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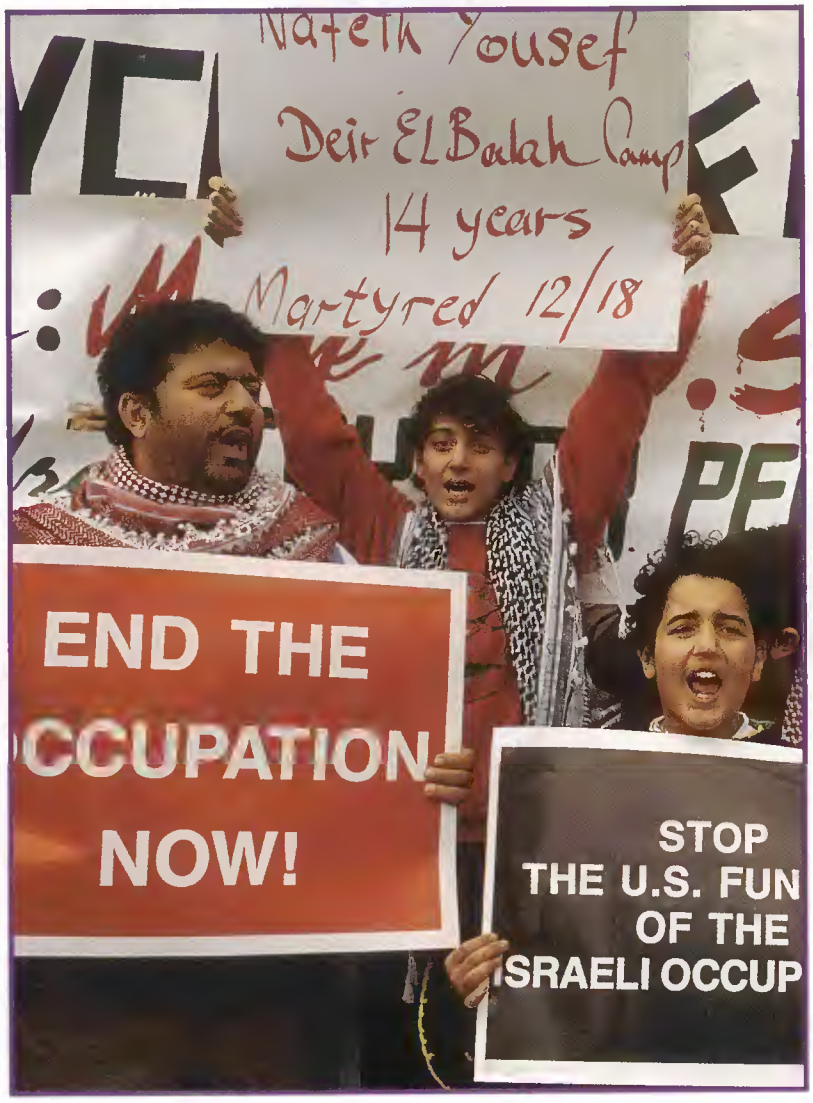

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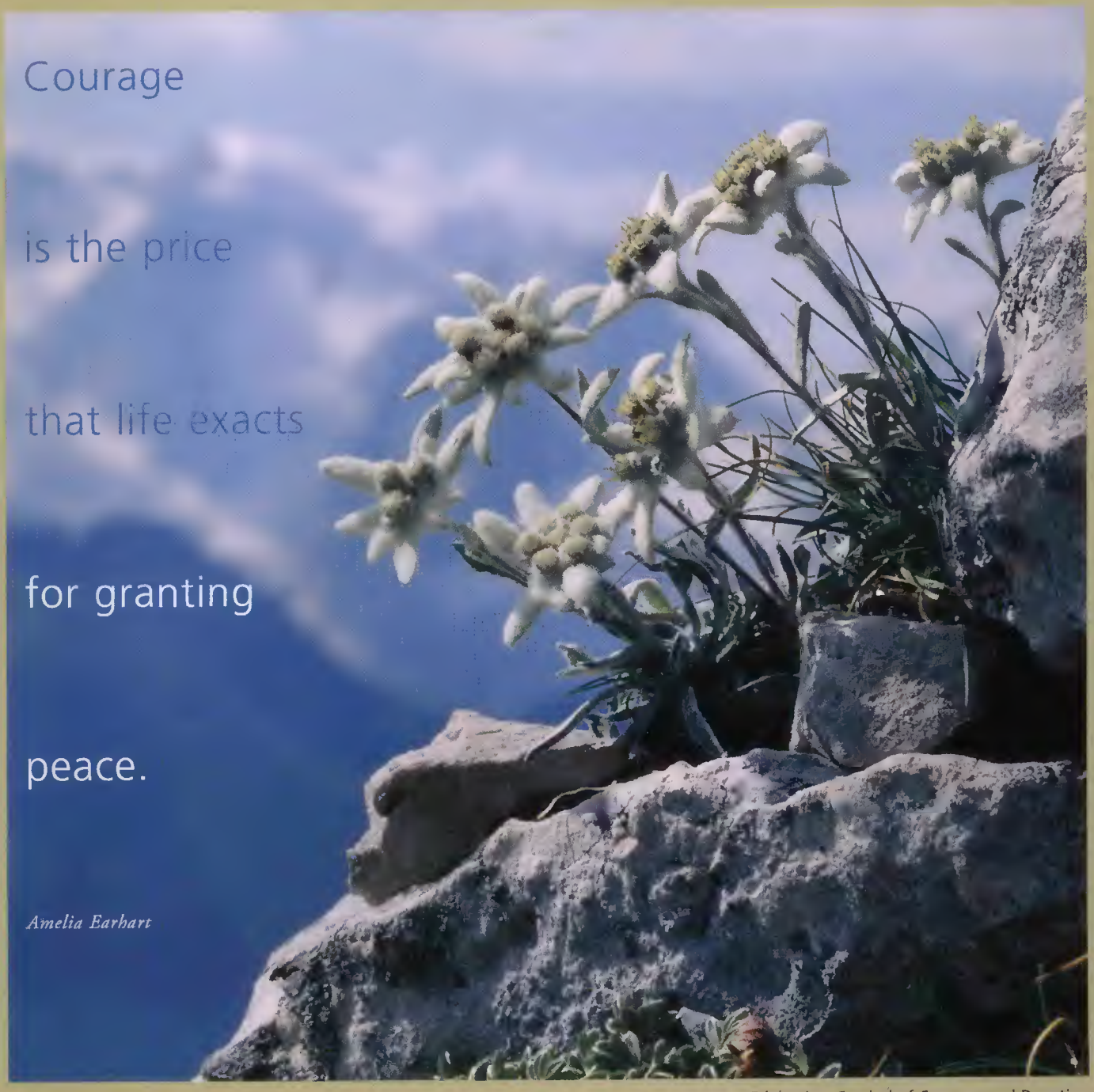

