

\$3.50 /OCTOBER 1998

FOREIGN SERVICE

JOURNAL

THE MAGAZINE FOR FOREIGN AFFAIRS PROFESSIONALS



CARIBBEAN POLICY: DOWN THE DRAIN

How a Vital Region Dropped Off the Map

Affordable Luxury

If you are relocating, a business traveler or need temporary housing, we offer furnished apartments with all of the comforts of home.

AVALON CORPORATE APARTMENT HOMES ARE A MORE SENSIBLE AND AFFORDABLE ALTERNATIVE TO A HOTEL ROOM.



Washington Towers

- Located minutes from Pentagon, Washington, DC and National Airport.
- Luxurious one and two bedroom apartments completely furnished and accessorized with fully equipped gourmet kitchens and washers and dryers.
- Free cable TV.
- Within walking distance of department stores, specialty shops and restaurants.
- Washington Towers is adjacent to bike/jogging trail.
- 2 miles from NFATC
- Controlled access entry throughout building.
- Our amenity package includes: outdoor pool, and spacious Nautilus fitness center.
- Minutes from Ballston Metro.
- Free underground parking.
- Cats welcome.
- 5p.m. check-in time.
- 30-day minimum stay.



Avalon at Ballston

No matter which Avalon location you choose, you will be impressed!

Washington Towers

4650 N. Washington Blvd., Arlington, VA 22201
703-527-4409 or Fax 703-516-4369

Quincy Towers

1001 North Randolph St., Arlington, VA 22201
703-528-4600 or Fax 703-527-2356

Vermont Towers

1001 North Vermont St., Arlington, VA 22201
703-522-5550 or Fax 703-527-8731

A man in a dark suit and tie is smiling and holding a check in front of him. The background is a soft, out-of-focus green and white.

Si, l' assegno é stato inviato per posta.

Translation... The check is in the mail!

Are you hearing an old cliché from your local insurance company? By purchasing insurance from foreign companies you probably think that your claims will be settled faster or your premiums will cost less. The reality is that these companies often find any excuse to delay a claim — and we've heard them all!

Clements is an American company with 50 years experience insuring the Foreign Service at home and abroad. In plain English, our reputation was built on providing outstanding insurance programs with unexcelled service at very competitive prices. So one thing you'll never hear from us is "L' assegno é stato inviato per posta."

Translation... Clements covers you!



CLEMENTS & COMPANY
Insurance Worldwide.

1660 L Street, NW, 9th Floor
Washington, DC 20036

TELEPHONE 202-872-0060 or
800-872-0067

FACSIMILE 202-466-9064

E-MAIL info@clements.com

WEBSITE <http://www.clements.com>

If Having A Choice Is Important To You

Choose the Foreign Service Benefit Plan



- Rated highly in customer service in the OPM Customer Satisfaction Survey for four years in a row
- Excellent Hi-Option benefits
- Comprehensive **worldwide** coverage
- Over 50 years experience in handling health claims from overseas and stateside

This Open Season — make the right choice!

The Foreign Service Benefit Plan — meeting the needs of today's and tomorrow's Foreign Service

AMERICAN
FOREIGN
SERVICE
PROTECTIVE
ASSOCIATION

Sponsored by the American Foreign Service Protective Association

1716 N Street, N.W., Washington, DC 20036-2902

Phone: (202) 833-4910 E-mail: afspa@afspa.org

Fax (202) 833-4918 Web site: www.afspa.org



Underwritten by
Mutual of Omaha Insurance Company

CONTENTS

October 1998 ■ Vol. 75, No. 10

COVER

FOCUS ON THE CARIBBEAN

18 / FROM COMMUNISM TO COCAINE

Drug trafficking has replaced insurgency as Washington's major Caribbean concern.
By George Gedda and Ellen James Martin

24 / UNMAKING CUBA POLICY — THE CLINTON YEARS

I knew Cuba was the "third rail" of U.S. foreign policy. But I had to try my hand.
By Richard A. Nuccio

36 / POLICY PATHOLOGY IN HONDURAS

When the Reagan administration took office, Central America policy-making went haywire. This ambassador saw it all.
By Jack R. Binns

FEATURE

42 / VIETNAM REVISITED

During the Tet Offensive in the Year of the Monkey, a young FSO faces the carnage of war.
By Susan Scharfman

Cover and inside illustrations by Chet Phillips

COLUMNS

PRESIDENT'S VIEWS / 4

Preventing More Needless Deaths
By Dan Geisler

WE REMEMBER / 5

Those Who Died in Nairobi and Dar Es Salaam

SPEAKING OUT / 15

Wasted Effort: Drug Testing at State
By David Jones

POSTCARD FROM ABROAD / 56

A Deal Looms in Lusaka
By Kelly Midura

FOCUS



Page 18

DEPARTMENTS

LETTERS / 7

CLIPPINGS / 12

BOOKS / 47

IN MEMORY / 48

INDEX TO ADVERTISERS / 55

FOREIGN SERVICE JOURNAL

Editor
BOB GULDIN
Managing Editor
KATHLEEN CURRIE
Assistant Editor
EVA-LOTTA JANSSON
Ad. & Circulation Manager
ED MILTENBERGER
AFSA NEWS Editor
WESLEY ANN GODARD
Editorial Intern
DERWINN GREEN
Advertising Intern
NATHAN VAN DUSEN

Editorial Board
EDWARD MARKS, *Chairman*
ELIZABETH SPIRO CLARK
MITCHELL A. COHN
THEODORE CRAIG
AURELIUS FERNANDEZ
KATHERINE INEZ LEE
MARY LEWELLEN
ROBERTA MAHONEY
MARK MATTHEWS
CAROLINE MEIRS
ARNOLD SCHIFFERDECKER

THE MAGAZINE FOR FOREIGN AFFAIRS PROFESSIONALS

Foreign Service Journal (ISSN 0015-7279), 2101 E Street, N.W., Washington, D.C. 20037-2990 is published monthly by the American Foreign Service Association, a private, non-profit organization. Material appearing herein represents the opinions of the writers and does not necessarily represent the views of the *Journal*, the Editorial Board or AFSA. Writer queries are invited. *Journal* subscription: AFSA Members - \$9.50 included in annual dues; others - \$40. For foreign surface mail, add \$18 per year; foreign airmail, \$36 per year. Periodical postage paid at Manchester, N.H., and at additional mailing offices. Postmaster: Send address changes to *Foreign Service Journal*, 2101 E Street N.W., Washington, D.C. 20037-2990. Indexed by Public Affairs Information Service (PAIS). The *Journal* is not responsible for unsolicited manuscripts, photos or illustrations. Advertising inquiries are invited. The appearance of advertisements herein does not imply the endorsement of the services or goods offered. FAX: (202) 338-8244 or (202) 338-6820. E-MAIL: journal@afsa.org. WEB: www.afsa.org. TELEPHONE: (202) 338-4045. © American Foreign Service Association, 1998. Printed in the U.S.A. Send address changes to AFSA Membership, 2101 E Street N.W., Washington, D.C. 20037-2990. A Standard A enclosure is being mailed under permit 1926 at Manchester, N.H. 03103.



PRESIDENT'S VIEWS

Preventing More Needless Deaths

BY DAN GEISLER

At Washington area Metro stations, they now play an airport-style announcement asking passengers not to leave bags or parcels unattended, due to "recent international incidents." It is another striking example of how events abroad affect the daily lives of Americans at home. In the Foreign Service, our mission is to shape and manage those events. We cannot achieve our mission unless we can work in safety.

In the aftermath of the tragic embassy bombings in Nairobi and Dar Es Salaam, AFSA has been working to bring this message to the administration, the Congress and the American people. Our central theme is: Never Again. Many of us remember how much more attention we gave security issues following the 1983 embassy bombings in Beirut. Those murders taught us that you lose the struggle for peace if you can't protect your diplomatic troops.

As memories of Beirut faded, interest in security waned. So did funding. Federal spending caps forced us to forgo security so we could respond to other urgent needs. Foreign affairs dollars were needed to respond to world events that affected America's vital interests. The Iron Curtain fell, the Soviet Union collapsed, Yugoslavia descended into a cycle of violence, Asian economies faltered. Mexico. Somalia. Haiti. North Korea. In these and numerous other trouble spots,

Dan Geisler is president of the American Foreign Service Association.

*Our central
message is
"Never Again."*



America spent substantial treasure in order to do good not just for us, but for the world. In doing so, we short-changed our security program. One recent example: Last March, the administration took \$5 million of the \$23.7 million appropriated for embassy security upgrades in fiscal 1998 and shifted it to telecommunications.

Secretary Albright announced that the Clinton administration will ask Congress for the security funds we should have spent, but did not, over the past decade. Although it is too late to save those who needlessly perished in Africa, it is not too late to prevent more deaths. As this issue of the *Foreign Service Journal* goes to press, we are awaiting the administration's funding request. Congress should act immediately to approve those funds during the few days remaining in this legislative session. But more important, the administration and the Congress should act now to ensure that we don't fail our diplomatic troops again.

That requires more than an emergency supplemental appropriation. It also requires an assurance of long-term funding to maintain the investment in security we are preparing to make

today. The administration must increase its planned future allocation for security. The federal budget guidelines OMB now has in place make no provision for upkeep of new security investments. If these guidelines don't change, in a few years, we will face the same painful choice we've had over the past several years: Cut back on security, or cut back on our core diplomatic programs.

Congress should act now to keep America from facing that choice again. In addition to increased out-year funding, congressional leaders should erect a national security firewall around the international affairs (Function 150) account, which now consumes only one penny of every federal tax dollar. Within that account, they should erect a budgetary firewall around security spending. This will protect those funds as memories of Nairobi and Dar Es Salaam fade in the coming years.

AFSA has one final message on impending security upgrades: focus on people. We need to invest in human capital also. That means providing adequate training for our employees so that they are better prepared to deal with security matters. Training must include not just our professionals in Diplomatic Security, but our other employees as well. Supervisors must factor the need for training into their staffing calculations.

This Congress and the Clinton administration cannot allow their successors to hollow out the protection our people deserve, the protection we need to carry out our mission. ■

We Remember

The American Foreign Service Association extends its sincerest sympathy and condolences to the families and friends of the victims of the bombings of the U.S. embassies in Nairobi and Dar Es Salaam on August 7.

Below are the names of the members of the embassy communities who were killed in the bombings. Included in this list are U.S. government employees, other persons working in the two embassies, and dependents.

"I have come to Nairobi today, to this sorrowful and now sacred location, to deliver in person a message from the American people. That message begins with sadness and grief. As a result of the cowardly act committed here, more than 250 people are dead. Five thousand were injured. Almost every family in every part of Kenya has been touched by this tragedy. So many, so well loved, have been lost. Our pain is deep. In America, in Tanzania, and most of all here in Kenya. ... Together, we mourn the friends and loved ones we have lost. Together, we pray for the swift and complete recovery of those who have been injured. Together, we pledge to bring to justice the murderers of our loved ones, colleagues and friends."

— *from the statement of Secretary of State Madeleine Albright at the site of the bombing in Nairobi, August 20, 1998*

U.S. Citizens – Nairobi

Aliganga, Nathan (MSG Detachment/Sgt.)
Bartley, Julian (Consul General)
Bartley, Jay (Son of Julian Bartley/Summer Intern)
Dalizu, Jean (Military Assistance Program/
Liaison Officer)
Hardy, Molly Huckaby (Administrative Employee)
Hobson, Kenneth (Defense Attaché Office/Army Sgt.)
Kavaler, Prabhi Gupta (General Services Officer)
Kirk, Arlene (Military Assistance Program/Air Force
Fiscal Officer)
Martin, Louise (Centers for Disease Control
and Prevention/Epidemiologist)
O'Connor, Michelle (General Services Officer)
Olds, Sherry (Military Assistance Program/Air Force
Senior Master Sgt.)
Shah, Uttamlal "Tom" (Political Officer)

Foreign Service Nationals – Nairobi

Bonyo, Chrispin W. (RFMC/Budget Analyst Supervisor)
Gitau, Lawrence A. (FMC/Voucher Examiner)
Idi, Hindu O. (Personnel Assistant)
Irungu, Tony (GSO/Motor Pool Supervisor)
Kalio, Geoffrey (GSO/Shipment Assistant)
Kamau, G. Joel (FMC/Financial Specialist)
Karigi, Lucy N. (Consular Assistant)
Kibe, Francis M. (IMO/Driver)
Kiongo, Joe (GSO/Warehouse/Shipment Supervisor)
Kiongo, Tesia Warimu (Daughter of Joe Kiongo)
Kithuva, Dominic (GSO/Shipment Clerk)
Macharia, Peter K. (FMC/Voucher Examiner)
Maina, Francis W. (GSO/Shipment Clerk)
Mamboleo, Cecilia A. (Personnel Assistant)

Mayaka, Lydia M. (GSO/Shipment Clerk)
Mukeithi, Catherine (Citibank Employee)
Namayi, Moses (FCS/Driver)
Ndungu, Francis Mbugua (GSO/Driver)
Nganga, Kimeu Nzioka (GSO/Janitor)
Njunge, Francis Mbogo (GSO/Janitor Supervisor)
Nyoike, Vincent (GSO/Shipment Assistant)
Ochilo, Francis Olewa (Economics Specialist)
Okach, Maurice (GSO/Driver)
Omori, Edwin A.O. (Political Assistant)
Onono, Lucy G. (Personnel Assistant)
Onsongo, Evans K. (FCS/Agricultural Specialist)
Onyango, Eric (FMC/Voucher Examiner)
Opati, Sellah Caroline (GSO/Janitor)
Owuor, Josiah Odera (Centers for Disease
Control and Prevention)
Pussy, Rachel M. (USIS/Secretary)
Sheikli, Farhat Mahmood (FMC/Cashier)
Vrontamitis, Phaedra (Personnel Specialist)
Wamai, Adams T. (FCS/Commercial Assistant)
Yafes, Frederick M. (RFMC/Budget Analyst)

Foreign Service Nationals – Dar Es Salaam

Mohamed, Abdalla (Domestic Management/Cleaner)
Mwila, Abbas William (Dispatcher)
Ndange, Yusuf Shamte (GSO/Driver)
Nyumhu, Bakari (Security Guard)
Rajabu, Mtendeje (Security Guard)
Ramadani, Mohamed Mahundi (Security Guard)
Ramadhani, Doto Lukua (Gardener)

Missing

Saidi, Rogath (GSO/Warehouseman)

WORLDWIDE INSURANCE FOR FOREIGN SERVICE PERSONNEL

PERSONAL PROPERTY ■ AUTO MARINE ■ MARINE TRIP



Underwritten by London Insurers
Join the ranks of our satisfied customers.
Call toll free from anywhere in the United States or write for more information.

Administered by
UNIRISC

1120 20th Street, N.W. ■ Suite 720
Washington, D.C. 20036
Telephone (202) 728-4100
Toll Free 1 (800) 424-9500
Facsimile (202) 479-4471

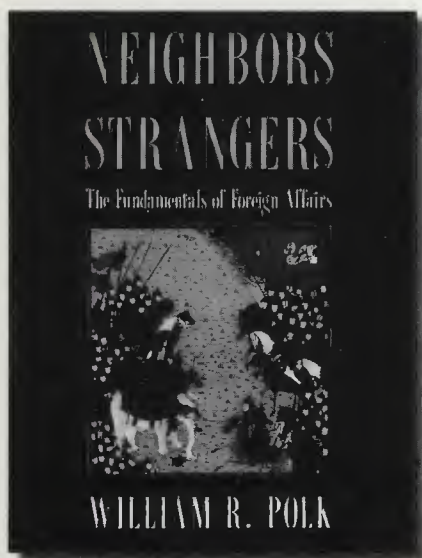
COMPETITIVE RATES

- Broad BLANKET coverage now available
- Automatic replacement cost
- Automatic coverage up to 10% of total insured value for new acquisitions
- Foreign comprehensive personal liability

E-mail us at unicover@unirisc.com

AS PREVIOUSLY INSURED THROUGH HTB INSURANCE

"A wise, learned, and graceful work that constitutes a superb introduction to the origin and logic of the principal areas of transaction among political collectives—defense, trade, espionage, and diplomacy." —Foreign Affairs



NEIGHBORS AND STRANGERS

The Fundamentals of Foreign Affairs

WILLIAM R. POLK

Cloth \$24.95

"William Polk has compressed a lifetime of scholarship, diplomacy, travel and inspired writing into this thoughtful, sometimes whimsical, but never boring account of how human beings have behaved toward each other from Neanderthal times to the nuclear age." —John Cooley, *The International Herald Tribune*

"In an age of ethnic cleansing, civil wars and increased racist attacks on foreigners, a book analysing how people throughout the ages attempted to live in harmony with foreigners is welcome. William R. Polk . . . is uniquely qualified to deal with this challenging task. . . . Throughout this highly learned and very readable book the author shows clearly that foreign and domestic affairs cannot justifiably be regarded as separate but rather as interconnected." —Klaus Larres, *Times Higher Education Supplement*



THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO PRESS 5801 S. Ellis Avenue, Chicago IL 60637 www.press.uchicago.edu



LETTERS

Through Terrorists' Eyes

On Friday, Aug. 7, President Clinton vowed to hunt down those responsible for the bombings of our embassies in Nairobi and Dar Es Salaam. "No matter what or how long it takes," he said. But can we Americans — and especially the relatives of those who died in the attacks — hope that this time we will respond more effectively than before? More effectively, that is, than we did to the murders of Ambassador Cleo Noel and DCM Curt Moore in Khartoum in 1973, or to the bombings of the U.S. Marine barracks in Beirut in 1983 that killed 241, or to the two bombings of the U.S. embassy in Beirut, or to the blowing up of Pan Am Flight 103 in 1988 that killed 271? The list could go on — but to the best of my knowledge, our efforts to identify and punish the perpetrators of these (and other crimes) have yielded little or nothing.

How could this happen?

First, we should recognize that for all of our resources, the initiative in terror attacks against the USA lies with the enemy. Terrorist organizations, doubly and triply knit together

The Foreign Service Journal welcomes your signed letters to the editor. Please mail letters to the Journal, 2101 E St., NW, Washington, D.C., 20037; fax to (202) 338-8244; or send via e-mail to journal@afsa.org. Letters, which are subject to editing, should include full name, title and post, address and daytime telephone number.

by ties of neighborhood, family and religion, are not easily penetrated by our intelligence agencies. Nor should we underestimate terrorists' ability to pick out the weak points in our defenses.

Second, we should gather more information, but never presume that information-gathering itself offers the answers that we need. Many occasions — involving terror and otherwise — come to mind where the information was there, but no one acted, e.g., Pearl Harbor.

Meanwhile, we've had the three bombings of U.S. facilities in Beirut (the third with the gates to the new embassy not yet in place!), followed by the al-Khobar bombings of June 1996. How could the vulnerability of these targets again and again have been observed by terrorists, and yet overlooked by U.S. security?

So what should we do?

First, we should use our imagination. Put ourselves in the shoes of those who want to hurt and humiliate us. In Beirut and al-Khobar, the threats and dangers were visibly present. Our viewers, however, were unable really to see them. So it's not just more information that we need, but rather the ability to look at it afresh, to place our data in a new series of relationships, to undergo a transposition of the mind. Our eyes might be looking at the future, but our minds — distracted by fatigue, deadlines, and perhaps a glut of information — see only the present. And I wonder: might it even be especially

difficult for our carefully screened diplomatic and security professionals to apprehend, really to imagine, threats from sources so weird, so distant from their intellectual and social coordinates?

Second, by all means let us improve our humint capabilities and our regional expertise. Official Americans who are fluent in the local language, who know the culture, and are comfortable in a third-world milieu will be better able to protect themselves and others than those who are holed up in bunkers.

Third, keep terrorist activity in perspective. For all their horror, terrorist attacks will not usually deflect policies that are understood to be necessary and in the public interest. This is why terror has not influenced

Names can fade over time
for tomorrow brings new
victims and villains.
Yet we will never forget the
impact made through
your service.
The tears of a shocked nation
shed in honor to you —
Our precious sacrifice to a
cowardly aggressor.
May God embrace you as you
return home with the
prayers of a grateful nation.

— Daniel Fowler
AFSA Associate Member
Old Orchard Beach, Maine.

LETTERS



American policies in the Middle East or U.S. friendship with Israel.

Finally and most important, we must begin to show terrorists that if they hurt us, we will hurt them back. Such a policy will require a robust conscience, a willingness to be approximately right, even to be somewhat arbitrary. It may even require a change in the law. Our leaders must be prepared for the criticism that acting upon such a policy would certainly provoke. But as a minimal first step, as an earnest of our policy, we should snatch or execute the Libyan agents who blew up Pan Am 103 ten years ago. Until then, our empty threats and cries of pain only please the enemy and depress the rest of us. Victims' families deserve better.

Hume Horan
Retired ambassador
Washington, D.C.

USAID and terrorism

The Nairobi and Dar Es Salaam attacks have taken their terrible human toll. Programs and actions are proposed by all — State Department, FBI, White House, Congress.

Still, it seems like the cowardly and inhuman attackers have stripped common sense from those who should have learned from similar terrible tragedies of the past: Jordan 1969-70, Pakistan 1979, Beirut 1981, etc. Reportedly, the embassy in Cairo is closing the separate USAID office and moving it into the embassy. This will result in improved security? For whom?

In 1970, in Amman, Jordan, I went next door to the ambassador's staff meeting and spent the next 48 hours a virtual prisoner as the embassy was attacked — vehicles and other property destroyed — as those who found our Middle East actions contrary to their interests took out their frustration on the symbol of our country. The USAID

offices and motor pool across the street guarded by one Jordanian soldier were not touched. Their vehicles and office space were later offered to the embassy. The USIS library and offices were also destroyed. USAID was spared because it was not the symbol of disliked actions or policies, its purpose being to assist the host country.

Islamabad, Pakistan, November 1979: Ambassador Hummel and his staff took up my offer of facilities in the USAID offices after two Americans lost their lives in the burning of the embassy. USAID was not the symbolic target and our offices were sandwiched between U.N. offices and thus spared.

In Dar Es Salaam, 1981-83, USAID and the embassy were in different facilities appropriate to their different roles and responsibilities.

In Cairo, there were periodic suggestions from State and the ambassador that the offices for the largest USAID program in the world should be housed in the embassy. Our over 3,000 business visits a week won the day. The USAID offices remained in an office building that housed a variety of tenants including the Japanese embassy, the Gulf Arab Bank and numerous other organizations. Our security was in not standing out or alone, in spite of our massive aid program which covered almost every village in the country.

We could do this because our role, objectives and actions are different and separate from the embassy's. USAID's greatest loss of life occurred in Beirut, where the AID office was housed in the same facility as the embassy.

The very nature of USAID's work (as well as some embassy tasks) cannot be conducted from a secure fortress and to attempt to do so will hobble the agency.

The ambassador and the embassy are the symbols of our nation overseas and need to be protected. But don't, in

the name of security, subject all official Americans to the same constraints and restrictions. Doing so does not increase anybody's security and surely will make many jobs impossible. We all recognize that some risks and insecurity are a necessary part of a foreign affairs career. They come with the job.

Arthur M. Handly
Retired FSO, USAID
Port Kent, N.Y.

Rivkin Award Origins

For 30 years, the friends and family of William R. Rivkin have proudly supported and attended the AFSA Awards, which continue to be a credit to the Foreign Service. We take deep pride in the fact that former Rivkin Award winners, such as Thomas D. Boyatt, Kenneth Quinn and Anthony Quainton — honored for their demonstrated intellectual courage and independence — have gone on to distinguished careers in the Senior Foreign Service. Bill Rivkin's widow, siblings and children remain committed to the Foreign Service and the Rivkin Award, and will continue to provide our strong support.

However, while I applaud your consistent coverage of the awards and their winners, I feel constrained to correct some misimpressions about the origins of the AFSA awards that readers may have gleaned from the "President's Views" page of your June issue. That piece suggested that the turmoil of the Vietnam era led to the creation of awards for FSO dissent. While this is surely correct in a broad sense, the direct impetus for the three original AFSA awards came from my mother, Enid Long (the former Mrs. William Rivkin).

During his service as ambassador in Luxembourg and Senegal, my father frequently praised and sought out those FSOs who were not afraid to speak

LETTERS



their minds, believing as President Kennedy did that U.S. policy was best served by open and vigorous debate. At the same time, Bill Rivkin decried the emergence of "yes men" who cautiously measured their analysis and advice for fear of rocking the boat.

After his death, my father's friends spontaneously gave thousands of dollars to be used in remembrance of his remarkable vibrancy and love of country. It was my mother who conceived the idea, convinced AFSA, and provided the collected funds to establish an award for Foreign Service officers who displayed the qualities my father most admired. She established the criteria of "creative dissent," later changed to "constructive dissent," that came also to apply to the Herter and Harriman Awards.

In fact, it was my mother herself, and not a Kissinger "staff aide" as your June issue reported, who told the secretary of State at an early award ceremony that the purpose of the award was to encourage those who disagreed with him to continue to speak their minds.

My family joins me in offering our congratulations to the 1998 award winners, and to AFSA for nurturing and supporting this unique and vital recognition of the State Department's finest.

*Robert S. Rivkin
Chicago, Ill.*

Who Needs Secretaries?

Linda Eichblatt's article ("What Do Secretaries Want?", April *FSJ*) regarding the experiences of and unhappiness of Foreign Service secretaries leads to one conclusion. If traditional secretaries' skills are no longer appreciated or needed in today's Foreign Service, perhaps personnel should no longer be hired in that category.

An "office manager" position might be developed to replace that of secretary. Requirements for this position

would be different from those for a secretary, as would hiring levels, salaries and promotional possibilities.

Since most FSOs now prepare their own telegrams on computers and often make their own appointments, it may make better sense to strengthen the administrative skills of junior officers, rather than to keep open a job category that is no longer needed.

