CELEBRATING 75 YEARS OF THE U.S. FOREIGN SERVICE

FOREIGN SERVICE JOURNAL

$3.50 /JUNE 1999

THE MAGAZINE FOR FOREIGN AFFAIRS PROFESSIONALS

POLES APART

Ten Years After Communism, Poland is Taking Off

VANCE IS THE MAN ■ SAILING THE VOLGA ■ YOUNG KING HUSSEIN

Global Vehicle Supply

Over 600 vehicles available from inventory
for immediate shipment to developing countries

- Sedans
- Sport Utility Vehicles
- Project Vehicles
- Buses, Mini-vans
- Pick-ups, Trucks
- Motorcycles
- Export Specifications
- Gasoline & diesel models
- Left-hand and Right-hand drive
- Spare parts
- World-wide Shipments

Bukkehave, Inc.
1800 Eller Drive, Suite 420
P.O. Box 13143
Port Everglades
Ft. Lauderdale, FL 33316
U.S.A.

Tel. 1 800 815 3370
Tel. +1 954 525 9788
Fax +1 954 525 9785
usa@bukkehave.com
www.bukkehave.com

BUKKEHAVE

Vehicle & Parts Supply since 1925

I had my bicycle stolen overseas while I was on home leave. Your staff was extremely helpful and efficient in processing my claim. I commend you highly and have already recommended you to my colleagues. I will certainly retain Clements during my career overseas. Good work and thanks!

See our *MissionsAbroad*™ brochure in this magazine.

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 www.clements.com

Reduced Life Premiums!

Did You Know.....

During World War II traditional insurance agencies would **not** insure government employees working overseas. So in 1943 WAEPA was formed to offer insurance to these individuals as they helped with the war effort.

Today WAEPA remains a non-profit agency dedicated exclusively to insuring civilian federal employees at home and overseas.

Compare Waepa To Fegli

As you consider your family's insurance needs during this FEGLI Open Season, please take a moment to compare WAEPA to FEGLI. You will find that WAEPA's premium rates are much more affordable than those of FEGLI. Additionally, WAEPA offers you a much wider choice of benefits. With WAEPA you select the coverage you want, unlike FEGLI which limits your coverage based on your annual pay. WAEPA also provides more dependent coverage for your spouse (up to 6 times the new FEGLI maximum) and for your dependent children (double the new FEGLI maximum).

Life Insurance Coverage for Federal Employees

	WAEPA	FEGLI
Coverage For You	$25,000 to $300,000	Your annual pay limits basic coverage. Optional coverage is available from $10,000 up to 5 times your annual pay.
Dependent Coverage		
Spouse	**$10,000 to $150,000**	$5,000 to $25,000
Child	**$ 1,000 to $ 25,000**	$2,500 to $12,500

New Life Insurance Premiums Rates

(Bi-Weekly rates per $1,000 of coverage)

	Employee Coverage				Dependent Coverage	
Age	WAEPA	FEGLI Basic	FEGLI Option A	FEGLI Option B	WAEPA	FEGLI Option C
25	2.3¢	15.5¢	3.0¢	3.1¢	3.1¢	5.4¢
30	2.6¢	15.5¢	3.0¢	3.0¢	3.5¢	5.4¢
35	3.1¢	15.5¢	4.0¢	4.0¢	4.6¢	6.8¢
40	4.3¢	15.5¢	6.0¢	6.0¢	6.2¢	9.2¢
45	6.2¢	15.5¢	9.0¢	10.0¢	8.5¢	12.0¢
50	9.4¢	15.5¢	14.0¢	15.0¢	12.3¢	18.0¢
55	14.3¢	15.5¢	27.0¢	31.0¢	18.5¢	29.0¢

Contact us for a FREE information package

WAEPA
Worldwide Assurance for Employees of Public Agencies

www.waepa.org for fastest service!
Or call **1-800-368-3484**

All Active and retired civilian, federal and U.S. Postal Service Employees, under age 60, are eligible to apply for WAEPA coverage.

CONTENTS

June 1999 ■ Vol. 76, No. 6

COVER

FOCUS ON POLAND

FOCUS

Page 20

DEPARTMENTS

FEATURES

COLUMNS

SCHOOLS SECTION

Cover and inside illustrations by Susan Sanford

FOREIGN SERVICE JOURNAL

Editor BOB GULDIN
Managing Editor KATHLEEN CURRIE
Associate Editor STEVEN ALAN HONLEY
Ad & Circulation Manager ED MILTENBERGER
AFSA NEWS Editor WESLEY ANN GODARD
Art Director CARYN J. SUKO
Editorial Intern SOPHIA VAN DER BIJL
Advertising Intern FEDERICO ZUPPA

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

75th ANNIVERSARY 1924-1999 THE FOREIGN SERVICE OF THE UNITED STATES

THE MAGAZINE FOR FOREIGN AFFAIRS PROFESSIONALS

Foreign Service Journal (ISSN 0146-3543), 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. 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

The Foreign Service Tradition of Dissent and Service

BY DAN GEISLER

At the annual Foreign Service Day luncheon at the State Department last May, Admiral William J. Crowe, former chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff and former U.S. ambassador to the Court of St. James's, praised the Foreign Service tradition of offering constructive dissent. This tradition, he said, made Foreign Service officers invaluable to him as chief of mission in London.

For more than 30 years, AFSA has supported constructive dissent in the Foreign Service. We don't see dissent as an option; it is a professional obligation. Political leaders deserve the Foreign Service's best judgment on foreign policy issues, whether they agree with us or not. In this decade alone, Foreign Service officers have dissented on policy issues in countries as diverse as Bosnia, Cuba and Ireland.

During the ferment of the Vietnam War years, the Department of State established the Secretary's Open Forum for discussion of alternative policy views and the Dissent Channel for disagreement with existing policy. In the same era, in 1967, AFSA established three annual awards for junior, mid-level and senior officers.

The award for junior officers is named after W. Averell Harriman, whose distinguished career included service as governor of New York and secretary of Commerce, as well as many high-ranking foreign affairs posts. He served as ambassador to the Soviet Union and the United Kingdom as well as under secretary of State for Political Affairs. Harriman, who encouraged career officers to offer their frank views, endowed the award through a family foundation.

> *We don't see dissent as an option; it is a professional obligation.*

A dynamic lawyer from the Midwest, William R. Rivkin, brought passion for truth and fairness to the task of representing the United States in Luxembourg from 1962 to 1965 and then in Senegal, where he was felled by a heart attack in 1967. The Rivkin family provides support for the mid-level dissent award, which is presented each year by Ambassador Rivkin's widow.

In 1969 family and friends of Christian A. Herter, former governor of Massachusetts and secretary of State from 1959 to 1961, arranged support for the award to a senior FSO. The award encourages officers to speak out with their best and frankest advice, regardless of career consequences.

AFSA gives three additional annual awards for service. In 1982 the wife of Averell Harriman, Pamela Harriman, established the Avis Bohlen Award in memory of the spouse of Charles E. Bohlen, ambassador to France from 1962 to 1968. The award recognizes a Foreign Service family member for volunteer service.

In 1990, Foreign Service office management specialists — then known as secretaries — asked AFSA to establish an award. The Delavan Award was created with funding from the Delavan Foundation, established by the parents of Ann Harrop, spouse of Ambassador William C. Harrop.

Finally, Jon Clements, president of Clements & Co. Insurance, in 1994 funded a new award for community liaison officers. The M. Juanita Guess Award honors the memory of Jon Clements' mother, who in her role with the company worked with many CLOs.

In addition to these awards, each year since 1995 AFSA has given an Award for Lifetime Contributions to American Diplomacy. This year Cyrus Vance, secretary of State in the Carter Administration, will receive the award. A profile of Vance appears in this issue; *Journal* coverage of other award winners will appear in the July-August issue.

AFSA salutes this year's winners and thanks once again the generous donors who make the awards possible. ■

Dan Geisler is president of the American Foreign Service Association.

Our Corporate Apartment Homes are a more sensible and affordable alternative to a hotel room.

- Located minutes from Pentagon, Washington DC and National Airport
- Amenities include an outdoor pool, spacious Nautilus fitness center and tennis courts
- 24 hour concierge
- Within walking distance of department stores, specialty shops and restaurants
- Free underground parking and controlled access entry
- **2 miles from NFATC**

Avalon at Ballston

Washington Towers

4650 N. Washington Blvd., Arlington, VA 22201
703-527-4409 or Fax 703-516-4369
E-Mail: aballston@avalonbay.com

THE CHASE AT BETHESDA

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

- Fully Furnished Studios, 1, 2 and 3 Bedroom Apartments
- 2 Swimming Pools
- Garage Parking
- 2 Lighted Tennis Courts
- Washer/Dryer in Each Unit
- Fitness Facility
- Business Center
- 25 Steps to the Metro
- Just minutes to NIH, Naval Hospital, World Bank and Embassy Row

---

AvalonBay COMMUNITIES, Inc.

Corporate Apartment Homes
5685 Columbia Road
Columbia, MD 21044
Tel (800) 890-8706 • (410) 772-3737 • Fax (410) 730-5635

- Locations include: N. Potomac, Columbia and Rockville, MD; and Alexandria and Tyson's Corner, VA
- Close to Shopping, Business District, and Major Arteries of Transportation
- Various Styles and Sizes of Fully Furnished Luxury Apartments
- Amenities Vary by Location but May Include Outdoor Pool, Tennis and Basketball Courts, Raquetball, Fitness Facilities and Business Centers

LETTERS

Are FS Deaths "Normal"?

Retired Ambassador Hume Horan has spoken out on the deaths of Foreign Service personnel serving overseas during the last three decades, with particular reference to the bombing of our embassies in Nairobi and Dar es Salaam ("Letters," Oct. 1998). There is another aspect to the tragic deaths, whether caused by terrorist attack or accident, of these and other U.S. personnel serving overseas. By accident, I mean the missed approach at Dubrovnik and the shootdown of two unarmed U.S. Army Blackhawk helicopters over northern Iraq on April 14, 1994 by two U.S. Air Force F-15 fighters during Operation Provide Comfort, the effort to protect the Kurdish population. In the Iraqi accident 26 military and one civilian, my late wife and veteran FSO, Barbara Schell, serving as the POLAD, were killed instantaneously.

In a 1996 doctoral dissertation in organizational behavior (due to be published this spring by the Princeton University Press), Lt. Col. Scott Snook, now teaching at West Point and himself a victim of friendly fire during the invasion of Grenada, has carefully dissected the thousands of pages of the official Air Force investigation into the causes of the Iraq accident and the Uniform Code of Military Justice reviews that followed. Despite subsequent OSI/GAO findings that over 70 individual errors contributed to this accident, Snook's conclusion is profoundly disturbing.

He writes that he kept looking for a smoking gun: "Instead, two years of inquiry confirmed my original suspicions. There weren't any bad guys; hence, no one to blame. There weren't any catastrophic failures of material or equipment; hence, nothing to fix. No gross negligence or act of God caused this tragedy. The more I looked for traditional culprits, the more I realized that this accident occurred not because something extraordinary had happened, but rather just the opposite. This accident happened because, or perhaps in spite of everyone behaving just the way we would expect them to behave, just the way theory would predict. ... Indeed, this accident was normal. It was normal because it occurred as the result of normal people behaving in normal ways in normal organizations."

As Snook observes, "There are some powerful messages" in these attacks and accidents for the political and military leadership: amongst them the possibility that the complexity of these military/diplomatic operations exceeds the capacity of individuals, groups or organizations to understand and react to the threat or threats in a timely fashion.

John Gallup Laylin, Jr.
Germ en Louron, France

No Self-Satisfaction, Please

Mark Sawchuk's article on former Assistant Secretary of State for Democracy, Human Rights and Labor John Shattuck (Dec. 1998) was disturbing. The *Foreign Service Journal* should not be used for uncritical fluff pieces that lay claim to administration legacies in unsettled and controversial areas. There is much that is disputable about this administration's contributions to humanitarian intervention.

In Central Africa, for instance, what passes for policy is driven less by current realities than guilt over past blunders — blunders which contributed to the deaths of hundreds of thousands of Africans. The aftershocks of 1994 continue to shake local communities and compromise our current peacemaking efforts in the region. Thanks to our muddle, diplomats who muck this pit of developing world "politics" get their professional satisfaction from personal successes counted infrequently and one at a time. The shoulder-mounted betacams prominent in the *Journal*'s photo of Shattuck in Bosnia are in no one's work kit here. And no one is basking in self-satisfaction either.

In "Shattuck's World" the scattered blood may be weeks old and dry, but here in the real world it's warm and sticky. At post in Prague, Ambassador

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.*

Shattuck will find himself in the same fix as his chief of mission colleagues — already hampered by waning U.S. influence and further burdened by representing an administration which relies on shifting principles.

Perhaps unwittingly, Sawchuk summed up this administration's real legacy in the opening paragraph that described Assistant Secretary Shattuck's viewing the warehouse in Srebrenica with astonishment. Was the astonishment at the killing? Or that yet another declaration of "profound (fill in the blank)" was insufficient to deter what many foretold?

Terry Nickelson
Foreign Service spouse
Kinshasa

How We Use Information

AFSA President Dan Geisler's editorial in the January *FSJ*, "Two Challenges for Diplomacy," struck a deeply suppressed thought that I suspect many in my profession share.

As noted in his commentary, the department has gone through several iterations of information management reform with meaningful but painfully slow results. Whether it be the well-intentioned programs of the '80s to put Wang minicomputers in embassies around the world or three reorganizations of the Information Management Bureau in the department or the latest answer to all problems: Y2K preparation and modernization under the ALMA programs, the end product never lives up to the promise. Despite the long-lasting improvements of the latter efforts, they too will fail as long as we ignore the core problem: information and how we use it.

Geisler correctly states, "The role of the Foreign Service today is to fish out the important facts and trends from the data streams that flow around us. We don't just gather information, we manage it with an eye to developing U.S. foreign policy." However, I disagree with the almost generic statement that "the Foreign Service lacks modern information management tools."

Before we start talking about better tools for the job, we need to have a better understanding of the job. Timely, accurate reporting comes from the analysis of quality information gleaned from a vast pool of sources. The efforts of the department's field representatives — political, economic, EST and others — should be less focused on gathering raw information, and more focused on gleaning strategic information from this vast pool and using it to develop and implement policy through effective persuasion.

Throughout the department, there is a well-ingrained tendency to lay the blame on technology. Can we use better technology and tools to accomplish our mission? Of course we can. But do we even come close to using effectively the tools currently available? An honest reply would be a resounding no.

If information is so vital to our interests, why is it that junior officers spend more time learning the intricacies of protocol than how to properly search the Web? Why is it that we have the potential for a world-class Intranet but for all practical purposes it still serves as little more than window dressing confined to metropolitan Washington? Why is it that agencies representing a mission, be they in the office next door or a few blocks away, cannot communicate and share electronic information on a real-time basis? We do not need new technology to address any of the above.

The real question is, what are we going to do with the technology we already have?

Note: This letter has been substantially edited due to space limitations.

Terrence K. Williamson
Information Systems Officer
U.S. Embassy Panama

Global Warming Wake-up

Congratulations and praise for devoting the March issue to global warming, and particularly for the wake-up call from John Holdren, a great sage in the field.

World success in dealing with climate change is now extraordinarily dependent on how the United States performs. Apart from general world expectations of leadership from us, we are both the largest emitter of greenhouse gases and, through our decision on ratification, we hold an effective veto over the Kyoto Protocol's coming into force. The Clinton-Gore administration and our executive branch seem to be working intelligently for both serious measures against climate damage and for approaches that will minimize the economic pain of giving up fossil fuels.

The Congress is a harder case, as attested by the 95-0 vote in favor of the 1997 Byrd-Hagel Resolution which bars our ratifying Kyoto. In contrast to Europe, the lack of widespread public comprehension of this admittedly difficult issue in the U.S. is what permits this Hill irresponsibility.

Diplomatic work is important, but even in a world perspective the critical front now for global warming is bringing the American public up to speed.

Peter Lydon
FSO, retired
Berkeley, Calif.

LETTERS

No Pardon Needed

The editor had no need to ask readers to "pardon our science" for the articles on global warming in the March *FSJ*. Rather, the *Journal* did them a service in presenting a range of viewpoints on this important science issue in U.S. foreign affairs.

FSOs need not weigh all the conflicting evidence and decide for themselves whether global warming is real. (I myself think it is.) But they should be aware of some of the economic and environmental arguments on this science issue because of its great political consequence.

Robert Morris
FS Science Officer,
retired
Ashland, Ore.

Reinventing Diplomacy, Again

I commend Peter Galbraith for his penetrating article on "reinventing diplomacy again."

As a 30-year career FSO, I fully share his questions about the two "outside studies" and their fascination with technology in communication while underplaying the substantive and organizational challenges we continue to face.

Congressional Relations: Having served as principal DAS for "H" through Watergate and our collapse in Vietnam, I am painfully aware of the keystone position Congress holds in foreign affairs.

It is absolutely correct that the department traditionally has been prone to regard congressional relations as a mysterious "priesthood" (Peter's language). However, in spite of the implosion of the executive branch's influence during Watergate and the defeat in Vietnam, we were able to maintain an excellent and effective relationship with Congress — largely because of Secretary Kissinger's uncanny sense of personal political relations and because of our strategic approach to managing State-congressional relations.

"H" in our day was the pathfinder and spear-tip, not a policy force. We always placed career substantive officers face to face with Congress. "H" was peopled almost exclusively by FSOs, not former congressional staff. We maintained excellent credibility with members and encouraged broad, not "narrow and controlled," access by the bureaus with Congress.

We never had access problems for the secretary, Deputy Under Secretary of State for Management Larry Eagleburger, Assistant Secretary of State for Congressional Relations Bob McCloskey, or myself. Congressional committees expected substantive assistant secretaries to be in touch regularly. It helped that with one exception, all of Kissinger's assistant secretaries were career FSOs.

State vs. Intelligence: Peter's insight into the question of duplicative reporting and unfair criticism of CIA for not anticipating international crises is also absolutely correct. He suggests, but not strongly enough, that the ambassador and his country team must be the final arbiter of resource allocation and coordination. This authority should embrace the sizing of Defense, CIA, Treasury, Labor, AID, and USIA staffs in each country.

I believe that if the department, with a coordinated interagency blueprint in hand, approached Congress for the resources to refocus our global presence, it would be successful.

Kempton B. Jenkins
FSO, retired
Washington, D. C.

Unrecognized Family Members

I would like to thank the *Journal* for running Manish Mishra's piece on equal benefits for same-sex partnerships. For years, management has contended that State cannot place itself on the cutting edge of society in adopting a policy which would provide domestic partner benefits. Employees of no other U.S. government agency, however, face the financial and emotional hardships of a Foreign Service career. The strains of frequent relocation are all the more onerous for those of us without the support structure which the service has developed over the years expressly to preserve and protect FS families. The request for equal consideration and treatment is not an unreasonable one.

By dragging its heels, the service runs the risk of losing a significant number of dedicated and valued employees.

David M. Buss
Administrative Officer
US Mission, OSCE, Vienna

What Is Marriage?

I know Manish Mishra as a bright and articulate colleague, but in making his case for the granting of spousal benefits to homosexual couples, ("Speaking Out," March 1999), he makes several flawed assumptions. Let's examine some of them.

1) Marriage is marriage. Mishra, describing his relationship with his "husband-to-be" as "similar, no doubt, to many of my colleagues," tells us he will be married this summer in a church ceremony. In what state, may I ask? Not one of the 50 states recognizes homosexual marriage, a sentiment echoed by the U.S. Congress in its Defense of Marriage Act, legislation signed by President Clinton.

Mishra demands that the State Department "absolutely must" recognize his marriage and extend benefits to his spouse as if his marriage is no different than those of his heterosexual colleagues. But a homosexual "marriage" is different; namely, it is not a marriage in any legal sense of the word.

2) Love transcends gender. Citing old laws against interracial marriage and marriage between slaves, Mishra makes the illogical jump to the conclusion that "definitions of what constitutes a marriage have changed as society has recognized that love transcends race." But society's perception of marriage has not changed; the vast majority of Americans still define marriage as a union between a man and a woman.

What changed was society's perception of the humanity of black people and the subsequent, albeit slow, extension of rights to a class of people formerly defined as not fully human. Would Mishra argue that because former slaves were later given the right to own property that the definition of property ownership has changed?

3) Marriage is really about two people. Mishra's definition of marriage is reductionist: it's all about loving and valuing another person; in other words, only two people are involved. He terms as a "myth" the idea that spousal benefits, and implicitly marriage, have anything to do with raising children. The institution of marriage between a man and a woman is indeed about mutual love and commitment, but it is also much more than that. Marriage between men and women provides for the creation, nurturing, and protection of the next generation. Yes, there are heterosexual couples who choose not to have children, but this does not logically lead to the conclusion that marriage therefore is not about creating families.

Homosexual marriage would be a legal recognition that marriage is, in essence, nothing more than a committed relationship entitling the participants to, say, "travel, medical, health, and other benefits."

Mishra wants the Department of State "to take a principled stand" and enact by fiat and bureaucratic regulation a policy that doesn't come close to reflecting the values or interests of the American public, the U.S. Congress or the Department of State.

Richard G. Miles
Political Officer
U.S. Embassy Berlin

CORRECTION: In a letter in the April *Journal* from Smith Simpson on recommended readings for the 75th Anniversary of the Foreign Service, the name of the author of *The Making of the Diplomatic Mind* was misspelled. The author's name is Robert D. Schulzinger. ■

CLIPPINGS

"The Czechs, Hungarians and Poles know exactly why they want to join NATO.

... For them, the alliance is the only organization that has ever dealt effectively with the historic German problem and the still existent Russian problem. And from NATO's point of view, expansion makes it much more difficult for those in Moscow or elsewhere to reverse course on the results of the Cold War."

— SPEECH BY FORMER SECRETARY OF STATE ALEXANDER M. HAIG JR., MARCH 18, 1999

KOSOVO REACTIONS: ALL OVER THE MAP

Because the NATO campaign in Yugoslavia has been far and away the number one topic in foreign affairs during the past month, the "Clippings" section takes a look at a few of the varied reactions among U.S. commentators.

THERE IS RADICAL EVIL

From what might be called the morally outraged center, writer and critic Susan Sontag calls on the U.S. for a most forceful response to Milosevic's "destruction of Yugoslavia and the creation of so much suffering." (Sontag's concern with the region runs so deep that she spent much of 1993 to 1996 in war-wracked Sarajevo.) Sontag, in the May 2 *New York Times Magazine*, argues that Kosovo, like Bosnia, must be considered part of our world, of Europe — and therefore worth saving.

"War is not simply a mistake, a failure to communicate," Sontag writes. "There is radical evil in the world, which is why there are just wars. And this is a just war. Even if it has been bungled."

WE OWE IT TO OURSELVES

One of the more introspective (some might say touchy-feely) arguments for going into Kosovo is made by Harvard professor Peter Berkowitz. Writing in the May 10 *New Republic*, a magazine that has taken a consistently interventionist position on the former Yugoslavia, Berkowitz says essentially that the U.S. must act because "we owe it to ourselves" to uphold humanitarian ideals. "In an increasingly interconnected world where atrocities are reported in real time and the U.S. military alone has the means to deploy soldiers and equipment on short notice around the globe, coming to the aid of individuals abroad may become critical to respecting ourselves at home." Doing otherwise, he writes, means "weakening [our] own commitment to the very principles that make liberal democracy feasible."

THE PROGRESSIVES' CRUEL CRUSADE

From the left, Alexander Cockburn, the enfant terrible of *The Nation* magazine, takes the West to task for what he mockingly calls "the Progressives' War. ... The true motives of the United States and its accomplices" are to demonstrate "that no one had better mess with Uncle Sam."

Says Cockburn, "The liberals are on a crusade, historically the most merciless of all forms of bellicose engagement, albeit the one most suffused with self-serving illusions." NATO, he says, "had no real interest in a peaceful diplomatic resolution; otherwise, they would have parleyed further with Milosevic on the Serbs' final offer to countenance peacekeepers in Kosovo if the latter were under the auspices of the U.N." He also questions the bona fides of the KLA, "whose alleged drug-trafficking activities have been discussed in some detail in newspapers such as the *Times* of London, as have the sympathies of some of the KLA's leaders for Mao."

CLIPPINGS

NATO's Future Is at Stake

Former national security adviser Zbigniew Brzezinski praises the Clinton administration for "keeping NATO together" but excoriates its lack of military preparation in the May 3 *National Review*.

Brzezinski writes, "The stakes now involve far more than the fate of Kosovo. They were altered dramatically the day the bombing began. It is no exaggeration to say that NATO's failure to prevail would mean both the end of NATO as a credible alliance and the undermining of America's global leadership. And the consequences of either would be devastating to global stability.

"What then must be done? Given the stakes involved, the United States, as the recognized leader of the alliance, must pursue a no-holds-barred approach to winning." That means, Brzezinski says, no compromise with Milosevic and "preparation for a possible NATO ground operation."

The Cautious Center's Options

Representing what is undoubtedly a wide swathe of American opinion, an April 26 *Christian Science Monitor* editorial keeps the door open both to negotiation and military escalation.

"Even as the bombing continues, NATO diplomats have to be alert for any movement by Mr. Milosevic on key conditions, such as an armed international force to ensure peace in Kosovo. Future talks with the Serbian leader may seem a distasteful prospect, given his record of deception and his vicious policies in Kosovo. But NATO will have amply demonstrated its resolve."

At the same time, the editorial says, "NATO must be ready to send in the troops when it becomes necessary. ... It was a mistake to rule out their use to begin with."

Heroes or Heroin?

A report in the May 5 *San Francisco Chronicle* details charges that there are extensive links between the Kosovo Liberation Army and a powerful European network of Kosovar drug smugglers.

"Kosovo Albanians hold the largest share of the heroin market in Switzerland, in Austria, in Belgium, in Hungary, in the Czech Republic, in Norway and in Sweden," according to a November 1997 statement from Interpol, the international police agency.

