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PRESIDENT'S VIEWS

Challenges for a New Board

BY MARSHALL ADAIR

As we approach the end of this century, our diplomatic profession and our nation face serious challenges. The end of the Cold War, rapid changes in technology, and the pressures of domestic politics are all changing the dynamic of our approach to foreign affairs. The practice of diplomacy has a more immediate impact on our society. It is more familiar, more accessible and more closely scrutinized than in previous decades. Those who practice it are becoming more important to daily life in this country. Unfortunately, they are also becoming more vulnerable overseas, and, ironically, less respected and less supported at home.

With the end of the Cold War, we lack a sense of national direction in international affairs. International initiatives often come from the private sector, and there is less perceived need for a professional diplomatic corps with specific skills and disciplines.

In the 21st century, however, our nation will need more than ever a competent, dedicated professional diplomatic corps. We need experienced people in the field to keep track of trends and give advance notice of new developments — people with strong intercultural and negotiation skills to represent broad U.S. interests in increasingly complex situations, and trained public administrators to manage the multiplicity of U.S. poli-

Marshall Adair is the president of the American Foreign Service Association.

*AFSA must lead
both as a union
and as a
professional
association.*



cies, resources and agencies overseas.

We must recruit the best. We must provide for and protect members of our diplomatic service, and we must train and educate them to be better than they have been in the past, and better than their counterparts around the world.

AFSA has a unique role to play. It must serve simultaneously as a union, protecting the interests of Foreign Service officers and specialists, and as a professional association, developing and promoting the standards of the profession. The new Governing Board must concentrate on four areas: advocacy for the membership; service to the membership; development of long-term professional issues; and outreach to the public.

The service cannot recruit the best candidates or retain the qualified professionals it has unless it meets the highest standards of protecting, caring for and rewarding its people. Today, improved security from terrorist attacks is a primary requirement, and AFSA must continue to press both executive and legislative branches to provide the

necessary resources for the job.

Consolidation of the foreign affairs agencies will require constant attention well after implementation of the initial agreements for integrating USIA and ACDA into State. Strong efforts are needed to reverse the erosion of benefits related to allowances, schooling, and overseas healthcare, and to improve policies on spousal employment and other family matters. AFSA must also continue and improve the direct services that it provides to its members and to the Foreign Service more broadly.

Many studies have been done on current management issues. Less thought has been devoted to what kind of professional diplomatic service our nation needs and how it can be supported over time in the context of our political system. As a professional association, AFSA should be and will be on the front lines of defending, defining and promoting the professional diplomatic service. In particular, I believe we need a significant improvement and expansion of training, including a recognized academic discipline of diplomatic studies similar to those developed for the legal and medical professions, and I will address this issue in future columns.

Little can be accomplished without improving public awareness and support for the diplomatic profession. The last Governing Board made good progress in this area with programs like Elderhostel. The new Board is determined to pursue outreach on a wide front. ■

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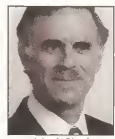
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LETTERS

The nuclear power solution

You are to be commended for the extensive articles about global warming in the March issue of the *Journal*.

I was, however, greatly disappointed that none of your authors chose to point out that the use of nuclear power in lieu of fossil fuels can be the largest, most practical way for the world to minimize the release of carbon dioxide into the atmosphere. Should we be able to use nuclear-generated electricity for transportation, such as electric automobiles and high speed trains, we could do even more to alleviate the problem.

If environmentalists are worthy of their name, they need to embrace nuclear power as the best way to tackle the global warming problem over the longer term, Kyoto Protocol or no Kyoto Protocol.

*Robert H. Wilcox
Science counselor, retired
Augusta, Ga.*

Benefits for Gay Partners

FSO Manish Mishra's March 1999 Speaking Out, "Equal Benefits for Equal Relationships," focuses only on employee benefits and non-discrimination. Overall U.S. foreign policy

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.

interests also support bringing gay and lesbian partners under Chief of Mission (COM) authority by extending Eligible Family Member (EFM) status to them. (And, yes, in our culture, that means paying for it, on the same basis as heterosexual married spouses.)

While Washington dithers, real gay and lesbian Foreign Service personnel are already bringing partners overseas (not just to Western Europe), but without the protections of COM authority and diplomatic status. The same foreign policy reasons for which we seek diplomatic status for heterosexual married spouses apply equally to gay and lesbian partners as well as other family members. If asked, some countries would extend diplomatic status to gay and lesbian partners.

Section 205 of the Foreign Service Act mandates that the secretary shall consult with the Office of Personnel Management and the Office of Management and Budget to ensure compatibility of the Foreign Service personnel system with other USG personnel systems, to the extent practicable. A key difference between domestic and overseas service is the fact that COM authority does not apply in the U.S., while it is a key element of U.S. foreign policy overseas.

This flexibility in the Foreign Service Act presumably allows the USG to extend EFM status to parents (who are not included in the medical program), request visas for domestic employees of Foreign Service personnel assigned overseas, and even for

embassy welcome messages to describe local procedures to import pets. The intent of Congress is clear that the secretary have the authority, in consultation with OPM and OMB, to take into account certain unique features of overseas service.

Notwithstanding this express authority, the director general has stated that the Foreign Service is bound by the OPM definition of "family" (supposedly excluding unmarried same-sex partners) to define EFM status and, therefore, the extent of COM authority overseas. If the Foreign Service is so unique and special, as the director general frequently claims, why does the department passively accept as binding a domestic agency's power to define something so fundamental to U.S. foreign policy as the extent of COM authority over-

Call for Artifacts

The Historian's Office at State is asking people to lend or donate items that can be displayed at the Hall of Diplomacy, an exhibit on U.S. diplomatic history that is being upgraded. Items can range from flags flown at significant moments, to decorative objects, to political cartoons, to formal wear, to tools used in USAID projects.

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seas? While I have great respect for OPM's professional public servants, I wonder whether anyone at OPM defining "family" even knows what chief of mission authority is.

The department already allows unmarried heterosexual partners of foreign diplomats to remain in the U.S. in tourist (B-2) status for the duration of the diplomat's assignment. It should immediately extend the same privilege to gay and lesbian partners of foreign diplomats in the U.S., as well as instruct U.S. embassies to seek similar arrangements, when asked, for gay and lesbian partners of U.S. Foreign Service personnel assigned overseas.

If congressional action is required to include gay and lesbian partners under COM authority overseas, then the secretary should seek it. Some senators and representatives who do not support the principle of legislated non-discrimination on the basis of sexual orientation, nevertheless do support a coherent and well-managed U.S. foreign policy under the authority of the secretary of State, at home and abroad.

Karl Olson
FSO
Department of State

Don't Forget the DOD

I was intrigued with David Buss's comment ("Unrecognized Family Members" in "Letters," June 1999): "Employees of no other U.S. government agency, however, face the financial and emotional hardships of a Foreign Service career."

Mr. Buss have you ever heard of the Department of Defense? I would think they count themselves as one of the largest of the U.S. government "agencies."

I am a veteran of more than 12 years in the U.S. Army and over 14 years with State. My entry salary with the Department of State was the equal of my pay and benefits package

after 12 years of service and five promotions in the Army.

The Army's assignment process was simple. You filled in a form and indicated the geographical location you preferred. They immediately sent you to the other end of the world. With State we actually get to pick a city. The Army has more places to choose from — unfortunately, many are on a mountaintop on unaccompanied tours.

Both "agencies" have their pros and cons, but your remark indicates you may not have had a great deal of other experiences. In our most recent history we had and have thousands of U.S. military working throughout the former Yugoslavia, while their families, stationed elsewhere, worry. I have traveled enough with State to know it is not a piece of cake, but it really doesn't compare to our colleagues in DOD.

Richard E. McCormick
Information Management
Officer
AIT Taipei

Voodoo Worked for Us

In a recent issue of the *Journal* I noticed that Sen. Jesse Helms had written Secretary Albright that he would not stand in the way of AID programs for Haiti as long as she agreed that no funds be provided directly or indirectly to any group whose programs include producing material intended to be used in any voodoo ceremony. I can't say whether the senator's objections to voodoo are well founded.

I must report, however, another incident in which the employment of a witch doctor (in this case a "bomoh") in a small way advanced U.S. interests.

In Malaysia in the summer of 1975, our brilliant and vastly experienced ambassador, Frank Underhill, had gone on home leave, leaving me, his new-to-Southeast Asia deputy chief of mission, in charge. As July 4 approached, my wife and I began to

LETTERS

worry about preparations for the traditional Independence Day reception that would be held in our garden.

At the end of June we were invited to a garden party at the Royal Palace. As we and other assembled dignitaries stood in the palace's lush tropical gardens the skies opened, and a torrential downpour flooded the garden. I slipped off my shoes and stood in approximately four inches of water, trying to uphold the dignity of the United States by looking nonchalant. It was harder for some of the ladies who were expensively dressed and wearing high-heeled shoes. Afterwards, I was told that there was considerable embarrassment at the palace because the services of Kuala Lumpur's best bomoh had been employed to prevent just such an occurrence. He had failed.

Since my wife and I did not want the American reputation for hospitality to be sullied by guests sloshing around in our flooded garden, I did what any seasoned Foreign Service officer would have done: I consulted my driver. Basar explained that what had gone wrong at the palace was that the royal family had felt constrained to hire a Malay bomoh from Kuala Lumpur to ward off rain, while in fact the best bomohs came from the Chinese town of Ipoh, some 45 miles to the north. He agreed to find us a bomoh in order to protect the best interests of the United States during the upcoming July 4th celebration. When I told Basar I was not only concerned about my party, but about the traditional American style picnic to be held the following day on the grounds of the KL International School, he observed that I was asking a lot. He would do his best, however.

A couple of days later Basar came to me, beaming. The very best bomoh had agreed to come down from Ipoh and take care of our party. It would cost me \$50, but success was

absolutely guaranteed. The Bomoh would also see what he could do about the picnic, a harder proposition, for no additional cost. I accepted immediately.

On July 3 our highly valued senior adviser showed up with a fairly nondescript looking, middle-aged Chinese gent, who walked around our garden frightening away the monkeys, hanging dried red peppers and garlic on the bushes, and muttering. I gave him the \$50, asking for a receipt so I could go argue with our gimlet-eyed administrative officer for reimbursement. I did not see what he did at the International School grounds, but I assume it was the same.

I have to report, and this is the point, Sen. Helms, the reception was a glorious success. It rained all around our garden, but not a drop fell inside until after the last guest left, and then it poured. The next day's picnic was also a glorious success, with fun, games and hot dogs under glowering but dry skies. The finale was near sunset. After a rousing version of the Star Spangled Banner, a marine honor guard marched out and retired the colors. At the end of the moving ceremony, there was a huge thunderclap, and a red (well maybe pink), white and blue rainbow appeared in the sky. It began to rain.

*Robert S. Dillon
Ambassador (retired)
Arlington, Va.*

No Marshall Plan for Poland

Of the four articles on Poland in your June 1999 issue, "From Triumphalism to Reality" most closely reflected my experience at Embassy Warsaw from 1993 to 1995. When I was assigned to Poland as science counselor, I looked forward to having some small role in something like a Marshall Plan. In fact, I was instructed to terminate assistance. Poland's post-Cold War economy has been a success, but it has been an uneven success.

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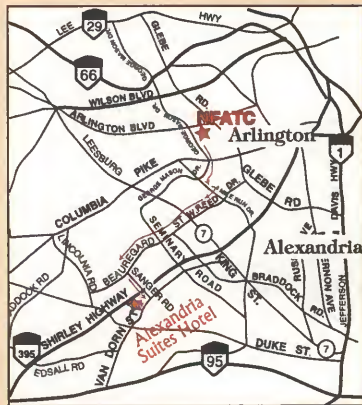
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Prior to the fall of Communism, the Warsaw Science Office had run a joint science cooperation program, the Maria Sklodowska Curie Fund, for almost 20 years. Shortly before my arrival, the U.S. and Poland had signed a new agreement to continue the fund for another five years. I was instructed to tell the Poles that the U.S. was withdrawing from the program due to budget cuts. The Poles, with a much smaller science budget, were willing to fund their half of the program. The agreement allowed either party to withdraw if it was unable to find funds; the U.S. relied on that clause to end its cooperation. Although the Poles did not object to the legality of the U.S. claim, they recognized that it was a fiction; the U.S. was not broke. The Foreign Ministry

berated me, as the representative of the U.S. government, for bad faith and stinginess.

Polish scientists were in the odd situation of having been better off under the Communist government, which had funded scientific research more generously. For me, the worst aspect of the U.S. cutoff was the complete disregard for those who had stood up for the U.S. and democratic ideals during the bad old communist days. Back then, scientists who visited or cooperated with the U.S. were often subjected to harassment, like that described in Dick Virden's article, but we dumped them unceremoniously shortly after the fall of the Berlin wall.

Although our approach seemed to be even-handed, it ended up favoring

the former communists, because they were so much better situated to take advantage of economic reforms; contacts were often worth more than money. Meanwhile, our old buddies got little for their friendship with the U.S.

After World War II we provided huge amounts of assistance to Europe, despite the fact that the U.S. economy was still recovering from years of depression and war. At the end of the Cold War, with America's economy on a tremendous roll, I was disappointed to have been the representative of such a parsimonious, ungenerous country as the U.S. turned out to be during my tour in Poland.

James W. Chamberlin
FSO, retired
Lakewood, Colo. ■



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CLIPPINGS



"The World Bank recently reported that an extra \$10 billion in aid annually could lift 25 million people out of poverty if the money was directed to countries with sound fiscal policies and a healthy public sector. While more countries are meeting these criteria, total development assistance worldwide from industrialized countries has dropped by one-third since 1991, with Washington leading that decline. The trend is tragic given how much needs to be done to help the more than one billion people in extreme poverty who live on less than \$1 a day."

THE NEW YORK TIMES
EDITORIAL PAGE,
JULY 10, 1999

THIS JUST IN — HISTORY CONTINUES

In 1989, one-time State Department policy planner Francis Fukuyama (now a professor of public policy at George Mason University) created a significant stir with his article "The End of History?" Writing in the journal *The National Interest*, Fukuyama declared that with the Communist challenge fading fast, it had become clear that "liberal democracy and a market-oriented economy are the only viable options for modern societies."

Fukuyama explained that he was speaking of "history" in a Hegelian/Marxist sense. Just as Marx had once predicted that history would end with the triumph of communism, Fukuyama, turning Marxism on its head, predicted the universal triumph of liberal capitalism. The article provoked numerous strong reactions, including many who said his view reflected a shortsighted Western triumphalism.

Ten years later, Fukuyama is back to acknowledge that he was wrong. In an essay, "Second Thoughts," in the summer 1999 *National Interest*, he surveys the past 10 years. He admits that the economic crisis that set back East Asia and Russia in 1997-98 has been disturbing — but that's not why he's recanting. (He still thinks liberal capitalism will win out.)

Rather, Fukuyama points to the fast-breaking revolution in biotechnology, including genetic engineering that will soon be able to change human nature. Add to that the ever-increasing array of pharmaceuticals that can alter personality, and, Fukuyama says, we are on the verge of something immense and frightening: "We will have definitively finished human History because we will have abolished

human beings as such. And then, a new, posthuman history will begin."

From the end of history to the end of humanity: Fukuyama can't be accused of thinking small.

DOES NAFTA COVER WATER EXPORTS?

"Canada is a future OPEC of water. ... By 2010, Canada will be exporting large quantities of fresh water to the United States, and more by tanker to parched nations all over the globe." As Aaron Freeman reports in the April 1999 issue of *Multinational Monitor* magazine, the fact that Canada is blessed with a fifth of the world's fresh water supply has enticed many companies, both local and foreign, to try to make that vision a reality. The company that has raised the most hackles in the process, Sun Belt Water, is based in California.

In 1991, Freeman recounts, Sun Belt signed an agreement with a British Columbian firm, Snowcap Waters, to ship water from there to California. After a public outcry, the provincial government intervened and placed a moratorium on bulk water exports by container ship. The two companies then sued the government for interference with trade; Snowcap settled but Sun Belt brought an action under the North American Free Trade Agreement seeking \$220 million in damages on the grounds that the firm had not received "fair and equitable treatment."

That language comes straight out of the NAFTA treaty, yet as Freeman explains, NAFTA is maddeningly ambiguous about whether water qualifies as a "good" whose export is covered under the agreement, or



CLIPPINGS

a "service," which is covered under a separate provision.

Responding to Canadian concerns on this very point, the three treaty signatories — Canada, Mexico, and the United States — issued a joint statement in December 1993 asserting that NAFTA provisions do not apply to fresh water unless "it has entered into commerce and become a good or product." The three countries further stipulated that "Water in its natural state in lakes, rivers, reservoirs, aquifers, water-basins and the like is not a good or product."

Unfortunately for Canada's position, Freeman observes, it is unclear whether a NAFTA arbitration panel will interpret that language as binding. At a minimum, there already is consensus that if just one province starts exporting bulk water, that transaction would likely vitiate the country's ability to block any subsequent water exports under the agreement.

Mindful of this danger, in February 1999 Ottawa requested that each province place a voluntary moratorium on water exports while the central government draws up legislation to halt all such exports. However, Quebec and Newfoundland have refused to sign on to the moratorium, and each is pursuing separate deals with foreign water companies which may well beat federal legislation into effect.

MILOSEVIC PLAYS THE 'GREEN CARD'

Last spring, when NATO decided to bomb Kosovo, the most conflicted participants in the Western alliance were undoubtedly the German Greens. The Green Party, the junior partner in a ruling coalition with the Social Democrats, has

roots in the German peace movement, which made it politically difficult for Green Foreign Minister Joschka Fischer to support the bombing campaign.