*Judy Chidester
Retired FSO
Las Cruces, N.M.*

Secretaries: the Sequel

Linda Eichblatt in her April "Speaking Out" column on secretaries presents no new arguments, but rather relishes the old secretarial grievances yet one more time. It is starting to look like the "Halloween" movies: one sequel after another, none of them different from the first.

The first issue Eichblatt raises is that of raises. She laments the fact that "... for reasons unknown to me, State decided to limit to FS-04 the highest rank to which a secretary could expect to rise during a career." The reason, Ms. Eichblatt, is that grades 03 and up are "management" level jobs, and secretaries, whatever else they are (and I will be the first to admit they are many things to many people), are not managers! Bringing up cases where an ambassador's secretary also supervised the protocol assistant or the ambassador's driver does not lend credence to the argument that secretaries should be considered managers. Supervision is not management.

The second issue mentioned was that of respect. That is a valid complaint, but a vital point needs to be carefully considered here. Increasingly, the unique skills a secretary could once offer are not so unique. With the advent of automated systems like C-LAN, officers can get



Mercedes-Benz

Diplomacy
has its
rewards.

At American Service Center, your diplomatic or official passport* will allow you to purchase a new Mercedes-Benz at dramatic savings. Contact Erik Granholm, our Diplomat and Tourist Sales Manager. A native of Munich, Germany, Erik has been with ASC for 32 years.

*Applies only while on official business or diplomatic assignment.

**American
Service Center**

Mercedes. Just Mercedes.

585 N. Glebe Road,
Arlington, VA 22203

703.525.2100

Telefax: 703.284.2482

Mobile: 703.405.4018

www.americanservicectr.com

LETTERS



their own traffic in the morning, answer their own e-mail and phones, and draft their own cables. There is voice mail as well now. That leaves the professional secretary offering skills which are less in demand than they were even 10 years ago, and for a higher salary and benefits package than that which is given to spouses or interns.

Where Eichblatt really goes off track, however, is when she begins to compare the secretarial group with the information managers. That is comparing apples to racing cars. It is obfuscation of the worst sort to point out the predominant sex of the incumbents of these positions, stating furthermore that "only someone with traditional sexist attitudes would argue that secretarial skills are worth less than other specialists' skills." I am not sexist, but I cannot agree that secretarial skills are worth as much to the organization as those of information managers.

Information management specialists are generally highly-trained professionals, with considerable background in computer science and/or experience in the computer industry. They are not chosen by virtue of their sex. They are paid according to their value, and the IM professionals who are promoted beyond the 04 level are always in positions of management.

Secretaries possess skills which are not as highly in demand as are those in the information technology field, and they usually come with less of an educational background. Supply and demand is not only the chief principle of capitalism, but of the workplace as well.

We have a hard time recruiting and retaining qualified computer professionals here in Africa, and those that we do hire are paid at the top of the local wage scale. Conversely, drivers, who are no less important in the

scheme of things, are paid at the bottom of the scale.

Lastly, Eichblatt raises the issue of opportunities. Contrary to her assertion, the State Department does an excellent job of providing opportunities for those who are ambitious and talented. I should know. I was an information management specialist who took advantage of the Functional Specialization Program and became a personnel officer. I took the initiative and pursued the opportunities available to me.

My feeling is this: If you want to be treated like a Foreign Service officer, take the Foreign Service Exam and become an FSO. If secretaries want to be treated like information management specialists, they should study computer science and apply to become information management specialists. I can complain about how unfair it all is, but complaining will not change a thing. The Department of State doesn't owe me anything besides a fair wage and good working conditions.

*A.W. Michael
Regional Personnel
Officer
U.S. Embassy Gaborone*

Secretaries, Not Voice mail

After reading Linda Eichblatt's thoughtful article, "What Do Secretaries Want?", I would unreservedly endorse her basic thesis that Foreign Service secretaries are deserving of both more respect and more responsibility as FS professionals.

Eichblatt pointed out that secretaries are qualified to perform "non-traditional" duties, such as preparing routine *démarches*, compiling economic and biographic data, and contributing to memoranda and reporting cables. This is not a novel con-

cept; most FSOs have probably served at one or more posts where such arrangements were in place and worked well.

In my view, underutilization of FSS talents is less a systemic problem than a failure by individual FSO supervisors, sometimes because of insensitivity but more often simply due to a less-than-optimally-managed workload. Most junior and mid-level officers would welcome a secretary's assistance with routine matters, if the FSS is in fact interested in performing such tasks. Of course, concurrence by the section chief or the front office is a prerequisite.

With regard to "compet[ing] for jobs in the consular and administrative sections," some caution is in order. If she means assisting with seasonal overloads in an informal capacity, absolutely yes. However, consular and admin work also entail a wide range of legal obligations that only a sworn FSO can fulfill. If a secretary really wants to perform these duties, then that person should follow Eichblatt's example and become an officer.

Finally, I want to take issue with the author's advice that FSOs "use voice mail or answering machines," so as to release secretaries from desk-bound situations. Modern technology can be wonderful, but talking to a machine is not progress. During and since my Foreign Service career, one of the genuine pleasures of the business day has been talking by phone to a human being who knew what she/he was doing and could provide a straight answer or appropriate reference. Please, *please*, let's not sacrifice this vital diplomatic asset!

*Lee Nesbit
Retired FSO
Arlington, Va. ■*

Executive Club Suites



 Personalized Service in Spacious Apartment-Sized Suites.

Amenities include:

- Fully Equipped Kitchens
- Dining Area
- Living Rooms w/ Queen Sleep Sofa
- Master Bedroom
- Healthclub w/ Sauna
- Seasonal Pool (Arl./Alex.)
- Free Parking & Shuttle Service
- Jacuzzi
- No Extra Cost Per Person
- We accept pets (refundable deposit & Cleanup fee.)

Call 1 (800) 535-CLUB
FAX: (703) 739-9318

We are a participating FARA Housing Property

Rosslyn

(703) 525-2582

Arlington

(703) 522-2582

Alexandria

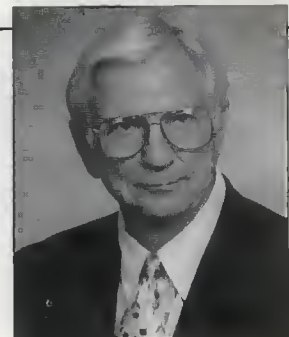
(703) 739-2582



How To Buy Auto Insurance Overseas

There's really only one way. Select the agent who offers broad experience and a high level of repeat business. Experience that helps you avoid the pitfalls of a highly complex business. Repeat business that results from providing what's best for the customer not the agent nor the insurance company.

Since 1969, Harry M. Jannette International has provided dependable coverage with U.S. carriers with a financial rating of A+ or higher to thousands of Foreign Service personnel worldwide. Thus you gain the broadest U.S. terms and conditions and flexible value limits often not available from other insurance carriers.



- **WORLDWIDE COVERAGE** Fire, theft, comprehensive and collision protection are available at foreign posts.
- **U.S. AUTO LIABILITY** Available for short term on home leave, change of assignment, and new auto purchase prior to foreign departure. This coverage must be issued in combination with an "Embassy Plan" policy.
- **OCEAN/AIR CARGO COVERAGE** Transit available from U.S. to post, post to post, and post to U.S.
- **FOREIGN LIABILITY** Contact your post for compliance with local laws. Excess Liability limits are available over local liability coverage.
- **PERSONAL COVERAGE** Household Goods and Transit, Valuable Articles, Personal Liability, Life Insurance
- **EMPLOYEE ASSOCIATION INSURANCE** Including Directors and Officers

MAJOR CREDIT CARDS ACCEPTED: SEE OUR WEBSITE APPLICATIONS

WHILE IN THE WASHINGTON, D.C. AREA, PLEASE CALL TOLL FREE 1-800-256-5141

Harry M. Jannette International

A Wood-Wilson Company

8111 LBJ Freeway, Suite #585 Dallas, Texas 75251-1334 • Telephone (972) 783-4915 FAX (972) 783-0545
Call (800) 256-5141 • E-MAIL hmjintl@jannetteintl.com • www.jannetteintl.com



CLIPPINGS



"When two bombs ripped apart two U.S. embassies last week, the losses were not limited to people and property. A way of life disappeared too."

— DAVID MARCUS OF
THE BOSTON GLOBE,
AUGUST 13, 1998

WHO'S RESPONSIBLE FOR EMBASSY SECURITY?

In the wake of the embassy bombings in East Africa Aug. 7, many journalists have been asking why those buildings, especially the Nairobi embassy, were so vulnerable.

CNN revealed Aug. 13 that U.S. Ambassador to Kenya Prudence Bushnell had warned the State Department in cables sent in December 1997 and April or May 1998 that embassy security in Nairobi needed to be upgraded.

One of Bushnell's cables said, "The location is problematic, always has been. It's in one of the busiest streets in Nairobi, the intersection of two major streets." In December, Bushnell told Washington she needed a new embassy.

CNN reports that a team from Diplomatic Security visited the Nairobi embassy last year and agreed its location was far from ideal. But on June 1, Bushnell got a written reply from Under Secretary for Management Bonnie Cohen. CNN reports that Cohen wrote, "In light of the current threat level and comparative recent construction of the building, a new building was ranked low in relative priority to the needs of other embassies."

The Washington Post reported Aug. 30 that aides to Secretary of State Madeleine Albright were concerned that news of how State handled Bushnell's appeals might reflect badly on their boss. Consequently, the *Post* wrote, "They made the information public in a briefing designed to deflect responsibility away from Albright and onto short-sighted congressional budget cutters."

Under Secretary of State Thomas Pickering commented Aug. 9 on CNN, "I wish I could say that we had only to ask and we would receive."

However, *CQ Weekly* pointed out Aug.

15 that the administration last March took \$5 million out of the \$23.7 million that Congress appropriated in fiscal 1998 for embassy security upgrades and spent it instead on upgrading telephone systems to avoid a year 2000 computer problem.

As of *FSJ* press time, Congress and the administration were discussing a possible \$1 billion to \$3 billion in additional funding for embassy security. It was unclear how much would be spent for bricks and mortar building improvements, and how much for other security measures such as more guards, more armored cars and additional employee training. Also under discussion: How much will be designated emergency supplemental funding, which avoids the need to find offsetting reductions in other spending.

CQ Weekly quoted one unnamed House Appropriations Committee aide who was skeptical about spending very much on new construction: "The notion of \$1 billion strikes us as stupid if not useless. The administration does not have the capacity to manage surge construction" of many projects at the same time.

THE WORLD OF OSAMA BIN LADEN

"Our trusted leaders, our ulema, have given us a fatwa that we must drive out the Americans," Osama bin Laden told British journalist Robert Fisk in an interview last year. Bin Laden, of course, is the Saudi Arabian Muslim militant believed to have organized the Aug. 7 U.S. embassy bombings in Nairobi and Dar Es Salaam.

Fisk, in the Sept. 21 *Nation* magazine, says he met with Bin Laden three times between 1993 and 1997. Fisk describes Bin Laden as "a man whose simple view of



CLIPPINGS

the world is as politically naive as it is dangerous."

Bin Laden told Fisk that his experience fighting the Soviet occupation of Afghanistan had been crucial in his development. "What I lived in two years there, I could not have lived in 100 years anywhere else."

Bin Laden described a serene peace that came over him when he was in close combat with the Soviets. One one occasion, he told Fisk, "I was under bombardment, but I was so peaceful in my heart that I fell asleep."

It was after the victory in Afghanistan, when he was living in Sudan, that "bin Laden decided that if he could drive the Russians out of Afghanistan, he could drive the Americans out of the Middle East."

The militant expressed bitterness about

the difference between how the West and the United Nations see violence against Muslims versus violence against Westerners and Israelis. "When 60 Jews are killed inside Palestine, all the world gathers ... to criticize the action, while the deaths of 600,000 Iraqi children [because of sanctions] did not receive the same reaction," bin Laden said.

Bin Laden told Fisk that the stationing of U.S. troops in Saudi Arabia (after Saddam Hussein's invasion of Kuwait) was a key factor in turning him into a sworn enemy of both the United States and the Saudi government. The embassy bombings of Aug. 7, Fisk notes, took place "on the eighth anniversary, to the very day, of the arrival of the first U.S. troops in Saudi Arabia in 1990."

Despite bin Laden's fierce hostility to

50 YEARS AGO

"The Secretary of State recently received a letter which read as follows:

'Dear General Marshall: I am a sophomore in high school. Our school is having a debate. The subject is atomic energy. I am on the negative side. Please send me any help you can.'

"While we do not know the precise wording of the proposition of which this youngster was to uphold the negative side, all of us can agree that there is an affirmative and negative side to atomic energy. The affirmative opens up vistas of more abundant life for mankind. The negative threatens mankind's existence on earth," wrote FSO Edmund Gullion in the October 1948 *Journal*.

"We are faced with an atomic armaments race. And the record of over two years' debate and 240 meetings in the United Nations Atomic Energy Commission affords little hope that such a competition can be avoided."



BY CHAN LOWE, ©TRIBUNE MEDIA SERVICES, AUG. 12, 1998. ALL RIGHTS RESERVED. PRINTED WITH PERMISSION.

CLIPPINGS



"Only he is capable of exercising leadership over others who is capable of some real degree of mastery over himself."

— GEORGE F.
KENNAN, 1954

the U.S., Fisk questioned the wisdom of branding the militant "America's Public Enemy Number One," as President Clinton did after the embassy bombings. Fisk noted that similar condemnations of other leaders in earlier years — including Muammar Qaddafi and Saddam Hussein — have tended to raise their stature within anti-American Arab and Muslim circles.

HOLBROOKE ON HOLD: THE BLAMING GAME

During a speech before the Council of Foreign Relations in New York Sept. 14, President Clinton recognized Richard Holbrooke in the audience and said he'd like Holbrooke to be the next U.S. ambassador to the United Nations but that Congress was holding up the process.

"If we can overcome the inertia of the Congress, he'll be our U.N. ambassador soon," said Clinton.

But it is the administration that is holding up the process, said a spokesperson for the Senate Committee on Foreign Relations. Holbrooke is under investigation by both the State Department's Office of the Inspector General and the Justice Department. Those departments are looking into "certain of his prior activities," according to a Sept. 11 statement by Secretary of State Madeleine Albright.

Although Clinton in June announced his intention to nominate Holbrooke to the position, he never did. In fact, the president, in a statement issued Sept. 10, said he is withholding the nomination pending the investigations. ■

UNFURNISHED YEARLY LEASES AVAILABLE

CONVENIENCE

- ◆ 2 Swimming Pools
- ◆ 2 Lighted Tennis Courts
- ◆ Workout Facility
- ◆ Business Center
- ◆ Fully Furnished Eff., 1, 2 and 3 Bedroom Apartments
- ◆ Cable TV
- ◆ Phone
- ◆ Valet Dry Cleaning
- ◆ Garage Parking
- ◆ Washer/Dryer in each Apartment



LOCATION

- ◆ 25 Steps to Metro
- ◆ Just Minutes to NIH, Navy Hospital, Pentagon, World Bank and Embassy Row.
- ◆ Steps Away to 2 Grocery Stores, over 135 Restaurants, Banks and Shopping.

OTHER ITEMS

- ◆ Crib, Desk and Chair
- ◆ Housekeeping
- ◆ Roll-a-way bed
- ◆ Vacuum Cleaner

FULLY FURNISHED LUXURY APARTMENT LIVING

Affordable Hotel Living with the Advantages of a Home

If you are looking for comfort and convenience, the choice is easy. The Chase at Bethesda offers two twin towers in the heart of Bethesda and only 25 steps to the Metro.

THE CHASE AT BETHESDA

7500 WOODMONT AVE. • BETHESDA, MD. 20814 • (301) 654-0694 • FAX (301) 654-0697

Daily rents starting from **\$61.63** Minimum 30-day occupancy

AVALON PROPERTIES — A COMPANY THAT CARES ABOUT OUR RESIDENTS



SPEAKING OUT

State's Wasteful, Useless Drug Testing policy

BY DAVID JONES

The shoe that was in mid-air for a long time has now fallen. Although many employees don't know about it, or have forgotten that it exists, random drug testing is installed at the State Department. A steady stream of State employees have already been tested and everyone is subject to testing. Although the policy is sheathed in verbal velvet, it is Draconian.

The State Department's policy for a "Drug-Free Workplace Plan," as detailed in 38 pages of the Foreign Affairs Manual, is another shot in the generation-long battle the U.S. has been fighting against illegal drug use. Required by Executive Order 12564 and reinforced by congressional legislation in 1987, the State Department created a plan which was certified as acceptable by the Department of Health and Human Services in May 1988. Subsequently, in March 1989, State outlined the plan, but did not take action for five more years. Indeed, it was not until August 1994 that the department lurched into action, circulating instructions for briefing personnel about the program and formally notifying the roughly 12,400 State Department officials worldwide with Secret-level clearances. After that, there was a hiatus until mid-1995, when the program slipped into gear.

Between 1989 and 1994, the only activity was bureaucratic mud

David Jones is a retired FSO and a frequent contributor to the Foreign Service Journal.

The State Department spent \$71,707 from April to September 1995 on 176 random drug tests with only one positive result, and \$96,696 from October 1995 to September 1996 on 740 random drug tests with only two positive results.



wrestling. Which personnel occupied "sensitive positions" and thus were required under the executive order to be tested? How did the executive order and legislation stand up against charges that they violated Fourth Amendment privacy rights? What about legal substances — for example, coca tea in the Andean regions — that

can give a positive result? Ultimately, sensitive positions were defined as those occupied by personnel holding Secret clearances. Anyone with such a clearance was open to random drug testing because of their "diminished right to privacy." This approach was upheld in the Washington, D.C., Court of Appeals. Substances that might test positive, but were legal, such as coca tea and poppy seed rolls, were defined as acceptable.

The Department of State continues to struggle with the problem of testing the thousands of employees assigned outside the U.S. The difficulties are obvious, as postings range from single individuals to massive embassies, with drastic differences in the available technical support. How can such employees be tested randomly without extended warning time, but with confidence any samples will be taken accurately and securely delivered for testing without excessive costs? Arrange contracts with laboratories in large first-world capitals? Descend on randomly-selected small embassies with minimal notice and test all employees? As yet, there is no answer, although some State Department officials suggest that overseas testing could begin within six to 12 months. Despite requirements that overseas testing begin within a year of testing in the U.S., employees in heavy drug producing and manufacturing countries have yet to be tested, while personnel in the already intensely scrutinized Washington facilities have been tested.

Despite such disparities, State's



drug testing policy is in effect and legal. How does it work and is it worth the effort?

Over the years, FSOs have been informed, counseled, educated, instructed and otherwise introduced to the banter of the program: It is justified for protecting national security, increasing workplace productivity and eliminating risks to the health, welfare and safety of the public and State Department employees. State is setting a good example to other governments and responding to unspecified charges that the U.S. "cannot preach to other governments what it does not practice at home."

Who is Tested?

Most drug testing is done either for "reasonable suspicion" or at random. Foreign Service applicants may also be tested and denied admission for a positive drug test.

Although hunches are not considered sufficient, certainty of use is not required. An employee can be required to take a drug test based on symptoms associated with drug use, such as erratic behavior or abnormal conduct. Likewise, information supplied by "reliable and credible sources" can be the basis for a demand that an employee submit to testing.

FAM regulations say the State Department will administer a program to test 10 percent of employees each year at facilities in the Washington area. Currently, the testing is running at the projected level and performed monthly at State Department facilities throughout the U.S., except during summer transfer season. Individuals, including senior employees, are selected randomly by Social Security number and are supposed to be notified no more than 2 hours before being tested. Specimens are provided in private and unobserved. An individual is excused only

for illness, vacation or a temporary duty assignment, but then his or her name goes back into the general pool for testing. Refusal to take the test or failure to show up after being notified, is equivalent to failing the test and could result in disciplinary action or dismissal. Samples are collected, sealed and shipped to a laboratory in California, where they are tested for marijuana, cocaine, opiates, PCP and amphetamines.

Truth and Consequences

The FAM also states that drug use can also be concluded from "direct observation," an undefined term which holds potential for abuse. For example, during an extended foreign trip or negotiation, a malicious supervisor or delegation head could state that he observed a subordinate taking drugs and inform senior officials or State's Medical Office through its privacy channel. While there would be no opportunity for a drug test while overseas, upon returning to the United States the employee's supervisor could insist that he observed abuse. FAM regulations state that the employee shall be immediately removed from any position requiring access to classified information. Officials in State's Medical Office, however, claim that this type of hypothetical scenario would be a "he said/she said" situation in which no action would be taken.

But that is contradictory because any identification of drug use other than voluntary admission requires disciplinary action. Such action ranges from a written reprimand placed in a personnel file for a year to various levels of suspension, ending with removal from the Foreign Service. There is no requirement that punishment start at a mild level. The FAM permits dismissal from the Foreign Service for any identified drug use and one senior

State Department personnel official said that a positive drug test would most likely lead to a recommendation of dismissal. An employee who refuses to accept counseling or rehabilitation through the State Department's Employee Assistance Program can also be dismissed, but acceptance of counseling would probably reverse the decision.

No Recourse

An employee is notified if a sample tests positive for drugs. Any medical explanation and prescriptions are then supplied by the employee for evaluation by a medical review officer. If the MRO believes the positive test is "justified" for medical reasons or because of legal drug prescriptions, the employee is off the hook. If not, the decision is final. The FAM offers no appeals process or provision for retesting either at the employee's or the State Department's expense.

Essentially, the State Department does not accept the concept of the "false positive." Officials contend that safeguards — such as testing laboratories regularly for proficiency — preclude such errors. Short of being fired from the State Department, a positive drug test leads to a counseling and rehabilitation program. State's program also includes alcohol abuse counseling. As part of counseling, employees are subject to continued unannounced testing for a year after completing the rehabilitation program.

The sole exception to mandatory disciplinary action is for an employee who admits to having a drug problem. Such an employee is permitted to enter a drug counseling program without disciplinary action. However, the program is not available to anyone who has already been required to provide a sample through random testing.

SPEAKING OUT



According to an assessment from the Federal Drug-Free Workplace Program, the State Department spent \$71,707 from April to September 1995 on 176 random drug tests with only one positive result, and \$96,969 from October 1995 to September 1996 on 740 random drug tests with only two positive results. Some of these positive results can be explained. One employee had improperly taken a spouse's prescription cough medication and another employee had been on an extensive, self-prescribed herbal program. Still, these "positives" are counted in agency totals.

Program apologists will no doubt conclude from these few positive results that the program works. I would argue that State's drug program

is a tribute to political correctness rather than a cost-efficient tool for deterring drug use by Foreign Service personnel for the following reasons:

— There has never been a drug-related "spy" case at the State Department, so the security argument is feeble.

— State has a high percentage of "old fogies," regardless of age. FSOs don't fit drug user profiles. Even employees who may have experimented with drugs in their youth, have matured and put such activity aside, along with their Turkish water pipes.

— Foreign Service employees can be tested when they are first hired. At present, State says that drug testing is unnecessary because security does a background investigation. If that is

true, then why is drug testing necessary later on?

— Regular medical exams provide an opportunity for doctors to closely scrutinize the physical condition of the examinee. Although standard department medical exams do not include drug testing, extended drug use shows in more ways than just in urine samples.

Although testing indicates virtually no drug use at State, the testing continues. Isn't it time for State to eliminate random testing while keeping the option of requiring it if erratic behavior is observed and continuing to offer safe haven to employees who want to refer themselves to a drug program? As State's drug testing program now stands, it is an expensive way to demean the innocent. ■

Slip Into Something Comfortable Next Time You're In Town

Furnished Luxury Apartments Guaranteed To Make You Feel At Home

- 30-day minimum stay • Completely furnished apartments
- All utilities included • Local telephone service with voicemail
- Fully-equipped kitchens • 25" color TV w/VCR, basic cable, free HBO • No security deposit
- Maid service exclusively by Marriott Home Solutions

Introducing
Our Newest Location
The Statesman
in Foggy Bottom

The Lansburgh
Downtown Wash., D.C.

The Statesman
2 Blocks to State Dept N.W. Wash. DC

The Parc Vista
Pentagon City

Oakwood at Tysons
Tysons Corner

Charter Oak
Reston

The Westerly At Worldgate
Herndon

Corcoran House
Dupont Circle, D.C.

The Bennington
Crystal City

Columbia Crossing
Pentagon/Arlington

Arlington Courthouse Plaza
Rosslyn



SMITH CORPORATE

2501 Porter
NW Wash., D.C.

Gateway Place
Crystal City

Skyline Towers
Falls Church

Lincoln Towers
Ballston Close to NEATA

Call Toll-Free *Living*
1-888-234-STAY (7829)

Connecticut Heights
NW Wash., D.C.

Water Park Towers
Crystal City

Springfield Station
Springfield

The Ellipse
Fairfax/Fair Oaks

Fax: 703-960-0940
E-Mail: sjs@alpha2.cesmith.com

CHARLES E. SMITH RESIDENTIAL



FROM COMMUNISM TO COCAINE



CHET PHILLIPS

DRUG TRAFFICKING HAS REPLACED INSURGENCY AS WASHINGTON'S MAJOR CARIBBEAN CONCERN

*By George Gedda
and Ellen James Martin*

It was September 1979, and not much was going right for the Carter administration internationally. The Caribbean was no exception. Leftist ideologues were ascendant and even among some democrats, anti-Americanism was in vogue. Jamaican Prime Minister Michael Manley stood before a Non-Aligned Movement summit meeting in Havana, and said, "No region of the world has suffered more from imperialist exploitation than the Caribbean." Rebel groups seized power in Grenada in March 1979 and in Suriname 11 months later. In Central America, the western rim of the Caribbean, a pro-Cuban movement had triumphed in Nicaragua and allied insurgencies were active elsewhere on the isthmus. From his perch in the northern Caribbean, Cuban President

Fidel Castro gazed down approvingly on these developments.

Happily for Washington, the fears about a coalition of anti-American states taking over the region were not borne out. Just 13 months after his tentatively anti-American speech in Havana, Manley was ousted by Jamaica's voters, who elected the pro-free enterprise, pro-American Edward Seaga as prime minister. Almost immediately after Reagan took office in January 1981, he invited the newly installed Seaga to the White House.

