

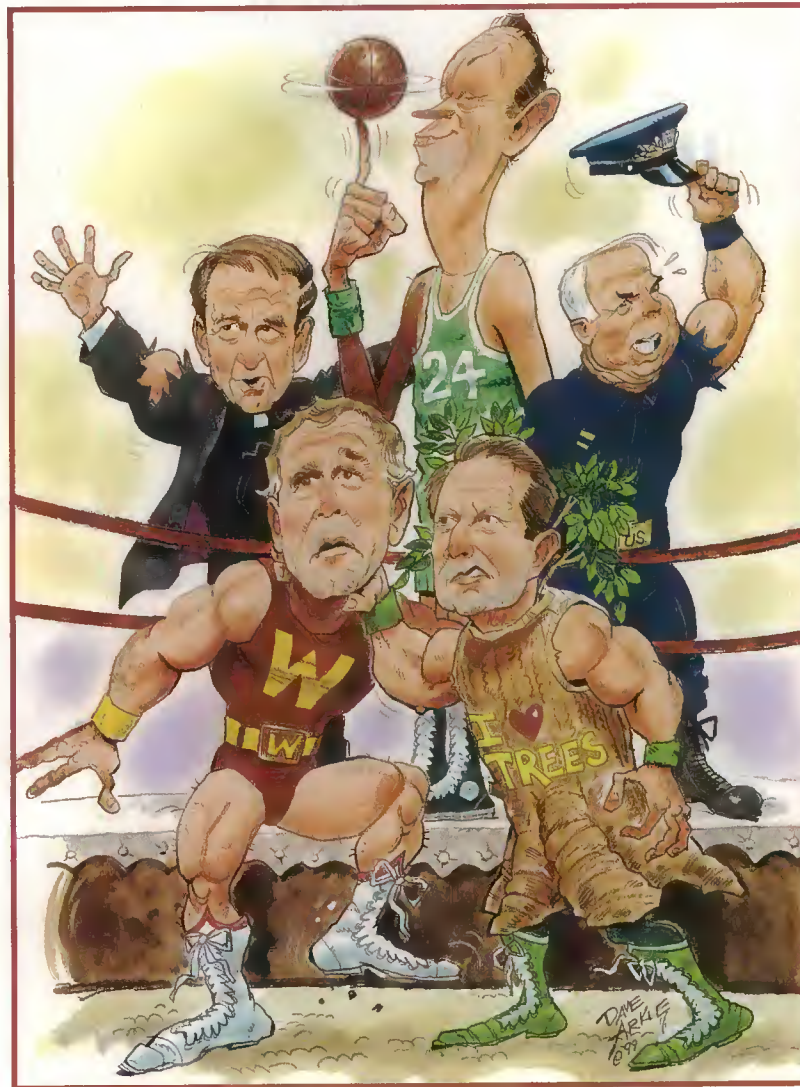
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Foreign Service Journal (ISSN 0146-3543), 2101 E Street, N.W., Washington, D.C. 20037-2990 is published monthly by the American Foreign Service Association, a private, non-profit organization. Material appearing here represents the opinions of the writers and does not necessarily represent the views of the *Journal*, the Editorial Board or AFSA. Writer queries are invited. *Journal* subscription: AFSA Members - \$9.50 included in annual dues; others - \$40. For foreign surface mail, add \$18 per year; foreign airmail, \$36 per year. Periodical postage paid at Manchester, N.H., and at additional mailing offices. Postmaster: Send address changes to *Foreign Service Journal*, 2101 E Street N.W., Washington, D.C. 20037-2990. Indexed by Public Affairs Information Service (PAIS). The *Journal* is not responsible for unsolicited manuscripts, photos or illustrations. Advertising inquiries are invited. The appearance of advertisements herein does not imply the endorsement of the services or goods offered. FAX: (202) 338-8244 or (202) 338-6820. E-MAIL: journal@afsa.org. WEB: www.afsa.org. TELEPHONE: (202) 338-4045. © American Foreign Service Association, 2000. Printed in the U.S.A. Send address changes to AFSA Membership, 2101 E Street N.W., Washington, D.C. 20037-2990.

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PRESIDENT'S VIEWS

Welcome to the Third Millennium

BY MARSHALL P. ADAIR

*The darkness drops again;
but now I know
That twenty centuries of stony sleep
Were vexed to nightmare
by a rocking cradle,
And what rough beast,
its hour come round at last,
Slouches towards Bethlehem
to be born?*

FROM W.B. YEATS, *THE SECOND COMING*

William Butler Yeats wrote his apocalyptic poem, "The Second Coming," in 1919 when civilization's prospects appeared very bleak to him. Now, as we reach the end of those "twenty centuries of stony sleep," the world looks considerably better. The globe is more at peace than at war, and economic opportunities as well as freedom for most of the world's population are growing. We are certainly better off materially than our ancestors, and we may be better off in other ways. At the end of the first millennium there was widespread fear, at least in Europe, that the end of all existence was at hand. Now, at the end of the second millennium, the most widespread fear is the Y2K computer bug. Perhaps that is progress of a sort.

We still share with our ancestors, though, an ignorance of what lies in front of us. One thousand years ago, the inhabitants of the British Isles were celebrating Ethelred II's defeat

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

*Will the
United States
squander its
opportunity to
lead as the new
millennium begins?*



of the latest round of Viking invaders. They had no idea that only one generation later, a successful invasion from a different group of Norsemen (known as the Normans) would radically change the course of their next 1,000 years. In China, the great Tang Dynasty had fallen. Few anticipated the Song Dynasty's seismic economic reforms, including the application of printing presses to paper money and manipulation of the money supply to stimulate economic activity — a cornerstone of prosperity 1,000 years later. We must anticipate changes of similar or greater magnitude ahead.

Particularly important to Americans, as the third millennium begins, the United States is in a position of global power unlike any other nation, empire or culture in history. Most Americans had little to do with putting America where it is today, and might not even choose this posi-

tion if given the chance. Nevertheless, it is a reality, and whether we want it or not, with that position we bear more responsibility for shaping the future than did those before us.

There are magnificent opportunities. Accelerating technological development is changing the physical face of the world. Medical advances offer freedom from disease and extended lifespans. Space travel is no longer science fiction but a real frontier. Extended global peace is a possibility; and Western and Eastern cultures, which have been effectively separated for 5,000 years, can finally combine forces.

However, we risk squandering those opportunities as some believe the United States has squandered the opportunities of the first post-Cold War decade. Trumpeting to the world the virtues of democracy, human rights, and free market economy, we have at the same time driven political partisanship at home to new depths, allowed our foreign policy apparatus to atrophy, and failed to present a coherent vision to ourselves or to the rest of the world. Our performance in recent years conjures up the image of Groucho Marx in the movie "Duck Soup" inviting others to "walk this way," but meaning for them to imitate his unique slouch rather than follow in his direction.

It's time to regroup and start the third millennium right — or risk the reality of the Irish poet's vision. ■



LETTERS

USIA Did Improve

Ambassador Peter Galbraith's article "The Decline and Fall of USIA" (September '99 *Journal*) should not go unanswered, particularly his eute phrase that public diplomacy is "too important to be left to USIA," even though this point is now academic.

Many would agree with the high value he places on public diplomacy, exchanges and libraries, and the personal contacts of USIA officers.

But when he cites one example of a Worldnet telecast that he claims was "boring" in its early moments, this is a weak reed to make his case against USIA effectiveness. Do the activities of other organizations, such as the military or the CIA, for example, always result in winners? More importantly, while he claims that USIA was still in a Cold War mode, he fails to recognize the many positive changes in USIA organization and programming that took place after the Cold War ended, despite severe budget cuts.

His need to use the stewardship of Reagan-era USIA Director Charles Wick to make his points also indicates that he ignores, or is unaware of, changes that resulted in USIA being in the vanguard in recent years of "rein-

venting government" and the communications revolution.

All who know the contribution USIA made to American foreign policy objectives during its 46-year history, including as recently as the Kosovo crisis, share his implied hope that the State Department will live up to its rhetoric in recent months as to the strengthening of public diplomacy by this drastic reorganization.

*Allen C. Hansen
FSO, retired
McLean, Va.*

Peter Galbraith replies:

Predictably my essay provoked a strong reaction from employees (and retirees) of the former USIA who oppose consolidation. Still, I was struck by how many writers, both this month and last month, responded to points I did not make.

I emphasized the importance of public diplomacy and stressed the critical contributions of USIA's personnel. Indeed, I wrote that USIA's management neglected its people, particularly those serving abroad, in favor of Washington-based programs of lesser value. This misallocation of resources over the last 20 years was a significant factor in the agency's demise.

I cite Worldnet television as one example of a lesser value program. Contrary to what Allen Hansen writes, my case is not based on one boring program, but rather a pattern of broadcasts that are of poor quality, not timely, and have only a minimal audience. While I have no basis to dispute Michele Baek's point that some

Worldnet programs were of value to her in Lima, the question is whether they are more valuable than other public diplomacy activities. The money spent on Worldnet could instead keep open a number of overseas posts.

Because I cite the PAO's role in enabling me to bring the American position directly to the Croatian public, Morgan Liddiek concludes, incorrectly, that I think public diplomacy consists of arranging ambassadorial events. Rather, my argument is that public diplomacy is inseparable from all other diplomacy (an ambassador is but one diplomatic actor) and therefore it makes sense to have the same close connection between the two in Washington as exists in embassies. Nor am I against information resources centers. I am, however, opposed to replacing well used and well loved American center libraries with computer terminals. In Zagreb, USIA made this change in a particularly wasteful manner. Several months after the library was renovated at the cost of many hundreds of thousands of dollars, USIA closed it. Such stewardship of resources is one reason USIA had so few defenders at the end.

Howard Shapiro rightly emphasizes as a major cause of USIA's decline the shift in resources from long-term investments such as libraries, exchange programs, and student services to support for short-term policy goals. The misuse of money appropriated for exchanges and other long term programs, such as took place during Charlie Wick's tenure, also under-

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mined congressional confidence in USIA's management of these programs.

Sheldon Avenius remembers me speaking to his "Whither USIA?" forum in the 1980s as a friend of USIA, and wonders what happened. Indeed I was, and am, a friend. However, at that forum I put forward a plan for reorganization similar to what ultimately became the 1998 consolidation legislation. The main difference is that I would have assigned the Fulbright program and overseas libraries to the Library of Congress and Arts America to the Smithsonian. Had it been implemented then, we would probably still have libraries and arts programs.

Finally, Ellen Toomey writes that she decided not to pursue a TDY at Embassy Zagreb because an anonymous senior officer told her the ambassador was "an expletive deleted" who would make her work too hard. The embassy was a small post handling Europe's biggest war in 50 years and everyone worked incredibly hard, sometimes very much in harm's way. In spite of this, a majority of our officers extended and each open assignment was heavily bid. The willingness of so many to take on an arduous and dangerous assignment says a lot about the extraordinary caliber of our Foreign Service.

The State Department has an opportunity to do better by its people than did USIA. Whether it will do so remains, as several letter writers emphasized, to be seen.

*Peter Galbraith
National War College
Washington, D.C.*

No Donor-Managed Famine

We were extremely disappointed to read the article "Support for Tobacco Trade: Up in Smoke" in the November 1999 *Journal*. There are numerous inaccuracies in the article, which lead to erroneous conclusions.

The article suggests that poor Malawians are worse off as a result of a USAID agricultural project. This is not supported by credible evidence. According to the Harvard Institute for International Development, the World Bank and the International Food Policy Research Institute, the statement that the "hungry season" has increased is not accurate. Contrary to the authors' assertions, data indicate that production of maize (corn) and most other basic foodstuffs has increased, and there may indeed be a surplus of corn in 1999. Data from these sources also document the strong growth in non-maize food crops, particularly sweet potatoes and cassava (and some legumes). Our program in fact helps very poor farmers in Malawi not only to grow food but to earn more income by growing cash crops, which enable them to buy food and other goods.

Even more ludicrous is the assertion that "...there is a donor-managed famine caused by an unholy alliance of the tobacco industry and the Africa Division of USAID." There is absolutely no alliance between USAID and the tobacco industry. We would have expected the *Foreign Service Journal* to require hard evidence before publishing such irresponsible statements.

*Verne Newton
Deputy Assistant
Administrator
USAID Bureau for Africa*

Tobacco, USAID and Malawi

The Africa Division of USAID continues to tell lies about the effect of its tobacco promotion and marketing program in Malawi on food security.

In the article on the tobacco trade in the November *Journal*, I was quoted as saying the 1998-99 famine in Malawi was a donor-managed famine which extended Malawi's normal three-month "hungry season" to six months. In the paragraph following my com-

LETTERS

ments AID spokeswoman Rekha Chalasani disputed my charges, citing dubious sources including the Harvard Institute for International Development and the World Bank.

The USAID-registered Village Enterprise Zone Associations International, of which I am president, has been involved in food aid and food security in Malawi for the past 10 years. VEZA International's indigenous Malawi partner, MALEZA, chaired a meeting of the Malawi non-governmental organization Food Security Network in late 1998, when the Malawi government's National Economic Council appealed to the NGO community to help alleviate the famine. The NEC claimed the famine was the worst in the history of Malawi and appealed to the NGO community to help feed people. While the donor community attends meetings, USAID was not present.

At about the same time, the U.N.'s Food and Agriculture Organization classified Malawi as a "food deficit" nation. The World Food Program launched a "safety net emergency operation" designed to feed 500,000 of the most needy rural farmers in nine districts in the southern region alone. The European Commission, after claiming it would not buy maize, changed its mind when I took top officials into the rural areas to talk with smallholder tobacco farmers. What they saw was empty maize storage bins. Immediately after that visit, the EC head of delegation, Baldwin Zimmer, ordered 45,000 metric tons of maize to be brought into the country.

When I met with U.S. Ambassador Ellen Shipley to ask her to put an end to the USAID tobacco promotion program and to join with the Malawi government by declaring a food emergency which could have caused U.S. food relief programs to kick in, her only response was, "We do tobacco." That was the end of the meeting. Before that, I even applied for a grant

from USAID/Malawi for the MALEZA food security program. The negative response noted that all USAID funds were being used for its strategic objective number one, the promotion of tobacco.

The Africa Division of USAID is continuing to heavily fund its tobacco contractor. Tobacco is still being promoted and marketed by USAID/Malawi even though the famine continues this year. On Oct. 29 the Malawi National Economic Council again asked the NGO Food Security Network to make the worsening food shortage the main item on its agenda.

Is U.S. support for tobacco trade really going up in smoke, as your November article implies, or is it still the same old unholy alliance between the tobacco industry, the Africa Division of USAID and the U.S. State Department?

Frank C. Giarrizzo
President
VEZA International
Chicago, Ill.

Smutty Stories in FSJ

It was with great anticipation that I awaited your July/August issue. You see, my teenage daughter had won the AFSA/AAFSW Best Essay Award and was told that her essay would be published in that issue. I promised to send copies to my daughter, who is now in college, as well as to her grandparents and other relatives. Imagine my disappointment to find that her essay, along with announcements of all the other AFSA scholarship winners, was placed in the summer reading issue of the FSJ which included some rather smutty fictional short stories. Particularly offensive was the story entitled "The Shark Woman." It told, in explicit language, of the (hopefully fictional) sexual exploits of a disturbed and frustrated Foreign Service wife. I was embarrassed to send the entire journal to my daughter and relatives. Luckily, the AFSA News section, with my daugh-

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ter's essay, was fairly easy to remove and send separately.

Still, the question remains as to why AFSA published such objectionable material in a journal funded by member dues. I don't think that issue presented the type of public image we collectively want to project of the Foreign Service. Lately, AFSA has been urging us to publicly put a "face" on the Foreign Service. The July-August issue of the *FSJ* made me want to put a paper bag over mine.

Jay Rollins
USAID/OIG
Montclair, Va.

A Consul Who Saved Lives

Encouraged by Maria Bauer's story of her exit from France (*FSJ*, October '99), I feel I should recount my own experience — a story parallel to hers, but with a curious American twist.

In the years before World War II, my father, owner of a French newspaper feature syndicate and publisher of several magazines, had published a number of anti-Nazi news stories. When the Germans overran France, my father was high on the Gestapo list and therefore in great danger.

Our family joined the long line of refugees going south on the roads of France, one step ahead of the advancing German Panzer divisions. On reaching Lyon, my father went to the American consulate to obtain U.S. visas. His connection with the United States was very close: His press syndicate represented the Hearst Corp. in Europe, his magazine business was closely associated with both the Disney and the Fawcett organizations, and he had an established office of his own in New York. There was no way our family could have become a burden on the U.S. taxpayer.

The consul told him he could have visitor's visas for himself, his wife, and one child. The other two children would have to stay in France, accord-

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LETTERS

ing to regulations, he said, "to insure that you will return to France and not stay in the U.S. beyond your visitor status."

My father, of course, refused such a bargain. Proceeding to Marseille, he again went to the American consulate. The consul was Hiram Bingham, who did not hesitate to issue visas for our entire family. I learned later that he helped many people who were in danger from the Germans. His courage and generosity cost him much. The Germans complained of his activities to the Vichy government, who then complained to Washington. It was still the time when President Roosevelt, by sending Admiral Leahy to Vichy, hoped to influence Pétain. Hiram Bingham was transferred out of Marseille and sent to a South American post. He was eventually to resign from the Foreign Service.

This story has a strange sequel. Eight years later, I married an American Foreign Service officer. In the late 1970s our son was a student at Groton School in Massachusetts, and one lovely autumn day we went there for a parents' weekend. Sitting in the dining room at lunch, we introduced ourselves to the man sitting next to me. He was Hiram Bingham. (He had a son in the same form as our son.) When I expressed my family's profound gratitude for what he had done for us, I found him to be an affable but rather shy and modest man, whose most satisfying recollection of that period seemed to be that he had helped Marc Chagall.