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Cover photo by Rick Reinhard
Photo is of a pro-Palestinian demonstration in Washington, D.C., 1988.

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President's Views

Planning the Workforce — and the Policy

By Marshall P. Adair

In recent months the State Department has been struggling to manage yet another crisis, a shortage of 200 mid-level generalists to existing positions. Recognizing this shortfall in December, the department in February proposed a combination of stretch assignments, position reallocations from the field to central personnel, "not-to-fill" designations and increased assignments of Civil Service personnel overseas.

Responding primarily to the immediate situation, this makes sense. We can't fill the current positions, so be realistic. Don't raise unrealistic expectations about filling these positions later this year or next, and put them where they can actually be used.

However, in context of past actions and future needs, it is less reasonable. This is a crisis of the department's own making. We must learn from our mistakes and avoid repeating them. At the very least, it is clear the department should have anticipated the problem, if not years in advance, at least months in advance. But, also, this is part of a larger workforce problem. AFSA estimates there is now a real shortage of Foreign Service personnel that is closer to 700 persons when we consider the number of people in training, on detail and between assignments. The recently discovered shortage of FSO generalists is serious, and must be addressed; but, unless properly addressed, it is likely to be followed by other shortages that will keep the department in crisis mode and further reduce its effectiveness.

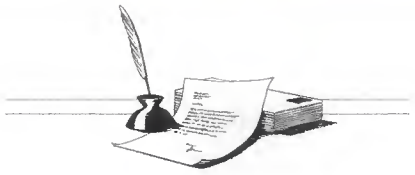
We should not weaken the Foreign Service for short-term administrative reasons.

A short-term approach will cause more problems. It will handicap our overseas posts and geographic bureaus. Overseas positions are platforms for the conduct of foreign policy, and we should not remove any from play that might be filled in the future. Those positions were created through extensive analysis and discussion of substantive foreign policy needs. We should not make a mockery of that exercise by modifying it solely for short-term administrative reasons. Sadly, the current administration has not used effectively the personnel resources available to it, and has instead created a plethora of ad hoc coordinator and special negotiator positions. We should not further weaken the department and service by reinforcing that approach. Finally, the department should not willingly disarm itself. It must argue forcefully and effectively for increased resources. One way to do that is on the basis of existing positions and past allocations. Empty positions should be used as part of the argument to increase resources for recruitment and hiring rather than taking them off the balance sheets.

Every effort should be made to take advantage of the opportunities that this situation presents. Junior officers can be promoted more rapidly, and more Civil Service employees can be given the chance to serve overseas (with proper application of existing procedures). The shortage should be presented to the administration and Congress with a request for resources to recruit and hire more junior officers, and to revamp the hiring system.

This is also an opportunity to undertake more serious workforce planning. The department and AFSA are working together to sketch out a planning blueprint. We need to look out 10 to 15 years, and begin telling Congress what to expect. We need to make better use of Senior Foreign Service officers whose choices increasingly are seen as one of the 112 chief of mission jobs not filled by political appointees — or retirement. We need to look at tapping retiree resources more effectively and more imaginatively. Properly crafted, the response to the current crisis can strengthen, rather than weaken the service. ■

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



LETTERS

Talking Eurotrash

Fraser Cameron claims not to want to defend European actions in Yugoslavia, as much as "provide a more objective view" ("Europe, Yugoslavia and the Blame Game," *FSJ*, Jan. 2000). Yet, he immediately reverts to the same sorry excuses the Europeans have been making about their lack of resolve to confront aggression since the creation of the Western European Union in the 1950s. Some examples:

• "The E.U. sought in a principled manner to bring the warring parties to the negotiating table and broker a peace settlement." Astonishing but true: The lesson of Munich 1938 — that negotiations without a credible ability to coerce compliance are less useless than dangerous — remains unlearned in Europe.

• "The fact that the Yugoslav army attacked Slovenia and Croatia just three days after Baker departed Belgrade demonstrates..." The fact that the Yugoslav army attacked Slovenia just one day after it declared independence demonstrates rather more than the author attempts.

• "Unfortunately, the Europeans were incapable of acting alone in a decisive manner in 1991, as they had been under U.S. political and military leadership and protection for nearly half a century and had not developed any crisis management experience." Poor, poor Europe — forced to coexist with hundreds of thousands of American fighting men for all those years. It clearly drained them of their warrior vitality — although the economic free-riding that a number of European allies engaged in at the expense of the United States and the United Kingdom clearly kept their low cunning well-developed.

• "In the first half of 1992 the United Nations finally began to send troops to support the humanitarian aid efforts in Croatia and later Bosnia. Britain and France alone accounted for nearly half the 15,000-strong U.N. contingent." Here is the other half of the lesson that went unlearned — there may have been 15,000, but they certainly weren't strong. Lightly armed infantry in blue helmets do not a deterrent make. Many, including some at State, have mocked the Powell Doctrine for its insistence on decisive force at the point of attack — yet UNPROFOR is the perfect example of what happens to a military effort that lacks decisive force. It was too lightly armed even to allow for the safe delivery of humanitarian relief supplies or to reliably evacuate wounded civilians. In the end, the men of UNPROFOR were forced to negotiate, and sometimes even to cooperate, with gun-toting Serbs in something less than "a principled manner." As to the claim the author makes of lives saved by UNPROFOR, it was the false promises of refuge made at Srebrenica that led directly to hundreds of deaths.