And, of course, in Grenada the erratic leftist government was deposed by an American invading force in 1983. That action was declared to be intended to head off a potential Iran-style hostage taking of the hundreds of Americans on the island. It also eliminated a regime best known for its close ties to Cuba.

Within days of that invasion, the leftist government in Suriname, hoping to avoid becoming the next American target, expelled all Cuban representatives from the country. So after several years in ascendancy, the left found the pendulum swinging back the other way, although it was not until the early 90s that the rebellions in Central America were tamed, a result largely attributable to generous U.S. assistance to friendly forces in the region.

To many, the decisive U.S. actions in the Caribbean and Central America, particularly during the Reagan administration, helped save democracy, restore stability and head off a prospective security threat to the United States from the south. A less benign view is espoused by Ivelaw L. Griffith, a Caribbean expert at Florida International University. He wrote that Reagan's election "heralded a different foreign and security policy" that included "a willingness to use force without much compunction, and an unapologetic pursuit of American preeminence in global political, economic and military affairs."

Indeed, the 1980s ended with U.S. troops summarily ousting Panama's Gen. Manuel Antonio Noriega. No

*U.S. aid to the
Caribbean is down
sharply, from
\$226 million in 1985
to \$22 million
in 1996.*

single act provoked the invasion. The Bush administration seemed to feel that Panama was too important a country to have a leader as squalid as Noriega running it. To critics, of course, the invasion was an unseemly intervention in the internal affairs of a sovereign country.

As for the Caribbean islands, the central concern of this article, the region nowadays seems almost calm compared with the tumultuous 1980s. Not surprisingly, with the end of the

Cold War and the receding of militant anti-Americanism, aid levels are down sharply, from \$226 million in 1985 to \$22 million in 1996. The Agency for International Development mission in the region has been closed. And, according to people inside and outside of government, the quality of the envoys the United States sends to the Caribbean is down as well.

Moreover, the Clinton administration — and the Congress — seem less willing to take the region's economic concerns as seriously as they once did. Under Reagan, the Caribbean Basin Initiative helped boost trade and investment in the region. Nowadays, the U.S. has sparked resentment by undercutting the banana industry in the Eastern Caribbean — a crop vital to its well-being — and also has failed to deliver on promises of increased access of Caribbean products to its markets. This reflects the growing reluctance of Congress to go along with free-trade schemes, although there are currently proposals in Congress for trade-enhancing legislation for the Caribbean.

New Threat: Narcotraffickers

But while in some ways, the dynamic of U.S.-Caribbean relations has changed notably since the end of the Cold War, in other ways it has changed little. Then, as now, security remains an obsession for Washington although the components are far different. The concern over the Caribbean becoming a Soviet-Cuban controlled lake has been replaced by a relatively new phenomenon, one that has come to dominate the relationship. The issue is the dramatic increase in use of the Caribbean islands as transit points for U.S.-bound narcotics.

George Gedda is a correspondent for the Associated Press. Ellen James Martin is executive editor of NewsTrends & Co., a Washington-based news service.

F O C U S

Two decades ago, the question was whether Caribbean islands, with limited resources, would fall prey to leftist rebels. Now the question is whether they will fall prey to narcotraffickers. Castro, widely perceived in the region these days as a friend, is no longer the issue — cocaine trafficking is. As much as 40 per cent of U.S.-bound cocaine from South America traverses the Caribbean, a four-fold increase compared with a decade ago.

It is difficult to overestimate the importance of the drug issue on the Caribbean, both in terms of its impact on local populations and on U.S. relations with the region. Drug use in these countries has been increasing, and U.S. officials describe drug-related corruption on the islands as rampant. One U.S. counterdrug official described his dismay when, on entering a meeting with counterpart officials from a Caribbean country, he noticed two of them wearing top-of-the-line Rolex watches, an indication they were on the take from the very people they were supposed to be pursuing. Colombian traffickers are increasingly prone to making payoffs to their collaborators on Caribbean islands in cocaine instead of cash, leading to sharp increases in the number of local addicts. For example, one of the oldest and most elegant neighborhoods on Curaçao, the Dutch dependency near Venezuela, has become crack-infested.

Some in the Caribbean contend that they probably wouldn't have a drug problem at all if the United States were able to deal more effectively with its drug addiction problems. "The illicit drug trade is demand-driven," Prime Minister Denzil Douglas of St. Kitts and Nevis said. "How can we truly expect small, poor countries such as mine to defeat the wealthy drug lords if the rich countries, with their wealth of resources, are unsuccessful in limiting the demand?"

Of course, for St. Kitts and the dozens of other Caribbean islands, having a large powerful neighbor can also have its advantages as well. The tens of thousands of Americans who visit the region each year have brought it a measure of prosperity. Another bonus is the tens of millions of dollars in remittances sent back home by Caribbean emigrés who have settled in the United States.

The Clinton administration is attempting to combat the drug traffickers through maritime drug interdiction agreements that have been negotiated with about 20

Caribbean countries or dependent territories. The agreements provide the authority for U.S. vessels to engage in patrols, boardings, searches, seizures and arrests in foreign waters. Hot pursuit of suspect vessels and aircraft also is authorized. U.S. officials believe about one-third of the estimated 430 tons of cocaine shipped from South America to the United States last year was intercepted as a result of the stepped up U.S. efforts. The foreign minister of Trinidad and Tobago, Ramesh Maraj, said the alternative to a counter-narcotics agreement with the United States was to allow his country to be taken over by drug barons. In a similar vein, Jamaican Ambassador Richard Bernal noted that 40 determined leftists were able to take over Grenada in 1979 and he believes narcotraffickers could perform the same feat on one of the many small, vulnerable islands in the region.

Indeed, during the heyday of the Medellín cartel, the notorious Colombian drug trafficker Carlos Lehder bought Norman's Cay in the Bahamas chain and flew planes there laden with hundreds of kilograms of cocaine for subsequent delivery to the United States. But Ivelaw Griffith discounts the notion that this practice could become widespread. The drug traffickers, he said, "want to influence who gets into power and what they do when they get into power but they do not want to be the top person in power."

Drug War by Diktat

Cooperation on drug issues with Caribbean countries has been inconsistent. The administration has had problems obtaining the extradition of suspected drug criminals from the Dominican Republic. In St. Kitts and Nevis, a businessman wanted in the United States on drug trafficking charges has successfully avoided extradition for nearly two years; U.S. officials say he is helped by close ties to local officials.

Generally, administration officials say cooperation is increasing. Britain, France and the Netherlands, all of which have strong interests in the region, have joined hands with the United States in the drug war. And officials expect at some point to have interdiction agreements with almost all Caribbean countries — the exception, of course, being Cuba, with which the United States refuses to negotiate such issues. U.S. officials have given Cuba high marks for keeping traffickers at bay in recent years. Lately, however, Drug Enforcement Administra-

tion officials say drug-bearing canoes that originate in Jamaica have been transiting Cuban waters while en route to the Bahamas.

There is little doubt that the intense pursuit by the United States of the maritime agreements, known informally as "shiprider agreements," has generated resentment in the Caribbean. (Among other provisions, these agreements allow host country law enforcement officers to ride on U.S. counter-narcotics vessels while they are in that country's territorial waters. Hence the term "shiprider.")

Gillian Gunn Clissold, of Georgetown University, writes that the Caribbean countries wanted to negotiate these agreements on a regionwide basis, but were forced to bow to American insistence on a bilateral approach. In these unequal negotiations, the powerful U.S. generally was able to get its way. Clissold also notes that the shiprider agreements were presented to each state as a finished document, on a take-it-or-leave-it basis. "No effort was made to tailor each agreement to the specific concerns of each state," Clissold says. She also heard complaints from the Caribbean that U.S. officials threatened to publicly identify the corrupt officials in countries that were reluctant to sign these agreements. Officials in Barbados told Clissold they found it telling that the Federal Aviation Administration issued a warning about unsafe conditions at the country's airport at a time when Barbados was resisting American pressures to sign a shiprider agreement. To the Barbadians, the U.S. message was clear: Sign the agreement or we'll wreck your tourism industry by telling the world your airport is unsafe.

Louis Tull, a former Barbados foreign minister, was quoted in the *Los Angeles Times* as saying, "During the Cold War, the United States seemed to be more concerned about the feelings of countries in this part of the world. When there was a Soviet alternative, the United States had to operate with a lot of finesse. Now, there's only one superpower so they don't have to worry about that any more. There has been a certain heavy-handedness by the United States toward its friends in the Caribbean."

Another sore point for the Caribbean is the annual

*As much as 40 percent
of U.S.-bound cocaine
from South America
traverses the
Caribbean.*

U.S. process whereby drug-problem countries are evaluated on their cooperation with U.S. anti-drug efforts. Those found not to be fully cooperating can be subjected to economic penalties. "You are tried, convicted and sentenced without any right to appeal," says Jamaican Prime Minister P.J. Patterson. "That process is not accorded the most notorious drug trafficker, who must have his day in court."

Discussing the maritime agreements, U.S. officials acknowledge that Caribbean concerns over loss of sovereignty and other issues have been valid. But they say that, generally speaking, these concerns seem to diminish if the United States is perceived as playing fair, is willing to offer reciprocity and provides genuine assistance. They point out that the United States is providing advice on curbing money-laundering, training of customs personnel and firearms training, and also is helping to create regional witness protection programs.

In an upbeat cable last April, Donald Holm, the deputy chief of mission in Barbados wrote that regional criticism of U.S. counter-narcotics policy seemed to be fading. "Countries in the region are increasingly coming to recognize the importance of cooperation in combating a threat that is beyond national capabilities," Holm wrote. He noted that countries which once resisted maritime agreements — Jamaica, Barbados and Colombia — "are voicing strong support for cooperative maritime interdiction efforts."

Also, to help counter the notion that Caribbean complaints go unheard in Washington, high-level contacts have been more frequent. In May 1997, President Clinton became the first U.S. president to attend a summit meeting with Caribbean leaders. Secretary of State Madeleine Albright has promised to meet with her Caribbean colleagues annually. In April 1998, such a meeting was held on the island of Tobago.

Outside NAFTA, Looking In

Still, Caribbean countries are ranked by the slow progress toward a hemisphere-wide free trade agreement. Hemispheric nations agreed in 1994 to negotiate such an agreement by 2005 but the administration has been hamstrung by congressional refusal to give it the

authority to negotiate. At the summit meeting in Barbados in May 1997, Clinton spoke optimistically about the prospects for congressional approval of so-called NAFTA parity legislation that would put the Caribbean on an even footing with Mexico in terms of access to U.S. markets. But five months later, the legislation was defeated in the House by 52 votes.

Mexico's accession to NAFTA in 1994 has hindered Caribbean development. In 1993, the Caribbean, through the Reagan-era Caribbean Basin Initiative, enjoyed preferential access for many products although some politically sensitive items, such as petroleum, sugar, textiles and footwear, were excluded. Under a compromise that allowed the Caribbean countries to put the finishing touches on apparel partly assembled in the United States, Caribbean apparel exports to the United States increased by 94 per cent between 1989 and 1994, almost double the worldwide increase in such items.

Things changed when Mexico joined NAFTA in 1994. Apparel-producing firms found they could set up shop in Mexico and ship duty-free to the United States, avoiding the 19 percent value added tax the U.S. charged (and still does) on apparel finished in the Caribbean. The result was predictable: apparel imports from Mexico grew three times as fast as those from the Caribbean since 1994. And according to the Caribbean Textile and Apparel Institute, from 1995 to 1997, more than 150 apparel plants closed in the Caribbean and 123,000 jobs were lost.

Georgetown's Clissold notes that some in Washington say this trend is partially attributable to an unfavorable business climate in the Caribbean; there are frequent delays in the issuance of permits and licenses. Some of the lower-wage Caribbean countries, such as the Dominican Republic, have been less affected by the Mexican advantage under NAFTA than the English-speaking countries. Indeed, official figures show the Dominican Republic and Costa Rica have accounted for more than half of overall annual U.S. imports from Caribbean Basin countries since 1989.

The anti-free trade backlash in the United States also has adversely affected Caribbean interests. Legislation

Since Mexico joined NAFTA in 1994, more than 100,000 textile-manufacturing jobs have been lost in the Caribbean.

to put the Caribbean on an equal footing with NAFTA member Mexico fell victim in the Congress last fall to the widespread perception that free trade means loss of U.S. jobs to lower-wage countries. Many in the Congressional Black Caucus, presumably a natural ally of the Caribbean, heeded the advice of the AFL-CIO and voted against NAFTA parity.

While the Caribbean countries have been disappointed about the absence of NAFTA parity, they have been downright resentful about the U.S. banana policy in the Caribbean. In 1996, the administration decided to challenge the system under which European countries offered preferential treatment to the banana imports of their former colonies, including those in the Caribbean. The administration, joined by several Latin American countries, took its case to the World Trade Organization, which ruled in favor of the American complainants in early 1997.

The decision to take the case to the WTO was favored by the office of the U.S. Trade Representative, which argued that the European Union's licensing system was unfairly punishing big American firms, such as United Brands International and Dole Food Co. The Latin American countries which joined the suit made a similar argument. Some in the State Department had argued against the United States taking the lead in the case, mindful that a U.S. victory would strike a blow at banana-dependent Caribbean countries which are poor to begin with. They also predicted, correctly, that the United States would take a hit politically.

"The U.S. continues to be reckless in its efforts to undermine the viability of the banana industry in these islands," says Kenny Anthony, St. Lucia's prime minister and head of the Caribbean Community trade bloc. "We had thought that the U.S. had caused sufficient diplomatic and economic damage to the region, especially the Windward Islands, that they would have taken the opportunity provided by their victory at the WTO to seek to repair some of that damage." (The Windwards are in the southeastern Caribbean and include Grenada, St. Lucia, St. Vincent and Martinique.) Edison James, prime minis-

F O C U S

ter of Dominica, told the U.N. General Assembly in October of 1997: "Our main means of livelihood, bananas, has been placed on the shakiest of grounds by this [WTO] decision. Such uncertainty brings about instability and can threaten peace." Many in the Caribbean feel the U.S. action in the WTO was a political payoff to Carl Lindner, chairman of Chiquita Banana and a major contributor to the Democratic Party.

To help promote crop diversification in banana-dependent countries, principally Dominica, St. Lucia, Grenada, St. Vincent, Jamaica and Belize, Albright told Caribbean leaders in Tobago last April that \$4.7 million was being earmarked for that goal. She also said the United States will help Caribbean countries obtain \$300 million from the Caribbean Development Bank and other international lending institutions. Many Caribbean leaders say it is in the United States' own interests to do more, pointing out that drug kingpins will find an economically thriving Caribbean less hospitable to their malevolent designs.


Less ominous than the drug traffickers but nonetheless annoying to U.S. officials is the way Castro has been able to transform himself in the Caribbean from regional predator to elder statesman. Castro received warm welcomes in August during his travels to Jamaica, Barbados, Grenada and the Dominican Republic. No longer viewed as a threat, Castro pleased his hosts by attacking U.S. policies toward the region. In turn, he won strong support for his demand for an end to the U.S. trade embargo against Cuba.

The most poignant stop on the trip was Grenada, the only country where, during almost 40 years of rivalry, Cubans and Americans engaged in armed combat. Most Grenadans backed the U.S. invasion of Grenada in 1983 and President Reagan received a hero's welcome there three years later. The reception for Castro on Aug. 2 was less effusive but still warm. The hug he received from Prime Minister Keith Mitchell on his arrival made it clear that the hard feelings of the past have been overcome — and that the era of Cold War competition in the Caribbean has really receded into the past. ■

20 Years Of
Experience.

3,000
Professionals.
100,000
Apartments.

It All Adds Up To
Oakwood.

 www.oakwood.com

Oakwood Corporate Housing has become the largest and most trusted provider of temporary housing in the country for two important reasons. We take care of all the details. And we're completely concerned with the comfort of our clients. This degree of customer focus, which includes the industry's first Satisfaction Guarantee, has earned us the business of most of the Fortune 500.

We ensure the comfort of more than 75,000 families each year and find them exactly what they're looking for.

So call Oakwood Corporate Housing today and let us find you the accommodations you need.



Oakwood

The Most Trusted Name
in Corporate Housing™

1-703-212-2600
1-800-832-8329

UNMAKING CUBA POLICY — THE CLINTON YEARS



C FRIENDS WARNED ME NOT TO TAKE
THE WHITE HOUSE CUBA POST.
NOW I KNOW WHY.

By Richard A. Nuccio

Chris Marquis, the Washington correspondent for the *Miami Herald*, and I had planned a dinner to catch up on various matters personal and professional and now we had our chance. Chris was in Miami for his annual review with his bosses; I for the latest of my many trips to “Havana North” — the Cuban-American exile community in Miami.

Perhaps because his mind was on his own career that day, his first comment to me was that my appointment on May 25, 1995 as special adviser to the president and the secretary of State for Cuba had baffled my friends.

“Your career’s been on the fast track for the last few years. Why do you want to destroy it with this job?”

F O C U S

I smiled and made light of the comment: "Don't you think I know that the solution to most problems in U.S. Cuba policy is to take the lead person on Cuba to the roof of the State Department and throw him off?"

I suppose that what I meant by this phrase, which I often repeated in an attempt at gallows humor, was that forewarned is forearmed. As a student of the making of Cuba policy, I was aware that the twists and turns of U.S.-Cuba relations had affected the careers of many Foreign Service officers. From the Carter administration opening in the late 1970s through the 1990s, Cuba continued to be a "third rail" for foreign policy professionals. Indeed, one of the first acts of the Clinton administration on Latin America was to abandon its first candidate for assistant secretary of State for inter-American affairs, Mario Baeza, when he was attacked by the Cuban-American lobby. After several months, the administration then nominated Alexander F. Watson, a relatively uncontroversial FSO, for the assistant secretary slot. As a staffer to one of the congressmen involved in torpedoing Baeza's nomination, I thought I had learned something about the politics of Cuba policy.

'Managed from the right'

Also contributing to my hubris about surviving Washington's "Cuba wars" was the reputation I brought into the administration. From 1991 to 1993, I was the "point person" for Rep. Robert G. Torricelli (D-N.J.) on his controversial legislation, the Cuban Democracy Act. Although the legislation was nuanced and had both "hard" and "soft" elements, its supporters and detractors described it as stridently anti-Castro. For my work on behalf of the legislation I was applauded by the Cuban-American community in Miami, at least by the 85 percent who endorsed the embargo. Although I rejected their offers to help me obtain an appointment in the administration, I

Richard A. Nuccio is a visiting scholar at Harvard University, working on Cuba and post-Cold War foreign policy issues.

I knew that for decades Cuba had been a "third rail" for foreign policy professionals.

thought when I became a State Department political appointee in July 1993 that my work on the CDA would serve as a shield to protect me from the most vicious kinds of personal attacks.

Alex Watson's confirmation as assistant secretary in June 1993 and my appointment a month later as his senior policy

adviser appeared to many to have resolved the direction of Cuba policy in the new administration. Experts on the region, such as Peter Hakim of the Inter-American Dialogue, bemoaned publicly the lack of debate about Cuba within the new administration. Inside, however, the first of several policy fights over Cuba was erupting. During the summer and fall of 1993, dueling memos from within the Inter-American Affairs Bureau went to Watson arguing for an aggressive reassessment of the economic embargo. The "liberals" in this debate were not friends of the Cuban regime. They believed that greater openness and flexibility in U.S. policy would hasten rather than retard a transition in Cuba. Defenders of the status quo on Cuba did not necessarily disagree with specific policy measures advocated by the "liberals," but argued that Cuba policy had to conform to the wishes of the powerful Cuban-American lobby if it were to avoid political attack. Watson embraced the "liberals'" arguments intellectually, but deferred to the judgment of those career officials with Cuba experience in the bureau that Cuba should be "managed from the right."

Silencing the push for a more proactive Cuba policy within State, however, did not end debate about Cuba policy within the administration. Rather, the debate shifted to an internal struggle between State and the National Security Council. NSC senior director for Latin America Richard Feinberg had early on abandoned his own efforts to influence Cuba policy. That placed Morton Halperin, a veteran Washington insider, in a position to contest the State Department's "management from the right." Migration proved to be the "wedge" issue with which

**LANGUAGE STUDENTS:
CHECK OUR RATES!**

THE REMINGTON

2 BLOCKS FROM STATE

Remington Short-Term Housing, offering convenience, elegance and comfort in prestigious Foggy Bottom within walking distance of the Kennedy Center and Georgetown.

That Personal Touch, Your Home Away From Home!

Featuring:

- Spacious One-bedroom Condominiums
–fully furnished w/balconies
- In-Unit Washer/Dryer
- Fully equipped kitchens/microwave
- Unlimited local telephone service w/ans machine
- Extended Cable TV/HBO and Showtime

Contact:

Rosemary Jarvis or Antoinette Wilson
601 24th Street, NW Suite 102
Washington, DC 20037
(800) 225-3847; (202) 223-4512
FAX: (202) 452-9541



*Rent by the day, week or month;
Small Pets Accepted*



The Simple Truth...

*Factory wholesale pricing on all
Chrysler, Ford and General Motors products
through Diplomatic Automobile Sales.
(For overseas or stateside delivery)*

For more information, visit our website: www.diplosales.com

E-mail: Diplosales@aol.com

Phone: (516) 496-1806

Fax: (516) 677-3701

Diplomatic Automobile Sales is the authorized distributor for Chrysler, Ford and General Motors to the Diplomatic Community.

he could separate the White House from State's handling of Cuba. As a wave of Cuban rafters built over the summer of 1994, the State Department prepared to implement a long-standing plan to respond to a Cuban migration crisis by bringing tens of thousands of Cubans to the United States and stationing them at military facilities around the country.

No one at State foresaw that this plan would seem hauntingly familiar to President Clinton. Clinton lost his first bid for reelection as governor when his opponent successfully blamed Clinton for "riots" by Cuban refugees interned in Arkansas by President Carter. Clinton was not about to repeat that "mistake." The president chose instead to apply to Cuba a plan first developed for Haitian boatpeople: intercepting Cuban rafters at sea and placing them in detention camps in the Guantánamo Naval Base.

Bringing Peace to Miami

Those on the NSC who recommended this policy to the president assessed correctly the national political appeal of preventing waves of illegal immigrants from entering the United States. They underestimated, however, the outrage with which Cuban-Americans would react to "punishing the victims" of Castro's tyranny. Many exiles' identity was defined by their flight to freedom in the United States. Clinton was forced to interrupt his birthday celebration on August 12, 1994, the day after his announcement of the new migration measures, to meet with Florida Governor Lawton Chiles and others flown to Washington on Cuban-American National Foundation president Jorge Mas Canosa's private plane. Having punished the victims, Clinton was now persuaded to "punish" the perpetrator by cutting off the flow of Cuban exile travel to Cuba and the sending of remittances to families on the island. The restrictions inconvenienced the Castro regime, but did far more damage to the president's own policy of promoting peaceful change on the island through contact and exchange with the outside world. The administration confirmed the short-sightedness of these panicked reactions to Cuban-American protest by revoking most

Clinton's measures to "punish" Cuba inconvenienced Castro, but undermined U.S. policy goals.

of the August restrictions in March 1998 as a response to the Pope's appeal to "open up to Cuba."

In the months after the August 1994 decisions, the White House worked feverishly to calm the troubled waters in Miami's Cuban-American community. The president would be joining 33 other hemispheric heads of state in

December 1994 for the first Summit of the Americas. White House aides were apprehensive that protests in the Cuban-American community would embarrass the president. On one of their political rescue missions to Miami, I substituted for Dennis Hays, State's Cuban affairs coordinator, and was "discovered." Here was a political appointee who spoke Spanish and had worked for Bob Torricelli, the one Democrat beloved by the exile community! Between September and December 1994 I traveled weekly to Miami and several times to Guantánamo Bay as the "White House Liaison to the Cuban-American Community," taking the temperature of Cuban exiles and making policy and political recommendations that I thought would increase the administration's standing in Miami. For my efforts, State gave me a Superior Honor Award in March 1995. The first draft of the citation was a little too honest and referred to Miami as a town that might have been burned to the ground by rabid exiles but for my endeavors. The final wording of the award was much more diplomatic, "For enabling through superior diplomatic and political skills, the Summit of the Americas ... to take place in a climate of harmony and full support from the Miami community."

The policy "fix" of stockpiling rafters worked until the next summer when, facing the prospect of riots among the 15,000 Cuban rafters still detained in Guantánamo, Clinton chose on May 2, 1995 from a menu of Cuba options presented to him by the NSC: From Column A the president chose to permit all detainees in Guantánamo to enter the United States legally; from Column B, to return all future rafters to Cuba. In the August 1994 migration decisions the administration established a pattern of taking bold steps

F O C U S

in the national interest only when it did not understand the political implications of the actions.

In its May 1995 decisions, the White House had once again made a defensible policy choice that infuriated the Cuban-American community. Senior White House aides seemed to believe that the exile community would be compensated for the end of 35 years of honoring those who fled Cuba as heroes by the acceptance of the remaining drafters in Guantánamo into the United States. The White House was wrong. Angry exiles staged hunger strikes at the doors of the *Miami Herald*, men and women shut down the highway to Miami's busy airport for a time, and protests streamed into the White House. Once again the White House was poised like a deer in the headlamps. It appeared close to reversing the migration decision it had paid such a heavy political price to take. The pri-

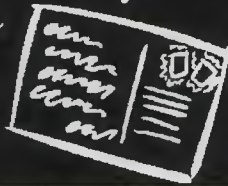
Cuban-American protesters blocked a highway and staged hunger strikes.

vate battle between State and the NSC broke into the open. Dennis Hays, an advocate of "management from the right" who represented the State Department in migration talks in New York that April discovered that a secret agreement had been negotiated behind his back. He asked to be transferred from the Cuba desk.