"We have intelligence leading us to believe that there could be a connection between drug money and the Kosovo Liberation Army," Walter Kege, head of the drug enforcement unit for Swedish police intelligence, told the *London Times* in March.

While there is a history of distrust between the United States and the KLA, the militarization of the Kosovo conflict has forced NATO to rely on the KLA for intelligence, writes *Chronicle* staffer Frank Viviano. The problem, says Viviano, is that the U.S. could once again find itself allied with a guerrilla group engaging in narcotic operations, like the Nicaraguan contras in the 1980s.

Viviano points out that drug proceeds are by no means the only source of

50 Years Ago

"In the American and British Navies, where selection-out has prevailed for some time, we have noticed that the Captains who do not make Rear Admiral may be disappointed, yes, but certainly don't think of themselves as being labeled 'with the stigma of failure.'"

— The Editors of the Journal, *June 1949, in response to a letter on the consequences of being selected out.*

"I have discovered the art of deceiving diplomats. I speak the truth and they never believe me."

— CAMILLO DI CAVOUR, ITALIAN DIPLOMAT (1810-61) WHO WAS INSTRUMENTAL IN UNIFICATION OF ITALY IN THE 19TH CENTURY.

income for the KLA. "The group is said to be funded by a war tax of 3 percent imposed by the People's Movement of Kosovo on the earnings of 500,000 ethnic Albanian emigrants in Western Europe," most of whom live in Germany and Switzerland.

According to Interpol, while Albanian-speakers comprise roughly 1 percent of Europe's population, in 1997 they accounted for 14 percent of all European arrests for heroin trafficking. Ethnic Albanians became active in trafficking, the article states, both because they live in the poorest region in Europe and because they live at a key location in the Balkan route for bringing drugs into Europe.

As Yugoslav citizens, Kosovars had greater freedom to travel than citizens of Albania proper. "That allowed them to establish very efficient overseas networks through the worldwide Albanian diaspora — and in the process, to forge ties with other underworld groups involved in the heroin trade, such as Chinese triads in Vancouver and Vietnamese in Australia," said Michel Koutozis, a senior researcher at Geopolitical Drug Watch who is regarded as a leading expert on the Balkan drug route.

BROADCAST UNIT TO LEAVE USIA

The broadcasting operations that have long been under the wing of the U.S. Information Agency will become an independent agency Oct. 1. That's the day USIA is to merge with the State Department, under last year's Foreign Affairs and Reform and Restructuring Act.

The new unit will initially be known as the Broadcasting Board of Governors, and will have an annual budget of over $400 million and more than 2,500 employees. Writes David Kirschten in the May 1999 issue of *Government Executive*, the agency's new independence "will mark a significant victory for broadcasting boosters."

Kirschten notes that the future of government broadcasting looked iffy in the early '90s as the Cold War wound down, but strong support both from the Clinton administration and congressional Republicans has let it survive stronger than ever.

The BBG's operating units will include the Voice of America, the Office of Cuba Broadcasting, and the television and film unit Worldnet. It will also supervise and dispense funds to two private entities, Radio Free Europe/Radio Liberty and Radio Free Asia.

One indicator of (and perhaps a reason for) the continued vigor of foreign broadcasting is the 1997 appointment of Thomas A. Dine as president of RFE/RL. Dine, whom the article calls "a well-wired Washington operator," had earlier been the successful executive director of the American Israel Public Affairs Committee (AIPAC) from 1980 to 1993.

Dine has enlarged RFE/RL's mission statement to cover the area that stretches "from Central Europe to the Pacific, from the Baltic to the Black Sea, from Russia to Central Asia to the Persian Gulf." In addition, Dine told *Government Executive* that he wants to transform his organization from a shortwave regional broadcasting outlet to "an international communications organization that puts out publications and is active on the Internet."

The BBG may very well acquire a new name and a modified structure when it becomes independent this fall, Kirschten suggests. The agency is now directed by a part-time board, and previous board chairman David W. Burke, a former president of CBS News, has suggested that the chairman's job become full time.

One task facing the new agency will be to absorb about 80 additional employees who currently support broadcasting within USIA and will be transferred to BBG's payroll. ■

SPEAKING OUT

Assignment: Amembassy Limbo

BY STEPHAN J. HELGESEN

Late one evening in April 1997 I was home when I got the call I had been waiting for from my assignments officer. He congratulated me on being selected for the job I had most wanted as a senior commercial officer in an embassy with which I was familiar. While most other FSOs had known for several months where they would be posted next, I had been waiting to find out about my next assignment. The delay created logistical and other problems for me, not the least of which was not knowing where I would be for the next four years. Still, getting that call made the wait and hassle worth it.

This seemed like the ideal assignment for my abilities. I knew the country well because I had served there as a junior officer some ten years earlier. I spoke the language, knew the embassy staff, had good contacts at high levels in the government and had even received a promotion for accomplishments on my earlier tour. The match was ideal, except for one detail which didn't then seem to be a problem. The position called for an FS-01 and my rank was FS-02. This didn't seem to bother my agency, the U.S. and Foreign Commercial Service.

Celebrating that evening, I couldn't have predicted that my ideal assignment would put me at loggerheads with USFCS and turn into a nightmare of frayed nerves before ending up before a grievance panel.

Stephan J. Helgesen is an FSO with the U.S. and Foreign Commercial Service in Singapore.

Three weeks before I was due to leave, USFCS caved to pressure from the ambassador.

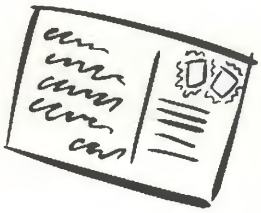
Assignment Rescinded

Although I was aware that a standard cable was sent to every ambassador inviting his or her "comments" on new assignments, I never thought that the ambassador would have the power or desire to object to someone with my qualifications after my assignment had been made.

Still, the ambassador, a political appointee, had reservations. He wanted to fill the job with a candidate at the "proper" grade. After I received my assignment, USFCS lobbied the ambassador for three months, until July, trying to convince him that I was the best person for the job. The USFCS assignments panel met another time and upheld my assignment. Key management met with the ambassador, sent him cables and spoke with him on the phone. They told him that they were prepared to leave the position empty if he would not accept me, but he was unfazed and wouldn't change his mind. He didn't base his objections to me on my readiness to perform the job, he said, and that it was "nothing personal," but he wanted someone with an FS-01 rank.

Experienced senior officers whom I knew told me not to count on my agency backing my assignment, and they were right. Just three weeks before I was due to leave for my assignment, USFCS caved to pressure from the ambassador and rescinded my assignment. I learned that this same ambassador had rejected another candidate for the job who had been two grades below the desired rank. In that instance USFCS withdrew the officer's assignment and left the position vacant for six months. The officer was later given a job as deputy head of section in a large embassy. Apparently, it was more important to this ambassador to have no senior officer than to have one who was under grade.

In July 1997, as soon as USFCS rescinded my assignment, I filed a grievance with the Foreign Service Grievance Board. I alleged that an



Tell Us About Your Travels

The *Foreign Service Journal*'s **"Postcard from Abroad"** is not your average travel section.

Readers don't turn to it for paeans to sunbathing in Sumatra or the cheapest airfares to Europe. They will find stories that illuminate an aspect of a foreign culture written by Americans whose business is living in that culture.

Writing for the postcard section should be provocative, detailed and convey a sense of place through anecdote, reporting and keen observation.

Potential writers should refer back to issues of the *FSJ* for subjects covered and guidance in preparing submissions, which should be from 600 to 800 words in length.

For more information, contact managing editor Kathleen Currie by fax (202) 338-8244, e-mail: currie@afsa.org, or by mail.

ambassador does not have the right to overrule the decision of an assignments panel without cause. Further, I accused USFCS of failing in its responsibilities to me — and thus all FSOs — by giving in to the capricious demands of an ambassador who insisted that he must have a more senior (in rank) officer rather than accepting an officer of lower rank with sufficient experience, as selected by an agency assignments panel.

My lawyer researched every aspect of the assignments process and the rights and responsibilities of ambassadors. Months went by in the discovery phase of the grievance with me preparing my interrogatories — questions about how the decision was made — with help from AFSA lawyers. Once I filed a grievance, my agency took its gloves off. They started asking me questions about the assignments process to which I couldn't possibly have known the answers.

Ambassadorial Privilege

USFCS had the full might of the system behind it. I had no representation beyond AFSA. It seemed farcical at times, surreal at others, as the Washington bureaucracy played the game of deny and delay. It was my first grievance, but one of many for them. Fortunately for me, I had a number of friends and fellow officers in this business who gave me exceptional moral support and excellent advice.

It seems so simple. Your agency assigns you. You go to post. If the ambassador doesn't like you or your performance, you work things out after you get there. In the very worst case, he asks you to leave. You at least get the chance to show what you can do. That's all I wanted, an even chance.

From the information I've been able to gather, it seems an increasing number of politically appointed ambassadors are abusing the assignments process by overstepping their authority and ignoring the foreign affairs agencies' assignments panels. Many are asking that prospective assignees interview with them before they will accept them for jobs and are delaying accepting officers they have not personally chosen until agencies back down and rescind those officers' assignments.

Maybe I'm wrong, but I thought personnel decisions were made by the foreign affairs agencies and that ambassadors weighed in on the number and type of positions an agency has at post. In practice, however, ambassadors are within their rights and have the power to wait an agency out. And if my case is any indication, ambassadors are not afraid to challenge agencies' personnel decisions despite the consequences of being without a senior officer at post for nearly a year. The ironic thing about my case was that a junior FS-03 officer became the acting senior officer at the post I had wanted for almost a year while the ambassador waited for his FS-01. He had, in effect, already accepted someone ranked two grades below the position. The FS-03 officer, incidentally, did a fine job and was justifiably promoted.

After 18 months of legal wrangling, the FSGB denied my grievance on all counts. They didn't decide the question of an ambassador's prerogative in assignments, but simply said that an agency has the right to rescind an assignment even after an assignments panel had voted twice to confirm it.

There had been no precedent for

the ruling. Had there been, it would have saved my agency, the FSGB and me a lot of grief. I would have just accepted the fact that my agency was too timid to back up its own assignments panel in the face of an ambassador's intransigence. When my assignment was withdrawn, I was offered a tour in what my agency cryptically called the "training complement," a euphemism for a limbo-like holding pattern while I waited for them to give me a new assignment. Foregoing that pleasure, I took the consolation prize of a deputy's assignment in another part of the world. This job called for someone at my grade, and a year later I was promoted to FS-01 for my work. Now I have the grade, but my old assignment is gone.

There are lessons here for all FSOs. One, you don't really have an assignment until you get to your post. Two, if an ambassador objects to you, don't wait around. Ask your assignments officer to find you another job immediately; otherwise, you probably won't make it to your post. Also, contact AFSA so that they know this is happening.

Since there are no clear guidelines about when and how ambassadors can intervene in the assignments process, the Foreign Service should push for them and also help develop a set of norms for what constitutes adequate agency support for an assignee. Ambassadors should weigh in with their wishes for a particular officer, but *before* an assignment has been made, not after.

Oscar Wilde once said that there are two great tragedies in life. The first one is not to get your heart's desire and the second one is to get it. I know all about the first, but I'm still hoping for another chance at the second. ■

WHY POLAND IS MAKING IT

SUSAN SANFORD

POLAND BEAT THE ODDS AND BECAME THE FRONT-RUNNER IN EASTERN EUROPEAN ECONOMIC AND DEMOCRATIC REFORMS.

BY PEGGY SIMPSON

Poland was never expected to be the front-runner among Central European transition countries. The smart money was on Czechoslovakia, with its magical capital city and eloquent playwright-president, or on Hungary, whose "goulash communism" had given it two decades of experience with the West. Gamblers put their bets on young Russian reformers, despite the lack of a legal framework for a market economy.

Poland's peaceful handover of power from the Polish communists to the Solidarity opposition in mid-1989 after partly free elections marked the first rebuff by a Soviet satellite to the USSR and set the stage for the fall of the Berlin Wall later that year, revolutions that ultimately forced the collapse of the USSR itself.

Poland, however, looked ill equipped to capitalize on its success. The economy was in a free fall and many

insiders as well as Western analysts thought the problems might be insurmountable: raging inflation, a shaky currency, inefficient, polluting smokestack industries with output almost entirely going to the Soviet market and massive, unserviced debts to Western governments and banks dating from the 1970s.

Politically, Poland didn't look promising either. Western investors may have applauded Solidarity's role in upending communism, but few wanted to get in the middle of what they assumed would be factory-floor showdowns with the Solidarity union about dismantling full-employment socialist policies.

Today, however, Poland is a pacesetter in both economic and "democratic" reforms. It weathered the 1998 buffeting from emerging-market traumas in Asia, Russia and Latin America better than most. Its 1999 growth is predicted to drop to between 2.5 percent and 5 percent, down from its nearly 7 percent growth two years earlier, but with solid fundamentals. Inflation has dropped to single digits, the currency is stable and the government has pushed ahead with privatization of Polish industrial giants. And, after eight years of delay, difficult reforms are beginning in mining, with the industrial landscape changing radically in Poland's Silesian heartland from smokestack polluters to a new mix of contemporary manufacturing led by Western carmakers.

Foreign direct investment has reflected all these rosy prospects. By the end of 1998, it had risen to a cumulative total of $30 billion, up one-third from a year earlier. Multinationals see Poland as a politically stable and dynamic market of 38.5 million people whose income is low but rising steadily, enabling consumers to satisfy a vast pent-up demand.

This is a bottom-up economic expansion, benefiting millions of people, not only an isolated few with "connections." There are new Polish millionaires, perhaps a handful of billionaires. There also are tens of thousands of new middle-class Poles, taking foreign vacations, buying a first and second car, improving an apartment, buying a house and nourishing fast-growing private businesses.

This is a bottom-up economic expansion, benefiting millions of people, not only an isolated few with "connections."

How did Poland beat the odds? The reasons are complex and not well understood, even within Poland. In brief:

■ The right policies were put in place, very early, by Finance Minister Leszek Balcerowicz, who also was deputy prime minister in the Solidarity government formed by Prime Minister Tadeusz Mazowiecki. Balcerowicz also proved to be a strong manager, orchestrating the enactment of hundreds of economic laws and regulations in that first 18 months. Subsequent governments headed by ex-communists kept core policies intact, with virtually no privatization reversals as occurred in Hungary when socialists won office over the initial team of reformers.

■ There was broad public support. By 1989, more than half of adult Poles were supporting the Solidarity movement against the communist regime. People backed the Balcerowicz reforms, even when they didn't understand them, because they supported the end goal of gaining Poland its freedom.

■ The Solidarity union backed the reforms, even when they hurt. Lech Walesa, the Gdansk shipyard electrician who won the Nobel Prize for his Solidarity leadership and defeated Mazowiecki for president in late 1990, backed Balcerowicz' continuation of controls on wage increases, a controversial policy which succeeded in swiftly reducing the inflation that had soared to 800 percent.

■ Socialism was discredited and that meant minimal support for massive subsidies and "full employment." Poland's 1989 standard of living was well below pre-war levels and an official "shortage economy" had given short shrift to consumers. Almost all products taken for granted in the Western world were scarce in Poland.

■ Ordinary Poles acted almost immediately on new options opened by the reforms. Almost unnoticed, thousands of enterprise managers, skilled factory workers, research scientists and computer nerds began

---

Peggy Simpson, who reported on national politics and economics from Washington, D.C., for 20 years, has been a Nieman Fellow at Harvard University, a guest scholar at the Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars and currently holds an Alicia Patterson fellowship to do research on Polish entrepreneurs.

opening their own small firms in 1989-90, creating a private-sector base which has propelled Poland forward throughout the 1990s.

Shock Therapy

The Balcerowicz "shock therapy" policies introduced in January 1990 laid the groundwork for Poland's dramatic U-turn from near-total dependence on the Soviet Union to trade with the Western market economies. In addition, new laws were passed and prewar laws, such as the 1934 commercial code, were dusted off and used when applicable. The government guaranteed the right to private property and reinforced a late-socialist-era policy that lifted barriers to business startups.

Floating the zloty eliminated the currency black market, a lucrative source of illicit money for currency traders.

In addition, debt-restructuring talks led to nearly half of Poland's debts being written off, first with foreign governments in 1990, then with private banks in 1994, restoring Poland to financial good standing and freeing up its investment future.

At the heart of the policies, however, was the reform package that became known as the "Polish shock therapy." The reforms probably exceeded what the multinational institutions thought Balcerowicz could accomplish. Many Western critics, and some in neighboring countries, labeled them as Draconian. At home, in the first year, there was minimal outcry, partly because the collapse of markets in Russia posed such a big crisis. The economic tailspin was blamed on that, not on the Balcerowicz reforms.

Talking to U.S. investors last October, Balcerowicz said Poland's reformers probably were helped by the fact that Soviet markets collapsed soon after Poland won its independence. "We're the only (transition) country that had our crisis as we started our reforms," he said.

His reforms lifted price controls, allowed the zloty to float in-country against Western currencies, opened the country to imports, ended government controls on exports and privatized small enterprises, including the media, that first year. Ending food subsidies and price controls caused hours-long consumer lines to disappear overnight. Farmers began bringing in more products and importers freely sold formerly scarce fruits such as oranges and bananas. More available products led to larger stores. In 1990, Warsaw had only one self-service grocery store and carts were scarce. By 1998, Poles were flooding into hypermarts built by European firms, with between 50 to 80 checkout stands each.

The flood of imports cheered consumers and confronted state companies with first-time competition. It was a catalyst for many to learn the basics of marketing and distribution. That was the case with a state-owned meat packing plant in the Mazurian Lake city of Ostroda. Morliny had been built in the 1970s with U.S. technology and loans. Early in the transition it avoided taking on debts to make payroll by opening retail stores to sell its meat and get cash in the door. But then they got clobbered with canned ham imports from Norway that came in glitzy packaging. The Norwegian hams forced Morliny to change their own stodgy solid-color packaging and find new ways to get consumers' affection. They developed flashy promotional material, won a national quality award and, in 1998, made it onto the Warsaw Stock Exchange.

Floating the zloty eliminated the currency black market, a lucrative source of illicit money for currency traders, but was a gamble because there was so little confidence in the Polish money. The long lines, after all, were not just because of food shortages, but because Poles bought whenever they found goods available, because they feared the zloty would be worth less tomorrow.

Money, Money

The United States took the lead in setting up a $1 billion currency stabilization fund in late 1989. "This was an essential underpinning for Balcerowicz" in making the zloty partly convertible, said John Cloud, deputy chief of mission at the U.S. Embassy in Warsaw. The zloty stabilized on its own; the fund was never used. In 1993, a Balcerowicz deputy, Stefan Kawalac, won approval from Western donor governments to use the money instead as part of an innovative carrot-and-stick plan to force state banks to deal with the bad debts on their books and, once that was done, to then get money from the fund to increase their capital as they headed for privatization.

The bank restructuring law stands as a key building block for the financial sector. It provided incentives for Polish banks to remedy past mistakes and to shape up for the future, as they sought strategic partners for privatizations. The law gave bankers deadlines to deal with indebted clients and stipulated some options they could use, including forcing the indebted companies into bankruptcy, selling assets at auction or swapping debt for equity if the bankers thought the company had a future worth investing in.

By early 1999, there were 2,800 ATMs in Poland, up from about a dozen three years earlier.

By 1995, all major state banks had been recapitalized, with the exception of the huge agricultural bank, which was a challenge for reformers because of its ties to the Peasants Party. The banking reforms led to vibrant financial activity, including expansion into retail banking and credit/debit card distribution on a mass scale, which could not have happened if the government policy chiefs had not prevented banks from continuing to supply credit to indebted state enterprises.

By spring 1999, all but the agricultural bank and the gigantic state savings bank, PKO B.P., were in the final stages of privatization. A handful of state banks had been shut down. Mergers and takeovers occurred which strengthened the banking sector. Major foreign banks, led by Citibank and the Dutch bank ING, had been providing stiff competition since early in the transition.

Consumer credit took off in a big way by mid-decade, driven by automotive dealers desperate to give consumers long-term financing for new cars. Car loans led to a 40 percent increase in car sales from 1996 to 1997. By early 1999, there were 2,800 ATMs in Poland (up from about a dozen three years earlier) and more than 35 percent of all Poles had some relationship with banks, up from 7 percent in 1990.

Banks also were core partners in the pension reforms which took effect in April 1999 and which will create the giant financial institutions of the next century. An estimated 10 million Poles were expected to switch their retirement accounts from the state pay-as-you-go program to privately managed pension investment funds. The first-year investments were projected to be $1.1 billion, going to $20 billion within 15 years.

Capital Markets

New institutions, including an independent central bank and capital market structures, were created in 1990-91. The emphasis was on emulating Western models in mature markets, not adopting makeshift models only for the transition. Polish Securities and Exchange Commission Chairman Jacek Socha said that in creating capital markets, a high priority was set on adopting a clear-cut set of rules for everyone and on a transparent process of collecting and disseminating information about companies. Today, the Warsaw Stock Exchange and the Polish SEC, which is modeled 100 percent after the U.S. SEC, are credible because of this transparency. Nine companies were listed when the stock market opened in 1991. By early 1999, there were 250 listed companies with market capitalization of $25 billion, Socha estimated. Sixty percent of investors are Poles, giving the WSE a stability that other regional markets lack when the bulk of investors are foreigners who flee at any sign of trouble.

Industrial Restructuring

Even though a huge amount of industrial restructuring has already been done, what remains is located in the most politically sensitive areas of the economy, including mining, steel mills and power plants. To ensure their survival after collapse of the Russian markets and after the Solidarity government balked at continuing subsidies, two of the three major shipyards found financing to straighten out their procedures, with the help of Citibank and Polish banks who were financial intermediaries for Eurobond floatations. Only the politicized Gdansk shipyard remained, slipping ever more toward the brink as managers assumed the central government would never push it into bankruptcy. That happened, however, in 1997-98, but there was minimal Polish outcry because other industries were so visibly booming after adopting leaner workforces and procedures.

In the highly polluted industrial region of Silesia, in central Poland, the transition can be seen clearly. In 1990, Western analysts despaired about Silesia's future. Coal mines with conditions not seen in the West since the 19th century had been kept open first by the Nazis,

then by the Soviets. Overall, the coal mining sector cost more to operate than was recouped by sales. But mining reform had been delayed because it was seen as too hot to handle for the initial Solidarity governments and the ex-communists. Finally, with Silesia beginning to boom with new auto-industry business, the current Solidarity government bit the bullet. A mining reform law was adopted in mid-1998 that would close 15 mines, reduce coal output by 25.8 million tons and cut the number of jobs by half. This was expected to stem losses that totalled $800 million in 1998 and bring the sector to profitability by 2003. A long-pending $1 billion loan was drawn down from the World Bank to buffer the transition, including bailout packages totaling $11,500 per miner (or about three times the average annual salary) and retraining programs. Rather than take to the streets in protest, miners bought the concept and 22,000 of them had taken the early-out money by year end. Another 60,000 probably will be laid off in the years to come. But Silesia had revolutionized itself, with educators, politicians and union leaders cooperating in shaping a package of economic incentives for Polish and foreign businesses to locate there. This is expected to create 50,000 new jobs by the year 2001. And, as General Motors opened a new built-from-scratch auto manufacturing plant in October 1998, hiring 20 percent of the startup staff of 2,000 from the mines, Silesia looked poised to become a center of industrial suppliers and producers, with unemployment below the national average, the reverse of what had been forecast in 1990.

Silesia looked poised to become a center of industrial suppliers and producers, with unemployment below the national average.

Tens of thousands of shops and stores, cafes and

pharmacies, as well as the state print media, were privatized from 1990-91. Cities were given the right to auction off many state stores. In other cases, managers, or less frequently workers, bought out a store to save their jobs. At many medium-sized enterprises, managers or workers "leased" or bought a portion of the assets. It wasn't always pretty; it favored existing managers over outsiders. But, at a time when the collapse of Russian markets was stranding thousands of state factories without buyers for their goods, many options for keeping economic activity going were being tried without first screening applicants for ideology. Even when the successor firms didn't fly, attempts to salvage something activated both managers and workers in coming to grips with realities of life without socialist guarantees.

The private base was so widespread and so diverse that it was beyond the reach of any "mafia."

Some huge companies needing major investment were sold to Western investors through "capital privatization" sales. Investors who came to Poland this way included International Paper, PepsiCo, Gerber Foods and Swedish-Swiss industrial giant Asea Brown Boveri (ABB). This form of privatization was phased out after two years with fewer than 100 sales, but these significant sales led to some of the most profitable companies in Poland.

Polish Hustle

Business startups were encouraged. Solidarity founder and then-president Lech Walesa made televised speeches urging people to take their futures in their own hands and open their own companies. This was ridiculed by Polish cynics and some Westerners, but thousands of Poles did just that. Together, the massive "spontaneous privatization" and the smaller "capital privatization," as well as a rapidly growing presence of startup companies, resulted in the creation of more than two million private companies in the first two years of the Solidarity government. This was a private business base so widespread and so diverse that it was beyond the reach of any "mafia" or protection rackets schemes, like those plaguing the new private sector in countries further east.

Belatedly, it became clear to many investors that, contrary to predictions about troublesome labor unions, Poland was having very few labor troubles. In fact, many multinational pioneers were setting productivity and quality records within their international network of factories.

Stereotypes about sluggish, apathetic workers could apply to some state bureaucrats, but, by and large, employers found Poles to be highly educated, highly motivated and very adept at solving workplace problems. The first general manager of Proctor & Gamble, Ian Troop, said he thought this was perhaps because they had built cars from scratch during the socialist era; they knew how to take apart and put back almost anything. They were proving to be savvy consumers, balancing what they wanted with what they could afford. They were also what marketing people call "aspirational." They wanted a lot and were determined to work hard to get it. Decades, indeed centuries, of learning to get around barriers put in their way by uninvited occupiers stood them in good stead in a market economy. They flourished on the chaos that ensued when the old system collapsed. Traders had learned the ropes of Western business by doing it. Poles who had picked apples in Germany, cleaned swimming pools in New York or flipped burgers in Chicago had absorbed quite a lot about how a market economy works.