The author notes with some justification the shortcomings of U.S. policy in the Balkans, starting with the Baker/Bush "no losers" decision to avoid military involvement ahead of the 1992 elections. But the record must be set straight about Europe's manifest lack of political will to act in Europe when Europe was in crisis.

Ted Seay
Political-Military Officer
Ljubljana, Slovenia

Proselytizing in Afghanistan

"Shipping Bibles to Afghanistan" (*FSJ*, Feb. 2000) was a Foreign Service parable with more than one lesson to impart. As the sage ambassador related in this tale, deceit in any calling is the folly of a fool, and the manner of the teacher-cum-evangelist was indeed less than forthright as portrayed. The ambassador's citation of the constitution of Afghanistan (with its prohibition of proselytizing for any religion other than Islam) appears to teach us — as described elsewhere in the article — that only "fanatical" Christians would seek to share their faith in such a setting.

The ambassador concluded by observing that there was more in the Bible than such Christians seemed to realize, perhaps failing to recall the mandate given by Jesus Christ to his followers, "go and make disciples

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of all nations." How insensitive for Christ to wish his "good news" on others, and how presumptuous of our leaders to have embraced the Universal Declaration of Human Rights with its provision for religious freedom throughout all the world! This parable may thus serve as much as a caution against intolerance on the one hand as it is a less-than-subtle dig at over-zealousness on the other.

James B. Gray
Foreign Service Officer
Washington, D.C.

My Dad, the Ambassador

It was with great interest that I read R.T. Davies' article "Shipping Bibles to Afghanistan." The piece features an occurrence in the professional life of my late father, Ambassador Sheldon T. Mills. Although I had heard about the event, reading such a superbly written rendition was pleasurable indeed.

Linda Mills Sipprelle
FSO
Embassy Vienna

Make Schooling Mandatory

I was pleased at the attention Marshall Adair gave to the issue of schooling in the most recent *FSJ*, but a bit disappointed by the limited vision. Thinking outside the cubicle doesn't get you very far, maybe into Dilbert's cubicle. What is needed is thinking outside the "not invented here" prejudice the State Department shows with respect to schooling. There are many common sense innovations that State could make to enhance the value of and commitment to continuing education.

The Foreign Service Institute, despite its excellent programs, might be one of the causes of our inability to do certain things well in the Foreign Service. Perhaps because of our incestuous ways with regard to training — we train ourselves — we are not getting sufficient cross fertilization of the newest and best ideas available from other sources in management, personnel, leadership, facilities construction, outsourcing and technology.

FSI cannot provide all the schooling in all the areas in which State needs to be current. In the age of the knowledge worker, valuing outside-the-department schooling of officers is critical to creating a dynamic current knowledge environment in a profession that is nothing if not knowledge work.

Why is FSI considered to provide the only creditable schooling? Why isn't an MBA earned by an adminis-

trative officer considered by the promotion board?

State can demonstrate by deeds that it regards training or education as an essential component of continuing career development. For starters:

- Make relevant schooling mandatory for promotion at all grades (especially leadership and management training);
- Accept all service members' educational attainments for consideration by promotion boards regardless of the source;
- Change the promotion precepts to show that continuing education, regardless of the source, is highly valued;
- Do not financially penalize officers who take courses while on TDY;
- Provide tuition assistance for qualified non-FSI programs, including relevant, accredited distance learning programs;
- Fix the transfer season so that schooling at FSI is possible and not a fight between losing and gaining posts/bureaus with the officer in the middle; and
- Establish an official flexible hours policy to allow officers to attend regular courses at local universities during working hours.

Most officers fail to take schooling not because as a former FSI director is said to have commented "Diplomats ... don't like to go to school," but rather because they know schooling will disadvantage them for promotion. They are in competition with others who are not schooling and who are taking assignment after assignment. Making courses mandatory would level the field.

Douglas K. Ellrich
Administrative Officer
Consulate General Dubai

Credit for FSI Courses

Marshall Adair hit the nail square on the head in his "President's Views" commentary in the February

LETTERS

2000 issue of the *Journal*. The National Defense University and other senior war colleges offer academic credit for many of their courses and master's degrees for their year-long training programs. The Foreign Service Institute should do the same.

The Department of State should ensure that the students in a course such as Economic and Commercial Studies (PE 250) leave FSI with a master's degree. Students in PE 250 invest 36 intense weeks — nine months — studying mathematics, economics, finance, statistics, econometrics, banking, and a range of related topics. My colleagues in the economic cone assure me that the course is outstanding. Accrediting PE 250 and granting students a graduate degree will act as an incentive to training, give added credibility to officers working in the economic cone, and provide those officers with a valuable credential when — as many of them surely will — they enter the job market after leaving the Foreign Service.

If, as the director general tells us, the Department of State is in a war for talent with other potential employers, then high-quality — and accredited — education and training are valuable weapons in that fight. We should use them.

Kevin Michael O'Reilly
Political Officer
Embassy Santo Domingo

Wrong Again

Once again you have gotten it wrong. My letter to you which appeared in the March *FSJ*, renouncing my subscription, was NOT a letter to the editor. Had I known it was destined for publication, I might have phrased some of my comments differently. Next time, make sure a letter you publish is clearly addressed as a letter to the editor.

I must say, also, that while I certainly am not blind to some of the faults of the Foreign Service — as described in the now infamous Mexico City article by Ieronimo and Wenzel in the December 1999 issue — I think Linda Eichblatt's letter in the March issue was a much more accurate reflection of the situation in the consular section in Mexico City. Her mature attitude is just what is needed in the Foreign Service.