Hiram Bingham is now dead, but not long ago I was in touch with his son, who informed me that the state of Israel had recognized in a ceremony the help that Hiram Bingham had given to many Jewish intellectuals and artists trapped in France in 1940. The son and other Americans aware of the father's actions are trying to persuade

the U.S. Postal Service to issue a commemorative stamp in his father's memory. It seems to me that this at least should be done for Hiram Bingham.

*Lilian Stuart Smith
Bethesda, Md.*

An Unsung Hero in Tehran

Your "Focus on the Diplomat as Hero" in September omitted an outstandingly heroic performance by FSO Michael Metrisko in Iran, 1978-81. Mike was consul in Tabriz when Iran's revolution began. A mob stormed the consulate, seized Mike and dragged him to a tree for lynching. A noose was already around his neck when the police finally intervened.

After that narrow escape, it would have been reasonable for him to request assignment to a safer country. But Mike volunteered to go back to the anti-American turmoil of Iran, this time as an officer in Embassy Tehran. Shortly after he arrived, a mob overran the embassy and Mike became a hostage.

One of his fellow hostages, communicator Charles Jones, told me in 1984 that Mike had been an inspiration in consistently defying his captors. They would insult him and his country and he, speaking Farsi, would answer them back. Then they would beat him. The insults, Mike's defiance, and the beatings continued throughout the 444 days of captivity, and Mike never gave in.

As Sen. John McCain has written about his own experience as a POW in Vietnam, the pressure on a captive to cave in is immense. But this FSO never surrendered. In the Iran hostage debacle, commonly viewed in the U.S. as shameful, Mike's courage stands out as a basis for national pride.

*George A. McFarland, Jr.
FSO, retired
Austin, Texas ■*



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**REPORT OF THE
STATE DEPT.
OVERSEAS PRESENCE
ADVISORY COUNCIL,
NOVEMBER 1999**

BUDGET FORECAST: PARTLY SUNNY

At first glance, the 106th Congress proved surprisingly cooperative on the fiscal 2000 foreign affairs budget. Overall funding went up slightly, and the White House and Congress finally worked out a deal to pay most (but not all) U.S. arrears to the United Nations. But a closer look at the numbers, and the catches, reveals a picture that is not so rosy.

For example, the total discretionary budget authority for the "150 account" for foreign affairs was \$22.293 billion, roughly one percent above the administration's revised request for \$22.093 billion. (By contrast, in fiscal 1999 the 150 account ended up 4.9 percent higher than the administration's requested level.) However, neither that total nor the other figures cited below reflect the 0.38 percent across-the-board cut in discretionary budget authority which the Republican Congress also imposed.

The foreign operations portion of the budget totalled \$15.2 billion. But \$1.825 billion is earmarked to fund the Wye River Middle East peace accord, leaving just \$13.48 billion for all other foreign aid. (The Clinton administration also provided Congress with "offsets" to the spending in the new bill, such as paying military aid to Israel over the course of the fiscal year rather than in a lump sum at the beginning of the year as has been the practice.) Other winners this year in the perennial struggle for foreign assistance include the Independent States of the Former Soviet Union account, which got \$839 million, and the Support for East European Democracy program,

which received \$535 million.

While the results were not dire, none of the foreign affairs agencies will be breaking out the champagne. The Peace Corps received only \$245 million, for example, \$25 million less than requested, though USAID got \$520 million of its \$523 million funding request. State actually did better than expected, with an operating budget of \$6.2 billion, of which \$4.043 billion will cover basic programs (compared to its request for \$4.094 billion). However, under the department's two-year authorization bill, State's funding is projected to go down sharply in fiscal year 2001 to \$5.05 billion — some \$700 million less than the enacted State appropriation for this year. Peacekeeping garnered \$500 million, while the embassy security account received \$568 million — less than half the \$1.4 billion recommended by Adm. Crowe's Accountability Review Board.

Finally, against all odds, there was progress on the ever-contentious matter of paying U.N. arrears. The Helms-Biden plan authorizes \$107 million for that purpose, plus an additional \$819 million if certain conditions relating to institutional reforms are met. The compromise should help avert the embarrassment of the U.S. losing its General Assembly voting rights in January, but the payment still falls short of the \$1.021 billion requested by the administration and even shorter of the \$1.5 billion the U.N. claims the U.S. owes. (To get the funds, the administration accepted certain restrictions on funding for international organizations which allegedly promote abortions, though it can waive most of the strictures.)



CLIPPINGS

LINDA SHENWICK: WHISTLE-BLOWER OR BLOWHARD?

The Nov. 1 *New Republic* takes a detailed look at the ongoing controversy surrounding State Department official Linda Shenwick. Two years after the career Civil Service officer's removal as U.S. representative to the U.N. Budget Committee and transfer to an unspecified job in Washington for "insubordination," many conservative Republicans still consider her a "martyr to the cause of rooting out government waste, fraud and mismanagement." This past June, for example, Iowa Senator Charles Grassley blocked the already overdue confirmation vote on Richard Holbrooke's nomination as U.S. ambassador to the United Nations for two additional months, and then put holds on three other Clinton ambassadorial nominees, all to ensure that State treats Shenwick "fairly."

State Department officials can say little about the case since Shenwick has not waived her privacy rights. They acknowledge that over the course of her 20-year career, she has won numerous commendations from former ambassadors as diverse as Vernon A. Walters, Thomas Pickering and Edward S. Walker, and that she was promoted into the Senior Executive Service in 1988. But they also point to her penchant for offering her own views as U.S. policy, as well as numerous allegations of conflicts of interest and infractions of personnel rules as the basis for her termination — not (as she charges) a personal vendetta on the part of Secretary of State Madeleine Albright, or even ideological differences between the staunchly Republican

Shenwick and the Clinton administration. As an unidentified former colleague commented, "Both sides are right on this one. Yes, they've been trying to get rid of her and, yes, she should be gotten rid of."

As writers Jacob Heilbrunn and Ryan Lizza document, Shenwick's checkered career provides as much grist for her critics as for her supporters. As early as 1987, the State inspector general found that Shenwick, serving as administrative chief of the housing program for American employees of the U.N., used her office to buy a New York condominium along with three other owners, which she then sold for a large profit. No charges were ever filed in the case, but the IG report noted that the housing supplements Shenwick used were not intended "to assist in the purchase of privately owned homes."

A decade later, Shenwick reportedly used her position on the U.N. Budget Committee to seek a job for a former Mexican delegate with whom she was romantically linked, even going so far as to insert two paragraphs into a U.N. resolution setting eligibility requirements for permanent jobs which would have disqualified a major competitor for the position.

Ironically, given her conservative support, Shenwick in 1994 pursued a close professional relationship with a member of the Cuban delegation. She asserted that in return for U.S. support of his candidacy for a high-level U.N. position, Havana had signalled its willingness to support the appointment of a new U.N. inspector general more to the liking of the U.S. Officials were stunned that Shenwick would cultivate members of a delegation widely known as covers for intelligence operations and say she was instructed not to communicate further

50

YEARS AGO

"The Foreign Service is an extremely interesting but unprofitable way of earning a living. You go from one post to another, always getting more sicknesses as you go on. Occasionally you get a good post."

— Norris Haselton, Jr. (Age 14)

(Editor's Note: "Author Norris Haselton, Jr., now 14, was born in this country, and had his first overseas posting at the age of 6 months. A veteran traveler, he has accompanied his parents to Guadalajara, Manchester, Calcutta, Santiago and Rio.")

FOREIGN SERVICE
JOURNAL
JANUARY 1950



CLIPPINGS

*“Diplomacy
is the art
of saying
'Nice doggie'
till you can
find a rock.”*

— WYNN CATLIN

with the Cubans on this matter.

As the reporters explain, Shenwick's record is so complex that it is not clear to what extent the 1989 Whistleblower Protection Act, which she cites as the basis of her case for reinstatement, actually applies. (Under that law, State must show that she would have been fired for unsatisfactory job performance even if she hadn't made any protected disclosures.) But most observers agree that at least some of the internal U.N. and U.S. documents Shenwick admits she leaked to Congress and the media do not constitute the kind of clear-cut whistle-blowing the legislation is intended to protect.

Meanwhile, it seems that at least some of her congressional supporters have moved on to other battles; Shenwick's designated replacement on the U.N. Budget Committee is now set to serve there for a full three-year term.

THE SCIENCE OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS

The Nov. 2 edition of *Eos*, the weekly newspaper of the American Geophysical Union, urges State to beef up its science, technology and health component, which is becoming ever more significant in U.S.

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CLIPPINGS

foreign policy. To back up that call for action, Randy Showstack cites a report State commissioned from the U.S. National Research Council of the National Academy of Sciences.

That report, issued Oct. 7, concludes that "STH (science/technology/health) competence in the department has been going down, despite the fact that the world has become more STH-intensive" — as shown by the fact that 13 of 16 objectives listed in State's 1999 Strategic Plan for International Affairs include significant scientific/technological content.

Showstack acknowledges that the picture is by no means bleak: State has made

major efforts in some technical areas like non-proliferation and various environmental issues. But in the AGU's view, the department needs to do much more in order to take full advantage of what the researchers call "a major national asset" for the U.S.

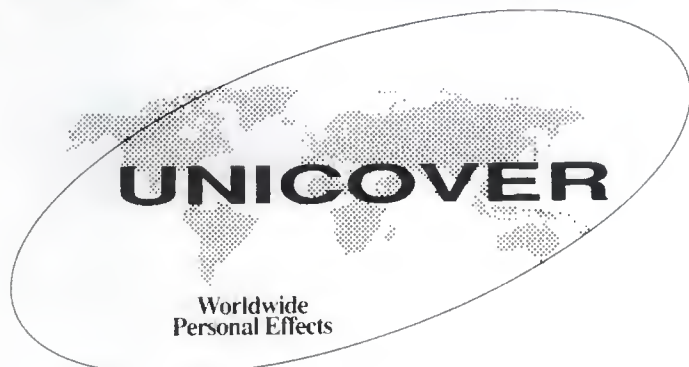
Highlights from the report's recommendations include: designating an undersecretary of State for STH issues; establishing an external science and technology advisory committee; and transferring responsibility for some international STH issues to other federal agencies (e.g., the National Oceanic and Atmospheric Administration). ■

"In a democracy like ours the best soldiers are always statesmen from the beginning."

— **BILL BRADLEY AT TUFTS UNIVERSITY,**
Nov. 29

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CAMPAIGN 2000: DOES FOREIGN POLICY COUNT?

THE THRIVING ECONOMY IS FORCING REPUBLICAN PRESIDENTIAL CANDIDATES TO GO
ON THE OFFENSIVE ON INTERNATIONAL ISSUES.

BY CARROLL DOHERTY

Since the fall of the Berlin Wall a decade ago, foreign policy and national security issues have barely been a factor in presidential politics. Indeed, Bill Clinton first captured the White House in 1992 by trumpeting his intent to focus like a laser on the nation's domestic economy and portraying incumbent President George Bush as mired hopelessly in the realm of war and geopolitics.

But as Clinton's presidency comes to a close, there are some signs that foreign affairs could be making a political comeback. GOP presidential candidates have launched unceasing attacks on Clinton's foreign policy record, suggesting the issue could have political staying power. In mid-November, Texas Gov. George W. Bush Jr., the front-runner for the GOP presidential nomination, delivered a closely watched speech in which he strongly defended U.S. global engagement as he sharply criticized the president's handling of international affairs.

On Capitol Hill, the Senate's defeat of the nuclear test ban treaty set off an angry partisan debate and triggered charges by Democrats that Republicans, who generally opposed the treaty, had taken a dangerous step toward isolationism. And while Congress resolved a long and rancorous dispute by funding nearly \$1 billion in back dues to the United Nations, foreign aid remains a deeply divisive issue.

This does not mean that foreign policy has suddenly energized voters, or that Americans are ready to elect their next president on the basis of his record and perceived competence in the international arena. Polls have

repeatedly shown that foreign policy is regarded as a low priority, ranking well behind the economy, education, crime and Social Security. "That's not what people are concerned about," Sen. Chuck Hagel of Nebraska, a leading GOP voice on international affairs, said recently. But a vigorously contested presidential campaign could provoke a long-overdue political debate over America's role in the world in the post-Cold War era. The election will also determine which party controls Congress, so every international issue that emerges in the next year — from trade with China to peacekeeping in Indonesia — is likely to generate increased attention.

Gore on the Attack

With the election still nearly a year away, most of the presidential candidates are more intent on attacking their rivals than in articulating coherent strategic visions. Desperate for an issue to set him apart from Bush and former New Jersey Sen. Bill Bradley, his only Democratic rival, Vice President Al Gore seized on the Senate's rejection of the nuclear treaty to harshly attack the Republicans. Just days after the Senate defeated the test ban treaty in October, Gore was on the air with television ads accusing the GOP of caving in to its right wing and reversing four decades of progress in controlling nuclear weapons. Gore's strategy appears to be premised on at least two factors: While most Americans profess to care little about most foreign policy matters, they are deeply concerned about the spread of nuclear arms; Gore also signaled he will highlight his experience in foreign affairs, which his advisers believe will set him apart from both Bradley and Bush.

Both Gore and other administration officials have sought to link recent GOP congressional actions on foreign affairs — rejection of the treaty, efforts to slash

Carroll Doherty is a Washington writer who has reported extensively on Capitol Hill and national politics.

foreign aid and delays in confirming diplomatic nominees — to bolster their charge that Republicans are turning toward isolationism. To be sure, a large number of Republican members of Congress seem largely uninterested in, or downright hostile toward, diplomatic affairs. Many proudly boast of their disdain for foreign travel. Some have come to hate Clinton so intensely that they reflexively oppose his foreign policy proposals. But Hagel and other GOP internationalists claim the administration has painted the GOP as isolationist to obscure its own flawed record. In this view, Clinton's policies have often been too reactive and poorly executed; the president, say these GOP critics, did not put on a full-scale push for approval of the treaty until its defeat was all but inevitable. "Isolationism is a silly charge, not grounded in any basis of fact," Hagel said.

Bush, Above the Fray

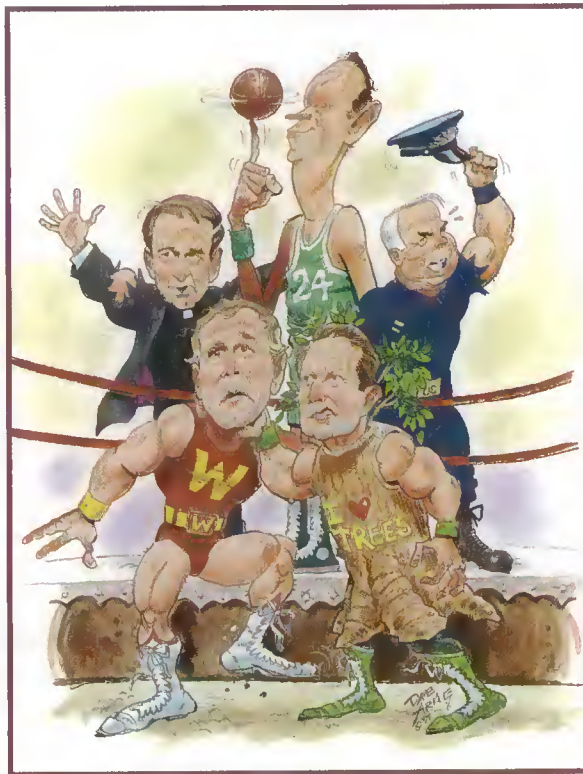
For his part, Bush has sought to remain above the fray, befitting his status as the anointed choice of the GOP establishment. He outlined his views in a major foreign policy address Nov. 19, in which he indirectly criticized the administration for drifting from crisis to crisis, "like a cork in a current." Like other Republicans, Bush has accused the administration of being too quick to deploy U.S. forces on international peacekeeping missions, but he has not said how he would attempt to respond to Kosovo-style ethnic conflicts. Bush also stood with most congressional Republicans in opposing the test ban treaty, although he insists that he supports the goal of limiting nuclear proliferation.

Bush also has challenged Clinton's handling of relations with both Russia and China, and he suggested that the United States should approach China as a competitor, rather than as a partner. There was some irony in that line of attack, since Clinton, in his 1992 campaign, famously criticized Bush's father for coddling Beijing's aging dictators.

At the same time, Bush has given no sign he will rep-

resent a radical departure from Clinton on China or other international matters; change would be largely confined to the margins. And he had harsh words for fellow Republicans who would reject international involvement. Protectionism and isolationism, he said in his November speech, are a "shortcut to chaos. It is an approach that abandons our allies and ideals."

Among Bush's most important objectives over the next year will be to avoid another major gaffe that would further expose his lack of international experience. Already, Bush has endured some gibes from newspaper columnists for referring to residents of Kosovo as Kosovians and Greeks as Grecians. And in an interview in early November with a Boston television station, Bush was unable to name the government leaders in three of four foreign hotspots: Taiwan, Pakistan, India and Chechnya. Of the four, Bush only successfully identified Taiwan's Lee Teng-hui. In the long run, such mistakes will count less than Bush's ability to lay out a coherent approach to foreign policy. But in politics, perception can quickly become reality and Bush cannot afford any more high-profile missteps. Bush has assembled a high-powered team of advisers, including ex-Pentagon officials Paul Wolfowitz, Richard Armitage and Robert Zoellick, to make sure that does not happen.



McCain: Hero as Candidate

Of Bush's GOP rivals, only Sen. John McCain of Arizona, who has been running a distant second to Bush in most polls, can boast of an extensive résumé in foreign affairs. McCain, of course, is regarded as an American hero for enduring more than five years as a prisoner of war during the Vietnam conflict. Aside from Gore, he is probably the only major presidential candidate who has significant foreign policy experience. In nearly two decades in Congress, McCain has been an advocate for free trade and a strong defense, and has criticized what he regards as ill-defined or open-ended international

commitments — from the Reagan administration's foray into Lebanon to Clinton's military operations in the Balkans. McCain, a well-known maverick on domestic issues, has not been afraid to challenge his party's orthodoxy on international matters as well. He was a key supporter of the president's decision to reestablish diplomatic relations with Vietnam and has been a staunch defender of Clinton's presidential prerogatives in conducting diplomacy and military operations.