There also is another trait which people ascribe to Poles: pessimism and skepticism, especially about themselves. Many "elites" led the pack in pessimism about the Balcerowicz reforms in 1990-91. That included most economics professors. Ian Hume, then the chief of the World Bank office in Poland, was greeted with disbelief when he made a speech in 1991 to the Warsaw Rotary Club about why he thought the reforms would succeed and Poland would prosper. "You're joking, aren't you?" he said more than one member asked him.

In 1990-91, however, while the Warsaw skeptics dominated public attention, thousands of people far from the seats of power took the reforms at face value and began acting on them. Balcerowicz knew this was happening. He persuaded the newly created Polish American Enterprise Fund to find a way to get small loans of up to $20,000 to the fledgling entrepreneurs. At the time, almost no Polish banks made loans to

individuals. The PAEF set up a "windows" small-loan program in the state-owned Polish banks, providing initial capital for thousands of small businesses. Over the decade, that program loaned more than $250 million as a subsidiary of PAEF.

The PAEF in Poland itself went on, under the leadership of Barbara Lundburg, to become the most successful of the venture capital funds in Poland, taking equity stakes in Polish state enterprises and helping retool them for the stock market. By mid-decade, a second privately financed fund had been launched, Enterprise Investors. Another PAEF effort was a pioneer in micro-credit, Fundusz Mikro, that was funneling small loans of between $1,500 to $5,000 to economically energetic small business owners outside the big-city boomtowns. And by 1999, Western venture capital companies had invested nearly $1.5 billion in Polish companies.

Bribery demands are exacerbated by the many ways government officials control the economic process.

The New Entrepreneurs

They came from many quarters. They were state-enterprise managers who had always wanted to try their hand at their own business; traders who had been smuggling in scarce commodities and now set up shop to do it legally; and computer-literate young Poles who saw the virtual absence of computers in industry and the government as a massive opportunity.

Some were scientists. A Gliwice chemistry researcher had been applying to open a small business for years, but city bureaucrats told her to stick to science. That changed in 1989 and today she is a major exporter of women's blouses to German mail-order firms and has begun her own line of clothes for the fast-expanding hypermarts in Poland.

Others were skilled workers at state factories. A Poznan engineer working for the Ciegelsky engine plant began making bathroom heaters. A Bialystok engineer started producing automatic garage doors after seeing pictures of them, and today has expanded to making automatic industrial doors. In Warsaw, eight sewage-treatment system designers quit a 300-person state bureaucracy to create their own shop in 1990. They nearly went broke when city clients didn't pay but, after solving that crisis, by mid-decade had 35 full-time staffers, 300 construction workers on call and such multinational clients as PepsiCo and Master Foods.

Crime and Corruption

For the most part, these new entrepreneurs were not endangered by demands from criminals for protection money, as has been the case in countries further east. That is partly because the small business base exploded overnight, partly because there were so many legal ways to make money after 1989. Nor has there been any pattern of criminal "hollowing out" of companies or of systematic asset-stripping in the guise of privatization. Still, the FBI set up shop in Poland to monitor problems which include use of the country as a transit point for guns, drugs and prostitutes destined for Western Europe. Product piracy, especially in computer software and entertainment CDs and tapes, is a $20 million business.

Poles have not been shy to take to the streets to protest police laxity. When shakedown threats became widespread in the Old Town, restaurant owners marched through the square, telling the police not to wait for a firebombing to start investigating their complaints.

Buying land has been fraught with problems, not just in getting permits but in getting clear title. The London department store Marks and Spencer negotiated for a central-Warsaw site for more than three years before settling on a temporary rental.

Bribery demands are exacerbated by the many ways government officials control the economic process and the huge gap between state wages and the salaries paid in growth-oriented private firms. Average pay for a government worker — including doctors and professors — is $345 a month. Warsaw's young professionals in law firms, marketing agencies, stock brokerages and banks earn four times that.

Minimizing bribery by huge increases in government workers' wages is impossible. Balcerowicz, back as finance minister for a second stint after a new Solidarity coalition won election in the fall of 1997, is working to reduce corruption by curtailing the bureaucrats' sign-off discretion over licenses and permits by

setting out criteria so all who qualify would automatically get them.

Pride and "Attitude"

Wage disparities will remain for decades to come, complicating getting and keeping good people in government, let alone ending bribery requests. In addition, however, Poland has many formidable challenges ahead. Improving the road and highway infrastructure, as well as the rail system, is an urgent need. The state still has a large stake in many core industries and owns 30 percent of shares on the stock exchange because of continued holdings in privatized companies listed there. In many cases, this has thwarted attempts to reform large companies because the state is reluctant to sign off on restructuring that involves layoffs.

Political leaders are not preparing people for the painful steps ahead if Poland is to become strong enough to compete within Europe.

Doctors and teachers have been on strike, protesting low wages. Health care reforms introduced in 1999 have been criticized as ill-prepared. Far-reaching pension reform is under way, but there are concerns that the hidebound government bureaucracy that handles retirement plans, ZUS, is unprepared to cope with the switch from paper to computer transactions for the millions of individual pension accounts created in the new system.

Political stability remains a goal, not a reality. The current coalition is an uneasy, often unhappy one, between the Solidarity reformers led by Balcerowicz and the Freedom Union party he now heads, and a Solidarity Action Alliance (AWS) which was begun by the Solidarity Union, headed by Marion Krzaklewski, who is expected to challenge President Kwasniewski in elections in the year 2000. The AWS itself is a coalition, including many right-of-center church fundamentalists and nationalists as well as the union membership.

Agricultural changes remain challenging, with the average farm twice as large today as a decade ago but, at about 8 hectares, still too small to be viable. The World Bank and the EU's Phare Fund are planning to put up $700 million to help create off-farm jobs, improve the farm-to-market infrastructure and upgrade rural education. The scarcity of foresighted political leaders representing rural Poland has opened the door for skillful demagogues to rally the farmers to blockade highways and train tracks to disrupt agricultural-sector imports. There is a dramatic need for far more knowledge of foreign languages. With Poland going into NATO, generals were being sent for English-language immersion to preclude more near misses such as those reported from recent NATO exercises with British and Polish troops.

Poles also have an "attitude," a pride and patriotism, that is both a catalyst for its success and a cause for grief when carried to extremes. The EU withdrew major money earmarked for Poland after the lead Polish negotiator repeatedly lectured his EU colleagues about the need to "accommodate" Poland while failing to develop even a minimal blueprint on ways Poland will change its laws and many practices to conform with the EU framework.

Poles bristle at being "supplicants," but the political leaders are not preparing people for the painful steps ahead if Poland is to become strong enough to compete within Europe and in the world at large. Poland's relatively lower wages are offset, as a competitive advantage, by the fact that distribution and transport systems are inadequate, the industrial stock is outdated and many factories and mines are overstaffed. Major improvements are also needed in health, education and environmental protection.

Moving West

Poland has a way to go but already has come further, faster, than anyone could have imagined in 1989. Taking tough medicine early has delivered a big payoff for the country, giving it fundamentals in the law, in its economic direction and in growth of a diverse and increasingly potent private sector. It now appears positioned to deal with many remaining problems, including key parts of its old industrial base that remain state owned, as it continues to mature as a born-again democratic market economy. Its economy should continue to expand, wages are increasing slightly ahead of productivity and foreign investment is picking up. Poland now appears more of a Western country than part of a "transition bloc" and could be a strong global competitor in a growing number of fields if the present growth continues. ■

POLAND: A PLUS FOR NATO

SUSAN SANFORD

OF THE THREE NEW NATO MEMBERS, ONLY POLAND WILL DEFINITELY BOOST THE ALLIANCE'S FIGHTING ABILITY.

BY JEFFREY SIMON

An enlarged NATO has become reality. The question now becomes: What will expansion mean in terms of the missions, politics and capabilities of the 50-year-old grand alliance? Will the addition of Poland, Hungary and the Czech Republic strengthen or weaken NATO as a defender of European security?

Of the three new NATO members, only Poland is fully prepared to become a real asset to the alliance — to become a "producer" rather than a "consumer" of security. A careful examination of Polish military capabilities, along with a briefer look at the situations in the Czech Republic and Hungary, shows why Poland comes out ahead.

As a practical matter, the new members must integrate into NATO militarily. If they succeed, the alliance will

be strengthened and poised for further enlargement. If they fall short of expectations on defense contributions (e.g., meeting target force goals), and if NATO concludes that the first tranche has added "free riders" rather than military producers of security, NATO's Article 10 commitment to further enlarge will become less credible, and regional security will be compromised.

In assessing whether a new NATO member will be a genuine contributor to NATO, we must take quite a few factors into account. Among the key variables: the current size, strength and readiness of the armed forces; national policy on conscription; demographics; public and elite support for the military; and the state of the nation's economy (which, as we'll see, can cut both ways).

Among domestic institutions the Polish armed forces rank number one in prestige, even higher than the Catholic Church.

Committed to Defense

Today, Poland's 205,000 troops come to roughly 50 percent of their 412,000 in 1988, when the majority of the armed forces consisted of 24-month conscripts. In 1990 Poland reduced conscription to 18 months (which in practice resulted in 15-month terms), and again in 1998 to 12 months. At present the government has no intention of further reducing the conscription term.

Twelve-month conscription should be adequate to train troops for territorial defense functions and should not unduly stress Poland's demographic situation which in 1998 included a cohort of 317,000 draft-age men. While the cohort will decline gradually through 2003, it is adequate to produce the roughly 90,000 conscripts that will be necessary. In the worst case, Poland's 2003 target force goal of 180,000 might be slightly optimistic, and force levels more likely will approach the 160,000 troop estimates found in some more conservative Polish plans.

In other words, demographics are unlikely to affect Polish force structure. But economics are likely to have a significant effect: Poland's strong economy will make it increasingly difficult for the Polish military to attract soldiers.

Polish planners recognize that even 12-month training is inadequate to provide troops with many of the skills necessary to operate a modern military. Hence, in 1994 they introduced extended service contract troops (a minimum of an extra 15 months) which numbered 13,500 in 1998 and are to expand to 20,000 by the end of 1999. When the program was introduced in 1994 the 600-zloty salary was 130 percent of the average monthly salary; hence, there were three applicants per slot. In 1998 the 800-zloty salary was roughly 80 percent of the average monthly salary; hence there was only one applicant per position. Filling the expanded extended service slots may prove difficult, but is probably manageable, in part, because the military, in marked contrast to Hungary and the Czech Republic, is such a popular institution.

In fact, among domestic institutions the Polish armed forces ranks number one in prestige, even higher than the Catholic Church. This support has been manifest in Polish defense budgets which have been consistently higher than in NATO's other new (and many old) members. Since 1989, when the Polish defense budget was 2.5 percent of GDP, it has — with one exception — remained at roughly 2.3 percent of GDP, slightly higher than European-NATO's 2.1 average.

A Growing Economy Competes

The Polish professional officer corps contracted roughly 25 percent from 112,656 in 1988 to 83,800 in 1997 (compared to 35 percent in Hungary and the Czech Republic). After bottoming out, the professional corps has since begun to rebound, slowly growing to 85,500 in 1998, with plans to increase to 94,900 in 1999. Poland has maintained an 800-troop battalion in Bosnia, and offered a second battalion contingent upon outside funding. Their Bosnia peacekeeping force participation and professional force size make credible their future commitment to provide

---

Jeffrey Simon is a senior fellow at the Institute for National Strategic Studies at the National Defense University. The opinions and conclusions expressed or implied here are solely those of the author and do not necessarily reflect the views of the U.S. Department of Defense or the above-named institutions.

two brigades to NATO's rapid reaction force and to build combined military units with Lithuania and Ukraine.

Nevertheless, Poland shares many of the same problems faced by the other new-member forces which affect morale. There is the need to improve social conditions and housing and to protect many professionals' pensions. In addition, the robust economy is drawing talent from the professional forces and the extended contract forces.

This is particularly the case in the Polish Air Force, from which pilots have been departing in droves (e.g., during the spring of 1998 more than one-half of the MiG-29 unit quit). Reasons often cited include concerns about retirement, low flying hours and pay. For example, a pilot with 15 years' experience earns roughly 3,000 zlotys per month, versus 8,000 zlotys on the open economy.

In sum, while Poland's vibrant economy will complicate the task of building its armed forces, demography will not be a serious problem and strong social support will likely assist Poland in achieving its target force goals.

Czech and Hungarian Shortfalls

When we compare the new NATO members with the older ones, Poland's relative strength again stands out. Poland, with a population of 38 million, is comparable in size to Spain, whose forces and defense expenditures respectively number 197,000 and 1.4 percent of GDP. Both contribute naval forces to the alliance. Given Poland's military commitments and demographics, it is conceivable that Poland will more than match Spain and will become a serious NATO military "producer" of security.

Hungary and the Czech Republic, each with a population of roughly ten million, might be compared in size to Belgium, Portugal and Greece. But in both Hungary and the Czech Republic, there are factors at work that make it less likely that the two will augment NATO strength.

In 1999 Hungary's 52,200 troops constituted roughly 42 percent of their 122,400 in 1989, when 18-month conscripts comprised the majority (75 percent) of the armed forces. In 1994 Hungary reduced the conscription term to 12 months, and again in 1997 to nine months. The new government program seeks to further reduce conscription to six months.

Not only does abbreviated military service increase training costs and produce inadequately trained conscripts, it also requires more conscripts to maintain existing force levels. But Hungary's population is declining. Hungarian demographics are such that in the years 2003-2005 the available draft-age cohort will decline to roughly 55 percent of present levels. The likely result, of course, will be a total force significantly smaller than the current total of 52,200.

On top of that, Hungary's armed forces are losing out in the nation's budget battles. This is perhaps not surprising, given Hungary's low popular support for the military (it ranks 23 out of 25 occupations). The Hungarian defense budget declined from 2.8 percent of GDP in 1989 to 1.4 percent in 1997. While Hungary agreed when it joined NATO to increase that percentage by 2001 to 1.8 percent of GDP, that still falls below the European NATO average of 2.1 percent.

The bottom line is that Hungary's role as a "producer" of military security in NATO is in jeopardy.

In 1999 the Czech Republic's 60,880 troops constituted roughly 57 percent of their 106,679 in 1993. When the Czech Republic separated from the Czech and Slovak Federated Republic in January 1993, it reduced conscription from 18 to 12 months.

The new Milos Zeman government maintains 12-month conscription, but some members of Vaclav Klaus's opposition are calling for its total abolition and for moving to an all-volunteer force. The Czechs also face a demographic problem, but one that is not as severe as in Hungary. Its draft-age cohort will decline about 22 percent between 1997 and 2002, compared to Hungary's precipitous 45 percent decline. This means that the Czech Republic ought to be able to meet its planned levels of roughly 23,000 to 25,000 conscripts, if it maintains twelve-month conscription.

The Czech Republic's 1999 professional corps of

Polish Armed Forces, Past and Present

	Total	Conscripts	(mo.)*	Career	Contract	Civilians	% GDP
1988	412,000		(24)*	112,656		116,034	2.50
1989	347,000	234,144		112,656		116,000	1.80
1990	314,000	206,000	(18)*	108,000		113,000	2.50
1991	304,000	192,100		88,150			2.25
1992	296,000	88,800					2.23
1993	225,000	138,000		89,900		89,000	2.47
1994	283,700	151,300		88,700			2.43
1995	251,200	150,000		87,600		84,000	2.31
1996	241,800	85,300		83,500			2.33
1997	210,000	105,000		83,800		82,400	2.30
1998	213,500	115,400	(12)*	85,500	13,500	81,600	2.26
1999	205,000	104,500		94,900	20,000	80,000	2.10
2003	180,000	N/A					

Source: Polish Army: Facts and Figures (In the Transition Period) (Warsaw: MOND, 1991); Brief Information on the Armed Forces of the Republic of Poland (Warsaw: MON, January 1995); Mimeo, Ministry of National Defense, Department of Personnel (Warsaw: MON, 27 June 1996); "Army 2012," Rzeczpospolita, 1 April 1998.

26,163 is larger than Hungary's by 30 percent, which perhaps helps to explain why it has been able to maintain a 800-troop battalion with vertical lift capability in Bosnia, more than twice Hungary's capacity. It also makes credible the Czech goal to provide one brigade to NATO's rapid reaction force. While the Czech military, like Hungary's, faces serious resource shortages, Czech budgetary support for defense has been consistently stronger.

The 1993-94 Czech defense budget of 2.6 percent of GDP declined to 1.7 percent in 1997. Like Hungary, in response to NATO pressure, the Czechs agreed to increase defense expenditures to reach 2.0 percent of GDP by the year 2000. Like Hungary, the Czechs have increased the military budget each year; but unlike Hungary's, the Czech economy has been in decline. That could mean reduced resources for defense, even if the Czech Republic meets its commitment to increase its percentage of GDP spent on defense.

Poland has sent a peacekeeping battalion to Bosnia and actively supports NATO on Kosovo.

The above comparisons make it clear why Poland has the greatest potential among NATO's three new members to become a significant plus for the alliance. The good news is that Poland seems to be turning that potential into reality.

The Polish contribution has been evident in 1999 during NATO's involvement in the conflict over Kosovo. Politically, Poland has strongly supported the NATO position. And it has accepted Kosovar refugees. And it has sent 140 infantrymen on a humanitarian mission to Albania.

In short, Poland's participation is providing just the kind of evidence the allies need to believe that maybe NATO expansion was a good idea after all. ■

KEEPING A DREAM ALIVE

SUSAN SANFORD

FROM U.S. WORK WITH THE POLISH OPPOSITION IN THE '70S AND '80S SHOWED WHAT PUBLIC DIPLOMACY CAN DO.

BY DICK VIRDEN

Few countries have packed as much change into so short a time as Poland in the last two decades. In 1980, Lech Walesa jumped over a shipyard gate into history, and he helped create a trade union/political movement that drew ten million members within a year of its inception. After years of soul-stirring, nonviolent opposition to Soviet rule, the Poles managed to toss aside communism and establish democracy. They did away with the Warsaw Pact and joined NATO. The world's most famous electrician had also been elected president of Poland.

Credit for this transformation clearly belongs to the Polish people. Their courage and imagination, their readiness to risk life and limb, put an independent Poland back on the map. Others were bit players.

So this article is not meant to stake a claim to Poland's achievement, nor to retell the epic story of Solidarnosc. Rather, the aim is to describe a small part of this saga: that is, how American programs that we now call "public diplomacy" helped keep hope alive and nurture future leaders when Poland and other Eastern European countries were "closed societies" and the demise of a hated system seemed only a faraway dream.

This story bears in an important way on current issues, given that the U.S. Information Agency is now being integrated into the Department of State. As we debate the future of public diplomacy, the experience in Poland demonstrates that investments made now can have major payoffs in the future, a fact often overlooked in the current emphasis on quick, identifiable results and short-term policy goals.

I first arrived in Warsaw in August 1977 to serve as information officer/press attaché. We were called the press and cultural (P & C) section of the mission then, since USIA was not allowed to operate as such in that part of the world. Because P and C officers were in touch with lots of people not sanctioned by the ruling Communist Party, we were regarded as a threat. Several of us were vilified at one time or another in the press and on television. One cultural affairs officer, Dan Howard, was kicked out of the country in the early '80s for meeting with someone the authorities didn't like.

During one walk in the park — almost everywhere else was presumed to be bugged — a young Pole told me that ours was regarded as a "hostile" embassy by officials at the Party's powerful central committee. This was in the context of denial of travel documents that would have allowed this particular journalist to accept our invitation to spend a year at Stanford studying journalism. A year or so later, when Solidarnosc was at the height of its popularity and power, he got his passport and was able to go to California. When martial law was declared in 1981, he stayed in America; eventually, he went to work for the *Detroit Free Press*, twice winning nominations for a Pulitzer Prize. After the 1989 revolution, he returned to Poland, where he now freely practices his profession. Who in 1980 knew the path he would travel?

Dick Virden is an FSO currently assigned as deputy director of USIA's Office of European Affairs. He served six years in Poland, from 1977 to 1980 and from 1994 to 1997.

Every grant was a struggle in those days. The Party wanted to send trusted Party loyalists and we wanted just the opposite. When we invited Tadeusz Mazowiecki, a Catholic intellectual and publisher, on an International Visitor trip, he was denied a passport. Some might therefore call our invitation an empty, wasted gesture, but 10 years later Mazowiecki was the first post-communist prime minister in that part of the world. It was his government that set in motion the political and economic reforms that have made Poland a stable democracy today and showed the way to others in the region.

Another invitee in the late '70s was the late Jerzy Turowicz, then the editor of the Krakow-based independent Catholic weekly *Tygodnik Powszechny* (Universal Weekly) since it began in 1945. Turowicz had been a friend of Pope John Paul II since Karol Wojtyla was a seminarian. The Party authorities allowed him to go, in part because they feared an uproar, in part because some people they favored got to travel, too.

Around that time, we also contrived to send one of Turowicz's colleagues, Krzysztof Kozlowski, who was then the foreign editor of *Tygodnik Powszechny*. In 1990, when the first non-communist government took office, he became the Interior Minister: a dissident suddenly in charge of the secret police files. Of course, no one could have predicted such an amazing development when we sent Kozlowski to the United States a decade earlier, but his case is not a bad argument for investing in people even when direct cost benefits can't be foreseen.

It would be absurd to claim that their American travel was the principal formative experience for a Turowicz or Kozlowski, but it would be equally perverse to deny that it had an impact.

Naturally, some of the individuals we sent happened to be members of the Communist Party, an unavoidable situation given that a Party card was a requirement for advancement in nearly every profession. The challenge was to try to identify candidates with both ability and independence of mind, or moderate views, rather than closed-minded ideologues. This was no science. At a mock Polish election party one night, as we waited breathlessly for distant precincts to report whether Party candidate X had received 98 or 99 percent of the votes, I was given a copy of a book by a communist hard-liner who was a journalist for the Party paper, *Trybuna Ludu*. His book was entitled *What I Learned on My*

International Visitor Trip to the United States. It was blank inside.

A Cousin in Chicago

Yet we had our successes. Look, for example, at the makeup of the Polish cabinet during the years 1995-1997. Though former communists had returned to power, they maintained a steady course of democratic, market-oriented reform and made NATO membership the national priority. Five members of the cabinet, including the prime minister, foreign minister and senior economic official, were former Fulbrighters. And when the economic chief left in early 1997, he was replaced by another ex-Fulbrighter.

Five members of Poland's 1995 cabinet, including the prime minister, were former Fulbrighters.

In the fall of 1997, when a Solidarnosc-led coalition regained power by winning Parliamentary elections, half of the 22 Cabinet ministers were alumni of USIA exchanges, as were 44 members of the new Parliament.

However public diplomacy is organized in the future, we need to maintain the flexibility that allows us to work with those in the wings and on the ramparts as well as with those in power. We may have gotten away with it in Poland then in part because we were one remove from the State Department; the officers administering the programs weren't the same ones calling on Foreign Ministry officials to exchange démarches. Let's hope we retain that capacity when we're part of the same department.

Still, the value of future exchanges may depend less on organizational charts and more on other things, like the willingness to withstand pressures from those in power at the moment or the temptation to try to buy their cooperation with an all-expenses-paid trip to the United States. More Foreign Service officers need to acknowledge that the great "contacts" they have, the wondrous deeds they're able to pull off, are due to the investments made by their predecessors years or even decades earlier. Those friends don't come out of nowhere.

Even when required to do business with regimes we find unsavory, we can find ways to encourage individuals who are our more natural and lasting allies, as with Jerzy Turowicz. One of the events that gave me the most satisfaction during my second tour in Poland was a 1995 dinner I proposed and Ambassador Nicholas Rey hosted to honor Turowicz on the 50th anniversary of his editorship of *Tygodnik Powszechny*. Many of the heroes of the Polish revolution turned up for the occasion, which identified the United States with Poland's long struggle for independence as well as with the personal values of courage, decency and integrity that Turowicz exemplified.

Though the Party authorities regarded the American embassy as "hostile," that was never true of most of the Polish people. Despite 50 years of anti-Western, anti-capitalist propaganda in their schools and media, Poles remained highly pro-American. Those of us who lived there during the Cold War knew that from personal experience; that fundamental orientation was made manifest in the country's direction after 1989, as well as in public opinion polls conducted in the '90s by USIA and others.

The explanations run deep into Polish history. It helps that, as the saying goes, every Pole has a cousin in Chicago. But, I submit, it also mattered that American officials were on the spot during the dark days of the Cold War to offer support, both moral and practical.

An example of the latter was our distribution of *Newsweek* magazine. We cut a deal with Newsweek International to get copies of the magazine for only the cost of the air freight. By 1980 we were giving away 500 copies a week to selected friends who had no other way to get access to such uncensored news and comment.

It would be difficult to measure the effect of that program, though I suspect a survey tracking the subsequent careers of recipients and their children would demonstrate that many played important roles in overthrowing the communist system and consolidating political and economic reform. (Lech Walesa's name was not on the distribution list. We may have been good talent scouts, but we weren't that good.) In any case, this modest program was one way to frustrate Party efforts to restrict information, and it clearly meant much to those who got the magazine. We heard regularly from people wanting to be added to the list, or if copies didn't arrive on schedule.

The Polish Pope Problem

When Pope John Paul II returned to his homeland for the first time in June 1979, fearful officials took great pains to try to limit the political damage. (They had cause for concern. Many observers credit that visit with beginning the end of communism in Poland and the

region). A half-year earlier, when the new pope was chosen, Polish TV included a laconic announcement midway through the nightly primetime news. It went something like this: "In Rome today, Karol Wojtyla of Krakow was chosen as the next Roman Catholic pontiff. Now on to the news about tractor production in Ursus." Meanwhile, in Krakow, Poland's second city and Karol Wojtyla's see, citizens rang the historic Zygmund Bell, which had peeled only once before in this century, at the end of the Second World War.

We need to maintain the flexibility to work with those on the ramparts, as well as those in power.

Television coverage of that 1979 papal visit was tightly controlled. Camera angles suggested sparse crowds, when in fact millions were there, and crowd shots focused mainly on old people. (Poland's Warsaw Pact neighbors were not allowed to see even this limited, skewed reporting: Polish TV transmitters were adjusted at that time to make sure there would be no spillover signal across the border.) Viewers in the United States and much of the rest of the world saw the real story in all its drama and emotion, thanks to in-depth reports and special programs.