Jane Gray
Principal Officer
U.S. Consulate Nogales

The Foreign Service is Fun

Yes, indeed, there are significant problems in having a career in the Foreign Service: terrorism, political appointees, hardship posts, long hours, strains on marriage, to name a few. These may have become worse, but have always been there. For the past 14 years, I have interviewed almost 600 foreign affairs retirees, the great majority of whom were FSOs. These were by no means all former ambassadors, but were also those who had respectable careers in a variety of positions and postings.

It is apparent from these interviews that there was a zest to the lives of these men and women that would be hard to duplicate in any other profession. They were involved in one capacity or another with the workings of the United States dealing with the rest of the world. The political appointees come, serve for a year or two, and then move on, but the spear carriers of the Foreign Service continue, and because of their experience and expertise have considerable influence behind the scenes. They also have a clear eye in observing the high and the mighty, both American and foreign.

I cannot think of any career in which the experiences of average executives would be of interest to future historians; but they would be interested in those of the Foreign Service officer corps. The thought of interviewing some 600 highly successful stockbrokers, bankers, programmers, or deal makers appalls me. Let's face it, despite the problems, being in the Foreign Service is interesting, influential, and above all fun.

Charles Stuart Kennedy
Director
Foreign Affairs Oral History Program
Association for Diplomatic Studies and Training

USIA's Real Purpose

A widely held misconception about the U.S. Information Agency is repeated once again in the December *Journal* article, "USIA's Terminal Myopia," by Nick Mele. He writes of USIA, "Although this may sound heretical, perhaps any agency conceived and created to meet Cold War challenges should be abolished."

That USIA was established simply or even primarily to meet Cold War challenges is plain wrong. That was not President Eisenhower's intention when he created the agency in 1953. He felt strongly that the United States needed to communicate with foreign audiences in order to bring about understanding for our nation's ideas and ideals.

While the promotion of U.S. foreign policy — opposing international communism and fighting Soviet imperialism — was an important public diplomacy objective of USIA at the time, it was by no means its sole purpose nor the main reason for its creation and existence.

Hans N. Tuch
FSO, retired
Bethesda, Md. ■

CLIPPINGS

"Who lost Russia? I am convinced that we, the Western democracies, are largely responsible, and that the sins of omission were committed by the Bush and Thatcher administrations."

— GEORGE SOROS
IN THE APRIL 13
NEW YORK REVIEW
OF BOOKS

WHISTLEBLOWER FIRED — BUT WHY?

Writing in the March 6 *Washington Post*, Vernon Loeb reports on the latest wrinkles in the case of Rayburn F. Hesse, who until about three years ago was the State Department's foremost expert on money laundering.

Hesse's problems began when the Civil Service employee returned from an overseas conference in the fall of 1996 to discover that Diplomatic Security personnel had drilled open his office safes and found hundreds of improperly stored classified documents, including eight that contained especially sensitive "codeword" information.

State immediately suspended his clearance to handle "sensitive compartmented information" (SCI) but he remained at his desk until March 1997, when DS determined that he had attended a classified briefing without excusing himself when SCI material was discussed. DS then revoked his security clearance entirely, forcing him out of his job.

Loeb quotes a State memorandum detailing a pattern of Hesse's security lapses and personal financial problems and alleging that "In spite of repeated warnings, Mr. Hesse has resisted modifying his behavior to more consistently align with the interests of national security."

Hesse maintains that the department's investigation began only after he blew the whistle on two superiors who, he says, actually committed the offense for which he was fired. One, an assistant secretary of State, allegedly leaked SCI documents to a business associate, while the other, a deputy assistant secretary, leaked SCI information to two newspapers. Hesse also points out that DS has never even alleged that he compromised any of the classified information in his possession.

So far, Hesse has lost at each step in the legal process, but the U.S. Circuit Court of Appeals for the federal circuit is now scheduled to hear his case on May 2.

FSO ARRESTED FOR SELLING VISAS

The March 21 *Chicago Tribune* reports the arrest of FSO Thomas P. Carroll on charges of collecting bribes in return for handing out U.S. non-immigrant visas in Georgetown, Guyana. Reporter Matt O'Connor notes that even though Carroll makes less than $50,000 a year, investigators have seized or frozen more than $1.3 million in cash, gold bars and other assets held by him in Chicago-area financial institutions, almost all of which had been deposited during Carroll's tour in Guyana.

Carroll, who entered the Foreign Service in 1992 and had previously served in China, was on home leave in Chicago when he was arrested March 17 following a federal investigation that began last summer. The probe began after two confidential sources told investigators that they had been solicited by intermediaries who said they had a contact at the U.S. embassy willing to sell visas, authorities told the *Tribune*. For about a year, Carroll, the vice consul in Georgetown, had sole responsibility for deciding which Guyanan nationals and foreigners obtained non-immigrant visas to travel to the U.S.

A break in the case came in February when Carroll, routinely shifted to other responsibilities at the embassy, tried to enlist his replacement in the consular section to join in the bribery scheme, authorities said. Instead, the undisclosed officer

CLIPPINGS

tipped off authorities and agreed to work undercover, wearing a concealed recorder to tape numerous conversations with Carroll, according to the charges. Carroll allegedly paid the cooperating embassy official $40,000 late last month for approving visas, and at the time of his arrest he was offering him $1 million to award 250 U.S. visas, authorities said.

He allegedly assured his colleague that he was able to issue a high volume of fraudulent visas without being detected in part because he refused many qualified applicants to make his overall numbers look better.

VOA Sets Record (Not a Good One)

The federal government agreed March 22 to pay $508 million to settle a sex discrimination suit, now known as Hartman v. Albright, brought in 1977 by 1,100 women against the Voice of America and its former parent agency, the U.S. Information Agency.

As VOA's own news service described it, the case, covering the period 1974 to 1984, "disclosed that USIA and VOA regularly manipulated the hiring process to exclude women." The statement went on to acknowledge allegations that "in some cases, the agencies resorted to test fraud, destroying personnel and test files."