Those like Sen. Bob Graham (D-Fla.) who had recommended that some solution to the fate of the rafters in Guantánamo be found were shocked by the ineptness of the administration's "rollout" of the migration decision. Graham called for the appointment of a Cuba "czar" to manage a Cuba policy that seemed in chaos. Halperin's liberal credentials and association with the May 2 accord made him the target of the exiles' anger. When the dust cleared, on May 25, 1995, I was named special adviser to the president and the secretary of State for Cuba.

Moving?

Please send us your
address correction



Your Name: _____

Your New Address: _____

Your Old Address: _____

Your Phone/FAX No.: _____

Your E-mail Address: _____

Send your address correction to: AASA
Attention: Membership
2101 E St. N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20037.

Westtown School, founded in 1799,
is a Quaker co-ed day and boarding
school with 600 students from 25 states and 17
countries located in
Chester County, Pennsylvania.



85% of the faculty reside on the 600-acre campus,
which includes a science center, art center, field house and
24-meter swimming pool.

**WESTTOWN SCHOOL • WESTTOWN, PA
610-399-7900**

AFSA NEWS

American Foreign Service Association



Governing Board

President: Daniel F. Geisler
State Vice President: vacant
USAID Vice President: Frank Miller
USIA Vice President: J. Riley Sever
CS Vice President: Charles Kestenbaum
FAS Vice President: Maggie Dawling
Retiree Vice President: Edward Dillery
Secretary: Aurelius Fernandez
Treasurer: Thomas Boyatt
State Representatives: Natalie Brown, Marilyn Bruno, Michael Carbett, Christopher Sandrolini, Greg Stanton
USAID Representative: vacant
USIA Representative: Susan Crois Hovanec
Retiree Representatives: Garber Davidson, Willard DePree, William Harrop, Clyde Taylor
FAS Representative: Dave Salmon
CS Representative: vacant

Staff

Executive Director: Susan Reardon
Business Department
Controller: David McEvoy
Accounting Assistant: Jennifer O'Neal
Labor Management
General Counsel: Sharon Popp
Staff Attorney: Colleen Fallon
Coordinators: Richard C. Scissors
Specialist: James Yarke
USIA Labor Relations Specialist: Carol Lutz
Labor Management Attorneys:
Suzanne Brennan, Tonisho Cale
Grievance Attorneys: Henry Sizer, Zlatana Badrich
Law Clerk: Peter Hutchinson
Office Manager: Rita Cahen
Member Services
Director: Janet Hedrick
Representative: Yolanda Odunsi
Administrative Assistant:
Thamasina Johnson
Retiree Liaison: Ward Thompson
Professional Programs
Professional Issues Coordinator:
Richard S. Thompson
Congressional Affairs Director: Ken Nakamura
Communications Coordinator: Kristina Kreamer
Scholarship Administrator: Lari Dec
Corporate Relations: Mark Lare

Internet Addresses:

afsa@afsa.org (Association)
pres@afsa.org (President)
journal@afsa.org (FSJ)

AFSA Headquarters: (202) 338-4045
FAX: (202) 338-6820
State Department Office: (202) 647-8160
FAX: (202) 647-0265
USAID Office: (202) 712-1941
FAX: (202) 216-3710
USIA Office: (202) 401-6405
FAX: (202) 401-6410

AFSA News Editor: Wesley Ann Gadord

THE SELLING OF AMBASSADORSHIPS

by Willard DePree
Retiree Representative

With campaign finance abuse under scrutiny in the Congress, AFSA is determined to promote its opposition to the selling of ambassadorships to unqualified appointees. Both Democrats and Republicans have engaged in the practice of rewarding ambassadorships for party loyalty or largess to the detriment of our national interest and professional service. Last winter, interested AFSA members formed an Ad Hoc Working Group to push for reform in the ambassadorial nomination process. AFSA is not dogmatically opposed to all political appointees — many are well qualified. Our concern is with those who are not.

Buying and selling ambassadorships is illegal and has a corrupting influence on American politics. Unprofessional diplomatic behavior by political appointees has at times seriously hindered effective implementation and understanding of our policies and, on occasion, has proved embarrassing to the United States. Some countries view the practice

of routinely sending unknown political appointees as an insult. Finally, appointing large numbers of unqualified non-career ambassadors seriously undermines the morale of the career Foreign Service.

AFSA takes its concerns to Congress

AFSA's goals are two-fold: to halt the selling of ambassadorships by encouraging administrations to focus on the qualifications of their ambassadorial nominees and to open up more opportunities for career Foreign Service officers to use their professional experience and expertise at the pinnacle of their careers.

The Ad Hoc Working Group urged AFSA to seek to testify before the campaign finance hearings detailing past abuses and potential reforms concerning ambassadorial nominations. As a first step, the group recommended that AFSA ask friends in the administration and on the Hill for the best approach to attain our goals. The group proposed four alternatives for reform to present during congressional consultations:

(1) seek a sense of the Congress resolution urging administrations to vet prospective nominees

Continued on page 5

• AFSA Dateline •

• AFSA's 75th Anniversary committee, headed by Honorary Chair Madeleine Albright and Chairman Brandon Grove, is pleased to announce that all four former U.S. presidents and all eight former secretaries of State have agreed to serve as honorary members of the committee.

• The family of Prabhi Kavalier, an FSO who died on August 7 in the embassy bombing in Nairobi, has established a scholarship fund in her name to help Foreign Service children pay for college costs. If you wish to contribute to this fund, please contact Lari Dec, at (202) 944-5504 or scholar@afsa.org.

• Eugene Peters and D. Sharon Matts of Burwell, Peters & Houston contributed \$1,000.00 to the Walter "Rick" F. Weiss Memorial Scholarship. Rick Weiss, a retired FSO and lobbyist for AFSA, died suddenly in February 1998. With this contribution, AFSA was able to award this scholarship under AFSA's Financial Aid Program to Ian Johnson in the amount of \$2,500.00. This program provides financial assistance to needy Foreign Service students to help defray college expenses.

• AFSA welcomes four new staff members. Zlatana Badrich is a grievance attorney in

Continued on page 3

RETIREES

V.P. VOICE

• BY EDWARD DILLERY •

Dispatches from the Past for the 75th Anniversary

With next year's 75th anniversary of the Foreign Service in mind, I included *Emperor Dead – and Other Historic American Diplomatic Dispatches* in my summer beach reading. The book was edited by FSO Peter Eicher and published in 1996 by the *Congressional Quarterly* with cooperation from DACOR and the Association for Diplomatic Studies and Training (ASDT). As Edward Killham said in an August 1997 review in the *Foreign Service Journal*, "This meaty survey of diplomatic reporting from the birth of the republic to 1964 ... is a valuable history of the modern world through the penned dispatches of hundreds of American diplomats."

The book's 471 pages include reports on everything from political issues to consular cases and administrative problems. The collection blends important dispatches from distinguished Americans (some of whom went on to become president) with dispatches chosen because they are beautifully written or simply amusing.

Eicher begins with a wonderful introduction to the history of the Foreign Service, the clearest and most concise that I have ever seen. He also puts each dispatch in context with a short introduction. The result is a book that gives an authentic sense of the Foreign Service. Reading it will make you proud to have been a part of this great institution.

This would be an ideal book to suggest to people outside the Foreign Service who are interested in what we have done. Wide circulation of the book could be a great outreach idea like AFSA's Elderhostel program which is so successful in

informing the public about the Foreign Service, its history and people. I recommend it as a particularly appropriate read – and loan to friends – as we move toward the events surrounding the celebration of the 75th Anniversary of the Rogers Act and the founding of the current Foreign Service.

"This would be an ideal book to suggest to people outside the Foreign Service."

Plans for the anniversary celebration are moving ahead. AFSA, marking its own 75th birthday at the same time, is taking the lead with the strong cooperation of the State Department.

Secretary Madeleine Albright is serving as honorary chair of the anniversary committee, whose honorary members include former secretaries of State and presidents. Chairman Brandon Grove is overseeing celebration plans aimed at making 1999 a year of public focus on the Foreign Service, past and future. Activities will include media events, a nation-wide high school essay contest, business community involvement, exhibits, a gala celebration, a special Foreign Service Day (of course) and our local speakers program with the key participation of retirees in outreach to the public. Many materials, including special issues of the *Journal* and *State Magazine*, will be available to support these activities. The Eicher book is among the best of these.

(NOTE: To order copies of *Emperor Dead – and Other Historic American Diplomatic Dispatches* from the publisher, write *Congressional Quarterly* at 1414 22nd St. NW, Washington, D.C. 20037. I should warn you that the book is a bit expensive at \$90, but very worthwhile. ADST has a few copies available at a discount to its members.)

Protect Your Rights: AFSA Issues New Guidance

by Sharon Popp, General Counsel

The AFSA labor management staff has taken advantage of the summer lull in grievance filings to update its grievance and Equal Employment Opportunity (EEO) guidelines. Each year, AFSA's grievance staff assist about 150 active and retired members from State, AID, USIA, FCS, and FAS with grievances involving performance evaluations, denial of promotion or tenure, selection out, allowances, discrimination, overtime compensation, and disciplinary actions. AFSA's new grievance guidelines provide an overview of the Foreign Service grievance system and describe the mechanics of filing and processing a grievance.

AFSA guidance and assistance is also available to members who believe they have been discriminated against on the basis of age, sex, color, race, religion, sexual orientation, or disabling condition and those who have been contacted as witnesses in EEO complaints.

Since 1991, Foreign Service employees have been able to choose whether they wish to pursue their EEO claim through the agency's EEO office or through the Foreign Service Grievance System.

AFSA's EEO guidance describes the two processes, explains when an election of forums (EEO versus grievance) must be made, and compares the remedial relief available in each forum. A new section has been added to the guidance that describes the procedures and remedies for employees who believe they have been discriminated against on the basis of sexual orientation.

AFSA has also issued guidance to AFSA post representatives describing the steps they should take to assist members who are under investigation by the Office of the Inspector General (OIG) or Diplomatic Security (DS) or who are contacted as witnesses by these offices. AFSA's labor management staff has accompanied dozens of members to OIG and DS investigations

Continued on page 6

Sinclair Award Winners Announced

AFSA has announced the 1998 recipients of the AFSA Matilda W. Sinclair Awards for achievement in the study of hard languages and their associated cultures. Each winner receives \$1000.

Lisa M. Carle	Arabic
Frank Callins III	Finnish
Thomas F. Daughtan	Greek
Gregory Elftmann (USIA)	Latvian
Patrick J. Freeman	Bengali
Robert R. Gabar	Nepoli
Patricio M. Haslach	Indonesian
Jahn Brady Kiesling	Armenian
Gregary M. Marchese	Dari
Brian H. Phipps	Urdu
Evans J. R. Revere	Korean
Danald R. Shemanski	Greek
Martina A. Tkadlec	Polish
Matthew C. Victor	Polish

Dateline

Continued from page 1

the labor management office. She graduated in 1997 from the Catholic University School of Law and was previously a law clerk with the Federal Labor Relations Authority. She is also fluent in Serbo-Croatian.

James Yorke is a labor management specialist assisting members with inquiries about allowances, travel and per diem. He is retired from the British Royal Navy and a Foreign Service spouse. He is actually returning to AFSA after a tour in Colombia.

Derwin Green joins the staff as the Foreign Service Journal's editorial intern for the fall. He is a native of Buford, S.C. and a senior at Howard University where he is studying journalism, French and Spanish.

Nathan Van Dusen is the new advertising intern for the Foreign Service Journal. A native of Burlington, Vt., he is a senior at St. Lawrence University in Canton, N.Y. majoring in government.

AAFSW ROUND TABLE ON ELDER CARE

TUESDAY, NOVEMBER 3, 1998

DEPT. OF STATE - ROOM 1912

9:30 AM TO 1:00 PM

(FOR FS AND CS EMPLOYEES AND FAMILY)

USIA V.P. VOICE • BY RILEY SEVER •

Going Home

As the flag-draped caskets of the American staff killed in the embassy bombings in Africa were carried from the Air Force plane, a military band played the "Going Home" theme by Dvarak. The music seemed especially appropriate since these colleagues were going home for the last time. Along with hundreds of others, I had come not only to mourn, but also to show how proud I was of those colleagues who had given their lives for our country.

While standing in that crowd, I thought how little those watching this event on television knew about what we in the Foreign Service do, much less the professional challenges and physical dangers we encounter during our careers. Few positive images in the popular consciousness came to mind. We are usually portrayed as over-paid, cookie-pushing, striped-pants diplomats living in luxury overseas. Our work is little understood and therefore distrusted by both political parties, each of which sees us in league with the other. Yet both parties will agree that we are responsible for every perceived foreign policy blunder.

We are an easy target because we have no broad American constituency. There is AFSA and there are our families and friends to speak up for us. As retired FSO David T. Janes wrote in a letter printed on the editorial page of the *Washington Post* on August 15, 1998, "It is bitterly amusing that the only time Foreign Service personnel are noticed by the American public and Congress is when we are murdered or held hostage."

During the initial days after the bombings in Africa, there were many polished speeches by government officials,

salacious comments from members of Congress and heart-rending photographs and headlines in the newspapers. Everyone was shocked and alarmed by the deaths of 12 embassy staff. But those of us who have worked in embassies overseas were not surprised.

The past 20 years have seen a dramatic increase in the threats to U.S. embassy personnel. Nearly all of us have at least one experience where either we or our families have been exposed to personal danger. The threats aren't new and they aren't likely to lessen. In 1986 the Advisory Panel on

Overseas Security chaired by Admiral Bobby Inman issued a report describing a need for about \$4.4 billion to provide adequate security at our facilities overseas. The various administrations and Congresses since then have provided barely a third of that figure.

While the U.S. military retaliation a week after the bombings was justified and satisfying, it also increased the threat against our overseas facilities. It is time for this administration to commit itself to providing the funds for adequate security to all U.S. facilities overseas. It is time for Congress to support that effort and it is time for the State Department to use those funds promptly. Dividing our overseas posts into greater and lesser threat categories is an excuse for not committing adequate funds to make them all secure. That is no longer acceptable.

All of our facilities and personnel, both American and foreign, are currently at risk. First we must provide protection for the Foreign Service people who are serving on the front lines to implement America's foreign policy. Then, I will be ready to listen to speeches.

"First provide protection for the Foreign Service people who implement America's foreign policy."

USAID
V.P. VOICE
• BY FRANK MILLER •

A Grateful Nation Mourns Its Dead

On Thursday, August 13, President Clinton led over a thousand mourners — members of the Cabinet, the Congress, the diplomatic community and the armed forces; friends and colleagues from America's foreign affairs agencies; and family members — in a tearful tribute to the 12 American victims of the terrorist bombings in Kenya and Tanzania.

As your AFSA representative and as a friend of the Kirk family, I had the honor of attending this solemn ceremony. While waiting at Andrews Air Force Base for the C-17 carrying the caskets of our fallen friends, my mind drifted back to earlier days in Cairo when I first met Arlene Kirk, one of the victims, at an embassy function for newcomers. Arlene had come to Cairo with her three children and husband, Bob Kirk, who worked for USAID. Arlene was a gregarious, enthusiastic young woman who quickly became a key member of the embassy community. She was the first to volunteer to sponsor new families in Cairo, teaching them local customs and where to shop. Arlene opened up her home for various events during Black History Month in Cairo and served the best soul food imaginable. The Kirk family was no stranger to adversity; while in Cairo, a young daughter became ill and died. Arlene's strength and love sustained the family during that difficult period. Her sense of friendship and her love is what we will remember about her.

Emotions overflowed at the ceremony. President Clinton called the murdered Americans patriots. "We came to honor 12 proud sons and daughters who perished half a world away, but never left America behind, who carried with them the love of their families, the respect of their countrymen, and above all, the ideals for which America stands. We must honor the memory of those we mourn today by pressing the cause of freedom and justice

for which they lived. Nothing can bring them back, but nothing can erase the lives they led, the difference they made, the joy they brought. Each of them relished the chance to see the world and to make it better."

Secretary of State Madeleine Albright said, "Terror can turn life to death, laughter to tears and shared hope to sorrowful memory, but it cannot change America's determination to lead or to strive with others to build a world where there is more prosperity, freedom and peace."

President Clinton and Secretary Albright also honored the Foreign Service National employees who perished protecting American interests in Kenya and Tanzania, as well as private citizens of both countries who were killed.

After the ceremony, William Harrop, an AFSA board member and a former U.S. Ambassador to Kenya, stated that everyone there, whether they were part of the foreign affairs agencies or not, felt a loss. He noted that more people now understand that diplomacy is a high-risk profession.

The Department of State sent a cable to all diplomatic and consular posts requesting donations to support our Foreign Service Nationals (FSNs) who suffered in the bombings. FSNs are an essential part of our foreign policy team, often risking their personal safety to promote America overseas. Many of those FSNs who died were the sole supporters of large extended families. These families do not have the survivor benefits available to American victims.

Contributions qualify as a charitable deduction for federal income tax purposes. Checks can be sent to: FSN Emergency Fund, c/o Donna Bardley, FMP, Room 7427, Dept of State, Washington, D.C. 20520.

"Many of those FSNs who died were the sole supporters of large extended families."

THE AFSA MEMORIAL PLAQUE

by Richard Thompson,
Professional Issues Coordinator

The tragic embassy bombings in Africa have sparked a spate of inquiries about the memorial plaques, and mention of them in public comments and news stories. Two common misunderstandings are that only Foreign Service officers are listed on the plaques, and that they include all FSOs who die while serving abroad in whatever circumstances.

The first memorial plaque, now at the west end of the diplomatic entrance of the Department of State, was unveiled on March 3, 1933 by Secretary of State Henry Stimson at the entrance of what is now the Old Executive Office Building, standing next to the White House, which then housed the State, War and Navy Departments. The inscription on this plaque states: "Erected by members of the American Foreign Service Association in honor of diplomatic and consular officers of the United States who while on active duty lost their lives under heroic or tragic circumstances." The establishment of this plaque grew out of efforts in the late '20s and early '30s to establish a "Roll of Honor" naming those who had died by violence or other causes related to service abroad such as tropical diseases. The first name is that of William Palfrey, chosen by the Continental Congress as Consul General to France, who set sail in 1790 and was never heard from again. Travel by sea was dangerous and often fatal in the early years of our country, and tropical diseases also frequently struck down 19th century American representatives.

The first plaque was originally limited to officers, but after World War II the plaque became open to Foreign Service personnel of all ranks. The second plaque, erected in 1972 during the Vietnam War, carried a new inscription: "Erected by the American Foreign Service Association in honor of those Americans who have lost their lives abroad under heroic or other inspirational circumstances while serving the country abroad in foreign affairs." Death from disease has generally not been considered a basis for consideration since World War II. Terrorism has become the chief cause for inscription. Following the

continued on page 5

Selling Ambassadorships

Continued from page 1

through an outside independent body as the American Bar Association does for federal judges and as the American Academy of Diplomacy did for ambassadorial nominees from 1977 to 1980 during the Carter administration; (2) seek congressional action recommending that the Senate Foreign Relations Committee (SFRC) ask a non-partisan or bipartisan independent body to vet the qualifications of all ambassadorial nominees, career and non-career; (3) seek congressional action recommending that the SFRC ask for comments from an independent body on those nominees who report contributions of more than \$50,000 to a political campaign to curtail the all-too-common practice of awarding ambassadorships to big financial contributors; or (4) seek a sense of the Congress resolution urging all administrations to voluntarily place a 25 percent cap on ambassadorial nominations from outside the career Foreign Service.

The AFSA Governing Board agreed that the Ad Hoc Working Group should explore reaction to these options on the Hill, but should make clear that AFSA's objective is to enhance the qualifications of both career and non-career nominees and not just eliminate political appointee positions.

Reactions on the Hill

Almost everyone AFSA talked to on the Hill acknowledged that the way the U.S. selects ambassadors is flawed and that prior vetting of nominees in the White House could be helpful. However, many questioned the value of a congressional resolution, arguing that the White House would interpret it as politically motivated. They urged AFSA to have the secretary of State and senior department officials pursue this matter directly with the White House.

There was great reluctance on the Hill, especially in the House, to tell the SFRC how to manage the nomination and confirmation process. SFRC staffers felt that vetting nominees was their job and were cool to suggestions for an outside vetting body. They noted that the Foreign Service Act of 1980, which requires the president to provide the committee with a report on the demonstrated competence of nominees to perform the duties of ambassador, is carried out perfunctorily. Everyone is deemed qualified. They were also concerned because an independent body would not

have access to Office of the Inspector General and FBI files to do the vetting.

Some staffers suggested that the department could improve its own selection of ambassadors and that some non-career nominees are clearly equal, if not better qualified than competing career officers. Many felt that AFSA could improve its position and avoid charges of being self-serving by publicly opposing nominations of all unqualified persons.

Regrettably, the important personal role an ambassador can play is not widely understood on the Hill. Many doubted that our foreign policy interests are seriously damaged by the traditional procedures for naming ambassadors. One asked, "Does it really matter that year after year we send political ambassadors, say to a country like Sweden?" They said that the poorly qualified ambassadors are not given important or tough assignments and can be surrounded with good staff.

Republican staffers were generally more favorable than Democrats to reforming the nomination process, which could reflect the current political balance. Some Democrats told us that our efforts could alienate our friends on the Hill and in the White House and expose them to criticism. Staffers on both sides of the aisle believe that campaign finance reform will come up again next year and that AFSA should try again to testify. In that case, they recommended that AFSA come prepared with legislation that could be introduced by friendly representatives. Legislators could then react to a specific bill.

The Ad Hoc Working Group recommended to the Governing Board that AFSA continue its efforts to testify before upcoming hearings on campaign finance reform; that AFSA bring the issue of selling ambassadorships to the American public through the media and AFSA members' contacts and that AFSA aggressively oppose ambassadorial nominees who are potentially unqualified.

How Can AFSA Members Help?

AFSA members are encouraged to send in examples of unqualified ambassadors whose behavior damaged American interests or embarrassed the U.S., to share your ideas for ending the selling of ambassadorships, to let us know of opportunities to place this issue in the media, and to join in the Ad Hoc Working Group's activities. Call Kristino Kreomer at (202) 944-5506 or e-mail her at comm@ofso.org to express your interest. (Aurelius Fernandez, AFSA Secretary, also contributed to this article.)

AFSA 1998/99 Financial Aid Awards

By Lori Dec,
Scholarship Administrator

Over \$123,000 in AFSA Financial Aid Awards has been given to 61 Foreign Service students to help meet their college expenses for the 1998/99 school year. This is an increase of over \$18,000 from last year's total and is largely due to the bull stock market in early 1998. The average award this year is \$2,025.

This is a need-based program that takes into consideration the student's and family's financial situation; no repayment of these grants is required. The program is funded through AFSA Annual and Perpetual Scholarships established by those associated with the Foreign Service and through financial assistance from the Association of American Foreign Service Women (AAFSW) and Diplomatic and Consular Officers, Retired (DACOR).

Applications for the 1999/2000 school year will be available on Nov. 1. The program is open to Foreign Service dependents (children) who attend a two- or four-year college as an undergraduate. Maintaining a 2.0 ("C") grade point average and taking 12 credit hours per semester are also required.

For an application, please contact Lori Dec at (202) 944-5504 or scholar@ofso.org.

Memorial Plaques

continued from page 4

terrorist assassination of a U.S. military attaché, in Paris in 1982, eligibility was extended to include U.S. government employees of other agencies serving under the authority of an ambassador, including military personnel.

There are 81 names on the West Plaque and 97 on the East Plaque, for a total of 178 as of July 15, 1998. It should be remembered that the names on these plaques represent only some of the Americans, including Foreign Service employees, who die of various causes while serving their country overseas. AFSA maintains the plaques, selects names for inscription, and organizes unveiling ceremonies in cooperation with the Department of State. New names are added once a year, on Foreign Service Day in early May.

Protect Your Rights

Continued from page 2

in Washington and has assisted members posted abroad (via phone, fax, and e-mail) with OIG and DS investigations.

AFSA continues to encourage members to get in touch with AFSA Washington if they are contacted by the OIG or DS. However, if members are unable to reach AFSA due to differing time zones or other circumstances, AFSA post reps should know the basic rights and responsibilities of employees in OIG and DS investigations.

Copies of all of AFSA's guidance are available in our labor management offices in Washington and an AFSA's web site (www.afsa.org). In addition, copies will be mailed in the near future to all AFSA past representatives. We cannot emphasize enough how important it is for employees to know their rights, especially in the area of OIG and security investigations.

Members who need assistance with grievances, EEO cases, or OIG/security investigations should call the following numbers. State Department, Foreign Commercial Service, and

retired members: (202) 647-8160; Agency for International Development and Foreign Agricultural Service members: (202) 712-1941; United States Information Agency members: (202) 401-6405.

AFSA
is working for
you —
providing critical
information and
protecting your
rights.

**Support AFSA.
Vote in favor of
the Dues
Restructuring
Referendum.**

Know of a colleague who would be interested in joining AFSA?

Have him or her fill out the information request form below.

I am interested in the following membership:

- Active (Current FS employee)
 Retired (Former FS employee)
 Associate (Non FS)

Name: _____

Address: _____

Please sign me up for weekly AFSA e-mail bulletins. My e-mail address is:

Mail to Membership,
American Foreign Service Association,
2101 E Street N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20037
or e-mail requests to
member@afsa.org.

Classifieds

TAX & FINANCIAL SERVICES

ATTORNEY, FORMER FOREIGN SERVICE OFFICER: Extensive experience w/ tax problems peculiar to the Foreign Service. Available for consultation, tax planning, and preparation of returns:

M. Bruce Hirshorn, Boring & Pilger
Suite D, 307 Maple Ave, West
Vienna, VA 22180 (703) 281-2161

Fax: (703)281-9464 e-mail bhirshom@aol.com

FREE TAX CONSULTATION: For overseas personnel. We process returns as received, without delay. Preparation and representation by Enrolled Agents. Federal and all states prepared. Includes "TAX TRAX" unique mini-financial planning review with recommendations. Full planning available. Get the most from your financial dollar! **Financial Forecasts Inc.**, Barry B. De Marr, CFP, EA 1001 N. Highland St. #301 Arlington, VA 22201, Clarendon Metro, (703) 841-1040, FAX (703) 841-5865.

