United States and Russia negotiated some new "demarkation agreements," which clarify what is

and is not permitted under the ABM Treaty. At some point, the Senate will be asked to approve those new agreements, at which time U.S. missile defense plans may get a thorough debate.

## LIVING IN A UNI- MULTIPOLAR WORLD

Since the fall of the Soviet Union and the bipolar Cold War system in 1991, international relations theorists have debated whether the emergent system should be classified as unipolar, multipolar or some new category. But in a lecture delivered at the American Enterprise Institute in Washington, Samuel P. Huntington argued that it's more useful to describe our current situation as a uni-multipolar world. Huntington is a professor of government at Harvard and a member of AEI's Council of Academic Advisors.

According to Huntington, a uni-multipolar world is "one in which resolution of key international issues requires action by the single superpower plus some combination of other major states." The global power structure of the system is four-tiered: Power is concentrated at the top with the United States, the only superpower, and decreases at each subsequent level. The second level consists of major regional powers, who are the dominant players in specific regions of the world. The third level consists of secondary regional powers, often in conflict with the major regional powers; and at the fourth level are the remaining, more peripheral nations.

But while the concept may seem easy enough to elucidate, it brings with it a number of implications for the United States. Such a system, Huntington argues, is inherently unstable because the superpower and

# 50 YEARS AGO

"What is the main objective of our foreign policy, of our government itself? Many say peace, prosperity, a high standard of living. But there is something we value more than life itself. That something is individual freedom. We have sacrificed peace and prosperity for it more than once. We have never yet sacrificed it to secure peace, or our property and lives," wrote Clarence K. Streit in the July 1948 *Journal*.

"Twice already has the generation fooled itself and all the world into thinking that we aimed at peace rather than freedom. Twice the result was not peace but world at war — with ourselves included when dangers to freedom grew great enough to bring out our true values. ... Let us have no more confusion on our main objective in our own minds, and leave no doubts at all about it anywhere on earth."



the major powers each view the system differently — the former as unipolar, the second as multipolar — as each pulls in opposite directions. This tension causes fear and resentment among the major powers, which over time could become dissent or even open opposition to the United States.

“The highest level of response would be collective counteraction, the formation of an anti-hegemonic coalition,” said Huntington. While skeptics may ridicule the idea, the formation of the European Union and its adoption of a uniform currency certainly takes on a new implication in light of this theory.

## HOW HITLER MIGHT HAVE EXPIRED

Though assassination of heads of state has been officially frowned upon by the United States in recent years, no such rules applied in World War II.

In fact, the British government recently released a report detailing its WWII plots to kill Hitler. Schemes included a sniper, explosives, a train derailment and poison, reported Associated Press writer Robert Barr July 23. However, the plots were never implemented, and Hitler killed himself as Berlin fell in April 1945.

“Operation Foxley” began in June of 1944 with a tip from an agent that Hitler easily could be killed on a trip to France. Both then-British Foreign Secretary Anthony Eden and Prime Minister Winston Churchill were in on the affair, but no action was taken. The British Special Operations Executive, however, continued plotting assassination alternatives. They included:

- Killing Hitler at his Bavarian mountain retreat, Berchtesgaden. He could either have been shot with a rifle during his morning walk to his tea-house, or with a bazooka as he rode back up the mountain in his car. The

*“The Diplomatic Service is greatly underpaid. It is well known that a man without private means, whatever his ability, cannot accept the more important posts of Ambassador or Minister.”*

— CHARLES EVANS HUGHES,  
SECRETARY OF STATE,  
WROTE CONGRESS IN 1922.

British saw Hitler as a potential sniper target because the dictator insisted that his guards stay out of sight.

- Bombing Berchtesgaden and having paratroopers kill survivors;

- Derailing Hitler’s train by blowing up the tracks as the train went through a tunnel, or throwing a suitcase bomb at it from a platform; or

- Poisoning Hitler through the water supply on his train. The plan was to have one of the French women who worked as cleaners cooperate.

The British also tried to stir dissension within the Nazi regime by forging a stamp with the face of SS chief Heinrich Himmler on it. The idea was to start rumors that Himmler was planning a coup against Hitler and had ordered the stamps to be issued after the coup.

British agents used the stamps to

mail letters to neutral European countries. A Swiss paper eventually caught on and wrote stories speculating about a coup attempt. Germany issued a statement saying the stamps were false.

By then, however, the story was so widespread that the idea that the stamps had been forged by the British government was harder to believe than that Himmler was planning a coup, according to a wartime British memo.

## A FRESH LOOK AT THE COLD WAR

Nuclear weapons stabilized the Cold War, but probably helped to prolong it as well, says Yale University historian John Lewis Gaddis. Writing for Foreign Policy Research Institute’s *Footnotes*, Gaddis says the time is ripe to re-examine the entire history of the Cold War.

In the 1970s and 1980s, “the Soviet Union and its allies managed to squander their ideological appeal,” Gaddis said. At the same time, their economic performance was worse than that of the capitalist countries. “What nuclear weapons did, then, was to conceal the condition of an aging, formidably armed, but internally deteriorating state.”

The fact that the Soviet Union “abruptly and completely collapsed, despite the fact that its military strength remained unimpaired” indicates that Western analysts “over many years ignored the non-military components of power.”

Now we can see that the role of ideas in the Cold War, “the comparative content of these ideologies,” got insufficient attention, Gaddis says. The Marxist-Leninist ideology “was a romantic rather than a realist view of the world.” And in an authoritarian state, when conditions changed, there was no way to adjust a rigid worldview. ■



# SPEAKING OUT

## *The Foreign Service's Own Catch-22*

BY MARTIN G. BRENNAN

**C**atch-22, Joseph Heller's hilarious satire on army life during World War II, captured the pitfalls of all bureaucracies. The novel also gave our lexicon a useful word to describe the inanities of systems that allow well-intentioned individuals to march forth in bone-headed ways wreaking havoc on hapless victims.

Take, for example, General Peckem, one of *Catch-22's* more memorable characters. He decreed that all tents should be pitched in a straight line with their flaps open toward the Washington Monument, even though that edifice was a continent away. Unfortunately, General Peckem was in a position to make his vision reality. The men under his command paid the price for his inanity.

*Catch-22* is alive and well in the Foreign Service. Around me I see vision that fails the logic test and well-intentioned individuals in a position to make their misguided views prevail, even though the path ahead is littered with "wrong way" signs.

The summer transfer season and the Mission Performance Plan are cases in point.

Several years ago, the luminaries in personnel announced the dawn of a bold, new era. Henceforth, everyone who was due to be transferred from one job to another would do so in summer, between June and

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*Martin G. Brennan is deputy chief of mission in Addis Ababa. He has served in Bangkok, Lisbon, Taipei, Ouagadougou and Kigali.*

*Around me I see  
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September. I'm willing to bet that the creators of this innovation guaranteed that it would bring savings, efficiency and order to the Foreign Service.

Instead, it brought chaos. For the second year in a row, Embassy Addis Ababa, where I am deputy chief of mission, will be crippled by yawning staff gaps from May through October. For two months this summer we will have only one office manager for the entire mission. For six weeks our consular section will have only one officer who can make decisions on visas during one of the busiest times of the year. In June and July our political/economic and administrative sections will have only half their normal number of staff.

The embassy could live with these

shortages if summers were somnolent. But the work doesn't abate in Ethiopia, nor in other posts, just because it's summer. Delegations come and go, political developments need to be followed and unexpected crises intrude in the everyday pace. For example, clashes on the border between Ethiopia and Eritrea won't stop because the State Department has declared the summer its sole transfer season. As a result, FSOs find themselves trying to juggle too many fiery bowling balls for too many hours. Security lapses crop up and cables from Washington requesting information go unanswered. Worst of all, opportunities to advance U.S. diplomacy are missed because we are constantly reacting and have no time for creative thinking.

State Department regional bureaus do not have enough money to meet the burgeoning demand for temporary personnel, so temporary staff is provided only to those overseas posts already under water, not those merely sinking. Obviously, this system means more work for staff who are not transferring, but it also takes a toll on FSOs who *are* transferring and trying to take annual leave at the same time. It pits employees against management and post against post in a losing game, as everyone tries to cover their gaps. Embassies switch into a "hell no, he/she can't go" mode as they try to hold on to staff. Families deserve well-earned leave, departing FSOs need to move on to their next assignments, yet fairness requires that those still in the

## SPEAKING OUT



saddle aren't trapped in an endless cycle of 12-hour work days.

Things are so bad that a highly respected assistant secretary of State recently told our embassy and others to take a "hard look" at staff transfer dates and leave plans. The implication, in Catch-22 speak, was that officers would not be accompanying their families for much of their home or annual leave due to "the needs of the Service." Some embassies are actually trying to implement this draconian code, making families pay for personnel's flawed logic.

Obviously, any well-run organization requires rigor and professionalism, but it shouldn't abandon common sense. FSOs need to spend time with their families, and FS families with school-age children can only take advantage of their rest and recuperation leave during the summer months. By forcing FSOs to buck the system to use well-earned

leave, the Department of State increases office stress and lowers morale.

The good news is that new minds in personnel have recognized that the summer transfer season is a major problem and have taken steps to reinstate a second season. This will take time, since it always takes longer to recover from a bad decision than to implement a new one. In the meantime, the State Department could cost-effectively increase temporary duty personnel by using retired officers and other volunteers for temporary staffing.

Catch-22 also applies to another recent State Department innovation: The Mission Performance Plan. After grappling for several years with the venerable Mission Program Plan, "a vital document," last summer amid great fanfare State replaced it with the Performance Plan.

The now defunct Program Plan,

which ranked low on my list of exciting work challenges, required overseas posts to define and prioritize objectives and set goals to determine if we were progressing merrily down the policy path. Like paying taxes, it had to be done.

According to its previews, the new Mission Performance Plan would somehow allow the Department of State and its embassies to judge whether staff time and post resources were really supporting foreign policy objectives. Months drifted by punctuated only with occasional chirpy "coming your way soon" announcements. Finally, on March 19 two gargantuan cables unveiled the new, improved MPP on the eve of performance evaluation season, when conscientious supervisors devote inordinate energy to evaluating those they supervise. Worse yet, the directions were as con-

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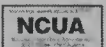
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fusing as they were interminable. In a State Department version of tents facing the Washington monument, the MPP requires substantially more research and writing than did its predecessor. It requires long lines of text facing Foggy Bottom.

Even worse, the MPP's clunky, obstinate computer software, accompanied by a statement that it was "produced in record time by a hard-working crew," did not arrive in Addis Ababa until early April, on the eve of the plan's due date. Correcting mistakes and reordering text was as easy as stacking marbles without containers. In addition, the software was accompanied by a handbook which contradicted information in earlier cables. The handbook also provided a look at a "model MPP," which left those trying to draft one feeling like police artists trying to guess what a suspect looked

like from three conflicting accounts. In a final insult, posts were admonished to provide the State Department with a year's plan no later than April 15. Rumors filtered down that those who filed less-than-satisfactory MPPs would be "held accountable."

The MPP is a poorly conceived, poorly timed, poorly written initiative that plopped down on embassies worldwide and tied us in knots with hours of frustration and stress. Maybe tight deadlines forced the MPP progenitors to unleash their offspring too soon. But if something is as important as the MPP is supposed to be, it should be done correctly from the start. I invite the creators of the Mission Performance Plan into the trenches, where they can experience first-hand what their handiwork has wrought. Maybe this would sharpen their thinking.

The State Department promises a

less painful birth next year, but I fear a long, rocky labor. When the Foreign Service was fleshier, maybe such a time-consuming exercise in navel gazing made sense, but it is hard to imagine that anyone today has time to create, let alone read, the verbiage of the new, improved MPP. If the challenges of the post-Cold War world demand a new management tool, then the process should be concise and pertinent.

An answer to what the future holds can once again be found in *Catch-22*. Eventually Brigadier General Peckem was placed under his former subordinate, Lieutenant General Scheisskopf, and the troops were relieved from their tent chores. However, Scheisskopf was happiest when his men were marching in formation. Not going anywhere, just marching, marching, marching.

I'd better re-read my Mission Performance Plan instructions. ■

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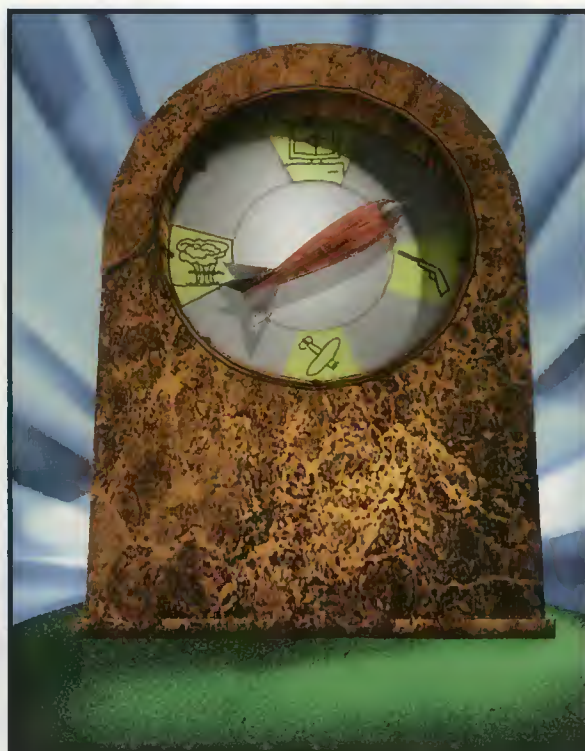


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# YOU CALL THIS A REVOLUTION?



PETER LACALAMITA

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HIGH TECHNOLOGY MAY BE  
LAUNCHING MORE THAN ONE  
'REVOLUTION IN MILITARY AFFAIRS.'

*By Christopher Gunther*

ince the end of the Cold War, military theorists have focused much attention on the so-called revolution in military affairs (RMA). The swift dispatch of the vaunted Iraqi military during the Gulf War, and in particular the visual impression of the U.S. military as a technological juggernaut, served to accelerate the debate. Talk of a fundamental reordering of the U.S. defense posture and indeed in the basic American approach to war now echoes through the halls of the Pentagon and within the Congress. So what is this debate about? If there is an RMA, what does that mean to the U.S., our allies, and our adversaries?

The RMA debate, though it may at first seem abstract and abstruse, is important to the Foreign Service and to

## F O C U S

all those who seek to understand America's place in the world. After all, both the foreign policy community and the military seek to shape the world in which the U.S. functions, to defend American interests — though of course in different ways. If there are, on the near horizon, military developments looming that could radically change the power relations among nations, diplomats need to know that.

What is a military revolution? Andrew Krepinevich has defined it as "what occurs when the application of new technologies into a significant number of military systems combines with innovative operational concepts and organizational adaptation in a way that fundamentally alters the character and conduct of conflict." The net result of such a revolution is a profound increase in the military operational effectiveness of the nation that has successfully harnessed the new approach to war. While the frequency and extent of previous RMAs is a matter of some contention, it is nonetheless clear that such changes have occurred several times in the 20th century.

### **Doctrine Comes First**

The intellectual formulation of a new method of warfare is the single most important component of an RMA. As straightforward as this may seem, the notion is often forgotten. In the parlance of the military, war-fighting doctrine must first be devised. Next, organizational changes must occur within the military seeking to implement a RMA. Grafting new technology to organizations which remain fundamentally unchanged is a prescription for disaster. Finally, new technologies must be correctly identified and then harnessed to implement the new war-fighting concept.

Again, this simple proposition is full of hazards. During the 1920s, strategists in many nations recognized that air power would be critical in future warfare, but few anticipated the capacity, range, or power of World War II air

### *From the 'gunpowder revolution' to the 'nuclear revolution,' RMAs have frequently shaken up the art of war.*

forces. As one might expect, there is no easily formula for fusing ideas, organizations and technology so as to prepare an RMA. Experience shows these activities often proceed along parallel, rather than sequential, tracks.

**R**MAs have occurred frequently in history. While historians debate the specifics, they identify a number of periods where a combatant mastered a new form of warfare and achieved a significant

increase in war-making potential, which then radically altered the nature of future wars.