The half-billion dollar award, which is expected to be approved by the federal judge hearing the case, constitutes far and away the largest settlement ever in an employment discrimination case. Even so, VOA has not disciplined any of its managers, contending that none of the charges were actually proved.

On Human Rights, A Muted Response

Press coverage of State's Feb. 26 release of the annual report on human rights practices around the world was relatively muted, even from countries with poor records. But there were a few exceptions.

For example, the Associated Press reports, the Chinese government not only denounced the U.S. for "interfering in China's internal affairs," but returned the favor by issuing its own assessment, "[The] U.S. Human Rights Record in 1999." In it, Beijing cited the shooting of African immigrant Amadou Diallo by four New York City police officers and other instances of police brutality, claimed child labor is rampant in the U.S., and reminded the world that U.S.-led NATO forces destroyed the Chinese embassy in Belgrade. Ironically, while Xinhua, the government-controlled news agency, criticized the American media as "a propaganda machine," it culled much of its information from the U.S. media.

In Botswana, the *Gaborone Mmegi/The Reporter* noted the harsh reaction of Labor and Home Affairs Minister Thebe Mogami to the report's charges of serious human rights offenses in the country's four prisons. Mogami challenged critics to "come out with the names of these people" who allegedly suffered human rights abuses and insisted that "their reaction to the story was that they have never spoken to you and you cannot keep on saying you spoke to them when you cannot mention their names."

Most negative responses to the human rights report criticized the U.S. for being too critical or having a double standard. In contrast, the Africa Fund News Service

50 Years Ago

"This is a service of men and women who are giving their entire lives to the United States. They are competent, they are courageous, and they are devoted. Only this past week, two of our missions were bombed. [Yet] do they say, 'This is too dangerous?' Not at all. They know their duty. They perform it."

— Secretary of State Dean Acheson, addressing the American Society of Newspaper Editors, as quoted in the May 1950 Journal

CLIPPINGS

"Never report what you said and you'll never get into trouble."

— ADVICE FROM AN OLD DIPLOMAT, QUOTED BY CHARLES W. THAYER

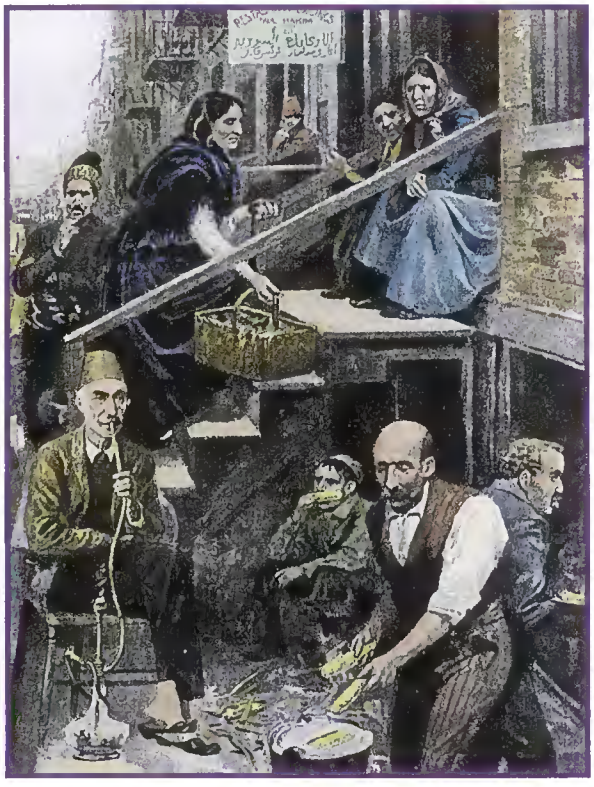
reports that a coalition of 68 congregations and 19 religious organizations sent U.S. Secretary of State Madeleine Albright a letter Feb. 28 alleging that the administration was actually too soft on Mauritania. Specifically, the signatories note that as late as 1995, the report recognized the existence of slavery, then alluded to "vestiges of slavery" in 1996 and in 1997. In the 1998 and 1999 versions, it states only that "unofficial voluntary servitude persists," without any real change in conditions. The coalition's letter calls on the Clinton administration to deny Mauritania all trade benefits, until slavery is truly eradicated and human rights restored there.

BUDGET CUTS EYED

On March 15, the House Budget Committee approved a FY 2001 budget resolution which would slash the foreign affairs account by $3.1 billion, a 13 percent cut from the level requested by the administration. There appears to be little support among Republicans in either the House or the Senate for restoring the funds. Most foreign assistance programs would actually be slashed by considerably more than an eighth.

Secretary of State Madeleine Albright denounced the cuts and said the administration would work to reverse them. ■

Out of the Middle East: Forgotten Immigrants



After more than 100 years in the U.S., Arab Americans still seek political clout.

By Richard H. Curtiss

On the next-to-last working day of the 20th century, the American Arab Anti-Discrimination Committee and the National Association of Arab Americans announced that they were combining forces. Since virtually the entire Arab immigration into the United States had taken place within the confines of that century, observers at the Dec. 29 conference at the National Press Club in Washington D.C. at which the merger was announced found it fitting that the amalgamation became effective on Jan.1, 2000, the first day of the second century of Arab presence in North America.

Only the future, however, will determine whether the merger of the two organizations marks "a significant milestone in the political empowerment of Arab Americans," as announced by their leaders, or a resigned acceptance that

there no longer is enough interest among the immigrants from the 21 Arab countries and their offspring to support both of these major national organizations.

Arab Pioneers

The Arab pioneers in North America were the 50,000 to 100,000 mostly Christian immigrants to the United States from the Levantine lands comprising present-day Syria, Lebanon and Palestine who arrived between 1890 and 1920, after which U.S. immigration laws were changed for a generation to favor immigrants from Europe. Before World War I the Levant and adjacent Arabic-speaking regions of southern Turkey were part of the Ottoman Empire, and U.S. immigration forms generally listed the new arrivals as "Turks" or "Turcos."