Ludger Vollmer, deputy foreign minister and also a Green, explained the anguish his party felt in voting for a military option, in a statement published in the fall 1999 issue of the Green journal *Synthesis/Regeneration*. Vollmer emphasized that Foreign Minister Fischer played an essential, though hidden, role in pressing for the Rambouillet negotiation which almost averted the conflict.

Vollmer expressed bitter criticism of the Yugoslav attempt to split the Western allies using the German Greens as a wedge. "During the transition period from the Kohl to the Schroder government, Milosevic clearly 'played the Green card.' ... Shortly before the end of the negotiations in Rambouillet, a high Yugoslav official sought me out to split the Western alliance by way of the Greens. On the basis of my pacifist positions, he tried to get me to terminate the coalitional consensus. With reference to the war crimes of the Nazis in Serbia, he demanded that Germany break out of the Western alliance."

But, Vollmer says, the combined responsibilities of being part of the ruling German coalition and of Germany's being an integral part of the NATO alliance gave the anguished ex-activists no way out. "We Greens have been forced to witness our pacifism being systematically factored into the calculations of a criminal and of state terrorists. They wanted to use us against our actual will, in fact to turn us into collaborators by using our refusal to resort to force of arms as a strategic element in their policy of eradication.

"If, however, criminal forces consciously try to play our love of peace off against our

50 YEARS AGO

"I have often thought that if I had to spend 20 years in Madras, Dakar and Pernambuco, I would inevitably acquire that reverence for the regulations, that dislike for the public and that fondness for the bottle which are so frequent and so deplorable [in the Foreign Service]."

—FROM

"SOME THOUGHTS
ON SERVICE MORALE"
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IN THE OCTOBER
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That's right, the *Foreign Service Journal* is jumping on the fin de siècle, Y2K bandwagon with a contest to engage the hearts and minds of Foreign Service officers and like-minded types.

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The Editorial Board of the *Journal*, sitting in camera, will determine the winning entries. The results of the contest will be published in the *Journal* early in 2000.

**The judges have already determined that bombing the Chinese embassy in Belgrade was not, strictly speaking, a diplomatic act, and will not be considered as a contest entry.*



"The only [means] by which a state, aware of its weakness, can preserve the status quo without exhausting its resources ... [is] the creation of a moral consensus."

HENRY A. KISSINGER, 1964. KISSINGER WAS THEN A PROFESSOR AT THE HARVARD UNIVERSITY CENTER FOR INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS.

humanity, the point will eventually be reached for us political pacifists when our love of peace will have exhausted itself."

THE DIPLOMATIC DISCOUNTS QUESTION

Foreign Service officers who flash their diplomatic passports at luxury-car dealerships in the Washington area have long been able to obtain substantial discounts (usually in the range of 9-10 percent), a perk those companies have enthusiastically advertised in the *Foreign Service Journal* and other periodicals. However, FSOs may be violating a little-known 1994 ethics ruling by doing so, reports Charles Babcock in the Aug. 4 *Washington Post*.

The problem is not the discounts themselves, but the fact that they are

sometimes made available to only one category of U. S. government workers: those holding diplomatic or official passports. (At the same time, at least one dealer indicated that he gives the same discount to U.S. military personnel, though he acknowledges that not that many soldiers can afford \$40,000 Volvos.)

In addition, many dealers also offer the same discounts to all Washington-based diplomats, World Bank officials and envoys for other international organizations.

Just how many FSOs have received such discounts since State's 1994 ruling went into effect is unclear, though the dealers Babcock interviewed indicated that they sell cars under the program to several dozen U.S. diplomats a year. AFSA's legal counsel is investigating the matter and will provide further guidance to association members. ■

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SPEAKING OUT

Who Gets Central Asia?

BY MICHAEL W. COTTER

The demise of the Soviet Union in 1991 gave rise to 15 new countries on the world stage — and an organizational headache for the Department of State. How would State manage its relations with Russia and the former Soviet republics? More specifically, how would these countries fit into State's structure of regional bureaus?

Since 1991, an ad hoc arrangement has existed that increasingly fails to meet the needs of U.S. policy-makers and of the states in question. Currently, the special advisor to the Secretary for the new independent states (S/NIS) and his small seventh floor staff coordinate policy for that part of the world. On the State Department organizational chart the NIS country offices fall under the European Affairs Bureau (EUR), whose executive office is also responsible for administering the NIS posts overseas. (The three Baltic states, which the U.S. never recognized as part of the Soviet Union, are entirely under EUR and will undoubtedly stay there.)

Recognizing the inadequacy of this patchwork arrangement, State has proposed setting up a new bureau for the states of the former Soviet Union. Questioning the rationale for a new bureau, Senators Jesse Helms (R-N.C.) and Joseph Biden (D-Del.), the chairman and

Michael W. Cotter is a retired FSO. He served as ambassador to Turkmenistan from 1995 to 1998.

*Why State
should divide the
former Soviet
republics between
its European and
South Asian
bureaus.*



ranking Democrat of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, have instead proposed simply placing the NIS countries under EUR for both management and policy direction.

In fact, neither the senators' proposal nor the department's is the best solution. Neither proposal takes into account the enormous changes that have taken place in the former Soviet Union in the past decade, nor the great differences between, say, Ukraine and Tajikistan.

There is a better approach: dividing responsibility for the former Soviet republics between two existing bureaus — Europe and South Asia. I'll explain why my suggestion makes sense.

The Helms-Biden proposal would make EUR a very large bureau, and State might object on that basis. But it is not the sheer number of countries for which EUR would be responsible that is the

problem (the African Bureau would still be larger). Rather, the key problem is that the level of political and economic development and real or potential relationships with the U.S. of some NIS countries differ so much from the EUR "norm" that the bureau would have a difficult time giving appropriate policy attention to them.

EUR is geared toward working with democratic, relatively developed countries which share a common heritage with the U.S. A number of the countries of the former USSR, on the other hand, are at levels of political and economic development that leave them with little in common with Europe.

The department's proposal — to create a new Bureau of Eastern Europe and Eurasia (EEE) — has its own flaws. One is that it would reopen the contentious issue of which countries are in Eastern Europe and which are not. Secondly, the new bureau would inevitably be Russocentric. This is already a matter of concern for many of the countries in the Caucasus and Central Asia, which believe that S/NIS focuses too much on problems of Russia and the western Slavic countries. Moreover, most of these countries want very badly to develop new relationships with the U.S. independent of their historical association with the Soviet empire.

This phenomenon was evident in Central Asia, where I recently served as ambassador to Turkmenistan. The



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SPEAKING OUT

Turkmen would complain regularly to me about the lack of policy attention the department devoted to them and the important issues they faced. (The solution suggested to me by the Turkmen Foreign Minister on several occasions was to have us create a bureau devoted to Central Asia, an unlikely prospect.)

Except for residual concerns about the ultimate intentions of Russia regarding their independence, many policy priorities of the Turkmen and the other Central Asians relate to their southern neighbors rather than to the north. Their priorities are driven both by security concerns (the Afghan civil war and the potential impact of Islamic extremism) and their search for new, shorter trade routes to world markets that don't leave them dependent on their former colonial master.

The "Great Game" Reborn

In the 19th century, Central Asia was the locus of the so-called "Great Game," as the British and Russian empires vied for influence in the region. That contest segued naturally into the Cold War struggle between the West and the USSR.

Some observers suggest that now a new "great game" is afoot, with an entirely new cast of characters — the Russian Federation, Iran, Turkey, Pakistan, India and China — competing for influence. Long-standing ethnic and religious differences are once again re-emerging.

Complicated even more by the presence of nuclear weapons in the region, the potential for world-shattering conflict is perhaps greater in the Asian heartland today than anywhere else on the globe. And in the middle of the cauldron sit Turkmenistan, Uzbekistan, Tajikistan, Kyrgyzstan and Afghanistan.

During my time in Ashgabat many of the issues with which we dealt reflected this new reality. The civil war in Afghanistan did not end with the departure of the Soviets, but instead took on a new ethnic and religious coloration. The competition for transportation routes to move energy resources and other products from land-locked Central Asia to world markets, the competition between Pakistan and India for influence in the region, the introduction of Islamic extremism, and Iran's role in the region all occupied more of our embassy's time than did Turkmenistan's relationship with Russia or other NIS countries.

In fact, my colleagues from Tajikistan and Uzbekistan and I were invited to the South Asia Bureau's 1997 Chiefs of Mission Conference in Dhaka precisely to provide a Central Asian focus on many of the issues discussed at that conference.

How can we address this new geopolitical reality? Rather than creating a new bureau for the NIS countries, the department should assign responsibility for them to existing bureaus based upon their location and orientation. The Central Asian countries (with the possible exception of Kazakhstan, which shares a long border with Russia and has a large Russian population) should go to the South Asia Bureau, which would be redesignated the Bureau of South and Central Asian Affairs (SCA). Russia, the western Slavic and the Caucasus states would join EUR.

This realignment would have advantages for all concerned. It would avoid the necessity (and cost) of creating yet another bureau, while not overloading any existing bureau with excessive new responsibilities. Incorporating Russia into

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SPEAKING OUT

Adding the five countries of Central Asia to the South Asia bureau makes sense organizationally and geopolitically.

EUR would underline our conviction that it is and must be a European country. The Western Slavic and Caucasus countries have historic ties to Europe and see themselves as European, and by incorporating them in EUR we would reinforce that connection.

At the same time, we should consider moving Iran from the Near East Bureau to the new SCA. Such a move would reflect the importance of Iran in solving the Afghan conflict, in exporting Central Asia's significant energy resources, and in dealing with South Asia's difficult security situation. It would also be another, incremental step in placing our relationship with Iran on a new footing.

Adding five countries to the South Asia Bureau would make it less of an anomaly among the State Department's geographic bureaus. It is by far the smallest geographic bureau, with only six countries under its direction, and still shares an executive office with the Near Eastern Bureau. With the additions I have suggested, SCA would have responsibility for at least 11 countries. And the new, expanded SCA would have the necessary geographic reach to become the focal point for developing coherent policies toward the Asian heartland. ■

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DISOBEDIENT DIPLOMATS AND OTHER HEROES



W

SOME MIGHT THINK DIPLOMATS DON'T HAVE THE RIGHT STUFF TO BE HEROES. THESE ENVOYS DID.

BY PATRICK ALLITT

hen is a diplomat a hero? The qualities of the ideal diplomat, said Harold Nicolson in his classic 1939 study, *Diplomacy*, are truth, accuracy, calm, patience, good temper, modesty, and loyalty, a list which leaves little room for the martial virtues. Diplomats spend most of their working lives promoting peace and smoothing international relations, trying to avoid the dramatic occasions that call for heroism. But heroism takes many forms, some of which do apply to diplomats' work. The character of diplomacy has changed greatly over the last two centuries with changes in technology and communications, and a glance at some crucial historical episodes shows that the character of diplomatic heroism has changed along with it.

Consider three forms of diplomatic heroism. The first, common in the 18th and 19th centuries, is heroism in the

national interest, shown by the diplomat who sees a superb opportunity and exceeds or ignores his government's instructions in order to seize it. A second form of heroism, common in the ideological 20th century, is shown by the career diplomat who risks his life for reasons of conscience, to uphold human rights and save threatened lives. And a third form is heroism under fire, shown by the diplomat who stays at his post at the risk of his life, a situation that became increasingly common after 1960 when some post-colonial states violated diplomatic protocols or even sponsored terrorism at diplomats' expense.

Manifest Diplomacy

America benefited greatly in its early years from statesmanlike disobedience. It is no exaggeration to say that the nation spans the continent today because of three great coups — the Treaty of Paris (1783), the Louisiana Purchase (1803), and the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo (1848) — each of which was negotiated by diplomats ignoring or exceeding their instructions.

Sailing ships carrying messages took weeks, sometimes months, to cross the Atlantic in 1783. America's commissioners in Paris, Benjamin Franklin, John Adams, and John Jay, were accordingly isolated from regular consultation as they negotiated an end to the Revolutionary War. Jay, who distrusted America's French allies, began unauthorized secret negotiations with Britain. When 77-year-old Franklin learned of them, he let them continue even though he knew they were forbidden.

The French minister, Charles Gravier, Comte de Vergennes, pretended to be outraged when he learned that these negotiations had led to a preliminary Anglo-American treaty. But Franklin, who had refined his diplomatic skills as revolutionary America's representative to the French court, knew from his network of spies that Vergennes was eager to get out of some awkward commitments to his ally Spain, and could use Jay's fait accompli as an excuse. He also hinted to Vergennes that if he objected too strenuously America might ally itself with Britain against France, reversing the strategic alliances of the last few years.

As a result of this manipulation of the great powers' mutual suspicions, Franklin's group achieved for America the best possible treaty. Britain surrendered all its claims

throughout the 13 original colonies, recognized the new republic and accepted the Mississippi River as its western boundary (rather than the Appalachian ridge, as it had originally hoped). The Treaty of Paris was Franklin's greatest diplomatic achievement, whatever the irregularities of his and his fellows' conduct.

Twenty years later American diplomats again exceeded their instructions in the national interest when they negotiated the Louisiana Purchase. President Jefferson sent his trusted friend James Monroe to Paris in 1803 to buy the city of New Orleans from France, or at least to secure American trade access to the mouth of the Mississippi River. Robert Livingston, the American minister in Paris, could not speak French, was argumentative rather than diplomatic, and was going deaf; he had made no headway on these issues. But he met Monroe off the boat with the surprising news that France had suddenly offered him the chance to buy not only New Orleans but the whole Mississippi and Missouri Valley territories behind it.

Monroe and Livingston seized the moment and went far beyond their instructions, confident that Jefferson would applaud their initiative. With Napoleon's ministers they hammered out a bargain for the whole Louisiana territory, at a price of \$15 million. It was a strange deal. The area they bought had not been explored or mapped by any Europeans or white Americans; no one knew its exact boundaries. Moreover, its actual inhabitants, the Plains Indians, knew nothing of the treaty. Nevertheless, it proved momentous for American history.

The Purchase today comprises the states of Louisiana, Arkansas, Missouri, Iowa, both the Dakotas, Nebraska, Kansas, Oklahoma, and parts of Texas, Minnesota, Colorado, Wyoming, and Montana. Its 830,000 square miles doubled the land area of the United States, extending the western boundary from the Mississippi to the Rocky Mountains at one stroke. Livingston declared: "We have lived long but this is the noblest work of our lives." Jefferson's Federalist opponents in Congress grumbled that the envoys' action was unconstitutional, but the deal was too good to pass up and they soon ratified it.

Franklin achieved greatness, while Livingston and Monroe had greatness thrust upon them. Nicholas P. Trist exemplifies the diplomat born to greatness. Raised at the influential center of American political life, Trist was Jefferson's executor, married the old president's granddaughter, befriended and advised President James Madison, and served as President Andrew Jackson's per-

Patrick Allitt is a professor of history at Emory University in Atlanta.

sonal secretary. He was chief clerk at the State Department in 1847, second in command to Secretary of State James Buchanan, when President James K. Polk selected him to join Gen. Winfield Scott's expedition during the Mexican War. The appointment gave Trist the opportunity to carry out America's third great territorial coup.

The Polk administration had a lot of trouble with its envoys, probably because most of them were political appointees lacking the temperament, skill, and experience for diplomacy. By this point, Polk's ambassador to Buenos Aires, William Brent, Jr., had mediated a conflict between Argentina and Paraguay despite specific instructions not to get involved, while his man in Central America, Elijah Hise, under orders to sign treaties with Guatemala and El Salvador, had signed treaties with Nicaragua and Honduras instead!

The Non-Recallable Envoy

Undaunted, Polk, a Democrat who was feuding with Gen. Scott, a member of the rival Whig Party, gambled that Trist, by negotiating an early treaty with the Mexicans, could deprive the Whig general of martial glory. But as soon as he found that Trist too, once out of Washington, was hard to control, the president reconsidered the appointment, and sent letters recalling him.

Trist simply ignored the recall, even when it was repeated emphatically, and proceeded to negotiate the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo (despite the fact that his initial commission had meanwhile expired). Lacking any official authority to negotiate but certainly not lacking in self-confidence, he was convinced he knew better than Polk how to bring the war to a triumphant end. He sent the president a string of condescending letters but, at the same time, bargained brilliantly with the Mexicans. By the terms he negotiated, Mexico yielded most of what is now California, Arizona, Utah, New Mexico, Colorado, and western parts of Wyoming and Montana. Those cessions of 1848, in addition to Texas, which the United States had acquired in 1845, added nearly another million square miles to the nation and realized the ideal of Manifest Destiny, a republic stretching "from sea to shining sea."

Initially, Polk was enraged at Trist: "I have never in my life felt so indignant. He has acted worse than any man in

*America spans the
continent today because
of three treaties, each
negotiated by diplomats
who greatly exceeded
their instructions.*

the public employ whom I have ever known." But when Polk studied the favorable terms of the draft treaty, he saw that he would have to accept it. Swallowing his anger, he sent it to the Senate, where it was ratified after a sharp debate. The Whig generals, Scott and Zachary Taylor, emerged from the war as heroes (Taylor rode the wave into the White House later that year). The Mexicans, meanwhile, suffered the further indignity of seeing

the California they had just surrendered become the scene of the world's most lucrative gold rush.

As for Trist, upon his return from Mexico, he had to look for work elsewhere than the State Department. While he justified his diplomatic disobedience by claiming that he had at least headed off the demands of Americans who wanted to annex Mexico altogether, he was also aware that he had acted wrongly by breaking faith with the president and disobeying repeated orders for his recall.

The development of rapid worldwide communications, steamships, telegraph and telephones brought to an end the age of semi-independent diplomats who could take large liberties in the hope of large returns for their country. By the beginning of this century, diplomats were in much closer touch with their home governments and enjoyed less latitude of action abroad. As the technology of travel and communication improved, so did the technology of destruction. World War I, a turning point in the history of international conflict, created unprecedented human dislocation and suffering, especially when that technology was coupled to zealous secular ideologies.