For instance, the introduction of the long bow in the 14th century gave those who mastered its employment a radical advantage on the battlefield. Battlefields previously dominated by the mounted, armored knight were transformed to an arena where the infantry, equipped with the long bow which could strike at great distances, now reigned supreme.

The gunpowder revolution of the 15th century, the mass armies raised by Napoleonic France, and the conversion of wooden sailing ships to steel hulls and steam power are all examples of past RMAs.

To be sure, RMAs are complex phenomena, with multiple factors influencing their outcomes. It was not the military virtuosity of Napoleon, but rather the French Revolution, which was the decisive factor that radically increased the size of the French army, thereby changing the methods of warfare. It was not an emerging new concept of naval warfare which identified a need for a "revolutionary" means of propulsion for ships which then produced steam power. Rather, the Industrial Revolution brought about the application of steam power to machinery, and its subsequent exploitation in war followed commercial development. The process linking new technology to the battlefield is rarely obvious to the innovators until they have made their successful breakthrough.

Perhaps the most widely recognized RMA of the 20th century was the German introduction of "blitzkrieg" at the start of the Second World War. The Germans began with an intellectual formulation of warfare that grew directly from their doctrinal solution to the World War I stalemate of trench warfare. This doctrine, known as infil-

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*Christopher Guntler is a colonel in the U.S. Marine Corps. He wrote this paper while a fellow at the Center for Strategic and International Studies in Washington, D.C.*

tration tactics, called for brief, violent preparation fires designed to disrupt enemy command and control. These fires were closely followed by specially trained attack groups, known as storm troopers, who led a general offensive designed to avoid enemy strong points and instead seek gaps in enemy positions. Infiltration tactics provided the intellectual foundation for a new form of warfare, and it was this solid doctrinal foundation that formed the basis for a radically new formation, the Panzer division. As new technologies emerged, the tank, the airplane, and the radio being foremost, they were applied to this new organization to create a highly mobile force of enormous striking power. Mechanization allowed infiltration attacks to be conducted at tremendous tempo and depth. These mechanized attacks, known as blitzkrieg, allowed Nazi Germany to conduct a lightning war which swiftly conquered much of Europe.

Without question, the twentieth century's most radical new technology of war was the atomic bomb. Nuclear weapons comprise another RMA, but in a narrow, unique sense. Developed in near total secrecy, the atomic bomb came as a complete surprise to military planners, with only a handful of the most senior commanders even aware of its existence. More than 50 years after Hiroshima, there remains a valid question of whether nuclear weapons can be employed for any purpose other than total annihilation of an opponent. No wars between two nuclear armed powers have yet been fought and the battlefield utility of such weapons may prove to be extremely limited.

### Chance and technology

At the heart of the RMA debate is the role of technology in achieving a radical increase in war fighting. The image of overwhelming technical superiority during the 1991 war with Iraq gave rise to the idea that we were observing yet another historical discontinuity in the conduct of warfare caused by the advent of new, high-technology weapons systems. Yet, there is strong dissent to this point of view, particularly from many of the uniformed military, who view technology as less important than the training of the forces involved or the battlefield doctrines which

*A classic RMA was the blitzkrieg,' which merged the tank and the airplane with a new offensive doctrine.*

were employed with such precision.

These military thinkers point out that mere possession of new technology is not sufficient to realize war fighting gains; it must be supported by appropriate organizational concepts and units prepared to exploit its potential. Great Britain and Germany both developed radars optimized for defensive employment before WW II. The British, under Air Vice-Marshal Hugh Dowding's relentless leadership, created an integrated network of radars, defensive fighter aircraft, and command and control mechanisms which ultimately produced the victory now referred to as the Battle of Britain. For their part, the Germans also produced a workable radar, but chose to view it as merely a means to replace their ground-based air observer corps. Without the ability to rapidly act on the information provided, the technology of the radar was insufficient by itself to achieve a decisive improvement in capability. Likewise, the superior tank, both in numbers and capability, belonged to the French in 1940. The Germans, however, massed their armor in their Panzer divisions, employed it within the framework of blitzkrieg, and shattered the French army in six weeks.

### RMA's of the Future?

Is a revolutionary new form of warfare about to emerge, and render current doctrines, technologies, and organizations as obsolete as the sailing ship in the age of steam?

Just as WWII brought several RMAs — blitzkrieg on land, aircraft carrier and amphibious warfare in the naval realm, and strategic bombing (including the separate RMA of atomic weapons) and radar-controlled fighter defense in the air — it now appears we are once more seeing the genesis of multiple RMAs. As is normal during the early stages of revolutionary change, there is contention over the character and ultimate direction of these budding RMAs, but a few broad observations are possible.

First, the emergence of genuine precision weapons indicates that one new direction of war likely will involve a capability to conduct thousands of highly precise and lethal strikes within hours, at accuracies and ranges several orders of magnitude greater than those observed

## F O C U S

seven years ago during Desert Storm. When one considers that the weapons of Desert Storm were perhaps 1,000 times more precise than their World War II forebears, the full effect of such precision begins to emerge. (This precision, however, depends on extraordinarily accurate intelligence to identify targets, which may prove a new Achilles heel.) Nevertheless, the possibility of a new paradigm of war involving thousands of precise conventional strikes, delivered against an opponent in a near-instantaneous manner, could fundamentally change warfare.

Information warfare, an area of particularly polarized debate, is another plausible RMA, and one that provides a unique set of challenges to a post-industrial society such as ours. In the future, the potential for a very different form of warfare exists, one that focuses on destruction of an opponent's financial markets, disruption or manipulation of communications infrastructure, or jamming of any electronic equipment reliant on the microprocessor. Proponents of information warfare emphasize the potential for greatly expanded intelligence architectures capable of providing near clairvoyance of the battle space. Skeptics note the essential and unchanging nature of war, still best described by Carl von Clausewitz as a nonlinear phenomenon, full of chance and friction, and inherently unpredictable by analytical means. Further, they question whether the U.S., with our society's profound computer dependence, is not the very nation

most vulnerable to such a new means of war. Perhaps the most important issue to recognize is that a new information-based society is taking shape worldwide. Just as the industrial revolution provided the new means of combat, so also will this information revolution. Welcome to the cyberspace battlefield.

There are several other potential RMAs, all with ardent supporters. Experimentation and evaluation will show which of these emerging doctrine and technologies prove successful.

### **RMAs Outside the U.S.**

What, if anything, do RMAs hold in store for our friends and foes? History seems to indicate that, at the onset of RMAs, multiple paths forward emerge. Faced with ever-constricting budgets and a pressing need to modernize, the U.S. may be forced into early selection of the most promising approach and make a substantial investment. Others may choose to wait, determine which path offers them the best potential, then invest heavily in a new form of warfare.

Naval experience between the two world wars indicates that taking leadership first is not always the winning strategy. Consider the British, Japanese, and American experiences in transforming their navies to take advantage of the airplane. By conceptualizing aircraft as the means to radically increase the range and striking power of the fleet, naval theorists forever changed war at sea, but the realization of these ideas proved elu-



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sive. At the end of World War I, the British were the unquestioned leader in naval aviation. By the start of WWII, however, they had fallen to a distant third, and their carriers played a secondary role in their operations throughout the war. Japan had no naval aviation at the close of WWI, but within 20 years had forged a naval air capability which proved nearly unassailable by late 1941. The American experience was one of steady progress and experimentation, but it was not until 1943 when American carrier strength reached the capability envisioned by the early innovators of naval aviation.

Maybe our friends and allies would be wiser to wait for the U.S. to work out the bugs, and then harvest the RMA windfall, counting on American largesse to give them the qualitative edge when needed. This is an especially important consideration for the future of NATO.

Still another possible RMA outcome is that it could allow specialist or niche competitors to emerge. A niche competitor could make an asymmetrical response to superior overall U.S. military capabilities, for example, by employing biological weapons or conducting cyber-terror-

ist attacks against targets within U.S. territory. Such a competitor could possess sufficient war-fighting ability to greatly increase the cost of U.S. involvement within its sphere of influence. While the U.S. would ultimately prevail, the cost of achieving our national objectives could be excessive. Moreover, a potential adversary need not compete across all military areas, but may choose to be selective in objectives and time the competition to maximize his advantage.

### No "Silver Bullets"

Military power is a constantly changing equation. Without innovation, time will slowly erode America's current military pre-eminence. The real challenge for America is to innovate while maintaining the structure necessary to maintain our own security. To be sure, the changes promised by the RMA will take years to implement. The structure of the military of 2010 will generally resemble that of today. However, the military of 2020 will be radically different, or it will likely be irrelevant.

Cost is not the determining factor. Economic strength and size of defense budget historically have proven to be

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irrelevant factors in the success or failure of nations which have undergone previous RMAs. Germany's development of blitzkrieg and Japan's development of the aircraft carrier are just two examples of how intellectual advance preceded material capability for a new form of warfare. Thus, the U.S. cannot afford to feel secure merely because it outspends everyone else on defense by several orders of magnitude.

Finally, the RMA poses an additional, unique burden on the U.S. History shows that early leaders in RMAs are sometimes unable to sustain their relative advantage. A U.S. defense establishment tightly stretched to maintain a worldwide presence and military advantage via continued dependence on existing systems is poorly positioned to innovate and to achieve the exponential jump in war-fighting capabilities that new concepts promise.

Regardless of its shape or context, no RMA will change the fundamental nature of war. War will remain a complex

*The first nation to  
implement an RMA  
does not always do it  
best; one can learn  
from others' mistakes.*

endeavor, extremely violent and non-linear. Any revolutionary approach to warfare must recognize this first principle or be doomed to failure. Moreover, there are no "silver bullets" out there which promise to make war on the cheap. Although cost is not the determinant of an RMA, neither is technology.

While the RMA offers the potential for a strategic leap ahead and has captured the interest of militaries world-

wide, it is proving exceedingly difficult to achieve the intellectual breakthrough so vital to ultimate success. The RMA necessitates, first and foremost, innovative thinking about military problems, and innovation is a particularly difficult characteristic to foster within the typical hierarchical structure of the world's militaries.

Despite these challenges, for the United States to maintain its security in the 21st century, the nation's leading strategists must study, conceptualize and harness the next generation of RMAs. ■

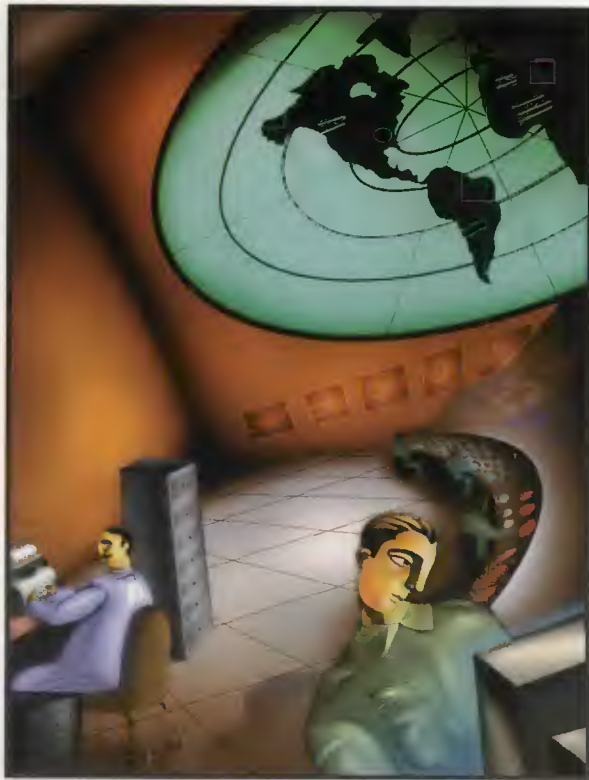
## IN MEMORIAM

### OUR DEEPEST CONDOLENCES

We extend our condolences to the families, friends and colleagues of those killed in Nairobi and Dar Es Salaam and express our respects for those who serve their country abroad, often in dangerous places.

HARRY M. JANNETTE INTERNATIONAL

# DIPLOMATIC CONSEQUENCES OF THE COMING RMA



PETER LAGALAMBITA

**T**

WHEN THE U.S. IS UNRIVALED MILITARILY,  
WHAT HAPPENS TO OUR ALLIANCES?

*By Rachel Bronson and Daniel Gouré*

he 1991 Gulf War convinced the world that the United States had become stronger, faster and more capable than any other power on the globe. Although the United States fought the Gulf War in coalition with its allies, the supremacy of U.S. technology, coordinated by superior command and control, was one of the most noteworthy aspects of the war. The spectacular successes of U.S. weapons systems and forces in the Gulf War led many observers to argue that the U.S. was on the verge of a revolution in military affairs (RMA) — that is, a profound change in the overall capability and operating “style” of military forces. This revolution follows many others, such as the introduction of gunpowder, the creation of mechanized

ground and air warfare (the "Blitzkrieg"), and the advent of nuclear weapons and ballistic missiles. The belief in a current-day RMA is usually associated with the explosion in information technology, advanced sensors, and instantaneous communications. Some advocates add such capabilities as stealth, space-based navigation and communications, directed energy, and even genetic manipulation.

Advances in U.S. war fighting will have both positive and negative consequences for U.S. diplomatic efforts. On the positive side, technological innovations associated with an information-based RMA will allow the United States to arrive at conflicts more quickly from farther away, a concept known as "just-in-time warfare." This will reduce the need to pre-position troops and material, a particularly attractive achievement for leaders sensitive to U.S. presence in their country. The RMA will also enable the U.S. to share with its allies a view of the battlefield otherwise unattainable, thereby helping tip the scales in favor of U.S. allies over their enemies. In some cases, technologies that support rapid mobility and improved battlefield awareness can also be used in conflict prevention and crisis management.

On the negative side, technological innovations may create a U.S. military that thinks and acts faster than its allies. U.S. and European military planners worry that future fighting forces will find it difficult to operate effectively on the same battlefield. Also of concern to U.S. friends and allies is the appropriateness of an RMA fighting force to many of the kinds of threats they face, such as ethnic and sectarian violence, disorder caused in failed states and terrorism. Furthermore, if allies become convinced that the

*A computer-based  
military revolution  
has both negative and  
positive consequences  
for diplomacy.*

United States is able to conduct certain kinds of operations unilaterally, they may become less likely to commit their own military support. The United States may still need the support of its allies (more for political than for military reasons), but it is less likely to be offered.

The RMA, if realized, may therefore serve as a mixed blessing. It may make it easier for the United

States to augment an ally's war-fighting capability by providing valuable information. It may also help friends abroad rely on U.S. assistance without having to constantly defend the relationship to a skeptical domestic audience. On the other hand, revolutionary advances may strain relations with traditional allies. They may limit the U.S. ability to fight effectively alongside its allies. At the same time, they may decrease the forces that local allies will contribute to future conflicts.

**Good news, bad news**

Most advocates of the RMA focus on its implications for the conduct of military operations. Yet, its implications for diplomacy and the conduct of U.S. foreign policy are equally if not more profound. The RMA will bring opportunities to support both traditional and innovative diplomacy. However, like any other large-scale change in human affairs, it will also create new problems.

The centerpiece of most conceptions of today's military revolution is the ability to acquire and process rapidly vast amounts of information. The military refers to this as the field of command, control, communications, computers (intelligence, surveillance and reconnaissance) or C<sup>4</sup>ISR. Superiority in C<sup>4</sup>ISR will allow the military to achieve dominant battlefield awareness, an understanding of the location, status and behavior of the forces on the battlefield and the ability to use that information in military operations. Gaining a superior position in the battle for information will involve both measures to gather information and efforts to deny information to an adversary. The advantages of knowing more than

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*Rachel Bronson is a senior fellow for military affairs at the Center for Strategic and International Studies. Dan Gouré is the deputy director of political-military studies at CSIS.*

one's opponent in war are self-evident.

Superior knowledge is equally important to the conduct of foreign policy. The use of long-range, primarily space-based sensors, so-called "national technical means," has been central to verify strategic arms reduction agreements. Modern C<sup>4</sup>ISR have been used to great effect in the Sinai, helping to maintain a 20-year peace. At present, similar technologies are used in such widely varied areas as counter-narcotics, environmental monitoring, and the management of refugee flows.