ATTORNEY, MASTER'S IN TAX: Ten years experience preparing tax returns and advising clients. Author of THE EX-PAT'S GUIDE TO U.S. TAXES. Clients overseas welcome. JANE BRUNO, 4809 N. 25th St., Arlington, VA 22207 Tel (703) 525-8106 FAX: (703) 525-3327 e-mail: akljr@erols.com

AFSA TAX COUNSEL: Problems of tax & finance. Never a charge to AFSA members for telephone guidance. Bob Dussell at tax work both within and without IRS since '37. Now solely in practice to assist FS employees and their families. Bob Dussell (703) 841-0158; fax (703) 522-5726. Office 100' from Virginia Square Metro station at 3601 Fairfax Drive, Arlington, VA 22201.

ROLAND S. HEARD, CPA

1091 Chaddwyck Dr., Athens, GA 30606
Tel/Fax (706) 769-8976

E-mail: RSHEARDCPA@aol.com

- U.S. income tax services
- Many FS & contractor clients
- Practiced before the IRS
- Financial planning
- American Institute of CPAs, Member

FIRST CONSULTATION FREE

COMPLETE TAX & ACCOUNTING SERVICE: Specialize in Foreign Service and overseas contractor situations. **Virginia M. Test, CPA** 2595 Chandler Ave. # 18, Las Vegas, NV 89120, (702) 795-3648, FAX (702) 433-9191, e-mail VTest@aol.com

ATTORNEY

TWENTY-FIVE YEARS EXPERIENCE in employment and personnel law before MSPB, FLRA and EEOC. Specializing in Federal employee grievances concerning performance evaluations, disciplinary actions, involuntary removal, sexual harassment and discrimination based on handicap (including alcohol and drug abuse). Free Initial Consultation.

Sam Horn, Tel. and Fax (301) 933-9723.

WILL/ESTATE PLANNING by attorney who is a former FSO. Have your will reviewed and updated, or new one prepared: No charge for initial consultation. **M. Bruce Hirshorn, Boring & Pilger**, Suite D, 307 Maple Ave. W, Vienna, VA 22180 (703)281-2161, Fax (703) 281-9464 e-mail bhirshom@aol.com

FORMER FOREIGN SERVICE OFFICER NOW PRACTICING LAW IN DC/MD. General practice; estate planning: wills, trusts, living wills, powers of attorney; probate administration; domestic relations; FS grievances. Gregory V. Powell; Furey, Doolan & Abell, LLP; 8401 Conn Ave., #1100, Chevy Chase, MD 20815 (301) 652-6880 fax (301) 652-8972.

Classifieds

ESTATE PLANNING ATTORNEY

WILLS, TRUSTS AND Powers of Attorney, building blocks for transfer and preservation of wealth prepared by former Trust officer, frequent guest speaker on estate planning topics. For consultation and information call Matthew W. Lucas, Esquire, 8027 Leesburg Pike, Suite 207, Vienna, VA 22182. Tel. (703) 821-5522. E-mail: lucas@ids_2idsonline.com Ask about our Foreign Service Discount.

GRIEVANCES: MANDATORY RETIREMENT OR SEPARATION? DEFECTIVE EER?

ATTORNEY WITH 19 years successful experience **SPECIALIZING IN FS GRIEVANCES** will represent you to protect vital interests in these or other career matters including non-promotion, selection out, non-tenuring, disciplinary actions at State, AID, USIA, and Commerce. Call **Bridget R. Mugane** at (202) 387-4383 (Farragut Square), or (301) 596-0175. Free initial consultation.

ATTORNEY PRACTICING IN areas of Foreign Service Grievances at State and Commerce Depts. and AID, or USIA; and Employment Discrimination actions under Title VII and the Rehabilitation Act, will write and file your claims, appeals and complaints, represent you at hearings, and counsel you in challenging adverse employment decisions. Offices in VA (4040 N. Fairfax Drive, Ste 120, Arlington, VA 22203) and DC (Indiana Ave.). Call **George N. Elfter** at (202) 637-1325 Fax (703) 354-1291.

PROPERTY MANAGEMENT

PEAKE MANAGEMENT, INC. Exclusively property management and leasing since 1982. FS family owned and operated.

Accepting a limited number of new clients with Northern Virginia properties renting at \$1,400 and above.

Effective marketing, exceptional tenant screening, thorough inspections, experienced, detail oriented and easy to work with. Call for our unique "Landlord Reference Manual" describing the rental and property management process step-by-step. We specialize in taking good care of your home.

Call **Lindsey Peake**: Tel. (703) 448-0212, Fax (703) 448-9652, E-mail: postmaster@peake.com 6842 Elm Street, McLean, VA 22101.

WASHINGTON MANAGEMENT SERVICES: Residential property management is our only business. Call or write: 2015 Q St. NW, Wash, D.C. 20009. (202) 462-7212, E-mail: wms@wmsdc.com

J.P. PROPERTIES, LTD.: Complete professional dedication to the management of residential property in Northern Virginia. Our professionals will provide personal attention to your home, careful tenant screening, and video inspections of your property. We are equipped to handle all of your property management needs. We work 7 days a week! Over 19 years real estate experience and Foreign Service overseas living experience. **JOANN PIEKNEY**, 301 Maple Ave. W., 4-C, Vienna, VA 22180. Tel. (703) 938-0909 Fax (703) 281-9782 E-mail: jpiekney@aol.com

REALTY GROUP, INC.

SPECIALIZING IN D.C.

Property Management & Sales
Credit Checks • Repair Forecasting
Quarterly Inspection • Monthly Statements
References Available

AMY FISHER: (202) 544-8762
DON TORRILLO: (202) 547-4602
Fax: (202) 543-7630
E-mail: realtygp@erols.com

FOCUSED ON QUALITY

WJD Management is competitively priced, of course. However, if you are considering hiring a property management firm, don't forget the old saying "You get what you pay for." Property management is essentially an information management business. There is definitely a proper and an improper way to manage this information. Without the right staff, the right software, and in particular the right attitude, the management of your home can easily become problematic for everyone involved. All of us at WJD have worked for other property management firms in the past, and we have learned what to do and more importantly what not to do from our experiences at these companies. We invite you to explore our web site at www.wjdp.com for more information, or call us at (703) 684-0800.

DIPLOMAT PROPERTIES, INC.

We're proud to provide excellence in property management during your assignment abroad. Serving No. Va. only. (Owned and operated by a former Foreign Service family). We offer the following: highly experienced management, quality tenants, superior maintenance, strong communication, effective advertising at no extra cost, 24 hour emergency service. Get to know us, a company that cares. For management services information, contact: Robin Gomez, Tel. (703) 522-5900, Fax (703) 525-4713. E-mail: dipprop@earthlink.net 3900 N. Fairfax Drive, Suite 204, Arlington, VA 22203.

FAHEY & ASSOCIATES: Do you want professional and caring property management for your select Northern Virginia property? Expertise and personal attention to detail are the hallmarks of our established firm. Call Gerry Romberg for exceptional service. 6842 Elm Street, Suite 303, McLean, VA 22101 (703) 691-2006, Fax (703) 448-9652, E-mail: 75702.3176@compuserve.com

MANOR SERVICES: FORMER federal law enforcement officer, offers BEST tenant screening. Frequent inspections, Mortgages paid. Repairs. Close PERSONAL attention. We're small, but VERY effective. FS and Mil. refs. Our rates are lower than anyone on this page. And our SERVICE is better, too. Compare -- you'll see. We don't sell, we do "HANDS-ON" management only. **TERSHER NORTON** Box 42429, Washington, D.C. 20015 Tel. (202) 363-2990, Fax (202) 363-4736 E-mail: nortont@erols.com

AGS REALTY - PROPERTY Management. Saying the right thing is easy, but doing the right thing is what we are all about: • Management, leasing, and sales • Serving Virginia, Maryland and D.C. • 31 years experience • We save you money & keep tenants happy • With us you'll never look elsewhere • Efficient Service with personal attention • References? Talk with any of our clients. You'll be sure you have made the right choice when you work with us.

Call Caroline Hilliard Tel: (202) 333-1540 Fax: (202) 333-1652 E-mail: agsrealty@erols.com **AGS REALTY**, 2121 Wisconsin Ave. NW #320, Wash., D.C. 20007.

SHORT - TERM RENTALS

FOREIGN SERVICE ASSOCIATES can provide fully furnished apartments at River Place just 5 minutes from the new NFATC facility and one block from SA-15. We have efficiencies, 1 bedrooms, and some 2 bedrooms, usually within your per diem. Apts. are fully furnished kitchens, cable TV, telephone, linens, and all utilities included. Write: **Foreign Service Associates**, P.O. Box 12855, Arlington, VA 22209 or call (800) 993-6997, Fax (703) 527-0279, E-mail: FSAssoc1@aol.com

ELEGANT APARTMENTS AT RIVER PLACE. Arlington, VA; Efficiencies one, two- bedrooms, two blocks from metro, FSI. Bike or Metro to Pentagon. Superior furnishings, immediate phone and CATV, microwave, linens and many amenities. Site has spa, rates within your per diem. Call (301) 279-0392 Fax **Sojourner Housing** at (301) 762-7692 for brochure or reservations, E-mail: sojourn@pop.erols.com

Classifieds

TEMPORARY HOUSING

WASHINGTON DC or NFATC TOUR? EXECUTIVE HOUSING CONSULTANTS offers Metropolitan Washington D.C.'s finest portfolio of short-term, fully-furnished and equipped apartments, townhomes and single family residences in Maryland, D.C. and Virginia.

In Virginia: "River Place's Finest" is steps to Rosslyn Metro and Georgetown and 15 minutes on Metro bus or State Department shuttle to NFATC. For more info. please call us at (301) 951-4111 or visit our website:

www.executivehousing.com

FULLY FURNISHED, BEAUTIFUL 2 BR, 2 bathroom, house in quiet Cleveland Park neighborhood one block from Conn. Ave. NW. 2 blocks from Van Ness Metro and shopping. All modern utilities and conveniences for short term rentals at \$125/night. rates negotiable for long term lease. **Call or Fax (202) 237-8058.**

REAL ESTATE

A win-win Situation! Low interest rates and stable home prices provide an opportune time to buy. **DO YOU WANT TO KNOW HOW MUCH HOUSE YOU CAN BUY...AND WOULD YOU LIKE TO BE LIVING THERE IN 30 DAYS?**

Having provided exclusive representation as a buyer agent to Foreign Service personnell over the past ten years, we can focus quickly and efficiently on your special housing requirements. *Discover How Much You Can Buy... And How To Get It Now.* Contact **Marilyn Cantrell, CRS, GRI, Assoc. Broker, at McEnearney Associates, 1320 Old Chain Bridge Rd, McLean, VA (703) 790-9090 Fax (703) 734-9460 e-mail mcm-cln@erols.com**

VIRGINIA

LICENSED REAL ESTATE Broker in VA and MD, certified by National Trust for Historic Preservation, and certified Buyer agent. 15 years abroad as career FS and as World Bank spouse provide experience for international or domestic relocations. Marghi (Barone) Fauss, Associate Broker, McEnearney & Associates (800) 548-9080 ext. 243, Fax (703) 370-1410, E-mail: marghif@aol.com

FAX OR E-MAIL your classified ad w/ name, address, daytime phone and Visa or Mastercard no.along with exp. date.

Vienna, VA. Large townhouse for rent in Dec. Short walk to Metro. Abuts parkland. 3/4 bedrooms, 3.5 baths, deck, garage. Contact: M. Karra, (202) 712-5934. E-mail:mkarra@usaid.gov

FLORIDA

ENJOY SUN, GRACIOUS living, and no State Income Tax. Former FSO **Paul Byrnes** specializes in sales in Sarasota, the jewel of Florida's Gulf coast, but can assist with property anywhere in the State. Call toll free: **1 (800) 766-1610.** Use E-mail: byrnes@family-net.org or write him at **Prudential FI Realty, 100 N. Tamiami Tr., Sarasota, Florida 34236.**

FLORIDA

LONGBOAT KEY / SARASOTA. Luxury homes/villas/condos. NO state income taxes. I can help with exploratory trip. **SHARON OPER, Sarasota Realty Group Tel/Fax (941) 387-7199; E-mail: LBK7@aol.com**

FOR SALE

CONDO FOR SALE: Good Investment! Falls Church garden condo, 2 BR 2 BA FP, Deck w/ lake view. Excellent access to schools, Metro, shopping, \$112,900. Tel/Fax (334) 887-2375.

NORTHWEST ISLAND PROPERTY: Spectacular views, mild climate, safe community, boating, fishing, hiking, between Seattle & Vancouver, B.C. Contact former FSO Jan Zehner, Coldwell Banker Orcas Island, (800) 552-7072; Fax (360) 376-5095, P.O. Box 127, Eastsound, WA 98245, E-mail: janz@rockisland.com

RETIREMENT COMMUNITY CONDO for sale. One Bedroom, livingroom/dining area, sun room, off golf course. Transportation, club activities, congenial atmosphere. Phyllis Gain, c/o **Century 21, Sunrise, Florida,** Tel (954) 749-8100, Fax (954) 749-8905.

LOOKING FOR YOUR LAST JOB?

STOP TRADING HOURS for dollars! Use your consulting expertise to leverage time and build a retirement income to grow for generations. Young international public R&D company with cutting-edge nutritional technology offers a proven system for optimal health and financial independence. Share this gift with those you love and together live your dreams. Foreign Service spouse Cynthia Olson, (703) 768-6179; E-mail: olson2@aol.com

BUY MUSIC THROUGH: AFSA store (<http://www.afsa.org>), Click on Amazon.com and assist AFSA at no cost to you for all CDs and tapes you decide to purchase. Check our book reviews online.

ART

ORIGINAL DAVID ROBERTS Lithographs *The Holy Land and Egypt (ca. 1846)* Antique engravings of **Catherwood, Redoute, Bartlett, Audubon, Gould.** Bible/Koran leaves, etc. MasterCard/VISA

PETRA FINE ART, P.O. Box 16321 Baltimore, MD 21210 Tel. (410) 235-1696 website: <http://www.attach.net/infocentral/petra>

BOOKS

ANY U.S. BOOK in print. Send check when books arrive. **Salmagundi Books** 96 Main St, Cold Spring, NY 10516. E-mail: SALBOOKS@HIGHLANDS.COM

BOOKS, BOOKS, BOOKS. We have thousands in stock, do special orders daily, search for out-of-print books, large selection of CD's and cassettes; Jazz a specialty. Visa or Mastercard. **THE VERMONT BOOK SHOP** 38 Main Street, Middlebury, VT 05753.

110 - 220 VOLT STORE MULTI-SYSTEM ELECTRONICS

PA-SECAM-NTSC TVs, VCRs, AUDIO, CAMCORDER, ADAPTOR, TRANSFORMERS, KITCHEN APPLIANCES

EXPORTS ELECTRONICS, INC.

1719 Connecticut Ave. N.W. Washington, D.C. 20009, near Dupont Circle. Between R & S Streets. Tel. (202) 232-2244 Fax (202) 265-2435, Internet:<http://www.erols.com/aval> E-mail: aval@erols.com

Price quotations for PVOs, NGOs, USG, FS. Discounts for Diplomats.

NEW AFSA WEBPAGE THE CLASSIFIEDS: <http://www.afsa.org>

Classifieds complete with hyperlinks direct to your most needed services: real estate, property management, attorney, etc.

DEADLINES: SPACE RESERVATION 25th of the month for publication 5 weeks later. Please submit written text by fax, e-mail or letter. No phone orders accepted. (10-word minimum words) Phone number, zip code, all permitted abbreviations. Total word count tabulated by computer.

MY CIA-GUATEMALA CONNECTION

The Cuban government's shutdown of two Cuban exile planes on February 24, 1996 gave the CIA the opportunity it had almost certainly been seeking, to permanently end my career in government.

What had I done to earn the ire of the CIA? Before being named Clinton's Cuba adviser, I had represented the State Department in negotiations to end Guatemala's decades-old civil war.

At first, my political enemies on Guatemala were left-wing human rights activists, whose most effective spokesperson was Jennifer Harbury, a Harvard-trained lawyer. In the 1980s, she met and fell in love with an indigenous guerrilla commander named Efraín Bámaca. Bámaca disappeared after an encounter with the Guatemalan army in 1992. The Guatemalan army insisted that Bámaca was dead, but Harbury believed otherwise. My State Department colleagues told me that we knew nothing more about Bámaca than what we heard from Guatemala's government. As State's point person on Guatemala, I dutifully passed along that information.

As Harbury's case began to attract international publicity, I asked for a thorough search of State Department files. On October 19, 1994, the Guatemala desk officer brought to me an intelligence report which showed that the U.S. government did have information on Bámaca.

It became clear to me that the CIA was trying to cover up a connection between one of its assets, the Bámaca case, and the murder of an American citizen by the Guatemalan army. After months of struggle with my conscience and on the advice of a deputy assistant secretary in the Bureau of Legislative Affairs, I felt that I had to tell someone in the Congress that the CIA had misled me, other senior officials at State and the NSC, and the Congress. My old boss, Rep. Robert Torricelli (D-N.J.), was a member of the Intelligence Committee, and he was fully cleared to discuss highly classified information.

Toricelli was outraged by the information I brought to him. He decided to denounce the agency publicly. A major scandal ensued, resulting in a presidential report that led to the dismissal of two former Guatemala CIA station chiefs. Agency operatives were furious. Torricelli had violated the code; assets were burned, careers ruined. Someone must pay. Since it could not be Torricelli, it would be his former trusted aide.

My decision to inform the Congress about the CIA's illegal activities affected my position as special adviser on Cuba, beginning shortly after I arrived at the White House. In December 1995, Rep. Larry Combest (R-Tex.), the chairman of the House Select Intelligence Committee, wrote to the president, arguing that I could not be trusted to protect national security secrets from the Cuban government since I had revealed them to a member of his committee.

The State Department and the FBI had both investigated my conduct and concluded that it was an "error in judgment" for me to tell the truth to Congress. However, they did not question my access to classified information.

Within days of the president's signature of the Helms/Burton Act, the CIA informed the White House that if I were not removed, the agency would revoke my access to sensitive compartmented information (SCI), effectively ending my ability to work at a senior level.

On April 4, 1996, Sandy Berger informed me that the White House would comply with the CIA's decision.

I did not go quietly. After President Clinton's reelection in November 1996 I publicly criticized the CIA's vendetta against me. The result was a segment on *60 Minutes*, three *New York Times* editorials, and abundant news coverage nationwide. Twenty-two members of Congress appealed my case directly to the president, but President Clinton decided not to interfere in an "internal" CIA matter.

And that's how repercussions from my Guatemala whistle-blowing helped to end my brief career as special adviser on Cuba. ■ — *Richard A. Nuccio*

F O C U S

Although my family and friends like Chris Marquis advised me against taking a position that they believed would destroy me professionally and perhaps personally, I was in fact eager to implement the ideas about Cuba policy on which I had been working behind the scenes for more than three years. Over the next several months, I moved to refocus U.S. policy on what I called the three "fronts" of an initiative to advance the cause of a peaceful, democratic transition in Cuba. I outlined my political and diplomatic strategy in several long memos addressed to my immediate superiors at the White House: Alexis Herman, director of the Office of Public Liaison, and Sandy Berger, deputy director of the National Security Council. (Berger and Peter Tarnoff, under secretary for political affairs at State, were the two senior administration officials who dealt directly with Cuba policy.)

On the international "front," the United States would try to take advantage of the changed circumstances of Cuba's relations with the outside world.

With the end of Soviet subsidies, Cuba's trade with market economies now comprised 85 percent of its much-reduced trade activity. The U.S. embargo was, therefore, more than a nuisance to Cuba's leaders. It was blocking Cuba's efforts to conduct an economic opening on its own terms. Maintenance of the embargo was a powerful "stick" offers to remove it in response to "positive developments" in Cuba could be an equally significant "carrot."

A second "front" for U.S. policy was inside Cuba. Cuba's economic crisis had forced the regime to permit small cracks in its hold on citizens' lives. Individual initiative was sometimes the only thing putting food on many Cubans' tables. The Catholic church was being permitted for the first time since Castro's triumph to minister to the material and spiritual needs of the population. The Cuban government had little alternative but to turn a blind eye to certain kinds of entrepreneurship, and to permit the church and other independent organizations to help the sick, the young and



EVERARD S. TAYLOR, CFP
RETIRED FOREIGN SERVICE OFFICER



GEORGE A. GRIEVE, CFP
RETIRED CIVIL SERVICE OFFICER

MONEY CONCEPTS IS AN INDEPENDENT FINANCIAL PLANNING ORGANIZATION WITH CENTRES IN THE U.S. AND OVERSEAS. WE WILL PROVIDE PERSONAL, COMPREHENSIVE FINANCIAL PLANNING GEARED TO YOUR INDIVIDUAL FINANCIAL GOALS. WE SPECIALIZE IN HELPING ACTIVE AND RETIRED FEDERAL EMPLOYEES.

PRODUCTS AND SERVICES INCLUDE:

- ASSET ALLOCATION
- MUTUAL FUNDS*
- LIFE INSURANCE
- STOCKS AND BONDS*
- VARIABLE ANNUITIES*
- LIMITED PARTNERSHIPS*
- PRE-RETIREMENT PLANNING
- FINANCIAL SEMINARS

FOR INFORMATION OR AN APPOINTMENT:
405 ONONDIO CIRCLE
VIENNA, VA 22180-5927
TEL: (703) 560-2230
FAX: (703) 560-7718
EMAIL: ETAYLOR@MONEYCONCEPTS.COM
GRIEVE@MONEYCONCEPTS.COM

*All Securities through Money Concepts Capital Corp., Member NASID/SPIC
1208 U.S. Highway One, North Palm Beach, Florida 33408 Tel: (561) 627-0700

a taste of paradise...

Key West Fiery Foods

Offers you gift ideas of Hot Stuff from the U.S.

Junior Officer Special - includes Tahiti Joe's Garlic Hot Sauce, Liquid Summer Datil Pepper Hot Sauce, Gator Hammock Gator Sauce, Hog's Breath Xtra Hot Sauce, Old Key West Key Lime Bar-B-Que Sauce.....\$24.95 + \$5.95 S&H

The Country Team - includes Bustelo's Very Hot Pepper Sauce, Jump Up and Kiss Me with Passion, Inner Beauty Original Real Hot Sauce, Pyromania, Kiss of Fire.....\$37.95 + \$8.95 S&H

Chief of Mission - includes Ring of Fire Xtra Hot Sauce, Craig's Chipotle Hot Sauce, Pete's Heat Professional Strength Hot Sauce, Orange Krush, JC's Midnight Hot Salsa, Texas Sweet & Hot Jalapeños.....\$49.95 + \$10.95 S&H



To Order:
Please send your Name, Address, any Gift Information, along with credit card number and expiration date (VISA, MasterCard, American Express, and Discover/Novus), or check or money order to:

**Key West Fiery Foods
P.O. Box 290, Key West, FL 33041**

F O C U S

the old who were the most affected by the economic downturn. Through its policy of "support for the Cuban people," the United States could seek to amplify the links between our own civil society and these emerging sectors in Cuba and strengthen them.

The third dimension of Cuba policy was in the United States. More Cuban-Americans were becoming disillusioned with the results of 30 years of exile militancy. A younger exile generation, raised entirely in the United States, was open to new ideas about how to produce change in Cuba. Arguments that efforts to strengthen civil society on the island were a valid way to promote change resonated with many who had no bitter memories of betrayal and no revenge to exact. They wanted to discover a Cuba they had heard about but never seen, and were prepared to violate the taboo on travel to the

*The administration
took bold steps only
when it didn't
understand the
political implications.*

island while Castro still lived. This domestic "front" also included efforts to broaden the base of the administration's Cuba policy. By accepting the need to maintain the core elements of the embargo while conducting selective openings in it, the administration's policy alienated both the extreme left and right, the two principal "constituencies" for Cuba policy. It was, therefore, imperative that the administration reach out to our domestic civil society — including the business community — to begin to build a more moderate constituency to support the "third way" we were pursuing on Cuba.

A few foreign policy experts correctly perceived that this combination of "hard" and "soft" policies was "a careful but major change in government policy." [David Reiff, "Cuba Refrozen," *Foreign*



Hotel Suites
420 North Van Dorn Street
Alexandria, Virginia 22304
(703) 370-1000 (800) 368-3339
(703) 751-1467 FAX
E-mail: Towersuites@erols.com

**RENT OUR \$95.95 SUITES
AND GET FREE:**

Alamo Rental Car
PC Modem In All Rooms
Continental Breakfast
USA TODAY Newspaper
Fully Equipped Kitchens
Exercise Room/Pool
Happy Hour

ALL OF THE ABOVE FOR LESS THAN
THE GSA LODGING PER DIEM DAILY
ALLOWANCE FOR WDC!

VOLVO

**Factory-Set Discounts To Diplomats
Posted Stateside and Abroad**

***U.S., U.K., European, or Overseas Specs
Overseas and Domestic Deliveries***

JERRY GRIFFIN

**DIPLOMATIC SALES SPECIALIST
18 YEARS WITH VOLVO**

**1231 W. Broad Street
Falls Church, VA 22046
Washington, D.C. Metropolitan Area**

(703) 237-5000

Fax: (703) 237-5028

Web Site <http://www.dbvolvo.com/beyer>

db Don Beyer Volvo

F O C U S

Affairs (July/August 1996)] The United States would maintain a hard line on relations with the Cuban government: without clear signs of movement toward democratic values, the U.S. economic embargo would remain in place. But, we would also try to separate this "hard" policy toward the government from a "soft" approach of support for a nascent Cuban civil society: selective openings in the embargo would be made to encourage greater communication and contact between the Cuban people and the outside world.