That first large-scale migration began because the final years preceding the Ottoman Empire's defeat and collapse in World War I were turbulent politically and debilitating economically. Young Arab men left their homes in large numbers for both North and South America, later sending for or returning to select brides from their home villages, and starting families in the New World.

Under its mosaic system, the Ottoman Empire had left much of the governing of Arabic-speaking areas in the Middle East, Arabian Peninsula and North Africa to the religious authorities of each sect represented. As a result, before World War II the Arabic-speaking immigrants to the United States tended to think of themselves only secondarily as Arabs and primarily as Maronite or Melkite Christians (with ties to the Roman Catholic church), Orthodox Christians (with ties to other Orthodox areas dating back to the Byzantine Empire), Sunni (mainstream) Muslims or Shia Muslims (with ties to northern Syria, southern Iraq and Iran). Within these four major sectarian divisions, there were, in addition to the Arab immigrants, a dozen other Middle Eastern ethnic groups including Turks, Persians, Armenians, Kurds, Assyrians and Chaldeans, of whom only the Chaldeans (Christians of both Christian Orthodox and Catholic affinities from northern Iraq) spoke Arabic in their homes and identified with Arab aspirations.

After World War II a higher percentage of immigrants were Muslim.

During the interval between the World Wars, emigration from the Levant continued, but most of it flowed to South America, the Caribbean and West Africa. It was only with the liberalization of U.S. immigration laws after World War II that large-scale Arab immigration into the U.S. resumed. But by then a much higher percentage of the migrants were Muslim and they came from virtually every major Arab country.

The immigrants also represented a wide economic and social range. The turn-of-the century arrivals from the villages of the Levant had brought with them few useful skills but they were hard working and individualistic self-starters. An astonishingly high percentage became "back-pack peddlers," traveling among the small towns and farms of the American heartland and frontier. Today the entrepreneurial tradition continues among the descendants of this "first wave" of Middle Eastern immigrants. Many operate their own businesses; some of them derived from the family enterprises founded by those initial Arab arrivals on American shores.

By contrast, many of the post-World War II arrivals first came as students to North American universities with no intention of remaining after they received their degrees. But some married in the U.S. and stayed on. Others were stranded by political changes in the Middle East, such as the fighting in Palestine that resulted in the expulsion of 750,000 Muslim and Christian Palestinians who had been living within the borders of present-day Israel.

Other groups represented in the post-World War II wave of Middle Eastern immigrants varied widely. They included Muslim immigrants from the mountain villages of Yemen, who gravitated to the auto-factories of Michigan, and who today form a large colony in Dearborn, home of the Ford Motor company. Another major population centered in Detroit is the Chaldeans, mostly Roman Catholic Christians from the unstable Mosul area in northwestern Iraq. With Iraq's increase in political problems since Saddam Hussein came to

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Illustration on page 16: Syrian colony in New York, 1890s. Source: © North Wind Pictures.

power, they probably consider themselves politieal as well as economic refugees.

Yet another distinct group is the Christian Assyrians, of whom the largest concentration in the world is in Chicago. They were twice refugees, first from Turkey (along with the Christian Armenians) during World War I and then from Northern Iran and from Iraq where their identification with the British occupation forces turned them into political refugees after the 1958 overthrow of the British-installed Iraqi monarchy.

Palestinian refugees in North America know they enjoy more political freedom than they would in the Middle East.

Not all immigrants from Iraq represent minority groups, however. With the initial exploitation of that country's abundant petroleum resources, large numbers of Iraqi students arrived to study at American universities, some on government scholarships with an obligation to return to teach after earning their degrees, and others studying at the expense of their upper and middle class families. Iraq's suecessive political upheavals and the resulting economic hardships cast a shadow of suspicion over all of these Western-educated Iraqis. The result was the eventual return to the United States of perhaps 90 percent of Iraq's American-educated Sunni and Shia Muslim elites.

Egypt presents another case study of the different forces propelling a large-scale immigration from the Middle East's most populous Arab country. With universal, free education through the university level available to all who are academically qualified, Egypt produces a huge annual surplus of university graduates who, by finding positions in the explosively developing economies of the oil-producing states of the Arabian peninsula and Gulf, have become Egypt's largest single source of foreign exchange. However, a large number of U.S.-educated, largely Muslim Egyptians, knowing there are not enough positions at home to absorb their technical skills, remain in the U.S. or eventually return to professional or teaching positions, often in the same universities in whieh they earned their advanced degrees.

Such "educated elites" who have become immigrants from Egypt, Iraq and Palestine are part of the "brain drain" which continues to attract to the United States some of the best and brightest from every country in the world. But the stream of Egyptian immigrants is supplemented by an influx of middle class white collar and blue collar Coptic Christians who feel that because of their minority status they cannot find in Egypt's relatively static economy job opportunities commensurate with their skills.

This influx of Arab immigrants from all over the Middle East throughout the second half of the 20th century included a new wave of arrivals from Lebanon and Syria. Lebanon's civil war from 1975 to 1990 brought tens of thousands of Lebanese of all ages who took advantage of relaxed U.S. visa requirements to, literally, save their lives. Now many have become too involved in the U.S. to return. While there are fewer immigrants from Syria, many of those who have found their way to North America have stayed because of the lack of economic opportunities at home. By now there are in the U.S. at least a quarter million permanent residents of Lebanese or Syrian descent.

Finally, the United States, Britain, Canada, Australia, Germany and countries throughout the Middle East have taken in a very large number of Palestinian refugees ever since the creation of Israel in 1948. This immigration got off to a fast start when the U.S. accepted a special quota of 100,000 of the Palestinians who had been denied permission to return to their homes inside Israel's "Green Line" borders.