**W**hat the RMA may bring to the conduct of diplomacy is an order-of-magnitude increase in both the quality and breadth of information available. The same capabilities which can support dominant battlefield awareness in the event of hostilities can support the conduct of diplomacy in peacetime. These capabilities can be used to monitor arms control agreements, support cease-fire arrangements, ensure the inviolability of disputed territories, and provide reassurance to states seeking to institute confidence-building measures. The ability to see with greater clarity across broader areas of the Earth and to translate data into understanding can support the expansion of diplomatic activities into new areas. In arms control, this may empower new arrangements intended to help build stability and security in regions long marked by suspicion and conflict. For the field of environmental monitoring, these new capabilities could support global arrangements on limiting greenhouse gases, waste dumping, and preservation of the rain forests. In support of humanitarian assistance operations, the new C<sup>4</sup>ISR technologies provide the basis for situation assessment and response in distant and difficult lands.

The ability to operate in new environments leads, perhaps inevitably, to combat in those arenas. Aerial combat followed close on the heels of our conquest of the air. The new medium is cyberspace; the new kind of combat is termed information warfare. While the field of information warfare involves more than attacking and defending computer networks and data bases, the subject of conflict in cyberspace poses one of the greatest challenges to U.S. security and military

planning. At present, it is difficult even to detect attacks on U.S. computer networks. Identifying the originator of such attacks and motivation is even more complex. In addition, if the computer system attacked is in private hands, such as that belonging to a bank, and the source of the attack is not a nation but an individual, a hacker, the role for the U.S. military in responding to such an event is, at present, unclear. This creates enormous opportunities for hostile forces to attack critical nodes in the U.S. economy under a protective disguise which will make military responses extremely difficult.

### **War By Internet?**

The prospects for using computers and networks such as the Internet to pursue national security interests, and even military objectives, may present some interesting and positive opportunities in the future. Some advocates of information warfare talk about an era in which war by bayonet, bullet and bomb will be replaced by combat via computer virus, logic bomb and data corruption. They see a time when the U.S. military will be able to seize control of an adversary nation's computer networks from a distance, paralyzing communications, transportation, power systems, and industrial enterprises. They even foresee a time when we can move beyond simply paralyzing another country's electronic media by seizing control of them, and using them to undermine an adversary regime. The end result would be force without violence and wars without casualties.

**B**ut the new environment poses interesting new problems for the diplomats. What constitutes sovereignty on the Internet? What are the limits to the classic right of self-defense when the U.S. is attacked from a computer site in a third country that uses telephone lines passing through two other countries? Should there be limits to the use of cyberspace for military purposes in view of the fact that it is becoming the backbone of the modern global economy? What kind of arrangements, procedures or treaties need to be in place to simultaneously protect national security, promote electronic commerce and communications, and preserve personal privacy? The

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management of cyberspace, as was the case with outer space before it, will require new regimes and approaches.

Overall, the RMA will create opportunities for a new kind of war, one that is extraordinarily fast-paced, extremely intense, and probably wide-ranging, and without clearly defined front lines. Properly conducted, a second Gulf War employing RMA-type forces could be over in a fraction of the time with fewer casualties. Because of the capabilities provided by modern C<sup>4</sup>ISR, the forces deployed into the field in such a war would be much smaller. Many of the headquarters and supporting facilities which traditionally have been forward deployed would remain at locations far from the battlefield but possess near-

*The ability to operate  
in new arenas, like  
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instantaneous connectivity with forces at the front. In peacetime, this new connectivity would enable the U.S. to reduce the size of forward-deployed forces and installations, thereby reducing the potential risks from preemptive or terrorist attacks as well as the economic and socio-political burden on local populations.

The same characteristics which make this new type of warfare desirable from a military perspective raise a number of concerns regarding political and diplomatic consequences. Chief among them is the potential for such capabilities to create crisis instabilities. In most scenarios, but particularly those in which both sides have RMA-orient-



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ed forces, there is the potential for the side that strikes first to gain a significant, even overwhelming, advantage over its adversary by knocking out the opponent's C<sup>4</sup>ISR systems. Remember that the 1991 Gulf War began with strikes on Iraqi early warning radars, followed by attacks on military command posts, air defense headquarters, communications centers, and electric power. Iraq never recovered from the effects of these initial strikes.

**M**ilitary history shows us how unstable such a situation can be. The classic case was the very beginning of World War I. Then, the danger of falling behind in a competitive process of military mobilization added to pressures for war. Today, the danger of being blinded and decapitated by an adversary's first strike could create pressures for nations to strike first or risk losing their critical RMA assets. An RMA intervention force might well look extremely imposing to potential adversaries in regions to which that force was deployed. Once such a force begins to deploy forward into a region in crisis, an adversary may seek resort to preemptive action to forestall being attacked.

Many of the technologies associated with the RMA are dual-use in nature. The revolution in military C<sup>4</sup>ISR is being driven by advances in commercial communications, computing and networking. The commercial use of space-based systems for remote sensing and communications is growing. It is therefore likely that others, including potential future adversaries, will be able to acquire some elements of an RMA force. This creates the potential of a series of local RMA arms races not dissimilar to the competition to develop ballistic missiles and weapons of mass destruction ongoing in the Middle East and South Asia. A 1995 Defense Science Board study warned that a future adversary, by investing no more than \$2 billion dollars a year for a few years in selected RMA technologies, could seriously compromise the ability of the U.S. to intervene militarily in the adversary's home region.

*The information  
revolution may lead  
to mind-boggling  
arms races.*

The proliferation of RMA technologies raises serious problems for arms control and technology transfer. It is probably too late to control many of the relevant technologies. In some cases our concern should be about the ability of adversaries to gain access through commercial channels to technolo-

gies more advanced than those possessed by the U.S. military. Because of the dual-use character of many of these technologies, they may be readily and undetectably convertible to military uses. This creates the potential for serious arms race instabilities as well as the danger of excess spending by relatively poor countries on advanced technologies more suitable to military than commercial uses.

**Will Allies Keep Up?**

To date, the few analysts who have focused on the RMA and what it means for allied relations have tended to stress the positive aspects. Information and technology can be given and retracted at will, benefiting America's friends and depriving its enemies. With U.S. support, Joseph Nye and William Owen suggest, "Allies could achieve the same kind of military dominance as the United States." The United States will be able to ensure that "local allies retaining their own heavy forces can dominate on the battlefield, even if initially outmatched," comments Martin Libicki.

But along with increased opportunities, the RMA also presents challenges. The potential problems fall into two categories: operational and strategic. The operational problems are those that will affect U.S. forces' ability to operate with their allies. The strategic set of problems are those that affect the U.S. ability to develop efficient strategies to accomplish various goals. Both types of problems may make it less likely that other nations will be willing to fight alongside the United States—and more difficult for those allies to fight effectively, even when they are willing.

**R**ecent conflicts in the Persian Gulf and Bosnia suggest that coalition operations will be an important war-fighting model for the future.

# AFSA NEWS

American Foreign Service Association



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## For Capital Gains Fairness, Write the Capitol

by Ken Nakamura  
Congressional Affairs Director

**A**nyone who has been around the Foreign Service for long knows the problem. A single employee buys a one-bedroom condo downtown, is transferred overseas and returns four years later with a spouse and an infant. Or a couple rents out their four-bedroom colonial in the suburbs and leaves far past with two kids in tow. By the time they are re-assigned to Washington eight years later, the kids are grown. The situation varies, but chances are someone who has served overseas for two consecutive tours will have second thoughts about living in that home purchased years earlier.

One solution should be simply to sell and buy something more appropriate. However, last year's change in the tax law, which benefited most Americans, overlooked the Foreign Service. The current law (Public Law 105-34) allows an exclusion of up to \$500,000 for couples filing jointly on the capital gains from the sale of

a principal residence (up to \$250,000 for single taxpayers). The qualification is that the house must have been the taxpayer's principal residence for at least two of the last five years to the date of the sale, and that the exclusion on the sale of a principal residence can only be taken once every two years.

The law does provide for a pro-rated capital gains exclusion if the seller lived in the residence for any portion of the previous five years. For example, a couple who occupied a residence for one of five years can exclude 20 percent of the \$500,000 maximum for a \$100,000 exclusion (20 percent of \$250,000 for a \$50,000 exclusion for singles).

Unfortunately, the pro-rated exclusion does not help those who have served back-to-back tours abroad and have not lived in their homes for any of the last five years.

These people must wait two years to sell or pay a capital gains tax. For active employees, changes not only in family size, but also changes in the neighborhood, schooling considerations, or salary

Continued on page 2

## • AFSA Dateline •

• AFSA welcomes two new staff members. Peter Hutchinson, a third year law student at Catholic University, has joined the AFSA Labor Management office as a law clerk. Louise C. Eaton has been hired as director of the 75th Anniversary Celebration. She has just retired from 24 years in the Department of State, most recently in the Office of Protocol. She can be reached at 202-338-4045 ext. 501.

• M. Juanita Guess, for whom the AFSA Community Liaison Officer Award is named, died on July 15. Her family established the award in her name in 1996 to honor outstanding CLOs. She was co-founder and past president of the Clements & Co. insurance brokerage.

• Retired FSO Robert Curtis (State) and his wife Evelyn have notified the AFSA Scholarship Fund that upon their deaths, a \$20,000 AFSA perpetual scholarship will be established in their name. This need-based, financial aid scholarship will assist a Foreign Service child to meet college expenses. Since only the interest from the principal is awarded, this type of scholarship lives on in perpetuity. For more information on establishing a perpetual scholarship, call Lari Dec, AFSA Scholarship Administrator, at 1-800-704-2372 ext. 504.

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Continued on page 3

# V.P. VOICE

• BY EDWARD DILLERY •

## Dues: Still Doing More With Less

They say nothing is certain except dues and taxes — or something like that. As you all know, we will have a referendum in October on the AFSA Board's proposal to restructure our dues.

I support the restructuring plan (the AFSA vice president for retirees is an unpaid position, so I have no personal vested interest). Without it, AFSA's long-term viability would be questionable. The proposal addresses two problems: (1) The current dues structure no longer produces the revenue required by AFSA to represent members' interests effectively in an environment where sophisticated technology is essential for any such association and where competition among organizations for skilled staff specialists has accordingly increased. (2) People with smaller annuities and salaries bear a disproportionate share of the dues burden.

The Board proposal would reduce or hold steady the dues for persons with smaller salaries/annuities and increase dues for those with larger ones. The brunt of the increase would fall on senior active members but we senior retirees will also be asked to help. Since many people are retiring with much higher annuities than in the past, the new structure would include new categories for those with the larger annuities. Retiree dues would still be relatively lower than for active duty colleagues, reflecting AFSA's different mix of services for the retiree constituency.

AFSA is many things to many members. We believe it is important to respond to retirees' widely diverse interests. These interests include wanting to stay informed about the Foreign Service and retirement

issues, needing an annuity and benefits ombudsman in Washington (backed up by AFSA attorneys), supporting public and Congressional outreach for more resources for diplomacy, joining with other retirees in local associations, having special insurance programs and other services AFSA has arranged.

I know that you are familiar with how AFSA meets these interests: information via the *Journal*, the *AFSA Letter* for retirees and the AFSANET; a retiree liaison and toll-free number (1-800-704-2372) to get help resolving individual retirement problems; media outreach, the speakers bureau,

Diplomats Online and congressional liaison; advice and assistance in forming new local associations. These are just some of the recent activities in which we have been engaged on behalf of retirees.

In order to inform and respond to members, to monitor legislation which affects their interests, and to interact with Washington agencies to ensure that Foreign Service concerns are not overlooked, AFSA now relies on electronic databases, access to information through the Internet and cooperation with like-minded legislative and retiree groups whose communication is increasingly via e-mail.

To date AFSA has followed the old principle of trying to do more with less and will continue to do so. Our staff is not large, and salary levels are very low in comparison with going rates in the D.C. area. But to remain a viable player in the new millennium there are certain minimum requirements for technology and staff quality which we must follow.

So to keep the association healthy — and helpful to us — I hope you will vote "yes" in the October referendum.

"I hope you will vote 'yes' in the October referendum."

## Capital Gains Tax

Continued from page 1

increases may precipitate the desire to sell a residence. For those who are separated from the Service due to retirement or time-in-class/time-in-service limitations and plan to settle outside the Washington, D.C. area, the new law is a particular burden.

AFSA has contacted Chairman Bill Archer (R-Tex.) and ranking member Charles Rangel (D-N.Y.) of the House Ways and Means Committee, and Chairman William Roth, Jr. (R-Del.) and ranking member Daniel Patrick Moynihan (D-N.Y.) of the Senate Finance Committee, as well as many friendly members of the House and the Senate requesting assistance in amending the law. AFSA President Dan Geisler has also requested the support of Under Secretary of State for Management Bannie Cahen. In a letter to Under Secretary Cahen, he pointed out that "service abroad can now entail a tax liability that exceeds a year's salary."

At AFSA's request Rep. Amo Houghton (R-N.Y.), who serves on both the House International Relations Committee and the tax-writing House Committee on Ways and Means, is introducing a bill that states, "An eligible taxpayer shall be treated as using property as a principal residence during any period the taxpayer (or the taxpayer's spouse) is serving on official extended duty, but only if the taxpayer used the property as a principal residence before the period of official extended duty."

Further, because many people have already had to pay capital gains tax under the new law, Houghton's provision would be retroactive to the enactment of that law on May 6, 1997.

Eligible taxpayers are defined, for the purpose of this bill, as members of the armed forces or members of the Foreign Service. While separate legislation has already been introduced on behalf of the military, Rep. Houghton suggested that our bill should also include the armed forces. Our hope is that with members of the military and the Foreign Service making the same argument, the seriousness of the inequity created by last year's tax law will be more apparent. When the House passed the Defense Authorization bill, H.R. 3616, it included a non-binding

sense of the Congress resolution expressing support for a change in the capital gains exclusion.

AFSA members can help by urging your representatives to cosponsor or support the new legislation; by expressing your support to Rep. Bill Archer, chairman of the House Ways and Means Committee (Washington, D.C. 20515); and by writing Sen. William Roth, chairman of the Senate Finance Committee (Washington, D.C. 20510), asking the Senate to pass legislation similar to Rep. Houghton's bill.

(PLEASE NOTE: All such contacts must be made on personal time and as a private citizen. While you can identify yourself as a Foreign Service employee, you cannot say you represent either the Foreign Service or a foreign affairs agency. The law also prohibits use of government resources such as stationery, telephones, fax or e-mail for this purpose.)

## Dateline

*Continued from page 1*

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# USIA V.P. VOICE

• BY RILEY SEVER •

## Don't Kid Yourself

Joining a union is like buying health insurance: you don't realize you need it until you're sick. In his June 16, 1998 column in the *Washington Post*, Mike Causey illustrated how federal employees are often unaware of the ways they benefit from union activities. He wrote that in May, "Congress was considering a plan that would have changed the formula for health insurance from a percentage split ... to a system in which the government's share would be capped and adjusted each year for inflation, rather than for the generally much higher rate of medical inflation."

Thanks to the coordinated efforts of the various unions, he noted, "current and former federal workers dodged a budget bullet that would have boosted their collective health premium costs by \$1.6 billion. Fortunately for the feds and retirees, they are represented by unions and organizations with full-time pros who know how to track, and sometimes sidetrack, things that would hurt their members and nonmembers, too."

Causey continued with a pointed comment for nonmembers: "This is a perfect example of members who pay dues once again saving the backsides of nonmembers. So, if recruiters for some group ask you to read some of the union or association's literature, don't send them away because you cut your own deals in life and can take care of yourself on Capital Hill. Send them away, if you must. But don't kid them — or yourself — that you don't use, and need, their services big-time, from time to time."

Although more than 60 percent of USIA officers and specialists are AFSA members, we need to remind our colleagues who have never joined or who

have allowed their memberships to lapse that the benefits of belonging to AFSA are real. Officers often ask, "What has AFSA done for me?" My response is that we are there for you all the time. Our presence in our offices at M-21 as well as at the negotiating table

and our activism keep management on their toes. We force them to think twice before acting, and having acted, to worry about what AFSA's response will be.