A crucial element necessary to support this strategy was put in place on October 6, 1995, when President Clinton announced a series of measures during a speech at Freedom House to expand communication and contact with Cuba. This package of initiatives, known within the administration as the

*The major
constituencies for
Cuba policy were
on the extreme
right and left.*

"October Measures," was developed over several months and extensively briefed to key members of Congress. The package restored items dropped from the original Cuban Democracy Act, such as licensing of news bureaus in Cuba, and expanded dramatically the possibilities for NGO work in Cuba by establishing a new license category called, "Support for the Cuban

People." Aside from the successful transfer of 32,000 Cuban rafters to the United States, I consider the October measures the most important achievement of my year as Cuba adviser.

Castro Shoots Down Change

However, with each successful attempt to move Cuba policy in a more constructive direction, my political situation deteriorated. I was using up my own



MAIL BOXES ETC.

MBE of McLean
Making Business
Easier, Worldwide!

1350 Beverly Rd., Ste 115
(Ashby Building)
McLean, VA 22101

Phone: 703-448-8044
Fax: 703-448-8332
mbemclean@juno.com

www.washingtonpost.com/yp/mbemclean

Consistent mail delivery is always a challenge. At MBE of McLean, we lift the burden from your shoulders. Here are some of our services:

- * Uninterrupted mail service, wherever you are.
- * Receive/send: USPS, UPS, FedEx and DHL.
- * Avoid delays in paying bills (you send us your bills, we'll forward them).
- * Personal or group/office mail services.
- * Sign-up from anywhere in the world.

See your CLO for information packets!



D & M AUTO PARTS

145 WEST JOHN ST.
HICKSVILLE, NY 11801 USA
(NEW LOCATION)

THE PARTS PROFESSIONALS

- Serving the Diplomatic community since 1972
- Identifying the correct parts and supplying them when you need them is something best left to a professional
- D & M is a family owned business solely committed to the parts business and dedicated to providing the service you deserve
- We accept all Government PO's as well as personal orders and pay special attention to those urgently needed items.
- We are here to help so don't hesitate to ask!!

CONTACT: GARY VLAHOV
PHONE: 516-882-6662 FAX: 882-5020
INTERNET: DMAUTO@IBM.NET



Visa Mastercard American Express



FOCUS

credibility with the exile community to sell administration policy; eventually, I would exhaust my political capital. Another presidential election approached and the congressional bazaar on Cuba policy was reopening. As Torricelli's staffer, I had played the politics of Cuba policy against the Bush administration in 1992. In 1996, it would be the Republicans' turn. New Cuba legislation, the Libertad or Helms/Burton bill, was the latest legislative vehicle to promise an "end to Castro."

My personal interest lay in reaching a compromise on the legislation. If the "intellectual author" of the Torricelli bill could also take credit for Helms/Burton, I would be a hero in Miami and New Jersey. But, as the administration's point person on Cuba, it was my job to lead the fight against the legislation. In December 1995, I mobilized administration support for a filibuster by Sen. Christopher Dodd (D-Conn.) to prevent the legislation from coming to the Senate floor.

If I successfully pushed for a compromise with Helms, I could recoup the credibility I had lost with the Cuban-American community for taking such an active role in opposing the legislation. "Friends" had already come forward telling me that some in Congress and in the Cuban-American community were "out to get me." If I were to take a more "flexible" position on Helms/Burton, these "friends" would defend me and argue against attempts to remove me from the White House. Like a scene from the "Godfather" movies, it was the "friend" who came to warn me who was working most actively to arrange my political "death."

However, as is often the case, the

SEVEN MINUTES TO STATE DEPARTMENT



COLUMBIA PLAZA APARTMENTS

**Capital Living
With Comfort and Convenience**

Beautiful, Spacious Efficiencies, 1 and 2 Bedrooms

Utilities Included
Complimentary Voice Mail
Courtyard Style Plaza
Polished Hardwood Floors
Private Balconies
Huge Walk-In Closets

24 Hour Front Desk
Garage Parking Available
Shopping on Site
Cardkey Entry/Access
River Views
Minutes to Fine Dining

*Walk to the Kennedy Center and Georgetown
Minutes to Foggy Bottom Metro*

(202) 293-2000

**2400 Virginia Ave., N.W.
Washington, D.C., 20037**

Managed by Polinger, Shannon & Luchs Co.



FARA

**Foreign Affairs Recreation Association
FARA Housing Division,**
Managed by ECMC

**610 Bashford Lane, Alexandria, VA 22314
Ph: (703) 684-1825 Fax: (703) 739-9318**

We are proud to provide the best hotel values in the Washington, DC metropolitan area! You can choose from properties offering studios, one bedroom, 2-bedroom apartments, suites & hotel rooms.

Our locations have unique proximity to FSI, State Department, the Pentagon, NFATC, National Airport, Old Town, Alexandria, White House and Georgetown

For more information call for features and rates of participating FARA hotels.

F O C U S

principal obstacle to a more constructive U.S. policy toward Cuba was not the Cuban-American lobby or their supporters in Congress, but Castro himself. On February 24, 1996, he ordered two U.S.-based civilian planes shot down. With that action, he not only ended four lives, but resuscitated the Helms/Burton legislation and pushed U.S. policy further in the direction of a direct confrontation with Cuba than it had been since the 1960s.

The shutdown also changed the politics of Cuba policy. President Clinton performed one of his famous backward flips with a half twist and announced that he would sign Helms/Burton. My assignment was now to negotiate a face-saving compromise with Capitol Hill. But once the compromise was reached and the bill signed, I became a liability to the White House. When my political stock in the exile community could be used

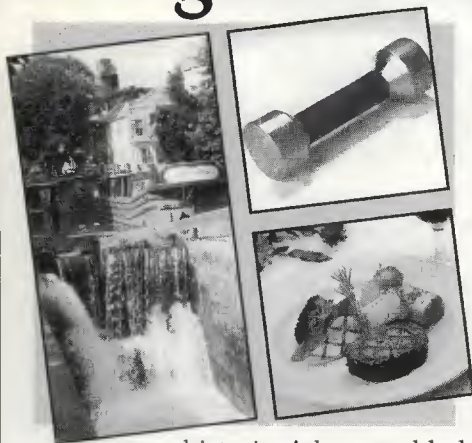
*With my stock in the
exile community
gone, I became a
political liability to
the White House.*

to shield the White House from attack, I served a purpose. Now I was attracting political opposition, not repelling it. Congressman Bob Menendez (D-N.J.) had helped to negotiate the administration's surrender on Helms/Burton. As the only Cuban-American Democrat in the Congress, he felt that if anyone should have the title of special adviser to the president for Cuba

it should be him. In a private meeting, he suggested I resign, before he was forced to call for my dismissal.

The White House readily accepted my "decision" to return to the State Department for an undisclosed and non-existent assignment. Nine months later, I left the administration for good. Chris Marquis and I had both been right: Cuba did help to end my career, but I was thrown off the roof of the White House, not the State Department. ■

You'll Find 100 Ways To Spend 30 Days At Georgetown Suites.



Coming to Washington for an extended stay? Our oversized, luxurious suites put you close to the business district and

historic sights, world-class dining and eclectic shops that make Georgetown so exceptional.

For reservations or information, please call our Sales Department today.

- Free Continental Breakfast
- Free local calls
- Free daily maid service
- Fully equipped kitchens
- 2 for 1 dining at selected restaurants
- 15 Minutes From National Airport



\$75
FROM
Per Night,
based on a
30-day
minimum stay.

G **GEORGETOWN**
S • U • I • T • E • S

1000 29th Street, N.W. • Washington, D.C. 20007 • 202-298-7800 • 800-348-7203 • e-mail: info@georgetownSuites.com



I WANT YOU

To Visit www.afsa.org
and Read!

Go to AFSA's homepage at www.afsa.org on the internet, and we will direct you to **Amazon.com™**, where you have access to millions of great books and music.

The Foreign Service Journal receives a referral fee on every book or music item purchased, so the more you buy, the better we can serve you as our reader.

The Foreign Service Journal gives you access to 2,500,000 books and music. Simply visit our web site!



NTA

NATIONAL TEMPORARY APARTMENTS, INC.

Short-Term Furnished Apartment Specialists

Comfortable

Fully furnished one, two or three bedroom apartments to your specifications. All linens, towels, kitchenware and other amenities provided.

Cost Effective

Far less expensive than most hotels or suites.

Convenient

Locations all around Washington, D.C., Northern Virginia and Maryland.

One phone call and we do all the work.

(301) 495-8927

(30 day minimum stay)

8737 Colesville Road, Suite 302, Silver Spring, MD 20910

MARTENS VOLVO

Dedicated to Diplomacy

Worldwide Delivery to Diplomats
and Members of International Organizations



Contact: Dana Martens, Diplomatic Sales Director

VOLVO

MARTENS
CARS OF WASHINGTON, INC.
4800 WISCONSIN AVE. WASH., DC 20016

202-537-3000
Fax 202-537-1826

U.S.A.'s Largest Diplomatic Dealer

POLICY PATHOLOGY IN HONDURAS



CHET PHILLIPS

T WHEN THE REAGAN ADMINISTRATION CAME TO POWER, CENTRAL AMERICA POLICY-MAKING WENT HAYWIRE

By Jack R. Binns

The July 1979 collapse of the Anastasio Somoza regime in Nicaragua, the result of civil uprising and the Sandinista armed insurgency, struck Central America with seismic force. Before the year was out, the repressive government of Gen. Carlos Humberto Romero in El Salvador had been ousted and replaced by a reformist civilian-military junta, and in Honduras the ruling military had agreed to allow elections and turn power over to civilians after 17 years. Only in Guatemala, a chameleone, did the iron-fisted military ignore the lessons of Nicaragua.

Somoza's fall rocked the hemisphere, altering the structure of the Cold War and, briefly, the U.S. strategic world view. In so doing, it created new stresses in our relationships with the Soviet Union and with our allies in the hemisphere and

beyond. Ultimately, it gave rise to a crisis in American government known as the "Iran-Contra Affair."

In early 1980, civil strife in Central America was growing, although Honduras and Costa Rica were pockets of relative tranquility. That changed as events and U.S. government policies disrupted their serenity, drawing them more deeply into the maelstrom.

The Carter administration's regional policy was based on the belief that the unrest was the product of an inability of the unjust power structures in these nations to accommodate popular pressures for change. None, except Costa Rica, were democracies. Their traditional political, economic and social structures were, with some important variations and exceptions, based on an elitist triad made up of an economic oligarchy, the military and the Catholic Church.

The root problems, according to this analysis, lay in the structures themselves. Our overriding goal, accordingly, should be their reform and revitalization. This meant that the U.S. needed to craft and carry out policies that would help, influence and, in some cases, direct the change process toward constructive ends.

The Carter team sought to achieve these ends through diplomatic means, including dialogue, good offices, public diplomacy and leverage based on increasing levels of economic and security assistance. There was a role, too, for covert action, in carefully targeted situations where goals were clear and reasonably attainable, and where the means were consistent with law and our national values.

Because the causes of upheaval in Central America were political, social and economic, military action was not considered a useful tool in resolving these problems. Moreover, the armed forces in these countries (Costa Rica excepted) were part of the problem.

Jack R. Binns is a retired FSO; in 1980-81, he served as ambassador to Honduras. This article is excerpted from Edge of the Storm: A Personal History of U.S. Policy and Operations in Honduras, 1980-81, tentatively scheduled for publication in 1999 by McFarland & Co., Inc.

*The right wing of
the Republican Party
was hysterical about
the Communist threat
to America's
southern flank.*

The Carter administration fully recognized the role of Cuba in the overthrow of Somoza, as well as Castro's support for insurgents in El Salvador and Guatemala. The Cubans were also known to be training dissident Hondurans and Costa Ricans, and to be supporting the Sandinista government. The Soviet Union was clearly abetting Cuba, and in March 1980, signed a series of economic, technical and cultural agreements with Nicaragua. Yet, there was no reason

to believe Central America was an important area of Soviet policy interest or activity. An opportunity to harass the U.S., undoubtedly, but not an area of strategic or major interest. Unrest in this region was not seen as the product of international Communism or the Cold War.

This analysis was not universally accepted. Indeed, it was a point of almost hysterical disagreement from the right wing of the Republican Party, which asserted that the United States had "never before...been in such jeopardy from its exposed southern flank" and demanded the "counterprojection of American power" to deal with the Communist threat. The GOP platform stated that "we deplore the Carter administration's aid program for the Marxist Sandinista government in Nicaragua [and w]e will support the efforts of the Nicaraguan people to establish a free and independent government." After the 1980 election, these views were fully accepted by the incoming Reagan administration.

Accordingly, the principal threat was now seen to be the spread of Communism inspired by Cuba and the Soviet Union, and was best combated by covert paramilitary action, the projection of U.S. military power and sharply increased assistance to armies in the region. The new administration's overriding goals soon became the ouster of the Sandinista government by paramilitary force and the military defeat of the Salvadoran insurgency. Political and popular opposition within the United States precluded the open articulation of these goals, however, and the intelligence community firmly believed that neither objective was attainable in the foreseeable future. The political constraints were best, but not solely, exemplified by successive "Boland amendments." These

amendments essentially prohibited the CIA and Defense from supporting military actions "for the purpose of overthrowing the government of Nicaragua." The administration was forced, therefore to argue that the Contra program was not designed to overthrow the Sandinistas. In practice, the administration's goals remained unchanged.

In retrospect, it is ironic that both the Sandinista/Contra conflict and the civil war in El Salvador were resolved by peaceful rather than military means. Political accommodations were eventually reached through negotiation, not warfare.

Some argue that the star-crossed Contra operation and our nearly unconditional support for the repressive Salvadoran military made political resolution possible. Perhaps. But it is at least equally arguable that diplomacy could have produced similar outcomes much earlier, without the damaging "cover" war in Nicaragua, our support for the noxious Salvadoran military or our complicity in Honduran human rights violations. Having served in four of the five Central American countries, watched the evolution from the Carter to the Reagan policy from my position as ambassador to Honduras, and benefited from hindsight and over 1,000 previously classified document pertaining to this period, I come down firmly in the latter camp.

U.S. policy toward Honduras in this period, part of what Roy Gutman so aptly labeled "banana diplomacy", was in a very real sense a study in foreign policy pathology. It was dysfunctional in the extreme, and the fault lay primarily in Washington — with State, the National Security Council, other foreign affairs agencies and, ultimately, with the president.

Some of the weaknesses I describe were doubtless unique to the Reagan administration. Still, I believe that a close look at the case of Honduras provides some useful lessons for diplomats in how not to conduct foreign policy. Consider the following.

The Reagan administration came to office determined to weaken the NSC, which it saw as a divisive element dur-

*Under Reagan,
the focus in
Central America
shifted from promoting
peaceful reform to
anti-Communist,
armed conflict.*

ing the Nixon and Carter years. This was one of the more critical of several dysfunctions. It was in part responsible for a lack of adequate policy coordination in the Reagan administration's early years, with the attendant proliferation of uncoordinated activities. The CIA and Defense (usually acting through the Joint Chiefs of Staff's Southern Command) carried out unilateral activities, sometimes without the knowledge of other agencies, often without coordination. Individuals at the NSC, too, had separate lines of communication and acted independently, and in some cases deliberately misled

other agencies. The latter practice, of course, grew worse in the mid-1980s when the NSC became an operational entity in the effort to circumvent congressional restrictions on the Contra operation.

Other agencies quickly grasped the opportunity for independent action. The CIA and Defense purposely ignored, deceived and sought to marginalize the embassy in Honduras. Some examples: the CIA's secret dealings with Col. Gustavo Alvarez (commander of the Honduran police and commander-designate of the armed forces) and provisional President Gen. Policarpo Paz García; its initiative to take over the Contra operation even before the presidential finding was signed; Southern Command's unilateral actions with regard to joint military exercises, security assistance funding and acquisition of base rights. The NSC also got into the act: witness Gen. Robert L. Schweitzer's dealings with Col. Alvarez and other senior officers. This unilateralism precluded, for example, a coordinated inter-agency approach to interdiction of arms being smuggled to the Salvadoran rebels.

Concomitantly, the CIA, Defense and the NSC deliberately misled and ignored the ambassador (and, on occasion, State) in carrying out their unilateral activities. These actions were in direct violation of Public Law 93-475, which provides that the ambassador has "full responsibility for the direction, coordination, and supervision of all United States government officers and employees" in his country. To an extent, State was a witting collaborator in this dysfunction, in that some officials were

FOCUS

aware of the plans of these agencies and made no effort to advise me.

Similarly, the State Department failed to provide clear, timely policy guidance in response to repeated embassy requests. This problem was especially noticeable during the last two months of the Carter administration and the first six months of Reagan, when a virtual policy vacuum existed. As a result, important issues were neglected: escalating Honduran human rights abuses; problems related to Salvadoran and Nicaraguan refugees; the deteriorating Honduran economy; and, most important, the emerging conflicts in our uncoordinated bilateral policies in the region.

State also kept the embassy out of the loop on key events, actions and decisions that affected Honduras. Consequently, there arose a policy disconnect between Washington and the field, leading to the emergence of parallel lines of communication and divergent messages. Ultimately, the embassy became marginalized. These

dysfunctions made the conduct of a coherent foreign policy virtually impossible. The most striking example of this type of self-inflicted wound was the failure to advise the embassy or me of the direction in which the administration was moving with regard to Nicaragua and the role envisaged for Honduras.

In the crucial years 1980-81, State and other agencies were unwilling to address real and potential conflicts in our various bilateral policy objectives. For instance, our efforts to persuade the Hondurans to do more to control their frontier with El Salvador and to support Contra operations led to increased terrorism and subversion in Honduras, which threatened the transition to, and stability of, democratic government. It also led to a surge in human rights abuses, frustrating our goal of maintaining social stability. The proliferation of voices — official, congressional and private — purporting to represent the new administration and describing varying versions of our policy was another cause of dysfunction. This cacophony

Rates per minute, 24 hours a day, billed in 6 second increments.
Please add the rate of your country to the country you are calling to.

Country	\$	Country	\$	Country	\$
Afghanistan	1.38	Armenia	0.42	Nicaragua	0.57
Alaska	0.11	Australia	0.11	Niger	1.03
Albania	0.44	Austria	0.23	Nigeria	0.93
Algeria	0.48	Azerbaijan	0.23	Niue Is.	1.35
Am. Samoa	0.57	Bahamas	0.23	Norfolk Is.	0.99
Andorra	0.62	Bahrain	0.35	Norway	0.13
Angola	0.62	Bangladesh	1.21	Oman	1.13
Antigua	0.35	Barbados	0.56	Pakistan	0.72
Ant. Casey	0.42	Belarus	0.54	Palestine	1.14
Ant. Scott	0.42	Belgium	0.16	Panama	1.08
Antigua	0.42	Benin	0.59	Paraguay	0.81
Argentina	0.69	Bermude	0.27	Peru	0.65
Armenia	0.69	Bhutan	0.91	Philippines	0.49
Aruha	0.43	Bolivia	0.76	Poland	0.39
At. Oc East	0.72	Bosnia	0.50	Portugal	0.35
At. Oc West	0.72	Botswana	0.57	Puerto Rico	0.15
Australia	0.11	Brazil	0.54	Qatar	1.11
Austria	0.23	Bulgaria	0.85	Reunion Is.	0.78
Azerbaijan	0.23	Burkina Faso	0.85	Romania	0.49
Bahamas	0.23	Burundi	1.01	Russia	0.51
Bahrain	0.35	Bulgaria	0.85	Rwanda	1.02
Bangladesh	1.21	Cameroon	0.82	S. Africa	0.59
Barbados	0.56	Cambodia	1.01	St. Kitts	0.52
Belarus	0.54	Cape Verde	0.70	St. Lucia	0.69
Belgium	0.16	Cayman Is.	0.40	St. Pierre	0.36
Belize	0.68	C. Afr. Rep.	1.13	St. Vincent	0.76
Benin	0.59	Chad	1.34	Sudan	0.61
Bermude	0.27	Chile	0.28	Suriname	1.00
Bhutan	0.91	China	0.60	Swaziland	0.17
Bolivia	0.76	Chine	0.60	Sweden	0.10
Bosnia	0.50	Ciudad	0.77	Switzerland	0.17
Botswana	0.57	Colombia	0.51	Syria	0.86
Brazil	0.54	Costa Rica	0.46	Taiwan	0.45
B. Virgin Is.	0.40	Cuba	0.41	Tajikistan	0.66
Brunei	0.56	Cyprus	0.41	Tanzania	0.82
Bulgaria	0.85	Czech Rep.	0.34	Tanzania	0.82
Burkina Faso	0.85	Denmark	0.34	Thailand	0.72
Burundi	1.01	Dominica	0.64	Togo Rep.	1.01
Bulgaria	0.85	Dominican Rep.	0.31	Tonga	1.23
Cameroon	0.82	Ecuador	0.48	Trinidad	0.77
Cambodia	1.01	Egypt	0.46	Tunisia	0.54
Cape Verde	0.70	Eq. Guinea	1.34	Turkey	0.48
Cayman Is.	0.40	Eritrea	0.36	Turk.-Caiicos	0.63
C. Afr. Rep.	1.13	Estonia	0.36	Turkey	0.48
Chad	1.34	Ethiopia	1.22	U.S. Virgin Is.	0.15
Chile	0.28	Falkland Is.	0.77	USA	0.09
China	0.60	Faroe Is.	1.00	Uzbekistan	0.75
Chine	0.60	Finland	0.15	Vanuatu	1.02
Ciudad	0.77	France	0.15	Vatican City	0.24
Colombia	0.51	Fr. Antilles	0.54	Venezuela	0.41
Costa Rica	0.46	Fr. Guiana	0.52	Vietnam	1.26
Cuba	0.41	Fr. Polynesie	0.93	Wallis-Futuna	0.45
Cyprus	0.41	Gabon	0.86	West Bank	0.86
Czech Rep.	0.34	Guatemala	0.62	Yemen A. Rep.	1.08
Denmark	0.34	Honduras	0.46	Yemen P. Rep.	1.08
Dominica	0.64	Hong Kong	0.23	Yugoslavia	0.55
Dominican Rep.	0.31	India	0.92	Zaire	0.81
Ecuador	0.48	Indonesia	0.72	Zambia	0.98
Egypt	0.46	Iran	1.08	Zimbabwe	0.46
Eq. Guinea	1.34	Ireland	0.59		
Eritrea	0.36	Israel	0.27		
Estonia	0.36	Italy	0.19		
Ethiopia	1.22	Ivory Coast	0.76		
Faroe Is.	0.77	Jamaica	0.50		
Falkland Is.	0.77	Japan	0.24		
Faroe Is.	0.77	Jordan	0.86		
Finland	0.15	Kazakhstan	0.40		
France	0.15	Kenya	0.90		
Fr. Antilles	0.54	Kiribati	1.15		
Fr. Guiana	0.52	Korea S.	0.95		
Fr. Polynesie	0.93	Kuwait	0.98		
Gabon	0.86	Kyrgyzstan	0.68		
		Laos	1.03		
		Latvia	0.45		
		Lebanon	0.90		
		Lesotho	0.55		
		Liberia	0.67		
		Liechtenstein	0.24		
		Lithuania	0.49		
		Luxembourg	0.20		
		Macao	0.52		
		Macedonia	0.50		
		Madagascar	1.02		
		Malawi	0.58		
		Malaysia	0.29		
		Maldives	0.93		
		Mali	1.09		
		Malta	0.33		
		Mariana Is.	0.56		
		Marshall Is.	0.57		
		Martinique	0.63		
		Mauritania	0.77		
		Mauritius	0.97		
		Mexico	0.80		
		Meyotte Is.	0.42		
		Micronesia	0.95		
		Moldova	0.65		
		Morocco	0.19		
		Mozambique	1.22		
		Myanmar	1.35		
		Namibia	0.53		
		Nauru	1.08		
		Nepal	1.18		
		Netherlands	0.14		
		Neth. Ant.	0.40		
		Nev. Is.	0.61		
		N. Macedonia	0.86		
		New Zealand	0.16		
		Niue Is.	1.35		
		Norfolk Is.	0.99		
		Norway	0.13		
		Oman	1.13		
		Pakistan	0.72		
		Palestine	1.14		
		Panama	1.08		
		Paraguay	0.81		
		Peru	0.65		
		Philippines	0.49		
		Poland	0.39		
		Portugal	0.35		
		Puerto Rico	0.15		
		Qatar	1.11		
		Reunion Is.	0.78		
		Romania	0.49		
		Russia	0.51		
		Rwanda	1.02		
		S. Africa	0.59		
		S. Korea	0.95		
		S. Lanka	1.15		
		S. Pierre	0.36		
		S. Vincent	0.76		
		Sudan	0.61		
		Suriname	1.00		
		Swaziland	0.17		
		Sweden	0.10		
		Switzerland	0.17		
		Syria	0.86		
		Taiwan	0.45		
		Tajikistan	0.66		
		Tanzania	0.82		
		Thailand	0.72		
		Togo Rep.	1.01		
		Tonga	1.23		
		Trinidad	0.77		
		Tunisia	0.54		
		Turkey	0.48		
		Turk.-Caiicos	0.63		
		Tuvalu	0.63		
		U.A.E.	0.86		
		Ukraine	0.52		
		Uruguay	0.66		
		USA	0.09		
		Uzbekistan	0.75		
		Vanuatu	1.02		
		Vatican City	0.24		
		Venezuela	0.41		
		Vietnam	1.26		
		Wallis-Futuna	0.45		
		West Bank	0.86		
		Yemen A. Rep.	1.08		
		Yemen P. Rep.	1.08		
		Yugoslavia	0.55		
		Zaire	0.81		
		Zambia	0.98		
		Zimbabwe	0.46		

Call Back Service

Used by Embassies & Diplomats in over 140 countries

Save up to **75%**
On International Phone Calls



World Wide
TELECOM



Suite 510
8230 Old Courthouse Road
Vienna, Virginia 22182 U.S.A.
Telephone: 1-703-883-3933
Facsimile: 1-703-883-3932
E-mail: afsa@wwtelecom.com
<http://www.wwtelecom.com>

All Terms and Conditions Subject to Change

For immediate service, fax to:

1-703-883-3932

Name: _____
Address: _____
Home Tel: _____
Work Tel: _____
Fax: _____
Email: _____
Please charge my telephone bills to my credit card:
Card No.: _____
Expiration Date: _____
Signature: _____

F O C U S

came largely from various U.S. agencies acting independently, but Jesse Helms' staff and other self-appointed spokesmen added to the problem. It forced the embassy to offer a nearly constant stream of policy clarifications and restatements. And it was a factor in the Honduran military's aborted October 1981 decision to stage a coup.