USIA obtained videotape copies of many of the American network programs and shared them with friends in the church and the underground opposition. Maybe the word would have gotten around anyway since the Polish church is no slouch at this sort of thing but the tapes were a huge hit at the time and were received with unbounded enthusiasm.

"The Final Three Feet"

We used the tools we had. Exhibits, for example, were important then. Though usually modest and static, they got us into touch with Poles and chipped away at the Party monopoly on information and images. This was especially true of the larger traveling shows that included bilingual guides able to correct propaganda-inspired perceptions of America and to cast doubt on the picture of the world the regime tried to get across. Our distribution of magazines like *Dialog* and *Ameryka* did that, too, as government authorities indirectly acknowledged in their fierce negotiation to limit availability. Shortwave radio was vitally important then, also, as evidenced by the cost and effort authorities put into jamming the transmissions of the Voice of America, Radio Free Europe and other Western broadcasters.

Our libraries in Warsaw, Krakow and Poznan played no small role either. People came to them to read books and magazines and, later, to watch the weekly videotape version of the CBS News with Walter Cronkite. They came even though they knew the militia were busy jotting down names of those daring to consort with the enemy. A small American Studies Center (ASC) started at Warsaw University in 1976 provided an on-campus alternative; nurtured over the years with USIA support, the ASC was to come into its own in the '90s as a degree-granting institution and one of the leading such centers in Europe.

More important than any of these tools was personal contact. Edward R. Murrow's famous comment that it's "the final three feet" that count (i.e., getting close to people) certainly applied in that environment. Years later in Romania, a few months after their December 1989 revolution, I can remember desperate Romanian academics, journalists, writers, scientists pleading for contact with the outside world from which Ceausescu had cut them off. Probably Poland had never been, certainly not in the late '70s, that isolated. But even in Poland, ordinary people were eager to know what was going on in the world outside the one concocted for them by the reigning powers. From the United States and others, they also wanted reassurance that we did not consider their current fate a permanent one.

Our presence and attention helped answer those needs. So we included people outside the nomenklatura (the Party power elite) in our events, sent them on scholarships or other exchange programs, and invited them into our library and our homes. And we showed up at their events, like the annual opening of the academic year at the Catholic University of Lublin, where each diplomat was introduced to underline international support for this, the only independent university in the then-communist world.

New Era, New Goals

In the '90s, with the Cold War over, our goals in Poland had changed as dramatically as had the means available to pursue them. Now we had Internet instead of smuggled videotapes, a free press to work with instead of censorship, American films in nearly every theater, Big Macs on

offer instead of Big Ed (Edward Gierek was the Party first secretary until the rise of Solidarnosc). American policy now was aimed at anchoring Poland in the West, consolidating democracy and continuing economic reforms.

Much of the focus in the mid-'90s was on the proper approach to European security, and specifically whether and how to enlarge NATO. Poles were initially skeptical of the Partnership for Peace, regarding it as a half-measure that did not give them the security and status they sought. An intensive public diplomacy campaign, calling attention to the reality of growing security cooperation with the United States and other Western powers, contributed to a Polish turnabout on PFP.

Our purposes were not simply to have the Poles say yes to NATO — they needed no arm-twisting for that — but to convince them to make the reforms and accept the costs required of members. They did so to such extent that by the time NATO made its decision, in Madrid in July 1997, Poland led everyone's list of candidates. *(See article by Jeffrey Simon in this issue, page 30.)*

The man who signed into law the legislation that established civilian control over Poland's armed forces and thereby removed one of the last barriers to NATO acceptance of Poland was Aleksander Kwasniewski, the one-time communist who'd defeated the legendary Walesa in 1995, in what another opposition hero, Adam Michnik, called the "velvet restoration." Kwasniewski had gone to the United States in early 1994 under a USIA grant for the parliamentary group drawing up Poland's new constitution.

The Poland of the mid-'90s was not the same country I knew 20 years earlier. American goals there were radically different, too. But in both cases, our information and cultural programs — public diplomacy — helped advance American interests. As we consider the future shape and direction of U.S. foreign affairs agencies, it's worth remembering American successes in informing and influencing foreign publics. These efforts can and should be a vital part of the conduct of U.S. foreign policy in the coming century, just as they were in years past. ■

From Triumphalism To Reality

SUSAN SANFORD

When communism fell, Poles hoped for a new Marshall Plan. That's not what they got.

by Janine R. Wedel

In 1989, after eight years of underground struggle in Poland, the communists re-legalized the Solidarity movement. In June of that year, Solidarity won by a landslide in the country's first semi-free vote in half a century. Through the autumn of 1989, one Eastern European communist regime after another fell. The structure of Soviet domination collapsed, remarkably and unexpectedly. A mood of triumph swept West and East alike.

The West had won not only a political, but also a moral and ideological, victory. In Poland especially, where the West had supported the spirit of resistance embodied in the Solidarity movement led by Lech Walesa, expectations were high. There were high hopes in 1989 and 1990, hopes that the "transition" to the post-communist future would

be simple and swift. It was a period I call Triumphalism, and it existed in both the West and the East.

The idea that Poland should look to the West not only for financial help and political models, but also for economic strategies and cultural identity, stood nearly unchallenged. "Democracy," "freedom," "markets," "civil society," and "return to Europe" became the bywords of 1989 and the early 1990s. As Poland accepted Western models, Poles expected the West to come in with accolades, affirmation and aid.

The Marshall Plan became the reference point for aid to Eastern Europe. Just as after World War II the United States had supplied massive capital assistance to rebuild the economies of Western Europe, many hoped that a new Marshall Plan would accomplish similar objectives in Eastern Europe.

Solidarity leader Lech Walesa, speaking to a joint session of the U.S. Congress on Nov. 15, 1989, proclaimed: "It is worth recalling this great American plan which helped Western Europe to protect its freedom and peaceful order. ... And now it is the moment when Eastern Europe awaits an investment of this kind."

Western Aid Gears Up

Across the West, governments, agencies, and individuals began to organize assistance to Poland and the other Central and Eastern European nations.

The Group of Seven countries (Canada, France, Japan, United Kingdom, Germany, Italy, and the United States) convened meetings to organize multilateral activities. The European Union established PHARE, the largest aid program to the region. PHARE stands for Poland-Hungary Aid for Restructuring the Economy and reflects the EU's initial focus on those two countries. (After the first year of operation the PHARE program broadened its target to include other countries in the region, but the old acronym was retained.)

In the United States, legislation was enacted on the very heels of communism's collapse. In the last days of November 1989, the U.S. Congress rushed through the so-called SEED (Support for East European Democracy) legislative package. Championing the two nations that had led the revolutions, SEED authorized nearly $1 billion "to promote political democracy and economic pluralism in Poland and Hungary by assisting those nations during a critical period of transition." President George Bush established "enterprise funds" to promote the development of the private sector and other initiatives that would make American know-how available to the region.

Western development agencies were similarly galvanized into action. They reoriented resources and diverted personnel from the "Third World" nations of Africa, Asia and Latin America to the "Second World" of Central and Eastern Europe. In the U.S. alone, some 35 agencies, including the Departments of Energy and Labor and the Environmental Protection Agency, as well as the U.S. Agency for International Development, got involved in the aid effort.

Initially, aid to the Second World received more high-level attention and press coverage than traditional aid programs. USAID official Steve Dean characterized the sentiment at the time: "I don't think the agency has done anything like this [before]. Communism doesn't fall every ten years."

By the end of 1992, the "G-24" countries (i.e., most of the capitalist West) had committed $48.5 billion in aid to the region (including export credits, loans and rescheduled debt). Of that, $18.1 billion was in grants. The United States committed $4.6 billion, followed by Germany ($3.6 billion), the EC Commission ($3.2 billion) and Canada ($1.6 billion).

Disillusionment on a Grand Scale

Despite this promising beginning, the first years of the aid effort proved to be a period of frustration and disappointment, for Poland and for the other nations of Central and Eastern Europe. Why was this?

On the donor side, two factors loom large. First, much of the aid came in the forms of loans or technical assistance, rather than capital assistance. Second, the United States and its allies had, over the course of decades of Cold War, become accustomed to an aid model directed toward the "Third World." They were unprepared to address the sociological, political or

---

Janine R. Wedel is the author of Collision and Collusion: The Strange Case of Western Aid to Eastern Europe *(St. Martin's, 1998),* The Unplanned Society: Poland During and After Communism *(1992), and* The Private Poland: An Anthropologist Looks at Everyday Life *(1986). She is an associate research professor at George Washington University.*

economic legacies of more than four decades of communism in Poland and elsewhere.

Complicating the situation was an unrealistic image in Poland of the West — and America especially — as saint or savior. (The fact that the distrusted official media had portrayed the West in the worst possible light only strengthened the positive popular perception.) Under a more liberal regime than the rest of the Soviet bloc, many Poles in the 1970s and '80s had visited the West and seen its prosperity first-hand.

During times of martial law imposed in Poland in the early 1980s, millions of households received relief parcels both from relatives abroad and from religious and charitable organizations. And during the late 1970s and throughout the 1980s, Western involvement and financial support had helped to sustain the Solidarity movement and the Polish opposition. *(See article by Dick Virden in this issue, page 35).* According to one prominent Polish Oppositionist, "The Opposition's main source of financial support was the West. Donations came from inspired individuals, from subscriptions, trade unions, social and political organizations, as well as from corporations, Polish émigré organizations, and government bodies."

The Poles are Cousins

At first glance, the reasons for assisting the "Second World" appeared to be much the same as those for aiding the Third World: to hold communism at bay, to ensure economic and political stability and to create markets for the West. But psychology, too, played a role. Westerners tended to identify with Central and Eastern Europeans more than with Third World peoples. Poles were Europeans and aid to Poland presented an historic opportunity for that nation to join its cousins in the West.

Poles and Westerners, at least in the early days of Polish independence, agreed: The West would help Poland and Poland would show its gratitude through quick reform and loyalty. In all the discussion, few alternatives to Western models of reform, such as those espoused by the International Monetary Fund, were seriously entertained on either side. Jan Krzysztof Bielecki, prime minister of Poland during 1991 (and also a minister in the subsequent government), emphasized that no one in the relevant policy circles considered alternatives: At that time, "nobody [in the donor community] raised the issue of a social safety net," said Bielecki, which he found startling in retrospect. The fact that nobody "took it into consideration as a necessary political factor" ultimately "strengthened ex-communist forces in these countries." Partly as a consequence of this oversight, Bielecki was one of the politicians in Poland and the region to be voted out within a short time after taking office.

No Marshall Plan

Despite talk of a new Marshall Plan for reviving the economies of the former Communist bloc, few Western policy-makers advocated a serious commitment on the order of tens of billions of dollars in capital assistance. A Marshall-Plan style bailout for Central and Eastern Europe (implying strategic planning, commitment of high-level officials and, above all, massive capital assistance) was not made available. A shorthand phrase came into common use among aid officials in the early '90s: "We didn't do a Marshall Plan."

A huge disconnect emerged between Western plans and what Central and Eastern Europeans believed was possible. News reports circulating in Poland in 1990-91 that the West was sending billions of dollars in aid to Poland neglected to explain that the aid included export credits and loans that would have to be repaid. As Poland's chief coordinator of foreign assistance, Jacek Saryusz-Wolski, explained in 1991, at the height of the country's frustration with aid efforts, "When people in Poland hear that billions of dollars come to Eastern Europe, they expect that Poland gets one-half or one-third of that money. ... Very often people ask us what happened to it."

By 1992, Polish President Lech Walesa articulated the growing resentment when he spoke at the European Parliamentary Forum in Strasbourg, charging that "it is you, the West, who have made good business on the Polish revolution....The West was supposed to help us in arranging the economy on new principles, but in fact it largely confined its efforts to draining our domestic markets."

There was, in fact, a considerable gap between donors' allocations and actual disbursements in the region. In 1992, only an estimated 11 percent of the committed monies had actually been disbursed.

Further, before the fall of communism in Poland, "help" had meant either tangible goods like relief packages or huge dollar sums to fund Opposition activities.

AFSA NEWS

American Foreign Service Association

Eizenstat Honors FS Contribution to Business

Following are the remarks made by Stuart Eizenstat, under secretary of State for economic, business and agricultural affairs, at a 75th anniversary event sponsored jointly by AFSA and the Washington Export Council on March 17. Eisenstat hosted 200 people from the business community, diplomatic corps and the Foreign Service to honor the contribution of the five foreign affairs agencies to American prosperity through their support of U.S. business interests abroad:

The 75th anniversary of the creation in the United States of a professional Foreign Service is an auspicious occasion, and I am happy to be marking it among friends and colleagues gathered together by the American Foreign Service Association. Indeed, I consider it a great honor to have been asked to help AFSA launch with this reception its planned series of events commemorating the 1924 Rogers Act. The Act combined the diplomatic and consular services and established a career Foreign Service. Prior to the Rogers Act, our Foreign Service posts were staffed on an ad hoc or a political basis.

From those summer days of 1993, as I was preparing to take up my post as U.S. Ambassador to the European Communities, to today, I have spent my working hours in close company with America's Foreign Service professionals. This familiarity has bred in me a deep admiration and appreciation: I know I could not wish for, nor could I find, a more committed, more talented, or more civic-minded group of public servants. Hard work, wise counsel, and always a can-do attitude are Foreign Service characteristics I have come to count on and to depend on.

Fortunately for those of us who have the privilege of representing the United States, we find many like-minded interlocutors coming from all parts of the world. Our work could not bring us the

continued on page 4

• AFSA Dateline •

•The Delavan Foundation has donated $40,000 to AFSA. This generous donation will help fund our enhanced outreach activites and the speakers bureau. (See Retiree V.P. Voice, page 4.)

•Based on feedback from DS special agents on implementation of LEAP (law enforcement available pay), a premium pay available to federal law enforcement officers, AFSA told management that the final decision maker on LEAP certification should be the Director of DS and that the LEAP Advisory Panel should include an 01 special agent. We are pleased to announce that management agreed to expand the membership of the panel and to make the director of DS the final decision maker on LEAP certification.

•AFSA welcomes several new staff members:

Steve Honley will be filling a new part-time position as associate editor for the *Foreign Service Journal.* A frequent *Journal* contributor and former FSO, Steve brings valuable experience to the staff.

continued on page 6

USAID

V.P. VOICE

• By Frank Miller •

Age Discrimination Suit Goes to Trial

USAID separated 91 FSOs in a reduction-in-force in September 1996. All but one of those selected for the RIF were 40 years of age or older. Thirty-seven RIFed employees filed a lawsuit in the District Court alleging that USAID had discriminated on the basis of age. The court has certified all 91 RIFees as member of the class.

AFSA, whose attorneys are "of counsel" in the lawsuit, has worked closely with the law firm of Bell, Boyd and Lloyd and the National Senior Citizens Law Center representing these employees to provide background and pertinent documents as the case has progressed.

"RIFed employees filed a lawsuit alleging USAID had discriminated on the basis of age."

The U.S. District Court for the D.C. Circuit has denied USAID's request to have the group's age discrimination claim dismissed on the grounds that sufficient evidence of such a claim had not been presented. The court found that "the plaintiffs have submitted evidence from which a jury could reasonably find that the RIF disadvantaged the plaintiffs in favor of younger employees." As evidence, the court cited, among other things, the exemption of the IDIs from RIF and the agency's refusal to permit the transfer of employees from one area into another.

Members will recall that AFSA battled, unsuccessfully, to ensure that employees be permitted to transfer from skill codes which were in surplus at that time to deficit skill codes in which they were qualified before the RIF. Not only would this have spared some employees from separation, it would have promoted workplace efficiency, as these personnel already possessed the skills in demand. The agency refused.

The District Court also found that the plaintiffs had presented evidence of statements allegedly made by Administrator Brian Atwood and other USAID officials that could lead a reasonable jury to conclude that these individuals "had a concern about the older age of much of its Foreign Service staff, as well as an interest in replacing these workers with new, younger employees." The court went on to say, "Based on this, a genuine issue of material fact exists as to whether USAID intentionally discriminated against the class of former Foreign Service employees who had obtained the age of forty years or older at the time of the RIF."

The court's decision is a significant victory. AFSA believes that this poorly planned RIF, coupled with the agency's lack of workforce planning, has resulted in a critical FS employee shortage. Each year since the RIF, 50 to 80 FS positions go unfilled because of shortages of qualified personnel in USAID. To fill this gap, the agency has resorted to converting GS employees to the Foreign Service even though many riffed employees could have filled this void.

Since the group has successfully met their burden of making a *prima facie* case of age discrimination, they will be given the opportunity to prove at trial in October 1999 that age was a determining factor in the agency's decision to RIF them. We will keep members posted on developments in the trial.

ECS Can Help Evaluate Your Child's Learning Problems

by *Anne Weiss*
ECS Director

If you have concerns about your child's learning problems, whether you are assigned abroad or in the U.S., the Employee Consultation Service (ECS) can help.

Early identification of learning differences is critical. With accurate information parents and educators can devise teaching techniques and strategies that address the child's unique learning style. A comprehensive assessment will also identify a child's strengths, so important to build upon in maintaining a child's self esteem.

For families bidding on overseas assignments, an early evaluation is even more important. Educational, as well as medical, needs are assessed as part of the medical clearance process. A child with learning disabilities or developmental delays will only be cleared for posts that can provide adequate educational or medical support. ECS can help parents obtain the evaluations that will provide necessary, detailed information and the appropriate medical clearance for the child.

In addition to getting a thorough evaluation, the mobile Foreign Service parent can smooth transitions from post to post by keeping detailed records of the child's special learning needs. As Sally Smith noted in "Schooling the Learning Disabled Child Abroad" in the December 1998 *Foreign Service Journal* , "Every record, every letter explaining how this child learns is golden." With this information the Office of Overseas Schools can help a family determine which schools abroad provide special education programs.

The Employee Consultation Service is a free, confidential counseling service available to Foreign Service and Civil Service employees and their family members. For information call (202) 663-1815 or e-mail: ECS@ms2906wpoa.us-state.gov.

Foreign Service Day Observed

Foreign Service Day, celebrated on May 7 of this 75th anniversary year, sparkled with luminaries. Deputy Secretary of State Strobe Talbot spoke at the opening session. Admiral William J. Crowe, Jr., chair of the Accountability Review Boards that investigated the East Africa bombings, addressed the luncheon hosted by Director General Edward Gnehm. (See box.) Following the afternoon seminars devoted to briefings from the regional bureaus, Senator Bob Dole delivered the closing keynote address in which he urged aggressive pursuit of our goals in Kosovo.

This was a day to recognize outstanding leadership and performance. DACOR presented its Foreign Service Cup to Thomas D. Boyatt, "ambassador, businessman and public servant." The Director General's Cup went to Lawrence S. Eagleburger, the first career FSO to become secretary of State. Six women were honored with the Secretary of State's Award for Outstanding Volunteerism: Johanna Braden, Riga; Kristina Dodd, Caracas; Michele Johnson, Maputo; Cheryl Rose, Bangkok; Eglal Rousseau, Dhaka; and Susan Summers, Rabat; and several high school students represented the 21 winners of the AFSA/AAFSW Academic Merit and Art Merit Awards (See next month's *AFSA News* for full scholarship winners' coverage.)

On everyone's mind were those missing guests, those Americans and Foreign Service Nationals killed Aug. 7, 1998 in the embassy bombings in Nairobi and Dar es Salaam. At a noon ceremony, Secretary of State Madeleine Albright unveiled two memorial plaques in their honor: the AFSA plaque added the names of the eight direct-hire employees to its long list honoring Foreign Service personnel killed in heroic or inspiring circumstances, and a State Department plaque dedicated to the East Africa bombing victims listed all 56 Americans and FSNs who died.

President Clinton, in a message delivered by National Security Adviser Sandy Berger, said, "We owe [Foreign Service personnel] and their families our gratitude and our commitment; to give them the resources and training they need and the quality of life they deserve; to labor every day to provide the means to make them secure from the enemies of peace, just as their efforts protect the security of their fellow Americans at home and abroad."

Secretary of State Madeleine Albright speaking at the memorial plaque ceremony honoring the victims of the embassy bombings in Nairobi and Dar es Soloom.

In her remarks, Secretary of State Madeleine Albright said:

"It is fitting that today, we honor the service, sacrifice and patriotism of those killed or injured in the embassy bombings while recognizing, as well, the proud tradition of the Foreign Service. No ceremony can rewind history, or undo events so terrible and real. No ceremony can replace a lost parent or sibling or child. No ceremony can restore sight or heal grievous bodily wounds. These gifts are beyond our power.

"But we do have the power — the poor power of words — to offer our gratitude and respect. We have the power and memory to ensure that our comrades' sacrifice, like that of those before them, will forever be honored. And we have the power of action to ensure that their deaths and injuries will not be in vain.

"... The era of safe diplomatic posts is over for America. The unthinkable act of terrorism must become a risk we think about and act to minimize every day. We can take nothing for granted about embassy security; and in the effort to enhance it, every one of us must do our part. That responsibility begins with me.

"The Accountability Review Boards ... have urged that we do much more to improve security at our diplomatic posts. I agree, and I have been advocating strongly, both within the administration and on Capitol Hill, for the resources that we need. Nothing I do is more important."

Excerpts from Admiral William Crowe's Speech

"... In London, I developed a deep admiration for the career Foreign Service. I expected them to be articulate and have an excellent grasp of their responsibilities. But they exhibited a great deal more — dedication, even temperament, imagination, coolness under pressure and even a highly developed sense of humor. What more could one ask for? ... At the outset let me wish you a happy birthday. The Foreign Service is one year older than I am. I hope it feels better than I do.

... [The Foreign Service] role in building the post war security structure was critical. Achievements like those rest not on the efforts of one or few leaders, but on the strength and skill of the foreign policy machinery. ... One thing won't change: the need for on site expertise; for fluent linguists; for representatives who can work comfortably in a foreign atmosphere, who can decipher the political signs coming from foreign governments, and who have international negotiating experience. In other words, competent Foreign Service Officials who will assume new responsibilities and share them. ... In the next few years, your environment may undergo some drastic revisions, but your core skills as analysts, negotiators, interpreters, advocates, facilitators and salesmen will still be in fashion and serving the republic well, just as they have for the last 75 years. ... This doesn't mean that you won't have to invest some effort in making your case...Vigorous effort will be required to build support both within and outside Washington. ...We should never allow budgetary considerations to become more important than the dedicated Americans who serve our nation abroad."

RETIREE

V.P. VOICE

• BY ED DILLERY •

AFSA Expands Outreach Programs

As promised, I am continuing the discussion of public outreach from my February column. Intervening *AFSA News* issues having yielded space to our congressional directory and the 75th anniversary of the Foreign Service.

A retired colleague active in public and congressional outreach lamented to me the absence of an annual report subsection on retirees. This is a good point, but a separate category no longer does justice to the numerous retirees who have become so centrally involved in the AFSA agenda. In addition to those of us in positions reserved for retirees, our retired colleagues currently serve AFSA as secretary, treasurer and chairs of committees on insurance, finance, awards, elections, education and outreach, as well as chairs of the *Journal* editorial board and the 75th anniversary committee.

"Retirees are instrumental in our vital outreach efforts."

Beyond AFSA headquarters, retirees are instrumental in our vital outreach efforts. In February, I asked to hear from colleagues who engage in public speaking independent of AFSA. I heard from many, like Rick Straus in Michigan, who programs himself as a speaker to colleges, Rotary clubs and other groups. Or like Amb. Bob Ryan in Florida, who addresses audiences and volunteers to ensure that visitors from Washington agencies and think tanks get wide exposure in his area.

AFSA wants to build on these achievements by facilitating similar efforts in other parts of the country. As part of the 75th celebration, we have launched a new outreach program to highlight the role of the Foreign Service in promoting America's interests. In March, we received a generous grant from the Delavan Foundation which will give us the resources we need. Ward Thompson, AFSA liaison to individual retired members and to retiree associations, has assumed additional outreach responsibilities, including re-energizing our speakers bureau. Amb. Bill De Pree, founder of AFSA's successful Elderhostel course on the Foreign Service, is overseeing an effort to develop a constituency of "Friends of the Foreign Service."

As always, we need your help in reaching out beyond Washington. While our new speakers bureau action plan includes direct contacts with the regional offices of many service organizations like Rotary, we would appreciate hearing from members who can identify a local Rotary Club or foreign affairs association chapter which we should approach about a speaker. Bill De Pree and Amb. Bill Harrop will present our Elderhostel course in St. Petersburg, Florida next February, and will call on the talents of AFSA members in that area. We are also talking with State about increasing the participation of AFSA retirees in Foreign Service recruiting and in State's regional "town meetings."

Retirees, far more than any other element of AFSA, can ensure that the American people remain aware of the Foreign Service long after the anniversary celebration is past.

Eizenstat Honors FS

continued from page 1

satisfaction of maintaining constructive dialogues, were the people across the table from us not full partners in these dialogues. Let me, then, thank those of you who are diplomats from other countries for joining us for this kick-off 75th birthday party of the U.S. Foreign Service.

The Foreign Service thrives in large measure because it has adapted to the needs of the time. One such adaptation has been the Foreign Service's remarkable and productive effort to promote trade with the United States and investment in the United States. Key to this effort has been the ever-growing and ever-closer collaboration with U.S. producers, businesses, and banks; with the national and local Chambers of Commerce; and, within our own government, with the Department of Commerce and with many activist representatives and senators. To give just one personal example of many, I will mention the creation in 1995, when I was still at the U.S. Mission to the EU in Brussels, of the Transatlantic Business Dialogue. TAB-D, as we have come to call it, is representative of the sort of public-sector/private-sector transnational synergy that can arise from diplomats' working from their privileged position with all the relevant parties to create just the right forum for on-going contact and activity. It increases the strength and resilience of our relations with the EU and, at the same time, promotes business and prosperity on both sides of the Atlantic.