The past year has been challenging for USIA's AFSA office. We are part of an agency with shrinking resources and a questionable future. Furthermore, senior management does not fully recognize the talents

or the role of the Foreign Service in the agency. While AFSA can't solve these problems, we have been working at all levels of the bureaucracy in USIA, State and on the Hill to advocate for the interests of USIA's FS corps and for the preservation of the public diplomacy function within U.S. foreign policy.

Help AFSA help you. Get involved. Subscribe to the AFSANET. Let us know through e-mail and letters what you think about the issues we're addressing, as well as those you feel we should be addressing. Work with the AFSA Standing Committee when you are in Washington. Get nonmembers to join AFSA.

In addition, vote next month in favor of the proposed dues restructuring which will provide both more equality according to grade and additional income to support increased member services. And if you have doubts about whether AFSA is doing enough for you, just remember what Mike Causey said in his column, "If you think you can't afford their dues, do the math on what your share of that proposed \$1.6 billion increase in health premiums would have cost you."

*"We need to remind our colleagues...that the benefits of belonging to AFSA are real."*

## ITA Reorganization Revisited

Commerce Secretary William Daley has given the green light to the International Trade Administration (ITA) to proceed with the long-awaited reorganization. On July 9, 1998, AFSA President Dan Geisler, several key AFSA officials and I met with Commerce Under Secretary for International Trade David Aaran and his senior staff. Ambassador Aaran presented AFSA with the broad outlines of the ITA reorganization and discussed briefly the philosophy guiding this proposed reorganization.

While the details of the reorganization are yet to be negotiated (and as the saying goes, the devil is in the details), some of the broad outlines have emerged. Among the objectives which will surely draw broad consensus of agreement are the intent to consolidate diverse trade promotion functions into one operating unit (within the US&FCS), to reduce and eliminate redundancies in administrative management, and to strengthen the overseas operations of the US&FCS.

However, several proposals outlined by Ambassador Aaran are sure to generate controversy, and will require AFSA to pursue active negotiations. As presently constituted, these proposals will have a significant, adverse impact on the terms and conditions of employment for Foreign Service officers serving in the US&FCS. While the negotiating process has yet to commence, it is not premature to sound alarm bells about several of the provisions of this reorganization.

At the heart of AFSA's concern for our members is what appears to be the belief among ITA leadership that the U.S. and Foreign Commercial Service need not be run by its Foreign Service employees, but rather by a cadre of career Civil Service professionals.

The presence of FSOs in the management of the US&FCS is proposed to be

reduced to only five officers (one deputy assistant secretary for international operations and four regional directors). In contrast, about 40 percent of all State FSOs are serving domestically. The number for FAS is closer to 50 percent.

I believe that the virtual elimination of FSOs from the management of the US&FCS is an untenable proposal which demonstrates an unacceptable disdain by ITA management for the corps of career Foreign Service officers who serve our country overseas. Stated for elimination is the Office of Human Resource Development, which operates our assignment process and is

the primary source of career counseling and guidance for our approximately 250 FSOs. The office was originally created as a response to the loud and sustained outcry from US&FCS officers overseas whose career development was largely ignored by previous US&FCS management teams.

Also featured in the initial draft of the ITA reorganization is the reduction of both Foreign Service and Civil Service staff in the Office of International Operations, the principal management structure supporting our extensive network of personnel and programs worldwide. Ambassador Aaran noted in his presentation that one major aspect of the ITA reorganization is the proposed transfer of up to 40 personnel to the overseas posts of US&FCS from other ITA divisions. How can such an expansion be sustained by reducing the small headquarters management team?

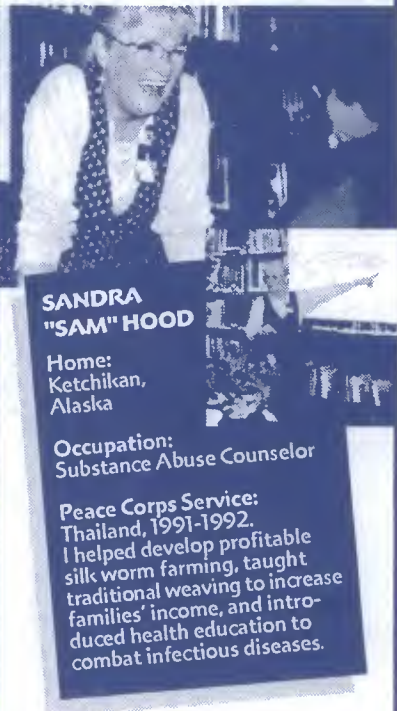
We are just starting the negotiating process. What will be crucial to the success of the export-support programs of the reorganized ITA is a sustained commitment by all parties to building an integrated service dedicated to achieving our international economic/commercial objectives. Anything less will be contrary to our national interest.

Stay tuned as we work our way through this reorganization.

*"The virtual elimination of FSOs in the management of the US&FCS is an untenable proposal."*

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Occupation: Substance Abuse Counselor

Peace Corps Service: Thailand, 1991-1992. I helped develop profitable silk worm farming, taught traditional weaving to increase families' income, and introduced health education to combat infectious diseases.

While in the Peace Corps, Sandra "Sam" Hood helped villagers in Thailand improve their lives through agriculture and better health practices. Today, thanks to her Peace Corps service, Sam is also making a difference at home. She is a successful substance abuse counselor working with "at-risk" groups in Alaska.

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# WHERE DOES THE MONEY GO?

BY SUSAN REARDON, EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

On the following pages you will find AFSA's 1997 audited financial statements. AFSA, like any professionally run non-profit, has an annual independent audit which complies with IRS regulations and accepted accounting standards. Unfortunately, this does not translate into an easy-to-read illustration of AFSA's finances and fiscal health.

With the Governing Board's request for a dues restructuring and the upcoming referendum, understanding AFSA's financial status is especially important. Here are a few key points:

- The audit statements are a combination of all AFSA activities including the scholarship fund. The scholarship fund, supported by an endowment of over \$3 million, is appropriately restricted and used only for scholarships.

- The charts on page 6 illustrate our revenue and expenses with the scholarship fund and without. The combined chart indicates a significant increase in revenue in the last three years. This is almost entirely due to the scholarship fund investment portfolio and

the unprecedented performance of the stock market. This portfolio is professionally managed with oversight from the AFSA Finance Committee and invested in stocks and bonds which should protect us in down markets and benefit us in up markets.

- The chart without the scholarship fund illustrates slightly decreasing revenue over the past three years. These decreases reflect a decrease in membership due to a shrinking Foreign Service. Expenses have declined or held steady despite increased demands for more services to members, an increase in the use of AFSA funds to defend the Foreign Service in Congress and the never-ending demand to keep up with new technologies.

- An important element of an organization's financial health is its net assets. Including the scholarship fund our net assets are a healthy \$5,002,833. Without the scholarship fund this figure falls to \$1,494,773 which includes all of our equipment and the building.

- AFSA's activities break down into two categories: dues-supported and non-dues-supported. The dues-supported activities are 62 percent of the total. AFSA's Labor Management Department (labor relations, legal and grievance services) represents the largest portion of our dues-supported activity — 35 percent. The largest expense in that department is salaries and benefits (90 percent). In Labor Management the single greatest challenge to maintaining quality services is the recruitment and retention of qualified staff. While we have been fortunate to attract a talented and dedicated staff, we are paying significantly under market and risk losing them. The proposed dues restructuring will help us address this issue.

The AFSA Finance Committee under the direction of Treasurer Thomas Bayatt has done a superb job of managing AFSA's finances, getting the most out of our investments, cutting expenses and balancing the resource demands of all our activities. With your help AFSA will continue to prosper.

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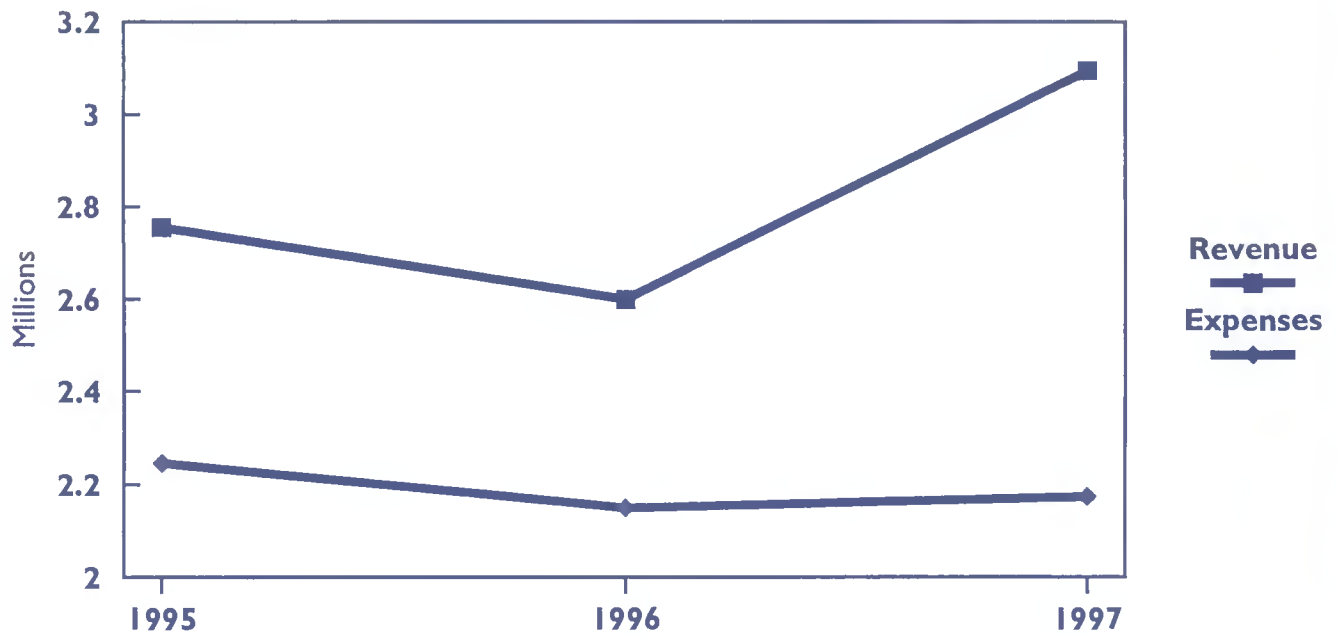
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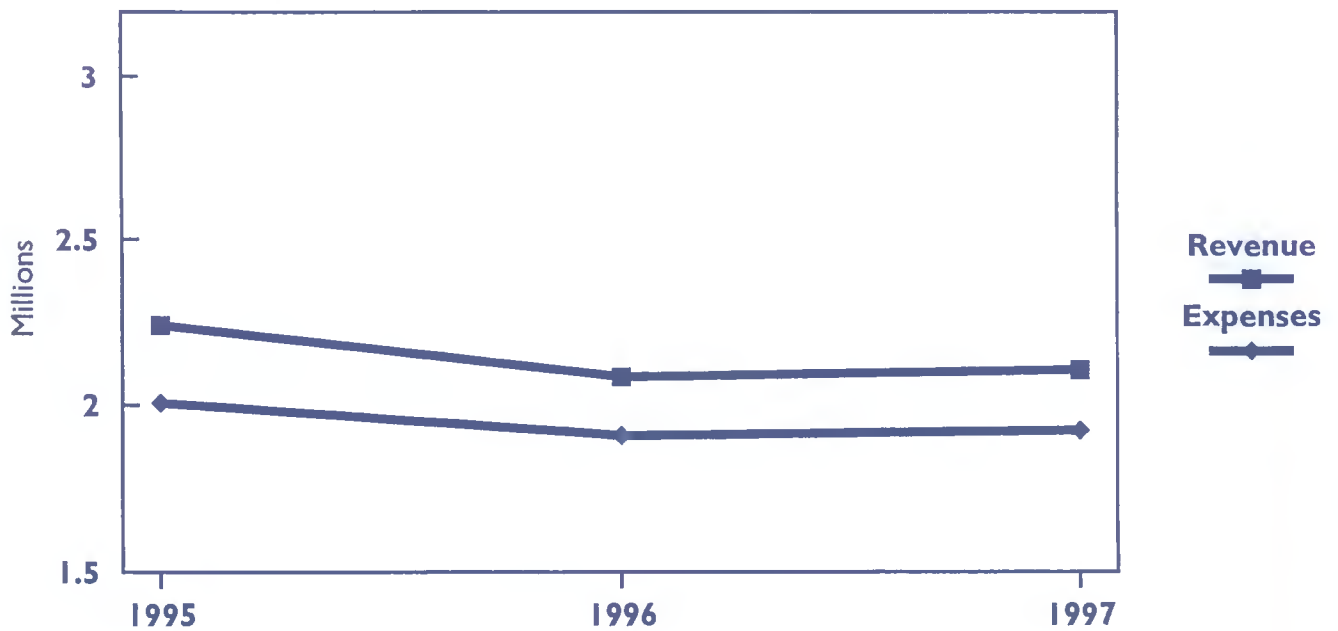
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## Revenue and Expenses 1995 - 1997

### All Funds



### Without Scholarship Fund



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Governing Board  
American Foreign Service Association  
and Associated Organizations

In planning and performing our audit of the consolidated financial statements of the American Foreign Service Association and Associated Organizations (the Association) for the year ended December 31, 1997, we considered the Association's internal controls to determine our auditing procedures for the purpose of expressing an opinion on the financial statements and not to provide assurance on internal controls.

We would like to offer suggestions that represent opportunities for strengthening the Association's internal controls and operating efficiency. The memorandum that accompanies this letter summarizes our comments and suggestions regarding those matters.

We appreciate the courtesy and cooperation that the Association's staff extended to us during our audit and while formulating these comments and suggestions. We have already discussed our comments and suggestions orally with various personnel of the Association and would be pleased to discuss them further at your convenience or assist you in implementing them.

This report is intended solely for the information and use of management, Governing Board, and the Audit Committee.