Still, McCain has been withering in his criticism of the administration. "This administration has conducted a feckless, photo-op foreign policy which may cost us American blood and treasure in the next century," he said in the first televised GOP debate. Aside from his broadsides against the administration's reliance on peacekeeping, McCain also has blasted the administration for failing to move quickly in deploying a

***Vice President Gore
attacked the GOP
in TV ads for rejecting
the Comprehensive
Test Ban Treaty.***

national missile defense system — a favorite Republican theme for years.

Other Republican candidates, seeking to break out of the pack, have come up with more controversial foreign policy proposals. Gary Bauer, who is hoping to win support from religious conservatives, has called for the United States to take a much tougher line against China. A long-time critic of China's efforts to stifle religious freedom and impose

harsh population control measures, Bauer has been practically alone in the GOP field in calling for the repeal of China's most-favored-nation trade status. Steve Forbes, a millionaire publisher, has made revamping the Social Security system — through a plan to provide taxpayers the opportunity to privately invest their Social Security taxes — the centerpiece of his campaign. But he also has blamed Gore for failing to prevent massive corruption in international aid for Russia. And in perhaps the most unusual foreign policy idea to yet emerge, Forbes has called for abolishing the International Monetary Fund, which he has criticized for dispensing flawed economic advice. "If I become president of the United States, I will do with the IMF what Andrew Jackson did to the Bank of the United States," Forbes said recently while on the stump in New Hampshire. "I will put it out of its misery."

On the Democratic side, Gore and Bradley have been mostly silent on most foreign policy issues, with the exception of Gore's attacks on the GOP. For now, Bradley seems content to let Gore trumpet his foreign policy credentials. While Gore ran ads denouncing Republicans for bringing down the text ban treaty, Bradley took a low-key approach, although he also lamented the rejection of the treaty. Bradley has been focused on his domestic agenda — centered on an ambitious plan to provide health insurance for Americans who need it.

The subject of foreign policy was largely ignored during the first debate between Gore and Bradley, who found common ground on many domestic issues. Based on their records, they also appear to be in general agreement on foreign policy and national security issues: in their years in Congress, both were

THE ADVISERS LINE UP

As of late 1999, the major presidential campaigns were in very different stages of assembling their foreign policy teams. That's not surprising: fundraising and hitting the trail in Iowa and New Hampshire often come well before foreign policy on a candidate's agenda.

Still, a few campaigns were ready to reveal their lineup of advisers:

Playing a leading role on the foreign policy team of **George W. Bush** is Condoleezza Rice, a National Security Council staffer during the Bush (père) administration. Other players are Paul Wolfowitz, Bush administration under secretary of defense, and Richard Armitage and Richard Perle, who were both assistant secretaries of defense during the Reagan years.

John McCain was a foreign policy adviser to presidential candidate Bob Dole in 1996, but that hasn't stopped him from assembling a team of his own, headed by Randy Scheunemann, former staffer for Senate Majority Leader Trent Lott. McCain has also attracted notables such as Henry Kissinger, Jeane Kirkpatrick, Lawrence Eagleburger and former Director of Central Intelligence James Woolsey onto his team.

The chief adviser to **Al Gore** on international and security issues is Leon Fuerth, who has been at the vice president's side since Gore was in the House of Representatives. Fuerth was an FSO from 1968 to 1979.

As for Democrat **Bill Bradley**, his campaign staff did not disclose the makeup of his foreign policy brain trust, except to note, "Bradley is his own best adviser."

largely supportive of free trade, foreign aid and funding U.S. international commitments. Their only significant disagreement came in 1991, when Congress authorized military operations against Iraq. Gore voted in favor of the war, while Bradley sided with the majority of Democrats in voting no.

In a Nov. 30 speech, Bradley did begin to lay out his election-year foreign policy positions, which were somewhat to the left of Gore's (and, of course, all the Republicans'). Bradley said he would rein in U.S. humanitarian intervention, relying more on the United Nations. He would also go much further than Gore in pressing for new agreements with Russia to reduce nuclear weapon stockpiles.

So far, the battle for control of the Reform Party and its presidential nomination has drawn interest primarily because of the bizarre mix of personalities involved — including former Republican Pat Buchanan, billionaire developer Donald Trump, and Minnesota Gov. (and former pro wrestler) Jesse Ventura. The party, founded by Ross Perot, has long been hawkish on trade; indeed, that is one of the few positions that most party members seem to agree on. Buchanan certainly will appeal to the party's protectionist core. His opposition to trade agreements and any sort of multilateralism has become more strident over the years, although he continues to bristle at being tagged with the isolationist label.

No Coronations

It seems inevitable that international events and politics at home will dramatically change the campaign's political dynamics over the next 12 months. Gore endures the same burden as every vice president who vies for the White House. As the test ban issue showed, he is able

A major goal of George W. Bush is to avoid gaffes that will expose his lack of international experience.

to assume the bully pulpit and scold congressional Republicans when they take an unpopular stance on a major international issue. But as one of the most active vice presidents in U.S. history — one who has helped shape U.S. relations with Russia, Ukraine and South Africa, among other nations — he also will be blamed when crises arise. What is worse for Gore, he cannot take full control over policy. And just as Vice President George Bush was plagued with questions about the Iran-contra affair during his successful run for the White House in 1988, Gore will face questions over the persistent reports of lax security at U.S. nuclear weapons labs and allegations that he was asleep at the switch as billions of dollars were illegally transferred from Russia, allegedly through a U.S. bank. Congressional Republicans have vowed to continue investigations into both matters next year. In a preview of the attacks that are certain to come, House Majority Leader Dick Armye, R-Texas, called the Russian bank scandal the worst U.S. foreign policy failure since Vietnam. Forbes laid the blame for the scandal at Gore's feet and ran ads calling on the vice president to apologize to Americans.

Bush's road to an anticipated coronation as his party's presidential candidate could grow bumpier. Every overseas crisis will put him in

the spotlight, along with Gore. While it is always easier for the challenger in a presidential race to offer opinions from the sidelines, while the president and vice president wrestle with actual policy decisions, Bush's advisers know that every statement he makes in times of crisis will be subject to extraordinary scrutiny. The continuing presence in the race of McCain, who would seem to have a clear advantage in experience and expertise over Bush in diplomatic and military affairs, is another complicating factor for the Texas governor. As the crisis in Kosovo worsened last spring, McCain put aside personal reservations over the administration's policy and backed Clinton's decision to intervene in the conflict. Bush was less visible throughout that crisis, but as the election grows nearer he will face more and tougher questions on how he would respond to overseas crises.

Perhaps more important, Bush faces the challenge of presenting a united front with congressional Republicans, with whom he has disagreed on several occasions (such as when Bush criticized a plan, which Republican leaders eventually abandoned, to cut spending by delaying tax refunds to the working poor). By and large, Bush tends to be more of an internationalist than many of his GOP colleagues in Congress. If Congress launches a new assault on foreign aid in 2000, Bush will come under pressure from the right to hew to his party's line.

The Issues Take Shape

While the foreign policy issues of Campaign 2000 have yet to fully take shape, the leading candidates are slowly making their positions clear in a number of areas, including:

China. Gore and Bradley are largely supportive of the Clinton administration's policy of engage-

ment, but Gore — under pressure from organized labor — could take a harder line than Clinton in trade relations with Beijing. China policy is an obvious target for Bradley, who is vying with Gore for labor's backing. Gore is considered vulnerable on China because of his peripheral involvement in the 1996 Asian fund-raising debacle, which Republicans are already trying to exploit. Bush and McCain will continue to press for a tougher policy toward China. Bush has called China the "biggest long-term foreign threat to the United States." But Bush and McCain have carefully stopped well short of opposing China's entry into the World Trade Organization or calling for a fundamental shift in the relationship. Republicans have long championed closer ties with Taiwan, but the decision by Taiwan's president Lee to break with the long-standing "one China" policy — and Beijing's angry denunciations of Lee's argument — make the entire question more politically explosive.

Russia. The question "Who lost Russia?" could eventually become a significant issue in the 2000 elections, particularly if Russia suffers more political and economic instability. Republicans are launching a two-pronged attack on the Clinton administration's policy — claiming that billions of dollars in U.S. aid have been squandered because of rampant Russian corruption, and pressing for changes in the 1972 Anti-Ballistic Missile Treaty in order to pave the way for a national missile defense system. As far back as the early 1990s, Bradley took a high-profile stance in favor of closer economic and political ties with Moscow. Both he and Gore are likely to support staying the course with current U.S. policy, in spite of the GOP's efforts to label that policy a failure.

*The biggest division on
foreign affairs funding
may be between GOP
presidential candidates
Bush and McCain and
the party's congressional
leaders.*

Peacekeeping. McCain and Bush have seized on the proliferation of peacekeeping missions in the 1990s to raise alarms over the state of U.S. military readiness — an updated version of the old "hollow force" charges that Republicans used to lob at Democrats in the 1970s and 1980s. But Republicans have had a difficult time saying specifically where the United States should draw the line on intervention. Gore is tied to the current Clinton policy, and it is hard to see Bradley distancing himself from that approach in any meaningful way. The vice president will undoubtedly try to inoculate himself against the "hollow force" argument by citing his support for fairly generous levels of defense spending throughout his career in the House and Senate.

International Funding. Significantly, the biggest division here may not be between the two major parties, but between GOP presidential candidates Bush and McCain and the party's congressional leaders. Bush's father generally backed generous funding levels for the State Department and other international agencies, and many in his coterie of advisers have long records in sup-

port of such programs. McCain also has backed international spending throughout his congressional career. Meanwhile, congressional Republicans forced Clinton to accept new abortion-related restrictions on international family planning aid in return for clearing the U.N. dues and providing some debt relief to poor nations.

The single most important factor in future funding for international programs will probably not be the outcome of the presidential race, but rather the battle for control of Congress. Bush, McCain, Gore and Bradley can all be expected to support those programs, while Forbes and Buchanan (each of whom would be likely to make significant cuts in foreign spending) have to be considered long shots at this stage. Democrats have reasonably good prospects of taking control of the House in 2000, and House Republicans have been most strongly opposed to overseas spending. Democrats have less of a chance of winning a majority in the Senate, but Republicans in that chamber tend to be more supportive of funding for foreign aid and other international programs than their House counterparts.

Certainly, foreign policy will not be decisive in the race to control Congress, where parochial issues tend to dominate. But in the presidential race, international issues are already moving to the forefront. In part, that is because the thriving economy has largely prevented the GOP from going on the offensive on domestic issues. Campaign 2000 will not see a return to the rhetoric of the Cold War, when the nuclear threat dramatically elevated the importance of national security and foreign policy. But candidates are likely to be talking about international issues far more than they have in the last two elections. ■



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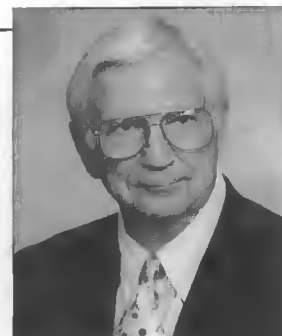
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JUBILEE FOR THIRD WORLD DEBT?

A "TOUGH LOVE" PROPOSAL:

FORGIVE THE DEBT, THEN SHUT THE LENDING WINDOW FOR GOOD.

BRETT D. SCHAEFER

The debt crisis in many low-income countries has become a cause célèbre for the American media and international charitable organizations for good reason. Countries whose people have difficulty feeding themselves are finding it impossible to spur economic growth despite an infusion of funds from organizations such as the International Monetary Fund and the World Bank. They are barely able to pay the interest on their outstanding loans even using funds that could be better devoted to public health and education programs, or tax cuts.

Take Côte d'Ivoire, for example. Inhabitants of this small country on Africa's west coast have a declining life expectancy that is already about 15 years below the average for all developing countries, and its literacy rate is 30 percent lower than the average. Its per capita gross national product increased by only \$45 in the 1990s. Yet in 1995, World Bank figures indicate, Côte d'Ivoire spent over eight times as much to service its debt (which was more than double its GNP) as it did on public health and more than double the amount devoted to public education. Despite a joint IMF-World Bank debt relief program, Côte d'Ivoire's debt remained over one and one-half times its GNP, and debt service payments consumed 14.4 percent of the country's GNP in 1997.

Heavily indebted poor countries (HIPC)s like Côte d'Ivoire are deteriorating under this increasingly onerous burden of debt service. On average, their debt-to-GNP ratio is 13 percent higher than the average for all developing countries. They spend less on public health and education

even though they have lower life expectancies and lower educational levels of attainment. Countries like these need rapid economic growth to overcome this morass and supply the means to meet their basic fiscal needs.

The path from problem to solution is far from clear. For centuries, economists of every ideology (from Adam Smith and Karl Marx to Robert Barro and Joseph Stiglitz) have grappled with the question of what makes economies grow. The central difference in their theories can be reduced to the level of government intervention they believe necessary to maximize a country's economic growth. One point they can agree on is that when a country starts from a low level of economic development, an influx of investment can spark explosive growth if wisely utilized. This observation is the underlying justification for the billions of dollars developing countries have received in loans and grants from multilateral sources such as the IMF and World Bank, as well as bilateral sources.

Unfortunately, providing money to these countries does not automatically translate into economic growth. Poor spending decisions, corruption, and economic policies that undermine opportunities for growth frequently negate the benefits of loans and investment. Well-intentioned, but poorly utilized, assistance compounds the problems in dozens of low-income countries. Indeed, many are as poor as they were before receiving billions in loans, but now also owe millions of dollars in annual loan payments.

The cost of unproductive investment is steep. The 41 poor countries considered heavily indebted by the IMF and the World Bank owed an average of 15.8 percent of their GNP for debt service in 1994. However, on average they paid only 5.3 percent of their GNP in debt service, leaving the arrears and interest to accumulate. In addition to unpaid debt service, borrowing increased. In 1994, net aid flows from multilateral and bilateral sources (loans extended at

Brett D. Schaefer is Jay Kingham Fellow in International Regulatory Affairs for the Center for International Trade and Development at the Heritage Foundation.

below market terms, known as "concessional flows," minus debt service) to these 41 countries averaged 8.3 percent of GNP.

According to the U.S. General Accounting Office, these HIPC countries nearly doubled their average external debt from \$122 billion between 1983 and 1985 to \$221 billion between 1993 and 1995. In most cases, this increase outstripped their economic and export growth, hampering their ability to service their debt and forcing many of these countries into arrears or default.

Yet, although most of these countries are not paying enough to service their debt in full, what is paid absorbs a rising portion of the concessional assistance received from the international lenders. Thus, a good portion of their economic assistance is no longer being used to promote economic growth. For instance, World Bank data indicate that:

- The Republic of Congo received official assistance equivalent to 7.3 percent of its GNP in 1995, 22.7 percent in 1996, and 14.7 percent in 1997, yet most of this was never used for development. During the same three years, Congo paid 8.3, 16.7, and 5.1 percent of its GNP, respectively, in debt service on public and publicly guaranteed debt, most of which is owed to official creditors including bilateral aid agencies, the IMF, and the World Bank. Thus, significant amounts of new assistance were required simply to finance past assistance.

- Over the same three-year period, Cameroon received official assistance equivalent to 6.0, 4.9, and 5.9 percent of its GNP, respectively, and paid 4.6, 5.4, and 5.0 percent of its GNP each of those years toward servicing its public and publicly guaranteed debt. As with Congo, new assistance to Cameroon basically financed past assistance.

The failure of traditional debt relief mechanisms to solve the debt problems of poor countries led the IMF and World Bank to create the HIPC Initiative in 1996. The HIPC Initiative offers relief to poor countries by rescheduling their debt when traditional debt relief measures prove insufficient. Multilateral institutions supply 54 percent of total financing for the HIPC Initiative (including 25 percent from the World Bank and 9 percent from the IMF) with the remaining 46 percent coming from bilateral creditors.

In order to be eligible for HIPC relief, a country must qualify for World Bank concessional assistance, have an "unsustainable" debt burden after exhausting all other debt-relief options, and maintain track record of adherence to IMF and World Bank conditions agreed to in return for loans (referred to as "conditionality").

Forty-one countries were originally deemed eligible for HIPC assistance, but only nine had received assistance through HIPC by 1998 and only Uganda had completed the

program. Overall, the HIPC Initiative was expected to provide an 18 percent reduction in debt service due but most countries did not pay their obligations in full. According to the IMF, "in comparison to the debt service paid prior to HIPC debt relief, the reduction is about 2 percent on average... and some countries are expected to experience an increase in debt service due even after HIPC assistance."

This relief fell far short of the expectations of debt relief proponents, who subsequently heaped criticism on the HIPC Initiative. As reported in the *Financial Times* of June 12-13, 1999, the development committee of the British House of Commons characterized the initiative as merely a "rearrangement of accounts," which fails to provide a permanent solution to the HIPC debt problem.

The Debt Relief Debate

The evident failure of the HIPC Initiative to reduce significantly the debt service obligations of eligible countries has inspired a number of competing proposals. The most publicized alternative to HIPC is championed by Jubilee 2000, a coalition of non-governmental organizations founded in 1990. Operating under the premise that debt levels in many developing nations are beyond their ability to service, Jubilee 2000 is urging creditors to forgive the "unpayable" debt in 50 low-income countries by the year 2000.