These, in turn, became the nucleus of a steady subsequent immigration of both Muslim and Christian Palestinians who, over the more than half century that has elapsed since their initial dispersion, have become a professionally and teehnically qualified special class of refugees. Although many of them were born in the refugee camps of Lebanon, Syria, Jordan and elsewhere, they were able to take advantage of the educational opportunities open to residents of those camps through international refugee aid programs.

While never reconciled to the loss of their homeland, virtually all of the Palestinian refugees who found their way to North America are aware that they enjoy more political freedom and economic opportunity in the United States than they would in any Middle Eastern country. While many of these Palestinians with American passports and their American-born children return to the Middle East as bi-lingual exeeutives or employees of U.S.

companies operating there, few entertain any plans of settling in the land their parents and grandparents left involuntarily, even if the elusive peace process eventually makes such a return possible.

By now there are Americans who trace their ancestry to every one of the 21 Arab states. However, although many Arabs from the six states of the Arabian Gulf Cooperation Council attend U.S. universities, few become permanent residents of the U.S. because economic opportunities in their own countries are more favorable for native-born citizens. Nor are there as yet many Arab immigrants in the U.S. from the seven Arab states of North Africa and the Horn of Africa which formerly were under French or Italian domination. Because of linguistic and family ties, many who emigrate from those countries gravitate to France or Italy or to Canada's French-speaking Quebec province.

Arab Americans in some areas of the country have the potential to swing elections.

Political Clout

So, slightly more than a century after large-scale Arab immigration into the U.S. began, how many Arab Americans are there? I posed that question at the Dec. 29 press conference and received a variety of answers from the activist-participants. In his prepared remarks, NAAA board chairman George Gorayeb suggested a total of three million. ADC press spokesman Hussain Ibish estimated four million. Former ADC president Alfred Mokhiber speculated that by now the number might have grown to 4.5 million. One reason for the vagueness is that the category has never been included in a national census. Nor will it be included in the 2000 census, despite efforts by the ADC and the Arab American Institute, another major Arab-American political organization that remains outside the merger.

Better known are the numbers of Arab Americans in some major metropolitan areas of the country, where they have the potential to swing elections in specific congressional districts if they choose to exercise it. In Detroit alone there are 300,000 Arab Americans, with many more in other parts of Michigan. It is perhaps no coincidence that Michigan is the only state at present with an Arab American senator, Republican Spence Abraham. There have been other Arab-American senators including South Dakota's Democratic Sen. James Abourezk and former Maine Democratic Sen. George Mitchell, whose father was Arab and whose mother was Irish. There also have been at least two Arab-American governors, Victor Atiyeh of Oregon and John Sununu of New Hampshire. There are six incumbent Arab-American or half Arab-American members of the House of Representatives. They are John Baldacci (D-Me.), Pat Danner (D-Mo.), Chris John (D-La.) Ray Lahood (R-Il.), Nick Rahall (D-W.V.) and John E. Sununu (R-N.H.).

Probably partly because of the large number of Arab and Muslim American voters in Michigan, there also are Detroit-area Democratic representatives, Ukrainian-American Democratic Whip David Bonior and African-American John Conyers, ranking minority member of the House Judiciary Committee, who are strongly supportive of the Middle East peace process and also of the civil liberty concerns of Arab and Muslim Americans.

Equally important, perhaps, is the concentration of half a million Arab Americans in Southern California who, if they should form alliances with the enormous Iranian-American community there, and with the more than 200,000 Muslim Americans in the San Francisco Bay area, could even determine who gets all of the electoral votes in the nation's most populous state in the 2000 presidential election.

Will such potential political power be realized? Or is the "political empowerment of Arab Americans" so hopefully cited at the Dec. 29 press conference only a mirage? The historical record sheds little light on the question.

The early immigrants had little formal education and were primarily interested in helping to alleviate the poverty of their families in the Middle East. However, because they established retail businesses in small towns across America, they tended not to concentrate in large ethnic ghettos. As a result, their children assimilated more rapidly than did the children of some other ethnic groups that arrived around the same time.

Struggling with Assimilation

Children of those first Arab immigrants rapidly acquired considerably more formal education and professional and technical skills than had their parents. Thus

when Arab-Americans attained prominence and leadership positions in communities throughout the United States, it generally was on the basis of civic leadership or professional attainment rather than ethnic identity or an ethnic support base. Whatever Old World identity remained was more likely to grow out of extended family and church or mosque activities.

In 1932 a number of local groups coalesced into the "National Association of Syrian and Lebanese-American Organizations." In some areas such regional ethnic federations grew large enough to justify formation of a National Association of Federations, which in the early 1950s sponsored a convention in Lebanon and Syria, but subsequently atrophied. Although some vestiges of the regional federations remained, particularly in the Midwest, the nature of the Arab American community was changing with the arrival of a more varied population of Arab immigrants.

As the new community, with a growing percentage of American-born members, evolved, a dichotomy developed which persists to this day. Raised with assimilationist goals and deep suspicion of the authoritarian and sometimes corrupt regimes of the Middle East, many of the American-born Arab Americans, and some of the newer Christian Arab immigrants as well, are frankly uneasy in political organizations without strong and visible American identity.

This higher comfort level with organizations with "American" in their titles is accelerated by the ease with which American-born Arab Americans, while staying within their religious community, may find spouses of other ethnicities. Once an Arab American decides not to leave the choice of a spouse entirely to the family, a Catholic Arab American is likely to marry an Irish, Italian or Hispanic co-religionist, a Christian Orthodox Arab American may marry a Greek, Russian or Serbian American, and a Sunni Muslim Arab American might marry a co-religionist of Kurdish, Turkish or Pakistani stock, just as a Shia Muslim Arab American might marry an Iranian-American. Therefore most Arab-American families, through the marriage of some members of the family outside the Arab community, begin the process of

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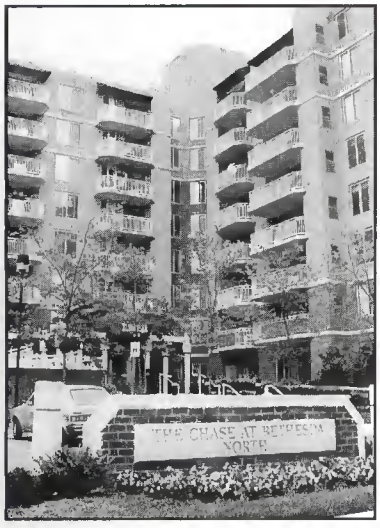

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assimilation with the first American-born generation.