*Lang + Associates, P.A.*

Bethesda, Maryland  
April 3, 1998

**American Foreign Service Association and Associated Organizations**  
**Consolidated Statement of Financial Position**  
**December 31, 1997 and 1996**

	1997	1996
<b>Assets</b>		
<b>Current Assets</b>		
Cash and cash equivalents, including restricted cash of \$200,291 in 1997 and \$224,631 in 1996	\$ 362,294	\$ 540,042
Accounts receivable, less allowance for doubtful accounts of \$5,000 in 1997 and \$3,067 in 1996	66,817	83,657
Contributions receivable	---	32,235
Accrued interest and dividends	14,586	10,092
Prepaid expenses and other assets	<u>27,070</u>	<u>22,611</u>
Total current assets	<u>470,767</u>	<u>688,637</u>
<b>Noncurrent Assets</b>		
Land, building and equipment, net of depreciation	616,571	610,268
Temporarily restricted investments	3,648,030	2,759,402
Marketable securities	<u>287,465</u>	<u>41,356</u>
Total noncurrent assets	<u>4,552,066</u>	<u>3,411,026</u>
<b>Total Assets</b>	<u>\$ 5,022,833</u>	<u>\$ 4,099,663</u>
<b>Liabilities and Net Assets</b>		
<b>Current Liabilities</b>		
Accounts payable	\$ 87,084	\$ 47,694
Accrued expenses	72,387	52,117
Deferred revenue	228,910	246,269
Current portion of note payable	<u>17,822</u>	<u>40,578</u>
Total current liabilities	406,203	386,658
<b>Note Payable, less current portion</b>	---	17,822
Total liabilities	<u>406,203</u>	<u>404,480</u>
<b>Commitments and Contingencies</b>	---	---
<b>Net Assets</b>		
Unrestricted	711,138	669,096
Temporarily restricted	<u>3,905,492</u>	<u>3,026,087</u>
Total net assets	<u>4,616,630</u>	<u>3,695,183</u>
<b>Total Liabilities and Net Assets</b>	<u>\$ 5,022,833</u>	<u>\$ 4,099,663</u>

**American Foreign Service Association and Associated Organizations**  
**Consolidated Statement of Activities**  
**Year Ended December 31, 1997**

	1997			1996		
	Unrestricted	Temporarily Restricted	Total	Unrestricted	Temporarily Restricted	Total
<b>Revenue, Gains, and Other Support</b>						
Membership dues	\$1,359,067	\$ ---	\$1,359,067	\$1,393,016	\$ ---	\$1,393,016
Advertising sales	344,619	---	344,619	369,667	---	369,667
Contributions	90,789	289,646	380,435	66,586	295,333	361,919
Corporate sponsors	---	20,000	20,000	23,965	46,000	69,965
Subscriptions	10,218	---	10,218	8,653	---	8,653
Realized and unrealized gain on marketable securities	30,395	750,659	781,054	1,909	268,079	269,988
Dividends and interest	13,280	99,392	112,672	5,182	91,038	96,220
Other	86,443	---	86,443	30,428	---	30,428
Net assets released from restrictions:			---			---
Satisfaction of program restrictions	280,292	(280,292)	---	364,985	(364,985)	---
Total revenue, gains, and other support	<u>2,215,103</u>	<u>879,405</u>	<u>3,094,508</u>	<u>2,264,391</u>	<u>335,465</u>	<u>2,599,856</u>
<b>Expenses</b>						
<b>Program services</b>						
Alumni	99,074	---	99,074	82,018	---	82,018
Journal	504,378	---	504,378	685,215	---	685,215
Membership	61,424	---	61,424	43,564	---	43,564
Labor relations	431,369	---	431,369	379,929	---	379,929
Legislative action	137,963	---	137,963	133,153	---	133,153
Club	50,167	---	50,167	51,222	---	51,222
Election	9,813	---	9,813	---	---	---
Board and committee	39,217	---	39,217	47,961	---	47,961
AFSA Fund	176,246	---	176,246	122,058	---	122,058
Corporate relations	48,098	---	48,098	109,476	---	109,476
Public Affairs	12,455	---	12,455	---	---	---
Minority intern	---	---	---	2,164	---	2,164
Diplomats on line	5,225	---	5,225	41,299	---	41,299
Scholarship	247,868	---	247,868	237,696	---	237,696
Total program services	<u>1,823,297</u>	<u>---</u>	<u>1,823,297</u>	<u>1,935,755</u>	<u>---</u>	<u>1,935,755</u>
<b>Supporting services</b>						
Management and general	239,020	---	239,020	162,298	---	162,298
Membership support	105,465	---	105,465	47,784	---	47,784
Fundraising	5,279	---	5,279	3,264	---	3,264
Total supporting services	<u>349,764</u>	<u>---</u>	<u>349,764</u>	<u>213,346</u>	<u>---</u>	<u>213,346</u>
Total expenses	<u>2,173,061</u>	<u>---</u>	<u>2,173,061</u>	<u>2,149,101</u>	<u>---</u>	<u>2,149,101</u>
<b>Change in Net Assets</b>	42,042	879,405	921,447	115,290	335,465	450,755
<b>Net Assets, beginning of year</b>	<u>669,096</u>	<u>3,026,087</u>	<u>3,695,183</u>	<u>553,806</u>	<u>2,690,622</u>	<u>3,244,428</u>
<b>Net Assets, end of year</b>	<u>\$ 711,138</u>	<u>\$3,905,492</u>	<u>\$4,616,630</u>	<u>\$ 669,096</u>	<u>\$3,026,087</u>	<u>\$ 3,695,183</u>

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## KINDER, GENTLER WEAPONRY?

BY DAN GOURÉ

While the information revolution is the most prominent prospective change on the military horizon, it's not the only one. Another development which may change the shape of U.S. power projection overseas is "non-lethal weapons." This class of weapon systems is currently being explored by the U.S. military.

These systems would be designed to limit the extent and duration of effects on people and equipment. In addition to traditional nonlethal systems such as wooden batons, tear gas, stun grenades and rubber bullets, there are new technologies involving acoustics, lasers, microwaves, and aerosols. These can be used from a distance, cover wide areas and affect vehicles and physical structures.

It is increasingly clear that future military operations, particularly those involving ambiguous situations on the ground, will restrict the rules of engagement under which military force can be applied. Urban environments, refugee camps, and other situations where large numbers of civilians are present pose new challenges to a military armed almost exclusively with highly lethal weapons. The ability to control without killing, to restrict, channel and shape the movements of crowds and refugee groups, to protect vital facilities such as feeding centers from attack, are all problems faced repeatedly by U.S. forces in recent years. They are the kinds of problems for which nonlethal force offers particularly useful solutions.

*Nonlethal  
weapons make  
early crisis  
intervention  
less risky and  
more feasible.*

---

Nonlethal weapons are not only means for crowd control. They could fundamentally change the relationship between force and diplomacy. Early intervention in a crisis becomes more feasible and the risks less. Applied in large amounts over significant areas, nonlethal weapons could be used to dampen sectarian violence, impose ceasefires on warring parties, exert controls in the event of civil unrest, and even enforce arms control regimes with less risk to U.S. forces and to the parties to such a conflict. Ultimately, such instruments could even be used in peace enforcement operations by denying mobility to hostile forces, interdicting supply lines, shutting down communications and closing air fields, all without causing permanent damage or significant loss of life.

This type of weaponry, when it becomes part of the U.S. arsenal, may well affect U.S. ability and willingness to get militarily involved in overseas crises. Currently, military leaders are sometimes reluctant to engage in so-called peacekeeping and nation-building activities, because the forces that would be involved lack proper equipment and training. Placing heavily armed soldiers in the role of policemen creates enormous risks to both the population being policed and to the soldiers themselves. Over-reaction may mean civilian casualties, under-reaction may result in dead Americans. Nonlethal weapons may well help troops to achieve precise results (a hostage rescue, for example) with few fatalities and little or no collateral damage. ■

Secretary of Defense William Cohen has said, "While the United States will retain the capability to act unilaterally, a strategy that emphasizes coalition operations is essential to protecting and promoting our national interests in a world in which we as a nation must often act in concert with others to create our preferred international conditions and secure our basic national goals."

**B**ut emphasis on close political relations with our allies does not necessarily reflect actual military trends. The RMA, despite its awesome possibilities, could in some cases actually dilute rather than solidify relations between the United States and its traditional European allies. This is true for several reasons.

First, given its larger defense budget, the United States will be able to invest more than its allies in the experimental programs necessary to develop and integrate revolutionary technologies. Second, because the price tag associated with the RMA is so high and resources are scarce, the United States and its allies are assigning very different priorities to exploiting it. Third, and perhaps most important, the gap between the United States and its European allies could widen because technological innovations associated with the RMA are causing doctrinal and organizational changes within the U.S. that are not being reflected in allied forces.

### **The Growing R&D Gap**

Although the United States spends less on defense than it has in the past, it currently outspends Europe by a ratio of almost 3-1. Perhaps more troubling than the overall level of spending is the portion being devoted to R&D. The United Kingdom spends about six percent of its defense budget on R&D, down from 10 percent in 1990. This is half of the 12-14 percent the United States spends on R&D. U.S. expenditures on R&D surpass Germany's entire defense budget. If tomorrow's weaponry comes directly from today's laboratories, this disparity in R&D spending is a disturbing trend.

Not only is the U.S. spending significantly more on

defense, its forces are becoming increasingly high tech: relying on electronics, computers, and information processing. That is, the United States is moving ahead of its allies in C<sup>4</sup>ISR capabilities. Such technologies will allow the United States to collect data, communicate it to its forces in the field, and efficiently eliminate specified targets. If the United States and

its allies are unable to share such crucial information with each other, the golden ring of coalitional war fighting could prove illusory.

Bosnia provides an excellent example of potential C<sup>4</sup>ISR problems facing future coalitions. Initially, international forces in Bosnia were unable to communicate with each other, virtually paralyzing coalition operations. Over

time, such limitations were overcome, albeit in an ad hoc manner which would not be readily transferable to future areas of conflict. In addition, improved coordination took time to implement, something future coalitions may not have. When asked what the biggest challenge was to closing the interoperability gap between the United States and its NATO allies, Adm. Harold Geham, NATO's supreme allied commander responded that "the biggest challenge, of course, is that technology is moving so fast and each nation is taking advantage of that technology differently."

**S**ince its inception, NATO has struggled with problems of interoperability. However, the RMA adds a new component to this age-old problem. The RMA promises to increase the speed, scope and character of future battlefields, reducing the ability of RMA and non-RMA forces to fight together effectively. The question may thus be changing from "Can forces operate together effectively?" to "Can they operate together at all?" It is possible that because of the RMA, the alliance is developing along two separate axes — the United States providing the high-tech forces and the rest of Europe assuming classical war-fighting responsibilities (including assuming more casualties). It is quite difficult to imagine this two-tiered military relationship operating within a robust political framework.

*The U.S currently  
outspends Europe  
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**Who Needs Allies?**

The RMA has the potential to alter strategic relations between the United States and its allies as well. Revolutionary technology will increase the distance and speed at which American forces can operate. Not only are tanks and ships becoming faster, but because targeting is becoming more efficient, fewer sorties are needed, fewer troops are required, and therefore less materiel is needed on the battlefield. A lighter lift translates directly into a faster mobilization. This trend has important strategic consequences. Because of U.S. improvements, traditional allies may come to believe that their support is not decisive and may therefore be eliminated.

Consider the role that bases and military support play not only in military operations, but in determining political outcomes. For one state to allow another access to its bases, or to its airspace, is not only a military com-

*The military revolution may well lead to great instability during international crises.*

mitment but a very visible sign of political support. It is a way of conveying to the target, and to the international community, that there is a consensus behind a planned military engagement. Military necessity often forces such concessions. Nonetheless, they have important political ramifications. Most military planners fully

understand the importance of winning not only the military battle, but the political one as well, because strategy, in its essence, is the military achievement of political ends. But the coming RMA is reducing the need for other states to commit militarily. This will make it increasingly difficult to prove victorious on the political battlefield.

Such problems were apparent in the February 1998 crisis in which the United States threatened military force against Iraq unless it allowed U.N.



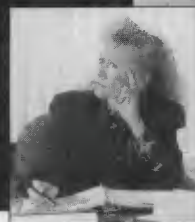
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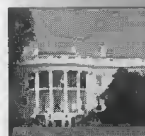
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weapons inspectors back into the country. A contained Iraq is in the interest not only of the United States, but of all states in the region. Some were surprised that the U.S. State Department had difficulty achieving full Saudi Arabian support. It quickly became clear that while Saudi Arabia would allow the United States access to its airspace and bases for logistical support, it would not allow it to fly combat operations from Saudi soil. Arab leaders were in a difficult position: they did not want to appear to be pawns of the United States but they fully recognized the Iraqi threat. Saudi Arabia conveyed to the United States that given the kinds of missions that the United States intended to execute, Saudi military support was unnecessary. Washington could conduct its intended mission from afar: from bases in Diego Garcia, from the U.S. itself, from aircraft carriers located in the Persian Gulf and by using pre-


*Coalitions are essential in resolving crises, but the RMA may weaken U.S. alliances.*

positioned equipment located in the United Arab Emirates and Bahrain.

Just as this trend is becoming apparent in Europe and in the Middle East, Asia is also questioning some U.S. military requests. Japan, for example, is currently pressuring the United States to remove its forces from Okinawa.

The U.S. military's astute response to this negative development is to explore new technologies and platforms such as mobile off-shore bases that decrease reliance on local allies. Unfortunately, this only reinforces the trend toward military autarky and therefore exacerbates the problems discussed above.

As the United States is able to conduct more of the battle from farther away, it will become less reliant on local support. Also, as the United States develops the ability to arrive at the theater of operations with greater





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speed, allied partners will be able to withhold support until later in the crisis. The consequence of this could be that as the United States becomes increasingly powerful, it will become less adept at securing local support. Allies may increasingly perceive that their military support is no longer necessary. Militarily, the United States will still be able to accomplish its mission. Politically, its goals become harder to achieve.

**T**he revolution in military affairs raises a number of questions, concerns and even problems for American diplomacy. The RMA force is information-intensive and will require a degree of surveillance and intelligence about potential adversaries that can impact — both for good and ill — diplomatic activities in the regions and nations in question. This force is also highly lethal, very fast-moving and offensively oriented, all of which can negatively impact foreign perceptions of U.S. intent and even the ability to manage crises where this force is present. Finally, the technologies and sys-

tems essential to this force — such as lasers, unmanned vehicles, and computer viruses — pose interesting, and in some cases extremely thorny, problems for arms control, technology transfer, and international commerce.

**T**his discussion should not be construed as an argument against proceeding with an RMA. However, we need to recognize that improved capabilities could have both positive and negative consequences on U.S. international relations. The few analysts who have considered what the RMA means for the U.S. politically tend to stress only its opportunities. As the above discussion shows, however, there are pitfalls associated with the RMA as well. It will therefore become increasingly important for those conducting American foreign policy to understand allied concerns about the RMA and recognize its many political consequences. By working through the problems discussed above now it will be easier to avoid their negative repercussions in the future. ■

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*By Jon Gundersen and Stephen Howard*

**I**n April 1994, anarchy reined in the mean streets of Monrovia, Liberia. U.S. Ambassador William B. Milam referred to the time as “four long days the embassy remained hostage to the carnage and violence taking place outside the compound.” During those dangerous days over 2,100 people from 76 countries (including 436 Americans) were quietly and safely evacuated from the grounds of the U.S. embassy in Monrovia. It was the largest evacuation of American citizens since the fall of Saigon in April 1975.

In the fall of 1996 over 2,200 Kurds, who had clandestinely cooperated with efforts to overthrow the regime of Saddam Hussein faced certain death as forces, allied with the Iraqi dictator, advanced on their mountain villages

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in northern Iraq. From September through December 1996, these Kurds were quietly smuggled out of the country, and eventually resettled in small town America.

In the summer of 1996, the U.S. began to distribute a special edition of the popular Superman comic book to the children of war-torn Bosnia. Over one million copies were distributed to the children of all ethnic groups. But this edition had a larger purpose than just to entertain. The purpose was to show the children of Bosnia the dangers of playing with landmines. The comic books were effective. Since their publication and distribution there have been no civilian fatalities from mines. Considering Bosnia has over one million uncharted mines still undiscovered throughout the countryside, the reduction in deaths is a great achievement.

Today, specially trained U.S. forces monitor the tenuous cease-fire in Bosnia and the undefined border between Peru and Ecuador. They train Colombian forces in counter-narcotics and African forces in peacekeeping and humanitarian relief. They are responsible for countering the activities of terrorists, narcotics traffickers and dealers of weapons of mass destruction throughout the world. They are even protecting the endangered black rhinoceros from poachers.

What do these seemingly disparate events have in common? All of the missions have been and are currently being conducted by an elite military force within the Department of Defense. It is the only U.S. military force that has as one of its primary missions the support of U.S. ambassadors and their country teams. It is a force that makes up only a little over one percent of the Pentagon budget; yet on any given week it

*Last year, U.S. Special Operations Forces were deployed to 144 nations in every part of the world.*

is deployed in at least 60 nations. Last year it was deployed to 144 nations in every region of the world. This joint force of soldiers, sailors and airmen is the Special Operations Forces (SOF) of the United States.

Why are SOF the force of the future? Why are they relevant to U.S. foreign policy objectives? Since the U.S. military, composed

of large conventional and strategic forces, contributed to the end of the Cold War, why change a winning team? Many leading policy makers, including at the Pentagon, have asked this question. For much of our lifetimes, U.S. foreign policy was made and measured by our relationship to the Soviet Union. We in the West were confronted by an antagonistic, ideological rival — a rival with thousands of nuclear weapons pointed directly at the U.S. Our world mission was dangerous and daunting, but really quite simple: to contain and ultimately roll back the Soviet empire. This world was characterized by huge conventional and nuclear arsenals. The fact of the matter is that too many policy makers — diplomats, politicians, and warriors alike — had become quite comfortable in this dangerous, yet strangely stable and predictable world. They did — and to some degree still do — object to major changes in the base and force structure that characterized the Cold War.

The world, however, has changed. Today, we face a new world order — or disorder to be more precise. The world is perhaps a little less dangerous — after all a nuclear Armageddon (at least between the United States and Russia) is less likely — but it is much less stable. While we do not face superpower antagonists like the Soviet Union, we face numerous regional antagonists from North Korea to Iraq. We are also witnessing the emergence of new transnational security challenges from the proliferation of weapons of mass destruction (nuclear, chemical and biological) to the rise of international cartels of terrorists, narco-traffickers and mafias.