Senior officials — Secretary of State Alexander Haig, CIA Director William Casey, Deputy Secretary William Clark, Defense Secretary Caspar Weinberger, U.N. Ambassador Jeane Kirkpatrick, special representative Gen. Vernon Walters and, indeed, the president himself — shared an ideological outlook that caused them to disregard factual data and analyses or recommendations that did not conform with their perceptions. One indication of this extreme bias: National Security Adviser Robert McFarlane observed later that if he had expressed his doubts about our Nicaragua policy, he would have been branded a communist and removed. This dysfunction was clearly visible during my tenure, but grew worse later

and was undoubtedly the single most critical problem.

Congress, too, played a role in this mess — though largely by its absence. While a number of senators and representatives sought to persuade their colleagues to exercise more effective oversight of the activities of the CIA and the U.S. military in Central America, apart from Rep. Edward Boland (D-Mass.) they were largely unsuccessful until late in the game. The administration, including the foreign affairs agencies, strove mightily to frustrate such review, employing a variety of tactics, including perjury.

Career Foreign Service officers, including ambassadors, must provide their best advice on proposed policy direction without fear of political retribution. Once decisions are taken by lawful authority, these same professionals must carry out their resulting instructions scrupulously.

I tried to follow my instructions and guidance (when I had them), though at times I pursued goals that had been changed without my knowledge. An example was

No matter where you call home, State Department Federal Credit Union can help with your home-buying and home-lending needs.

If you're looking to return to the States, we offer a number of mortgage loan options at convenient terms and competitive rates for your home-buying needs. Our Mortgage Loan Department is ready to assist you.

Just call a Representative at 703-739-3092 (or 800-296-8882 ext. 3092) for your mortgage or refinancing needs.

Plus with SmartMove™, our nationwide real estate service, you can earn cash rebates each time you buy or sell your home in the U.S. Call SmartMove at 703-359-1831 (or 800-645-6560) to speak to a Representative.

And, no matter where you are, if you own a residence in Virginia, Maryland, or the District of Columbia, you can use the equity in your home to borrow money for a car, home improvements, or other expenses. Ask about our home equity loans today.

ENJOY A LITTLE SOMETHING FROM HOME

S State Department
Federal Credit Union
A tradition of service for over 60 years.

1630 King Street • Alexandria, VA 22314
703-706-5000 • 800-296-8882
703-684-1613 (fax)
www.sdfcu.org (Internet)

If you are overseas, call 703-706-5000 and let our operators know so we can give you top priority.

NCUA
National Credit Union Administration

FOCUS

Assistant Secretary Thomas O. Enders' request that I discontinue reporting human rights violations in official channels. It was improper, if not unlawful. He was concerned that the leak of these abuses would complicate the conduct of our policy. So was I, and I had been reporting them in the NODIS channel. I did not, however, agree to his request that I confine these reports in the CIA "back channel" so they would not appear on the official record. He would not put this in writing, hence I was summoned to Washington. My unwillingness to cooperate led to my loss of access to intelligence on Honduran abuses and fed the mistrust.

The tendency to identify career officers who served in senior positions in the previous administration with the opposition did not begin with the Reagan administration. But it surely grew during that time. Although the Bush and Clinton terms were less ideological, they did not reverse the trend.

Increased politicization of the Foreign Service and our foreign relations are serious problems. The former, if unchecked, will destroy professionalism, opening the system to a host of abuses. The latter, over time, means growing policy polarization as we lose expertise and stifle objective analysis. Discontinuities will multiply rapidly. These are hardly preconditions for the successful conduct of our foreign relations. ■



The Middle East Institute

1761 N Street, NW, Washington, DC 20036-2882

Please consider the Middle East Institute when allocating your donations to the **Combined Federal Campaign**. For over fifty years, the Middle East Institute has been dedicated to increasing American understanding of the Middle East, through our programs, publications, language classes, and library.

Chairman of the Board - Dick Murphy
President - Rocky Suddarth
Vice President - David Mack
Scholar-in-Residence - Dick Parker

Our CFC designation number is 7569

Perfect Location, Perfect Comfort, Perfect Price.

Starting at
\$58

*Based on a 30 day
minimum stay*

Not only are we just minutes from National Airport, the National Foreign Affairs Training Center, most government buildings, and Metro—we'll surprise you with just how much you get for so little.

- ◆ Spacious suites with full kitchens
- ◆ Pool, sundeck, saunas and exercise facilities
- ◆ Free Cable TV with HBO
- ◆ Free on-site parking
- ◆ Free local phone calls
- ◆ Complimentary Continental Breakfast on weekdays
- ◆ Free shuttle to NFATC weekdays at 7:30am, returning at 4:30pm



1500 Arlington Blvd., Arlington, VA 22209
703-522-9600 • 800-275-2866
Fax 703-525-4462
E-mail: tvados@erols.com
World Wide Web: www.virginiansuites.com

VIETNAM REVISITED

*During the Tet Offensive in the Year of the Monkey,
A young FSO Faces the Carnage of War*

BY SUSAN SCHARFMAN

July 1967 — When I arrive in Saigon, the war is escalating, but to me it seems distant, located in the jungles and the rice paddies. On weekends, I tour the exotic Asian city long infused with French culture. I ride in open air pedicabs, taking in a city of tree-lined streets, savoring the cafes which serve French and continental fare and restaurants that float in the Sai Gon River. Each day, though, the “Paris of the Orient” becomes home to more tattered refugees and slick drug dealers, more young soldiers whose faces have aged and more seasoned prostitutes whose faces have not yet had a chance to age.

Along the crowded sidewalks black marketeers sit hunched with elbows locked around their knees chanting their mantra: “Oh, for you, American, I sell special. For you, cheap, cheap.”

Most of their goods are stolen from river docks in dead of night or from the American commissary in broad daylight. No one cares. Teeming with Vietnamese, Chinese, Europeans and Americans, the bustling city goes about its

A freelance journalist, Susan Scharfman is a retired FSO who served for 27 years with State and USAID in the Netherlands, Belgium, Japan, Kenya, Ethiopia, Vietnam and Morocco.

business ignoring the bloody battles being waged outside its limits. Here, you can get anything you want for a price.

American GIs buy sex. The Vietnamese buy time.

Despite sporadic mortar attacks, I go to work each day in the USAID personnel office, where it is my numbing job to keep track of where staff are located. I study Vietnamese, cope with the debilitating humidity and attend a counter-insurgency course where I’m supposed to learn self-protection against the Viet Cong who are constantly infiltrating the city. Secretly, I know I am not prepared for any of this.

I join the Saigon Sports Club, where I meet an American whom I’ll call Hal Collins, though that is not his real name. Fluent in Vietnamese, he has access to parts of the country I might never see because of travel restrictions. On days off I go with him into these areas. Hal insists that we speak nothing but Vietnamese for one hour out of every two. So I’m captive in a Jeep, cursing both the humidity and the unrelenting language drilling.

On one of these trips I ask Hal why the United States is fighting a land war in Asia, where we have no business.

He fires back: “I thought we were fighting a

Communist takeover of the South. We're the good guys, remember?"

"Then why are so many young Vietnamese men sitting in cafes while Americans fight the war?" I ask.

Hal retreats into silence. His hazel eyes close to slits. I change the subject.

December 1967 U.S. Ambassador Ellsworth Bunker gives his traditional Christmas party with champagne served on silver trays and popular American pianist Peter Nero at the piano. The furniture has been cleared from a large reception room in Bunker's elegant residence from the French colonial period, but ceiling fans are whirring overhead. It is a welcome oasis from my sparse hotel room. Ambassador Bunker's wife, Carol Laise, who is U.S. ambassador to Nepal, visits Saigon for the occasion. Together, they seem like diplomats from a vanished era. I remind myself that the killing fields are not far from our celebration. *This is bizarre*, I think, but then remind myself that nothing about life in Vietnam is normal.

January 31, 1968. Two a.m. It is the beginning of the Tet Offensive, the Vietnamese lunar New Year, the Year of the Monkey. I hear a noise outside my hotel room and assume it is from firecrackers being set off to celebrate. I look out my hotel window and see men in black pajamas blowing open the gates of the Independence Palace, home of Nguyen Van Thien, president of the Republic of South Vietnam. A Jeep full of American soldiers roars down the street. A young GI loses his helmet. His blond head flashes by as he shouts, "They're VC, VC!"

One of the Viet Cong tosses a grenade into the Jeep. There are screams as bodies explode in pieces. I'm on the floor in my room at the Park Hotel with minor scratches, my heart pounding. My room is splattered with glass and blood. There are bullet holes in the walls. I

have never seen war, and now I'm in the middle of the carnage. It continues for two days as I remain confined to my hotel room. Rockets and mortars explode in the market place, on schools and private dwellings. Bodies are left where they fall. A good informal grapevine is established to bring us news of what is happening in the city. My television still works and I can tune to the Armed Forces Radio and Television Service. I hear that the American embassy has been attacked by Viet Cong who blew a hole in the wall and killed five American GIs before being killed themselves.

February 3, 1968 Day Three. The Viet Cong cannot sustain their attack and fighting subsides. Alone on the hotel roof, I watch billowing black smoke as fires erupt around the city. The occasional crackle of small-arms fire still echoes in the deserted streets. I hear screaming behind me. Three South Vietnamese soldiers drag two teenage Viet Cong — a boy and a beautiful girl with long, silky black hair — from their hiding place on the roof of the building next to mine. They have been caught smuggling grenades into the city in cookie containers.

"Go ahead and kill us," screams the girl. "We're going to beat you. We're going to win."

The boy spits at the soldiers. The enraged South Vietnamese force the boy and girl to their knees and shoot them in the back of their heads. I retreat to my room just in time to throw up.

February 4, 1968. Day Four. The hotel, short on food, is serving rice over rice. Hal, who had been on a mission but who has returned to the hotel, decides to check out the

*The enraged South
Vietnamese force the
boy and girl to their
knees and shoot them
in the back of their
heads. I retreat to my
room just in time to
throw up.*

nearby American Officer's Mess. Tired of rice, I decide to join him. Hal is an enigma; he's often gone for long periods and because his job is covert, I don't ask what he does. I hear talk of jungle sorties and an operation his friends refer to as "Phoenix." I don't want to know about Hal's secret war.

As we slip into the street, nothing is moving. It is silent as we step over the smoldering rubble, our throats dry, our eyes burning from smoke, our noses full of the smell of death. Suddenly, we see a Viet Cong guerrilla lying on the sidewalk, frozen in death like the citizens of Pompeii caught in the eruption of Mt. Vesuvius. His brains are splayed on concrete. His face glares at me as he reaches for the sky with a clenched fist. I open my mouth to scream, but say only, "Jeezus."

"It's okay. He's dead," Hal whispers, pulling me away. When we finally make it to the officers' mess, I can't eat. I see the dead man's face and hear the girl with the silky black hair. *We're going to win.*

I don't feel safe unless Hal is around. The embassy security people tell me to vary my route to work to avoid Viet Cong on motor bikes throwing grenades. Since Tet, strict nighttime curfews are in effect, so the hotel rooftop becomes my world. I watch as American planes drop a misty spray around the outskirts of Saigon. We are not told officially what the spray is, but Hal tells me it is Agent Orange, a defoliant to help keep Viet Cong from hiding and firing rockets unseen from the brush.

I join Hal to watch a lunar eclipse. We have both been

astronomy buffs since childhood. It's quiet as the earth's shadow creeps across the tropical moon, revealing the constellations and turning off the war. Then, thundering out of the black, hovering over us, a ferocious green monster spits fire, blasts the street with tracer bullets that light up the sky. Exit moon. Enter Apocalypse.

*Thundering out of the
black, hovering over us,
a ferocious green
monster spits fire,
blasts the street with
tracer bullets that light
up the sky. Exit moon.
Enter Apocalypse.*

August 1968. Monsoons wash through the hot, steamy city. The Chinese section of Cholon is off limits because the Viet Cong are heavily secreted there. But my friend Kim Ba is dear to me, so I risk visiting her. We savor Madame Ba's Dim Sum, drink beer and play with Kim's younger brother and sister and three giggling cousins. Kim's uncle, Ly Tong, gives Vietnamese history lessons and talks of teaching in America and "dining" at McDonald's. "McDonald's! McDonald's!" echo the children.

Kim's Buddhism helps her deal with the grief from the death of

her fiance, an ARVN officer killed in the battle of Hue during Tet. We hug and say goodbye for the last time. She places her delicate hands together in front of her face, bows slightly to me, pulls the gold and jade ring she always wears from her finger and places it in my hand. "Don't forget us," she says.

December 1968. Hal is temporarily assigned to the Mekong Delta town of Can Tho. He assures me it's safe to visit and secures me space on an Air America plane. I sit across from two battered VC prisoners and their guards, my legs propped up on crates I later learn are filled with grenades.

Relieved to be getting out of Saigon for a while, I don't know that at night the town belongs to the Viet Cong. Flying at dusk into Can Tho, a provincial capital on the Mekong Delta, I savor the setting red-orange sun reflecting off a river and the exquisite design of symmetrically planted rice fields. I watch farmers riding home in slow motion on water buffalo, repeating the same pastoral mosaic they have created for centuries.

Upbeat and happy, Hal meets me at the small airport and we go directly to a party in progress at his house. The place is jumping with officers and military nurses in fatigues trying their best to be merry. A giant Texan wearing captain's bars and holding a beer in one hand and a bottle of Jack Daniels in the other welcomes us. "This is the best of the South's hospitality, Ma'am," he says with a grin. "South Nam, that is."

After two hours we hear explosions coming from the airport. Someone calls from the nearby American base to alert us that

squads of Viet Cong have blown up the airport and are headed our way. The party sobers up. The men break open crates of grenades, guns and ammunition. They tell us to go on the roof and throw the grenades when we see Viet Cong cross the small foot bridge that leads to our street. Texas hands me the revolver from a holster at his waist and orders: "If they get this far and into the house, use this. Ya hear me, ma'am? Shoot the bastards."

The weapon is cold and clammy, like my hands. Texas shows me how to hold the gun, how to aim it and how to pull the trigger. I come out of my body and watch myself. Numb and light-headed, I move in slow motion, even though everything around me is moving quickly. I feel that I am witnessing a nightmare, not participating in it. The five nurses, all poised with M-16 rifles, seem composed. How many times have they done this? I admire them.

As we await the attack, I'm scared and wonder if I will survive. I am also angry with Hal. He told me that it would be safe. He lives with danger all the time; thrives on it. This is insane. My eyes search for him, but he is crouching by the edge of the roof. His mind is already locked into fighting mode, his attention focused on killing.

Shouting and gunfire in the street catapult me back to reality. Miraculously, it's our own soldiers come to fetch us with Jeeps and trucks. I can't believe the "eavalry" has come to our rescue. This is not, after all, a John Ford western. This is my life. Maureen, a triage nurse, grabs me by the shoulders, shakes me and gets into my face with her wide violet eyes.

*I watch as American
planes drop a misty
spray around the
outskirts of Saigon. We
are not told officially
what the spray is, but
Hal tells me it is Agent
Orange, a defoliant to
help keep Viet Cong from
hiding and firing rockets
unseen from the brush.*

"Listen. Do exactly as I say. Keep your head down, follow me and don't stop for anything. Our guys will cover us. Don't worry. We'll make it." Maureen is a heavy smoker and I hear her breathing hard between her prayers as we race down the steps. *Hail Mary, full of grace (gasp). Hail Mary, full of grace (gasp).*

We scramble into the waiting vehicles and flee to the nearby base. I never see our enemies in the dark, moonless night, but I hear them. Sometimes they scream at us. The fighting lasts all night with flashing mortar batteries, machine-gun fire and explosions a constant soundtrack. I am huddled in a bunker with Hal. "I'm proud of how brave you are," he tells me. Burying my face on his chest, I reply, "I'm not brave. I'm scared to death and good at hiding it."

At sunrise our attackers disappear into idyllic green rice fields.

Epilogue: Two months later Hal disappeared into a Cambodian jungle. Later, I remembered that he told me how the Phoenix pacification program got its name. "In Vietnamese mythology, Phung Hoang (Phoenix) is the bird of peace and prosperity," he said, certain he was on the side of good. Developed by the CIA to capture, cause to defect or kill the Viet Cong, it was a grisly, ugly operation.

Until mid-1969, I served in Saigon, a young American in Vietnam at the wrong time. After the frantic evacuation of Saigon in April 1975, I tried to locate Kim Ba and her family in the temporary refugee camps that were set up throughout the United States, but I never saw them again.

Shortly after leaving Saigon, I started having anxiety attacks with chest pains, hyperventilation and nausea. Sometimes the attacks were triggered by images that seemed unconnected to anything. They continued, uncontrolled, for years, once at a hairdresser's in Rabat and once in the middle of the Geneva airport. Doctors prescribed Valium, but I hate medication. At home in the United States in 1980, I discovered a drug-free regimen that revitalized my life: one hour of daily meditation, five months of hypnotherapy and regular doses of tennis.

Ten years after leaving Vietnam, I was diagnosed with breast cancer. Since there's no history of breast cancer in my family, I'll never know whether my exposure to Agent Orange caused the disease.

(Although these events are real, some names have been changed.) ■

ALL THE *comforts*
OF HOME.



While you're here in Washington, you can enjoy the best furnishings money can rent. Residential or home office furniture, accessories, plants and even artwork. All from one source. All with one phone call. And all in place by the time you arrive. Welcome home.

CORT
FURNITURE RENTAL

America's National Furniture Rental Company™

For a free brochure or the showroom nearest you, call 1-800-962-CORT. Visit our web site at <http://www.cort1.com> or find us at <http://www.relocationcentral.com>

ALEXANDRIA, VA: 703-379-8846 • CHANTILLY, VA: 703-818-2660
TYSONS CORNER, VA: 703-790-8338 • WASHINGTON, DC: 202-223-9241
ROCKVILLE, MD: 301-881-7388 • BALTIMORE, MD: 410-625-2755

Need Auto Parts NOW?

State-Side Auto Supply is your world-wide *professional* supplier of auto parts and accessories for all makes and models of automobiles manufactured for the U.S. market.

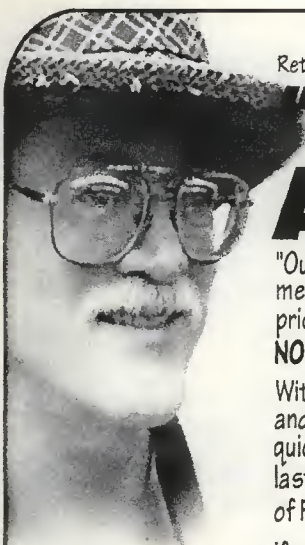
- We will get you the **correct part FAST** – usually in less than 7 days.
- If you are not sure of the exact parts, hardware or accessories you need, call us for assistance and we will help you place your order.
- We accept all Government PO's as well as personal orders, and we give priority attention to urgently needed items.
- No order is too large or too small!



**State-Side
Auto Supply**

211 Southwest Rd., Canterbury, NH USA 03224 • E-mail: stateside1@aol.com
PHONE: 603-783-9361 • FAX: 603-783-0257 Order forms sent on request
We accept VISA and MasterCard Call Bob Chisholm today

PHONE OR FAX YOUR ORDER 24 HRS. A DAY, 7 DAYS A WEEK



Carey Coulter
Retired Sr. Foreign Service Officer asks...

"NEED A CAR?"

"Our unique **ONE PRICE BUYING** means you get the lowest possible price from the very start...
NO HAGGLING. NO NEGOTIATING.

With over **500** new Oldsmobiles and Dodges in stock, we have quickly become the 1st stop...and last stop... for a growing number of FSO's.

If you're serious about saving your time, and your money, you need to see me!"

TEMPLETON
TYSONS CORNER

The Regional Dodge/Oldsmobile Superstore

8598 Leesburg Pike • Just 2 miles West of 495
(703) 893-8100 • OPEN SUNDAYS

www.onepricebuying.com

MCG FINANCIAL PLANNING

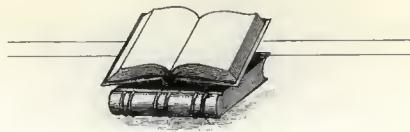
Former State Department Employee
Stationed Overseas Understands Unique
Financial Situation of Foreign Service

Services Include:

Retirement Planning
Tax Preparation and Strategies
Analysis: Insurance and Investments
Lump Sum Retirement Options

MARY CORNELLA GINN
4550 Montgomery Avenue, Suite 442N
Bethesda, Maryland 20814
Phone: (301) 961-8500
Fax: (703) 938-2278

SECURITIES OFFERED THROUGH NATHAN & LEWIS SECURITIES, INC.,
MEMBER NASD & SIPC



BOOKS

POLITICAL CHANGE ITALIAN STYLE

The Italian Guillotine: Operation Clean Hands and the Overthrow of Italy's First Republic

Stanton H. Burnett and Luca Mantovani, Roman & Littlefield Publishers, Inc., hardback; \$62.00; paperback; \$22.95, 332 pages.

BY PATRICIA H. KUSHLIS

The Italian Guillotine is one of few books in English on post-Cold War Italian politics. This is surprising, particularly given the country's recent political turbulence and its continuing international economic and strategic importance. Italy remains a major player in the New Europe as the European Union's fourth-largest member and a major NATO ally, whose parliamentary fragility almost derailed the NATO enlargement vote last spring. Yet only four other books on Italian politics after 1991 are currently in print in English.

Stanton H. Burnett, former counselor for public affairs at the U.S. embassy in Rome and now senior adviser at the Center for Strategic and International Studies, and Luca Mantovani, an Italian journalist, concentrate on the abuse of investigative powers exercised by a small group of mostly leftist magistrates from 1991 to the present in Milan. The magistrates set up "Operation Clean Hands" to expose vast political corruption. Their efforts led to the collapse of the five political parties that had governed

Italian national politics since the end of World War II. What makes the situation different than in most democracies is that the judiciary intruded into politics and ultimately caused major national political changes.

The authors argue a controversial point of view persuasively. They claim that the magistrates — also known as "the pool" — held no higher motives than did the people whom they investigated, and used methods previously reserved only for prosecuting the Mafia. These included illegal leaks of unproved "crimes" to sympathetic, biased media and inhumane Fascist-era detention procedures. In the process, the authors say, the pool destroyed the careers and sometimes the lives of major Italian non-Communist politicians and business executives. At the same time, they intentionally ignored equally tainted Communist Party leaders and their industrialist supporters, such as Cesare Romiti, CEO of FIAT from 1976 to 1996.

By mid-1994, say the authors, the pool of magistrates had launched over 2,000 investigations, questionably detained more than 350 individuals and caused nearly 30 suicides. As a result of "Operation Clean Hands," the leftist-dominated Olive Branch Coalition gained control of the Italian parliament and government in the April 1996 national elections. Burnett and Mantovani call the election a coup de état. Other Western media and scholars have claimed the election was a revolution. It was certainly a sea change in Italian politics.

Semantics and political biases aside, Burnett and Mantovani painstakingly document their case against the magistrates in detail. The authors' close attention to and documentation of the role of the media in the operation is also a major strength of the book. They claim that the media manipulated the magistrates. This manipulation included attempts to suppress unfavorable reporting by bringing lawsuits against media considered "unfriendly." Still, while they skirt the issue, Burnett and Mantovani never really address whether freedom of the press was violated.

The Italian Guillotine's complex sentence structure and La Scala-size cast of characters make reading sometimes difficult. Frequent restatement of the authors' theses help, as do excellent chronological and biographical appendices. Its strength is the insights it provides into the motives and style of actors in contemporary Italian politics and media. The magistrates' accusations continue today, their primary target now being Silvio Berlusconi, leader of the parliamentary opposition. Though Italy retains a democratic government, the pool's manipulations caused the demise of long-standing, powerful ruling political parties and brought reformed Communists to power as a major government party. That history makes this book worth reading.

Patricia H. Kushlis is a retired USIA Foreign Service officer who served in Manila, Helsinki, Athens, Moscow, Bangkok and Washington, D.C. ■



IN MEMORY

Note: The first eight people in this month's obituaries are members of the Foreign Service community who died in the August 7 bombing of the U.S. embassy in Nairobi, Kenya. Due to the circumstances of these deaths, the Foreign Service Journal did not have access to complete information on each individual and apologizes for any omissions.

Julian L. Bartley, 55, an FSO, died August 7 in Nairobi, Kenya.

Mr. Bartley was born in Florida in 1944. He graduated from Tennessee State University and received his master's degree from Syracuse University. In 1971, he joined the Foreign Service and his overseas assignments included Medellín, Madrid, Tel Aviv, and Seoul. He was consul general in Nairobi when he died.

Survivors include his wife, Susan Bartley; his daughter, Edith Bartley; and his mother, Gladys Baldwin.

Julian "Jay" Bartley, Jr., 20, son of FSO Julian L. Bartley, died August 7 in Nairobi, Kenya.

A sophomore at the U.S. International University in Nairobi, the younger Mr. Bartley hoped to follow his father into the diplomatic service. He was working in the U.S. embassy as a summer intern.

Survivors include his mother, Susan Bartley; his sister, Edith Bartley; and his grandmother, Gladys Baldwin.

Molly Huckaby Hardy, 51, a State Department administrative employee at the U.S. embassy in Nairobi, died on August 7.