Jubilee 2000 is highly critical of the debt relief efforts of the IMF and the World Bank, calling "current lending and debt relief ... fundamentally unjust. International loans are negotiated in secret between local elites and powerful creditors like the IMF, the World Bank and government export credit agencies ... Debt relief negotiations are always driven by creditors, who are naturally unwilling to write off debts." The efforts of Jubilee 2000 have been very successful and elicited supporters as diverse as rock star Bono of U2, Pope John Paul II and a number of conservative Republicans in the U.S. who have a history of opposing foreign assistance. Their reasons for support range from religious beliefs, as is the case for Rep. Spencer Baucus, R-Ala: "The Bible says it is more blessed to give than to receive.... Please help 700 million of your brothers and sisters in the poorest countries," to Bono's humanitarian appeal to help "a billion people living on less than a dollar a day."

Not everyone is enamored of the Jubilee 2000 campaign, however. Economist Steve H. Hanke paints debt relief as rhetoric that "pulls at the heart strings" but cannot stand up to the challenge of "a dose of reality." Even some World Bank employees have doubts about debt forgiveness. David Dollar, co-author of the seminal World Bank report *Assessing Aid: What Works, What Doesn't, and Why*, worries that there is no provision in the debt relief efforts to pre-

vent a repetition of the current debt crisis, so that "in 15 years you have another debt crisis." On the contrary, countries will likely wind up with unsustainable debt again in the future.

In addition, the intended linkage between debt forgiveness and increases in government expenditures on specific programs (such as education and health) is dubious at best. Since money is fungible, there is no guarantee that the portion of the budget now reserved for interest payments would be set aside for increased health and education spending if the debt were forgiven. Debtor governments can cut spending on social programs even as they comply with creditors' conditionality by allocating debt relief funds to those very same initiatives. Once the creditors forgive debt, they relinquish their influence over a debtor's budgetary decisions. As Hanke observes, "At

***The Jubilee 2000
coalition has drawn
supporters from rock
star Bono of U2 to
Pope John Paul II to
American conservatives.***

present, the politicians in poor countries tend to favor military spending, Swiss bank accounts and villas on the Riviera over schools and hospitals."

According to the Rev. Jesse Jackson, "Debt burdens are the new economy's chains of slavery. ... remove the shackles from a continent, to guarantee life and opportunity to millions of young children." Critics rightfully dismiss such statements as mere rhetoric, and point

out that debt is not a problem in and of itself. Government borrowing to finance public expenditures can provide benefits that justify the assumption of debt. If the allocation of borrowed resources is productive, it can generate income or increase productivity sufficient to meet the costs of debt service. The problem arises when debt is not used in ways that contribute to the government's ability to service the debt, such as financing grandiose but essentially pointless construction projects, or by corrupt government officials siphoning off the funds. Thus, the central problem is not the debt burden in poor countries, but poor utilization of past credit and the reluctance of most HIPC countries to adopt economic reform.

A Better Solution

The challenge for policy-makers is to ensure that whatever debt relief proposal is ultimately adopted is more

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than feel-good rhetoric. The goal should not be debt forgiveness, but maximizing the ability of heavily indebted countries to develop economically and socially. Forgiving debt can facilitate this goal, but will not achieve it without other measures.

Efforts to deflect criticism have led the Group of Seven to endorse a plan to forgive most bilateral debt owed them by poor countries. The IMF and the World Bank have also yielded to public pressure and agreed in September 1999 to lower the threshold above which debt is considered "unsustainable," expand the number of countries eligible for debt relief, and front-load HIPC Initiative debt relief. As for the U.S., soon after the HIPC Initiative reform announcement, President Clinton produced a proposal to forgive all bilateral debt owed the U.S. by 36 poor countries, while Congress is considering legislation to implement debt relief.

Unfortunately, the cogent arguments of Hanke, Dollar and other skeptics of debt forgiveness have not been given equal weight with those urging deeper and broader debt forgiveness, such as Jubilee 2000. As a result, a key element — measures to ensure that the recipients of debt forgiveness can benefit from debt forgiveness — is missing from most proposals.

Numerous studies, including The Heritage Foundation's *1999 Index of Economic Freedom*, show that the single greatest determinant of future economic growth is a freer market — not the amount that governments spend. Thus, to be successful, debt forgiveness must be accompanied by means to encourage countries to adopt economic reforms that increase the likelihood of economic development, and measures to prevent a return to unsustainable debt levels through poor investment of borrowed funds.

The most dependable way to

The best way to ensure that debtor countries reform is to require them to forgo future official credit in return for debt forgiveness.

ensure that HIPCs adopt economic and institutional reform is to require them to forgo future official credit in return for debt forgiveness. This will:

- Provide a clean slate to allow poor countries to start fresh. Official assistance, while well-intentioned, has fostered dependence on aid and discouraged reform. In fact, foreign assistance has done little more than add to the burden many developing countries face by increasing their overall debt. The proof of this statement lies in the need to forgive poor country debt, which is overwhelmingly economic aid, in the first place — obviously, the past loans did not generate sufficient economic growth to supply countries with the means to repay them. Forgiving these ill-conceived loans would allow poor countries to focus their resources on development rather than reinforcing past errors in judgment made by officials in bilateral and multilateral aid agencies.

- Create a market check on unwise investment and unsustainable debt levels. Official creditors have weaknesses that the private sector does not. Private creditors require countries to demonstrate an ability to service their debt before they extend additional loans. The exception is when private sector institutions are shielded from the consequences of poor decisions and market discipline, thereby creating a "moral hazard." Even the Latin American debt crisis of the 1980s, which involved private

debt primarily, was spurred by implicit and explicit guarantees from domestic regulators (e.g., central banks) and international financing institutions.

If it is not insulated from market discipline, the private sector has a greater incentive to ensure that the borrowing countries can meet their debt obligations than do official institutions because it is their money at risk, not the money of taxpayers to whom aid institutions have limited accountability. Forcing countries to rely on the private sector for investment and credit by cutting them off from official creditors would prevent them from accumulating unsustainable debt through ill-conceived foreign assistance in the future. Analysis of the debt trends for developing countries supports this belief. As the debt burdens of the HIPCs increased, private creditors reduced their exposure in recognition of their decreased ability to service it. (See Figure 1.) This is a stark contrast to the developing countries as a group, who maintained a better capacity to finance debt, for whom private creditors were the main source of credit in 1995. (See Figure 2.) It is obvious from these charts that the primary source of the "unsustainable" debt burden in HIPC countries is their official bilateral and multilateral creditors.

- Encourage economic reform. Because of its emphasis on profits, private investment flows disproportionately toward countries that have economic policies conducive to entrepreneurship. Unfortunately, many heavily indebted countries have a poor record of adopting such economic reforms, using borrowed funds effectively and reliably meeting their debt obligations. Perversely, official assistance undermines the very leverage potential investors and creditors wield — namely, the ability to withhold credit and investment — and thus actual-

ly perpetuates economic inefficiency.

Restricting official credit and forcing HIPCs to turn to the private sector would thus supply the missing incentive to implement economic reforms. These policies (including protections for private property rights, non-punitive tax and investment regimes, minimal restrictions on repatriation of profits, financial transparency, and strong and fair judicial systems) are also the ones most conducive to economic growth and development.

Proponents of economic assistance obviously will be less than thrilled with requiring countries to forgo future assistance in return for debt relief. The countries requiring debt relief are among the largest recipients of economic assistance. This would be appropriate, if economic assistance had a positive impact on development. Indeed, in response to a Jubilee 2000 criticism of IMF assistance, Bruno J. Mauprivez of the IMF defended concessional aid because "[s]uch borrowing allows these countries to invest to enhance their future income-earning potential, which is important for economic growth and poverty reduction."

***Aid is a crap-shoot:
Some aid recipients
grow, while
others stagnate.***

Unfortunately, history indicates that foreign assistance has not helped nations develop. Numerous studies have concluded just the opposite, in fact. One example, cited by George Will in a June 1, 1997 article in *The Washington Post*, is an exhaustive study by the London School of Economics concerning 92 developing nations; it found that "no relationship exists between the levels of aid and rates of growth in recipient countries." In other words, aid is a crap-shoot, with some aid recipients growing while others stagnate. The argument that an aid cutoff would inevitably doom HIPCs to poverty is therefore a red herring.

In fact, official assistance (whether from the United States, multilateral institutions, or any other country) has

undermined development in the instances where it crowded out private creditors, enabled governments to avoid instituting economic reforms, and increased a country's debt burden without improving economic growth. This is equally true of grants, which would largely prevent an accumulation of debt from international assistance, but would fail to create free-market incentives for economic reform. Countries would be assured of a costless and unending source of funds regardless of what economic policies they pursued. Under such a system, few economic reforms would be implemented and the poorest countries would be relegated to perpetual poverty.

It is likely that capital flows to HIPCs might be reduced in the short term if they were unable to receive official assistance — after all, HIPC countries receive much more in loans and grants from official creditors than they do from private sources. Private credit would likely increase slightly to meet demand, but it would not offset reductions in official credit, since most HIPC countries cannot support that level of debt — as the very need for debt forgiveness itself implies. Interest on private credit will be more expensive, but the higher costs should be offset by higher returns on investment.

In addition, the decline in resources would not be so precipitous as typically portrayed, because official credit would no longer be needed for debt service and foreign direct investment is unlikely to abandon the country. Access to private credit and investment will increase over time as countries adopt economic reforms, experience economic growth, and establish records of responsible debt management. There is ample evidence supporting this view. For instance, Hong Kong and Taiwan received little if any official assistance, yet they succeeded in outstripping large aid recipients in

Public External Debt by Creditor for Heavily Indebted Developing Countries, 1980-1995

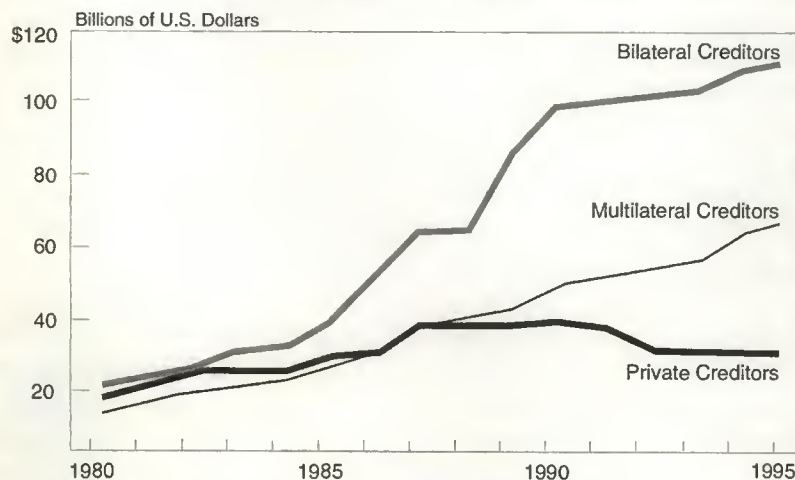


Figure 1. Sources: World Bank Debtor Reporting and IMF staff estimates

AFSA NEWS

American Foreign Service Association • January 2000

DIPLOMATIC AUTOMOBILE DISCOUNTS

Are They Legal?

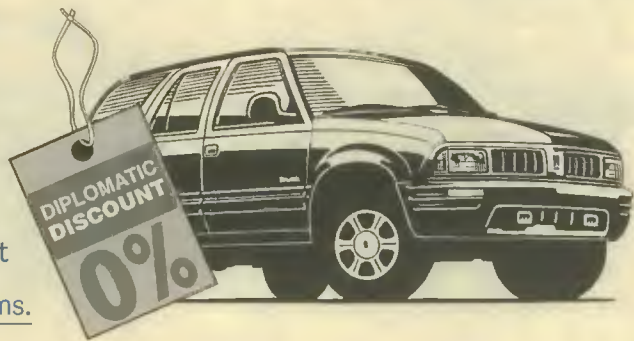
by Sharon Papp, AFSA General Counsel

Last August, the *Washington Post* ran a story about diplomatic automobile discounts suggesting that all such discounts were illegal (see *FSJ*, "Clippings," Oct 1999). The State Department is planning to issue

federal employees stationed overseas, the employee may accept the discount. AFSA contacted car dealers and distributors who advertise in the *Journal*. Based on the information they provided, we believe their discount programs fit this criterion for an acceptable, ethical discount. However, employees should contact their agencies' ethics offices about particular programs.

Even if a commercial discount is not widely offered, an employee may

Employees should contact their agency's ethics office about particular programs.



general guidance on this topic soon and is also researching whether an employee may use a diplomatic passport to establish eligibility for such a discount. Meantime, AFSA offers the following guidance.

The Standards of Ethical Conduct for Employees of the Executive Branch prohibit employees from receiving gifts from outside sources. Commercial discounts can be, but are not necessarily, considered gifts. Whether a discount is a prohibited gift depends, in part, upon 1) whether the discount is made available to all federal employees or the public at large and 2) whether the purchase price is truly a discount of the fair market value.

If the discount is available to the public or all federal employees; or all

nevertheless take advantage of it, if the employee pays the market value for the item. AFSA spot-checked prices of several specific models offered by advertisers in the *Journal*. Prices were comparable to prices available to the general public through several Internet car sale sites. We encourage employees to check for themselves, however, and to retain this information.

AFSA recommends that employees contact their agency's ethics office with questions about accepting commercial discounts. Pending clarification from the State Department, we advise employees not to use their diplomatic or official passports to establish their eligibility for these programs. ■

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FAREWELL TO AN AFSA INSTITUTION

Dick Thompson Retires

The common reply to any sticky question at AFSA headquarters is, "Ask Dick." Dick, of course is Dick Thompson, the longest-serving AFSA staff member, who planned to retire at the end of 1999. Thompson, who retired

Continued on page 3



DICK THOMPSON

AFSA NEWS BRIEF



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As of January 2000, the AFSA Labor Management office will be moving to Room 1251 on the first floor of Main State (across from the Foreign Service Lounge).

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AFSA News Editor: Wesley Ann Godard
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Internet Addresses:
afsa@afsa.org (Association)
pres@afsa.org (President)
journal@afsa.org (FSJ)

AFSA Headquarters:
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The AFSA Retiree Agenda

The AFSA Governing Board's four elected retiree representatives and retiree vice president serve the interests of our constituency by providing an experienced retiree perspective on issues affecting the entire Foreign Service and by ensuring that AFSA responds to the special concerns of retirees.

In practice, there is little distinction between these responsibilities. Retirees and serving members alike have an interest in the professional health of the Foreign Service, and all contribute actively to public and congressional outreach aimed at building support for Foreign Service resources. Moreover, all active duty members will be affected in their own eventual retirement by the way current retiree problems are resolved.

The requirement for retirees to be issued a visitor pass is temporary.

service, including that of retirees, to meet surge requirements for personnel resources.

AFSA President Marshall Adair wrote to Under Secretary Bonnie Cohen to protest State's new security requirements, which further restrict access to the building for retirees. She responded that "the requirement for retirees to be issued a visitor pass is temporary." She said that the funding was approved to upgrade the access control system and that the new system, expected to be installed this fiscal year, "will provide us with the ability to issue Department of State retirees a building pass card." AFSA is actively pushing for all Foreign Service retirees, regardless of agency, to be included.

State's finance bureau (FMP) which administers Foreign Service annuities, allows fewer deductions and allotments than are permitted in the much larger civil service retirement systems run by the Office of Personnel Management (OPM). FMP told us in the past that its computers cannot make deductions routinely offered by OPM for items like Medicare premiums and employee association (AFSA) dues. AFSA also learned that these computers are blamed for delays in making changes to annuities and for failure to inform annuitants of such changes in a timely manner (as in the case of the 1999 FEGLI rates). FMP told us that its first priority was making the computers Y2K compliant. With the Y2K problem no longer before the department, we will push harder for finance to bring its standards up to the level enjoyed by civil service retirees.■



Dick Thompson Retires • Continued from page 1

once before—from the Foreign Service in 1988—became the institutional memory of AFSA and the association's window to Foreign Service culture.

Dick Thompson first came to AFSA to coordinate both the AFSA awards program and Foreign Service Day and to arrange speakers for AFSA-sponsored lunches.

"The awards program had fallen on lean years," Thompson said. "It had become an afterthought by the executive director." At the 1987 ceremony, Thompson recalls, the speaker was Sen. Claiborne Pell, then a ranking member of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee. "But virtually no one was there except the relatives of

Thompson turned the ceremonies into a prestigious annual event that draws luminaries from a cross section of the foreign affairs community.

the winners or friends such as myself."

Thompson turned the ceremonies into a prestigious annual event that draws luminaries from a cross section of the foreign affairs community. Bruce Laingen, former ambassador and current president of the American Academy of Diplomacy, and also chair of the AFSA Award Plaque Committee, gives Thompson the credit for the change.

"Dick Thompson is that classic exemplar of a consummate public servant. Quietly, but surely, and with unfailing regard for quality in every detail, he gets things done."

Often without compensation, Thompson pitched in at AFSA where he was needed. He helped establish the AFSA speakers bureau, filled in as

Continued on page 5

FSGB Decisions Unclear

by Edward Passman and Tanisha Cole Washington

What happens when a retired Foreign Service employee's ex-spouse receives overpayments from the retiree's annuity benefits? Of course, the government, having made the mistake, wants the money repaid.

Two recent Foreign Service Grievance Board decisions are sure to create confusion for retired employees faced with former spouse annuity payment problems. On Aug. 6 the board ruled (Decision No. 98-91) that it lacked jurisdiction to consider a grievance of a retired Foreign Service member concerning debt repayments for annuity benefits paid by the Foreign Service Retirement and Disability Service to a former spouse. The board cited three reasons: (1) the grievant was not a member of the Foreign Service at the time his debt repayment was at issue; (2) the grievant's debt repayment issue could not properly be considered a denial of a financial benefit; and (3) the term grievance was not properly applied to the case.