Making it possible for people to work constructively together is essentially what diplomacy is all about. And it was the Rogers Act that created the institution that has allowed us to pursue and accomplish our diplomatic goals. We will continue to need keen observers of the foreign

scene, strong advocates of U.S. positions, and canny international negotiators. We should, therefore, not just celebrate the Rogers Act but should also work to make sure that the Foreign Service remains flexible, vital, and well-funded to meet the challenges of the new millennium.

Permit me to add two additional points which are not part of this script. First, even in an Internet 21st century, with modern communications, there will still be a need for the Foreign Service — indeed even more so. The notion that diplomatic business can be done from Washington without people on the ground is fallacious. If anything, there will be a greater need for the kind of analysis Foreign Service officers are so good at providing in real time — the information and recommendations necessary for us here to make the more rapid decisions this information age imposes upon us.

Second, we should also strongly and sharply oppose those who denigrate our Foreign Service. They are ill-informed. We have seen all too many recent situations — in Bosnia, in Africa — when our Foreign Service Officers put their lives on the line. Bob Frasure stayed in our residence in Brussels only a few short weeks before he died on that terrible road trying to bring peace to Bosnia. My wife, Fran, and I framed Bob's signature in our guest book and sent it to his widow. This left an indelible mark on me and my views toward the Foreign Service. You are the best we have in this country; you serve us well.
Thank You.

Bob Narod

Under Secretary of State for Economic, Business and Agricultural Affairs Stuart Eizenstat (L) and AFSA Retiree Vice President Ed Dillery at the 75th anniversary event honoring FS contributions to American business.

USIA

V.P. VOICE

• By Riley Sever •

AFSA Files ULP Complaint Against USIA

On April 16 AFSA filed an Unfair Labor Practice complaint against USIA for excluding AFSA from formal settlement discussions concerning Equal Employment Opportunity complaints. After a year of unsuccessful attempts to negotiate with management, AFSA charged USIA with violation of the Foreign Service Act and federal case law.

For several years, USIA has engaged in settlement discussions of a proposed class action EEO formal complaint known as the Goodman case. On numerous occasions, AFSA requested information regarding these settlement discussions, including an official copy of the Goodman Report on which the complaints were based. USIA postponed or refused to provide these materials.

"USIA took the position that AFSA did not have the right to be represented."

A fundamental responsibility of AFSA as the sole representative of USIA Foreign Service employees is to negotiate impact and implementation procedures with management. A union must be aware of any settlements providing remedies that affect other members of the bargaining unit. In addition, the Federal Labor Relation Authority's 1997 Barstow case decision clearly established a union's right to notification and participation in formal EEO settlement discussions.

After AFSA informed agency management of the Barstow decision and of its desire to exercise its right to participate in all future EEO settlements, USIA initially cooperated by providing AFSA with a copy of the latest draft of the Goodman settlement proposal and some of the prior documentation. However, when AFSA requested the remaining materials, the general counsel of the agency asserted that the Privacy Act prevented USIA from releasing individual settlement agreements already under consideration by USIA and bargaining unit members' representative. The GC's response is in direct conflict with the Barstow case and other case law.

On March 18, 1999, the GC informed AFSA in writing that USIA intended to continue settlement discussions with the individual Goodman case complainants' representative through facsimile, letter and phone. USIA took the position that these meetings would be informal and therefore AFSA did not have the right to be represented. The GC made it clear that these informal discussions would take the place of any formal discussions and that AFSA would learn of the settlement terms only if management felt that there was sufficient impact on the bargaining unit. This decision prompted AFSA to file the ULP complaint.

While AFSA and USIA management have a long history of mutual respect and significant accomplishments in formal and informal negotiations, the agency's refusal to include AFSA in the resolution of EEO complaints, including the Goodman case, has created serious questions as to why these particular settlements shouldn't be more transparent. AFSA is determined to pursue its legal rights to represent its bargaining unit.

Dateline

continued from page 1

The Labor Management Office has hired **Richard Bernstein** as the summer law clerk. Richard is a third year law student at Catholic University.

Most of the summer interns have arrived:

Elizabeth Rakocy, the Legislative Affairs intern, comes from Minnesota and is a junior at Boston University. She is majoring in international relations and political science.

The Corporate Relations intern is **Sara DeForge**. Sara just graduated from St. Michael's College in Vermont with a major in psychology.

Beverly Byrd will be the intern for COLEAD (Coalition for American Leadership Abroad). She has an MA in literature from the University of South Alabama in Mobile and a law degree from Cumberland School of Law, Samford University in Birmingham.

1999 AFSA Awards Announced

- **Lifetime Contributions to American Diplomacy**: *Cyrus R. Vance*
  (See article on page 48 of this issue of the *FSJ*.)
- **Christian A. Herter Award**: *David B. Dlouhy*
  Runner-up: Alexander Vershbow
- **William R. Rivkin Award**: *Nicholas Hill and Robert Norman*
  Runner-up: Carol Rodley
- **W. Averell Harriman Award**: *James D. Loveland*
- **Delavan Award**: *Office Management Specialists serving in Nairobi: Linda Clark, Linda Coulson, Bonita Estes, Linda Howard, Carolyn Riley, Jean Shiffer, Vicki Spiers, Sheila Wilson*
  Runner-up: Patricia King Keegan
- **M. Juanita Guess Award**: *Patricia Ann Alter*
  Co-runners-up: Judy Pike and Susan Wiley
- **Avis Bohlen Award**: *Cherry Gwyn Creagan*
  Runner-up Amparo Wing
- **AFSA Achievement Awards**: *Active Duty Member - Shirlie Pinkham*
  Retired Member - Herman J. Cohen

Winners will be honored at a ceremony in the Benjamin Franklin Room of the Department of State at 12 noon on Thursday, June 24. (Look for full coverage in the July/August 1999 *AFSA News*.)

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, e-mail: FINFORE@aol.com

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

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 (804) 550-3439, fax (804) 550-2269. 9058 Edgewater Circle, Mechanicsville, VA 23116.

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

PROFESSIONAL TAX RETURN PREPARATION: Thirty years in public tax practice Arthur A Granberg, EA, ATA, ATP. Our charges are $55 per hour. Most FSO returns take 3 to 4 hours. Our office is 100' from Virginia Square Metro Station, Tax Matters, Associates, PC 3601 North Fairfax Dr. Arlington, VA 22201 Tel. (703) 522-3828, Fax (703) 522-5726, E-mail: aag8686@aol.com

TAX PREPARATION: CPA, SPECIALIST in offshore U.S. taxpayer issues. 40+ years experience. Tax and estate planning and TAX RETURN PREPARATION, all federal and all states. Initial contact - no charge or obligation. Absolutely confidential. Special care for delinquent filers, social security acct problems, IRS and state controversies. JOHN D. NEBEKER, CPA 179 No. Nightfall Ave., Tucson, AZ 85748 Tel. or Fax (520) 721-7718, e-mail: JackNebCPA@aol.com

TAX RETURN PREPARATION AND PLANNING: Relocation Tax Service, LLC (RTS) provides Foreign Service personnel with federal and state tax preparation and planning. RTS offers online tax return processing as well as traditional paper preparation, and year-round tax hotline with our tax preparation services. Call for a free tax booklet explaining taxation of foreign income if a spouse is working on the economy. RTS employees have over 200 years of experience servicing Americans overseas and we believe in personal year-round service. Visit our website at www.taxmove.com or contact Jane Bruno at Relocation Tax Services, 4809 N. 25th St., Arlington, VA 22207. tel/fax (703) 525-3327; e-mail: jbruno@taxmove.com

Classifieds

TAX & FINANCIAL SERVICES

FINANCIAL PLANNING: Investment Analysis. Portfolio Management. Help as you plan for retirement, children's educational expenses, home purchases. Fee-only. No product sales. Strictly impartial advice. Carried out by former FSO, MBA, Registered Investment Adviser. Free Initial consultation. Michael Hirsh, 9747 Business Park Ave., Suite 213, San Diego, CA 92131, (619) 689-0790, E-mail: finanintl@aol.com

ATTORNEY

EXTENSIVE EXPERIENCE BEFORE Foreign Service Grievance Board, MSPB, 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 addiction). **Sam Horn, Tel/Fax (301) 933-9723, E-mail: sam1horn@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.

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,** 307 Maple Ave. W, Suite D, Vienna, VA 22180 (703) 281-2161, Fax (703) 281-9464 E-mail: bhirshorn@aol.com

GRIEVANCES: MANDATORY RETIREMENT OR SEPARATION? DEFECTIVE EER?

ATTORNEY WITH 20 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, or E-mail: fsatty@home.com

GRIEVANCES & DISCRIMINATION

ATTORNEY PRACTICING IN areas of FS grievances at State and Commerce Depts., USAID and USIA; MSPB and Employment Discrimination cases; 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 (N. Fairfax Drive, Arlington, VA) and DC (601 Indiana Ave. NW Ste 504 Wash., DC 20004). George Elfter at 202 637-1325, or 703 351-6854. Fax 703 354-8734.

PROPERTY MANAGEMENT

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. **TERSH NORTON** Box 42429, Washington, D.C. 20015 Tel. (202) 363-2990, Fax (202)363-4736 E-mail: nortont@erols.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

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.

TILTON, BERNSTEIN MANAGEMENT, INC., Property Management exclusively in Washington, DC. We have provided full service management for 20 years. You will find our fee very competitive. We offer thorough prospective tenant checks, property inspections, mortgage/condo payments, monthly statements and year end reports. For more information please call (202) 232-5247, or 1-(888) 245-5242 or E-mail RSTDC@aol.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 www.homes-foreign-service.com

WJD - FSO FAMILY

That is to say, so many of our clients are in the Foreign Service we feel like part of the family! By design, **WJD MANAGEMENT** does not participate in the buying or selling of real estate. Rather, we focus exclusively on the management and leasing of homes just like yours. We have a great staff and an incomparable property management program. We are large enough to get the job done but small enough to give you the kind of personal service and attention to detail you deserve but rarely get from property managers. Frankly, if cost is your only concern, we encourage you to shop around - and you'll find us competitively priced. If peace of mind is your main objective, look no further! Please take a moment and visit **www.wjdpm.com** to learn more about us or call (703) 684-0800.

PEAKE MANAGEMENT - Do you want to make sure your house is well managed while you're overseas? Call Lindsey Peake and set up an appointment to discuss how we provide exceptional services to our clients. Want to learn more about us first? Visit our new Website at www.peakeinc.co or call for our free, highly acclaimed Landlord Reference Manual which walks you through the entire process. Most of our clients are FSOs, so we understand your special needs and would love to work with you. Friendly, personal, professional and knowledgeable. The best combination! 6842 Elm Street, McLean, VA 22101. E-mail: Lindsey@peakeinc.com. (703) 448-0212.

PROPERTY MANAGEMENT

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

H.A. GILL & SON

OFFERS THE PROVEN, expert property management services that have satisfied hundreds of FSOs for over 108 years. As a smaller company we can provide you with the individual attention and diligent care of your property that you deserve when you are overseas - and at the most competitive rates. We are completely computerized with easy-to-read monthly and annual statements,. Specializing in the management and sale of fine single family properties and condominiums in the District & Montgomery County. Please call John Gill, Jr. at (202) 338-5000, Fax (202) 338-2545, or E-mail: hagill@erols.com

Classifieds

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, or (703) 527-0279, E-mail: FSAssoc1@aol.com

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

BEST RATES IN WASHINGTON: When the need for housing in the DC area arises, try the Newly Renovated Pennsylvania House, fully furnished, full kitchen. Minutes from anywhere you need to be in the DC area. One block from Foggy Bottom/GWU metro line. Great for long or short term stays. For more information please check our website at **www.dcsuites.com** or call (202) 331-5000 and ask for our sales department.

FOR RENT

FOR RENT: 3BR/3BA TOWNHOUSE IDEAL FOR DC TOUR: 6 min. walk to Vienna Metro, parks, school; 20 min. HOV-2 to Main State. Large country kitchen, LR/DR, FamRm, W/D, DW, sundeck, Available Sept 1; $1450/month. Contact John: (703) 683-3515; or E-mail: TheFitzpa@aol.com

CLOSE-IN BETHESDA. Fully furnished house. 3 BR, 3 BA. Avail. June-October. Min. one month. FS only. E-mail: PrechtHnM@aol.com

ITALY HOME RENTALS: High quality villas, farmhouses, apartments in several price ranges. Garden course at historic estate. Personalized service from Italy specialists. Italian Vacation Villas, Inc. retired FSO; (202) 333-6247, E-mail:M3919@aol.com

COLORADO VACATION RENTAL: Spend home leave in beautiful Durango. 3 BR town home, fully furnished and equipped by FSO family. Available by the week or month. Contact: ddunford@dakotacom.net or (520) 750-1351 (phone and fax).

FOR SALE

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

NORTH CAROLINA

39.7 ACRES W/185 X 50 FT. POND. highway frontage 464 feet, 4 miles to US 15/501, 20 minutes to exclusive golf courses at Pinehurst. 4 hours to NC mountains with rock climbing & skiing, 2 hours to NC beaches surf & deep sea fishing. $178,830 Call Jackie Haddon Tel. (910) 875-4548, E-mail: EVAJ316@aol.com

FLORIDA

NO STATE INCOME tax enhances gracious living in Florida. Former FSO **Paul Byrnes** specializes in home, villa, and condo sales in Sarasota, but also helps anywhere in the State. Ask for Paul at **Toll Free (877) 924-9001,** use E-mail: byrnes@family-net.org or write him at Arvida Realty Services, 100 N. Tamiami Tr. Sarasota, FL 34236.

FLORIDA

LONGBOAT KEY / SARASOTA. Beautiful homes, villas, condos for now and the future. Area will exceed expectations. For full service real estate services contact: **SHARON OPER**, Wedebrock Real Estate Co. Tel/Fax (941) 387-7199; E-mail: LBK7@aol.com

VACATION RENTAL: South Florida Gulf Coast - Marco Island. Anglers Cove resort on Marco Bay, 16 mi. so of Naples, 50 min. from Ft. Myers. Waterfront 2 BR condo overlooking Marco Bay, 2 pools, tennis, 5 min. to beaches, 3 TVs, HBO, VCR, screened balcony. Weekly rentals. Call for brochures (703) 922-5846 HFTTM@AOL.com

CAPTIVA ISLAND, FL: 1 to 4 bedroom beach and bayside vacation rentals. Swimming, shelling, fishing, etc. Walk to shops & restaurants. Call Pat at 1 (800) 547-0127. **www.captiva-island.com**

RECENTLY RETIRED PROFESSIONAL desires quiet house with sunny garden/yard for 6-12 months. Responsible, meticulous gentlewoman with her own part-time housekeeper will keep your home clean and safe for your return. Happy to discuss rent. Call Dr. Jacobs (202) 362-5633.

110 - 220 VOLT STORE MULTI-SYSTEM ELECTRONICS

PAL-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, (800) 513-3907.

E-mail: export@eportworld.com

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

BOOKS

ANY U.S. BOOK in print. Send check when books arrive. **Salmagundi Books** 66 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.

KRUEGER ON UNITED STATES PASSPORT LAW (2nd edition) published 1997; first supplement scheduled for September, 1999. Fax for information: +680 488-4708 (Palau).

CAR RENTAL

CHOICE CAR RENTAL Short term Long term we offer the best prices. Compact car only for $575. per month. If you like to include the car rental with your furnished apartment, ask your housing Management to call **CHOICE CAR RENTAL**, or you may call us we can help you with the housing and car rental package. Tel.(703) 532-3339

www.choicecarrental.com

SAIL THE BAY

PENTAGON SAILING CLUB: ENJOY, HAVE FUN THIS SUMMER! NO SAILING EXPERIENCE REQUIRED... LESSONS PROVIDED! Open to civilian and military government employees. Offers training based on United States Naval Sailing Association system. Teaches basic sailing, etc. Membership $55 (single), $75 (family). Cost of instruction is $200 for 30 hours of on-the-water trainingand three hours of classroom instruction. Contact Rick Baker: Tel. H (703) 318-5899, **www.pentagonsailing.org**

PLACE A CLASSIFIED AD IN AFSA NEWS. Ad rate: $1/word (10 word min). First 3 bold words included free, additional bold text $2/word, Header or box $10. Contact Ad Manager by E-mail: **miltenberger@afsa.org** or Fax (202) 338-6820.

The realization that Western "help" now meant people, not cash, hit hard. Bilateral donors and the European Union supplied largely technical assistance through advisers who provided expertise and training for aid recipients. Although some officials and observers argued that there was a division of labor between the technical assistance provided by bilateral donors and the capital assistance provided by the international financial institutions, the latter came in the form of loans that had to be repaid (often not regarded as aid in Central and Eastern Europe) and there was little coordination between loans and technical assistance.

By 1992, some Polish and Hungarian officials concluded that they were "technically over-assisted."

The technical assistance itself was often flawed. The "Marriott Brigade" was a term the Polish press coined early in the process for the short-term, "fly-in, fly-out" consultants who delivered technical assistance; they stayed at Warsaw's pricey new Marriott and hurtled among five-star hotels across Central Europe. In contrast to long-term consultants, who often stayed for six months to two years, members of the Marriott Brigade visited the region for several days or weeks only.

At first, Central and Eastern European officials, most of whom were new at their jobs, had welcomed the Marriott Brigade. Yet after hundreds of "first meetings" with an endless array of short-term consultants from the World Bank, the IMF, USAID and other aid organizations, many officials concluded that a certain degree of skepticism was in order.

A good part of the problem was that many of the short-term consultants were ill-prepared for their assignments. For example, a GAO report mentioned that one volunteer charged with helping Polish legal associations to establish a commercial law library was "an American divorce lawyer with no Polish language skills."

A related problem was that many consultants applied assumptions and experience they had gleaned from work in the Third World. These assumptions not only constituted a deep insult to a people who considered themselves exemplars of European culture and civilization, they also reinforced the widely held view that Western consultants generally were unfamiliar with the institutions specific to post-communist economies. In 1990, the vice minister of Poland's ministry of finance, Stefan Kawalec, had this to say about the approach of famed Harvard economist Jeffrey Sachs: "There were and still are many question marks [about] how the economy will respond. In this, Sachs had no knowledge at all because he was not familiar with Communist economies. He tried to treat this economy the same as Latin American ones."

By January 1992, a chorus of Polish and Hungarian officials (whose countries at that point had received the most U.S. aid) had concluded that their countries were "technically over-assisted," as Marek Kozak, a Polish official who monitored foreign aid, put it, and that the assistance was doing more harm than good. Overburdened top-level officials, often working without benefit of trained support staff, complained that they couldn't do their jobs because they had to spend so much time meeting with fact-finders and consultants. Kozak went so far as to suggest that the main benefit derived from the Marriott Brigades was not the expertise they provided, but the hard currency they contributed to the local economy.

Furthermore, local perceptions of the consultants called into question their motives and the motives of Western aid in general. High-ranking officials sometimes suspected Western advisers of industrial espionage or even trying to sabotage Poland's future economic competitiveness. The deputy director of NIK (the Polish government's chief auditing agency) explained to me in 1994 that "[a] few years ago the [consulting] firms had an industrial espionage quality to them. They came and got all [the] valuable information about the enterprises — the state of the firm, the amount and cost of production, and so on — and after this they disappeared."

As Poles became ambivalent toward and even suspicious of the aid effort, latent negative images of the West from Communist days began to resurface among some Poles, particularly those facing economic hardship. In the words of a workers' slogan that decorated the main entrance to a factory: "A Foreign Elite Steals From Us While The Polish People Are At The Bottom." All this frustration contributed to the second phase of East-West aid relations, which I call Disillusionment.

Despite many early mistakes and complaints, Polish views about Western aid began to change by the mid-1990s. Much of the antagonism present in the first years of the aid effort dissipated. Recipients adapted as their experience with donors grew. After early frustration and resentment, Polish officials became better at identifying their needs and more selective about foreign (and local) advisers. As Poles developed technical capabilities, they concluded in some cases that the costs of working with an aid program, in time and meeting donor requirements, outweighed the benefits, and they chose not to do so.

Some Poles have been anointed "Westerners" and serve on aid missions to Ukraine and Romania.

Beyond Disillusionment

One result of this evolution was that Poles requested more capital and less technical assistance. The EU especially began to supply capital assistance to finance trans-European network projects such as railway lines, roads and border infrastructure. As one EU official explained, "Investment finance is more visible to the public. That's one of the reasons we're going into it."

A related development was the blurring of distinctions between donor and recipient personnel. Initially, it had been possible to detect who was who by nationality, language, style and dress. By the mid-'90s, however, many Western consulting groups, including accounting firms, were hiring more local citizens and expatriates who spoke Polish. Donors also recruited some former high-level Polish officials who had served in the first post-communist governments. For example, the Polish-American Enterprise Fund hired a former deputy minister of privatization and a former undersecretary in the Ministry of Industry and Trade to be vice presidents. Marek Kozak, who two years earlier had criticized Western aid efforts from his vantage point as a recipient official, became head of a private-sector development initiative for the EU.

Polish organizations and consultants, now anointed "Westerners" themselves, serve on EU delegations in Ukraine and Romania. And, more often than not, they are treated as partners if not with deference. One EU official in Poland explained his reluctance to criticize a particular Polish official: "One day he might be my boss [at the EU]."

Eventually, Some Success

Thus, after a period of frustration and resentment on both sides, a phase which I call Adjustment occurred. In Poland, this could be observed around 1994. Donors and recipients began to examine their relationships to decide how they could best be managed for successful aid outcomes, or at least to suit their own purposes. During this phase, some helpful programs evolved to support the parliament, small businesses, and nongovernmental organizations.

In addition, some effective assistance in the form of long-term targeted aid that, importantly, did not favor one political group over another became available. I found that aid must be perceived as impartial and as working on behalf of the recipient country generally, not as propping up a particular group. One program sponsored by the U.S. Congressional Research Service provided support to the new parliaments of the region, so that they could develop impartial systems of information that all parliamentarians, regardless of political affiliation, could use. This program was successful and perceived as such, in large part because it was politically neutral.

These programs provided information technology and resources to parliamentary institutions in Central Europe, including computers for the Polish Parliament and Senate. This enabled them to set up a local-area network with local databases and connections to American and European databases.

Wieslaw Staszkiewicz, director of the Polish Parliament's Bureau of Research, said the U.S. aid program provided "very significant help" to his bureau, which supplies information, training and expert opinions on prospective legislation as requested by the parliament. Poles went to Washington for training in reference services, making contacts which are still useful and active. Currently, the Bureau of Research is fully funded by the Polish Parliament and is expanding its efforts to help set up similar offices in the nations east and south of Poland.

One of the watchwords of the early phase of Western aid to Poland was "civil society." While much of this assistance went to political and partisan organizations,

after a period of learning on both sides some aid eventually helped to encourage grassroots development and decentralization of nongovernmental organizations outside the major cities.

In time, an entire NGO-support industry emerged: the Forum of Nongovernmental Initiatives (FIP) was created in 1993 and the Network of Information and Support Center for Nongovernmental Organizations (SPLOT) was created in 1994. In a successful connection with the business sector, FIP created a "benefactor of the year" award, given to businesses on the basis of innovation, staff involvement, sustained effort and, of course, monetary contributions.

Notes Polish sociologist Jakub Wygnański, "Now, more and more associations and foundations are being organized to help or support others." A prime example of this is Polish Humanitarian Action, which sent convoys of relief supplies to war-torn Chechnya and the former Yugoslavia.

Foreign assistance helped to shape the standards that were set for management, accountability, disbursements and transparency. By the mid-1990s, many Polish NGOs were publishing their findings and their sources of funding. The FIP even ran a campaign in 1998 under the slogan "Be Transparent: Publish an Annual Report," to encourage NGOs to disclose their financial and program activities.

At first, Polish NGOs adopted wholesale Western practices and vocabularies, but that was bound to change. By 1998, Wygnański noted, they were engaged in "debate about how to build the NGO sector in Poland and how to find language and symbols for the sector in the Polish framework."

To aid small business, a microlending program, a subsidiary of the Polish-American Enterprise Fund, got under way in 1995. It appeared to operate at a much more grass-roots level than its parent fund. Backed by the U.S. Congress, the program was distinctive in that the average size of its loans was just $500. The typical business funded had one to five employees. Most of the firms were involved in trade, services (hairdressing, plumbing, construction) and production (bicycles, car parts, toys). Since 1995, the program has given more than 13,000 loans, operating through 30 branch centers throughout Poland. The European Union also supported a home-grown initiative to aid Polish business in disadvantaged regions through its Struder program.

One factor that may be at work in lessening Polish suspicions of the West is the record of Poland's economy in the 1990s. Poland has had the most solid growth of any country in Central and Eastern Europe, with sustained growth since 1993. By 1998 Poland was one of three countries in Eastern Europe (along with Slovakia and Slovenia) in which GDP was at or above its 1989 level.

However, development is regionally based and uneven. While cities such as Warsaw, Cracow, Gdansk and Szczecin, along with Poland's westernmost areas, tend to prosper, eastern and rural areas have tended to languish economically. The favored regions are experiencing very low unemployment and a high degree of private sector development, privatization and investment. In other regions, one finds high unemployment, a virtual stalemate in privatization and the development of business infrastructure, and scant foreign investment.

Rejoining Europe?

Currently, U.S. aid programs to Poland are winding down. After allocating more than $900 million over the past decade, the Congress appropriated just $35 million for fiscal 1998 and $20 million in the current year.

By early 1999, the State Department reported that Poland was ready to "graduate" from the SEED program, the biggest U.S. aid program for Central and Eastern Europe. And in fact, the program is zeroed out in the administration's FY2000 budget request. "Graduation" implies that the pupils went to our school and succeeded on our terms. At the very least, this view is patronizing and implies that we — the United States — had more positive influence than the record appears to justify.

Despite its mixed legacy, aid to Poland and Central Europe has been part of a broader process of establishing "normal" relationships between West and East and aid programs have contributed to the interchange of people and ideas. That process continues: Poland has joined NATO and is engaged in pre-accession negotiations with the EU, though that may be a protracted process. It may well be that in the next decade the deeply felt Polish goal of "rejoining Europe" will be accomplished, despite the many difficulties of the post-communist transition. ■

Cyrus Vance, Man of Principle

From troubleshooting for LBJ to representing the UN in talks with Slobodan Milosevic, Cyrus Vance's foreign policy achievements have reflected his high ideals.