Standing Up To Slaughter

The story of Leslie Davis in Turkey shows how one American diplomat with a well-developed sense of human decency responded courageously to these new conditions. Working as U. S. consul in Kharput, eastern Turkey, Davis witnessed what is now widely recognized as the first genocide of the 20th century, the Turks' massacre of their Armenian population, which took place in 1915 and 1916. Tens of thousands of Armenians were uprooted from their homes and force-marched (without proper clothing, shelter, or food supplies) to the remote, mountainous Kharput region by soldiers. Those who did not starve or collapse on

the way were killed there, by club, sword or gun, and their bodies were left unburied on the shores of Lake Goeljuk.

The Turkish government denied the whole affair, and several missionaries and one other diplomat in the area "disappeared" after witnessing some of the atrocities. Davis nevertheless traveled widely throughout the area, rode out to the lake, took photographs of the bodies, which he carefully preserved (at one point hiding them in a well) and documented the massacre in a series of eloquent memoranda. He brought nearly 80 threatened Armenians into the courtyard of his spacious consulate and let them live there throughout the crisis, and he organized an underground railroad to get other Armenians to safety across the Euphrates River and to Russia. He ignored warnings from the Turkish government not to help survivors, even when a 1915 law imposed the death penalty for aiding Armenians, and arranged food supplies to keep them alive, staying on until America's declaration of war against Germany (to which Turkey was allied) in April 1917.

While carrying on this rescue work, Davis upheld the diplomatic formalities, which included periodically entertaining the province's governor, Sabit Bey, who came regularly to the consulate to play bridge (at which he cheated!). Ironically, Davis quite liked the governor, one of the perpetrators of the massacres, and had a low opinion of the Armenians themselves, many of whose customs had dismayed him: "It is not a race one can admire or among whom I should choose to live," he wrote. "Nevertheless, the tragedy is so terrible, that one cannot contemplate it and certainly cannot live in the midst of it without being stirred to the depths of one's nature."

The Rape Of Nanking

The Armenian massacres that Davis witnessed were the first of a series of 20th century genocides. In each instance, while most diplomats followed their instructions and remained detached from the crisis, an exceptional few did what they could to save lives. When the Japanese Army attacked Nanking, China, in 1937, for example, a German businessman named John Rabe was elected head of a volunteer committee to secure a Safety Zone for foreign nationals in the city. The German consular staff having evacuated, Rabe was the highest ranking representative of Germany on the scene. His charitable work in running a school, his idealism, and his benevolence as an employer had won the trust and respect of American mis-

sionaries and the numerous other foreigners who voted for him. Strangely, despite these virtues, he was an ardent admirer of Adolf Hitler and a Nazi Party member.

Japanese soldiers' behavior in Nanking was appalling; they raped thousands of Chinese women, tortured and killed over 30,000 civilians as well as all their soldier captives, and made a gruesome sport of the killings, leaving Nanking's rivers and streets cluttered and stinking with mutilated corpses. Yet because Rabe's Safety Zone depended on the cooperation of the Japanese Army for its very existence, he, like Leslie Davis with the Turks, preserved official decorum with regular visits to the Japanese authorities.

At the same time, in a series of astonishing acts of bravery, Rabe toured the city each day, intervening physically at the scene of rapes, murders, and tortures, hoping that his appearance, and the swastika armband which showed him to be a foreign official, would overawe the Japanese troops. He organized food supplies to the 200,000 Chinese refugees in the Safety Zone and permitted the building of a network of huts in his own back yard to harbor women escaping from sexual attackers.

During one of his visits to the zone, writes Iris Chang in *The Rape of Nanking* (1997), "thousands of Chinese women flung themselves to the ground before him, weeping and begging for protection, declaring they would rather commit suicide on the spot than leave the zone to be raped and tortured."

Wallenberg: A Hero Disappears

A few years later, Hitler, to whom Rabe had written impassioned letters about Japanese atrocities, launched his own genocidal program. The few rescuers who took risks to hinder the Holocaust were exceptions to the rule of widespread acquiescence among the people of occupied Europe. The most famous among the diplomats was Raoul Wallenberg, a Swedish legation attaché in Budapest, whose interventions in 1944 and 1945 saved the lives of thousands of Hungarian Jews threatened with deportation and death. He rescued hundreds who had already set off on their death march to the border, housed 15,000 (and employed 600) in 31 diplomatically protected houses, and thwarted an SS plan to dynamite the entire Jewish ghetto.

Like Davis and Rabe, Wallenberg kept in close contact with the authorities he was covertly opposing and often met with Adolf Eichmann, the Nazi official sent to orga-

nize the mass deportation of Hungary's Jews. By one of the bitter ironies of history, it was only when this work had come to an end that Wallenberg in turn disappeared. He was seized and imprisoned by the Soviet armies that liberated Budapest from the Nazis, accused of espionage, and later died mysteriously in a Soviet prison camp.

Wallenberg's work for Hungary's Jews was supported by his own government which, appalled at evidence of the Holocaust's extent and ferocity, had sent him there to organize rescues with funds from the World Jewish Congress. A few career diplomats in other parts of Europe did not wait for approval from above but took their own initiatives. Ironically, one such figure was Sugihara Chiune from Japan, a representative of the very regime that had perpetrated the Nanking massacres.

Just as Rabe, the Nazi, had tried to help the Chinese against Japan, so now a Japanese official tried to help the victims of Nazism. Sugihara was stationed in Kaunas (Kovno), Lithuania, in 1940. After attending a Passover seder and befriending some Jewish students, Sugihara began to issue Japanese transit visas to help Jews escape from Europe. When he cabled his government for permission to issue more visas, he was told to stop but carried on anyway, right up to the day he was removed from his post. He paid for his temerity by being officially disgraced and fired from the Japanese Foreign Service.

Yet in a postwar interview, Sugihara maintained he had done the right thing: "I could not allow these people to die, people who had come to me for help with death staring them in the eyes. Whatever punishment may be imposed upon me, I knew I should follow my conscience." Aristides de Sousa Mendes, the Portuguese aristocrat and career diplomat whose story is told elsewhere in this edition of the *FSJ* (see p. 28), also violated his instructions to save Jewish refugees in Bordeaux, France.

Forcing Their Governments' Hands

Heroism of this kind — risking their careers and violating the principles drilled into them as trainees — was no easy matter for these diplomats. They also realized that futile gestures are worse than useless if they intensify persecution and lead to a deterioration of relations between governments. But both Sugihara and Sousa Mendes gambled correctly that they could save lives because immigration officials would honor the visas they had issued, rather than lose face over the unreliability of their nations' documents.

By contrast, diplomats surrounded by dutiful colleagues had much less freedom of action than these relatively isolated men. Martin Hillenbrand, for example, a young American vice consul in Zurich, Switzerland, during World War II, also faced thousands of Jewish visa applicants hoping to get to the United States, and was horrified when one rejected applicant committed suicide in the street right outside the consulate. But he knew that any attempt he made to break the rules would at once be noticed and nullified. "The demands of conscience," he concluded in his autobiography *Fragments of Our Time* (1998), "ran into seemingly insuperable bureaucratic barriers."

Unofficial American diplomats, by contrast, such as Varian Fry of the Emergency Rescue Committee, and Frank Bohm of the American Federation of Labor, did not have to be so scrupulous to rescue artists, intellectuals, prominent socialists, and trade union leaders from Nazi-occupied France. They quickly learned how to sidestep bureaucratic obstacles and became experts at buying forged documents, suborning French policemen, and smuggling refugees out of the country.

The Secret Smuggler

Other aspects of the Second World War beside the Holocaust provided opportunities for diplomatic heroism. One was the work of the French Resistance, which found a valuable ally in America's vice consul at Lyon, Constance Harvey. A fluent French speaker and experienced career diplomat, she had been at work in Europe since 1931 and witnessed the development of fascism in Italy and Nazism in Germany. Introduced to General Henri Giraud, a French commander who had been captured during the German invasion of France but had escaped and made his way covertly to the unoccupied Vichy zone, Harvey offered to carry messages to Switzerland and pass them on to America's military attaché in Bern. On one occasion, she was even able to smuggle out complete plans of German anti-aircraft installations surrounding Paris.

The attaché was horrified at the risks she took, since at the border her car was often searched by the Gestapo. In a postwar interview, Harvey described her method: "My car had a glove compartment for which there was a separate key, not the key to the rest of the car, the ignition, which is more usual. So when I went in [to the frontier station] I very often just locked up papers inside the glove compartment and turned the key down inside my bosom.

When I went into the place to check out with the French officer and the Gestapo, to go into Switzerland, I left my car open, with the keys just hanging from the ignition. Sometimes people had hidden things in the machinery under the hood, and they sometimes looked under the hood. I thought that was something to avoid."

She got away with it and was able to keep lines of information open, withholding knowledge of her work even from her own immediate boss, the Lyon consul. Even after Pearl Harbor, when America and Nazi Germany were at war, she stayed at her post until the Germans occupied the whole of France in November 1942. She burned all the consulate's documents to safeguard the identity of French Resistance workers she had helped, before being shipped off to diplomatic internment in Germany for the rest of the war.

The Diplomat As Target

After World War II, American power and influence affected every part of the world and American diplomats served in virtually every nation, including the most repressive. The Soviet Union, Cambodia, Rwanda and many other countries bore witness to mass killings on a genocidal scale and confronted diplomats with the dilemma of whether they could intervene on behalf of human rights. Testimony from Amnesty International and other groups piled up evidence of torture and massive human rights abuses by dozens of other regimes.

As symbols of one of the two great Cold War powers, meanwhile, embassies and ambassadors often became the focal point of angry anti-American demonstrations. Diplomats found that they had to take heed for their own lives as well as others'. Some were besieged and firebombed, their residences invaded, and their lives endangered.

America's ambassador to Brazil was kidnapped in 1970, and five other ambassadors were assassinated in the following decade: in Guatemala, Sudan, Cyprus, Lebanon, and Afghanistan. Mob violence and state-sponsored terrorism made diplomatic immunity a frail reed in much of the Third World, in a decade that culminated with the embassy seizure and mass hostage-taking in Teheran. The knowledge that diplomats could not always be sure of their personal safety spread through the Foreign Service and showed more clearly than ever before that plenty of courage, if not actual heroism, was a requirement for the job.

Taking over in Cyprus in 1974 after the assassination of his predecessor, Ambassador William Rex Crawford was forced to send his family back to the U.S. and accept the perpetual company of armed guards. "Because Rodger Davies had been killed by shooting through a window," he wrote later, "I was never allowed near an open window. The windows were blocked off with sheets of steel, so it was very hard to tell when it was daytime or nighttime. I got out very little. When I did, it was always accompanied by two extra cars of Cypriot police, all armed fore and aft."

Ernest V. Siracusa, American ambassador to Bolivia in the early 1970s, was also the focus of virulent anti-American demonstrations and felt his life to be constantly in danger. American cultural institutes throughout the country were seized and burned by left-wing student groups and "for a while, until my protests forced its cancellation, the nightly news broadcast over the government-owned TV station ended its opening panorama shot of the spectacular city of La Paz by focusing sharply on a wall with the graffiti slogan 'Muera Siracusa' (Death to Siracusa)." He, too, repatriated his family when police caught a man watching his house and tracking his children's movements — apparently preparing an assassination or kidnap attempt.

And no American diplomat in the modern era showed greater courage under fire than Terry McNamara. The seaborne evacuation he led from South Vietnam as its defenses collapsed in 1975 is described elsewhere in this edition of the *FSJ* (see p. 36).

This brief survey of the last two centuries has featured a variety of diplomatic heroes and raised difficult moral questions. Clearly there has to be a strong presumption against breaking the rules, especially in an age of computers, phones, and faxes, or any kind of consistent foreign policy becomes impossible. We should not lament the passing of the age of Nicholas Trist! Diplomats often have to take a grim pride in resisting the temptation to disobey orders, however cold their restraint may seem. They are right to do so. As the events of recent decades show, just doing their regular duty sometimes requires them to exhibit heroic virtues.

Still, reflecting on catastrophes like Nanking and the Holocaust, it is impossible not to take heart from the examples of Davis, Rabe, Wallenberg, Sugihara and Sousa Mendes and to be glad that there were at least a few diplomats willing to break the rules and save the innocent, at the risk of their own careers and lives. ■

A CRUSADING CONSUL AT HITLER'S DOOR



Garth Chazler

THOUSANDS OF REFUGEES WERE SEEKING A WAY OUT OF NAZI-OCCUPIED FRANCE. THEIR ONLY CHANCE — A PORTUGUESE VISA.

BY PAULO ALMEIDA

The Battle of France was ending, mere weeks after it had begun. On May 10, 1940, just as they had done a generation before, the German armies invaded Belgium, and the French army moved north with the British to meet the invaders. Unlike the First World War, however, the front did not stabilize along a line of trenches in Flanders. Instead, a German armored corps broke through the east end of the front and raced west to the sea to trap the Allied armies at Dunkirk. By June 1, the British had been evacuated, and the French captured. This catastrophe caused the French government to declare Paris an open city and then join the exodus under way to Bordeaux, an Atlantic port in the southwest corner of France. This government and its citizens now shared the fate of the political exiles from all over Europe who had fled to

France to escape from what Churchill characterized as "a new dark ages."

The Consul and the Rabbi

Aristides de Sousa Mendes was the Portuguese Consul General in Bordeaux at that time. He and his neutral government were not prepared for this reversal in the fortunes of France, so Sousa Mendes walked through the city streets to gather whatever intelligence he could glean from the multitude of witnesses to the disasters of war. One evening, Sousa Mendes found Chaim Kruger, the Chief Orthodox Rabbi of Brussels, with his wife and five children as they prepared to sleep on a street beside the main synagogue.

This family had been driven by the Nazis from Poland, and settled in Belgium for what turned out to be only temporary refuge. Now, as they continued their flight from the Nazis, they encountered another obstacle: The neutral but pro-Axis government of General Franco was not allowing refugees to enter Spain unless they had visas for Portugal. The Portuguese government had, however, issued instructions to its consulates to deny visa requests from persons fleeing the Nazis. Jews were specifically identified as a proscribed class of applicants.

The consul general was a 30-year veteran of the diplomatic service, with postings in San Francisco, Boston, Brazil, Zanzibar, Spain and Belgium. His twin brother had served briefly as Foreign Minister in 1932. The consul general was a devout Roman Catholic, and a married man with 14 children. The son of a Supreme Court justice, he had graduated in law from the University of Coimbra. Sousa Mendes was, in effect, a member of the close-knit elite in the regime of Antonio Salazar, whose ideology inclined its sympathies toward Falangist Spain and Fascist Italy.

Rabbi Kruger was, for his part, a preeminent representative of a special target of the Nazi malevolence spreading across Europe like a latter-day Black Death. Despite their differences, Sousa Mendes somehow identified with the plight of the chief rabbi. He not only sympathized; he acted decisively, issuing transit visas so

that the Kruger family could continue an odyssey that eventually led them to permanent asylum in New York. Sousa Mendes then cabled his Foreign Ministry to justify his actions and to request new instructions, as the case of Rabbi Kruger was obviously not unique.

The response from the Foreign Ministry was unequivocal: The consul general was to abide by the previous instructions and deny visa requests from Jews and other proscribed applicants.

The Government and the Constitution

According to family accounts, Sousa Mendes did not react immediately to this directive. First, he pondered this problem in private, and then explained to his family and staff his decision to issue visas to those fleeing Nazi persecution. He cited the Portuguese Constitution of 1933, which stated that political or religious convictions could not be used as a basis for denying a person asylum in Portugal. This constitution had been written, but not observed, by the authoritarian regime which came to power after a military coup in 1926 ended Portugal's first, brief experiment with republican government. The generals invited Antonio Salazar, a reclusive professor of economics, to restore order to the national economy. Success provided Salazar with the prestige to proceed with constructing a new political order, which he modeled after the fascism that had become the fashion in much of Europe.

News of Sousa Mendes' decision animated the demoralized refugees in Bordeaux. Applicants filled the offices and piled up the stairways, refusing to leave even for meals for fear that the loss of their place in line could be a fatal mistake. Sousa Mendes allowed people to sleep on the floors of the consulate while he worked late into the night three days straight to produce an avalanche of visas, estimated in the range of 30,000. Approximately one-third of these visas were issued to Jews. When the supply of consular stationery had been exhausted, Sousa Mendes wrote each visa by hand on blank paper, trusting that the consular seal and his signature would be sufficient inducement for officers of the government of Spain to extend to the government of Portugal the courtesy of allowing the bearer entry and unmolested passage through Spanish territory to the Portuguese border. Grateful beneficiaries offered the consul general some generous gratuities, which he declined. He was, after all, only doing his duty.

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Recall and Reaction

Sousa Mendes was probably not surprised when two agents soon arrived with a car from Portugal. The agents had orders to escort the consul general to Lisbon, under the pretext that the imminent arrival of the Germans made this evacuation necessary for his own safety. Sousa Mendes complied with these orders but, en route to the frontier, the car stopped in Bayonne, where a constituent post was located. Here Sousa Mendes found the familiar mobs of refugees at the gates of the consulate and a consul who refused to accept visa applications. He again acted decisively. True, he had been recalled, but he had not been relieved of his duties, so he used his government's predilection for decorum to the advantage of the refugees and ordered the consul to start issuing visas. When the consul insisted on adhering to the instructions from Lisbon, the consul general ordered his subordinate out of the way and began issuing more visas under his own signature.

The journey resumed the next day, and Sousa Mendes arrived at the Hendaye-Irun border crossing to find that the new government of Marshal Pétain had sealed the frontier. Undaunted, Sousa Mendes established a makeshift consular annex in a nearby inn and hand-wrote more visas on scraps of paper. Then he urged the refugees to follow his car, and instructed his escorts to drive slowly to another border crossing which did not have a telephone and where, he wagered, the guards were unaware that the frontier had been closed. This gambit worked, and Sousa Mendes entered Spain with a column of over a thousand refugees in his entourage.