The grievant retired from the Foreign Service in 1983 and was rehired by the State Department as a civil service employee in 1984. In 1985 the grievant and his wife divorced and she became entitled to a marital portion of his F.S. annuity benefits. Because the grievant's annuity was suspended while he worked in the civil service, his former spouse's annuity should have been deducted from his civil service salary instead of paid by the F.S. Retirement and Disability Service. FSRDS's failure to make the appropriate deductions from his salary from 1985 through 1995 resulted in an overpayment of \$100,000. The department informed him it intended to deduct the overpayment in installments from his

Both grievants were held accountable for the government's mistakes.

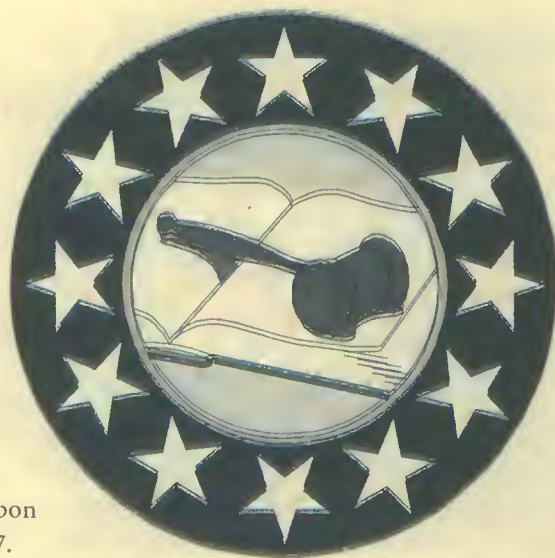
annuity, which resumed upon his second retirement in 1997.

The grievant argued that he was entitled to a hearing at the agency level, because overpayments had been in the form of salary. State contended that the overpayments were from annuity benefits; therefore, a hearing is not mandated. Instead, State asserted the grievant could file a grievance with the FSGB within 60 days of receipt of the department's final decision. The former employee filed a grievance arguing that since his case related to a financial benefit, the FSGB had authority to hear it.

With scant analysis, the FSGB ruled that it did not have jurisdiction, because a former F.S. member may only file a grievance if the financial benefit in question is subject to control of the secretary of State. The board did not explain why the State Department's deducting the debt from the grievant's annuity did not constitute denial of a financial benefit.

The board added to the confusion by reasoning that had the grievant accepted State's position that the issue was an annuity payment offset, he would have been entitled to a hearing at the agency level. As a result, a future retiree faced with former spouse annuity payment problems is caught in a "Catch-22" situation, not knowing whether the board considers the issue to be a salary or annuity offset, nor how to pursue an appeal.

In this case and a similar one



(FSGB Decision 99-1), the State Department failed to give the former employees the proper appeal information; yet both grievants were held accountable for the government's mistakes. The board never addressed the government's error in overpayments or its failure to advise the grievants of their appeal rights.

Mr. Passman is a principal of Passman & Kaplan, P.C. Ms. Washington, an associate with the firm, is a former AFSA labor-management attorney. ■

CAPITOL HILL FILE

News from the Hill

As we go to press, Congress is still in session and legislation affecting living and working conditions for the Foreign Service is under discussion. However, AFSA can report one piece of good news for members who are residents of the District of Columbia. D.C. residents attending public colleges and universities in Maryland and Virginia no longer have to pay out-of-state tuition. AFSA's Congressional Relations Director, Ken Nakamura, worked to ensure that F.S. employee residents of the District who are serving abroad are covered by this legislation.

Look for a complete accounting of where AFSA legislative initiatives stand in next month's *AFSA News*.

director of development, hit the road recruiting for the Foreign Service, and put his extensive knowledge on many subjects to use as proofreader for the *Foreign Service Journal*.

In addition to his legendary attention to detail, Thompson is known for his integrity. "Dick has been the outstanding keeper of the Foreign Service's traditions for the past decade," says former AFSA President F.A. "Tex" Harris. "He's the guy who's remembered things and kept us from

Dick has been the outstanding keeper of the Foreign Service's traditions for the past decade.

doing things that might have been emotionally compelling, but were professionally wrong."

Educated at Washington State University, Thompson was a Rhodes Scholar at Oxford before joining the Foreign Service in 1960. He served tours in Aruba, Curaçao, Niamey, Saigon, Paris and Algiers and earned an M.A. at Georgetown University along the way. Arriving in Saigon in 1968 just in time for the Tet offensive and leaving Vietnam by helicopter from the roof of the U.S. embassy in 1975 during a subsequent tour are his most vivid Foreign Service memories.

Thompson has seen AFSA membership and staff grow during his tenure. He applauds AFSA's shift to a strong congressional relations program and would like to see AFSA make more efforts to improve the function of diplomacy.

As Thompson leaves, the AFSA staff will be left in a quandary. The "ask Dick" habit will be hard to break. ■

Embassy Security Still Underfunded

One year from now, President Clinton, Secretary Albright, OMB Director Jacob Lew, and their top aides will be preparing to move on to comfortable private sector positions. As they depart, they will leave many of us in the career Foreign Service still serving in dangerously unsafe embassies and consulates.

Consider a recent Office of the Inspector General report on one of our most important missions: "The offices at (X) cannot be defended adequately against terrorist attack and do not provide a secure work environment for employees." Here is what the OIG said about another post: "(Y is one of the) highly vulnerable chanceries for which adequate security cannot be provided."

According to the Accountability Review Boards (ARB) formed following the deadly August 1998 embassy bombings in Nairobi and Dar Es Salaam, some 80 percent of our overseas missions do not meet established security standards. The ARB urged spending \$1.4 billion for 10 years on security upgrades to our overseas missions, a recommendation echoed in the November 1999 report of the blue-ribbon Overseas Presence Advisory Panel.

Despite those clear calls to action, the Clinton administration asked Congress for (and thus received) only 40 percent of that amount for the current fiscal year. That is an outrage. In failing to press for more, the administration risks re-establishing the pattern of neglect for security funding that followed the Beirut bombing in 1983.

The administration is now working on the final budget of the Clinton years. If they fail to press hard for \$1.4 billion for security upgrades, it will be almost impossible for AFSA or anyone else to convince Congress to appropriate that amount. Thus, urgently needed security upgrade projects on the department's priority list will go undone. Today's decision-makers would have a lot to answer for should a future terrorist attack devastate one of those posts.

My saddest duty since joining the AFSA board was to visit the C Street entrance of Main State looking for a place for a new memorial plaque. Given the rate at which we have added the names of fallen colleagues in recent years, the space needs to be a large one. Before they move on to the next phase of their lives, I hope that our political masters, who run little risk of having their names on that plaque, will do everything in their power to protect those of us who will remain on the front lines of American diplomacy. They should do so now, when they have the power and responsibility, not 10 years from now as a private-sector member of some blue-ribbon panel formed in response to a future bombing.

As always, I welcome member input. Contact me at NalandJ@state.gov or by fax at 202-647-0265. ■



Age Discrimination Trial

In response to many questions about the RIF (reduction in force)/age discrimination case, an update on the status of the case follows:

Foreign Service employees fired by USAID in a 1996 reduction in force went to trial last Oct. 18 to argue that the agency discriminated on the basis of age in separating them. The outcome of this trial will affect 90 former employees who were 40 years of age or older at the time they were RIFed.

The trial follows the District Court's earlier decision to deny USAID's motion to dismiss the suit. The court's ruling found that the plaintiffs had presented enough evidence to advance to trial, citing statements made by then-Administrator Brian Atwood and other management officials that could lead a reasonable jury to conclude that there was concern about the older age of agency staff and an interest in replacing them with new, younger employees. RIFed employees also contend that in developing RIF regulations USAID made a series of choices that intentionally disadvantaged older workers and departed from the principles under which the agency had operated in the past.

Members may recall that AFSA fought to prevent USAID from giving blanket RIF protection to IDIs (International Development Interns) and urged the agency to allow vulnerable employees in surplus skill areas to transfer to deficit skill areas for which they were qualified before the RIF. The agency refused.

For the Foreign Service RIFees who attended the trial, the testimony was an emotional and revealing experience. Several commented to me that what was particularly galling was the realization that the agency did not carry out any workforce planning to determine what categories of employees were in surplus to future agency skill needs.

They all felt that the agency's rhetoric about workforce analysis demonstrating that a dozen skill areas were in surplus was pure fabrication. There was NO workforce planning that established surplus skill areas. Since the RIF, the agency has been hiring new people or converting civil service employees to fill large numbers of Foreign Service vacancies in many of those "surplus" skill areas. However, age discrimination, not the veracity of agency management, is the central premise of this trial.

During three weeks of testimony the plaintiffs presented more than 30 witnesses and 375 documentary exhibits to make their case against USAID. Federal District Judge Ricardo M. Urbina is now reviewing the evidence and planned to reach a decision by the end of December.

AFSA attorneys, who are "of counsel" in this class action lawsuit, have worked closely with the Bell, Boyd, and Lloyd law firm and the National Senior Citizen's Law Center, providing critical background and documentation to them as the case progressed. ■



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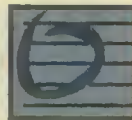
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terms of economic growth by implementing economic and institutional reform. After decades of failure under the current official assistance-led development strategy, it is time to abandon it.

The Long-Term Approach

Debt forgiveness without instituting economic reforms in each country and altering the lending policies and tendencies of multilateral institutions is a short-sighted and ultimately futile gesture. Even the IMF acknowledges that the economic woes of HIPC's are at least partially self-induced through an unwillingness or inability to reform their economies, poor debt management, and denominating their debt in dollars or other currencies while their own currencies devalue.

The unfortunate reality is that debt forgiveness alone will not address the most critical of the obstacles to development poor countries face. It merely offers poor countries token relief while perpetuating their dependence on bilateral and multilateral assistance. The best solution therefore is a combination of debt

*Private lenders
have the incentive
to ensure that
borrowing countries
can meet their
obligations.*

forgiveness and termination of future economic assistance. This approach would prevent the accumulation of excessive debt and ensure that the market (a better judge of creditworthy projects and policies than are official creditors) is the determining factor in lending decisions.

Taxpayers whose money will be given away for debt forgiveness must hold policy-makers to a higher standard than rosy rhetoric. They should demand a lasting solution to the poor country debt problem. Heavily indebted poor countries need a remedy, not a short-sighted plan that foists the problem off on future leaders. ■

Public External Debt by Creditor for All Developing Countries, 1980-1995

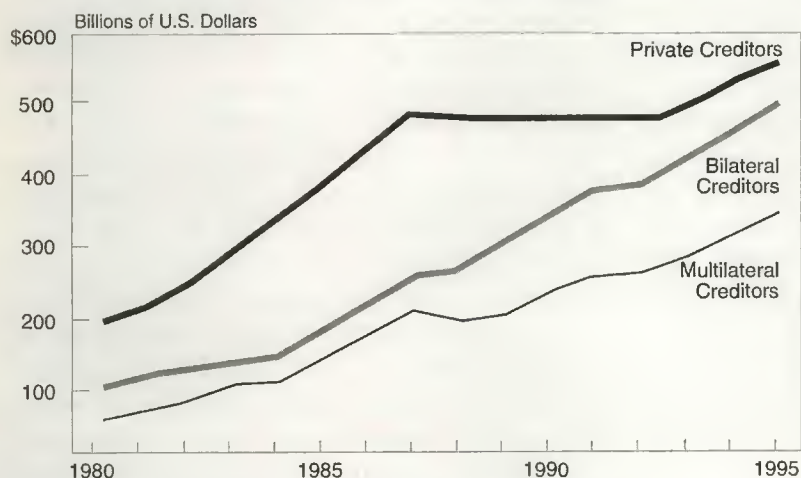


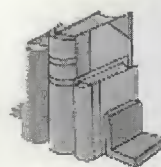
Figure 2. Sources: World Bank Debtor Reporting and IMF staff estimates



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BREAKING THE CYCLE OF THE 20TH CENTURY

THREE GREAT CONFLICTS — WORLD WAR I, WORLD WAR II, THE COLD WAR —
RACKED THE LAST CENTURY. CAN WE AVOID A REPETITION OF THIS CYCLE?

BY RALPH BUULTJENS

The present day global landscape is one of profound crisis, which could end either in the death of humankind or in the breakthrough to a new civilization. — Mikhail Gorbachev

The 20th century, with all its tragedies and triumphs, is over. Now, at last, we can look back on its totality and reflect upon its political experiences. As we do this, two questions of singular importance arise: Is there any coherent meaning in the happenings of this period? Are there messages that illumine our passage to the future? The quest for answers, if there are any, must surely begin with an examination of the context and conditions that made this time such a powerful moment in the human experience.

In 1922, Winston Churchill announced an anticipatory verdict: "What a disappointment the 20th century has been ... how terrible and melancholy is the long series of disastrous events which have darkened it." Almost simultaneously, the British polymath H.G. Wells looked at the shape of things to come and declared: "We are hardly in the earliest dawn of human greatness. ... Presently our human race will have to realize our boldest imaginations. ... The children of our blood will live in a world made more splendid and lovely than that which we know, going on from strength to strength in an ever-widening circle of adventure and achievement." Whose vision of the century was more prescient: Churchill's or Wells'? In fact, they were both correct.

Throughout the century, humanity and barbarity have walked hand in hand. More than 200 million individuals have perished in violent military or political conflict.

Ralph Buultjens is a professor at New York University, and the former Nehru Professor/Professorial Fellow at the University of Cambridge.

A larger number probably starved to death in preventable famines. Genocide and its handmaiden, ethnic cleansing, continue unabated — monstrous acts of deliberate and collective murder. Many culturally commonplace brutalities, such as female genital mutilation, are reportedly expanding. Yet, larger numbers of people do live longer and live better than their ancestors ever did. Around the year 1900, only about 10 percent of the global population could read and write. Now, almost 60 percent can and we are well within reach of universal literacy in the early 21st century. The Internet brings knowledge to the most primitive backwoods. And any massacre anywhere arouses an outcry everywhere: Slaughter has not disappeared, but it is increasingly condemned, not condoned. Who, then, will be the archetypal figures of our age: Adolf Hitler and Josef Stalin or Mahatma Gandhi and Mother Teresa?

In many ways, these contrasts and contradictions are not historically exceptional. Every age has had its compassion and its cruelty, although the scope and scale of events in our era has been much larger than before. What really separates our century from the rest of history, what makes it so distinct, is technology and its dispersal throughout the world. Nuclear energy, satellites, rapid medical advances, biogenetic leaps, the computer and communications revolutions — these are peculiar to our time. People, things, and information move as they never did before on, above, or below the surface of the earth. The invention of electronic media and their global spread is a vital landmark — surely ranking equal in importance to the discovery of agriculture some 10,000 years ago. Such markers come infrequently, but when they do there is a fundamental change in how people look at life and how they want to live. And there is no going back. We have all become children of Pandora, and the planet is her box.

Cycles of War and Peace

This unique condition has produced a unique consequence — something which has no equivalent in human history. There are, of course, many unusual features in the macro-political ethos of the 20th century. But what most specially defines it and has been largely unnoticed is a recurring pattern of events. An examination of 20th century history suggests that this is a cycle with certain specific features — a cycle which has repeated three times in 100 years. This cycle, with its remarkable replications, is the flywheel of the international political economy in modern times. Its footprints appear in an order which unfolds somewhat like this:

- The cycle begins with a series of small local or regional conflicts. These are curtain-raisers of the progression. In the first cycle, during the early part of this century, such conflicts began in the Balkans. At the start of the second turn of the cycle, in the 1930s, these small wars included the Spanish Civil War, the Japanese assault on China, and the Italian attacks on North Africa. The third sequence, in the late 1940s, begins with similar events — the Greek Civil War, the Berlin Blockade, and the initial Korean part of the Korean War.

- Then, the next stage of the cycle evolves. These small outbursts escalate into larger disputes which draw major powers into prolonged battles. Vast numbers are destroyed and displaced in the big-time struggles. Witness World War I in which about 20 million died, World War II in which about 50 million died, and the Cold War — essentially 40 years of combat in which around 40 million died in 130 local and regional wars, of which Korea, Vietnam, Afghanistan, and the Central American conflicts are the best known.

- These great and costly struggles have been won by powers which espouse values of freedom and democracy. In short, the “bad guys” lose: the Central Powers in World War I, the Axis in World War II, the Soviet Union in the Cold War. A short period of triumphalism takes place during which the winners attribute all virtue to themselves.

- The victories arouse high expectations. Foremost among them are hopes for a new era of democracy and prosperity, freedom and economic well-being. President Woodrow Wilson believed that the world was made “safe for democracy.” President Franklin Roosevelt thought that “democratic processes” would flourish everywhere. President George Bush proclaimed a New World Order founded on “democratic principles and institutions and values.” Many of their contemporaries enthusiastically echoed these sentiments.

*We have all
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- The end of major conflicts also provokes the collapse of empires: the Austro-Hungarian, Ottoman, German, and Czarist Russian empires after World War I; the colonial empires of Europe after World War II; the external and internal Soviet empire after the Cold War. A kind of global reorganization takes place with many new small and medium-sized states evolving and sovereign boundaries being redefined. Witness the

Versailles states after World War I, the Third World nations after World War II, over 20 successor states in Eastern Europe and Central Asia after the Cold War. Everyone makes commitments to sustain their independence, invariably embracing the rhetoric of democracy and liberty.

- At this moment in the cycle, important new economic manifestations appear — the communist economy after World War I, the European welfare state after World War II, the emerging capitalist markets after the Cold War. Each of these expressions offers the promise of equity and prosperity for all.

- The winners of the great wars hasten to establish or revive international institutions to prevent future catastrophes and to underwrite global prosperity through global cooperation. Thus were born the League of Nations and the Bank of International Settlements, the United Nations and the International Monetary Fund/World Bank, and most recently an attempt to energize the United Nations and establishment of the World Trade Organization.