By Steven Alan Honley

The decision of the American Foreign Service Association to confer its annual award for Lifetime Contributions to American Diplomacy on former Secretary of State Cyrus Vance, which will occur on June 24, 1999, might strike Foreign Service officers, at least, as a no-brainer. After all, as the June 1980 *Foreign Service Journal* editorialized after the Secretary's resignation: "No one has better represented our high ideals than Cyrus Vance.... In addition to his foreign policy achievements, the legacy Mr. Vance left us is considerable — open dialogue between department principals and members of the service, commitment to a truly representative service and a new Foreign Service Act."

Nor did he rest on his laurels after his tenure as secretary of State. Among other assignments, from 1991-93, he toiled ceaselessly, along with former British Foreign Minister David Owen, to craft and implement a plan to bring a just, sustainable peace to war-torn Bosnia.

Yet even FSOs and others who pride themselves on their knowledge of international affairs may be unaware that prior to the Carter administration, Cyrus Vance spent the 1960s in governmental service, including several sensitive diplomatic missions undertaken as President Lyndon Johnson's secretary of the Army and deputy secretary of Defense. Without question, then, his career truly does add up to "lifetime contributions to American diplomacy."

Early Life

Cyrus Roberts Vance was born in Clarksburg, W. Va., on March 27, 1917, the second son of John and Amy Roberts Vance. (Note for trivia buffs: his uncle was John W. Davis, President Woodrow Wilson's last ambassador to the Court of St. James's and the Democratic presidential candidate in 1924.) Vance's father died when Cyrus was 5, but left ample resources for his widow to raise the two boys comfortably.

The future secretary of State's legal bent was apparent as early as his adolescence. Accordingly, after earning his B.A. in 1939 from Yale University, he went on to receive an LL.B. with honors from the same institution in 1942, then immediately enlisted in the U.S. Navy under the officer training program. After duty as a gunnery officer aboard the *USS Hale* and other destroyers at Bougainville, Tarawa, Saipan, Guam and the Philippines, he was discharged in March 1946 with the rank of lieutenant, senior grade.

After the war, Vance joined the Wall Street firm of Simpson, Thacher and Bartlett, where he is still a partner. He also became active in the Council on Foreign Relations beginning in 1957, just as the Sputnik launch precipitated the space race. Then-Senate Majority Leader Lyndon Johnson established a "Preparedness Investigation Committee" to make recommendations on whether a military or civil agency should have specific responsibility for America's effort in outer space. Vance was tapped as a special counsel to the committee during 1958 and helped draft its report calling for establishment of NASA. Although this was not a foreign policy question per se, the resulting connections with the Kennedy administration eventually led to Vance's appointment as general counsel to the Department of Defense in January 1961.

There, his first assignment was to obtain the release of the Americans captured during the Bay of Pigs invasion without being seen to pay off the Castro regime. Vance

Steven Alan Honley is associate editor of the Foreign Service Journal.

AP PHOTO

Vance at work in Sarajevo as the U.N. representative to the International Conference on the Former Yugoslavia, a position he held from 1991-93.

arranged for a "ransom" consisting of millions of dollars worth of medicines and tractors, a move that did not win him any points with the more rabid opponents of all engagement with the Castro regime, but did secure the prisoners' freedom.

The Vietnam Morass

Vance became secretary of the Army in 1962, and was then chosen as Robert McNamara's deputy secretary of Defense two years later. He was not in the inner circle of administration officials who made the decisions that took the country into the Vietnam War, though he generally concurred with them. However, he did warn McNamara in a July 1965 memo that the "overall cost of mobilizing the forces needed to support a 100,000-man army in Vietnam is likely to be on the order of $8 billion in the coming year," not the several hundred million then being talked about. As early as the spring of 1967, he was disheartened by the mounting casualties and the dimming prospects for military success, but chose to suppress his doubts and proceed as if something acceptable might still come out of the war — a stalemate if nothing else. But at the famous March 1968 briefings by the "wise men" — a group of elder statesmen, including former Secretary of State Dean Acheson, to whom President Johnson turned for advice on the war — Vance concurred with "the vast majority at the meeting [who] felt that the course of the war had to be changed." In any case, the dialogue contributed at least in part to the president's decision to ask for a cease-fire on March 31.

Three days later, the government of North Vietnam offered to begin negotiations in Paris. Vance was named deputy chief negotiator under W. Averell Harriman. Ambassador Philip Habib, another member of the delegation, offered this assessment of Vance's diplomatic skills in a 1982 interview: "Cyrus Vance, for example, is a man whom I hold in the highest regard, both as a person and a negotiator. His absolute, total, and complete honesty was always transmitted to the people he worked with."

To the American demand that Hanoi take no advantage of a bombing halt, Hanoi countered with a demand that it be unconditional. By late July 1968, Vance and his co-negotiators had developed a formula to get around the "no advantage" vs. "no conditions" stalemate, but still had to sell it to the president. Once they overcame Johnson's reluctance, however, the far greater obstacle to negotiation proved

to be opposition from the government in Saigon to negotiating with the National Liberation Front (the Viet Cong's political wing). Here again Vance and his associates figured a way out: by simply referring to "two sides," the agreement allowed each side to work out its own composition. Thus if the Hanoi delegation wished to regard the National Liberation Front as a separate body, it could do so, while the Saigon delegation could pretend the NLF was not a participant. Thus was fashioned the "our side-your side" formula, which allowed the U.S. to cease all bombing and shelling of North Vietnam effective November 1, 1968 — just before Richard Nixon was elected president.

After initially accepting this formula, South Vietnam then reneged, possibly in the expectation that the incoming administration would resume a hard line against the North and spare Saigon from having to make any real concessions at the bargaining table. "In my mind," Vance recalled, "this was one of the great tragedies in history: that the South Vietnamese double-crossed the United States, which I clearly feel they did." Weeks thereafter were wasted haggling over the shape of the table that would permit the National Liberation Front to be seated without giving it the status Saigon wished to deny it. The Russian historian Ilya V. Gaiduk quotes the wry comment of a Soviet observer: "Meetings of the delegations now resembled classes in geometry rather than serious talks." Vance's patience and willingness to use his government's leverage eventually paid off when Saigon agreed to join the talks on November 27, 1968, but by then, a Republican negotiating team headed by Henry Cabot Lodge, Jr. was about to take over, struggling another four years only to gain terms no better than those the Harriman-Vance team might well have obtained.

"The president's instructions were, simply: 'Do what you have to, to stop the war [with Greece over Cyprus]. If you need anything, let me know.'"

LBJ's Trouble-shooter

On top of dealing with the Vietnam War and his many other standing responsibilities, Vance became one of LBJ's regular trouble-shooters. The first crisis he helped manage took place in the Panama Canal Zone, where in January 1965, American high school students in the zone, urged on by their parents, attempted to fly only the American flag in violation of a standing agreement. Mobs invaded the zone in protest, six Panamanians were killed, hundreds more were wounded, rioting spread throughout Panama and portions of the zone came under attack from snipers. To get control in the Canal Zone, President Johnson dispatched Vance and Under Secretary of State Thomas Mann, who reached an agreement to withdraw U.S. forces from the border in return for the Panamanian national guard's clearing their side of snipers and troublemakers. Although the United States still rejected the idea that it should renegotiate its lease of the Canal Zone, this agreement marked the beginning of a long process of returning sovereignty to the Panamanians: a process that Vance made one of his first priorities as secretary of State and would take justifiable pride in concluding 12 years later.

In November 1967, the president asked Vance to take on an even greater challenge: mediating the conflict between Greece and Turkey over Cyprus. Pressure had been mounting for quite some time in Turkey to challenge Greek violations of agreements governing the island (particularly the 1964 independence accords) and especially the rights of the Turkish minority. Turkish forces were readied for an invasion, and on November 18, 1967, in an ultimatum, Turkey insisted on removal of Greek troops.

If the United States was not to see two NATO allies at war, prompt action was called for. Vance was quickly dispatched to Ankara, landing at daybreak on Thanksgiving Day. The president's instructions were, simply: "Do what you have to, to stop the war. If you need anything let me know." Vance responded with perhaps the first venture in shuttle diplomacy. After two trips between Ankara and Athens, he decided it would be impossible to get either country to agree to the other's terms, and he would have to act as mediator. With his aide and the two American ambassadors, he did just that, devising a four-point proposal centered on removing Greek Army troops from Cyprus and guaranteeing the safety of the Turkish community. After yet more shuttle diplomacy, he convinced both sides to sign the agreement on December 3, 1967 and (more or less) honor its terms, thereby averting a war many observers had feared was unavoidable. The experience undoubtedly came in handy over a decade later at Camp David when Vance had to help mediate between two other hard-nosed antagonists. It also reconfirmed his belief that some problems of American foreign policy had nothing to do with the Soviet Union but had other roots.

The Connection to Carter

Shortly after the Nixon administration took office, Henry Kissinger

AP PHOTO

In 1980, the Iran hostage crisis consumed most of Secretary of State Vance's attention.

approached Vance with a proposal that he go to Moscow to work out an informal linkage between negotiations on a Strategic Arms Limitation Treaty (SALT I) and Soviet helpfulness in pressuring Hanoi to end the war. The USSR rebuffed the idea of linkage at its inception, so the trip never happened, but the fact that Kissinger sought Vance's good offices certainly demonstrates his high regard for Vance's diplomatic skills. Nevertheless, neither the Nixon nor the Ford administration showed any further interest in tapping Vance's expertise or experience.

During this period (1969-76), Vance resumed his law practice and various civic activities (including reform of the New York City police). Though no longer a policy-maker, he continued his involvement in foreign affairs, primarily through membership on the Council on Foreign Relations and the Trilateral Commission. It was in the latter arena that he first met Georgia Governor Jimmy Carter in 1973. While the two men did not have a close relationship and maintained only periodic contact during the mid-1970s, they did have several friends in common, including Anthony Lake and Richard Holbrooke.

Cyrus Vance, better known as Cy by his host of admirers, is a man whose career and persona are the very symbols of integrity and public service.

In the 1976 presidential primaries, Vance initially supported his friend Sargent Shriver. Once Shriver withdrew from the race, however, Vance began moving closer to Carter, who asked him to prepare a memorandum in the fall of 1976 setting out foreign policy goals and priorities. This document, as summarized in Vance's 1983 memoir, *Hard Choices: Critical Years In America's Foreign Policy*, emphasized the need to pursue policies which reflect the basic values of the Founding Fathers and that are understood and supported by the American people and the Congress, as well as to manage U.S.-Soviet relations while also taking into account the changes taking place in political, economic and social conditions around the globe. As Vance put it, "America flourishes in a world where freedom flourishes."

The Battle Lines are Drawn

When Carter's inner circle started considering Cabinet appointments in 1976, Chief of Staff Hamilton Jordan remarked, "If, after the inauguration, you find a Cy Vance as Secretary of State and Zbigniew Brzezinski as head of National Security, then I would say we failed. And I'd quit."

That combination did come about. But it was Vance, not Jordan, who would ultimately quit, of course. Still, Jordan was prescient about the personal and conceptual fault line that would eventually undermine the new administration. As David S. McLellan comments in his 1985 biography of the secretary, *Cyrus Vance: The American Secretaries of State and Their Diplomacy*, Vol. 20, "Vance was a secure person who did not feel driven to self-promotion and conducted himself according to the old-fashioned code by which one person respected another. In the face of Brzezinski's machinations, this probably saved the administration the spectacle of crude power rivalry....[but] may have given the impression that the latter's views were in the ascendancy long before that actually became the case."

McLellan further observes that the Vance-Brzezinski clash also mirrored a larger issue: "Substituting diplomacy for military power involved the risk of appearing weak and indecisive, vulnerable to upsets caused not by policies but by events over which the administration had little control, such as the collapse of the Shah's regime in Iran or the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan. Having eschewed a zero-sum, confrontational style, the administration was more vulnerable to the charge that it lacked toughness and will. The spectacle of the embassy hostages [for example] was symbolic of the frustration and powerlessness against which many Americans felt a need to react."

"I know there is a special place reserved for him in the hearts of the career and appointed diplomats who have had the privilege of serving with him."

— Former Secretary of State Warren Christopher

Support for Détente Fades

Every American secretary of State can be said to serve in difficult times, though some are more difficult than others. But as the U.S. and world economies sank into recession and painful memories of the Vietnam War faded, the Carter administration had to respond to increasingly strident calls for America to "go it alone" or at least pursue a more hard-nosed foreign policy. Compounding its problems, a whole series of dangerously unstable situations and setbacks for American interests unfolded abroad, any one of which could easily have taken up Vance's full attention. The roll is grim indeed: Iran, Afghanistan, Ethiopia, Nicaragua, El Salvador, Angola, Cuba, the second major OPEC oil price hike, and the war between China and Vietnam, to name just a few. Consequently, it is understandable, if not necessarily excusable, that the administration made mistakes, some serious, in juggling so many slippery balls.

Yet it is all too easy to forget that Carter and Vance achieved enduring diplomatic successes as well. Even a partial list of the administration's accomplishments would have to include negotiating the Camp David accord (still the foundation of peacemaking efforts in the Middle East two decades later) and the Panama Canal treaties; assisting the transition to majority-black rule in Zimbabwe and Namibia; and continuing prudent efforts to reach verifiable arms control agreements with the Soviet Union within the overall framework of détente. In addition, while the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan helped kill the painstakingly-negotiated SALT II Treaty, Vance's basic approach to arms reductions paved the way for START I.

Perhaps the greatest legacy of Carter's foreign policy, ably championed by Secretary Vance, was its strong, public defense of human rights — not just as a convenient weapon with which to bash foes, but as an intrinsically valid objective *per se*. As a result of U.S. diplomatic pressure, wielded both openly and (on occasion) behind the scenes, various authoritarian regimes around the world, from the USSR to South Korea, Brazil and Argentina, released political prisoners and at least paid lip service to the concept of human rights. Critics are right when they point out that the Carter administration was not always consistent in its approach to the issue; nor should the role Congress and public opinion played in the process be forgotten. But the fact remains that the administration enunciated a principle so strong that its successor, which came to office determined to revert to the previous policy of focusing more on a regime's anti-communism than its democratization, found itself forced to maintain a focus on human rights.

The Decision to Resign

Throughout the Iranian hostage crisis, Secretary Vance consistently opposed the use of force, including a blockade or mining, as long as the hostages were unharmed. A principled stand, it did not constitute a wimpish fear of confrontation as some have charged, but rather

served long-term U.S. interests in not forcing Iran to turn to the Soviets, or worsening U.S. relations with the Islamic world. Knowing Vance's staunch opposition, Brzezinski (as he had done numerous times before) worked behind the scenes to convince the president that a bold gesture such as a military operation would rebut the charges of indecisiveness and drift that endangered his reelection. On April 10, 1980, aware that Vance was leaving for a vacation in Florida, Brzezinski gave President Carter a memorandum entitled "Getting The Hostages Free," in which he argued that negotiating had come to an end and direct action must ensue.

The next day, a meeting of the National Security Council decided on a rescue mission. Warren Christopher, Vance's deputy, attended as acting secretary, but since he had not been briefed on the issue, he found himself isolated in arguments against it. Christopher told Vance of the decision taken in his absence. Stunned and angry, Vance saw the president the following morning and received the chance to present his views to another meeting of the National Security Council. His appeal to reconsider the decision was of no avail so on April 21, after much soul-searching, Vance handed Carter his resignation, to take effect after the mission. On the morning of April 28, following the foiled April 24 rescue attempt, Vance met with Carter to receive the president's letter accepting his resignation. As a last indignity, the president chose Senator Edmund Muskie as his replacement, rather than Deputy Secretary Christopher, whom Vance had strongly recommended.

Asked to comment on AFSA's award, L. Bruce Laingen, charge d'affaires in Tehran when the U.S. Embassy was overrun in 1979 and now president of the American Academy of Diplomacy (of which Secretary Vance is an honorary member) told the *Journal*: "Cyrus Vance, better known as Cy by his host of admirers, is a man whose career and persona are the very symbols of integrity and public service. For me, nothing reflects that more than his resignation as Secretary of State because of his opposition to plans to launch the rescue mission of the American hostages in Iran in 1980. Fully respectful of the president's decision to go ahead, he made it clear to Carter that he would be resigning, whatever the outcome of that eventual failed effort. He did so — stepping down from that high office — because of the strength of his conviction. When as hostages we later learned of that decision, and when he came to the U.S. Air Force Hospital in Wiesbaden to brief us on the events of those fateful 441 days, he received an emotion-laden standing ovation."

Life After Foggy Bottom

Fortunately, this was far from the last of Cyrus Vance's contributions to public life. As he had done over a decade earlier at the end of another Democratic administration, Vance returned to private legal practice in New York in 1981, where he also maintained a strong involvement in international and civic affairs. Among many other missions, in 1992 he served as a personal representative of the United Nations secretary-general both in the Nagorno-Karabakh conflict and in South Africa.

Most notably, he served as UN Representative to the International Conference on Former Yugoslavia from 1991-1993. In that capacity, Vance collaborated with the European Union's mediator, former British Foreign Minister David Owen, to help resolve the Bosnian conflict in a manner which would also head off other Balkan wars. To achieve these goals, the two diplomats formulated a draft constitution organizing Bosnia into a decentralized federation of ten provinces organized mostly along ethnic lines to minimize strife. This proposal became known as the "Vance-Owen plan." After heroic efforts (including nearly constant travel) by its authors, the U.S., many other parties, and the Bosnian Serbs finally agreed to the plan in May 1993. The Serbs, in a terrible echo of the South Vietnamese government's backtracking at the Paris peace talks 25 years earlier, subsequently renounced the accord and resisted all efforts to bring them back to the table. Nevertheless, the nearly two years of negotiations which Vance conducted have been hailed as instrumental to the signing of the Dayton peace agreement in 1995.

Asked to comment on AFSA's decision to confer this award on Secretary Vance, former Secretary of State Warren Christopher told the *Journal*: "Cyrus Vance has brought rare insight, firm direction, and exceptional dignity to everything he has touched in the field of diplomacy. In his early days as secretary of State, he had the vision and courage to lead an uphill effort to conclude and win ratification for the Panama Canal Treaties. His decision, in April 1980, to resign the post of secretary on a matter of principle reflected a strength and depth of character that his successors can admire, but rarely replicate. His willingness in his 79th year [1996] to undertake the daunting tasks associated with organizing and leading the International Commission on Missing Persons in Bosnia is only the most recent example of his selfless dedication to service.

"There should be a unique niche for Cy Vance's picture at the State Department. I know there is a special place reserved for him in the hearts of the career and appointed diplomats who have had the privilege of serving with him." ■

Racing King Hussein

As a young monarch, King Hussein loved flying planes, driving motorcycles and racing cars with his "set," which included a young diplomatic wife and her husband.

By Louise S. Keeley

My husband, Bob, our two young children and I served at our first overseas post in 1958 in Amman, Jordan, where a young King Hussein ruled. It was a time of instability in the Hashemite Kingdom, following the assassination of King Faisal, the king's cousin, in Baghdad on July 14, 1958. As a result, the "Red Devils," a British commando battalion, had been flown in to assist with calming Jordan and dealing with threats from neighboring countries. For our young family, however, these were halcyon days, a time when we were pulled into King Hussein's "social set."

It all started when we were invited to join a group of Scottish dancing enthusiasts hosted by an Italian doctor. The group included diplomats, expatriates, a few young Palestinians and, occasionally, King Hussein. Eventually, we were invited to gatherings hosted by the king at his cottage in the Jordan Valley. King Hussein was a bachelor following the dissolution of his marriage to his first wife, Queen Dina.

After we attended our first event at the king's cottage, my husband met with U.S. Ambassador Sheldon Mills to inform him of this very unusual connection for a young diplomat. It was customary, when the king was either guest or host, to stay at a party until he left. King Hussein liked to stay up very late, so after we arrived home my husband barely had time enough to shave and shower before leaving for the chancery. Once there, he met Ambassador Mills with trepidation, because he didn't know what the ambassador's reaction would be to a second secretary socializing with a head of state.

Louise S. Keeley is the spouse of retired FSO Robert Keeley. She served with him in Amman, Bamako, Athens, Kampala, Uganda, Phnom Penh, Port Louis and Harare.

Ambassador Mills, a wise, experienced and kindly man, appreciated that a 24-year-old king would naturally prefer to spend his free time among contemporaries rather than amid the pomp and circumstance of the senior diplomatic corps. He told Bob that he would never ask for reports on what went on at these social occasions, but he expected him to report if anything of substance came up. My husband quickly assured the ambassador that he doubted he would ever be in a position to speak to his host about anything resembling affairs of state, since the king socialized to get away from such matters.

From that time on we were included in a variety of the king's parties and outings. King Hussein loved flying planes, driving motorcycles, racing cars and other dangerous sports. He also participated in irregularly scheduled stock car races with his "set" at a track on a nearby airfield. The King invariably won every race for two reasons: He had a stable of fine sports cars — some of them gifts from other chiefs of state — from which to choose and he was a daring and skillful driver who loved to take risks. The other competitors raced inferior vehicles. My husband, driving our nine-passenger Ford station wagon, almost always came in last.

The King grew bored with the lack of serious competition, so Jock Dalgliesh, the Scot wing commander who had taught him to fly, solved the problem. He suggested that the competitors drive identical go-carts so that the best drivers, not the best cars, would win. At first the king was skeptical. He thought go-carts were for children, but Dalgleish showed him a catalogue featuring the Rolls Royce of go-carts. Made in England, they had powerful motorcycle engines and guaranteed formidable speed. The King acquiesced.

The racing group ordered go-carts from England and a track was built for weekly races. The king still won most of them, but he enjoyed the greater competition more. A few

A desert outing with King Hussein's "set." Back row, sixth from left, King Hussein; eighth from left, Robert Keeley. Front row, second from left, Louise Keeley; third from left, Toni Gardiner.

wives, including me, occasionally entered women's races, along with the king's pre-teen brother, Prince Hassan. Our timekeeper was a British colonel, Anthony Gardiner. His daughter, Antoinette (Toni), waved the checkered flag at the finish line.

King Hussein loved to fly and would take us on helicopter rides over Amman, making an effort to circle our homes in case our children were looking up. He also ferried us to Wadi Rum in Southern Jordan for picnics, flying low and following the Desert Highway as a navigational aid. When we arrived, the women went ahead, and turning back, we could see the king carrying a large cooler in each hand. Since it appeared that our husbands were following empty-handed, we were shocked. When they came nearer, we saw that our spouses were toting small, heavy weapons. There had been no space on the helicopter for bodyguards. Later, British film director David Lean filmed some of the most spectacular scenes in *Lawrence of Arabia* at Wadi Rum, the site of our picnics.

There were those who were jealous because we were included in the "King's set." Some may have even imagined debauchery, but these occasions were chaste, proper and even sedate. We played parlor games, danced and played charades. The king also liked canasta and other card games. No one over-indulged in alcohol, behaved badly or created a scene. No one instructed us on how we should treat the king, but we agreed that our private, social evenings should not be talked about with anyone who hadn't attended. Senior ladies of the diplomatic corps were always pressing us for details, but we said nothing. We were even guarded when arranging activities on the telephone, referring to the king by the strange code name others in his set used for him: "Buffalo."

The king loved to dance, and one of the many advantages of being a monarch was that married women were required to invite him onto the dance floor, not the reverse. When I first approached the king, I was shy and hesitant, but he made it easy. He stood up and moved forward with a welcoming smile. After that it was easy. At all times the king was simple, charming and friendly. He didn't insist on his rank as king, but he never did anything to discard it. We all respected him, so we behaved appropriately in his presence while enjoying ourselves.

One time the king came to a dinner my husband and I hosted at the small house we had rented and furnished with no embassy assistance. He brought all the food, no doubt to make it easier for our household, but also because otherwise he might have had to refuse to eat something being served. He had been the target of many assassination attempts; among them had been poisoned food. The king was always discreetly armed, never stood in front of a window and when he drove himself, which was often, he always left his motor running so the car could not be rigged to explode.

When our tour of duty came to an end in 1960 my husband had to dispose of his go-cart. It was understood that the purchaser would have to be acceptable to the king as a member of the group. Col. Gardiner purchased it for his daughter, Toni, the flag waver, so she could participate in the women's races. Later it turned out that there was more to this purchase than go-cart racing. Toni Gardiner became King Hussein's second wife. He bestowed on her the name Queen Muna al-Hussein and she became the mother of the king's eldest son and successor, Abdullah.

Many of the qualities spoken of in King Hussein's obituaries were apparent in those early days: his courage, his simplicity, his human touch, his hospitality, his majesty, his courtesy, his love of life, his respect for all no matter what their station in life.

Farewell, Buffalo. ■

EDUCATORS ON THE EDGE

WHO TEACHES AT AMERICAN INTERNATIONAL SCHOOLS? AN INSIDER TELLS ALL.

BY DANIEL DAVIS

The papers for your next posting finally arrive, and you quickly begin researching your new assignment: Outer Incognita. To your dismay you learn that there the locals consider "running water" to be the local stream, and "fast food" is that belligerent yak which is always running ahead of the herd.

Under such circumstances, how could your children possibly receive a good education if they accompany you? And what self-respecting educator would take a job in this far-away outpost? You may be surprised. In seven years of teaching abroad — in Zaire, Romania, and now in Pakistan, I've found my colleagues to be creative, energetic, resourceful and very well-qualified. (Come to think of it, they may have a strong resemblance to some FSOs you may know.)

The competition is fierce at job fairs for teaching positions abroad.

In virtually every country there exists at least one American or American/International school. Most of these schools have been in operation for decades, with all the kinks worked out of their program, run by professional educational administrators backed by credentialed teachers.

If your next assignment happens to be in Western Europe or an English-speaking country such as Australia you need not worry, for such places are as modern and full of opportunity as the States, except that the locals may tend to speak with a bizarre accent.