A Father Disgraced

Upon arrival in Lisbon, Sousa Mendes was dismissed from the foreign service and his retirement benefits revoked. Unable to open a law practice to earn a living, he resorted to selling the family silver, other heirlooms and, eventually, his ancestral home, a 45-room French-style country manor in the province of Beira Alta. Reduced to poverty, the former diplomat and his wife accepted meals at soup kitchens that had been established in Lisbon to provide relief for the large wartime population of Jewish refugees whom Sousa Mendes had rescued. Sousa Mendes never regretted his actions, expressing the view that as so many Jews had suffered on account of one Christian

(i.e., Adolf Hitler), it was then no tragedy that one Christian should suffer on account of so many Jews.

Despite its punishment of the errant consul, Portugal began to enjoy international acclaim as a haven for war refugees. Humanitarian services, such as the soup kitchen where Sousa Mendes dined, were allowed to operate in Lisbon, and sympathetic news articles were written about the refugee problem. However, a young *New York Times* correspondent named James Reston perceptively reported that the Portuguese government was cracking down on the issuance of transit visas to individuals who had not been accepted by a third country for permanent resettlement.

Meanwhile, the actions of this righteous consul bequeathed to his children the same fate as that of the displaced persons whom he had helped to escape persecution: All of his children, save for his married daughter, emigrated from Portugal. His son Carlos, born in Berkeley while Sousa Mendes was consul in San Francisco, took advantage of American citizenship and joined the U.S. Army in 1943, settling in California after the war. Another son, Sebastian, who was also born in Berkeley, emigrated to California and became a postal worker in Los Angeles.

Though born in Belgium, the youngest son, John Abranches (who, as a young man, took to using a subsidiary family name), chose to follow his brothers, and also moved to California in 1951. After his Army service, John settled in the San Francisco Bay area, where he learned to be a draftsman. "I doubt I would have been able to accomplish anything in Portugal," Abranches admitted in a 1967 newspaper interview. Other children moved to Canada, France, and Africa.

Sousa Mendes, however, declined all opportunities to emigrate, even after his wife died in 1948 and he was left partially paralyzed by a stroke. Instead, he stayed in Portugal to petition his government for exoneration. Unrecognized at home or abroad, he died in dignified poverty in 1954.

Confronting the Inquisition

The process of celebrating the memory of Sousa Mendes began, appropriately, in those places around the world where his children and the refugees he assisted had settled. His sons in California occasionally succeeded in placing a human interest article about him in local

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MIRACLE AT THE PORTUGUESE CONSULATE

By MARIA BAUER

ARISTIDES DE SOUSA MENDES ENABLED THOUSANDS OF REFUGEES
TO ESCAPE THE NAZIS. HERE IS THE STORY OF ONE PERSON HE HELPED.

On April 13, 1939, one month after the occupation of Prague by the Germans, my parents and I left by train for Paris with forged exit permits provided by a friend who was a foreign diplomat. Thus my father, an industrialist and landowner from an old Prague family of Jewish ancestry, escaped arrest by one day, though at the cost of forfeiting all his properties. I was 19 years old when, overnight, we became refugees in France.

World War II broke out on Sept. 1, 1939, but the situation in France remained calm throughout the winter. The French radio and newspapers reported little skirmishes back and forth along the Maginot Line, but there was great confidence that the enemy would never be able to pierce its defenses. In Fecamp, Normandy, a radio station operated by the British beamed anti-Nazi propaganda to Central Europe. My fiancée, a young political refugee from Austria, was in charge of its Austrian division, called the Austrian Freedom Broadcasting Station.

In the spring of 1940, German planes began to fly overhead and on May 10, the Germans launched their offensive. After invading Holland, Belgium and Luxembourg, they bypassed the Maginot Line altogether to enter France. We heard the increasingly loud detonations of cannons and artillery as German troops advanced rapidly

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towards Paris. Just before the city fell on June 11, 1940, smoke rose from government offices as French officials burned their papers before abandoning the capital.

We — my parents, my fiancée, several friends, and myself — joined the enormous exodus from Paris already under way on the highway leading south, inching our way forward within a dense line of cars (many covered with mattresses to protect against bombs), trucks, motorcycles and bicycles. On the side of the road, people on foot pushed their meager belongings in carts and baby carriages. The few service stations along the road were running out of gas and abandoned cars added to the confusion and chaos. As darkness fell each night, loudspeakers warned us not to use headlights. Unable to see anything, we stopped and spent the night in the car while German planes bombed and strafed the road.

When we finally reached Bordeaux early in the morning of June 20, the city was in total disarray. Its prewar population of 170,000 was now increased by about half a million refugees from all over Europe. With no parking spaces left, cars were left standing in all directions on the streets and sidewalks. The restaurants had run out of food but were packed with exhausted people who just needed a place to sit and rest. No inn or hotel rooms were available, so we spent our nights in the car.

Worse than hunger and exhaustion was the terror of being trapped, unable to leave Bordeaux before

German troops arrived. (Marshal Henri Petain, premier of the Vichy government, had already sued for peace and would sign the armistice surrendering to Germany on June 22.) The difficulties seemed insurmountable. No more boats would be leaving Bordeaux except to evacuate French army detachments. The only other escape route was the Spanish border, but Spain's dictator, Gen. Francisco Franco, who had close relations with the Nazi government, would not accept refugees. Spain would only grant transit visas to those who had Portuguese visas. Portugal, too, was governed by a fascist, the dictator Antonio Salazar, who also maintained cordial relations with Germany. So his diplomatic representatives could hardly be expected to be helpful to the victims of Nazism.

Yet the Portuguese consulate, though besieged by a long line of refugees, was doing business quite normally and even stayed open longer than usual. When it finally closed for the night, after processing a prodigious number of visa applications, more refugees joined those still in line, camping out on the sidewalk to keep their places.

Early the next morning, my fiance and I, carrying my parents' passports and our own, joined the line now extending for several blocks. We were very surprised when, hours before the usual opening of the consulate's offices, the consul himself appeared, opened the doors and ushered the people in one after the other. One of them, a gentleman who spoke Portuguese, said that he overheard the consul instructing his employees: "From now on there will be no nationality, race or religion. Visas will be issued to all."

The line moved speedily and our turn came much sooner than we expected. Everything happened so fast that I cannot even remember the face of the consul who, without asking a single question, quickly took our four passports, stamped and signed them, and immediately turned to the next applicants. We rushed to the Spanish consulate to obtain our transit visas but it was already

***"From now on there
will be no nationality,
race, or religion. Visas
will be issued to all."***

closed and surrounded by a long line of people waiting for its reopening the next day.

Not wanting to risk staying in Bordeaux any longer, we left for Bayonne. The situation there was the same: an overcrowded city in total confusion with crowds of applicants winding around the

streets leading to the Spanish consulate. But our experience there was very different from that at the Portuguese consulate in Bordeaux: here, the line barely moved because every passport was thoroughly examined to make sure that the Portuguese visas were there so no one would stay in Spain, and every name was carefully entered into a book.

The next day, we finally received our visas and drove to Hendaye, the French border station. There we abandoned our car, caught one of the last trains that crossed Spain, and arrived at Figueira da Foz, the Portuguese border town. From there, we and a group of Austrian refugees were sent to a small town named Caldas da Rainha. There, on July 14, 1940, my fiance and I were married.

With the help of Otto von Habsburg, the last crown prince of the Austro-Hungarian Empire (another refugee who had received a Portuguese visa in Bordeaux), we obtained U.S. emergency visas because of my husband's anti-Nazi activities. On Aug. 8, 1940, we boarded a small Portuguese boat, the *Quanza*, bound for the United States.

During the 10 days it took to reach New York City, we often discussed the "miracle" at the Portuguese consulate with our fellow passengers who had also been in Bordeaux. Some told us that when the forms needed for those whose passports had expired or who had no passports at all had run out, the consul had used any paper he could find to sign and stamp the visas.

Over five decades later, in an article in the French newspaper *Le Monde* sent to me by a friend, I finally learned the full story of the man who sacrificed his career and livelihood to save thousands of lives, including my own and my family's: Aristides de Sousa Mendes, a true hero. ■

A F S A NEWS

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RIBBONS OF REMEMBRANCE

To commemorate the one year anniversary of the embassy bombings in Nairobi and Dar es Salaam, AFSA distributed over 4,000 ribbons on Friday, Aug. 6 to employees of the five foreign affairs agencies, members of Congress and the press. The entire A-100 class wore ribbons as they were sworn in as new Foreign Service officers. The ribbons served to honor those who died in the bombings and to remind the public and Congress that most embassies are no more secure today than they were a year ago.



AFSA staff members, Ed Miltenberger (L) and Dick Thompson (back R), distributing ribbons to State Department employees to commemorate the first anniversary of the East Africa bombings.

At a memorial ceremony held on Saturday, Aug. 7 in the State Department's Thomas Jefferson Room, National Security Adviser Sandy Berger read a message from the president. In her remarks, Secretary of State Madeleine Albright vowed to bring those responsible to justice. She also announced that she would be seeking donations for a "special scholarship fund to help meet the educational needs" of the children of the Americans who died as well as a fund for emergency relief for Foreign Service nationals.

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• AFSA Dateline •

•Open Assignments: At AFSA's request, the State Department has amended its procedure for filling certain current cycle vacancies. Previously, personnel sometimes used a "friendly identification" procedure inviting a non-bidding employee to fill a current-cycle vacancy without giving other non-bidding employees a chance to express interest in that job. Now, the department will advertise these urgent vacancies, giving all employees the opportunity to bid on them (providing that the employee can get post or bureau concurrence with the implied curtailment). AFSA

applauds this step forward in increasing the transparency of the assignment process.

•The William Leonhart Scholarship was established in July by his widow, Mrs. Florence Leonhart. The perpetual scholarship was bestowed this year on Johanna Gilsdorf, a rising senior at West Virginia University. Ambassador Leonhart's career covered 38 years in the Foreign Service, spanning four continents, serving in large embassies in Europe and newly established posts in Africa and Southeast Asia. He served as Ambassador to Tanzania

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A DIALOGUE BETWEEN POETRY AND GRIEF

On the anniversary of the embassy bombings,
Nairobi and Dar es Salaam, August 7, 1998

*O Death, called mighty and dreadful, be not proud:
For you are slave to Chance and desperate men.
But death is no person. No scytheman in a shroud
Injured these souls that will not breathe again
But people killed them, in what calculus of pride,*

*Or shame or policy or fanatic will
Arguing desperation. And as to Chance,
It is our element: natural, invisible,
We breathe it now as we step the civic dance
As those we celebrate did, till Chaos fall.*

*How sleep the brave, by Honor consigned to rest
Blessed by their country. Not one country but three,
Two called "host countries." English *host* and *guest*
Were once the same word, meaning *stranger*—to see
Both sides at once in one word that expressed*

*Wariness along with welcome, a recognition
That I am as strange to you as you to me.
The valor we honor was in that intricate mission
Of daily life—the world like an embassy
Or marketplace of ginger negotiation*

*Between souls meeting in the bargaining place
Of work, jokes, gossip, where small and large desires
Contend and trade: the humdrum clangor of peace.
How sleep these brave? The unredemptive fires
Absolve them. Today three countries inscribe their loss.*

*Is death without memorial, and absolute?
Now as in myths, the dead are strange—feet bare,
In hats of woven birch, they walk to the flute.
Arlene; Mohammed; Julian; Khali . . . strange power
In names of the innocent: Song. Spell. Salute.*

—Robert Pinsky
Poet Laureate
of the United States

Ribbons

Continued from page 1

Attorney General Janet Reno, CIA Director George Tenet, State Department and other federal agency officials, diplomats, and family members of the victims attended the ceremony. The Ministers of Music and the Foundry Youth Choir performed and the audience viewed a video entitled "Colleagues Remembered." Poet Laureate Robert Pinsky recited "A Dialogue Between Poetry and Grief," which he wrote for the occasion. (See box.)

AAFSW BOOKFAIR

Proceeds benefit
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scholarship program and
local charities.

- Family Day, Oct. 15, 2 to 5 p.m. for State Department employees, building pass holders and their families.
- Oct. 16 to 24, open daily for State Dept. employees and building pass holders.
- Open to the general public Oct. 16, 17, 23 and 24.
- Weekday hours: 11 a.m. to 3 p.m.
- Weekend hours: 10 a.m. to 4 p.m.
- Access through the C Street entrance.

BOOK REVIEW

KNOW YOUR FEDERAL EMPLOYEE RIGHTS

Federal Employees Legal Survival Guide: How to Protect & Enforce Your Job Rights

The Attorneys of the Law Firm of Passman & Kaplan, P.C., National Employee Rights Institute, 1999, \$39.95, 516 pages.

By SHARON L. PAPP, ESQ.

Federal Employees Legal Survival Guide: How to Protect & Enforce Your Job Rights is a legal guide written in layman's terms for the federal employee who knows little about the laws and regulations governing federal employment. The book will interest employees who are experiencing workplace difficulties as well as those who simply want to learn more about their legal rights. Although the book is geared to Civil Service employees, the legal principles are equally relevant to Foreign Service employees. There are significant differences, however, in the procedures and deadlines that apply to Foreign Service employees. Therefore, these employees must not rely solely on the procedural guidance in this book.

The book includes chapters on performance appraisals, misconduct, discrimination, whistleblowing, security clearances, overtime, workers' compensation and how to select a lawyer experienced in federal employment law. The authors present the material in a straightforward, non-legalistic manner — no easy feat. Each of the 30 chapters defines applicable terms, explains employees' rights, describes the procedures for protecting those rights, provides citations to applicable law and regulation (though not always applicable to the Foreign Service), and offers common sense tips on how to protect these rights.

The "Unions and Collective Bargaining" chapter presents a good overview of a union's right to engage in collective bargaining negotiations with management and its role in representing employees during an investigative interview. Other topics in this

Continued on page 4

FAS

V.P. VOICE

• BY MAGGIE DOWLING •

Guaranteeing Fairness

What can we do to ensure that every employee is treated fairly in the workplace? How do we guarantee that the rules are applied equally to everyone? Our whole society continually wrestles with these problems. We have collective bargaining agreements, civil rights legislation, Partnership Councils (PC), EEO offices, special emphasis program managers — an endless array of committees, laws and attorneys dedicated to achieving equitable treatment in the workplace.

But in the end, individual commitment to the goal of fairness makes the difference. With that in mind, last spring the FAS Partnership Council re-examined our current EEO advisory structure. To broaden individual commitment, the council recommended getting more people involved in EEO issues in the agency and developing an EEO structure to better use the resources of the PC, the unions, the EEO Advisory Committee and the FAS EEO office.

With the arrival of unions and the Partnership Council at FAS and the resultant changes in management style, AFSA/FAS suggested to our PC partners the need to re-evaluate current EEO programs. For instance, what contribution has the critical EEO performance element made and how are managers held more accountable to EEO goals? Why are we still getting EEO settlements in the assignment process when EEO observers participate in and approve the process? What is the role of EEO observers on the pan-

els and in the Partnership Council, and how has the advent of unions and the Partnership Council changed FAS EEO? Why is diversity an issue in some offices and not others? And how are the wrongs against individuals redressed while ensuring the rights of other bargaining unit members?

A new PC EEO study group is looking at these issues, as well as ways to implement a more aggressive FAS alternative dispute resolution program (ADR). In Partnership Council, particularly with the debate on the number of Foreign Service officers,

we have found that fairness is "in the eye of the beholder." Our most contentious discussions often spring from the differing views of what each PC partner thinks is fair and in the agency's best interests.

The ADR program exists to address these differences at all levels before they become formal EEO complaints or union grievances. FAS is now offering ADR training to both unions and managers on the importance of addressing conflicts directly and teaching the requisite skills to do so effectively. In addition, USDA has established a new ADR office to support such programs.

All these initiatives hold great promise and reflect the best efforts of our colleagues. While absolute fairness is perhaps an elusive goal, we can come close if the processes we employ are fair. And we do see an upward trend. As Frederick Douglass once said, "the greatest reward of winning the struggle is to continue the struggle."

"How do we guarantee that the rules are applied equally to everyone."

STATE
V.P. VOICE

• BY JOHN NALAND •

Open Assignments Are Here

It's that time again — time for about one-third of us to navigate the Open Assignments process. At stake is not only the next job, but also all the related things such as where we live, the job opportunities our family members have, the schools our kids attend, the security and health dangers we face, and how distant we are from aging relatives.

Given the importance of the outcome, it is vital that the process be equitable. However, a random-sample poll of Foreign Service employees commissioned by the Office of the Inspector General in late 1997 found that only 13 percent of respondents found the bidding process to be equitable, 18 percent to be efficient, and 25 percent to be effective. Those perceptions may have improved over the past two years, but, even if the numbers doubled, the Foreign Service would still be in trouble.

AFSA worked closely with personnel's Office of Career Development and Assignments in clearing the 1999/2000 Open Assignments instructions and we applaud the director general's initiative to produce the excellent video "Demystifying the Foreign Service Assignment Process." But so much more needs to be done.

In the coming months, AFSA will develop proposals for implementation in the next bidding cycle. We welcome innovative ideas from the field and would especially like to hear

from our Public Diplomacy colleagues, junior officers, and others participating in the State Department's bidding process for the first time. Here are some ideas to get you started:

- Create a secure Intranet database listing all open jobs alongside their current job and work requirements, contact information for incumbent and supervisor, bidding tool, post report, bid count, bidding instructions, family member employment opportunities reports, and other resources. This one-stop-shop for bidding information should be in place by Aug. 1, 2000.

- Make stretch assignments easy to obtain when the job is hard-to-fill and hard to obtain when the job is easy-to-fill. For example, if the number of applicants is sufficient (say, seven), require that the job either go to an at-grade bidder or that PER provide a written justification to the other bidders if a below-grade bidder is selected.