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In today's complex and ever changing environment virtually every scenario contemplated by the Pentagon deals with low-level, often intra-state, conflicts dominated by communal antagonisms and operations other than war. The forces needed for these, as well as humanitarian and peacekeeping operations are exactly the types of missions the SOF are trained for. Furthermore, in an age of domestic pressures to downsize our presence overseas and international sensitivities about sovereignty, it is extremely doubtful that the U.S. will be able to continue to deploy a large permanent force structure overseas. By the early 21st century, the U.S. military will increasingly employ Special Operations Forces in regional engagement forces during contingency operations to enhance operational impact while reducing the "force footprint." SOF personnel are trained to operate in small numbers and limit casualties, both friend and foe. In the current geopolitical atmosphere peacetime engagement "shapes the battlefield" in a way that could obviate the use of force. SOF are specially trained, organized and equipped to handle the fluid complexities of current U.S. foreign policy and provide the decision-makers an additional option short of war.

### **Tough Training for "A" Teams**

The United States Special Operations Command (USSOCOM) was created in 1986 to deal specifically with changing geo-political trends and emerging non-conventional threats to U.S. national interests. Although tasked with several core missions, the highest priority are the counterproliferation of weapons of mass destruction and combating terrorism. In addition, SOF are responsible for supporting numerous peacekeeping operations and foreign military training programs. Members of the SOF community have supported NATO, the United Nations, and other international efforts on numerous and diverse missions. SOF have trained other countries to provide their own defense, rebuild destroyed infrastructure, operate under democratic rules, and thwart narcotics trafficking. They have also trained military and paramilitary organizations to identify and eliminate mines and exploded ordnance, thus providing a

humanitarian demining capability to numerous war-ravaged countries.

SOF are regionally focused. They are carefully trained and prepared to be culturally astute in their chosen part of the world. This preparation includes language training and linguistic capabilities found nowhere else in the Department of Defense. They are often the first Americans a foreign military counterpart many encounter. Their task is daunting: to show, through example, how a professional soldier operates in a democratic society.

SOF training is long and arduous. The Army Special Forces, Navy SEALs, and Air Force Combat Control Team members are selected from an extremely competitive pool of applicants. The assessment and selection process eliminates 79 percent of all volunteers. Only military professionals with at least four years of service are considered for most of the SOF programs (the SEALs accept first-term sailors, but put them through an extremely rigorous training program). These agile joint forces can develop and execute unconventional, audacious, high-pay-off actions.

SOF are usually deployed to foreign countries in operational detachment "A" teams (ODA for short). These ODAs, consisting of six to 14 people, work directly with foreign military forces to enhance training. Aside from developing military skills, there are other advantages gained by the rapport and access achieved by ODAs regularly visiting foreign countries. Long-term relationships and trust between military personnel is gained and maintained by the ODAs. Another advantage the ODA has is that many of the team members will spend a career in a specific region. Their years of experience and personal contact become invaluable when a crisis occurs, helping them gain access to sensitive areas.

Prior to the war against Iraq, U.S. Navy SEALs had worked with Saudi and Kuwaiti naval personnel. As early as 1987, U.S. SEALs helped the Saudi navy develop their own special operations training program. Capt. Raymond Smith (now a rear admiral and deputy commander-in-chief of U.S. Special Operations Command), was in charge of this

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assistance program. When he returned to the Persian Gulf in 1990, Saudi personnel he helped train in 1987 were now key military leaders. The shared experience from previous years facilitated a close, personal working relationship between U.S. Navy special operations forces and the forces in the Saudi and Kuwaiti navies.

During another crisis, prior experience and training kept a bad situation from getting worse. In April 1997, an ODA from the 3rd Special Forces Group (A) deployed to Freetown, Sierra Leone, for Joint Combined Exercise Training (JCET). The JCET training site was 20 miles outside Freetown, near the airport used the previous year for a non-combatant evacuation operation.

On 25 May, rebel forces and military members toppled the government, and for the next few days chaos reigned in Freetown. Once shooting erupted at the training site, the Special Forces soldiers manned security positions inside their compound and established very intermittent contact with the embassy.

After receiving direction from the deputy chief of mission, the A-Team loaded its two vehicles and headed for Freetown to provide security for the embassy. They passed through two rebel roadblocks and near an army post without shots being fired. SOF soldiers had dealt with the Sierra Leone military in a professional manner and had established excellent rapport and mutual respect. A mere 13 soldiers saved the embassy from further looting, protected crucial talks between senior ambassadors and the rebel leaders, and prevented firefights between the Marines and the rebels. After five days, a larger U.S. force arrived, and evacuated a total of 2,509 people (including 454 U.S. citizens) from the grounds of the U.S. embassy. But it was the Special Forces soldiers' so-called non-military skills — cultural sensitivity and area familiarization — that paid large dividends by stabilizing the situation around the embassy during those crucial days of waiting.

*In Bosnia, SOF troops gave away comic books warning children about landmines.*

SOF have several primary missions. Perhaps the two most demanding and critical are the counterproliferation of weapons of mass destruction and combating terrorism. To date these have been separate and different missions. However, as enemies of the U.S. look for new ways to harm our national interests, there is the growing possibility that terrorism will

reach new, even more heinous levels of destruction. We believe our enemies learned from the war with Iraq that it is suicide to confront the U.S. on a conventional battlefield. However, by applying their strengths against our weaknesses, a dedicated enemy may be able to asymmetrically defeat the U.S., as did the Viet Cong against a conventionally superior U.S. force. An example of asymmetric warfare is the use of relatively inexpensive chemical weapons against vulnerable civilian populations. As we've seen in the attacks on the World Trade Center and the Oklahoma federal building in our country and the Tokyo subway system by biological weapons, no one is immune from the use of terrorism and weapons of mass destruction. SOF is preparing for these types of scenarios in order to be prepared for any potential challenge.

Training foreign militaries consistent with our democratic values (called Foreign Internal Defense or FID) is SOF's most common mission today. SOF uses Joint Combined Exchange Training (JCET) opportunities to improve their own cultural and instructional skills, while passing on professionalism and military skills to foreign forces. SOF are heavily engaged around the world helping current and potential allies to meet legitimate defense needs. These military forces encourage regional cooperation, maintain U.S. access, and visibly demonstrate the role of a professional military in a democratic society. This ability to mold the international environment rather than merely respond to it, is SOF's most important day-to-day contribution to national security.

With the demise of the Cold War, FID operations

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have focussed on peacekeeping and democracy building. SOF has used its special skills and cultural awareness to support the African Crisis Response Initiative (ACRI), a program designed to develop African military peacekeeping forces to monitor problems arising between African nations. Army special forces personnel have worked with Ghana, Mali, Senegal, Uganda, and Ethiopia (to name a few) to observe, evaluate and report on these countries' capabilities to contribute to the ACRI. Continued training and observation will hopefully provide a comprehensive program for Africa that rivals the Partnership for Peace organization in Europe. The goal is to better enable local forces to solve local conflicts. U.S. policy-makers want to avoid situations in which they must either send in U.S. forces to resolve a humanitarian crisis or else do nothing.

U.S. Ambassador Kenneth L. Brown stated in a letter to USSOCOM after a successful SOF training in Ghana: "The Ghanaian military ... has uniformly praised the dedication and professionalism of the Special Forces team .. JCET is a unique contribution to our policy of building, within the [Ghanaian] military, greater professionalism as well as increased understanding of and support for democratic institutions."

Other missions performed by SOF are in the field of Psychological Operations and Civil Affairs. Almost all of these forces are reservists who are lawyers, doctors, and engineers in civilian life. When called upon, these reservists have deployed to places like Bosnia and Haiti to help rebuild what was destroyed by civil war and conflict.

**P** psychological Operations (PSYOP) are designed to educate and persuade in regions of the world where communication is difficult or non-existent. Using cultural understanding and modern communications media, PSYOP forces have educated civilians about the dangers of landmines and unexploded ordnance. They have also planted the seeds that helped formerly totalitarian military organizations learn to function in democratic societies and respond to civilian leadership. Long-term results in Central and South America have already justified the effort. Ongoing training opportunities in the former Soviet Union and Warsaw Pact countries may also bear

"democratic fruit" in the future.

Working hand-in-hand with PSYOPs are the Civil Affairs teams. These specialized professionals use their civilian expertise to rebuild infrastructure and services to regions where political and civil strife have devastated living conditions. Civil Affairs teams have worked in Bosnia and Haiti to rebuild schools, reinstate government facilities and mechanisms, restore the "rule of law," provide utilities, sanitation, and restore health facilities. By working closely with the host nation, non-governmental organizations (NGOs), and the Department of State, Civil Affairs personnel make a long-term commitment and impact on developing a lasting peace. Through renewed prosperity and economic development, supported by renewed services, struggling democracies can make progress in providing a better future for their citizens.

### **The State-SOF Connection**

Beginning with a meeting in June 1997 between Secretary of State Madeline Albright and then-USSOCOM Commander in Chief Gen. Hugh Shelton (currently the chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff), the Department of State and USSOCOM have initiated a State-SOF engagement program. Because SOF are deployed in every region of the world and are engaged in a wide range of activities in support of U.S. ambassadors and their embassies, it seemed appropriate to develop a mechanism to more easily cross flow ideas and communication between Department of State and SOF.

To support this effort, USSOCOM, working with State's Bureau of Politico-Military Affairs, has cooperated on several programs designed to encourage comments and suggestions from all DOS bureaus. This DOS-SOF exchange engaging both regional and functional bureaus provides feedback to USSOCOM. This feedback is used to better determine how SOF can meet the needs of the DOS, U.S. ambassadors, and their country teams.

One information exchange effort currently under way is the Ambassadors' Orientation Program. Working in conjunction with the Foreign Service Institute and State's Counter-Terrorism Office, approximately four to six times each year USSOCOM

hosts briefings and demonstrations for ambassador designates in Washington, D.C., and at Fort Bragg, N.C. The vast majority of U.S. ambassadors receive this briefing prior to their new posting.

USSOCOM also biannually surveys U.S. ambassadors to ensure SOF deployed in their countries are meeting the embassies' requirements. The feedback from U.S. ambassadors helps USSOCOM judge SOF performance and, where appropriate, modify its training or operations to better serve the ambassadors posted overseas.

To improve overall information exchange, the State-SOF Engagement Program is coordinating closely to encourage attendance at State and SOF schools. The purpose of this effort is to encourage personnel from State to attend relevant SOF schools and for SOF personnel to attend Foreign Service Institute courses. This is intended to expose State and SOF personnel to a wider range of ideas and shared experiences that will foster closer cooperation in the future.

As State and SOF acquire more and more shared experience, a few key lessons are emerging.

**F**irst, the value of cross-training. Everyone connected with the SOF community, from ambassador, to the regional commanders in chief (CINCs), to the SOF diplomat-warrior, should have a full understanding of the role of the ambassador and the country team before deployment. That's why individually tailored briefing papers on each country are now available to SOFs before they go into the field. Conversely, every American ambassador and key members of his team should understand the role of SOF in supporting the missions of the embassies. Much of this is already amply covered through ambassadors' orientations, now offered to each new ambassador before deployment overseas. A standardized brief on the role of the ambassador and the country team is now being integrated into SOF operator, pre-command and Senior Service courses. Each new ambassador should also receive an orienta-

*SOFs are the right  
tool for the military's  
new job — countering  
numerous small  
threats.*

tion from the regional CINC responsible for the ambassador's country.

Second, the important of in briefs and out briefs. One of the most useful cross-training tools is the requirement of SOF teams to visit the relevant embassy both before and after (and perhaps during) their in-country activities.

Upon entering a new country the team will particularly benefit from an embassy briefing on local conditions, whether it is the state of the local military by the defense attaché or the presence of ethnic tensions by the political counselor.

**C**onversely, upon leaving the country, the embassy will benefit from up-to-date SOF insights on local conditions, both military and political. SOF often acquire a "ground truth" that provides a perspective and insight found nowhere else. Both DOS and DOD personnel will obtain long-term benefits from the relationships forged in this interactive process. Currently, however, the practice of in-briefing and back-briefing is still more episodic than regularized.

All key players should know that the relationship between DOD and DOS (as well as the ambassador and SOF) is symbiotic; each benefits from the other. Just as SOF operate as a force multiplier for the regional CINCs, they should also operate as force multipliers for the local ambassadors. Their training and experience can project American influence, protect American values, and increase American options in country. Of course, the regional CINCs control, as they should, the actual operations and priorities of SOF in the field. At the same time, no deployment will occur without the ambassador's knowledge and approval.

In the brave new world of post-Cold War diplomacy, the Departments of State and Defense are fated to share an ever closer relationship in promoting U.S. national security interests. As we have seen, the nation's Special Operations Forces play a vital role in this dynamic and evolving relationship. ■

# DIPLOMACY, FORCE AND THE DIPLOMAT-WARRIOR



PETER LACALAMITA

IT MAY NOT BE TRENDY,  
BUT MILITARY POWER IS STILL  
VITAL TO U.S. INTERESTS

*By Howard K. Walker*

**A**s a diplomat from any country what the major international problems of the 21st century will be, and he or she will most likely focus on “soft” diplomatic issues: economic and commercial interests, environmental protection and the wise use of scarce natural resources, international crime, terrorism and human rights. Little attention will be paid to “old-fashioned” issues such as the balance of power, arms control, border disputes, ethnic unrest and access to international resources, markets and transportation routes. Although these issues occupy the best minds in foreign ministries across the globe, there is stigma attached to them because their resolution relies too much on using threat to resolve conflict.

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### *A new type of leader will be required to manage 21st century crises: the diplomat-warrior.*

Even the State Department's most senior officers responsible for training tomorrow's diplomats promulgate this viewpoint. In speech after speech, the directors general and the directors of the Foreign Service Institute have emphasized that tomorrow's diplomatic agenda will emphasize these global and commercial issues.

Although these issues are important, this emphasis minimizes diplomats' need to learn more about how diplomacy and the use of force are linked, and how to make that linkage work well. The next decades may well include a need for the diplomacy of force in the unsettled Balkans, perhaps elsewhere in Eastern Europe, and throughout that grand arc of instability stretching from North Africa through the Middle and Far East, where important interests are at stake.

Even "soft" diplomatic issues often require military assistance. For example, the military would play a role in providing humanitarian relief to victims of natural disasters and man-made humanitarian crises such as occurred in Rwanda and Somalia in this decade. It might provide help with monitoring and evacuation at times of environmental catastrophe, assist in rescuing victims of terrorists, control sudden mass population movements and combat international organized crime. Pursuit of each of these "soft" 21st century crises will require symbiosis between diplomacy and the military.

#### **Needed: A new hybrid**

A new type of leader will be required to manage these crises in the 21st century. I call these hybrids soldier-diplomats and diplomat-warriors. They are soldiers who can also think like diplomats and diplomats who can think like soldiers.

It is important for soldier-diplomats to understand why and how diplomacy operates to win international support and how domestic political considerations constrain the way force is used to achieve military objectives. Diplomats-

warriors will need to understand and appreciate why and how the military can be used to achieve diplomatic objectives and what operational constraints the military faces in trying to achieve those objectives.

Military professionals are trained to think that the purpose of war is to defeat the enemy by winning battles.

They are conditioned by training and experience to think of applying force using optimum force design and packaging, choke-point target selection and maximum destructive weapons selection. They are trained to think of the most effective time and place for an attack, the best way to arrange the control and command of forces, the best way to establish rules of engagement and how to provide logistical support to forces.

But coming international crises will also require the application of 19th century Prussian military theoretician Carl Maria von Clausewitz's dictum: "War is an extension of politics by other means." Why? Because:

- Total defeat of an enemy may not always be the diplomatic objective of a military action. Operation Desert Storm is an example of such a strategy.

- Identifying one clear enemy will not always be easy. For example, which national, ethnic or religious group most threatens stability in the Balkans and other parts of Eastern Europe? Which clan or band of thugs most jeopardized humanitarian relief in Somalia?