But suppose your new posting has been in the State Department's list of hardship locations longer than Kim Il-Sung's tenure in office? What of educational opportunities there?

Perhaps the most outstanding features of schools in such questionable locations result from their small size. In such schools it is easy to know all of your peers, and it's much easier to make the school baseball team or theater production than it would be at a big high school in the States.

Another critical characteristic is small class size: teaching becomes a team effort rather than crowd control. (Three of my math classes in Lahore have 10 students or fewer, and none are over 15.) So it is quite easy for instructors to notice the weaker students and devote the necessary time to them. Relations with parents are usually closer as well.

Then, consider what kind of teacher would be found in an institution in such a potentially unstable locale. You might think that you'd need to be an adrenaline junkie to contemplate an exotic post. Not true. While I personally engage in extreme sports such as skydiving and bungee jumping, I'm not typical in that regard. On the contrary, the vast majority of teachers overseas are from states such as Oregon, Iowa, or Nebraska, and their idea of excitement is a well-placed shot down the fairway.

The only way in which such teachers could be considered risk-takers is in their choice of assignments. They have simply decided that the potential danger of a "Third World" job is far outweighed by the financial and professional benefits. As a parent as well as an educator I know this scenario well, for I currently live in Lahore, Pakistan, with my wife and our two young sons, Mitch (almost 5) and Benji (almost 3).

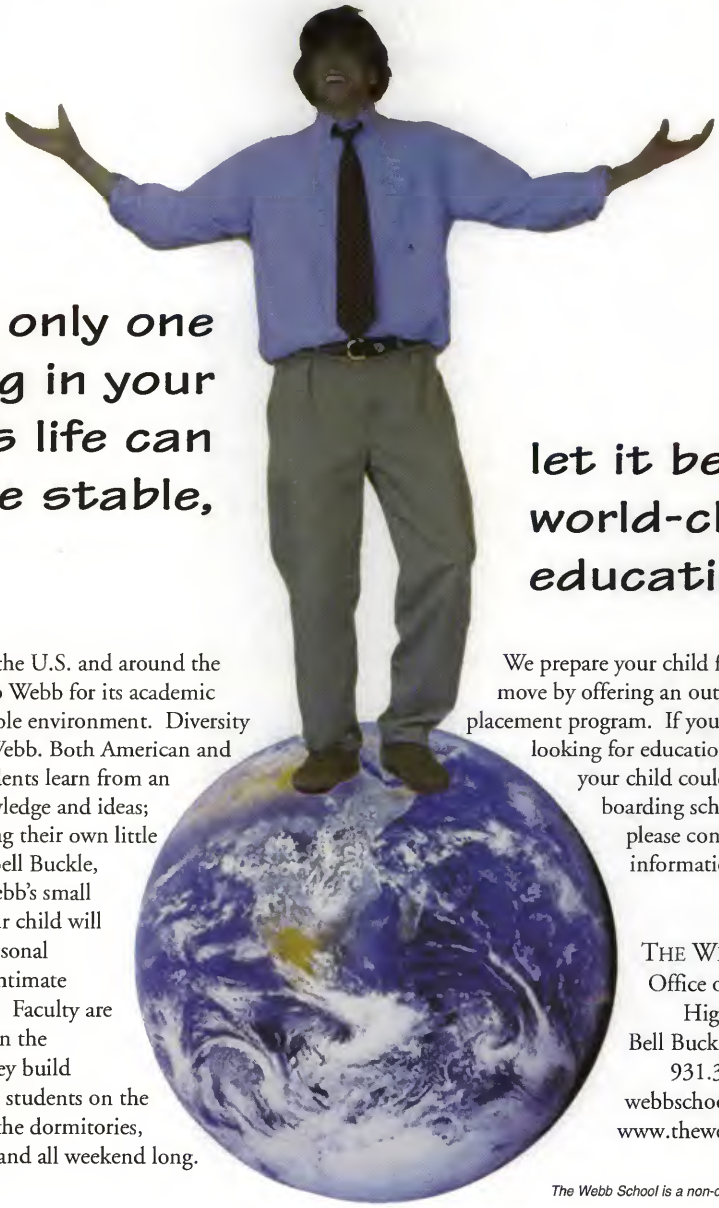
Come to the Fair

In addition to having an urge to see the world, most overseas educators are utterly professional and highly trained. In order to obtain a position, teachers generally must attend one of the recruitment fairs organized by various companies or universities — almost all of which are based in the U.S. — to interview with schools anticipating vacancies in the next academic year. The directors or superintendents of these institutions will seldom even grant an interview if the candidate is not certified—

(continued on page 58)

Daniel Davis teaches mathematics at the Lahore American School in Pakistan.

MOVING TO MOZAMBIQUE?



If only one thing in your child's life can be stable,

let it be a world-class education.

Students from the U.S. and around the world come to Webb for its academic challenge and stable environment. Diversity is a tradition at Webb. Both American and international students learn from an exchange of knowledge and ideas; they enjoy forming their own little global village in Bell Buckle, Tennessee. In Webb's small environment, your child will appreciate the personal attention of our intimate classroom setting. Faculty are present not only in the classroom, but they build relationships with students on the playing fields, in the dormitories, during the week, and all weekend long.

We prepare your child for life's next big move by offering an outstanding college placement program. If you find that you're looking for educational options or if your child could benefit from a boarding school community, please contact us for more information about Webb.

THE WEBB SCHOOL
Office of Admission
Highway 82
Bell Buckle, TN 37020
931.389.6003
webbschool@united.net
www.thewebbschool.com

The Webb School is a non-discriminatory institution.

Educators on the Edge
(continued from page 56)

either by a state, Canada or the United Kingdom.

It is also extremely difficult to land a job if the teacher does not have at least two years of experience. The competition at a fair is quite fierce, and long lines form for the preferred locations. The battle becomes somewhat easier for those teachers with a master's degree, several years of experience, an impressive résumé listing involvement in various extra-curricular areas and — most importantly — excellent letters of recommendation from directors well-known in the overseas circuit.

But no one is ever assured of a job. Once in the overseas circuit, an educator cannot relax in a tenured position either, as initial contracts are for two years and are renewed yearly after that. If the new hire then becomes a poorly-inspired "8 a.m. to 3 p.m." teacher who merely meets his teaching load, he or she will find it increasingly difficult to find a job at the next hiring fair.

While "overseas hires" generally constitute only about half the faculty of an American/International school, the rest of the staff — "local hires," either expats whose spouse is already in country with an embassy, NGO, or private company or locals who are also trained to the same demanding specifications — have almost invariably been hired only if they meet rigorous qualifications.

My first teaching position was at the American School of Kinshasa, Zaire. That first year I was fortunate to become good friends with Doug Poole, the upper secondary math and science teacher, as we both shared a zest for exploring new places. His ability to take in stride even the most trying circumstances — such as when looting broke out in Kinshasa that year and the school was closed for a month — has served him well, and he has since taught in Singapore and

(continued on page 61)

Educators on the Edge
(continued from page 58)

Switzerland, and is currently working at the International Community School of Abidjan, Ivory Coast.

Here at the Lahore American School, one of our most remarkable teaching couples is Maura McMillan and Terefe Kerse. They met and married when they were both teaching at the International Community School in Addis Ababa, where she had been recruited from Massachusetts and he was a local hire. Maura keeps her upper secondary literature students entranced with her no-nonsense wit, and has taken her classes downtown to see the type of environment which inspired a famous South Asian writer. Terefe, with his seemingly boundless energy, is a perfect model for youngsters in his physical education classes. "T," as he is known, has demonstrated his creativity by organizing faculty to play against his soccer team, which was in need of competition.

When one looks at the combination of dedicated teachers and exotic locations, the possibilities for great educational experiences emerge. In Romania, our local native studies teacher supplemented her lecture on the Roman invasion by visiting Trajan's column and the surrounding ruins. My wife's students in Israel were given the opportunity to participate in an active archeological dig,and spent a week in the desert learning the ways of the Bedouins. My computer and mathematics classes in Zaire were able to put their knowledge to use by mapping the ten-acre jungle on our sprawling campus. Living in a place you may learn about in your textbooks is certainly preferable to only reading about it.

The choice is yours, of course, as to where your children attend school. But as someone who lived in a Third World country for eight of his first 15 years, I can assure you that the benefits of acquiring such rich life experiences make "education at the edge" fully worthwhile. ■

Schools at a glance

Schools	Enrollment	Gender Distribution	Percent Boarding	Percent International	Levels Offered	Common Application	Accepts/Offers ADD and LD	Distance to Int'l Airport	Counseling Int'l Students	Dorms W/Email-phones	Holiday Break Coverage	Tuition
Admiral Farragut Academy	310	75/25 (M/F)	60	25	****	N	N	20 miles	Y	N	*****	19000
American University	Dept. of International Service – See Website for details Dept. of Economics – See Website for details											
Army & Navy Academy	305	All boys	9	20	7-12	Y	ADD	35 miles	ESL	N	N	18500
Avon Old Farm School	365	All boys	80	13	9-12, PG	N	N	15 miles	N	Y	N	25900
Baylor School	807	52/48	30	5	7-12	Y	Y/N	15 mins.	Y	Y	N	23300
Bishop's College	180	50/50	99	25	NA	Y	N	100 miles	Y	In resid.	Y	23250 Can
Browne Academy	330	NA	NA	30	Pre-8	Y	N	15 mins.	N	N	Y	11500
Calvert School	Home Schooling program: For more information go to www.calvertschool.org											
Chistchurch School	200	85/15	66	10	8-12	Y	NA	2 1/2 hrs.	Y	Y	N	21250
Darlington School	480	NA	48	10	AP, honors	Y	Acc. Some	60 miles	Y	Y/N	N	22775
Darrow School	95	40/60	98	15	9-12, PG	Y	Y	1 hr.	Y	Y	Y	24000
Foxcroft School	157	All girls	85	18	9-12, PG	Y	N	30 miles	Y	Y	Y	25900
Gables Academy	20	80/20	35	15	Ages 10-19	Y	Splty.	30 mins.	Y	Y	N	23500
Hillside School	90	All boys	60	NA	9-12	N	Y	35 miles	Y	N	N	25000
Lawrence School	350	56/44	72	15	9-12	N	N	1 hr.	Y	Y/N	Y	24970
Leysin American School	300	50/50	100	60	9-13	N	N	90 milcs	Y	Y	N	24000
Linden Hall	120	All girls	75	20	6-12, PG	Y	Y	30 miles	NA	Y	Home stay	23540
Marion Military Institute	299	89/11	90	1	*****	N	N	71 miles	Y	Wired on req.	***	****** *
Miss Hall School	130	All girls	70	18	9-12	Y	NA	1 1/4 hrs.	Y	N	N	25500
New York Military Academy	270	88/12	95	20	6-12, PG	Y	N	10 miles	Y	Y	N	18775
Northfield Mount Herman	1139	53/47	82	25	9-12, PG	N	Lim. Servs.	10 miles	Y	Y	Y	25950
Pinecrest School	930	49/51	14	9	7-12, PG	N	Y	15-50 mins.	Y	Y	Y	22000

*Application process - ** We conduct a New Boy Orientation Program - *** Email: room / Phone: Common areas - **** K-12 day 6-12 boarding - ***** 7-12 Freshman & Sophmore year - ****** Thanksgiving, Christmas and Spring break ****** School: 17581 / College: 10230

Schools	Enrollment	Gender Distribution	Percent Boarding	Percent International	Levels Offered	Common Application	Accepts/Offers ADD and LD	Distance to Int'l Airport	Counseling Int'l Students	Dorms W/Email-phones	Holiday Break Coverage	Tuition
Perkiomen School	250	60/40	60	15	7-12, PG	Y	Y	1 hr.	Y	Y	Home Stay	24500
Pomfret School	300	53/47	75	10	9-12, PG	Y	N	60 miles	Y	Y	N	27200
Riverside Military Academy	350	All boys	All	10	8-12	Y	N	70 miles	**	***	12/18 - 1/9	15000
San Domenico School	145	All girls	45	20	9-12	Y	N	35 miles	Y	N	N	28508
Shattuck-St. Mary's School	300	62/38	80	13	6-12, PG	Y	N	45 mins.	Y	Y	N	21100
St, Andrew's School	275	Nearly equal	100	NA	9-12	N	N	60 mins.	Y	N	N	21000
St. John Preparatory	250	54/46	36	18	7-12, PG	Y	N	90 mins.	Y	boys-N girls-Y	N	17758
St. John Northwestern Military Acad.	393	All boys	100	20	7-12	Y	N	45 mins.	Y	Y		21350
Stanstead College	197	54/46	72	36	7-12	N	N	90 miles	Y	email	Y	26300C 17750U
Stone Mountain School	35	All boys	100	0	6-12	NA	Y	1 1/2 hr.	Y	Y	As needed	45000
Suffield Academy	460	55/45	68	14	9-12	Y	NA	7 miles	3 days	Y	Y	25650
The American School / England	750	50/50	20	10	PK-12	Y	Y	15 mins.	Y	Y	N	28000
The Ethel Walker School	195	All Girls	63	14	9-12	Y	Y	20 mins.	Y	Y	Home stay	25600
The Gow School	145	All boys	100	12	7-12, PG	N	All LD	20 miles	Y	Y	N	28450
The Grier School	163	All girls	100	40	PK-12	Y	Y/Y	120 miles	Y	N	Y	20250
The Hockaday School	1009	All girls	7	3	PK-12	Y	Y/N	30 mins.	Y	Y	Y	24000
The Phelps School	40	All boys	100	10	7-12	Y	Y	25 miles	ESL	N	N	13300
The Webb School	270	50/50	50	15	7-12, PG	NA	N (in bas)	45 mins.	Y	Y	Y	22000
Trinity College School	465	56/44	70	27	7-12	N	N	60 miles	Y	Y	N	18000
Washington Int'l School	745	45/55	0	33	PK-12	N	N	5 mins.	N	No. dorm	N	NA

*Application process - ** We conduct a New Boy Orientation Program - *** Email: room / Phone: Common areas - **** K-12 day 6-12 boarding - ***** 7-12 Freshman & Sophmore year - ****** Thanksgiving, Christmas and Spring break ****** School: 17581 / College: 10230

A World-Class American Education with European Style

Leysin American School in Switzerland

- Building a Harmonious Community
- Providing an Academic Challenge
- Offering a Balanced Educational Program
- International Understanding

Coeducational, boarding, grades 9-12 and PG year. Located in a beautiful & safe Alpine Resort, above Lake Geneva, close to Montreux, Lausanne, & Geneva Excellent US and International university/college placement

Leysin American School in Switzerland - US Admissions
PO Box 7154 (F)
Portsmouth, NH 03802
603-431-7654
Fax 603-431-1280
e-mail usadmissions@las.ch

Visit Our Website at www.las.ch

Wouldn't it be nice if a prep school froze tuition?

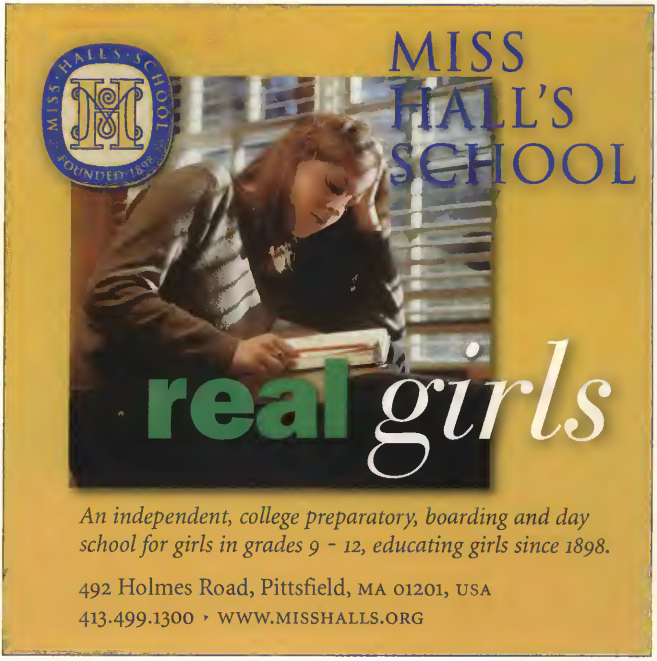
It's a novel idea. Once you start at Christchurch Episcopal School, the tuition stays the same – all the way to graduation. Christchurch knows that a lot of parents want to give their youngsters a leg up – in college and in life – by sending them to a good prep school. But paying for it is a real juggling act. So, Christchurch worked on the problem and came up with a flat tuition so you can plan ahead and give your child the very best.

One did.

CHRISTCHURCH
EPISCOPAL SCHOOL

1-800-296-2306 • www.christchurchva.com

75 years of College Prep • Grades 8-12 • Boys Boarding & Coed Day
Our campus borders the Rappahannock River near the Chesapeake Bay in Virginia.
Christchurch is non-discriminatory in our admission and financial aid practices.
We also offer Coed Boarding & Day Summer Camps and Academic Programs.



Useful Contacts

ASSOCIATION OF BOARDING SCHOOLS
1620 L St., NW, St.1100
Washington, D.C. 20036
(202) 973-9753
www.schools.com

ISS DIRECTORY OF OVERSEAS SCHOOLS
International Schools Services
P.O. Box 5910
Princeton, NJ 08543
(609) 452-0990
www.iss.edu
e-mail: iss@iss.edu

ECIS DIRECTORY OF SCHOOLS
European Council of International Schools
21 Lavant Street
Petersfield, GU32 3 EL, UK
tel: 44 1730 268 244
www.ecis.org
e-mail: support@ecis.com

IECA DIRECTORY
Independent Educational Consultants Association
4085 Chain BridgeRd
Suite 401
Fairfax, VA 22030
(703) 591-4850
www.educational consulting.org
e-mail: iecaassoc@aol.com

PETERSON'S DIRECTORY OF PRIVATE SECONDARY SCHOOLS
Peterson's Guides
P.O. Box 2123
Princeton, NJ 08543
www.petersons.com/ private

Continued on page 70

Useful Contacts

Continued from page 68

FAMILY LIAISON OFFICE
Department of State
M/DGP/FLO Room 1212A
Washington, D.C. 20520
(202) 647-1076
www.state.gov/www/flo
e-mail: FLO@perms.us-state.gov

OFFICE OF OVERSEAS SCHOOLS
email: *overseasschool@dos.us-state.gov*
www.state.gov/www/about_state/school

FLO Links

THE ART OF INTERNATIONAL LIVING
www.artintliving.com
An online bi-monthly newsletter for international communities living overseas.

EXPAT EXCHANGE
www.expatexchange.com
An online resource for information, employment, services, and shopping overseas.

FOREIGN SERVICE LIFELINES
www.kreative.net/fslifelines
Website created by FS spouses.

FOREIGN SERVICE YOUTH FOUNDATION AROUND THE WORLD IN A LIFETIME (AWAL)
www.state.gov/www/flo/fsyf.html
Provides information, advocacy, and activities for internationally mobile youth.

TCK WORLD
www.tckworld.com
Support and understanding of Third Culture Kids (TCK's).

BOOKS

TRACKING STALIN'S AMERICAN SPIES

Venona: Decoding Soviet Espionage in America
John Earl Haynes and Harvey Klehr, Yale University Press, 1999, hardcover, $30, 487 pages.

BY RORIN M. PLATT

Was the Red Scare a fabrication of witch hunters like Wisconsin Republican Sen. Joseph McCarthy?

Since the collapse of the Soviet Union, scholars with access to recently declassified documents from American and Soviet archives have revisited this and other questions. The most revealing of these sources, the Venona Project, was concealed within the National Security Agency until 1995. It comprised nearly three thousand decrypted telegraphic cables U.S.-based Soviet agents sent to Moscow during World War II.

In Venona: Decoding Soviet Espionage in America, John Earl Haynes and Harvey Klehr, preeminent authorities on American communism, provide the first comprehensive examination of these files, one of U.S. counter-intelligence's greatest achievements. Benefiting from Venona as well as material from Soviet archives, this detailed, thorough treatment of Soviet espionage demonstrates how the Venona decryptions identified most of the Soviet agents the FBI and MI-5 (British counter-intelligence) arrested between 1948 and the mid-1950s. Those included atomic spies Klaus Fuchs, Theodore Hall and Julius Rosenberg. The authors believe that "Venona provide(s) a solid factual basis for the widespread public consensus . . . that Soviet espionage was serious, that American Communists assisted the Soviets, and that several senior government officials had betrayed the United States."

The Venona Project started in 1943, when code breakers in the Signal Intelligence Service (later the NSA) began analyzing Russian cables to verify rumors of secret Nazi-Soviet peace talks. After World War II, cryptanalysts documented that an extensive, "unrestrained" Soviet espionage campaign against the U.S. originated during the war.

The first "shot" of the Cold War was fired in 1942, when Stalin's ideologically-motivated agents began to penetrate nearly every important agency of the U.S. government, including high-level positions in the White House, Congress, Office of Strategic Services, the Manhattan [atomic bomb] Project and the departments of State and Treasury. Exploiting the lax internal security of the Roosevelt administration, the agents sent Moscow vast amounts of diplomatic, military, scientific and industrial secrets. National security was most severely damaged with the theft of America's atomic secrets, which gave Stalin information on the atomic bomb's design, assembly and detonation. Consequently, he developed Russia's nuclear arsenal much sooner and more cheaply than he otherwise would have.

Most of the 349 Americans identified by the Venona transcripts as Soviet agents were members of the Moscow-controlled Communist Party USA, an auxiliary of Soviet intelligence. Fueled by ideology, these idealistic Marxist-Leninists betrayed what they considered a morally illegitimate American capitalist system. Few either defected or renounced communism, even after Stalin's purges and 1939 pact with Hitler.

Stalin's agents in the State Department included: Martha Dodd, daughter of the American ambassador to Berlin, who passed confidential diplomatic correspondence to a first secretary at the Russian embassy; Alger Hiss, chief of State's Office of Special Political Affairs; Laurence Duggan, head of State's Division of American Republics and the secretary of State's personal adviser for Latin America; and Harold Glasser, vice-chairman of the War Production Board and assistant director of the Treasury's Office of International Finance, who gave the NKVD a State Department analysis of Soviet war losses.

While the authors acknowledge that there were "sensible [security] reasons" for keeping Venona secret, they also argue that if Venona had

been made public, government investigations and prosecutions of Communist Party members would have been more defensible. The guilt of the Rosenbergs would have been indisputable, as would the innocence of secretaries of State Dean Acheson and George C. Marshall. Manhattan Project director J. Robert Oppenheimer's communist background and indifference to possible Soviet infiltration of Los Alamos (until 1943) would have been verified, but so would Moscow's failure to recruit him as an agent.

Paradoxically, keeping Venona secret belittled the Soviet threat and "perpetuated many myths that have given Americans a warped view of the nation's history," according to Haynes and Klehr. Hopefully, these invaluable Venona files will help bring the picture of how Soviet espionage threatened American security into focus.

Rorin M. Platt, Ph.D., is a diplomatic historian and professor at Peace College in Raleigh, North Carolina.

A PARABLE OF MODERN WAR

Black Hawk Down:
A Story of Modern War
Mark Bowden, Atlantic Monthly Press, 1999, hardcover, $24.00, 386 pages.

BY DAVID JONES

These are familiar scenes from the 1993 catastrophe in Somalia: An American helicopter is shot down. Eighteen U.S. Army Rangers and Delta Force members are killed, their bodies dragged through CNN's global village. In a blink of a policy eye, the U.S. is out of the country.

Mark Bowden's new book on the incident offers lessons for those whose only view of the conflict has been hypothesizing about it from the deep comfort of armchairs.

Bowden, a *Philadelphia Inquirer* reporter with no military experience, became frustrated when regular channels — his Freedom of Information Act requests are still pending — didn't work, so he gained the trust of both American and Somali participants in the debacle. The result is a gripping, in-their-own-words account about a small combat unit action that acquired international significance.

This is not a book for those who want to explore the nuances of diplomacy. Instead, Bowden plunges right into the Oct. 3 assault whose goal was to seize two top lieutenants of Somali warlord Gen. Mohamed Farrah Aidid. The perspective is that of a combat soldier. The book's value to Foreign Service officers lies in its insights into the strengths and weaknesses of the modern U.S. military.

U.S. Army Rangers, helicopter pilots, medics, communicators and intelligence specialists have reached high technical proficiency through years of training. Personnel of the super-secret Delta Force are even more technically proficient. The problem is they are not always good enough to resolve every combat situation. The assault in Somalia was similar to a number of other operations in which the Rangers reached into a hornet's nest with tweezers, extracted a member of the hive and departed before the rest of the swarm knew anything had happened. The mission fell apart because first one, then a second, Black Hawk helicopter was shot down, giving the hornets their chance. The U.S. military attempted to rescue the helicopter crews and ended up trapped in urban battle. Armed with AK-47s, M-16s, rocket launchers and other weapons, just about every male Somali — from greybeards to children — and many women were looking to kill the Americans. Untrained, unprofessional, but utterly dedicated and courageous, they sought not to rescue Aidid's supporters, but to vent their frustrations at U.S. invaders.

U.S. combatants were totally baffled. It was as if they thought that the U.S. military was so Schwarzenegger-Robocop competent that the Somalis had no right to be turning on them. For some, this naïve self-confidence did not survive the shock of battle. Others decided to reenlist in the midst of the firefight. The result, according to Bowden, was a Pyrrhic victory that was not well reported in the media. Conservative estimates put casualties at 500 Somalis killed and 1,000 wounded.

Throughout the long Victorian age, Great Britain, then the world's only superpower, sought to keep the peace and advance civilization by engaging in an endless series of "little wars" against Afghans, Sikhs, Zulus, Boers, Sudanese and others.

These battles, with their passions and losses, have been forgotten by all except those interested in historical minutia. In the next century, will Vietnam, Lebanon, Grenada, Panama, the Gulf, the former Yugoslavia and Somalia have accumulated similar dust? *Black Hawk Down* provides evidence that this might happen, along with an important reminder about U.S. combat superiority. The cutting edge of our finest military tools will not slice through every obstacle. ■

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

In Memory

John Wendell Anderson, 84, a retired FSO, died April 2 in Gilbert, Ariz.