- Increase transparency by forthrightly explaining special circumstances to all bidders. One hypothetical example: "We must reduce the number of assignments this cycle to details and long-term training due to the general shortage of eligible bidders and the specific need to staff 50 new positions in the Balkans."

I look forward to hearing your ideas. Contact me at NalandJ@state.gov or by fax at 202-647-0265.

"Only 13 percent of respondents found the bidding process to be equitable."

Legal Survival Guide

Continued from page 3

chapter are not relevant to the Foreign Service. For example, in the C.S. system only the union may pursue an employee's case to arbitration. Under the F.S. system an employee may pursue a case before the Grievance Board with or without AFSA.

"Ethics in Government" provides an excellent guide to the ethical responsibilities of federal employees. The requirement to avoid even the appearance of conflict of interest is especially important for Foreign Service employees who are often held to a higher standard of conduct.

Some chapters are fully applicable to Foreign Service employees. For instance, in "Constitutional Rights" the authors discuss an employee's rights during an investigative interview, workspace searches, and drug testing. Likewise, "Privacy Act Rights/Access to Information" explains how employees can file a request for information about themselves and the various exemptions the agency may cite to withhold the information. Finally, "Federal Torts Claims Act" explains when federal employees can be sued in their individual capacity.

On the other hand, "Reductions-in-force" is largely irrelevant to Foreign Service employees since they compete for job retention largely on their performance ratings instead of on seniority as in the Civil Service.

Foreign Service employees will find this book useful for background information, but they should consult with AFSA or a private attorney to fully protect their rights.

Sharon L. Papp, general counsel of AFSA, has been practicing employment law for 12 years.

REMINDER!

The AFSA Scholarship Fund participates in the Combined Federal Campaign (CFC).

Designate #2422 on your CFC pledge card to help a Foreign Service child go to college.

Inside

THE FOREIGN SERVICE COMMUNITY

•The current *Virginia Quarterly Review* (Summer 1999) has published an article by **Charles Maechling, Jr.**, a retired FSO who was the chief staff member of President Kennedy's cabinet-level Special Group on Counter-Insurgency. The essay, entitled "Camelot, Robert Kennedy and Counter-Insurgency: A Memoir," is an insider's view of policy making. The author asserts that by ignoring the issue of human rights, training foreign troops and supplying them with equipment often resulted in more repressive regimes rather than spreading the ideals of democracy.

•Character actor **Oliver Platt**, the son of retired FSO **Nicholas Platt**, has appeared in over 25 movies beginning with "Working Girl" in 1988 and most recently in "Dangerous Beauty," "Bulworth," and "Lake Placid." In an Associated Press report, Platt discussed his Foreign Service roots and the impact of his traveling childhood on his own attitudes about family life.

•**Robert Service**, retired FSO and former ambassador to Paraguay has taken over as the new executive director of Diplomatic and Consular Officers, Retired (DACOR).

•Did you help win the Cold War? According to the May 17, 1999 *Federal Times*, the Defense Department is offering a Cold War certificate of recognition for members of the armed services and federal government employees who served honorably between Sept. 2, 1945 and Dec. 26, 1991. Write: Cold War Recognition, Suite 400, 4035 Ridge Top Road, Fairfax, Va. 22030 or fax 800-723-9262.

Correction: The source of the report on the Rembrandt Peale portrait of William Short in the July-Aug. "Inside" was **John W. Dayton**.

Do you have news about an AFSA member or of an event of interest to the FS Community? Fox it to (202) 338-8244.

RETIREE

V.P. VOICE

• BY WILLARD DE PREE •

RETIREE ISSUES FOR THE NEW BOARD

Having taken over from Ed Dillery as Retiree Vice President after four years as a retiree representative on the Governing Board, I welcome the opportunity to continue to work to protect and promote the professional and personnel interests of serving and retired members of the Foreign Service. The last few years have been good ones for the association. But we can't rest on our laurels.

As the new board sets priorities for the coming year, two retiree issues which should be addressed are (1) the abolishment of the Foreign Affairs Reserve Corps, which will make it more difficult for retirees to be brought back on temporary duty, and (2) the obstacles which are being imposed on retirees who wish to enter the Main State building. AFSA will also have to remain alert to ensure that Foreign Service retirees are not discriminated against as Congress and the administration seek to live within exceedingly tight budget ceilings.

The association will continue to seek the help of retirees on a host of professional issues. During my years on the board, I have been impressed at how ready retirees have been to help on specific issues I was engaged in:

— For AFSA's campaign against the "selling of ambassadorships," scores of retirees wrote with suggestions, which were helpful in developing talking points for calls on members of Congress and staffers. Bob and Louise Keeley's file on this egregious practice, including some

delightful Doonesbury cartoons and editorials from American and overseas newspapers, were used to great effect in our handouts.

— When the association sought to testify before the Commission on the Roles and Capabilities of the United States Intelligence Community (the Brown

Commission), Dennis Kux and others helped draft AFSA's written statement, and Hank Cohen and Clyde Taylor volunteered to testify.

— Finally, the success AFSA has had in putting on programs on the Foreign Service for Elderhostel audiences is due to the help of a

host of retirees, too numerous to name here. Members of DACOR, the AAFSW and the USIA Alumni Association were also very supportive.

Apart from these initiatives, I know that retirees have made significant contributions to many other AFSA activities, including the celebration of the 75th Anniversary of the Foreign Service, contacts with Congress and the state of Virginia, and reviews and critiques of personnel changes under consideration by the foreign affairs agencies.

With AFSA seeking to do more in outreach, there should be many more opportunities for retirees, in or out of the Washington area, to help us promote the interests of the Foreign Service. We on the AFSA Governing Board will do our best to make these opportunities known to you. And, of course, we welcome at all times your suggestions or comments on what we are doing, or should be doing.

"I have been impressed at how ready retirees have been to help."

FSJ Contest: Best and Worst Diplomatic Moves of the Century

Submit your nomination for the best and/or worst diplomatic move of the century along with a 200 word explanation (separate statements for best and worst) to the *Foreign Service Journal*, no later than Nov. 30, 1999. Cash prizes for winning entries. (See *FSJ*, page 14 for details.)

Dateline

Continued from page 1

and Yugoslavia and retired from the Foreign Service in 1979.

•The Louis C. Boochever Memorial Scholarship was established in July by his widow Virginia Boochever. This perpetual scholarship will fund an AFSA Financial Aid award each year to a Foreign Service college student. This year's recipient is Mary Ann Christensen, a sophomore at Stanford University. Mr. Boochever joined the Foreign Service in 1956 after serving as an economist on the Marshall Plan. He was posted in Luxembourg, Paris, Belgrade, Rome and Brussels where he was chargé d'affaires. He retired in 1974.

•AFSA welcomes several new staff members:

Christine Spaulding, the Member Services representative, just graduated from the University of Virginia. A sociology major, Christine knew she had entered the world of foreign affairs when she learned the capital of Uganda on her second day.

Barbara Bowie-Whitman, the director of Corporate Relations, has just retired from the Foreign Service. Her foreign posts included Mexico and London, and she recently served in Washington, D.C. as economics counselor in the U.S. Mission to the Organization of American States.

Tracy Smith, a grievance attorney in the Labor Management office, is a 1996 graduate of the University of Miami School of Law. She also has a BA in English from Tufts University. Before coming to AFSA, she was the program planning attorney in the continuing legal education department at the Georgetown University Law Center.

Thanks to **Thomas Gorski** for his work in the *FSJ*'s advertising department in August and September. A summer exchange student through a program at Mary Wood University in Scranton, Pa., Thomas is beginning his third year in marketing and management at the University of Foreign Languages and Economics in Czestochmowa, Poland.

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Continued from page 30

newspapers, and in France, his daughter Joana enlisted the aid of Jewish organizations to bring the case of Sousa Mendes to the attention of Yad Vashem — the Martyrs and Heroes Remembrance Authority — in Jerusalem. After verifying the facts, Yad Vashem issued a medal in 1967 to commemorate Sousa Mendes.

In Portugal, however, Sousa Mendes had been effectively forgotten, and his former colleagues in the Foreign Ministry saw no reason to reopen his case. After all, even though the Salazar regime had remained neutral throughout the war, only shifting its position in favor of the Allies when the fortunes of the Axis declined, it had managed to rehabilitate itself in the eyes of the free world. Portugal shrewdly granted Anglo-American armed forces access to the Lajes base in the Azores, from which the U.S. Navy hunted U-boats during the war, and then used it to track Soviet submarines during the Cold War. This strategic asset was, apparently, sufficient justification to invite Portugal to become a founding member of NATO, the absence of representative democracy notwithstanding.

Prospects for rehabilitating the memory of Sousa Mendes in Portugal began to improve in April 1974 when the anachronistic fascist regime of Salazar's successor was finally overthrown by a left-wing military coup that eventually restored democracy. Two years later, the Portuguese Foreign Ministry commissioned a former ambassador, Nuno A.A. de Bessa Lopes, to review the case of the consul general of Bordeaux. The ambassador concluded: "Apparently, the poor consul Sousa Mendes was unable to escape the claws of a new inquisition which stubbornly persists in Portugal" and he recommended that his record be cleared. The Foreign Ministry chose, however, to ignore this recommendation and suppressed the report, which only became public when it was leaked ten years later.

The perception that Sousa Mendes acted not out of altruism but because of Jewish roots may have been a factor in the government's lasting hostility towards him. His home province of Beira Alta once had a significant Jewish presence, and Mendes is a surname that was commonly adopted when some of Portugal's Jews opted for conversion to Catholicism beginning in 1497, when the plague of the Inquisition spread to the country from Spain. The children, however, attest that their father had researched the family's history and had not uncovered any specific

evidence linking their family with Portugal's medieval Jews. And in any case, the family had been practicing Catholicism for at least 450 years by the time the consul general met the Chief Orthodox Rabbi of Brussels.

Remembrance and Recovery

The continuing reluctance of Lisbon to exonerate Sousa Mendes provided new material for another series of short articles during the 1980s in such newspapers as the *New York Times*, *Christian Science Monitor*, and *Jerusalem Post*. Robert Jacobvitz, the executive director of the Jewish Community Relations Council in Oakland, had two reactions when he read one such article in 1986: surprise, because he had never heard of Sousa Mendes, and vexation: "For 46 years, the family had been petitioning the Portuguese government for redress and was continually ignored," Jacobvitz explained in a newspaper interview. "I thought that was absolutely outrageous."

Jacobvitz had no personal reasons for becoming a champion for Sousa Mendes, other than experiencing the same sort of self-identification with a victim of injustice that Sousa Mendes displayed when he met Rabbi Kruger. "If it wasn't for an accident of fate — that my great-grandparents came to this country," Jacobvitz explained, "I could have been one of those refugees stranded in Europe. ... It's as if he saved my life and my children's lives."

Consequently, he decided to publicize the story and press for international recognition of Sousa Mendes. Towards that end, in collaboration with John Abranches and other children of Sousa Mendes, he organized the "International Committee to Commemorate Dr. Aristides de Sousa Mendes" and engaged other Jewish groups in North America to support the cause. Perhaps most crucially, he also appealed for help from Representative Tony Coelho, a California congressman of Portuguese extraction.

Shortly after being contacted by Jacobvitz, Coelho led a congressional delegation to Portugal in 1986. At the conclusion of a meeting with Prime Minister Cavaco Silva, Coelho suggested that the Portuguese government re-examine the case of Sousa Mendes. The prime minister agreed to look into the matter. The following year, during a visit to the United States, Portuguese President Mario Soares (himself a political prisoner and exile under the Salazar regime) conferred

F O C U S

the Order of Liberty on Sousa Mendes posthumously. At a subsequent event sponsored by the United States Holocaust Memorial Council, Soares apologized to the family of Sousa Mendes for the injustice perpetrated against their father. Finally, in March 1988, the Portuguese National Assembly voted to restore Sousa Mendes to his diplomatic rank, recognizing at last that Sousa Mendes was an exemplary professional diplomat who acted in defense of constitutional principles, informed his government of his dissent, and accepted the consequences of his actions.

Meanwhile, back in the U.S., the state assemblies of California, New Jersey, New York and Massachusetts all passed resolutions between 1986 and 1988 commemorating Sousa Mendes, as did municipalities as diverse as Oakland and Perth Amboy, N.J. School children were encouraged to write essays about Sousa Mendes, just as their parents might have written about Anne Frank. And in 1989, the 101st Congress resolved in a Joint Resolution: "Whereas, through his heroic commitment to the preservation and enhancement of human life,

Aristides de Sousa Mendes single-handedly fought for the ideals of freedom and dignity for mankind during a period of history when courageous acts on behalf of refugees were tragically rare, ... [he] is posthumously proclaimed to be an honorary citizen of the United States."

In a special tribute of its own, reserved for a select few recipients, the state of Israel conferred honorary citizenship upon Sousa Mendes in April 1988, and planted a carob tree in his memory in the garden of Yad Vashem that honors the Hasidei Ummot Ha-Olam, the "Righteous Ones of the nations of the world." The carob tree was selected for this tribute because it has the strength to endure drought and its green leaves never wither.

"In our museum, we have a list of righteous gentiles," declares Rabbi Abraham Cooper, an associate of the Simon Wiesenthal Center. "The two most important are Raoul Wallenberg (the diplomat from neutral Sweden who is credited with saving 100,000 Jews in Hungary in 1944) and Aristides de Sousa Mendes. They decided to use the system on behalf of humanity, not as an excuse to simply follow orders." ■

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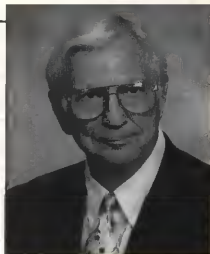
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ESCAPE WITH HONOR: A STORY OF VIETNAM



Garth Chazler

TERRY McNAMARA WOULDN'T ABANDON HIS VIETNAMESE CO-WORKERS, EVEN IF IT MEANT A PERILOUS RIVER TRIP.

BY MARC LEEPSON

he word "honor" has a way of coming up regularly when you talk to Terry McNamara about his extraordinary experiences in Vietnam. Which is not surprising considering McNamara, who retired from the Foreign Service in 1993 after having served three tours in Vietnam, titled his well-received 1997 memoir *Escape With Honor: My Last Hours in Vietnam*. McNamara's book told the memorable story of his final Vietnam tour of duty, which began when he was named U.S. consul general in the Mekong Delta in August 1974.

It was a time when the Republic of (South) Vietnam was falling into the anarchy that would lead to the takeover of the country by the North Vietnamese Army on April 30, 1975. As the months went by and the end of the nation of South Vietnam drew near, Terry McNamara's main concern was the physical safety of hundreds of Vietnamese citi-

zens who worked for the U.S. Foreign Service — people whose lives would be in danger after a communist takeover. “I felt a personal responsibility,” McNamara said in recent wide-ranging interview. “We lived with these people for years and to just walk away from them, abandon them, was too much. They had been loyal to us. They had been friends. It was a point of honor.”

McNamara's dilemma was compounded by orders he received from the U.S. Embassy in Saigon. “I was being told that I should leave the Vietnamese behind and just take the Americans out,” he said. “I couldn't do that.” The orders were to take out the American employees via helicopter. The problem was that only three small helicopters were available.

“We could have gotten all the Americans out on the helicopters,” McNamara said. “With three loads maybe it would have been a strain, but we could have done it. But there was no way in the world we could have taken any Vietnamese out by helicopters.”

Faced with upholding what he saw as his commitment to his Vietnamese employees and their families, McNamara devised an ambitious plan. He would lead the effort to take his American and Vietnamese employees out by water, by sailing 70 miles down the Bas Sac branch of the Mekong River from Can Tho and out to sea.

It was a daring plan, and one that ultimately succeeded. But not before McNamara and company overcame some daunting obstacles involving the Viet Cong, the CIA, the South Vietnamese Navy, the U.S. Marines and the U.S. Navy. Ultimately, McNamara and his small staff led some 300 Vietnamese citizens out of the country and to the safety of exile in America.

From Katanga to Vietnam

In retrospect, two aspects of Terry McNamara's life loom as important factors in the success of his April 1975 seaborne escape-and-rescue mission: his Korean wartime service in the U.S. Navy and his Foreign Service experience in several overseas hotspots.

Francis Terry McNamara was born in Troy, N.Y., in 1927 into a large, extended Irish-American family. He

ran away from home and joined the Navy near the end of World War II. McNamara tried college after the war, then rejoined the Navy in 1950, and saw action in the Korean War aboard the heavy cruiser, St. Paul. After his Navy service, McNamara finished college and went to graduate school at Syracuse University before entering the Foreign Service in 1956.

He soon became an Africa specialist. In the early 1960s McNamara was living in Elizabethville, the Katanga province capital of the newly independent Congo, when Katanga seceded from the Congo and what McNamara called a series of “small wars” erupted. “The U.N. Peace Enforcement mission came in and we supported it and they went to war with the Katangans,” he said. “I was living in the middle of all these wars. We had our consulate sacked about five or six times. It went on for two years. It was more dangerous than Vietnam ever was — far more.”

After several other African stints, McNamara volunteered to go to South Vietnam in 1967. He did so, McNamara said in a 1993 Foreign Service Oral History Project interview, “in part” because the war “was the great historic event of our time. I wanted to be part of it — to see it up close.” McNamara arrived in Vietnam in January 1968, just before the massive Tet Offensive. His job: working with USAID in the joint civilian-military pacification program known as CORDS (Civil Operations for Rural Development System).

After surviving the vicious Tet fighting in Saigon, McNamara was sent to Vinh Long Province in the Mekong Delta to replace an adviser who had been killed during the recent fighting. He was made chief of rural development in charge of the civilian developmental programs and a village pacification program. His advisory team was made up of about a dozen civilians and about 250 military personnel.