- Soon, however, the cycle moves into a darker phase — negative developments begin to undermine the high hopes of global freedom, prosperity, and institutional effectiveness. Frightening, autocratic, and expansionist ideologies arise — fascism after World War I, international communism after World War II, ethnic nationalism and fundamentalism after the Cold War. International peacekeeping structures prove unable to contain them and decline in credibility. At the same time, large parts of the global economy also begin to falter, causing considerable human misery and social turmoil. Governments attempt emergency renovations or restrictive attempts to alleviate the evolving disorder. Thus, the coming of the New Economic Policy in the Soviet Union in the 1920s, the fascist economic experiments in Italy and Germany, and the New Deal in America in the 1930s. So, too, the reinforcement of the European welfare state and the beginning of foreign aid programs in the 1950s. Currently, the quest for regulatory and reform mechanisms to arrest the economic slide in emerging markets. These efforts do not always work.

- As political and economic deterioration sparks various tensions, the cycle now enters its final phase and completes

its rotation. Once more, small regional disputes and wars erupt. Take a close look at Bosnia, Kosovo, Iraq, the Indo-Pakistan border, Chechnya, and several West African countries today. Then, it all begins again with big power involvement in these situations. History begins to walk in the same tracks, the cycle takes another turn and all hell breaks loose.

This re-statement of sequences is a reminder of uncanny parallels in the political record of the 20th century. Of course, not everything around the world can be explained by such repetitive patterns. There is no karmic inevitability or perfectly identical symmetry in all this. However, I suggest that there are sufficient similarities to indicate that global high politics and macroeconomics over the last century do fall into some clearly defined recurrences with many common features.

Indeed, if there is even a semblance of credibility in my argument about cycles, we now confront a major question — perhaps the authentic big question of our moment: Do we have to repeat 20th century history and pass through still another cycle, or can we break out of the pattern and create a new future? Is trend destiny or can we bypass history?

A Fourth Cycle?

A decade or so ago, at the conclusion of the Cold War, history presented us with an unusual condition — a clean stage on which to design a brave new world. The old ideological cobwebs and hangups had been swept away: Communism, anti-communism, nonalignment faded into irrelevance. For a few years, things appeared exceedingly positive. Peace agreements, arms control treaties, collective responses to cross-border aggression were symbols of the early 1990s. A cluster of global conferences, town meetings of the world sponsored by the United Nations,

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absolutism after World
War I, fascism and
colonialism after World
War II, communism
after the Cold War.*

such as the Rio Earth Summit of 1992, prepared a new planetary agenda. Ideas of internationalism, interdependence, global community and sustainable development dominated practical discourse. Democracy, the ideological victor of the Cold War, was expanding rapidly: Even the stalemate in South Africa was peacefully resolved. Globalized electronic capitalism captured the economic imagination of nations and about three billion people were baptized into the market — and this seemed to assure a future of expanding prosperity. It looked like the springtime of nations.

Soon, however, this proved a false dawn. These constructive evolutions were challenged by several barbaric forces. Onto the world stage marched resurrected specters from the past and dreadful fresh horrors — ethnic nationalism, religious fundamentalism, international terrorism, the proliferation of weapons of mass destruction and transnational crime cartels. Most of the past decade has been a great global struggle between the positive elements liberated by the end of the Cold War and these instruments of fear and disorder. Do we see brewing another titanic battle for the human prospect?

In recent years, the balance has largely tilted towards the negative. Circumstantial evidence suggests that we are entering the early stages of a fourth turn of the 20th century cycle. Little wars splutter in the Balkans, the Caucasus, the Persian Gulf, Afghanistan, all over Africa, and in parts of South Asia. Tensions grow in the Taiwan Straits and on the North-South Korean divide. Larger nations such as the United States, Russia, China, and Great Britain are becoming involved. Fearful ideologies are gaining ground. International peace-keeping systems are not working well — the United Nations Security Council shows the same irresolution that paralyzed its predecessors during the Cold War and in the time of the League of Nations. Segments of the global economy are in deep trouble: About one quarter of the world's population was suddenly plunged into recession in 1997 and 1998. If trend is destiny and the sequence follows its past path, some kind of world war will, in due course, again come upon us. And if it does, it will come with a velocity and virulence like no other — sneak attacks with weapons of mass destruction, terrorist onslaughts, religious crusades, perhaps impoverishing trade rivalries and worldwide crime waves.

The Message of History

How can we prevent this apocalyptic vision from hardening into reality? How can we hold back the cycle from its fourth and maybe fatal rotation? The antidote is in the infection. The political experiences of the 20th century, those very experiences that provide evidence of repetitive formations, send us signals and instructions which could help us to evade, moderate, or bypass the worst of another cycle.

One of these messages is that liberal democracy is a possible prophylactic against some cyclical disasters.

It is obviously good to strengthen democracy at home and abroad for all the conventional reasons — liberty, popular representation, and so on. But modern liberal democracy has three other features important in our context of cycles:

- First, democracies do not often go to war with other democracies. A more democratic world would be a less troubled world.

- Second, democracy ventilates important modern issues and brings them into the public arena. For example, human rights and women's rights and environmental questions. If repressed, as they always are by authoritarian governments, these concerns will explode into violence. Such massive social disruptions could give thrust to the cycle and accelerate its destructive trail.

- Third, as economic Nobel laureate Amartya Sen has pointed out, famine is most frequently generated

*Famine is most often
generated by a lack
of freedom, not a lack
of food.*

by a lack of freedom, not a lack of food. Famines and upheavals associated with them often begin the chain reaction that ignites cyclical disturbances.

Thus, it is possible to conjecture that sustaining and expanding democracy could well prove a buttress against the onward progression of cycles. It is encouraging that in recent years, for the first time in human history, more than one-half of the world's people live in some form of democratic governance.

The Triumph of the Market?

Yet democracy and its consequences do not germinate in a vacuum. In many newly democratizing countries, economics will have a major influence on the future of freedom. Until mid-1997, it seemed as if the current globalized form of electronic capitalism would be the seedbed of democratic deliverance. In demonstrating the virtues of choices in the marketplace, it would inspire an increasingly liberated polity. This capitalist deliverance was manifest in East and Southeast Asia. The blooming of apparently populist capitalism seduced other regions — in Asia, in Latin America, in Eastern Europe, in parts of Africa — into the market. But the ebb tide has come fast. With the fast-spreading currency collapses and ensuing economic slowdowns in East Asia, Russia and elsewhere in 1997-1998, post-Cold War capitalism faced its first serious crisis since it emerged



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as the prevailing global economic order. The challenge is to avert a meltdown of emerging markets with fearsome contaminating consequences for all.

Here, too, we can learn from earlier 20th century events. Capitalism or modern market economics without regulatory and humanizing mechanisms contains the seeds of its own destruction. It took the New Deal to save American capitalism during the Great Depression. It took the welfare state to save European capitalism after World War II. Now we have to find methods and structures to regulate contemporary globo-electronic capitalism and cushion its heavier impacts. Capitalism has served most of the residents of the older industrial countries quite well. But its recent expansion into societies with few, if any, social safety nets has exposed millions of workers to the ups and downs characteristic of market economics. These millions, whose expectations were raised in South Korea and Indonesia and Thailand and Russia and Brazil and elsewhere, will surely not be pushed back into poverty, or wrapped into economic straitjackets designed by the IMF, without protesting violently.

If modern capitalism is to be preserved as a worldwide system, it will not be rescued by IMF bailouts and other short-term Band-Aids. It must be redeemed by changes and reforms that soften its downswings and restore its credibility by broadening its benefits. If not, the upheavals, already visible in Indonesia and likely to come to Russia, will put an end to both emerging markets and emerging democracies. Robust measures will then be required to restore stability, and dictatorships of the left or the right will again be the order of the day. This, however, need not be so.

It is well within the province of capitalist ingenuity to fashion salvific mechanisms that will correct and mod-

***We must understand that
a market economy may
be desirable, but a
market society is not.***

ify the working of contemporary international economics. This is not a new task. It has been undertaken in the past and many of today's captains of finance are calling for such efforts. The question is whether those measures can be taken fast enough, and with sufficient wisdom. We need to keep in mind that a market economy may be desirable, but a market society is not.

The Death of Utopia

There are other instructive messages which come to us from the annals of our century. One of them concerns the outsized ambitions of nations and leaders. The 20th century is the graveyard of these inflated aspirations. Territorial imperialism, long the yardstick by which the greatness of states was measured, has virtually disappeared. At least 12 major empires, some hundreds of years old, have crumbled during the last 100 years.

Planned utopias and totalitarian ideologies have been tragic failures. Each turn of the cycle has destroyed ideas and systems which dominated their times — hereditary absolutism in the wake of World War I, fascism and colonialism in the wake of World War II, communism in the wake of the Cold War. Will democracy and capitalism meet the same fate in another cyclical passage? The predicaments of those who overstretched and overreached are warnings which the big powers of today and tomorrow will do well to heed. Generally, they will not; national ambition has historically over-

whelmed reason. But something new is taking place. In every country there are now whistle-blowers and non-governmental activists who are energizing civil society in innovative ways. The imperatives of the state, involvements that fired our cycle, are under unprecedented scrutiny.

The arrival of economic supras-tates, symbolized by the Euro, is another possible brake on the egos of states and leaders. As financial sovereignty is transferred to a higher multinational authority, for the first time breaking the link between great currencies and great powers, the political sovereignty of participating nations is reduced. The Western European process has brought five decades of peace to a region that was afflicted with almost continuous war in the preceding millennium. As the notion of regional economic integration advances, and there are signs of similar developments in South America and Southeast Asia, the opportunities for extravagant ambitions are reduced. All these are hopeful signs, but are they hopeful enough? We will surely have an answer within the next decade or so.

Is Trend Destiny?

Another lesson that can help us face the future comes from the responses of countries to world challenges in the 20th century. The big winners in our time are those who have constructed genuine international partnerships and alliances. World War I, World War II, the Cold War, and even the Gulf War were won by those who built cooperative coalitions (in contrast to coercive coalitions). In recent decades, economic rewards have come to nations which forged common markets or crafted trade agreements or encouraged foreign investments and joint ventures — measures which are in themselves kinds of collaborative alliances. Today, it is almost impossible to

achieve progress in world politics or economics by going it alone. No state, however formidable, can police the world by itself or remain prosperous in isolation. Cooperative alliances, coalitions, and partnerships are the secret of 20th century success — a truth now more valid than ever.

Nowhere is this clearer than in the area of cross-border aggression. In past centuries and in the early part of this one, initiating war was profitable. This was how rich empires were created. But in the second half of the 20th century wars have become ruinous for the provocateur or the invader. Recall what Afghanistan cost the Soviet Union, what Vietnam cost the United States, what Suez cost the British, what war in the Falklands cost Argentina, what the invasion of Kuwait cost Iraq — and this is merely a short tally. Wars of international aggression are now the quickest way to national ruin. In the words of Shimon

*The spread of
democracy may well
help to save us from
another cycle of war.*

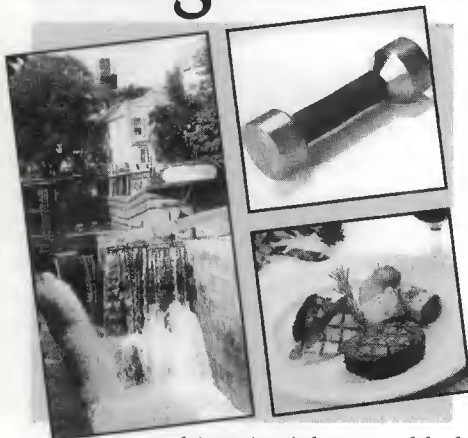
Peres, the hunting season in world affairs is over. As this realization spreads, it should restrain the recklessness of nations and become a circuit-breaker on our 20th century cycle.

Someday, it may even grow to embrace internal conflicts which have become such a popular substitute for external conflicts. The last year of the century saw reluctant — but eventually significant — international interventions in the internal bloodbaths of Kosovo and East Timor. This may be the beginning of

a trend in a most difficult area, where sovereignty of states confronts larger humanitarian interests.

These are a few selective lessons and thoughts which can perhaps point the way to avoiding the drama of another cyclical sequence — enabling us to break the cycle and make it exclusively a 20th century phenomenon. The near-term perspective suggests that a fourth cycle has just commenced. Yet, if we are attentive to the signals of history, the outcome is not inevitable, and we may be able to grow in human freedom and dignity without the catastrophes of the century which has just expired. This is why our time, our turn of the century, is a moment of such extraordinary historical significance — a moment that challenges statesmen to transcend the cycle that has dominated the century past. To fail in such an endeavor is to consign humankind to a rerun of its recent, tragic history. ■

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KISSINGER AND ANGOLA: SETTING THE RECORD STRAIGHT

IN HIS LATEST MEMOIR, KISSINGER BLAMES EVERYONE BUT HIMSELF
FOR A FAILED "COVERT" U.S. INTERVENTION IN AFRICA.

BY NATHANIEL DAVIS

The year 1975 was a bleak and uncertain time for American foreign policy. The U.S. effort in Vietnam collapsed in April 1975, leaving the American public and Congress in no mood for overseas adventures. President Nixon, beset by the Watergate scandal, had resigned the year before, leaving an unelected president, Gerald Ford, at the helm. Henry Kissinger, serving as both secretary of State and national security advisor, was in a position of great power. But Kissinger, as a consummate player of the geopolitical game, knew at that point that he was holding a hand with few high cards.

It was no wonder, then, that when the Portuguese suddenly withdrew from their African empire in 1975, the United States was ill prepared to help pick up the pieces. Angola soon emerged as the newest Cold War crucible. Three "liberation movements" each proclaimed its right to lead the new nation: the Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola (MPLA) led by Agostinho Neto, the National Union for the Total Independence of Angola (UNITA) led by Jonas Savimbi and the National Front for the Liberation of Angola (FNLA) led by Holden Roberto. The MPLA had ties to the Soviet bloc, while the FNLA and UNITA were believed to be more Western-oriented. With Portugal planning to hand over the keys to the country on Nov. 11, 1975, the resource-rich territory seemed to

be drifting toward civil war.

Henry Kissinger devotes an entire chapter of his third volume of memoirs, *Years of Renewal* (1999), to the origins of the Angolan civil war. As assistant secretary for Africa, I was an eyewitness to the events Kissinger describes, as well as an actor in the unfolding drama. It soon became clear that despite my admiration for his immense talents, the secretary and I disagreed profoundly on how the United States should deal with the crisis, a disagreement that led rather quickly to my resignation as assistant secretary.

In this narrative, I shall try to shed some light on Kissinger's analysis of that crisis and clarify my reasons for disagreeing with him on his decision to initiate large-scale covert support for UNITA and the FNLA, a move that sparked a bloody civil war still under way nearly a quarter century later.

Avoiding Appeasement

Essentially, Kissinger's justification for American intervention in Angola has roots that go back to the appeasement of Adolf Hitler in the 1930s and the "domino theory" of the post-World War II era. In fact, Kissinger traveled to the Naval War College, in Newport, R.I., less than three years after the Angola crisis erupted and spelled out his views on those links even more starkly than he does in his memoir. I was a professor there, and he looked straight at me as he delivered the following commentary:

"In 1936, one French division could have stopped the German reoccupation of the Rhineland. Professors would still be arguing today whether Hitler was a misunderstood nationalist, or a maniac bent on world domination. Five years later, everybody knew that he was a maniac bent on world domination, but it was a knowledge acquired at the cost of 20 million lives. ... In

The author was an FSO from 1947 to 1983. In addition to serving as director general of the Foreign Service and assistant secretary for African affairs, he was minister plenipotentiary to Bulgaria and ambassador to Guatemala, Chile and Switzerland. Following his retirement from the Foreign Service in 1983, he became the Alexander and Adelaide Hixon Professor of Humanities at Harvey Mudd College.

1975, I was one of those in our government who believed that the massive commitment of Soviet military equipment in Angola represented a potential threat to the United States ... [and that] this would create massive problems later on ... in the Horn of Africa [where the Somalis and Ethiopians were at war], maybe in southern Africa and maybe in the Middle East."

The collapse of the Soviet Union makes Kissinger's prediction in Newport sound like a relic of a bygone day, though he can hardly be blamed for that. Yet even with the benefit of hindsight, he still characterizes the American stake in Angola as having been a "vital national interest." I would submit that if it was, it was so only because Henry Kissinger made it so, betting U.S. prestige and credibility on the outcome of that distant confrontation. After all, as he himself points out in his memoirs, during the same period, the U.S. recognized and was prepared to pursue relations with a Marxist-led Mozambique and a sharply left-veering Guinea-Bissau, with hardly a ripple from those actions.

A Covert Operation Becomes Overt

A Cold War policy carried out in secret against the Soviet Union in those days was essentially half a policy. Using Kissinger's analogy to 1936, our assistance to UNITA and the FNLA was comparable to an effort by the French Government to stop Hitler by giving bags of money to anti-Nazi Rhinelanders, or by spiriting boatloads of arms across the Rhine River in the night.

Kissinger goes on to claim that "Angola belonged to the category of covert military operations such as Guatemala, the Bay of Pigs, the war in Laos, and the Kurdish operation which differed from classical covert intelligence operations in that they were not really secret." The Angola operation does not actually fall under that rubric, however, precisely because it was supposed to be secret. (That said, Kissinger is right in surmising that I would have been no happier to preside over a covert operation in Angola that was actually like the other four operations he lists.)

The main problem with any covert war — even one that defies the odds and stays secret — is that one's adversary can escalate until the intervention becomes public or we are out-bid; that indeed is how the Russians and the Cubans responded to our efforts in Angola. Kissinger quotes Ambassador Sheldon Vance as telling him at the time that the Soviets could not escalate "as fast as we can" but does not cite the contemporaneous judg-

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ment of the CIA that the "Soviets enjoy greater freedom of action in the covert supply of arms, equipment and ammunition" and "can escalate the level of their aid more readily than we." Events soon proved the CIA right.