- Key elements of military force plans can be constrained by diplomatic and other political considerations. For example, United Nations support and participation in coalitions can constrain military options for force design, such as the mix and composition of ground, air and maritime forces; selection of weapons and targets; rules of engagement (when and what do you shoot?); command and control (who's in charge of the forces?); and logistics and resupply arrangements. These constraints have all played a role in military engagements requiring allied or coalition forces since the end of the Cold War. Because public opinion, national budgets and geography will require that military operations have an imprimatur from the United Nations and be conducted by military coalitions, the constraints will continue to be a fact of military engagement.

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Senior military leaders from all countries know that it is important for future generals and admirals to have the perspective of soldier-diplomats if the armed forces want to have influence in their own country's or in an alliance's policy. Military missions of the future will require not only changes in standing force structure, military assets and force application doctrine, but also enhancement of the diplomatic and political sophistication of their most promising officers. This kind of transformation will occur most often at war and defense colleges, where military officers can mix and establish contacts with diplomats and foreign students.

These schools include lectures by scholars and military and diplomatic practitioners, seminars, student research projects and field trips designed to teach students about international conflicts in the coming years. Their curriculum includes negotiation techniques, a recognition that modern warfare and peacekeeping missions decentralize command so that cease-fire and other negotiations may often be on-the-spot and ad hoc and will be conducted by field commanders as well as headquarters staff. In addition, students learn about international organizations and their purposes and nongovernmental organizations with whom today's military must cooperate.

Moreover, the mix of students from other nations' armed forces as well as other U.S. government agencies gives all students better understanding of other national and institutional cultures and an opportunity to make invaluable personal contacts.

Most important, these schools instill a temperament for working in alliances and building consensus in future military leaders. The trick is, they must instill this attitude for cooperation in military men and women without weakening their taste for victory, a taste which any military force needs if it is to be effective.

Unlike military men and women, diplomats are already trained in the "social science" of international relations, international conflicts, the framework of international organizations, how international alliances and coalitions operate, negotiating techniques and working in a multicultural setting. They are versed in mastering the art of the possible and accept that many international problems can only be managed, never solved.

In part for that reason, foreign ministries do not place a high premium on sending diplomats to military service

schools. The U.S. Department of State, for example, annually assigns only 32 officers (three percent of those eligible) to its own national senior service schools. None are sent to the NATO Defense College.

Other reasons diplomats are scarce in these schools is that foreign ministries don't have the same commitment as the military to personnel development through education and training and they lack the military's huge budgets for that purpose. Consequently, development of soldier-diplomats is far ahead of production of diplomat-warriors.

### **Enter the Diplomat-Warrior**

To bridge the gap, foreign ministries must first appreciate that if diplomats are to become effective, they must develop the skills of diplomat-warriors. They must learn to manage crisis teams like military officers, by identifying which components a military operation might need in pursuit of a diplomatic objective and by assessing the diplomatic consequences of those operational requirements. Without a good understanding of the military mind, diplomats cannot be expected to execute diplomacy by force. These are the types of questions that have bedeviled diplomats during the Bosnia crises and during extended problems in Iraq.

For example, before deciding if air strikes could be effective in a given situation, diplomat-warriors should know how to decide the diplomatic consequences of using military force. In order to do that, they will have to learn to speak the language of the military: Which targets will achieve the best response? Which weaponry has the best chance of hitting the targets? What are likely to be the resulting damages and casualties in such an operation? What rules of engagement must be employed for successful execution of the operation? Who will be in charge of the forces? What logistical and supply support will be necessary for the operation? What are the likely consequences of the operation on force readiness?

Diplomatic-military teamwork — so essential to effective security policy planning and management in coming decades — will be weakened if both sides do not have confidence that each respects the other's professional concerns. Diplomats who don't trust military leadership are likely to try to micro-manage military operations with adverse consequences. Military lead-

ers who don't trust diplomats' realism regarding security policy may not defer to the supremacy of civilian authority in these matters.

If diplomats don't give adequate attention to military leaders' concerns about the effectiveness and success of military operations, military leaders will lose confidence in diplomats' realism. Diplomats can easily jeopardize military success and safety of forces by restricting rules of engagement or target selection, by risking force readiness or overextending force deployment and committing armed forces to military operations before there is clear public support for them or before there is enough political will to seek public backing.

#### No Aneurysms, Please

On the other hand, diplomats' and other civilian leaders' confidence in the military's sophistication regarding diplomacy and politics about the use of force will be weakened if military leadership appears to have greater concern for the well-being and reputation of the armed forces than for the success of the mission. There are disturbing reports of instances of lack of confidence on both sides over these types of issues. Gen. Colin Powell, former chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, recalled in his 1995 memoir, *My American Journey*, one exchange over Bosnia. He writes about a high-level meeting held in the White House at which then-U.N. ambassador Madeleine Albright dismisses his arguments against stronger military action in Bosnia. "What's the point of having this superb military that you're always talking about if we can't use it?" she asked.

"I thought I would have an aneurysm," recalled Powell. He considered her attitude frivolous, as if the forces were "toy soldiers to be moved around on some global game board."

**R**ight now, the defense establishments of many countries devote attention to developing soldier-diplomats. In order to bridge the gap, however, foreign ministries will need to devote the same kind of attention to developing diplomat-warriors. First, foreign ministries must work with their defense ministry counterparts to develop a curriculum for both senior military

*We must teach  
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skills of consensus  
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service schools and senior education courses in schools of diplomacy that will help educate budding diplomat-warriors.

**S**uch a curriculum for diplomats should include how to write military operations plans and simulated crisis management exercises that provide the opportunity for diplomats to practice assessing requirements and

consequences of military operations. A useful model would be the simulation exercise used by the North Atlantic Council, NATO's collection of senior diplomats, to understand the military operations requirements and consequences of their policy recommendations in the Balkans.

This type of commitment to a professional development program by foreign ministries would also require a strong commitment to professional development, a commitment that most defense ministries have already made. It means allocating significant portions of the foreign ministries' budgets and the commitment of senior diplomats to participating in education and training classes as lecturers and mentors. Almost as crucial, this new cadre of diplomat-warriors will have to be rewarded with career-enhancing assignments and promotions to ensure that this becomes an attractive option for diplomats.

In addition, foreign ministries' policy planning staffs should pay more attention to producing analyses, constructing scenarios and conducting crisis management and contingency exercises for conducting the diplomacy of force, all with participation from defense ministry partners.

Finally, as part of their effort to enhance the capabilities of diplomats to work in a military environment, foreign ministries should explore strengthening the hand of diplomat-warriors in the field by giving them authority over "theater" diplomatic operations and resources and institutionalized direct access to government leaders, similar to that enjoyed by CINCs and other major regional commanders.

Clearly, it is in the interests of the United States to develop a cadre of soldier-diplomats and diplomat-warriors who can work together as a team to manage the diplomacy of force in the 21st century. If we can pursue measures such as those described above, we will improve our chances of achieving that goal. ■

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# SENATORIAL CONSENT

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## *You Can't Leave Home Without It*

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BY DANIEL FISK

**Y**ou've just received a call from the White House informing you that you that you have passed the vetting process and will soon be nominated to the rank of ambassador. You don't care whether it's to Paris or Paramaribo. After years of surviving in the "kiss up, kick down" Foreign Service, you've finally made it. You'll finally be addressed as Mr. or Madam ambassador.

But first you'll have to get through a process that has engendered more fear and loathing in wannabe chiefs of mission than all the political ambassadors for whom career FSOs have served: confirmation by the United States Senate. Suddenly your career flashes before your eyes. As a Foreign Service officer, you've spent years studying, analyzing and interpreting other governments. Except for paying taxes and the occasional CODEL, you've mostly avoided your own government's machinations, but you are

about to get a personal civics lesson on separation of powers. Suddenly you recall others who have been subjected to the exercise: would-be Supreme Court Justice Robert Bork, almost Secretary of Defense John Tower, erstwhile envoy Robert Pastor, ambassador manqué William Weld. The path before you is strewn with careers that might have been. You vow not to be among the dead or missing in action.

When I worked on the ambassadorial confirmation process, first as a staff member and then as associate counsel for the Senate Foreign Relations Committee from 1994 to 1997, it always surprised me how little career diplomats knew about the legislative branch. FSOs could negotiate the diplomatic cocktail circuit with aplomb, but they often lacked rudimentary knowledge about the ways of Congress. Ambassadorial appointees frequently gave the denizens of Capitol Hill the impression that FSOs, as anointed "foreign policy professionals," were deigning to share their superior knowledge with a bunch of yahoos.

This type of attitude can be costly if you want to be an ambassador. So, in the spirit of inter-branch cooperation, I offer the following "rules" to members of the ambassadorial class of 1998-99 as they present themselves for the U.S.

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*Daniel Fisk, who worked for the SFRC from 1994 to 1997, is now a teaching associate in the Department of Political Science at Arizona State University and an adjunct fellow of the Center for Strategic and International Studies in Washington, D.C.*

Senate's advice and consent.

**First**, remember that the U.S. Congress is a separate but equal branch of the U.S. government with its own dynamics, history and yes, eccentricities. U.S. senators take seriously their constitutional requirement to vote yea or nay on ambassadorial nominations. You should have some appreciation for — and not just fear of — the institution that may determine your fate. Don't assume that you'll be confirmed just because you've made it through State's assignments process and have been cleared by the White House. While it is true that some senators are inclined to defer to the president on nominees, most legislators aren't overly impressed with a presidential imprimatur since, almost to a senator, they have pretensions of some day sitting in the Oval Office themselves.

**S**econd, remember the name of the president who nominated you. One nominee opened his hearing by thanking the previous White House occupant for naming him ambassador. Fortunately, he was a former senator and suffered only momentary embarrassment in front of his former colleagues. Such courtesies don't extend to anyone who hasn't been a member of the senatorial club, though.

**Third**, if you have never served in Congress, find a sitting senator or member of the House of Representatives to introduce you at your hearing. This can be a problem since so many FSOs live in Maryland, Virginia or the District of Columbia. Representatives from those states are less likely to introduce everyone that parades before the SFRC for confirmation. If you are from "Outside the Beltway," you should have better luck. You'll get points from the committee for getting a legislator's endorsement. And the legislator will get points for supporting someone from "back home." Don't assume, however, that means you will automatically win votes on the committee.

**Fourth**, make sure the State Department doesn't start promoting you before you have

been confirmed. In 1994, during the ambassadorial confirmation hearings for Robert Pastor to become ambassador to Panama, State published a list of "currently serving ambassadors" and included Pastor, who was then director of the Latin American and Caribbean Program at Emory University's Carter Center. In arguing against Pastor's nomination, Jesse Helms of North Carolina, then ranking SFRC Republican, ironically noted Pastor's premature "promotion." Even though Pastor hadn't put his own name on the list, it didn't help him. Remember, you are not mister or madam ambassador until the Senate says you are, or until the president is willing to risk unpleasantness over a recess appointment, an unlikely prospect for a career ambassador.

**Fifth**, FSOs are trained to make everyone feel "equal," but that is not how it's done in the U.S. Senate. If there is no round table around which to conduct negotiations, FSOs rearrange the furniture so that there is no greater or lesser sense of significance among participants. The few round or oval tables that exist in the U.S. Senate are for senators. You are the president's nominee, but in the eyes of those who will give their advice and consent on your nomination, you are not equal.

**S**ixth, a nomination process is not a negotiation. You are not in good position to bargain, unless you see your nomination as a quest for martyrdom, not an embassy. Cooperate with the committee and staff handling your nomination.

**Seventh**, you will discover just how small a city Washington, D.C. is when you go up to Capitol Hill for confirmation. You may have avoided Congress, but be assured that your colleagues know how to dial a phone and use a fax.

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A committee's best sources about nominees are the people with whom they have worked or had professional contacts, not the endless stream of official paper and forms that usually accompany nominations.

**Eighth**, remember that State's legislative affairs bureau, also known as "H," works for the secretary of State, not you. Be loyal to the secretary, be prepared to defend the president's and the secretary's policies and be ready to push the H bureau to protect your interests. When I was on the SFRC staff, information about a nominee's not-so-positive performance reviews was leaked to me. The nominee took charge of the problem and badgered the H bureau to arrange a meeting to discuss the reviews and answer all questions to the committee's satisfaction. As a result, the nominee was confirmed.

**Ninth**, Congressional staff are professionals, not just pains in the (pick an anatomical part). They, too, are "foreign policy professionals." Often, they have expertise, information and contacts surpassing yours and they will use that knowledge to your disadvantage. The first rule to which all staff subscribe is to make sure that the committee isn't confronted with any surprises about a nominee. As a result, some staff have a reputation for psychologically torturing nominees in an effort to get them to "come clean" before issues reach the committee.

**Tenth**, do not deliver a *démarche* to Congress as if it were just another third-world country. Speak English and don't use double negatives. FSO-speak may be the language of diplomacy, but it doesn't impress anyone who hasn't been

---

*FSO-speak may be the  
language of diplomacy;  
but it doesn't impress  
anyone who hasn't been  
trained as an FSO.*

---

trained as an FSO. Too often, nominees try to imitate William F. Buckley, Jr. in speech (not politics) by using multisyllabic words and complex sentences and come off sounding like the fictional home-improvement maven played by Tim Allen on "Home Improvement," who often sounds confused instead of clear.

Don't answer in nuances or to please a senator or State Department superior in the name of "diplomacy." This tactic can come back to haunt you. It is better to have an honest and open disagreement over a policy than to answer diplomatically and appear disingenuous or dishonest. Senators and staff will respect you more if you are honest, even if they do not like what they hear.

**Eleventh**, most confirmation hearings are routine, if not boring. The toughest part is introducing your family. The statements you make during discussions with staff prior to the hearing are more important, so stop reading from prepared texts. Yes, I know, you've put a lot of time and anguish into these statements and even driven the desk officer of the country to which you hope to be sent slightly mad by making him or her do

extensive research. You may even argue that there is safety in reading from a prepared text. Still, it is rare that something comes out of a confirmation hearing that will throw a nomination into turmoil. Talk to the committee. Do not read them the following fill-in-the-blank statement (which they've heard all too often before):

*I would like to thank President \_\_\_\_\_ and Secretary \_\_\_\_\_ for nominating me. I am honored and, if confirmed, look forward to serving in \_\_\_\_\_. Our relations with \_\_\_\_\_ are improving, and \_\_\_\_\_ has taken steps to \_\_\_\_\_ (open its markets, reform its economy, and implement democracy). \_\_\_\_\_ just completed a successful democratic election, where the incoming \_\_\_\_\_ government, with which I am looking forward to working, has promised to \_\_\_\_\_ (save the rain forest, respect human rights, fight drugs, respect property rights, repay its debt, buy more American products, etc.). And if confirmed, I will work to \_\_\_\_\_ (protect American interests, save the rain forest, protect intellectual property rights) and advance our mutual goals of (promoting democracy, implementing sustainable development, etc.)*

**L**et's be honest. Many of the places career ambassadors are likely to be sent will provide them with adventure and introductions to wonderful people, but as places to live, work and raise a family, they can have their limitations. That's why so many of them have immigration problems, which you'll have to deal with once you are confirmed. The folks who live where you will be going know the place's

## ANATOMY OF A FAILED NOMINATION

BY DANIEL FISK

By the time Sen. Jesse Helms, chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee and ur-nemesis of ambassadorial nominees, gaveled his committee to order September 12, 1997 in the SFRC's main hearing room in the Dirksen Senate Office Building to discuss the fate of would-be ambassador William Weld, battle lines had already been drawn by the media. Weld had recently resigned as Republican governor of Massachusetts to seek the prize of an embassy in Mexico. According to popular wisdom, his nomination signaled either a Machiavellian plot by Bill Clinton's White House to split the Republican Party, a battle for the soul of the Republican Party with Chairman Helms representing the isolationist right wing and Weld and Sen. Richard Lugar (R-Ind.) representing the internationalist, moderate wing, or both.

The reason for the meeting was a written request from Sen. Lugar and others on the committee requesting that the chairman hold a special meeting on the Weld nomination. Under SFRC rules, Helms had three days to call a meeting. If he didn't, the dissident senators could set their own date. Lugar spearheaded the move because he thought he had enough votes to get Weld out of committee, but Senate rules don't say that a vote must be taken at a special meeting. As chairman, Helms controlled the right to recognize speakers, so he avoided the dissidents. When he recognized Sen. Joe Biden of Delaware, a Weld supporter, Biden did not move the vote. The White House had no choice but to withdraw the nomination.