McNamara stayed in Vinh Long until September 1968. He spent the rest of his first Vietnam tour, which ended in April 1969, as deputy province senior adviser in Quang Tri Province just south of the Demilitarized Zone.

“Living in Quang Tri in those days was a little bit like being in Verdun in World War I,” McNamara said. “The North Vietnamese were just across the Ben Hai River, on the 17th parallel. They would shell, using artillery that they had dug into caves on the other side of the river. They'd wheel them out and fire some shells at us. Quang Tri City was just within their artillery range.”

Marc Leepson is a freelance writer in Middleburg, Va., who served with the U.S. Army in Vietnam in 1967-68. His most recent book is Webster's New World Dictionary of the Vietnam War (Simon & Schuster/Macmillan, 1998).

After that eventful tour, the Foreign Service made McNamara an offer he couldn't refuse: Principal consular officer in Danang. "There was no consular post in the country outside Saigon since the closing of the consulate general in Hue," McNamara said in 1993. "It was important to have a diplomatic listening post in central Vietnam, the most politically active region in the country and the furthest from Saigon." The job turned out to be a very political one. He spent a good deal of time working closely with non-communist opponents of the South Vietnamese regime.

The Great Escape

Terry McNamara left Danang in August 1971. He spent the next three years first at the Naval War College, and then as chargé d'affaires in Dahomey. The next time he saw Vietnam was in August 1974 when he arrived in Can Tho as one of four American consuls general in South Vietnam. It was a job in which he was in charge of about a thousand employees who worked out of 16 offices

"I was being told to leave our Vietnamese employees behind; I couldn't do that."

spread throughout the 18 provinces of the Mekong Delta in southern South Vietnam. Most of the employees were Vietnamese who worked alongside about a hundred Americans and a handful of Filipinos and Koreans.

It was not exactly a calm time. For one thing, the North Vietnamese Army was on the march southward. The U.S.

Congress, in reaction to widespread public disenchantment with South Vietnam's long war against the communists, had cut back drastically on American aid to the South Vietnamese government. As for the U.S. consul general in Can Tho, he was beset with his own problems, most significantly a troubled relationship with the CIA and the U.S. embassy in Saigon.

Early in 1975, the military situation started going seriously downhill in South Vietnam. "As things began to deteriorate elsewhere in the country, I started thinking about evacuation and how to make sure that none of my guys in the 16 offices all over the Delta got left behind," McNamara said. "We had an evacuation plan, which was



The landing craft, filled with departing South Vietnamese, going down the Bas Sac River. Inset: McNamara defuses a confrontation on the river by talking with Commodore Thang.

Photos: Cary Kusschaum

worthless. It called for closing the consulate general and driving to Saigon. That would only work under the most ideal circumstances, like if there wasn't an invading army seizing the territory we were supposed to cross."

Failing that, the plan called for using helicopters to evacuate, which McNamara realized also was unworkable. "When I considered our numbers, I began to realize this would require a major commitment of helicopters, as well as troops to secure LZs [landing zones]. It was just mind-boggling," he said. "Finally, I looked at the feasibility of a water-borne evacuation down the Bas Sac River to the sea."

Then there was the daunting question of determining which Vietnamese employees and family members McNamara could offer safe passage. McNamara estimated that, counting family members, there were some 5,000 people in his employ. "When I started to come to grips with the numbers, I knew there was absolutely no way I could ever get the means to get 5,000 people out of Can Tho," he said.

"Forced to Play God"

Then, late one night, McNamara devised a way to narrow down that figure. "After a lot of soul searching I decided that setting up a system of priorities was the only way to do it." McNamara, with the guidance of his American top staff, set up three categories of employees. Group A consisted of people McNamara "thought would be in mortal danger if they were taken prisoner by the Viet Cong." Group B consisted of "people who could make it in another culture, in the United States or France — educated people who spoke foreign languages and had skills so that they could get jobs." The C category contained everyone else: "the guards, the char ladies, the guy who had 10 children and spoke no language aside from Vietnamese and had no salable skills."

Making those choices was not easy for McNamara, or for his American Foreign Service employees. McNamara called the selection process "a soul-scarring experience" in which he and others were "forced to play God in making what might mean life-or-death decisions." Early in April 1975, McNamara began closing consular offices and sending potential evacuees from the top two categories to Saigon where chances were much better they

*The highest priority
was getting out those
Vietnamese who
would be in mortal
danger if captured
by the Viet Cong.*

could secure passage out of South Vietnam. Then, on April 29, with the enemy on the outskirts of Can Tho, McNamara set in motion the river evacuation plan.

But first he had to overcome opposition from the embassy in Saigon, from the local CIA station chief, and from several people on his own staff who, McNamara said, "were absolutely against going out by water." Those who opposed his plan, McNamara said, "were

just not as committed to the Vietnamese as those of us who had spent years in Vietnam and who had gotten to know the Vietnamese as people and not just as paid informants. Moreover, many were frightened. They believed their own intelligence reports that we might be overrun any minute. They considered going down the river just short of suicidal."

The seventy-mile trip McNamara envisioned, he says, "wasn't suicidal, nor was it without risk." He was aided immeasurably by his Can Tho staff, especially his deputy Hank Cushing and Cary "Kass" Kassebaum, a former Peace Corps volunteer who served as a province representative. "My ex-Peace Corps volunteers like Cary Kassebaum did not panic," McNamara said. "They and my junior FSOs were rock solid. Moreover, these two groups were among the most insistent on our moral responsibility to take care of those Vietnamese who worked for us."

With the North Vietnamese Army literally at the gates of Can Tho, McNamara put his plan into action early in the morning of April 29. He and his staff rounded up hundreds of Vietnamese civilians and their families and ushered them aboard a rice barge and a former Vietnamese Navy LCM, a lightly armored landing barge known as a "mike boat," which McNamara had quietly procured for the river journey.

McNamara personally oversaw the loading of the boats, determined, he said, "to monitor who got on," he said. "I feared overcrowding. I also wished to assure places were given those on our priority lists." To lighten the tension, McNamara donned a helmet liner several of his Marine guards had given him. Painted navy blue, it was adorned with a large gold star and the sarcastic inscription "Commodore of the Can Tho Yacht Club." The helmet "was a joke," McNamara said. "I put it on

because I felt that one of the best ways of maintaining morale and preventing panic was to appear confident, even lighthearted. So I tried to joke with people and to relieve tension."

It turned out to be an extremely tension-filled morning. "The Vietnamese, naturally, were worried and scared," McNamara said. "My young Marines and CORDS old-timers were businesslike but joined in my show of bravado. We tried hard to maintain a calm, matter-of-fact front. As we started on this adventure, I was not as full of self-confidence as I tried to appear."

After several mechanical glitches, McNamara's two-vessel convoy set out down the river. They soon joined forces, as planned, with a second LCM piloted by a former Vietnamese naval officer who knew the river well. Altogether, the small flotilla carried some 300 Vietnamese, 18 Americans, and six Filipinos.

Choosing which Vietnamese to take and which to leave behind was a "soul-scarring experience."

Armed Standoff on the River

As they continued down the river, McNamara and company could hear machine-gun fire as the final hours of the Vietnam War raged around them. Then, about seven miles into the trip, the convoy took fire — not from the enemy, but from a group of South Vietnamese navy "monitor" boats. "The lead monitor fired a machine gun volley over the bow of the leading LCM," McNamara said. "The signal was unmis-

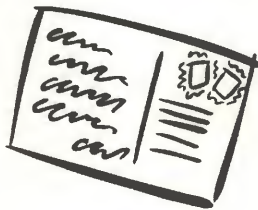
takable. I gave the order to stop."

A young Vietnamese Navy lieutenant told McNamara he had orders from South Vietnamese Army (ARVN) Maj. Gen. Nguyen Khoa Nam, his corps commander, to stop the evacuation because McNamara's group contained ARVN personnel and draft-age males. What followed was a very tense standoff.

"The navy people wanted to come on board our boats. I refused to let them," McNamara said. "We were at an

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impasse surrounded in midstream with awesome 40- and 20-millimeter guns pointed down our throats. Most of the males on our three boats were heavily armed. If the navy people had come on the boat and tried to take any of the Vietnamese off, there could have been a shootout. I could not allow this to happen. All three boats were full of women and children."

McNamara decided to pull some strings. He asked the Vietnamese Navy lieutenant to contact Commodore Thang, who was in charge of the South Vietnamese Navy in the Delta. Not coincidentally, McNamara had gotten the commodore's wife and children evacuated through Saigon several weeks earlier. Ninety nerve-wracking minutes later the commodore showed up in a small boat.

"We greeted each other as friends," McNamara said. "He smiled at me, [and said] 'You don't have any officers, soldiers or males of military age on your boats, do you?'"

"Of course, not," I replied. "The people in our boats are all my employees and their families."

The commodore said the evacuation could continue, but first introduced McNamara to a young sailor whose

elderly father was on one of McNamara's boats. "He encouraged the sailor to say good-bye to his father in full view of all of the other sailors," McNamara said. "It was a very touching good-bye. The young sailor was staying behind. This disarmed the other sailors whose animosity disappeared."

To ease tensions further, McNamara gave the rice boat, which was limping along on a broken propeller, to the South Vietnamese sailors. "We took the people who had been on the rice barge and divided them among the two LCMs," he said. "This meant that all our people were in modern, seaworthy craft behind protected armor. I was greatly relieved."

Then the two LCMs resumed their journey, but not before McNamara had the Americans disarm all the Vietnamese on board. "Perhaps they had no choice, but we got no resistance," he said. "My men circulated among the Vietnamese reassuring them in their own language. We kept the guns on the top of the engine compartment behind the steering post. The Marines were there to guard them. We also had a machine gun off

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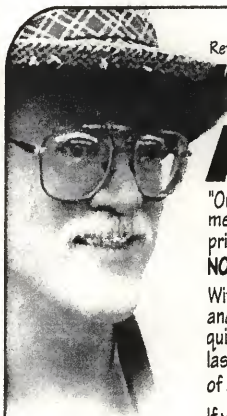
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one side and a BAR [Browning automatic rifle] off the other side. All of the Americans were armed."

The Last Shots Fired

In the middle of the afternoon, about a half hour after the South Vietnamese Navy incident, McNamara's convoy again took fire — this time from the Viet Cong. "Out of the corner of my eye, I saw a flash," McNamara said. "I turned my head instinctively in that direction. To my horror, I saw a long rocket with flame at the rear. I jammed the throttles to full speed." He ordered the Marines to return fire. "We put up a tremendous volume of fire. Some of the Vietnamese got hold of M-16s and supplemented fire by the Marines and my CORDS people. One or two rockets were fired and we put up such a volume of fire that they must have decided to leave us alone."

The convoy escaped unharmed. That short but intense skirmish on the Bas Sac River on April 29, though, is historically significant. McNamara believes — and no one has challenged his assertion — that, as he puts it in his book, "these were the last shots fired by Americans" in the nation's longest and most controversial overseas war.

Soon after that incident, about midway in their journey, the tiny flotilla approached a known Viet Cong infiltration route that crossed the river. "The VC held the banks on both sides of the river and often occupied the islands in midstream," McNamara said. "The channel narrowed as it passed between the islands. We would be dangerously close to shore."

Just as they were about to enter what McNamara called "the most perilous part of the trip down river," there was a tremendous downpour of rain. "The rain covering our passage through this very dangerous patch was another piece of extraordinary good luck," McNamara said. The convoy made it through the area without encountering the enemy. The rain stopped soon after they emerged into the wide river below the islands.

At about seven o'clock, after some 12 hours on the river, McNamara and company reached the South China Sea. He decided to push on out to sea to rendezvous with the U.S. Navy ships he believed were waiting to pick up Americans and South Vietnamese. McNamara had sent several radio messages to the evacuation fleet telling of his convoy's imminent arrival.

"Symbolically, as the sun set, we left Vietnam," McNamara remembered. "I remember looking back as the sun set over the Mekong Delta for the last time. God,

it was beautiful. A beautiful big red-orange sunset over the flat, lush region."

As night was falling, McNamara's two LCMs headed into the open sea with only a rudimentary navigational system. There was no compass in his boat and he could not be sure of his directions as the night became increasingly dark and low clouds obscured the stars. It turned out that McNamara's only point of reference was intermittent gun flashes from a big battle going on on shore.

Rescue on a Dark Sea

Adding to his navigational woes, McNamara did not know how much fuel he had, and he had problems communicating with the Vietnamese captain of the other LCM. After considering laying by for the night near the shore, McNamara decided to make a run for some bright lights he saw in the distance.

Those lights turned out to be the Pioneer Contender, an American freighter contracted by the CIA for evacuation purposes. "The ship had a Marine contingent aboard as guards. As we came alongside, they were not happy about these strange boats coming out of the night. Initially, they were reluctant to let us come aboard. Finally, we convinced them that we were fellow Americans and not pirates or VC saboteurs."

The Marines hauled McNamara and company aboard using rope slings. "We were on the ship; we were safe," McNamara said. "But they hadn't been waiting for us; they didn't expect us. There was no Navy ship anywhere near the mouth of the Mekong. The Navy had simply forgotten."

The ship then made its way to an anchorage off Vung Tau before taking the Vietnamese to Guam, where they stayed in a resettlement camp before being flown to the United States. McNamara and the Americans hitched a ride aboard a Korean PT boat, which took them to the evacuation ship U.S.S. Blue Ridge, which soon sailed for the United States.

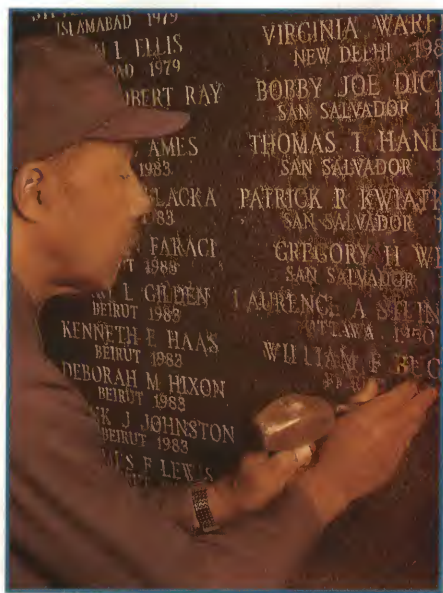
The harrowing journey was over. Terry McNamara overcame great odds to deliver his Vietnamese and Americans out of Vietnam. Would he, in retrospect, have done things the same way?

"I can't think of anything else," he said in 1999. "I'd have to do it again. I was being told that I should leave the Vietnamese behind and just take the Americans out. I couldn't do that."

It was a matter of honor. ■

FOCUS ON THE DIPLOMAT AS HERO

“UNDER HEROIC OR TRAGIC
CIRCUMSTANCES”



TWHO HAS THE RIGHT TO BE LISTED ON AFSA'S MEMORIAL PLAQUE? DECADE AFTER DECADE, THE DEBATE CONTINUES.

By DAVID T. JONES

The names span the paired marble plaques on opposite sides of the State Department's diplomatic entrance at C Street. A litany of 186 diplomatic and government personnel who have died on active duty in the service of their country over the past two centuries, the plaques constitute an engraved reminder to all who pass by of the potential costs of diplomatic service. It is a roster which long ago filled the original plaque on the west side of the lobby and has already covered most of its counterpart on the east side.

Both the passage of time and the annual observance of Foreign Service Day, which all too often is the occasion for a new set of names to be chiseled into the stone (eight were added last year following the terrorist bombings in Kenya and Tanzania, for example), naturally lead us to focus on the more contemporary memorial. As a result, however, the

stories of the 81 names on the original plaque on the west side of the C Street lobby and the story of its creation have largely passed from living memory.

A Roll Call Of Honor

Although the plaques are in Main State, they were actually presented to the State Department by the American Foreign Service Association, with the cost of the first plaque paid entirely through contributions by AFSA's members. The inspiration for this initiative was a "Roll of Honor" published in the January 1929 *Foreign Service Journal* listing those diplomats who had died "by violence, natural or criminal." The roster was expanded that May to include others who had died at posts "from diseases not encountered in the ordinary course of American life."

From the very start, then, the criteria for inclusion in the memorial have been fluid. In fact, they have changed several times over the past 70 years. Whatever those guidelines have been at any given time, however, the selection process has always been painstaking and meticulous — though it has also seemed arbitrary in some respects, requiring fine distinctions.

In March 1930, nearly a year after the original honor roll had appeared in print, the AFSA executive committee appointed a subcommittee to investigate "a memorial plaque for the Foreign Service Honor Roll." The committee approached Secretary of State Henry L. Stimson for his concurrence but did not seek any funds from the department. (Stimson would, however, make a very generous personal contribution to the project at a later stage.)

Despite the lack of opposition to the idea, the process of transcribing the memorial concept into reality went quite slowly. It took yet another year, until February 1931, for the subcommittee to finally seek contributions for what it advertised as a "Foreign Service Honor Roll." Left unresolved at this point was the question of whether the plaque would list the names of all Foreign Service members who died in the line of duty or whether it would be restricted to those dying under "tragic or heroic circumstances," as the original concept had defined it.

Later in 1931, AFSA sent out a fund-raising letter,

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

but only to its own members. The organization's insistence on limiting solicitations to Foreign Service personnel was so adamant, in fact, that when the consul general of Chile in New York proposed to contribute \$1 to the memorial fund, the executive committee felt compelled to review the matter before accepting. Ultimately, the *Foreign Service Journal* editor was directed to write him a letter welcoming the contribution in the "spirit" in which it was offered, while reiterating that AFSA was not soliciting the foreign diplomatic community for funds. Similarly, although representatives of other U. S. government agencies besides State were posted overseas, their donations were not sought.

By November 1931, sufficient funds were on hand for the committee to authorize seeking an estimate for a plaque. The June 1932 AFSA annual report provided an update on the memorial to "those members of the Foreign Service meeting death under heroic and/or tragic circumstances," noting that contributions had reached \$1,152.48.