Both at Newport and in his memoirs, Kissinger touched on the question of linkage. He said that it was not possible to have stability in the broadest sense if the USSR felt free to upset a local equilibrium without facing up to the repercussions in arms control, détente and the overall

U.S.-Soviet relationship. President Carter's National Security Advisor Zbigniew Brzezinski said the same thing when he lamented after the 1980 election: "SALT lies buried in the sands of Ogaden" (where the Soviet Union aided Ethiopia in its war with Somalia). In both cases, unless we were prepared to push things far enough to oblige the Russians to weigh great risks, they could call our bluff. Only weeks after the Angolan crisis erupted, in January 1976, Secretary Kissinger was back in Moscow pursuing détente and SALT despite our immediately preceding discomfiture in Africa.

Finally, I would note that Kissinger's decision to intervene in Angola reflected his unwillingness to take the political situation on the ground into sufficient account. As former British ambassador to the U.S. Peter Jay observed in 1979: The Kremlin "knows that ... big gains are made in United States-Soviet competition only by the superpower that successfully catches the locally prevailing political winds. In Africa, that wind has for 20 years been black nationalism, whether it has blown from a Western or Marxist quarter." Unfortunately, Kissinger's covert war in Angola put us into a de facto partnership with the South African apartheid regime. It put us into even closer partnership with President Mobutu Sese Seko of Zaire, whose conduct (as Kissinger acknowledges in his memoirs), "even then was approaching the egregious."

A Rocky Start

I was sworn in as assistant secretary of State for African affairs on April 2, 1975.

It did not take long for Secretary Kissinger to decide that I was not the man for the job, yet some of the complaints in his memoirs about the lack of support he supposedly received from me and the African Affairs Bureau during my brief tenure in 1975 are so inaccurate as to verge on the laughable. For instance, he chides me for having taken three trips to Africa in May and June of that year and spending "most of the little more than three

months" I was in office travelling in Africa. In reality, I made only two trips as head of AF, one from May 5-19 and the second from June 14-19; furthermore, per standard operating procedure, I informed the secretary of my planned travel in advance, and he could have grounded me had he been so inclined. (Kissinger also claims that "the United States had no official representatives in Angola" in 1975, an assertion that will come as a considerable surprise to Tom Killoran, then our consul general in Luanda, Angola's capital.)

A few days before my swearing in, William Hyland, then director of the State Department's Bureau of Intelligence and Research, stopped me in the hall and told me that a \$300,000 program of covert support for the veteran Angolan liberation fighter, Holden Roberto, had been approved that past January by the Forty Committee, the top-level, interagency review board established to pass on covert operations abroad. As I later recounted in the Fall 1978 issue of *Foreign Affairs*, "I had not been aware that such programs were still being approved in the wake of the congressional investigations and interest in U.S. covert activities abroad."

Kissinger quotes this observation of mine in his memoirs, and cites it as evidence that I "clearly had no stomach for covert operations" and was "dismayed" at this "modest covert financial support." While I would indeed have been grateful to have been briefed earlier, Kissinger has no basis for inferring that "Davis's opposition to a covert operation in principle meant that the issue the President wanted most to address could not be dealt with." My views were not, and are not, that simple. And I was far from the only opponent of U.S. intervention in Angola, as he acknowledges elsewhere in his account.

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and SALT.***

The Secretary Is Taken In

On April 19, President Ford and Secretary Kissinger met with President Kenneth Kaunda of Zambia in the Oval Office. I was not present — about which I have no complaint — but I was also never informed of what transpired. That omission is especially telling since in his memoirs, Kissinger describes the meeting as having been crucial in turning around Ford's and his own views of Africa and setting our policy regarding Angola.

At the meeting, Kaunda apparently represented the four southern African presidents — Kaunda himself, Julius Nyerere (Tanzania), Mobutu Sese Seko (Zaire) and Samora Machel (Mozambique) — as solid to a man in their desire for U.S. intervention in Angola and for support of Jonas Savimbi of the National Union for the Total Independence of Angola (UNITA). Kissinger goes on to confess that he later discovered that the unanimity of the four presidents had "either dissolved or had been exaggerated." If the secretary had bothered to inform me of the meeting, I could have saved him considerable time and effort by advising him that Kaunda was blowing smoke.

Soon thereafter, Kissinger asserts, he requested an options

paper on Angola from me which "quite simply was never produced." Instead, he received "homilies" from me "irrelevant to our problem." He goes on: "On May 7, an African bureau memo signed by Davis recommended against "any direct, over-involvement in Angola's pre-independence political struggle. ... U.S. influence in Angola can be most effectively extended by means of extending aid at the time of independence [Nov. 11, 1975]."

Actually, I sent the secretary a staff study on Angola shortly after I was sworn in, and I sent a second report on Jonas Savimbi — at the secretary's request — on May 1, 1975. That memo pointed out that Savimbi was soliciting arms "everywhere," and added that "the wide knowledge of his solicitations and subventions make me skeptical that U.S. support could long be kept secret." It further expressed concern about a possible link between Savimbi and South Africa, cautioning that "the South Africans have expressed interest in providing financial assistance." It concluded:

"If the major actors [in Angola] settle on Savimbi, that might be the best solution.

However, signs are multiplying that Angola is moving toward a violent denouement. If we launch a program of covert support for Savimbi, I think we must reckon with probable disclosure. At most we would be in a position to commit limited resources, and buy marginal influence. ... We might find ourselves drawn in deeper very fast, as the fighting produces more intense pressures for arms and ammunition — as well as money. The political price we might pay — as reports of bloodshed and alleged atrocities multiply — would, I believe, exceed the possibility of accomplishment."

Opposing Intervention

Kissinger writes that I returned from Africa on May 24, 1975 (actually it was May 19) and delivered a recommendation, without elaboration, against providing arms to Roberto and Savimbi: "After delivering his memorandum of May 24, Davis again traveled to Africa." Actually, I spent the days Kissinger is talking about in Washington, chairing a National Security Council task force on Angola which submitted its report on June 13.

The Report of the House Select Committee on Intelligence (the Pike Committee) later gave the following account of our conclusions:

"The committee has learned that a task force composed of high U.S. experts on Africa strongly opposed military intervention; instead ... they called for diplomatic efforts to encourage a political settlement among the three factions to avert bloodshed. Apparently, at the direction of National Security Council aides, the task force recommendation was removed from the report and presented to NSC members as merely one policy option. The other two alternatives were a hands-off policy or substantial military intervention."

Most members of our task force did indeed favor diplomatic-political measures, in concert with Portugal, Tanzania, Zambia, Zaire, the Organization of African Unity and the U.N. We also favored pressing the USSR to reduce its support to Agostinho Neto, founder of the Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola (MPLA) and soon to become Angola's first president.

The President Decides

By early July, the direction of U.S.

I was far from the only opponent of U.S. intervention in Angola.

policy on Angola was clear. I nevertheless tried to convince the secretary that the escalating covert intervention he favored would not succeed. On July 12, before the crucial July 14 Forty Committee meeting called to consider Angola, I sent Secretary Kissinger and Under Secretary Joseph J. Sisco, the State Department representative on the Forty Committee, a memorandum on the issues. I then sent follow-up memos early on July 14, on July 16, and on July 17, addressing related issues. In his memoirs, Kissinger comments on my July 12 memorandum:

"Had Davis made himself more a part of the discussion, his prescient comment in his memorandum of disagreement which I had submitted to the President would have had a greater impact: 'So far as the CIA draft Action Plan is concerned, my view — which I have expressed — is that the measures proposed are inadequate to accomplish the purposes outlined.' It was not clear whether Davis meant that no military intervention could succeed (the African bureau orthodoxy) or that the means actually proposed were inadequate to achieve an otherwise attainable objective. If Davis implied that the means proposed were inadequate to the objective, he was right on the mark."

What I actually said on this point was:

"I believe the Secretary is right in his conviction — if I understand his views — that if we go in, we must go in quickly, massively and decisively enough to avoid the tempting, gradual, mutual escalation that characterized Vietnam during the 1965-1967 period. Unless we are prepared to go as far as necessary, in world balance of power terms the worst possible outcome would be a test of will and strength which we lose. The CIA paper makes clear that in the best of circumstances we won't be able to win."

In his Angola chapter, Kissinger writes: "On July 16, I brought matters to a head after Davis told me that it had become too late to act because Neto had achieved a dominant position." He goes on to say that the African bureau and I "sabotaged my requests for answers by giving no answers to my requests for papers by sending me nonpapers." The foregoing is an odd assertion. After all, Kissinger was the secretary of State, and he could simply have called me into his office and asked for answers. We in the African Bureau did not drag our feet nor maneuver behind the secretary's back. I do not believe in such tactics, and did not use them. Kissinger continues: "I put Davis on notice that I would recommend covert assistance to the non-Communist forces in Angola..." He says he told me:

"If Angola goes Communist, it will have an effect in Angola, in Zaire, and in Zambia, etc. These countries can only conclude that the U.S. is no longer a factor in Southern Africa. We will pay for it for decades. It will affect their orientation. They will conclude that if the Soviets can put in

massive aid and we cannot, it will mean the Soviets are the power factor that they have to deal with. But I cannot see how professionals could not bring to the attention of their leaders that there was a problem. It predates you, Nat, by many months, but coupled with Indochina, it is not a trivial thing. ..."

All this sounds like the record of a face-to-face meeting between the secretary and me. Now, memory is fickle, and I may be wrong, but I do not remember any such meeting on July 16 and for the life of me, still less recall the exchanges between us that he describes.

Kissinger writes that he went to President Ford on July 17, recommending the covert action and handed him my dissenting memorandum, which Kissinger says he urged the President to study before reaching a final decision. The next day, the president approved \$6 million for covert action "to achieve a stalemate," which Kissinger now says was an unwise and insufficient compromise position. Apparently, he concluded at the time that a strong military effort designed to win and prevail would be blocked by the U.S. Congress.

Kissinger then accurately reports: "As soon as the covert program was approved by the President, Davis resigned. ... To avoid public controversy and because we respected Davis's past service, we appointed him ambassador to Switzerland." Lawrence S. Eagleburger, then the secretary's executive assistant, asked me to accept the appointment and not leave the Foreign Service, because my withdrawal would have made it impossible to preserve the covert nature of the Angolan intervention. I agreed.

Kissinger suggests in his memoir that "dissidents in the State

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Department and CIA" refrained from leaks about my resignation and the covert intervention until I was confirmed as ambassador to Switzerland on Nov. 19, 1975. In point of fact, Murray Marder of *The Washington Post* reported my resignation on Labor Day and Leslie H. Gelb reported on the covert intervention Sept. 25 in *The New York Times*. I am grateful that Kissinger does not accuse me of contributing to the leaks that inspired these stories, as I had no part in them.

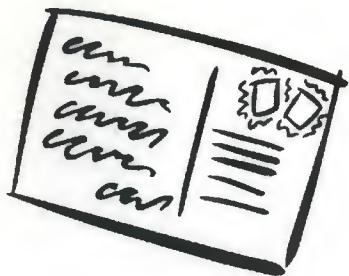
The Policy Fails

Kissinger attributes the failure of the covert intervention, among other reasons, to the CIA's attempt to run the operation through mercenaries without U.S. professional military assistance and the CIA's stipulation that Roberto and Savimbi buy their weapons on the open market, using our funds. With his usual sardonic wit, he comments: "The difference in virginity cludes me." While my warning to Kissinger was not quite so colorful, I did point out in my July 12 memo that "the distinction the CIA paper makes between providing arms and the provision of money to buy arms under tutelage does not seem so great as suggested. ... The visible effects on the ground are the same

either way." I also noted in my July 12 memo that the CIA paper that was the basis for the president's decision of July 17 "envisages covert, CIA-organized military training, organization, orientation and leadership. ... It is, however, a line of work that our military establishment has traditionally found professionally within its purview. The idea of arranging mercenary troop leadership from ex-Portuguese and Zairian officers and non-coms has obvious hazards." On these points Kissinger and I had the same views.

Even long-time proponents of covert action acknowledge that there have always been fundamental limits on its usefulness as a policy tool. So it was quite clear to me (and many others) that given the climate of public opinion immediately following the end of the Vietnam War, there was no possibility whatsoever that our covert military intervention in Angola, whatever its merits might have been, could survive disclosure. And that is exactly what happened. When it became public, Congress killed the operation in February 1976.

When the covert intervention did not prosper, Kissinger belatedly turned toward a diplomatic solution, much like the course of action the NSC task force and I had been advocating in June and July. He emphasized the need for an "African solution," and demonstrated resourcefulness and creativity in his efforts to enlist the Russians, the Organization of African Unity, the Portuguese government, various African leaders, and President Giscard d'Estaing of France. Unfortunately, these efforts came too late: By November 1975, the Angola civil war had already escalated and the Cubans and Soviets were militarily deeply committed on the ground. ■



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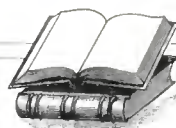
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BOOKS

What They Did in the Cold War

BY BENJAMIN TUA

The Cold War As History
Louis J. Halle, Harper and Row, 1967, out of print, paperback, 434 pages.

We Now Know: Rethinking Cold War History
John Lewis Gaddis, Oxford University Press, 1997, \$14.95, paperback, 425 pages.

Russia, America and the Cold War: 1949-1991
Martin McCauley, Addison Wesley Longman Ltd., 1998, \$11.95, paperback, 154 pages.

At the end of World War II the Soviet Union was on the threshold of becoming one of the world's two superpowers. Though severely crippled, with some 20 to 30 million of its citizens dead and its agricultural and industrial economies devastated, the USSR had won an important victory and occupied large parts of Eastern Europe. Yet, 45 years later the Soviet system and ideas bankrupt, while the U.S.-led capitalist world flourished.

How and why the Cold War began, and, more importantly, how and why it ended, are the subjects of books by Louis Halle, a State Department official in the 1940s and

Benjamin Tua, a retired Foreign Service Officer, served in the Soviet Union, Russia, Ukraine and Kyrgyzstan.

1950s, John Lewis Gaddis, a distinguished professor of history, and Martin McCauley, a British scholar. Written at different times during the Cold War, they are free of the polemics and ax grinding that mar many of the hundreds of volumes on this topic, and for that reason are valuable to students of the Cold War.

Present at the Creation

Louis Halle, a former State Department official and academic, wrote *The Cold War as History* more than three decades ago. According to Halle, the Cold War was a historical necessity, a realignment of the balance of power that was shattered in Europe after World War II. He claims the Cold War started when the Soviet Union simply slipped into the power vacuum created in Eastern Europe after the war and the West, fearing Stalin's territorial ambitions, reacted.

Halle claims Soviet communism was only incidental to the Cold War, implying that even if the Soviet Union had been a constitutional democracy, the West would have reacted to the threat of expanding Soviet influence. He also believes that if the Soviet Union had remained within its pre-war borders, there would have been no Cold War, though relations between the U.S. and Russia would have remained distant.

Halle covers all the hot topics of the Cold War, including what he considered its key question:

Germany's status in post-war Europe. He believed — presciently, as it turns out — that once the two German states were reunited, the Cold War would be over.

Another View

Three decades later, in 1997, John Lewis Gaddis, the Robert Lovett Professor of History at Yale University, built on Halle's pioneering work with *We Now Know: Rethinking Cold War History*. Gaddis does a first-class job of melding old material with new sources of information on the Cold War. The result is a more nuanced historical picture than that previously available.

He concludes that until recently Cold War historians didn't have enough detachment from their subject to draw conclusions about it and that they tended to overlook "what people believed or wanted to believe." He gives credit to a new generation of historians who are correcting this flaw through their research in the newly opened archives of the former Soviet Bloc.

Gaddis had several advantages in writing his book. First, he had the perspective of time. Second, he took full advantage of new documentary evidence, memoirs and oral histories from both sides that give a more complete picture of behind-the-scenes decision-making during the Cold War. Though it is probably too soon for a dispassionate history of the Cold War, Gaddis offers important first "impressions" —

BOOKS

he reserves the right to change his mind — of what drove it. Among those impressions: Ideology more than power grabbing determined the behavior of Marxist-Leninist regimes, as aging communist leaders sought to relive their youthful dreams of liberating workers through adventures in marginal countries where local leaders played off both superpowers for their own purposes. The threat of nuclear war kept the Cold War going longer than necessary. As long as Stalin ran the Soviet Union the Cold War was inevitable. When he died, it began to attenuate.

Tyrants versus Democrats

Gaddis also disagrees with some of Halle's earlier conclusions. He claims that the Cold War was a direct result of Stalin's paranoia and not a pre-ordained reshuffling of the balance of power. The Soviet leader, he says, saw the world as more hostile to his country than it was. In turn, the West acted defensively, perceiving as aggressive the Soviet Union's behavior beyond its Eastern European zone of influence. In addition, while Halle noted the influence of nuclear weapons on the arms race, he did not devote a lot of space to the subject. In contrast, Gaddis devotes almost a third of his book to nuclear issues, attention that reflects their influence on the Cold War.

The U.S. won the Cold War, Gaddis says, because it was prepared to implement policies based on compromise and consensus. Though many allies resented the United States as a New World upstart, they regarded the possible Soviet domination of Western Europe as even more repugnant. The Soviets had squandered their post-war prestige through their

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brutal occupation of Eastern Europe and their tendency to see any sign of disagreement as treason. As Gaddis puts it: "One empire arose by invitation, the other by imposition."

Geriatric Over-exertion

Authoritarian leadership behind the Iron Curtain led to miscalculations and foolhardy actions, says Gaddis. The 1948 Berlin Blockade, the 1950 invasion of South Korea by North Korea and the 1962 Cuban missile crisis are all examples of these bad judgments. No one challenged Stalin, Mao, Khrushchev or an ailing Brezhnev. As a result, writes Gaddis, the Soviets had "a pattern of geriatric over-exertion" around the world.