Born in 1914 in Clermont, Pa., Mr. Anderson graduated from Pennsylvania State University in 1936 with a degree in mining engineering. As an officer in the Navy's Civil Engineering Corps in World War II, he took part in the landing at Omaha Beach in June 1944.

After a 20-year career in mining resource development in the United States, he joined USAID in 1965. As an FSO, he brought his mining skills to developing countries in Africa, Asia and Latin America.

Survivors include his daughter, Lynn of Boston; three sons, Lance, of San Francisco, Neil of Philadelphia, and Joel of Tempe, Ariz.; a brother, Marshall of Atlanta; two granddaughters; and two grandsons.

Horace Franklin Byrne, 83, a retired FSO, died March 9 at his home in Columbia, S.C.

Mr. Byrne was born in Bedford, Va., and educated at Choate School in Wallingford, Conn., the Ecole Internationale in Geneva and Union College in Schenectady, N.Y.

His Foreign Service career took him to posts in Tabriz, Baghdad, Beirut, Khartoum and South Africa. He retired in 1970.

After four years as administrator of the biology department at Boston University, Mr. Byrne moved to Columbia in 1974 to write the South Carolina Commission of Higher Education's Five-Year Plan. He remained in Columbia and was active in community service organizations. He had recently served as program coordinator for the International Visitors. He co-founded the local chapter of the Explorers Club and was the recipient of its esteemed Sweeney Award.

Survivors include his wife, Eleanor of Columbia; two daughters, Mary Margaret Alvarez De Toledo of Concord, Mass., and Deborah Babel of Clemson, S.C.; three sons, Reginald Foster Byrne of Laguna Beach, Calif., Charles Christopher Byrne of Kensington, Calif. and Malcolm Macdonald Byrne of Washington, D.C.; a brother, Wayne Hamner Byrne of Plattsburgh, N.Y.; and ten grandchildren and two great grandchildren.

William J. Crockett, 85, a retired FSO, died as a result of complications following abdominal surgery on March 20 in Scottsdale, Ariz.

Mr. Crockett was born in Kansas in 1914 and graduated with a BS from the University of Nebraska in 1942. During World War II, he served in the U.S. Army and attained the rank of captain. After the war he had a career in banking and worked for the U.S. Maritime Commission, before joining the Foreign Service.

His overseas posts included Beirut, Karachi and Rome. He also served in the department as the under secretary for administration. He retired as a career minister.

Survivors include his wife Dorothy of Scottsdale, and his son, Robert of Menlo Park, Calif.

Christine Louise Daris, 18, daughter of retired FSO and Mrs. Charles L. Daris, died April 11 at her home in Arlington, Va.

Ms. Daris had lived abroad with her family in South Africa, Tunisia, Bahrain and Saudi Arabia. She was a student at Mary Washington College in Fredericksburg, Va.

In addition to her parents, she is survived by a brother, Patrick Daris.

Thomas P. Hamilton, 55, a retired FSO, died of cancer March 19 in Jacksonville, Fla.

A native of Washington, D.C., Mr. Hamilton received a BA from Amherst College and a Ph.D. in political science from Claremont Graduate University.

During his State Department career, which spanned nearly three decades, he served in several

Southeast Asian posts and in Colombia. He received the State Department Superior Honor Award.

After retirement in 1996, he was active as a teacher and community leader.

Survivors include his wife, Liliana of Ponte Vedra Beach, Fla., and a sister, Ann Ogilvie of Hawaii.

Arch K. Jean, 86, a retired FSO, died March 10 in Baptist Hospital in Pensacola, Fla.

A native of Harrisburg, Pa., Mr. Jean graduated from Gettysburg College in Pennsylvania in 1934.

He entered the State Department in the mid-1940s in the personnel division and rose to the position of special assistant to Assistant Secretary Averell Harriman. In the late 1950s he joined the Foreign Service and served in Bonn, Ottawa and Madrid as counselor for administration.

After his retirement in 1968, he moved to Ormond Beach, Fla., where he was active in civic affairs through the United Way, the Bethune-Cookman College Board of Counselors, and several foreign affairs organizations.

Survivors include his wife, Barbara of Ormond Beach; a daughter, Sally Leuer of Midland, Ga.; three grandchildren and seven great-grandchildren.

Irvin S. Lippe, 84, a retired FSO, died of kidney failure Feb. 26 in Vero Beach, Fla.

Born in Zanesville, Ohio, and raised in Rochester, N.Y., Mr. Lippe graduated from the University of Illinois in 1938 with a degree in journalism. He went to work as a reporter for the *Indianapolis Times* and later pursued his interest in labor union development at the *Ohio Teamster*. In 1946 he moved to the Brotherhood of Railroad Trainmen where he founded and edited the *Trainman News*.

In 1951, Mr. Lippe joined the State Department as one of the first labor attachés. His posts included Havana, Singapore, Brussels, Geneva, Paris and London, as well as Washington, D.C. He retired in 1974.

After retirement, he worked as a public relations officer for the International Labor Organization in New York and later as a court reporter for the Doylestown, Pa., newspaper. Mr. Lippe was a member of the American Newspaper Guild and the National Press Club.

Survivors include a daughter, Laurie of San Francisco; two sons, Stuart and Michael, both retired FSOs of Washington, D.C.; five grandchildren; and one great-grandchild.

James M. McDonald, Jr., 75, a retired USIA FSO, died of cancer April 1 at the Swedish Hospital in Seattle, Wash.

Mr. McDonald was born in Chicago, received his AB cum laude from Syracuse University and his MA from the Johns Hopkins School of Advanced International Studies. During World War II he served in the Pacific as an officer bombardier in the Army Air Corps.

His Foreign Service career began in 1950 with tours in Germany and France followed by studies at the Johns Hopkins European Center in Bologna, Italy. He later served as public affairs officer in Nicaragua and the Dominican Republic and assistant public affairs officer in Rome. He also graduated from the National War College.

He received USIA's Superior Honor Award and the Santa Cecilia Award from Italian state radio and television. In 1974 Mr. McDonald used his knowledge of the Dominican Republic and his negotiating skills as head of a team to rescue six hostages in the Dominican Republic. All were freed unharmed.

Retiring in 1975, he became manager of the International Program of the Batelle Seattle Research Center. He was a community activist and served as president of the Seattle Opera.

Survivors include his wife, Elizabeth Sharpe McDonald; three daughters, Megan McDonald O'Keefe, Melissa Johnson, and Rebecca McDonald; and three grandsons, all of Seattle.

Charles Donald Parker, 80, a retired FSO, died April 10 in Burdette Tomlin Memorial Hospital in Cape May Court House, N.J.

Born in Timonium, Md., in 1918, Mr. Parker received his BS from Hampton Institute in 1939. After serving in the Army in World War II, he taught secondary school in Baltimore. In 1949 he received his MA from the University of Pennsylvania. During the Korean War he was recalled to the Army, serving from 1950 to 1952. He then returned to teaching in Baltimore where he was also in the Army Reserve and a member of the Maryland National Guard. He retired from the army in 1971 with the rank of lt. colonel.

In 1966, Mr. Parker retired from teaching and joined USAID as an

education adviser and later a program officer. His foreign postings included Saigon, Monrovia and Lagos. After retiring from the Foreign Service in 1981, he worked as a consultant for Parker/Van Rensalier Associates.

He was a member of several organizations such as the Macedonia Baptist Church, the U.S. Reserve Officers Association, the NAACP and the Omega Psi Phi Fraternity. He was buried in Arlington National Cemetery.

Survivors include his wife, Alma V. Parker; a daughter, Elizabeth Anne Cosby of Baltimore; a son, William V. Parker of West Cape May; a brother, Warren W. Parker of Baltimore; and four grandchildren.

Mary Jane Sherman, 75, wife of retired FSO William Sherman, died of respiratory failure related to acute leukemia on March 21 at Reston Hospital in Virginia.

Mrs. Sherman was born in Louisville, Ky., and attended the University of Louisville, where she met her husband. They married in Boulder, Colo., where he was studying Japanese at the Navy School of Oriental Languages at the University of Colorado. After World War II, when her husband joined the Foreign Service, Mrs. Sherman accompanied him on tours to Korea, Japan and Italy.

An avid amateur actor, she organized dramatic groups in embassies in Japan and Italy, and provided English soundtrack voices for characters in several Japanese films. She was also an acting student at HB studios in N.Y. While living in Japan, she served as a volunteer counselor for the Tokyo English Life Line, a telephone hotline for English speaking residents and travelers.

In addition to her husband, survivors include her daughter, Courtney Simon of Bedford, N.Y.; two sons, John Sherman of Columbus, Ohio, and Woodson Sherman of Charlottesville, Va.; and four grandchildren.

Ben S. Stephansky, 85, a retired FSO and ambassador, died of lymphoma April 17 at his home in Washington, D.C.

Born in Kiev, Ukraine (then a part of the Russian Empire), Mr. Stephansky was raised in Milwaukee. In 1939 he graduated from the University of Wisconsin in Madison where he received three degrees, including a doctorate in labor economics. After university, he worked as research director for the Central Wisconsin Council of the Teamsters Union, as an economist for the War Production Board and as a consultant to an assistant secretary of labor, as well as teaching at Sarah Lawrence College and the Universities of Wisconsin and Chicago.

Mr. Stephansky joined the Foreign Service and went to his first foreign assignment in Mexico City as labor attaché in 1952. In 1957 Mr. Stephansky worked in the department as labor adviser in the Bureau of Inter-American Affairs. In 1961 he was appointed ambassador to Bolivia. Returning to Washington in 1963, he served in various roles, including deputy assistant secretary for Latin America, ambassador to the Organization of American States and to the Inter-American Committee on the Alliance for Progress and executive director of the Presidential Commission on the Status of Puerto Rico. He retired in 1968.

After leaving the Department of State, he worked with the Ford Foundation, became director of the Washington office of the W.E. Upjohn Institute for Employment Research, and served as the administrator of the Washington office of the Commonwealth of Puerto Rico. He was a senior fellow for the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace and co-chair of the Latin American task force of the McGovern presidential campaign. In the 1970s he worked with the International League for Human Rights investigating abuses in Paraguay and he monitored an election in Nicaragua in the 1980s.

Survivors include his wife, Anne Edelman of Washington; two sons, Evan of Alexandria, Va. and Tom of Denver; a daughter, Kate, of Olney, Md.; and two grandchildren. ■

REAL ESTATE

REAL ESTATE

DEDICATED TO SERVING THE REAL ESTATE NEEDS OF THE FOREIGN SERVICE COMMUNITY

Diplomat Properties

Returning to Washington?

House Hunting doesn't have to be a Hassle! Work with ***Anne Gomez***

- **15 YEARS EXPERIENCE**
- **KNOWLEDGE OF THE REAL ESTATE MARKET**
- **KNOWLEDGE OF YOUR SPECIAL NEEDS**
- **MULTIPLE LISTING**
- **BUYER BROKER OPTION**

Write or FAX **Anne Gomez** for a Free Welcome Kit.

Diplomat Properties also Specializes in Personalized Property Management.

Anne Gomez, *Broker*

Owned and Operated by a Former Foreign Service Family

DIPLOMAT PROPERTIES, INC.
3900 N. Fairfax Drive, #204
Arlington, VA 22203
(Near Virginia Square Metro)

(703) 522-5900 **FAX (703) 525-4713**

Northern Virginia Homes
Property Management Division

11094-A Lee Highway, Suite 103 • Fairfax, Virginia 22030
703-934-8800 • Fax 703-934-8802

RESIDENTIAL PROPERTY MANAGEMENT

Visit our NEW & IMPROVED web site for detailed information

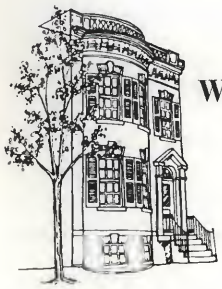
www.northernvahomes.com/propmgmt.htm

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

E-Mail: harlandstine@northernvahomes.com

EXPERT PROPERTY MANAGEMENT

Houses and Apartments



in

Washington, D.C.

Maryland

and

Virginia

EQUAL HOUSING

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

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

If you had clicked here, you would be home by now!

http://www.simunek.com

The Simunek TEAM

- About The Simunek Team
- Send Us E-Mail
- Get Our Newsletter
- View Our Listings
- Search For Your Dream Home
- Virtual Tours Of Homes
- Home Buyer & Seller Guides
- Get A Free School Report
- Temporary Housing
- Neighborhood Focus
- Mortgage Information
- Property Management
- Contact Info
- HOME

Talk to The Simunek Team!

Email:Simunek@aol.com

D.C.& MD Direct Line: 202-296-4304 Virginia Direct Line: 703-284-9365

Zorita & Richard Simunek, Rochelle Ruffin- Client Care Specialist, Tachiea Roland- Listing Coordinator

NO OBLIGATION TDY HOME TOUR

Coming to Washington? Let's visit some homes for sale! Sure makes homebuying easier later on!

FREE Simunek Homebuying Guide $29.95 Value

FREE Simunek Homeselling Guide $29.95 Value

Unlike much more expensive home buying guides found in bookstores, this amazing guide provides information on Washington, Virginia, and Maryland Lenders, contract forms, home inspectors, community first time home buying programs, interest saving tips, schools and more.

FREE PERSONALIZED HOMES FOR SALE MAGAZINE

Better than the internet! Internet home sales data are disorganized and not summarized by neighborhood and price and often out of date. Detail information is lacking. But not your personalized magazine!

REAL ESTATE

RHR PROPERTIES

SALES, LEASING
& PROPERTY MANAGEMENT

From Nairobi to Tokyo to Recife,
Foreign Service agents trust their homes to
RHR Properties.

- Experienced at meeting the needs of foreign service agents and their families
- Monthly account statements
- Regular inspections
- Handyman services

Call today to safeguard your most valued asset with a firm dedicated to providing you with the best service available

Office (301) 654-1400 Fax (301) 654-1426
4405 East-West Highway #306 Bethesda, Maryland 20814
e-mail: rhrprops@aol.com
Montgomery County, Northwest D.C.,and Northern VA

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
Garret Piekney
Diane Gallick

Hello!

As a Foreign Service Spouse of 32 years and a licensed Realtor of 22 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
Website: www.homes-foreign-service.com

REGUARD

Property Management Services

For Homes in
Arlington, Falls Church, McLean & Tysons Corner

Reliable Services & Reasonable Fees

REGUARD'S Fees Include:

• Base Management Fee	$100/Month
• Leasing Fee	$250/Lease
• Lease Renewal Fee	$150/Lease

With An Emphasis On....

- Preserving & Protecting Your Home
- Dealing Directly With The Property Manager
- Keeping You Informed
- Working Hard For You, Late Into The Evening & On The Weekend

Tel: U.S.A. (703) 841-9446
Fax: U.S.A. (703) 558-9766

A Shrewd Choice For a Few Select Homes

RETIRE OR JUST RELAX IN BEAUTIFUL WESTERN MONTANA

I can help you find the perfect home in the mountains or on the lake within minutes to Missoula, a lively University town with first class health facilities and a convenient international airport with links to all major cities. I am experienced in dealing with State Department Personnel, and can help you find your luxurious lodge on the lake, or that cabin next to a mountain stream. Contact me for your free brochure on western Montana.

LAMBROS Real Estate
1001 S. Higgins Ave.
MISSOULA, MT 59801
Tel. 406 523 9200
Fax 406 523 9330
TOLL FREE 888 735-7653
E-mail tgress@lambros.com

Tom L. Gress
Broker

REAL ESTATE

ADVERTISING INDEX

When contacting one of our advertisers, kindly mention you saw their advertisement in the Foreign Service Journal.

REAL ESTATE

POSTCARD FROM ABROAD

Sailing the Volga

BY NICOLE PREVOST LOGAN

For a decade my late husband, Alan Logan, led a lonely crusade to open Russia's inland waterways to foreign sailboats. Today, the waters are open, but bureaucratic obstacles, unreasonable fees and fear of violence have kept all but a few adventurous and obstinate yachtsmen off them.

So, last summer, when I heard that two Dutch boats were spending 45 days navigating from the Baltic Sea to the Black Sea, a distance of some 1,700 miles, I decided to join them for ten days as a way to celebrate Alan's accomplishments. We met at the Yaroslav Yacht Club, an enclosure scattered with wooden cabins and rusting metal debris 200 miles north of Moscow on the Volga. Five of us settled into berths on *Lacatrine*, a 32-foot sloop, and *Zeewolf*, a 40-footer with sails and a powerful motor. We were joined by Vlad, the club's manager, who brought with him white wine, smoked beef and kvas, a drink fermented from brown bread and spring water.

The Volga's formidable currents force sailors to follow well-marked channels and maneuver among cargo ships, giant tankers and barges laden with lumber, cement and grain. A savage squall can come up any time, as one did one day after lunch. We were anchored in the middle of an open bay when black clouds turned the sky black. As the wind whistled viciously and hail dropped, the *Lacatrine*'s engine failed and her anchor started slipping. We threw her a line from the *Zeewolf* and motored toward the main channel. Bobbing up and down among the Volga's white caps and tumultuous waters we saw two heads, so we pulled two men from harm. Their crude metal motor boat had capsized and was rapidly sinking, leaving the two fishermen struggling in the current.

We met at the Yaroslav Yacht Club, an enclosure scattered with wooden cabins and rusting metal debris.

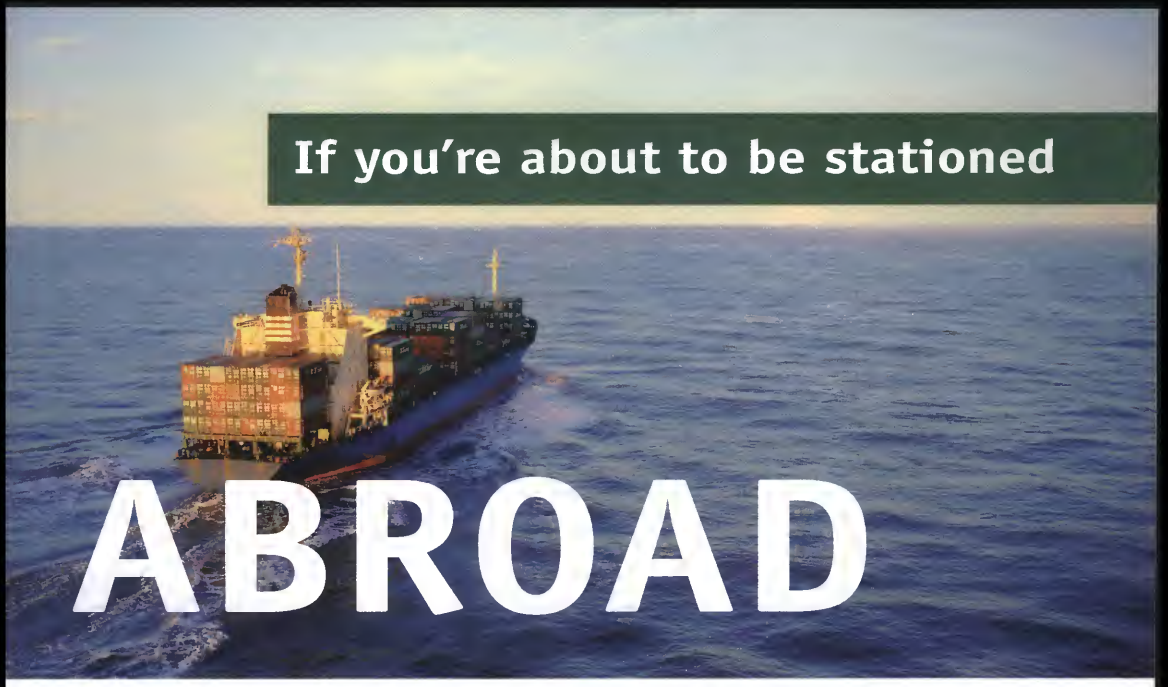
Against Vlad's warnings, we spent the night hitched to a ferry landing. During the night, we felt our boats moving, heard loud voices and saw spotlights piercing the thick fog. A ferry was trying to dock at our spot, so its pilot had simply moved us, unloaded his passengers and tucked us back into our sleeping berth.

In Purech we found a protected mooring next to a drab apartment building and tied ourselves to a tugboat. Alexander, the captain, joined us for drinks and told us of his life on fishing boats from Argentina to Senegal. Since leaving Estonia in 1992, he had supplemented his meager salary by running a summer rowing camp for boys and girls. The youths row upstream eight hours a day, then eat and sleep in the tug's grim interior. We spent that evening downstream at the Nizhny Novgorod Yacht Club, which came to life as businessmen and civil servants shed their work clothes, puttered on their boats, put up their sails or sat down for a beer and a chat.

For dinner that evening we stayed on board, where the club's commodore and his deputy joined us and offered to help plot the journey to Saratov and Volgograd. "These are too old," they said, examining our maritime maps. "There has been a shift in the sand banks." They produced new charts and offered them to us, an incredible gesture since these maps are precious.

Nizhy Novgorod was my last stop before returning to Moscow. I left Russia three days before the collapse of the ruble last August. My Dutch friends later wrote me that they did not feel the crisis. Apart from urban centers, the Volga continues to flow quietly through immutable Russia. ■

Nicole Prevost Logan is the widow of FSO Alan Logan. The stamp is courtesy of the AAFSW Bookfair "Stamp Corner."



this is your insurance plan.

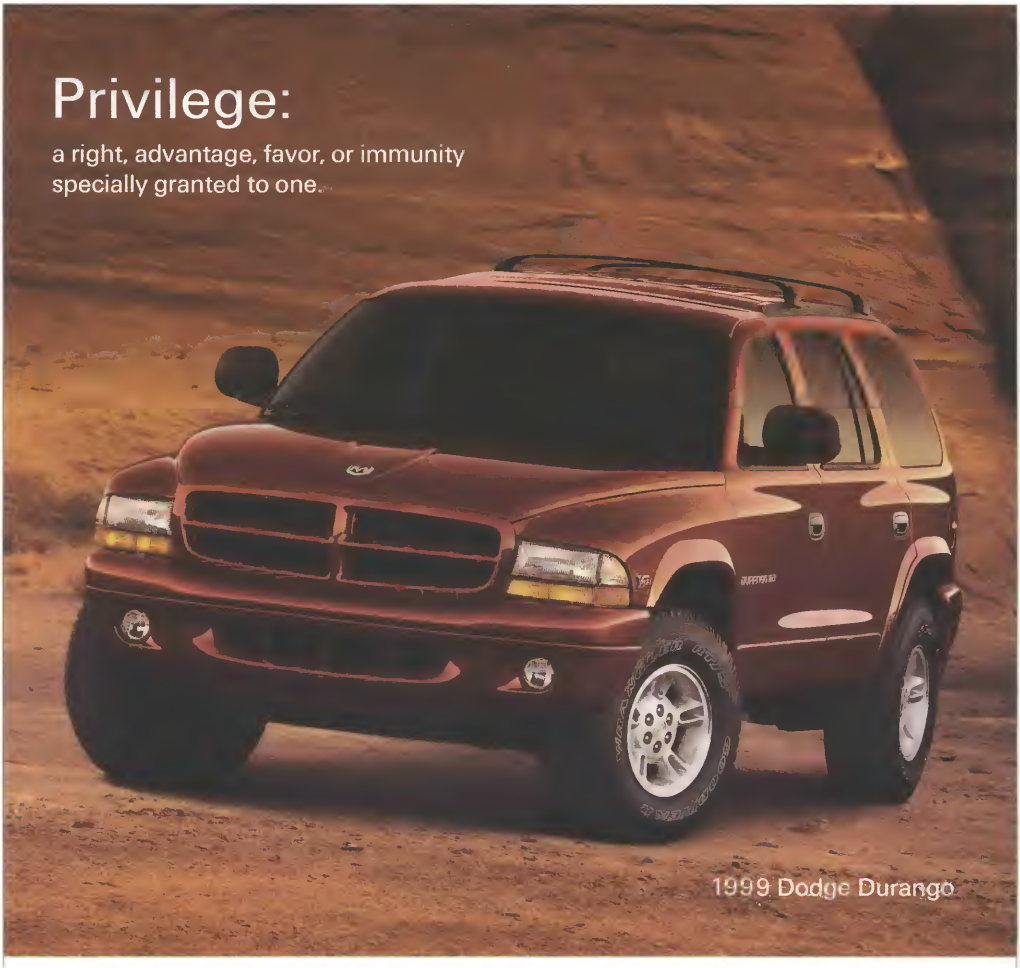
The "all-risk" AFSA Insurance Plan.

Specifically designed for members of the American Foreign Service Association on active duty abroad. With the coverage you get under the U.S. Government Claims Act, if your furniture or personal items are lost or destroyed, you could find yourself overseas and under covered. In fact, the government encourages employees to buy private insurance. If you rely solely on the Claims Act, you may not adequately protect personal articles like jewelry, furs and fine arts. You'll have no coverage if you're not on government business. And, you'll have no coverage for personal liability.

Through the AFSA Plan, your insured possessions will be covered up to the limit of your choice. You can insure yourself against personal liability, and you'll be covered whether on business or pleasure. Coverage is available at the same low rate, wherever you're assigned, worldwide. Can you afford to travel overseas without this additional low-cost protection?

You have enough to worry about. Let us take care of your insurance. Send for your free brochure with built-in application today. Or, fax or call our AFSA Desk for immediate answers to your questions.

AFSA Desk, The Hirshorn Company
14 East Highland Avenue, Philadelphia, PA 19118 www.hirshorn.com
Phone: 215-242-8200 or 800-242-8221 • DC area: 202-457-0250 • Fax: 215-247-6366



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

Choose from the full line of 1999 Chrysler 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's the easy, money-saving way to start enjoying DaimlerChrysler's many advantages. Contact us via: Phone: (U.S.) (516) 496-1806; Fax: (516) 677-3701; E-mail: diplosales@aol.com. In the U.S., call 1-800-877-7083.

See our Web site: www.diplosales.com

Jeep is a registered trademark of DaimlerChrysler.

DAIMLERCHRYSLER
Expect the extraordinary
Diplomatic Sales