Donations continued to trickle in until approximately \$1,350 had been collected by November 1932. AFSA then engaged an architect, Waddy B. Wood, who designed the tablet — Virginia greenstone, hand-carved "V" cut letters with gold leaf gilding, trim and base of gray marble — at a projected cost of \$1,116, not including bronze bases and flags. The final price only slightly exceeded that estimate, but even a small overrun posed a real problem given the exigencies of the Depression. Attempting to address the increased costs, one committee member suggested discreetly approaching the secretary of State and the assistant secretaries to make up any shortfall by affording them an opportunity to "share in the work." While AFSA declined to do so, instead directing the subcommittee to continue fundraising, in the end it gratefully accepted Secretary of State Stimson's offer to cover the cost of the bronze bases and flags out of his own pocket.

The plaque was erected on March 3, 1933 in a ceremony at the entrance to what is now the Old Executive Office Building (it then housed the State, War, and Navy departments). Secretary Stimson's dedication address asserted that in order for names to be listed, the loss of life must have occurred "under circumstances of peculiar tragedy or peculiar heroism."

An Evolving Monument

This formulation was in accord with the decision of the AFSA executive committee at its November 1932 meeting. The editor of the *Journal*, Augustus E. Ingram, had recommended the following inscription: "Erected by members of the American Foreign Service Association in memory of diplomatic and consular officers of the United States who lost their lives while on active duty in foreign lands." Such an inscription would by definition have included all personnel dying overseas.

The executive committee, however, stuck to its position of limiting the list and determined instead that the plaque should read: "Erected by members of the American Foreign Service Association in honor of diplomatic and consular officers of the United States who while on active duty lost their lives *under heroic or tragic circumstances.*" (Differences italicized.)

These guidelines were clearly in mind as the executive committee rejected candidates in the early 1940s who had died in automobile accidents, of blood poisoning, and of tetanus and typhoid fever. (Indeed, during the past 70 years, only one officer has been memorialized for death from natural causes: Robert A. McKinnon, who died of tropical disease while working virtually alone under extremely difficult circumstances in Ouagadougou in 1961.) The records emphasize the delicate nature of the reviews, the executive committee's determination that "the fullest possible consideration be given to every case," and its commitment to avoid deciding in a perfunctory manner.

In addition, the committee remained equally resolved to restrict the memorial plaque to "diplomatic and consular officers." One case considered in 1943 concerned a State Department civil servant lost at sea en route to Iceland on a fact-finding assignment. The committee rejected his nomination, noting *inter alia* that his selection would "not be justified in breaking with a long tradition" and that to approve it would necessitate review of all previous cases.

The end of World War II brought new U.S. global responsibilities and with them a fresh perspective on "old school" elitism. In May 1946, a special committee reviewed the circumstances surrounding selection of names for the plaque. Willing to step on a few toes, this committee concluded that the basis for selection should be "death under peculiarly heroic circumstances in the performance of acts abroad, beyond and above the

accepted high standard of duty." Moreover, "all American personnel of the Service," not only diplomatic and consular officers, should be eligible. (Although the expansion beyond the diplomatic and consular ranks has been a closed issue for over 50 years now, it still rankles some who would prefer to honor only State Department personnel.)

In the early days of air travel, a number of diplomatic couriers died in air crashes, but as they were not "diplomatic or consular officers," they did not qualify for retroactive inclusion on the list. They are, however, now recognized on a separate plaque also at the department's diplomatic entrance.

From Vietnam to the Present

Indeed, it was not until 1965 that an individual other than a "diplomatic or consular officer" was included in the memorial. That year, Barbara Robbins, a secretary killed in the bombing of the Saigon embassy and subsequently publicly identified as a CIA employee, was added

DEATH IN JERUSALEM

In 1948, when Thomas C. Wasson was consul general in Jerusalem, political control of the city was still undecided following Israel's declaration of independence. There was sporadic fighting in and around the city. Given those conditions, Wasson was specially selected for his posting because of his reputation for personal courage as well as competence. Those same qualities served him in good stead in his concomitant capacity as the U.S. representative on the three-person truce commission of the U.N. Security Council.

While returning on May 21, 1948 on foot from a commission meeting that had attempted to arrange a cease-fire, Wasson was shot by a sniper. (The sniper, who was never identified, also wounded a Navy communicator assigned to the consulate, Herbert M. Walker, who had tried to rescue Wasson.) The diplomat died shortly afterwards of his wounds, but not before sending his last official message: a commendation for a civilian guard who had carried Walker to safety. Walker also subsequently died of his wounds.

An editorial comment by the *Boston Traveler* newspaper on Wasson's death still has resonance today: "A cookie pusher? There were no cookies at Jerusalem."

F O C U S

to the list. She was the first of 36 individuals to be listed on the plaque as dying in Vietnam, Cambodia or Laos.

The heavy losses of Foreign Service personnel in Southeast Asia during the Vietnam War spurred not only the addition of a second memorial plaque but a further reassessment of the qualifications for listing honorees. The extended delay in honoring many of the Vietnam casualties had engendered suspicions among FSOs that the department was attempting to conceal the extent of its losses from a rank and file (and a larger public) increasingly skeptical of the purpose and value of the war effort.

With the "new" plaque, erected on the east wall of the diplomatic entrance on Foreign Service Day in 1972, came a new set of qualifications: it was dedicated to "those Americans who have lost their lives under heroic or other inspirational circumstances while serving the government abroad in foreign affairs." A limitation on the time of eligibility for inclusion on the plaque was dropped, and the phrase "other inspirational circumstances" has ever since been broadly interpreted to com-

prehend the distinctive dangers, including terrorist acts, of life and work in the Foreign Service. In 1983, AFSA further expanded eligibility beyond the Foreign Service to include employees of all agencies serving abroad under the authority of a chief of mission.

Until 1993, an ad hoc committee reviewed candidates for inclusion on the plaque and made recommendations to the AFSA Governing Board. Since then, a blue-ribbon Plaque Committee has proposed the names. They have walked a fine line in weighing the normal hazards of line-of-duty life overseas — e.g., Third World traffic and questionable airlines — against the tragic, individual cases.

The expanded range of agencies and the implicit vagueness entailed in defining "other inspirational circumstances" have made for some hard calls. In 1988, after decades of extended discussion, AFSA finally agreed to include Ambassador Lawrence Steinhardt, who had died in the crash of a U.S. Air Force plane near Ottawa, Canada in 1950. Ultimately, Ambassador Steinhardt was judged to have been on official business

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during the flight and thereby qualified for retroactive commemoration.

Nor is being murdered overseas necessarily sufficient qualification for inclusion on the plaque: two female government agency employees have been stabbed to death during the last decade (one in London and one in Cairo), but as their deaths did not occur in embassies or at the hands of terrorists, they did not qualify. On the other hand, while it remains unclear whether the air tragedy that killed Ambassador Arnold Raphel and his defense attaché Herbert M. Wassom (as well as the Pakistani president and many other people) in 1988 was an act of terrorism, both men are memorialized. And although all 12 Americans killed in the August 1998 bombing in Nairobi were working at the embassy, only the eight who were directly hired government employees were added to the plaque.

Yet even under the restrictive criteria that govern the addition of names to the plaque, the total number of citations has more than doubled since 1968 (from 85 to 186). Since the end of the Vietnam War, more career ambassadors have been killed at their posts than flag rank military officers have died in combat. (But not one political appointee ambassador has been killed abroad.)

Despite our best efforts to enhance the security of our diplomatic and consular missions, more names will be added to the plaque. The roll call will continue to encompass all ranks, from secretaries to ambassadors; civilians as well as military personnel; employees of USAID, USIA, CIA, and other government agencies as well as State Department officials. But however long the list of inscriptions becomes, we should never forget that each individually gave his or her life in the line of duty. ■

FIGHTING THE GOOD FIGHT

Compared to the frequency of terrorist attacks on Foreign Service personnel in recent years, relatively few of our early diplomats were killed at some of the "wild and woolly" posts of earlier times. In fact, prior to 1900, only two U.S. diplomats were murdered in the line of duty; and of the 34 deaths between 1900 and 1965 that are memorialized on the plaque, only five resulted from "criminal violence" (to use the language of the original 1929 commemoration). Here is one prominent example:

In the late 1880s, Victor F. W. Stanwood, an American consular agent, was stationed on Madagascar's west coast at Andakabe. The political situation in Stanwood's district was extremely unstable, due to the efforts of the local Sukalava tribe to obtain greater autonomy from the weak central government. Inciting further disorder were slave traders, frequently operating under the U.S. flag, who procured slaves from the Sukalavas in return for weapons and munitions to sustain their rebellion.

Stanwood produced an inch-thick set of reports, dating from August 1887, which he systematically forwarded to the consul, who was located in the principal port of Tamatave on the island's east coast. Stanwood repeatedly urged U.S. intervention with the government to eliminate the slave trade. Towards that end,

he not only provided detailed information on the slavers and their use of the U.S. flag to protect their activities, but he recounted repeated threats on his life from the slavers. The consul, who was newly-arrived, simply sat on Stanwood's reports, commenting in a communique of his own sent to Washington in February 1888 only that he had to be "prudent" about transmitting the reports because their author had "a reputation for exaggeration." He finally forwarded the reports in October of that year, but Stanwood was already dead before they arrived in Washington.

The exact circumstances of his demise are unclear. On Nov. 5, 1888, Stanwood, who had noted in one of his reports that "no one yet has ever had the temerity to say I am a coward," and who apparently had gone about armed for months, was investigating "irregularities" relating to the schooner *Solitaire* at a port south of Andakabe. The ship reportedly was partly loaded with firearms, and it was there that he was shot by a Captain du Verge. Information on Stanwood's death did not reach the consul until Dec. 9, 1888. He dismissed the death as the consequence of "internal disorders and the incapability of the government to cope with them" and dropped the matter. Neither du Verge nor anyone else was ever charged in the killing of Stanwood.

RUSSIAN ANTI-AMERICANISM: WHY IT'S ON THE RISE

NATO'S BOMBING OF YUGOSLAVIA HAS RAISED
ANTI-AMERICANISM AMONG ORDINARY RUSSIANS TO UNPRECEDENTED LEVELS.

BY VLADIMIR SHLAPENTOKH

Recently, anti-American headlines in the Russian media have been replaced by coverage of the Islamic rebellion in Dagestan, a republic in southwestern Russia, and President Boris Yeltsin's naming of yet another Russian prime minister. But while anti-Americanism is not the lead story in Russia (for the moment, at least), distrust of the U.S. is already strong and will remain strong in the near future.

Until quite recently, anti-American complaints did not dominate Russian public opinion polls. In April 1996, for example, the All-Russian Center of Public Opinion Studies asked the question: "If they exist, who are the enemies of Russia?" Only 9 percent responded "the West as a whole," and just 7 percent pointed directly at the United States; but 16 percent said Chechnya. In another poll conducted that same year by Moscow's Institute of Sociology in conjunction with Michigan State University, 72 percent of respondents held either a "very favorable" or "somewhat favorable" opinion of the United States and Americans. No more than 20 percent of respondents were concerned about the Americanization of Russian life.

The rise of anti-American feelings among the Russian people really began to accelerate in 1996. Beset by economic stagnation, increasing crime and spreading corruption, Russians began looking for scapegoats. As in the past, they pointed to "Jewish oligarchs" and to the Chechen and Azerbaijani mafias operating inside Russia, but increasingly, they focused their discontent on

America. To the Russians — including many liberal reformers — the United States had failed to make good on promises to help rebuild the country.

In fact, many Russians became convinced that the United States saw their country as an economic rival and was trying to stifle their economic growth with various sanctions against its enterprises. However, even after the financial catastrophe of August 1998, when the Russian standard of living plunged, Russians still expressed benign feelings toward the United States. A poll conducted last December by the All-Russian Center of Public Opinion Studies, for example, found that 68 percent of Russians had a positive attitude toward America.

The Yugoslav Turning Point

Without question, the bombing of Yugoslavia was the catalyst for a pronounced rise in anti-American feeling throughout Russia. Sixty-one percent of respondents to a survey taken shortly after the war began endorsed then-Prime Minister Yevgeny Primakov's decision to turn his flight around midway to Washington after he learned about the first air assault on Serbia. Almost all media and most politicians campaigned against NATO, which was identified as completely in thrall to the United States. Last April, polling by Moscow's Fund of Public Opinion found that 72 percent of Russians described themselves as hostile toward the USA, an unprecedented finding.

Another survey revealed that Russians were in striking agreement as to who was responsible for the war: 63 percent laid the blame on NATO, while only 6 percent identified Yugoslavia as the culprit. Soon thereafter, advertisements began appearing touting certain goods as "Russian-made," not "made in America" (formerly a status symbol among Russian consumers). Even prominent liberal political Boris Nemtsov called for a boycott of American-made goods.

Vladimir Shlapentokh, who was educated in the former Soviet Union, is a professor of sociology at Michigan State University. Joshua Woods, a student at Michigan State University, assisted in the preparation of this article.

Our Slavic Brothers

Why such an outcry over a relatively brief and largely bloodless military campaign which did not even affect Russia directly? Several factors explain how Russian attitudes towards the Balkan conflict so readily fueled anti-Americanism.

First, Russian sympathy for the Serbian position reflects a historical yearning for the days of empire. Even before the war, opinion polls indicated that about three-quarters of the Russian population bemoaned the collapse of the Soviet Union and Russia's consequent loss of international status (though most Russians did not blame the U.S. directly for that result). So the American attack on Yugoslavia "awoke the imperial beast in Russia," as Russian writer Andrei Kolesnikov noted in *Izvestia* on April 10, 1999.

In the eyes of the masses, then, NATO's intervention in Kosovo simply reconfirmed the West's contempt for Russia's position in the international arena. And its success underscored the fact that America is the sole remaining superpower — a thought that was unbearable for many, even some liberals. In a small, e-mail poll that I conducted among Russian professionals in late April, one respondent even claimed that the United States "is transforming [itself] into a fascist state that tries to control the world by usurping the right to punish other nations with military means."

Secondly, this nostalgia for empire tends to be couched in terms of "pan-Slavism": the conviction that Russia and its Slavic brothers to the west are both divinely favored and under constant attack from other powers. Slobodan Milosevic's otherwise ludicrous invitation for Russia and Belarus to join Serbia in a grand Slavic confederation, and the fact that Russia, which would have the most to lose under such an arrangement, did not dismiss it out of hand, become more understandable in this light.

Third, some Russians felt genuine moral indignation regarding the bombardment of Yugoslavia, a nation they regarded as having suffered many civilian casualties and which had a crumbling economic infrastructure. (Many of these same Russians had denounced Moscow's war against Chechnya from 1994 to 1996.) Others seized the convenient opening to condemn the bombings as beligerent attacks on a sovereign and defenseless country.

Both schools of thought enabled Russians to regain

**When NATO
began bombing
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72 percent of Russians
in one survey declared
themselves
"hostile to the U.S."**

their sense of moral superiority, lost in the rise of crime and corruption in the post-Soviet era. Thus, Russian President Boris Yeltsin was able to tell the newspaper *Nezavisimaya Gazeta* that its role in the Balkan war had restored Russia's "moral and cultural superiority over the world." The media joined Yeltsin's chorus; many Russian journalists claimed they were the only source of objective information about developments in the Balkans.

Ironically, of course, at the same time that Russians were claiming moral superiority over the West, their attitudes about the plight of Albanian Kosovars were callous. Only 17 percent of those surveyed thought that Albanians were fleeing because of Serbian aggression, while 83 percent attributed the mass exodus to NATO bombardment and mobilization of the Kosovo Liberation Army. Nobel prize-winning writer Aleksandr Solzhenitsyn, regarded by both Russians and Westerners as the "conscience of the Russian people," refused to give even lip service to the plight of Albanian refugees. He fervently condemned NATO aggression and described Western leaders as "monsters." Sergei Karaganov, a member of the Russian Presidential Council, exonerated Serbian President Slobodan Milosevic for the mass exodus of ethnic Albanians, explaining it as "a normal development of war."

Finally, Russia's straddling Europe and Asia has left it with a well-founded fear of encirclement and attack by foreign aggressors. Considering the well-known weakness of the Russian military (which led to humiliating defeat in Chechnya), and the country's many other internal ethnic conflicts, it is not so far-fetched for it to worry that if NATO could find a pretext for intervening in Yugoslavia, nothing would deter it from doing the same in Russia. Thus, some 70 percent of Russians believed in April 1999 that "military action in Yugoslavia presents a direct threat to Russian security," according to the Fund of Public Opinion Bulletin. Among well educated Russians, even more — 74 percent — agreed with that statement.

Furthermore, despite warnings from Russian leaders, NATO has already expanded to include former members of the Warsaw Pact, with more to come. And when all 15 former Soviet republics participated in NATO's 50th anniversary celebrations in May, Russians felt betrayed and completely isolated from the rest of the world.

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Not Ready for Confrontation

One must be careful not to overstate the extent of Russian anger about the war. Even at the height of the aerial campaign, one poll found that 86 percent of respondents (and 82 percent of Russian Communist Party supporters) asserted that "Russia should not be involved in the conflict." Furthermore, just 4 percent of the respondents supported deploying a military force to Serbia, and only 3 percent supported breaking diplomatic relations with the United States and other NATO members.

Furthermore, as tensions between Moscow and NATO subsided in May and the war tapered off in June, the Russian media began offering more balanced coverage of developments in Yugoslavia and the plight of Albanian refugees. In particular, coverage by Russian Independent TV (NTV) closely mirrored the Western version of the crisis. As a result, surveys showed that more Russians sided with NATO, although bias in favor of the Serbs remained.