While Pearl Harbor put an end to American isolationism, it was Stalin and his successors who made sure that America remained involved in the world. Stalin could not have acted differently, writes Gaddis, because he could not accept the multilateral political and financial framework that the United States was developing in Western Europe. For America and the West, security was the overriding concern in building a new international order to counter the expanding influence and power of the Soviet Union.

After the Korean War, when the Cold War spread to Asia, the U.S. government portrayed communism as a coordinated global movement. In 1950, a study done by the National Security Council provided an apocalyptic blueprint for communist world domination. The combination of the scary predictions in NSC-68, as the study was called, communist blunders and some facts provided the basis for U.S. Cold War policy and set the tone for decades of popular perception about a worldwide communist plot. Although

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Western leaders also made strategic mistakes — most notably in the Middle East, Indonesia, Latin America and, most grievously, in Vietnam — they seemed better able to deal with these missteps, says Gaddis. Until Gorbachev burst on the scene, the Soviets seemed unable to change course.

A European Perspective

While Halle and Gaddis write from the American perspective, Martin McCauley offers a European point of view of the Cold War in *Russia, America and the Cold War: 1949-1991*. Written as part of the British-based Seminar Studies in History, a scholarly attempt to clarify complex historical subjects, the book strives to bridge the gap between articles written by Cold War specialists and historical generalists. McCauley, a senior lecturer in politics at the University of London's School of Slavonic and East European Studies, presents major developments of the Cold War period in just over a hundred pages of crisp text. He supplements this with a chronology, a carefully selected bibliography and an excellent selection of some 35 primary documents

— some of them in translation — covering the years from Khrushchev to Gorbachev.

McCauley's book is full of interesting facts and Eurocentric characterizations of Cold War Leaders. For example, he describes Soviet leader Nikita Khrushchev as a high-risk gambler whose enthusiasm, over-optimism and risk-taking led to potentially tragic incidents such as the Cuban missile crisis. This view does not take sufficient account of the thaw in U.S.-Soviet relations for which Khrushchev was in good part responsible. It also discounts Khrushchev's efforts to humanize and deal with contradictions in the Soviet system.

McCauley gives high marks to former President Richard Nixon and former Secretary of State Henry Kissinger for their roles in ushering in détente, but criticizes former President Jimmy Carter for his lack of foreign affairs experience and his schizophrenic foreign policy. He finds it ironic that Carter, who increased the military budget, created a rapid reaction force, started building the MX missile and concluded a secret military deal with the Chinese, was perceived as a weak president.

Of particular interest is a situation paper found in McCauley's source material. Prepared in early 1982 for Soviet leader Leonid Brezhnev by Vyacheslav Dashichev, the leading German specialist at the Soviet Academy of Sciences, it is a withering analysis of Soviet foreign policy. Although Brezhnev apparently did not react to the paper, three years later it provided the basis for Mikhail Gorbachev's philosophy of "New Political Thinking" on international relations. Also included is a summary of U.S. Ambassador Jack Matlock's June 1990 conversation

BOOKS

with Ruslan Khasbulatov, Yeltsin's deputy in the Supreme Soviet of the Russian Federation, who predicted a scenario for the dissolution of the USSR a year before it happened

Russia, America and the Cold War is marred by many typographical and factual errors, including an incorrect spelling for the name of former Vice President Walter Mondale, who becomes Walter Mondane. McCauley also reports that the Democrats pilloried the Truman administration over the loss of China and, even more egregiously, claims that the Soviets responded to President Ronald Reagan's promise to restore military superiority in the United States by installing SS-20 missiles in Eastern Europe. In fact, it was the Soviet deployment

**Ruslan Khasbulatov,
Boris Yeltsin's
deputy, predicted
a scenario
for the dissolution
of the USSR
a year before
it happened.**

of SS-20s during Jimmy Carter's presidency that led to NATO's December 1979 decision to deploy Pershing IIs and cruise missiles by

1983 if the Soviet missiles were not removed.

The End of History?

According to these books, the chief lesson of the Cold War may be that democracies do a better job of dealing with the world than do authoritarian governments. Still, the story is far from over. Will the end of the Cold War be a prelude to another war, or will there be a long peace? Much will depend on what happens inside Russia, particularly with the Russian economy.

In any event, a look back at theories that shaped the Cold War will provide background for future decisions that could lead to peace — or to another iteration of the Cold War. ■

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IN MEMORY

Robert Herman Behrens, 75, a retired FSO with USIA, died Aug. 29.

Born in New Jersey in 1923, Mr. Behrens served in the U.S. Navy during World War II. He received his B.A. in 1946 and his M.A. in 1947, both from Haverford College in Pennsylvania. He continued his studies at the University of Tübingen where he received a Ph.D. in 1951.

Joining the Foreign Service in 1949, he served in Stuttgart as the cultural affairs adviser. He also served in Austria, France, Zaire, Algeria and Morocco. From 1970 to 1972 he was an adviser to the U.S. delegation to the SALT I Treaty negotiations. He received a Meritorious Honor Award, a Superior Honor Award, and the Salzburg City Ring.

After retirement, he was director general of the firm of Multitech, Morocco from 1977 to 1997, where he was decorated by King Hassan as Chevalier Ouissam Alaouites.

Mr. Behrens is survived by five children and three grandchildren.

Virginia Parker Butterworth, 96, wife of deceased Ambassador Walton Butterworth, died Aug. 19 as a result of Alzheimer's disease in Barbados, West Indies.

Born in Boston, Mrs. Butterworth was educated at Vassar and Oxford University where she met her husband. They were married in 1928.

During her husband's Foreign Service career, she accompanied him to posts in Singapore, Ottawa (twice), London (twice), Madrid, Nanking,

Sweden, Luxembourg and Brussels. She was an accomplished hostess and enjoyed her nomadic diplomatic life. After retirement in 1968, the Butterworths settled in Princeton, N.J.

Survivors include a daughter, Cynthia B. Burns of Greenwich, Conn.; a son, J. Blair Butterworth of Seattle, Wash.; a granddaughter; and four grandsons.

Jean M. Chisholm, 94, a retired FSO, died Aug. 11 at her home in Washington, D.C.

Ms. Chisholm was born and raised in White Bear Lake, Minn. In 1926 she graduated from Macalester College, Saint Paul, Minn. After teaching in Minnesota and North Dakota, she joined the Foreign Service. Her career spanned 21 years and included posts in Ecuador, Brazil, Honduras, Mexico, Cuba, Finland, Austria and Israel. She retired in 1964.

She also served as an elder and deacon in the Western Presbyterian Church in Washington, D.C.

Survivors include two sisters, Ruth Gillespie of Jackson, Minn., and Charlotte Elkins of Trempealeau, Wis.

Wesley Harris Collins, 84, a retired FSO, died Oct. 26 in Santa Barbara, Calif.

Born in Mississippi in 1915, Mr. Collins earned an A.B. degree at Millsaps College in Jackson, Miss. He served in the U.S. Army in North Africa and Italy during World War II

before going to work for the State Department as a civil service employee.

His first assignment as an FSO was in Havana. Other overseas postings included Paris, Madrid, Ankara and Saigon. He also attended the National War College in Washington, D.C.

After retirement in 1969, Mr. Collins worked as chief financial officer at the International Civil Aviation Organization in Montreal, Canada. In 1984 he retired to Santa Barbara, Calif.

Survivors include his wife, Carolyn; two daughters, Karen Duval of Hamden, Conn., and Courtney Collins Swartley of Stanfordville, N.Y.; a son, Stephen H. Collins of Los Angeles; and two grandsons.

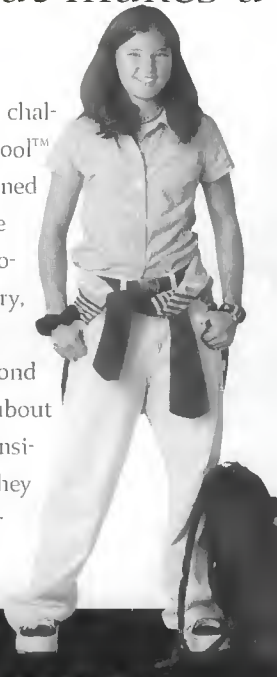
Lucille Tilney Euler, 85, an artist and wife of deceased FSRO Sherman F. Euler, died of congestive heart failure Sept. 5 at Powhatan Nursing Home in Falls Church, Va.

Mrs. Euler was born in Eldridge, N.D. and graduated from high school in Crawfordsville, Ind. She married Sherman Euler in 1939.

She accompanied her husband to his posts in Ankara and Tokyo. While in Tokyo, she became a certified teacher of ikebana, the Japanese art of flower arranging, and an award-winning artist in Japanese monochrome ink painting. A former member of AAFSW, Mrs. Euler was an officer in the D.C. chapter of Ikebana International, the National League of American Pen Women

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IN MEMORY

and in the Woman's Club of Falls Church.

She is survived by her niece, Mary Ann Stout of Taylors, S.C.

Daniel Oliver Newberry, 77, a retired FSO, died of cancer Oct. 10 at Georgetown University Hospital.

Born in Atlanta, Mr. Newberry earned a bachelor's degree from Emory University and a master's degree from American University. He served in the U.S. Army during World War II and later worked for the E.R. Squibb & Sons pharmaceutical company.

He joined the Foreign Service in 1949 and was posted to Jerusalem, Turkey, Laos, Iran, Morocco and Bangladesh, where he served as chargé d'affaires between 1972 and

1974. Mr. Newberry was recognized as an authority on Turkey.

In retirement, he was a board member of the American Friends of Turkey-American Turkish Council and active in DACOR (Diplomatic and Consular Officers, Retired). He served on the Peace Commission of the Episcopal Diocese of Washington and had been a councilor of the Atlantic Council and the Foreign Policy Association.

His association with AFSA began in 1967 when he chaired the Editorial Board of the *Foreign Service Journal*. He was twice elected to the Governing Board and chaired the AFSA elections committee. In 1997 he edited *The Foreign Service Reader*, an anthology of articles from the *Journal*. He was given the AFSA Achievement Award in 1997.

Survivors include his wife, Susanne Davis Newberry of Bethesda, Md.; a daughter, Susan Annette Newberry of Ithaca, N.Y.; two sons, Daniel Gaylord Scott Newberry of Hood River, Ore., and Tucker Daniel Oliver Newberry of Falls Church, Va.; a brother, Hugh Newberry of Atlanta, Ga.; and two grandsons.

H. Robert Slusser, 83, a retired FSO, died Oct. 9 of prostate cancer at his home in Washington, D.C.

Mr. Slusser was born in Highland Park, Mich., studied at Otterbein College in Westerville, Ohio, and received a B.A. and an M.B.A. from the University of Michigan, Ann Arbor. He also earned an M.A. at the Fletcher School of Law and Diplomacy in 1947. Following work for the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development in Washington, he served as an economic consultant in Puerto Rico.

Joining the Foreign Service with USAID in 1954, he served as an economic officer in Vietnam, Yugoslavia, Guinea, Nepal, and Tunisia. After retirement in 1980, he worked as a volunteer researcher for the transportation division of the Museum of American History, Smithsonian Institution and for Alexandria Archaeology of Old Town in Alexandria, Va. For the latter he researched and wrote "Mr. Lincoln's Railroad Car," a study of the car built for President Lincoln at the Alexandria railroad yards.

Survivors include his wife, Mary Shepherd Slusser of Washington, D.C.; and his sister, Geraldine McQueen of Vandalia, Ohio.

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Samuel Clark Thornburg, 70, a retired FSO, died of cancer at his home in Santa Fe, N.M., July 15.

Born in Santa Fe in 1928, Mr.

IN MEMORY



Thornburg graduated from Southern Methodist University in Dallas, Texas, in 1950. After university he worked as personnel director for the New Mexico Highway Department and served in the New Mexico National Guard.

In 1956, he managed a U.S. foreign aid program in La Paz, Bolivia. Following more training at Boston University and Oxford University in England, he went to Lagos as executive officer for the Agency for International Development. After a tour in Vietnam as deputy associate director for management, he returned to Washington in 1970 where he served as director of office management operations. He retired from the Foreign Service in 1978.

He worked as a consultant until 1985. He then went back to Santa Fe to manage Thornburg Enterprises,

the family business, where he also served on the boards of several local charitable and development institutions.

Survivors include his wife, Ann of Santa Fe; two sons, David of Albuquerque and Thomas of Minneapolis; a daughter, Cynthia of Minneapolis; and seven grandchildren.



Francis Underhill, 78, a retired FSO, died Oct. 17 in Flat Rock, N.C.

Mr. Underhill was born in New Jersey in 1921. He earned an A.B. from Wesleyan University, Middletown, Conn., in 1942 and an M.A. from the Fletcher School of Law and Diplomacy in 1943.

After serving in the Navy in the Pacific during World War II, Mr.

Underhill joined the Foreign Service. His overseas posts included Portugal, Spain, Indonesia, Poland, Malaysia, the Philippines, and South Korea. He returned to Malaysia as ambassador from 1974 to 1977.

In 1979 he retired to Flat Rock, N.C., where he was active in community affairs. He helped establish a local hospice program. He co-founded, with his wife, the Henderson County Dispute Settlement Center and was a founding member of the Unitarian Universalist Fellowship of Hendersonville. In addition, he wrote a monthly column for the *Times-News*, the local newspaper.

Survivors include his wife, Savie Underhill of Flat Rock; a son, Paco Underhill of New York; a daughter, Lisa of Brookline, Mass; and two grandchildren. ■

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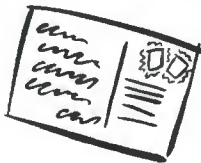


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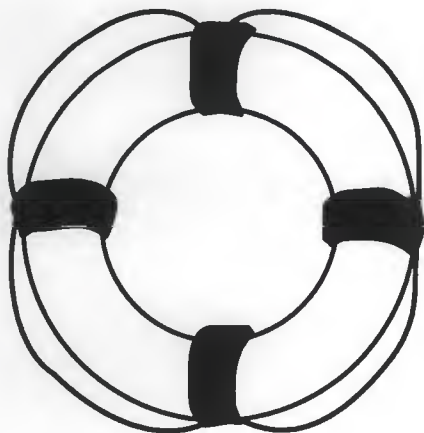
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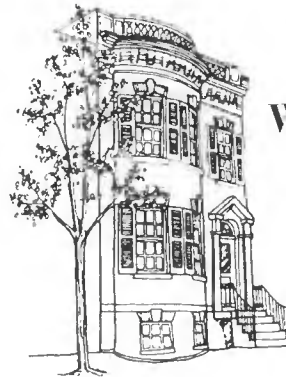
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POSTCARD FROM ABROAD

The Edge of the Camp

BY MARY CAMERON KILGOUR

I eased myself to the ground and tucked my knees under me, careful to point the soles of my shoes away from the Muslims. My long legs were unaccustomed to such bending. Our host, Fauki, dressed in flowing white robes, motioned us to sit on mats, where we would eat a traditional Sudanese breakfast in the outdoor canteen of Irish Concern, a relief agency.

Light-skinned and handsome, Fauki was of Arab descent. He had become rich risking his trucks and drivers transporting food aid in a war zone, and he was proud of his wealth. Foreigners thought that he was a parasite. But without him, less food would have reached the people streaming in from the south to escape the civil war.

We ate unleavened bread that we dipped with our hands into earthen bowls of spicy meat sauce. I was hungry after a long jeep trip through desolate countryside, a night in a drab guesthouse and an early morning helicopter ride to a town whose name I didn't know. It was a camp for the internally displaced on the edge of nowhere, and I was there as part of my job managing USAID's food programs. It was in 1989 and the Sudanese civil war dragged on and on.

Mary Cameron Kilgour is a retired FSO who worked with AID from 1966 to 1995 in Pakistan, Colombia, Costa Rica, the Philippines, Liberia and Bangladesh. The stamp is courtesy of the AAFSW Bookfair "Stamp Corner."

*I thought of
my own role,
as a white woman
parachuting
in from a
comfortable
life.*



I was glad of the shade covering the relief agency's canteen and of the breeze drifting through its open sides. As we ate, the Irish volunteers, a doctor and a nurse, described their work. Statistics flowed: metric tons of sorghum versus wheat, vegetable oil, arrivals, deaths, sicknesses, births, women, children. What about the future? More of the same, they thought, even Fauki, who smiled. Breakfast finished, I unwound myself and settled into a slouch. Fauki made a gracious departure with bows and smiles. The Irish relief workers and I started for a camp for the internally displaced civil war victims, driving through an ugly village of mud houses and shops.

The camp was worse. There was not a blade of grass or a bush or anything from the natural world, except the sand, which was golden. The land was sown with grotesque, black

hovels made from black plastic sheeting, the only shelter available. Out of them peeked old people holding babies. Signs of domestic life were scattered about: cooking pots and utensils, toys made from twigs and tin cans, bits of clothing stretched to dry on the black plastic.

I met Dinka women as tall as I am and walked with them. They surrounded me like a collection of rags. Through rents in their garments, I saw their thin and wrinkled naked bodies. Their men had stayed in the south to fight and die. My arms, each held by five or six hands, felt heavy and scratchy in the dry heat. The women chattered in an unknown language. In response, I could only smile or take on a serious face when they did. Children trailed us as we walked. Sweat trickled down the small of my back and dried. Dinka women, struggling to survive, still stately, swayed as they walked. I copied their rhythm.

Soon I was the only white woman in a sea of black faces. The Irish had been swept away by their own clusters. I thought of my Seiko watch and of my throat being slit. I thought of Fauki, making money off misery. I thought of my own role, parachuting in from a comfortable life. Then I looked into their faces and saw their smiles. I looked into their faces and saw love, felt suffering. Tears filled my eyes. They hugged me and I hugged them back.

We arrived at the edge of the camp. A jeep came and took me away. ■

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