A native of Valdosta, Ga., Ms. Hardy attended Valdosta State College. She received her associate degree in business administration from Northern Virginia Community College. She joined State in 1972 as a budget and fiscal officer. Her career spanned 25 years and included foreign postings in Rio de Janeiro and Brasilia before her tour in Nairobi. She is survived by her mother; her daughter, Brandi Plant of McLean, Va.; and a grandson.

Prabhi Gupta Kavalier, 46, an FSO, died August 7 in Nairobi, Kenya.

Born in Amristar, India in 1952, Ms. Kavalier attended Delhi University, where she earned her bachelor's, master's and doctoral degrees. She met her husband, FSO Howard Kavalier, in New Delhi during his first overseas tour. They married in 1982 and she joined the Foreign Service in 1990. Her foreign posts included Islamabad, Jerusalem, Manila, Nairobi (in 1990), and Paris. She and her family had recently returned to Nairobi, where she was a general services officer.

Survivors include her husband, Howard Kavalier; two daughters, Tara and Maya; her mother; and two brothers.

Arlene Kirk, 50, an employee at the U.S. embassy in Nairobi and wife

of an FSO, died on August 7.

Mrs. Kirk was a native of South Bend, Ind. and studied business at the University of Indiana, where she met her husband Robert Kirk. They began their traveling life in the 1970s with an assignment in southern Africa with the Peace Corps. They later worked with USAID in Botswana and Egypt and in 1995, they were transferred to Kenya. Mrs. Kirk was working as a fiscal officer for the military assistance office in Nairobi at the time of her death.

Survivors include her husband, Robert Kirk; her daughter, Maisha; her son, Robert Kirk, Jr.; her parents, Art and Mary Bradley of South Bend, Ind.; two sisters and three brothers.

Mary Louise Martin, 45, an employee of the Centers for Disease Control and Prevention (CDC) detailed to USAID in Nairobi, died on August 7.

Ms. Martin was born in Baton Rouge, La., in 1952. She studied at Louisiana State University, where she received her bachelor's degree, her master's degree in genetics and her doctorate in veterinary medicine. In 1985, she began training as an epidemiologist at the CDC and spent eight years in research on birth defects. In 1989, she married Dr. Douglas Klauke, a colleague at the CDC. In 1995, she accompanied her husband to Kenya. She did volunteer veterinary work in an African animal orphanage. She had also been a member of a World Health Organization's

IN MEMORY



team investigating the cause of a fever outbreak in northern Kenya. A few months prior to her death, she had begun working for the Task Force for Child Survival, introducing new treatments for malaria.

Survivors include her husband, Douglas Klauke; her three children, Russell, J.R., and Karen; her father, J.D. Martin; three sisters; three brothers; and ten nieces and nephews.

Michelle O'Connor, 36, an FSO, died on August 7 in Nairobi, Kenya.

Ms. O'Connor was born in Louisiana in 1961 and earned her bachelor's degree from Louisiana State University. She joined the Foreign Service in 1987 and served in Bridgetown, Guayaquil and Montevideo. She was a general services officer in Nairobi.

Survivors include her husband, Jim O'Connor; three daughters aged 15, 4 and 2; her mother; her brother; and her grandmother.

Uttamlal (Tom) Shah, 38, an FSO, died August 7 in Nairobi, Kenya.

A Chicago native, Mr. Shah received his bachelor's, master's, and doctoral degrees in music. He was a professional trumpet player and taught at Ball State University in Muncie, Ind. before entering the Foreign Service in 1987.

He served in Cairo and Damascus before his posting to Nairobi. He was working as a political officer at the time of his death.

Survivors include his wife, Linda, and his parents.

Kenneth Bache, 74, a retired FSO, died of cancer on July 22 in Annapolis, Md.

Mr. Bache was born in 1924 in

White Plains, N.Y., and attended Haverford College in Pennsylvania, Yale University and Columbia University.

After joining the Foreign Service in 1963, he served overseas tours in Trinidad, British Guiana (Guyana), Vietnam, Zambia, Nigeria, Cameroon, Ghana and Canada and was chosen to attend the National War College. He retired in 1985.

Survivors include his wife, Mary Frances Bache of Annapolis; a daughter, Joanna Bache Tobin of Rockville, Md.; a son, Carl Coleman Bache of Pittsburgh, Pa.; and a brother Michael Bache (also a retired FSO) of Lavallette, N.J.

George Michael Bensusky, 74, a retired FSO, died May 1 at Arlington Hospital in Arlington, Va. from complications of Guillain-Barré syndrome.

Born in North Carolina, Mr. Bensusky served with the Army Air Corps in the China-Burma-India theater in World War II. He graduated from George Washington University in 1949 and received a master's degree in economics from the University of Michigan in 1950.

He served in Beirut with the U.S. Treasury Department before joining the Foreign Service in 1956. With State he was posted to India and Peru in addition to several tours in Washington. During his career, he attended the National War College and the Senior Seminar. He was seconded to the Council of Environmental Quality, from which he retired in 1979.

Mr. Bensusky worked for the A.T. Kearney Management Consulting firm in Alexandria, Va. until 1991.

Survivors include his wife, Ruth Bensusky of Falls Church, Va.; a son, Matthew Bensusky of Alexandria, Va.; his mother, Glaydes Bensusky of

Gaithersburg, Md.; two sisters; three brothers; and a granddaughter.

Weikko A. Forsten, 76, a retired FSO, died of cancer in Boca Raton, Fla. on August 6.

Mr. Forsten was born in Chicago in 1918 and attended Colorado College and De Paul University.

He began his Foreign Service career as a clerk in Caracas in 1940. After a tour in Ankara, he served in the U.S. Army Counter Intelligence Corps during World War II. He returned to the State Department in 1946 and served in foreign posts including Glasgow, Havana, San Salvador, Panama, Puerto la Cruz, Bogota, Dacca and Lima. He returned to Caracas as administrative counselor and retired from there in 1978.

Following retirement, Mr. Forsten was self-employed as a private investment counselor.

Survivors include his wife, Eloise Forsten of Boca Raton; a daughter, Marilyn; and two grandsons.

Mary Skalecki Heyneker, 74, a former U.S. government secretary and wife of a retired FSO, died June 28 of pancreatic cancer.

From 1946 to 1949 Mrs. Heyneker worked as a secretary at the War Department in Boston, Mass., at the Department of State in Washington, D.C., at the U.S. embassy in Brussels and at the Special Mission to Belgium of the Economic Cooperation Administration. She met and married her husband, Gerrit J.W. Heyneker, in Brussels when they both worked at the embassy there. She accompanied him to posts in Calcutta, Guatemala City, Kinshasa and Paris. Her husband retired in 1973, and they lived most recently in Pottsboro, Texas.

Mrs. Heyneker is survived by her

IN MEMORY



husband, Gerrit J.W. Heyneker; a daughter, Rose-Margaret Heyneker Hayden; and three sons, Theodore J., W. van der Veer, and Jan M. Heyneker.

William Hoffman, a retired FSO, died on July 15.

Mr. Hoffman joined the State Department after serving a tour in the U.S. Navy. His 30-year diplomatic career took him to 10 countries on four continents.

Survivors include his wife, Tal-Li; a daughter, Teri-Li; and a son Carl.

Robert S. Johnson, 84, a retired FSO, died of cancer on May 27 at his home in DeLand, Fla.

Mr. Johnson was born in Michigan in 1913. After graduation from high school in 1932 in Cedar Rapids, Iowa, he moved to Lima, Peru.

He began his Foreign Service career as a clerk for the U.S. embassy in Lima in 1934 and eventually became assistant attaché there. He served as an administrative officer or general services officer in several overseas posts including Asunción, San Salvador, Bangkok, Monrovia, Vientiane, and Calcutta. He retired from State in 1970, after 37 years in the Foreign Service.

Survivors include his wife of 58 years, Joyce A. Johnson; their daughter, Lueille Nielsen, of DeLand, Fla.; their son, Robert A. Johnson who is assigned to the U.S. embassy in Jakarta; eight grandchildren; and two great-grandchildren.

Dean Koch, 79, a retired FSO, died of cancer on June 5 in Wellington, New Zealand.

Mr. Koch was born July 4, 1919, in Detroit. He graduated from Michigan State University and received his master's degree in international relations from the University

of Pennsylvania. He served in four campaigns in World War II as a military intelligence staff officer, receiving the Legion of Merit medal and a British Mention-in-Despatches for his contribution to the allied war effort.

After the war, Mr. Koch worked for the American military government in Vienna, as a correspondent for Radio Free Europe, for the Voice of America in Washington, D.C., for Radio in the American Sector in Berlin and for the Voice of Freedom in Saigon.

In 1967, he joined USIA and served in Wellington and Heidelberg as well as Washington, D.C., before retiring in 1980. He also retired from the U.S. Army Reserve as a colonel in 1979.

Survivors include his wife of 47 years, Renate Koch; his daughter, Renata Joyner both of Wellington; and his sister, Eleanore Richardson.

Martha Moses, a retired FSO, died June 16 in Washington, D.C.

Ms. Moses was born in Missouri in 1922 and graduated from the University of Missouri.

She joined the State Department in 1945. During her 35-year career, her foreign postings included Belgrade, Berlin, Nanking, Canton, Rangoon, Athens, Manila, Hong Kong and La Paz.

Survivors include two cousins, William R. and Peter N. Wiggins, of Dallas.

Frank Mor Ravndal, 71, a retired FSO, died in Bogota, Colombia on June 15 following a heart attack.

Mr. Ravndal worked as a government courier and briefly at Colgate-Palmolive before joining the Foreign Service in 1956. A third generation FSO, Mr. Ravndal

served in seven overseas postings in Latin America and Asia. He also served as executive director of the Foreign Service Institute where he managed the planning and congressional approval process for the new FSI campus prior to his retirement in 1985.

Mr. Ravndal's first wife, Marilyn V. Ravndal, died in 1995. He remarried in 1997, dividing his time between Jacksonville Beach, Fla. and Bogota, Colombia.

Survivors include his wife, Edith Feijoo of Colombia; two daughters, Inga and Alberta; a son, Frank; a sister, Inga; and four grandchildren.

George R. Thompson, 72, a retired FSO, died in Melbourne Village, Fla., on March 13.

Before joining the Foreign Service, Mr. Thompson was editor of the *Doylestown Intelligencer* in Pennsylvania. He joined USIA in 1957 and served in Jordan, Lebanon, Saudi Arabia, Trinidad, Vietnam, Sudan and Tunisia. In Tunis, Mr. Thompson was editor of *Al-Majal*, the USIA Arabic magazine. He won the USIA Leonard Marks Award for creativity, and two honor awards. He retired in 1978.

An ardent sailor, Mr. Thompson wrote a landmark guide to sailing in the Mediterranean and articles for sailing publications. In later years in Florida, he wrote columns for *USA Today* and *Florida Today*, taught writing at Brevard Community College, and co-hosted a radio opinion show.

Survivors include his wife, Dorothy Thompson of Melbourne Village; one son, Jordan Thompson of Melbourne, Fla.; four grandchildren; and one great-grandchild. Another son, Glenn Thompson, predeceased him.

IN MEMORY



Ruth Rensselaer Tryon, 92, a retired USIA FSO, died June 23 in St. Petersburg, Fla., after a lengthy home confinement.

Ms. Tryon began her career in the Foreign Service in 1945 in Rome with the Office of War Information, which subsequently evolved into USIS. After her transfer to Budapest in 1946, she made headlines in 1951 when the Hungarian government declared her "persona non grata." She later served in various capacities in Algiers, Istanbul, Seoul, Bern, Jakarta, Madras, and Saigon, retiring in 1969.

John L. Viles, 87, a retired USAID FSO, died May 31 of pulmonary fibrosis at his home in Dallas.

A native of Vinton, Iowa, Mr. Viles graduated from the University of Texas. He served in the Army Air

Corps during World War II and retired in 1946 after attaining the rank of captain. He joined USAID's predecessor agency in 1950. Working with the controller's office at USAID and with the auditor general, Mr. Viles served tours in Germany, France, Iran, Brazil, Yemen, Nepal, Turkey, Greece, and Vietnam. He retired in 1975.

Survivors include his first wife, Ann; and their three daughters, Lyn, Patrice, and Janna, all residing in Texas.

Livingston Day (Pete) Watrous, 82, a retired FSO, died of cancer September 1 at his home in Siasconset, Mass.

Mr. Watrous was born in Honolulu. He received his bachelor's degree from Princeton University and his master's degree from Columbia University.

After joining the Foreign Service

in 1940, he served in two consulates on the Mexican border. His other diplomatic posts included San José, Buenos Aires, Rio de Janeiro, Lisbon, Paris and Madrid. He retired from his last post as consul general in Capetown in 1971. During his career he received diplomas from the National War College and the NATO Defense College in Paris.

After retirement, Mr. Watrous moved to Nantucket, where he was active in civic affairs. He was a director of the Nantucket Land Council at the time of his death.

Survivors include his wife, Alicia; two sons, Livingston of Buffalo, N.Y. and Peter of Brooklyn, N.Y.; a daughter, Patricia of Tucson, Ariz.; a step-son, Robert Johnson of Harrisburg, Pa.; and three grandchildren. ■

Interested in:

✓ Careers ✓ Internships
✓ Involvement

in International Relations?

<http://www.colead.org>

Info., contacts, phone and FAX nos., and links to:

U.S. Government foreign affairs agencies

Foreign affairs schools

Multilateral development banks

Congress

International organizations

Non-governmental organizations

**The Coalition for American Leadership Abroad
2101 E St. NW, Washington, DC 20037; (202) 944-5519**

REAL ESTATE



McGrath Real Estate Services

"THE FOREIGN SERVICE SPECIALISTS"

Experienced staff providing personalized service in Northern Virginia.

Since 1976, McGrath Real Estate Services has been successfully representing Foreign Service Officers in every aspect of residential management and sales.

Call now to discuss how we can help you in the management or sale of your single family home, townhome, or condominium.

425-B Carlisle Drive
Herndon, VA 22070

Phone (703) 709-2264 • Fax (703) 709-5230
E-mail: 73752.42@compuserve.com

Visit Our Home 24hrs a Day 7 Days a Week

If you are considering moving to the Washington Metro Area **Log-on** to our new **home-page** on the **World Wide Web!**

With more than 30+ years as **REALTORS** & a lifetime of foreign service relocating, we understand your needs, can educate you on the home buying or selling process, and will address all your concerns before the big move.

Give us a call or E-mail us!
We look forward to hearing from you!



**LUCILLE
RYAN**



**JOAN
ZEROLIS**

Homepage
www.RIGHTEAM.com

E-Mail
YRRLTRS@
RIGHTEAM.com

Lucille's Phone
703-821-7908 ext.326
or
Joan's Phone
703-821-7908 ext.327

Toll Free
1-800-659-0729
Fax
703-821-9150



8100 Boone Blvd., Suite 120
Vienna, VA 22182
@Tysons Corner

Our Home-Page That Is!

Executive Lodging Alternatives



**Interim Accommodations for
Corporate and Government Markets**

*Apartments,
Townhouses &
Single Family Homes*

"FOR THE EXECUTIVE ON THE MOVE"

*

Locations throughout Northern Virginia and D.C.
Units fully furnished, equipped and accessorized
Many "Walk to Metro" locations
Pet Friendly

5105-L Backlick Road
Annandale, Virginia
Tel: (703) 354-4070 Fax: (703) 642-3619

Northern Virginia Homes

Property Management Division

11094-A Lee Highway, Suite 103 • Fairfax, Virginia 22030
703-934-8801 • Fax 703-934-8802

RESIDENTIAL PROPERTY MANAGEMENT

Visit our web site for detailed information
<http://www.northernvahomes.home.ml.org>

- Experienced
- Licensed
- Professional
- Insured
- Reliable
- Competitive Rates

E-Mail: nvhprop@mnsinc.com

Best Homebuyer Magazine Ever!

Because it's designed and produced by you!

Many homebuyers are reluctant to ask us for homes for sale information because they don't want to bother us. Perhaps they, the homebuyers, are not definitely sure they want to buy a home.

WHEN YOU ASK THE SIMUNEK TEAM FOR HELP, IT'S NOT A BOTHER!

Instead, Rochelle and Tachiea take about 60 seconds to enter your home specifications and price range into our Homebuyer Profile program. This is done on an extra computer in our office dedicated to this one purpose. While beautiful color pictures and detailed information are printing, we return to helping our current buyers and sellers.

So if you are perhaps thinking of buying or selling and are worn out by trying to sort through the internet maze, please give us a call! It's not a bother!

My Homebuyer Magazine



- Designed and Produced by me!
- Contains all homes available in my price range!
- Color Pictures!
- The most detailed descriptions!

The Simunek Team Zorita & Richard Simunek

Rochelle Ruffin
Client Care Specialist
Licensed Agent

&

Tachiea Roland
Listing Coordinator
Licensed Agent

ATTN: Simuneks
Long & Foster
5101 Wisconsin Avenue, NW
Washington, DC 20016
Direct Line: (202) 296-4304



ATTN: Simuneks
Long & Foster
4600 Lee Highway
Arlington, VA 22207
Direct Line: (703) 284-9365

SIMUNEK@AOL.COM



REAL ESTATE

Sales, Leasing and Property Management

Stuart and Maury Inc.

Realtors

- Hands on management for over 35 years!
- We're not huge, we're selective, we care!
- Personalized guidance for all your real estate needs!
- 1031 Tax deferred exchange specialists!
- Monthly computerized statements!

Call **Susan Bader**, property management specialist, for more information



Office (301) 654-3200
Fax (301) 656-6182

4833 Bethesda Ave.
Suite 200 Bethesda, MD 20814

Excellent references upon request

WJD MANAGEMENT,

Northern Virginia's premier Residential Property Management and Leasing Resource, is looking for homes in need of our professional care!



Call David Norod at 703-684-0800 or visit our website at www.wjdp.com.

Executive Housing Consultants, Inc.



Leasing and Management of Exceptional Properties in upper Northwest DC, Chevy Chase, Bethesda, Potomac and McLean

7315 Wisconsin Avenue
Suite 603 East
Bethesda, Maryland 20814
(301) 951-4111
Fax: (301) 907-7329
www.executivehousing.com

EXPERT PROPERTY MANAGEMENT

Houses and Apartments

in
Washington, D.C.
Maryland
and
Virginia



MGMB Inc. Realtors

Foxhall Square 202-362-4480
3301 New Mexico Ave., N.W. Fax: 202-363-8954
Washington, D.C. 20016 E-mail: mgmbnw@digizen.net

REAL ESTATE

Coming Home or Going Overseas?



JoAnn Piekney
Broker-Owner

and team

Alana Clark
Traci Jefferson
Vanessa Hardee, Esq.
Sue Malick
Ron Daly, PC
Stacey Griffith

Hello!

As a Foreign Service Spouse of 30 years and a licensed Realtor of 20 years, I know what moving is all about! JP Properties lists and sells houses for Foreign Service families AND provides outstanding PROPERTY MANAGEMENT SERVICES for "worry-free" overseas assignments.

In addition, we provide you with legal and tax services. Vanessa Hardee, Esq. and Ron Daly, CPA are members of the JP Properties' team and have been working with the Foreign Service community for years.

Let JP Properties assist you with all your housing needs.



WE CARE!!!

CALL, FAX OR E-MAIL US TODAY!!!
301 Maple Avenue West 4C, Vienna, VA 22180
(703) 938-0909; FAX: (703) 281-9782
E-mail: jpiekney@aol.com

Specializing in
**PROPERTY
MANAGEMENT**



Property Specialists, Inc.

A professional and personal service tailored to meet your needs in:

- Property Management
- Sales and Rentals
- Tax-deferred Exchange
- Real Estate Investment Counseling

Our staff includes:

Gerry Addison	Joann Howd	Donna Courtney
Steve Carey	Robert Howd	Sally Duerbeck
	Donna Linton	

All presently or formerly associated with the Foreign Service.

4600-D Lee Highway Arlington, Virginia 22207
(703) 525-7010 (703) 525-0006
e-mail: propspec@nvar.com
Serving Virginia, Maryland and D.C.

Specializing in Montgomery County

Leasing	Promote and market your property; advertising; use of MRIS; quality tenants...
Management	Inspection; emergency and normal maintenance...
Accounting	Collect rent; pay mortgage, fees, taxes...



EXECUTIVE ENTERPRISES PROPERTY MANAGEMENT

10324 Summit Avenue, Kensington, MD 20895-0499
phone: 301/564-0049 fax: 301/564-3779
email: exepropmgt@aol.com

*Competitive in Cost
Superior in Service*

ADVERTISING INDEX

Automobiles

American Service Center/9
Chrysler/Bozell/C4
D&M Auto Parts/32
Diplomatic Automobile/26
Don Beyet Volvo/31
Martens Cars of
Washington/10
Stateside Auto Supply/46
Templeton Oldsmobile/46

Financial

MCG Financial Planning/46
Money Concepts/30
State Dept. Credit Union/16

Housing

Avalon/C2
Chase at Bethesda/14
Columbia Plaza Apartments/33
Executive Club Suites/11
FARA/33
Oakwood/23
Georgetown Suites/34
National Temporary Apartments/35
Remington/26
Smith Corporate Living/17

Insurance

AFSPA/11
Clements & Co./1

Harry M. Jannette Int'l/11
Hirshorn/Chubb/C3
Unitisc/6

Miscellaneous

Amazon.com/35
COLEAD/51
Cort Furniture Rental/46
Global Phone/Polybag
Key West Fiery Peppers/30
MailBoxes/32
Middle East Institute/41
Odyssey Cruises/Polybag
University of Chicago Press/6
Westtown School/28

Real Estate

Avery Hess/52
Executive Housing/54
Executive Lodging Alternatives/52
Executive Property Management/55
J.P. Properties, Ltd./55
Long & Foster-Simunek/53
McGrath Real Estate/52
MGMB Realtors/54
No. Virginia Homes/Property Management/52
Property Specialist/55
Stuart & Maury/54
WJD Management/54



POSTCARD FROM ABROAD

In Lusaka, Learning the Art of the Deal

BY KELLY MIDURA

Thick brown dust settled over the neighborhood, with only occasional patches of yellow grass to indicate that it was the height of the dry season in sub-Saharan Africa. The roads through the middle class enclave were little more than ditches and there were no street signs. The mud and concrete two- and three-room tin-roofed houses were surrounded by rusting car parts, bicycles, anything that might be useful one day. Next to some small dwellings were even tinier factories for making cement blocks. The need to expand one's home is constant in a country where families commonly include seven or more children.

Esnart Mwembe, whom I was to meet in this Lusaka neighborhood, had warned me that I would never find her home nestled among all the others that looked just like it, so she met me at the closest bus stop. We then drove together to the small dwelling she shared with her five children and artist husband. The exterior was squat and gray, like the other structures, and there was a makeshift shed leaning precariously against one side with the remains of a car parked inside. Inside the home, however, I was met with a riot of color. The walls were com-

Kelly Midura is a freelance writer and spouse of USIA FSO Christopher Midura, whom she has accompanied to El Salvador, Zambia, Guatemala and Bolivia.

*I looked through
the sea of blue and
green batiks
stamped with
abstract designs
and African
animals. I had
something better
than money to offer
in exchange.*



pletely covered with Esnart's own textiles in bright, bold colors. Overstuffed floor pillows were piled on top of straw mats on the floor. Modern luxuries such as a small refrigerator and an electric piano were also visible.

Zambians are careful to hide their small luxuries from anyone but the immediate family for fear of attracting burglars or encouraging family members to assert their right to share in the wealth. Refusing to share possessions with relatives can

bring social ostracism, even accusations of witchcraft, so a large family can mean bankruptcy. For that reason, Zambia's entrepreneurs are almost all Indian or Pakistani immigrants.

We sat down and proceeded to the real purpose of my visit: the purchase of hand-made batiks. Zambian women generally prefer cheap, Indonesian-made fabrics for their traditional wrap skirts, called *chitenges*. Esnart had taught herself the craft of batik, a textile art which is done by stamping designs with wax on fabrics at various stages of the dye process. Despite her talents, the future of her tiny business was in doubt, because it depended entirely on a limited expatriate community and a sluggish local tourist trade.

I looked through the sea of blue and green batiks stamped with abstract designs and African animals. I had something better than money to offer in exchange. I had spoken to Esnart earlier about the four-foot loom which was no longer compatible with my life as mother to an inquisitive toddler. She wanted the loom for her talented daughter, a tall, shy girl of 14 who grinned when she saw it. I selected several batiks and we struck a deal with the laughter and courtesy that accompanies bargaining rituals in marketplaces around the world. We said goodbye, mutually delighted with our goods. Esnart closed the door to her fortress and I headed back out into the merciless African sun. ■

Privilege:

a right, advantage, favor, or immunity
specially granted to one.



1998 Chrysler Town & Country

As a member of the Diplomatic Corps, you are eligible for special privileges when you order a vehicle through Chrysler's Diplomatic Purchase Program. They include preferred savings; fast, personalized ordering assistance; and uncompromising service with Chrysler's worry-free worldwide warranty. Perquisites appropriate to your office.

Choose from the full line of 1998 Chrysler Corporation products: Chrysler, Plymouth, and Dodge cars and minivans, and Jeep, and Dodge trucks.

Phone for personalized service. Your Personal Advisor will order the model, color, and equipment you want and quote the official Diplomatic price, including all applicable rebates. Your Personal Advisor can also arrange delivery anywhere in the U.S. or to most overseas locations. We simply set you free of tedious details.

If you prefer, just fill out and mail or telefax the card on Page 11. You will quickly receive a catalogue for the vehicle(s) of your choice. The Diplomatic Purchase Program. It is the easy, money-saving way to start enjoying Chrysler's many advantages.



DIPLOMATIC SALES

IN THE U.S., PHONE YOUR PERSONAL ADVISOR AT 1-800-877-7083 OR (516) 496-1806.
TELEFAX: (516) 677-3701 E-MAIL TO: diplosales@aol.com Jeep is a registered trademark of Chrysler Corporation.