Still, apprehension about American intentions toward Russia persisted and Russian liberals continued to view the bombing of Yugoslavia as a huge mistake on the part of the Americans. In June, the Russian Duma (parliament) almost unanimously supported the creation of a special commission to investigate the "NATO atrocities in Yugoslavia." Elena Misulina, one of the most prominent members of "Yabloko," the main reformist party, agreed to participate in the commission.

Anti-American Consensus

The Balkan war has presented opposition forces, particularly the nationalists and communists, with a golden opportunity to enhance their

political profiles and to move toward taking control of the Duma and Kremlin in the upcoming legislative and presidential elections (in December 1999 and June 2000, respectively). Towards that end, their propaganda has continued to accuse the United States of destabilizing Yugoslavia in order to establish dominance in Europe and the world. For example, not only did the war violate international law and the existing international order, wrote Vladimir Koveleskiy and Valeriy Batuev in *Moskovski Komsomolets* (vigorously anti-communist and the most popular newspaper in Russia), but it was a betrayal of former Russian allies in Eastern Europe and would be the ruin of the United Nations.

The main beneficiary of NATO's campaign against Serbia has been former prime minister Yevgeny Primakov. Supported by leftist and nationalist parties in the Duma for his forthright condemnation of the war, Primakov enjoyed the highest popularity rating in Russia before being ousted by Yeltsin on May 12. Despite his dismissal, Primakov remains one of the main contenders to succeed Yeltsin next year and his initiatives have already set the stage for a new era in Russian domestic and foreign policy.

As a result, the shifting liberal establishment has already begun to explore a post-Yeltsin foreign policy program. In April 1999, liberals, most of whom were or are still active in the Yeltsin administration, published their foreign policy proposals in *Nezavisimaya Gazeta*, an authoritative voice for moderate nationalists. Most proposals leaned toward Primakov's positions, as the liberals tried to assume a moderate stance, distancing themselves from both communists and nationalist extremists. While the program called on the Russian people not to

**Many Russians
worried that if NATO
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in Russia.**

"demonize the members of NATO," it also suggested that NATO was perpetually in search of an enemy, that "without an enemy, it loses its breath," and that Russia must sever its formal relationship with the organization.

The authors claimed that the Balkan war was a turning point for the restoration of the "political and psychological elements of the Cold War." They claimed that, for Russia, the "cheapest way to defend against potential aggressors" was the use of nuclear weapons and that the Balkan conflict had led to "an enormous political push for the proliferation of nuclear weapons." The declaration's authors saw Russia as doomed to live in a world of "international disorder," an environment "more dangerous than the Cold War years."

One of the manifesto's core proposals was a program to modernize Russia's military by developing strategic and tactical nuclear weapons. This way, the world would have confirmation of Russia's readiness to use these weapons in case of aggression against Russia and its allies, the authors argued.

Most Russian politicians and intellectuals now concur with Aleksandr Lukin, a Council of Foreign and Defense Policy member, political scientist and Yeltsin

loyalist, that NATO "used the situation in Kosovo as a pretext to undermine international law," and that NATO is an aggressive organization striving to "achieve dominance over the world." Lukin, along with other politicians of all political stripes, has proposed that Russia abandon cooperation with NATO in favor of establishing an anti-American alliance of Russia, China and India, nuclear powers that could confront the United States and NATO.

Is the U.S. Fascist?

Likewise, even the liberal media joined the opposition's anti-American campaign, condemning American foreign policy in general and the United States as a nation. As early as March and April of this year, liberal newspapers like *Izvestia* began denouncing America as a nation of idiots and hypocrites. *Moskovski Komsomolets* ran one article, entitled "Is There Fascism in America?" connecting the tragedy in Littleton, Colo., with the war against Milosevic. It also equated President Bill Clinton with Hitler.

Such attacks probably reflect a short-term sense of betrayal more than a permanent turn against the West on the part of the liberal political establishment. From their perspective, after all, America had stabbed them in the back with the war on Milosevic and thereby undermined their prospects in future elections, leaving the door open to a nationalist takeover. As liberal Yegor Gaidar said on the Russian television program "Mirror" on April 4, "the war is a big gift to [Communist Party leader Gennady] Zyuganov." The well-known pro-Western reformer Anatoly Chubais told the Reuters news agency that it "will take one to three years for Russia's relations with the West to return to normal," a prediction many consider optimistic.



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*A shift toward
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succeeds Yeltsin
in the Russian
presidency.*

At the fringes of political discourse, U.S. involvement in the Balkans has triggered a host of conspiracy theories. Some commentators assert that the intervention was actually paving the way for an attack on Russia. Others have suggested that the United States started the war to undermine the euro, the new universal European currency, because it was a threat to the dollar.

Another concern in this atmosphere is that psychologically unfit individuals might gain access to nuclear and other weapons in the Russian arsenal. In an article in April in *Zavtra*, the main nationalist newspaper, commentators Vladislav Shurygin and Denis Tukmakov suggested that Russia, with its current economic crisis, would suffer far less from nuclear war than wealthy Europe and America.

Nor is such rhetoric limited to the lunatic fringe. Soon after the bombing of Serbia began, Gen. Anatoliy Kvashnin, chief of the Russian Armed Forces General Staff, warned that Russia was ready to use nuclear weapons against any threatening foreign adversary. Similar threats were also made by Gen. Victor Chechevatov, commander of the Far East military district, and Gen. Leonid Ivashov, director of the department for international

cooperation at the Ministry of Defense, who advocated and possibly initiated deployment of Russian troops to Kosovo. Although these statements were quickly disavowed by more responsible figures, Russia's lethal capabilities make threats like these a serious concern for America.

A Bumpy Road Ahead

NATO's campaign against Serbia, however justified it may have been, and the anti-American attitudes it has fomented, have forced Russian reformers to distance themselves from the U.S., at least publicly, thereby slowing down the country's already tortuous path toward liberal capitalism and democracy. Worse, it has done so at a particularly delicate juncture: during the period leading up to the next parliamentary and presidential elections.

The fact that some 83 percent of Communist Party leader Gennady Zyuganov's supporters harbor anti-American attitudes is not particularly surprising — but even among those who back liberal presidential candidate Grigoriy Yavlinsky, 72 percent have recently declared negative attitudes toward America. Similarly, anti-Americanism has been found among the wealthy as well as the poor, among the highly educated as well as the less schooled, and among Russian youth, the major target of Western reformers. In short, never before has the level of Russian animosity toward America been so high. (It is worse than during the 1962 Cuban missile crisis, by some accounts.)

Whatever actions the United States might take to remedy this perception, this antipathy will likely persist. And perhaps most worrying of all, no matter who occupies the Kremlin, he is likely to use anti-Americanism to consolidate his power. ■

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BOOKS

CULTURE CLASH ON THE EAST RIVER

Unvanquished: A U.S.-U.N. Saga

Boutros Boutros-Ghali, Random House, 1999, \$29.95, hardcover, 352 pages.

BY EDWARD MARKS

With his title — *Unvanquished: A U.S.-U.N. Saga* — Boutros Boutros-Ghali sets the theme for his memoir of four tumultuous years as secretary general of the United Nations. This is a book about his relationship with a Clinton administration torn between wanting to look good and wanting to do good. It is well known that the relationship soured and the result was Boutros-Ghali's exit from the 38th floor of the U.N. building. In writing his book, Boutros-Ghali argues that the result of his personal exile was a "loss of an opportunity to construct an agreed post-Cold War structure for international peace and security."

Boutros-Ghali goes into detail about how he fell out with the Clinton administration. He is less clear about why it happened, but identifies as major reasons a combination of inex-

Edward Marks, a retired FSO, is chairman of the Foreign Service Journal's editorial board. He was ambassador to the Republics of Guinea-Bissau and Cape Verde from 1977 to 1980.

perience, lack of seriousness about foreign affairs and preoccupation with domestic politics on the part of the Clinton administration.

Unvanquished is deliciously full of sly and not-so-sly digs at American foreign policy chiefs. Secretary of State Madeleine Albright — whom Boutros-Ghali knew as U.S. U.N. representative — comes under scrutiny, as does former Secretary of State Warren Christopher and President Bill Clinton. He also makes clear his distaste for Jamie Rubin, Ambassador Albright's press spokesman at the U.N. and now at the State Department. Boutros-Ghali dishes with a light touch. For example, he describes Ambassador Albright as "shy and nice," but later adds, "I was puzzled, however, by what seemed her desire to strike attitudes rather than address substantive matters. She seemed to have little interest in the difficult diplomatic work of persuading her foreign counterparts to go along with the position of her government. . . . She seemed to assume that her mere assertion of a U.S. policy should be sufficient to achieve support of other nations."

Boutros-Ghali did not have problems with all Americans. Former Secretary of State Cyrus Vance, former chairman of the Federal Reserve Bank Paul Volker, who was asked by Boutros-Ghali to help with the U.N.'s financial crisis, and a long list of former U.S. ambassadors to Egypt receive warm words. In particular, former ambassador Robert Oakley is

described as "articulately taciturn," a man whom Boutros Ghali praises for his role as a special representative to Somalia. Significantly, Oakley consulted with the secretary general about his mission to Somalia, despite Ambassador Albright's instructions not to do so.

Like most memoirs, *Unvanquished* is Boutros-Ghali's justification of his life. It is full of statements from others supportive of his policies and replete with details of private conversations and meetings. For example, Boutros-Ghali relates how, when his relationship with the Clinton administration soured, he asked Christopher and Albright what the problem was. He reports that their replies were vague and evasive. Years after being denied a second term as secretary general, he claims that the conflict was one-sided and that he made a sincere effort to work with the United States.

Still, *Unvanquished* is not simply an apology. It offers insight into important events in Cambodia, Somalia, Haiti, the Balkans and Iraq, as well as other trans-national issues during Boutros-Ghali's four years in New York. The former secretary general claims to have been energetic and effective in trying to reform the U.N. His vivid description of his campaign for a second term is detailed and fascinating.

The basic message of *Unvanquished* is that there was a mammoth cultural gap between



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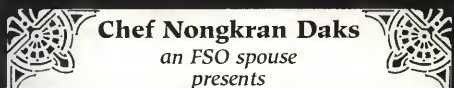
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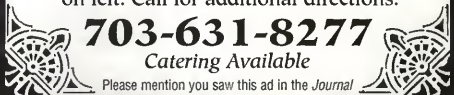
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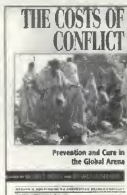
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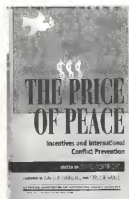
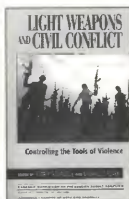


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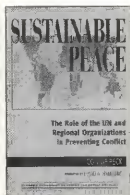


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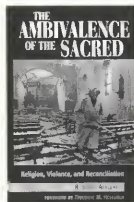
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Boutros-Ghali and other world leaders and Clinton administration foreign policy figures, whom he implies were inexperienced, provincial, fundamentally uninterested in substantive issues and dishonest in their dealings with him. Though he denies it, Boutros-Ghali draws a comparison between the Cultured Old World (him) and the Provincial New World (the Clinton administration). He claims that this perspective is the reason that Clinton and company saw the U.N. under his leadership as insufficiently responsive to American interests. He conveys this more in sorrow than in anger, bringing to his writing the temperate style of a classic diplomat combined with a little self-deprecation.

Those interested in the events covered in *Unvanquished* will find it a good contemporary history. Boutros-Ghali's story, though only one man's version, is very convincing. The final historical judgment, however, will also depend upon the story told by observers from the other side, if they care to cross verbal swords with the former U.N. leader.

DOES DEMOCRACY EQUAL PEACE?

Ballots and Bullets: The Elusive Democratic Peace

Joanne Gowa, Princeton University Press, 1999, hardcover, \$27.50, 136 pages

By JEFFREY KAPLOW

Though they differ wildly over details, most political scientists accept the concept of a "democratic peace,"

Jeffrey Kaplow, a student at Yale University, was the Foreign Service Journal's summer intern.

the theory that democracies don't go to war with each other. The theory is so well accepted that the Clinton administration bases its policy of promoting worldwide democracy on it. If democracies rarely fight each other, administration reasoning goes, it makes sense to increase the number of democratic nations and so create a more peaceful world.

Joanne Gowa, a professor at Princeton University, takes issue with this conventional wisdom. In *Ballots and Bullets*, she reviews standard reasoning on the theory, reexamines available data and proposes a new explanation of the phenomenon. While her approach might seem iconoclastic, none of Gowa's criticisms are groundbreaking. The huge body of literature already published about the democratic peace does a good job of exposing its problems and proposing new counter-theories. Gowa's most significant contribution to the debate is her belief that the data upon which the democratic peace thesis is based has been consistently misinterpreted.

The democratic peace has intuitive appeal. Most scholars can offer only two examples of democracies fighting each other since 1816: the United States and Spain during the Spanish-American War, and Finland and the allied powers during World War II. Even in these instances, most proponents agree there were extenuating circumstances. In a departure from previous studies, Gowa divides existing data into three periods: 1816 to World War I, the interwar period and World War II to 1980. Excluding periods of world war, which she claims have different dynamics than most conflicts, she concludes that the democratic peace is statistically significant only during the Cold War. Even then, she says, this was not because of the nature of democra-

cies, but rather because of their common interest in fighting the Soviet threat. She concludes that in a post-Cold War world, the Clinton administration's program of democratic enlargement may be less effective than a foreign policy based on building common interests among nations.

There are two big problems with Gowa's analysis. First, slashing the data sample into pieces amounts to statistical sleight of hand. By looking at each time period separately and dropping all world war-related conflicts, she reduces conflict patterns to statistical insignificance. Second, Gowa's alternative explanation — that common interests drive the democratic peace — is open to criticism. She defines common interests as formal alliances between two countries. Still, Gowa acknowledges that it is not hard to find cases where alliances don't represent common interests or where common interests don't result in formal alliances. Other hypotheses can also explain the lack of wars between democracies since 1945 — the development of nuclear weapons, for example, or the United States' emergence as a superpower — but they don't carry the same implications for U.S. foreign policy as her conclusions.

Readers not familiar with Poisson models, dyads and two-tailed tests will find Gowa's statistical detail rough going. Her theoretical musings are clear, though, even if written in a dry, academic style, and her logic is easy to follow, the reward for making it through her equations and chart-heavy empirical discussions.

Even though she has trouble making her case, by questioning the conventional wisdom, Gowa reveals the theory's fragile underpinnings. She rightly asks whether it is wise to base U.S. foreign policy on an idea that, so far, political scientists have been unable to explain. ■

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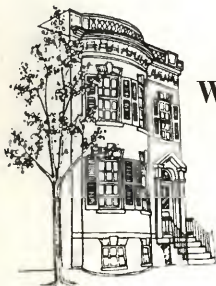
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POSTCARD FROM ABROAD

Peru, Before the Incas

BY DANIEL J. LAWTON

A thick, unfriendly fog greeted my embassy colleague, Ray McGrath, and me as we inched forward in Ray's Ford sedan along a mountain highway narrowed to a single lane by clay and rock spills. We were 9,000 feet above sea level and surrounded by air that looked like alpaca fleece. Guidebooks had cautioned that travel to the White and Black Cordilleras, two mountain chains popular with hikers in Peru, was recommended only between the months of May and September, but February was the only month we could get away from Lima, so we had ignored them. We were beginning to understand the reason for the warnings as we made our way to Huaraz, a mountain town seven hours drive and 240 miles from the capital.

Once at our destination, even the innkeeper at our hotel didn't offer us much reassurance. When asked how the weather had been, she replied, "awful." Her candor did not bode well for our next rainy-season destination, the archeological ruins of Chavin de Huantar.

Rather than subjecting Ray's sedan to further punishment, the next day we joined a mini-bus tour. Also on the tour were a guide wearing a San Diego Chargers cap, a Japanese adventurer, a French couple and 15 Peruvians. Our unlikely band of travelers reeled and rolled

Daniel J. Lawton, an FSO assigned to the Cyprus desk, served as political officer in Lima from 1996 to 1999.

*The Chavin
ruins include a
massive stone
fortress with
underground
passages.*



through potholes and puddles on the serpentine, dirt road that threads the Continental Divide.

After a four-hour trip, we reached the only significant archeological vestige of the pre-Incan, Chavin culture that dominated northern Peru between 1000 and 200 B.C. These early Peruvians left no written legacy and had already been displaced by subsequent Andean civilizations by the time of the Spanish conquistadors in the 16th century. Consequently, their ruins — U-shaped stone temples and enigmatic stone carvings of animist archetypes, such as jaguars, snakes and predatory birds — have been left to archeologists to interpret. Chavin is a verdant campus of stone temples, sunken ceremonial pits and square courtyards. The main temple is a massive fortress composed of even rows of carefully fitted slabs imposed on a series of underground passages believed to have been vital

to Chavin religious practices. Peruvian President Alberto Fujimori named the 1997 operation that successfully liberated all but one of the 72 hostages held by the Tupac Amaru Revolutionary Movement at the Japanese ambassador's residence after the ruins, saying that the tunnels at Chavin were similar to the ones used by Peruvian security forces to gain quick access to the hostage site.

Still, our guide had another explanation for the ancient site. "Over there," he said, pointing to a grassless strip of ground, "is buried the remains of a large-headed, three-fingered being that a team from Stanford University encountered not long ago." I was thoroughly entertained with his story. I didn't challenge him, nor did anyone else. As a result, during the drive back to Huaraz, he regaled us with further theories. The ancients who had built Chavin had used levitation in addition to stone tools to quarry the rocks they had used to erect their stone edifices, he told us. As night fell and it began to rain, we again plied the precarious switchbacks as Led Zeppelin's "Stairway to Heaven" blasted from the bus tape player.

The next day, we were back in Ray's sedan, driving down the mountains and back to Lima. At last, the clouds lifted. We looked back to see the outline of snow on both the peaks we had just left, our final picture-postcard reward for ignoring warnings and venturing into the Andes in the off-season. ■

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