But don't let Sen. Lugar's reputation as a foreign policy expert, his willingness to differ with Helms, or his prior role as chairman of the SFRC confuse you. The Weld debacle was not just a fight among constituencies on the SFRC. William Weld was nominated by President Bill Clinton to become ambassador to Mexico because the Kennedy family wanted to help Rep. Joseph Kennedy II become

governor of Massachusetts. Rep. Kennedy's uncle, Sen. Ted Kennedy, was Weld's most active supporter in the White House. By getting Weld out of the way in Mexico, Kennedy hoped to clear the path to the governor's office for his nephew — at least until family problems forced Joe to withdraw from the race.

Weld also let everyone know that he was bored in the governor's mansion. First, he challenged Sen. John Kerry (D-Mass.) and lost. Then, apparently feeling little loyalty to Massachusetts Republicans, he sought other opportunities. By the time his nomination came before the SFRC, both Republicans and Democrats regarded his behavior as cavalier and disloyal.

Finally, Weld's nomination offered an opportunity for Senate rivals to confront each other. In 1986 Sen. Helms, who has seniority, used Senate rules to replace Sen. Lugar as senior ranking Republican — then a minority position — on the SFRC. Lugar did not take Helms' accession well, and was even less enthusiastic when Helms became chairman when the Republicans won back the Senate in January 1995. When asked by NBC's "Meet the Press" if his grudge against Helms played a role in his support of Weld, Lugar answered, "I don't plead totally guilty, but partially guilty."

At stake for Lugar was control of the SFRC. If his maneuver to force a vote had succeeded, he would have wielded de facto power over the committee, even though Helms would have remained chairman. This ploy held no risk for Lugar, who is no worse off than he was before the failed coup. Helms was going to oppose Weld regardless of Lugar's maneuvers. In the end, the balance of power remained unchanged.

The Weld nomination proves the old rule: Senators may support a nominee, but they are always more concerned with broader political issues. ■

problems. So should you. It's refreshing to hear a nominee say something that doesn't sound like it has been lifted from a travel brochure or written by a high school student plagiarizing from an encyclopedia. Yes, you will have "read in" on the country, but this will not always make you more knowledgeable than those to whom you are reading. While you wax on with platitudes, here is what committee members and staff are hearing:

*I would like to thank the president and secretary for finally recognizing my foreign policy genius and for allowing me to be nominated before others in my A-100 class. If confirmed, which should be a foregone conclusion once you see how I avoid saying anything of substance, I look forward to being called*

---

*It's refreshing to hear a nominee say something that doesn't sound like it has been lifted from a travel brochure or written by a high school student plagiarizing from an encyclopedia.*

---

*"Mr./Madam Ambassador." Our relations with \_\_\_ are not what they should be, but my job is to promote American interests regardless of how*

*many diplomatic receptions I have to miss. If confirmed, I will work to (improve my language skills, catch up on some reading, lower my golf handicap) and spend as much foreign aid as I can.*

**Twelfth**, have a sense of humor, but don't be a smart-ass. This may work if you want to be elected governor of a certain northeastern state that begins with "M" and in which the family of the first Irish-Catholic president is very influential (see sidebar), but it is not the road to confirmation.

And finally, a fashion tip: Get rid of those half-rimmed glasses. You may think they give you a serious, thoughtful air. Wrong. They make you look like a librarian or a demented headmaster. When you tilt your head down to read text through them, it is hard to tell whether you are listening to or smelling those speaking to you. ■

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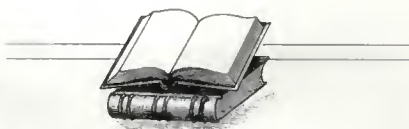
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## BOOKS

### A WINDOW HALF OPEN

#### **In the Stream of History: Shaping Foreign Policy for a New Era**

Warren Christopher, Stanford University Press, 1998, hardcover, 586 pages, \$22.95

BY BENJAMIN R. JUSTESEN

This annotated collection of speeches given by former Secretary of State Warren Christopher between 1993 and 1997 grew out of his desire to "give the reader a window into our diplomacy." The book will not open the window as far as many would like, but then it is not meant to be a memoir or an encyclopedia.

The most interesting parts of the collection are the surprisingly revealing prologue and epilogue, in which Christopher details his personal reasons for accepting President Bill Clinton's appointment and looks ahead to diplomacy in the 21st century. The rest of the book gives readers a rare glimpse behind the scenes of foreign policy speechwriting and into the reasons certain topics get pushed to the podium and others don't. The speeches, which cover all the world's regions and hot diplomatic topics, are accompanied by scene-setting essays. This is a readable, if not an exciting, book.

Warren Christopher became secretary of State at a critical moment during the transition to the first Democratic administration in a dozen years. He immediately faced serious challenges, not the least of which was

pressure to codify the Clinton post-Soviet foreign policy with a "single grand concept" to replace containment. Christopher chose three principles as the "pillars" of the Clinton vision: economic security, a strong military and support for global democracy. Those were the basic ideas in his first speech at his Senate confirmation hearing in January 1993.

Forty-one speeches later, at his farewell to State Department employees in January 1997, Christopher sounded a rare note of tired whimsy. There were three ways to respond to a crisis, he said: the easy way, the stubborn way, or the hard way. One could "take a bat to the beehive," "wash one's hands and walk away" or "persevere until a solution is found." One look at that proud, weary figure overlooking the C Street lobby that winter's day told the hundreds of admiring faces below that he had chosen the third.

The title, *In the Stream of History*, is taken from a cryptic reference by Associate Supreme Court Justice William O. Douglas to Christopher when he clerked for the brilliant eccentric after graduating from Stanford Law School. When Christopher asked his boss for advice about his future, Douglas said, "Get out in the stream of history, and swim as fast as you can."

The single longest section deals with "Bringing Peace to Bosnia." It comprises four speeches which the Secretary made in November and December 1995, both during and after the Dayton negotiations. Like the rest of Christopher's speeches, these were penned by the staff of writers he so

richly praises for their untiring efforts. And like most of the rest these speeches do not leap off the page with the vigor or colorful rhetoric of a Madeleine Albright, nor do they carry the authoritative scholarship of a Henry Kissinger. They are instead forceful in a quiet, determined way that fits the tone and vision of the banker's son from tiny Scranton, N.D.

In diplomacy, after all, speeches are rarely meant to entertain. As Christopher reminds us, they should be strategic, conceptual, tactical and bureaucratic. To this list ought now to be added a fifth purpose: to teach. With this volume, Christopher has put the words he once spoke to practical use as a resource for a new, serious audience.

*Benjamin R. Justesen, a freelance writer and former FSO, served in Riga, Singapore, Paramaribo, Copenhagen and Kingston.*

### ADVICE TO A NEW STATESMAN

#### **Arts of Power: Statecraft and Diplomacy**

Charles W. Freeman Jr., U.S. Institute of Peace Press, 1997, softcover, 159 pages, \$14.95

BY DAVID REUTHER

In this pithy book, Charles W. Freeman, Jr., former ambassador to Saudi Arabia and author of the witty *The Diplomat's Dictionary*, embraces

## BOOKS

realist diplomacy. Writing as if he were giving Machiavellian advice to a thoughtful statesman, Freeman argues that America, with its military, intelligence and diplomatic assets, is best served by this diplomatic tradition.

Freeman has a broad vision. He counsels that America has a hierarchy of interests in an uncertain world and that proper mustering of spies, soldiers and diplomats is needed to arm the statesman against all dangers. Devoting a chapter to each profession, Freeman outlines the vital role of each in the joint venture which is diplomacy. Spies are necessary because they seek what others would hide and intelligence operations reduce the measure of uncertainty in the world. An adequate military helps maintain peace because "the price of peace is the deterrence of challenges."

The last third of the book, though, will interest FSOs most. In it, Freeman discusses the skills and worth of diplomats, who have responsibility for nurturing foreign friends, neutralizing doubters and cultivating alliances. In addition, he argues that diplomats also have the professional responsibility of playing scapegoat for statesmen confronted with domestic political problems.

The role domestic politics plays in foreign policy, writes Freeman, is a structural problem for all democracies in which special interest groups exert their influence and ideas. While the statesman's goal should be the development of shared values, a "foreign policy based mainly on the impulse to propagate principles and ideas is, in fact, more disruptive to international order and more likely to generate

armed conflict than one based on realistic accommodation of antagonists."

Freeman has written a beautiful treatise on the tools of diplomacy. But the democratic dilemma is how to achieve consensus on policy goals; democracy is concerned with ends, not means. Certainly that is why so many mourn the loss of the Cold War. When foreign policy was directed at a clear enemy, fear of danger held in check competing democratic interests and generated money to pay for spies, armies and diplomats. Without a clear villain upon which to train its sights, many fear that America may neglect the means to avoid future peril and become blind to danger. ■

*David Reuther, a former FSO, is a China specialist and frequent contributor to the Journal's book review*

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## *In Search of Mongolia's Mongol Past*

BY SUSAN E. STAYER

**G**enghis Khan, who in the 13th century cut a destructive path across China, Central Asia and Russia as far as the Black Sea, liked to get out and see the sights. "One of the joys of travel," he is rumored to have said, "is visiting new towns and meeting people."

Genghis not only visited new cities, he built them. In 1220, he chose Karakoram in the heart of what is today Mongolia as the site of his vast empire's capital.

The drive to Genghis' ancient Mongol capital takes four hours from Ulaanbaatar, Mongolia's modern one. The asphalt road alternates with a dirt stretch and meanders among rolling hills covered with purple, red, yellow and white wild flowers. Few Western or Mongolian tourists make the trek.

In ancient times the approach to the city was guarded on four sides by turtle sculptures, but only two of these remain, their features weathered by time. The streets of the modern city are similarly worn, lined with silent, fenced residential complexes. Inside the fences modest wooden houses, where families live in summer, sit alongside gers, Mongolian circular tents, which prove warmer in winter. The city's business is conducted out of dilapidated one-and two-story concrete buildings, a legacy of its

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*Susan Stayer was coordinator of the Community Liaison Office in Ulaanbaatar until February. The stamp is courtesy of the AAFSW Bookfair "Stamp Corner."*

*Buddhist monks  
have returned  
to Karakoram,  
Genghis Khan's  
ancient capital.*

Communist past.

In ancient times, the walled city covered 16 square kilometers and contained royal courts, markets and warehouses for goods brought by foreign traders as well as businesses and residences. Marco Polo reported that a silver fountain in the town's center spewed milk, beer, wine and airag (fermented mare's milk) for drinking. The city's other major attraction was the 2,500 square-meter large "Palace of Worldly Peace," an imposing edifice built of wood, brick and stone that was used as a meeting hall, home for the royal court and hotel for visiting dignitaries. Karakoram remained a capital city for only 35 years, until Kublai Khan, Genghis' grandson, moved his capital to Beijing.

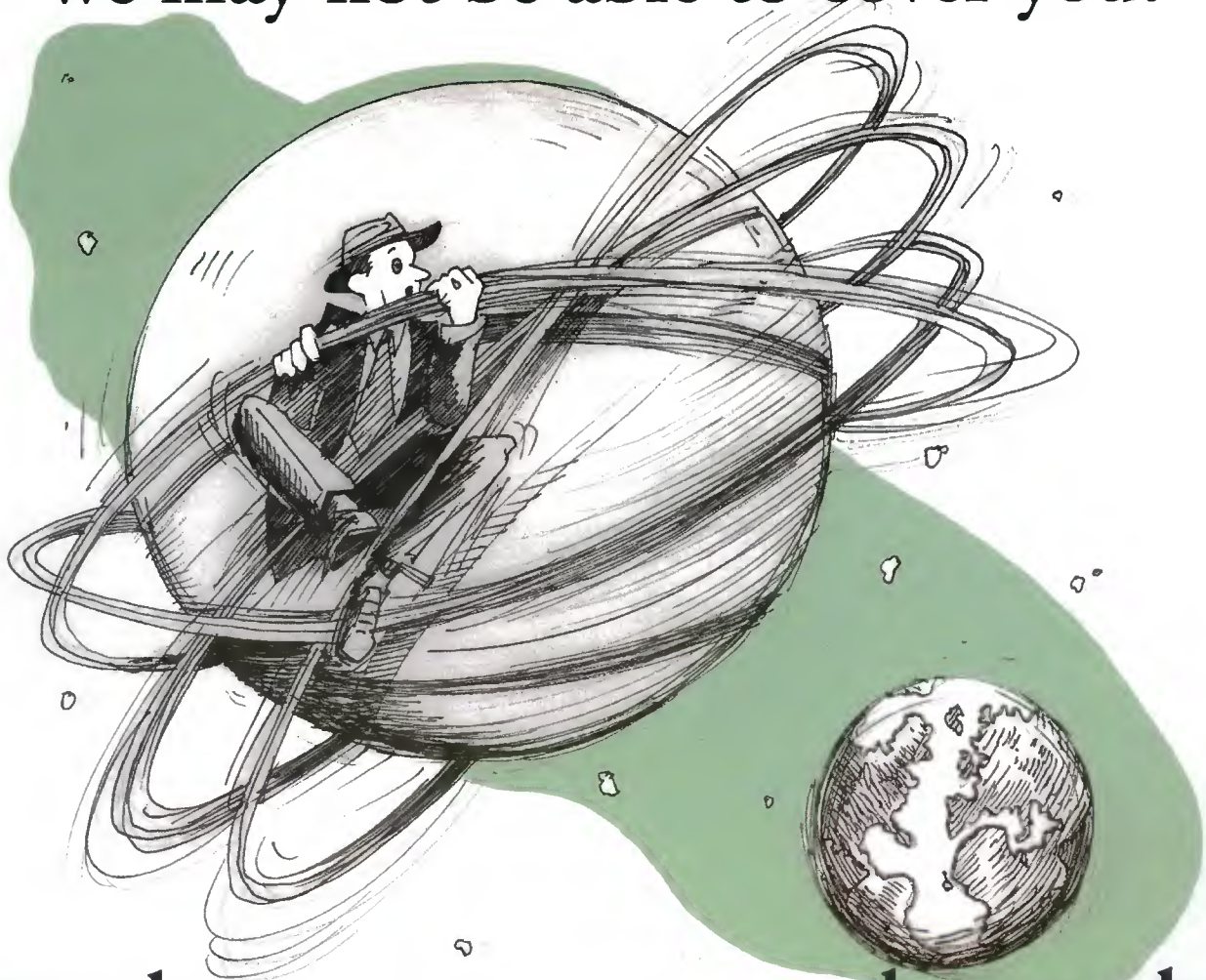
After the collapse of the Mongol empire in 1368, Karakoram was abandoned, then destroyed by Chinese soldiers. In 1586 the bricks of its ruins were used to build the first Buddhist

monastery in Mongolia. Named *Erdenezuu* ("Jewel" in Mongolian), the monastery was active until the 1930s, when Communist purges led to the destruction of most Buddhist temples in the country. Though not destroyed, Erdenezuu was abandoned and fell into disrepair, its library, solid gold figures and embroidered hangings hidden by local herdsman. The Mongolian government allowed Erdenezuu to re-open as a museum in 1965 and some of its objects were returned as museum pieces. When religious freedom was reinstated in Mongolia in 1990, Buddhist monks, called *lamas*, returned. Today 70 practice their religion in the monastery, a reminder of the ancient capital's glories.

Erdenezuu is a square complex with white walls that sits on flat, grassy land at the city's outskirts. Only three of its original 80 temples survive. With Mongolians again turning to Buddhism, Erdenezuu is a seminary for training young monks. Tourists are allowed inside only when the monks are not at worship.

During services, a windowless room in one of the temples is filled with the musty smell of incense. On the main altar, small gold statues of Buddha stand alongside sacred religious texts called *sutras*. Lamas with shaved heads, dressed in saffron robes and sitting on square, red cushions chant ancient Tibetan prayers in unison. After abandonment and destruction, the monastery has found a place in Mongolia's spiritual revival. ■

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