Because of this tradition of eschewing old-country politics, some of the most active Arab American groups have been those based solely upon the place of origin. Two examples are the Ramallah and El Bireh societies, whose members trace their roots to two adjacent Palestinian West Bank towns, the former traditionally Christian and the latter traditionally Muslim. (Both towns by now have Muslim majorities, as do all major Palestinian cities, due partly to a much higher rate of Christian than Muslim emigration.)

The oldest of the largely political Arab American organizations was the National Association of Arab Americans. Founded in the late 1970s, until the recent merger it was the only Arab American group registered to lobby Congress. Since it emphasized foreign affairs, shortly after its creation the NAAA found itself being torn apart by the tensions generated by the Lebanese civil war. Eventually it settled into a stance of supporting the Palestinian cause, despite a plurality of Christian Lebanese Americans on its board. However, some Christian Lebanese American members began devoting more of their energies to purely Lebanese-American organizations.

The next oldest group, the Anti-Discrimination Committee, took protection of civil rights of Arab Americans at home and human rights of Palestinians abroad as its two major causes. It soon had the largest grassroots membership of any Arab American group and it has active chapters in many major metropolitan areas in the United States. Since its principal founder was South Dakota Sen. Abourezk, whose Lebanese immigrant father ran a trading post on an Indian reservation, for a time the ADC was considered the organization for Arab American Democrats while the NAAA identified more with Republicans. However these distinctions disappeared in the 1990s.

Hard Times for Arab Organizations

Both groups have fallen on hard financial times in recent years. Disillusioned by his inability to attract sufficient financial support either from Arab Americans or from wealthy Arabs overseas with U.S. ties or diplomas, founder-president Abourezk sought to close down the ADC in the early 1990s. However, it has been kept alive through strenuous efforts and personal financial support by two successive board chairmen, Hamzi Moghrabi of Denver and Naila Asali of Chicago, and the organization's president and chief executive officer, Dr. Hala Maksoud, niece of former Prime Minister Saeb Salam of Lebanon and wife of Dr. Clovis Maksoud, the former representative of the Arab League to the United Nations.

Without such a financial cushion, the NAAA, whose staff gradually dwindled from more than 20 to a paid staff of only three persons, entered into a year and a half of negotiations which resulted in the integration of the NAAA staff into the ADC. The former NAAA lobbying role will be continued by a joint NAAA-ADC entity, which will combine the concerns of both parent organizations for human rights overseas and civil rights within the United States.

These moves do not put all of the Arab-American organizational eggs into one basket, however. According to Albert Mokiber, there are about 17 groups affiliated with the national Council of Presidents of Arab American organizations. While some of these are U.S. groups organized primarily to raise funds in the U.S. for Lebanese, Palestinian and other educational or charitable institutions or projects, there are two other venerable national Arab American political organizations.

The most visible of these, by far, is the Arab American Institute, based in Washington DC. Its founder-president is James Zogby, initially the national director of the now defunct Palestinian Human Rights Campaign and subsequently a co-founder, with Sen. Abourezk, of the ADC. Later Zogby founded the AAI, taking a new approach based roughly on the models of the Jewish Republican Council and the Jewish Democratic Council, both of which are pro-Israel components of the two major national political parties.

AAI president Zogby heads an AAI division which encourages Arab Americans to become active in Democratic party politics at all levels. This activism paid off when President Bill Clinton delivered the keynote speech at an AAI fundraising dinner in 1999. On the other side of the political street, AAI board chairman George Salem heads a twin AAI division which encourages Arab American participation in Republican party activities. While maintaining his AAI affiliation, Salem served as a paid political appointee in the Republican Reagan and Bush administrations. Similarly, during the first six years of the Clinton administration, Zogby was a paid consultant to a USAID operation charged with attracting American private investment to the West

Bank and Gaza, which are administered by the Palestinian Authority.

Another national group is Arab American University Graduates. It began in the late 1970s as a mutual-support network for Arab Americans teaching or doing research at U.S. universities. Subsequently it became more politicized, retaining its academic orientation and becoming a liberal advocacy group for Palestinian human rights. It has been based in various parts of the U.S., but at present operates with a paid staff of one from space rented with the ADC in Washington, D.C.

Of obvious relevance to "Arab American political empowerment" is the rapid growth of Islam in America. There are six to eight million Muslims of great ethnic diversity in the United States, and Islam is the nation's fastest-growing religion. However, as yet there is not a single Muslim in the U.S. Congress, the Supreme Court, the President's Cabinet, or even in a State Department or Pentagon policy-making position. All this has shocked the previously apolitical "sleeping giant" of Islam in America into increasing political awareness.

The bad news in this is that many Muslim Arab Americans have shifted their personal focus from Arab-American to Muslim-American political activism. This may be the biggest single factor in the current fund-raising problems of the Arab American groups.

Outspent But Optimistic

The good news is that, together, the Arab American and Muslim American groups are mutually reinforced when they pool their support for such causes abroad as a shared Jerusalem and Palestinian human rights, and domestically for legislation to repeal the use of secret evidence in U.S. courts and to ban the use of "profiling" in U.S. airports and at border crossings. (Although FAA officials deny it, the agency is suspected of distributing to airport security personnel guidelines for identifying potential skyjackers that include giving special scrutiny to persons with Arab or Islamic names, and possibly, of Middle Eastern or South Asian appearance.)

So, at the dawn of the 21st century, while Arab Americans are less divided by organizational rivalries than at any time in the past generation, they remain remarkably weak for a group representing some 4 million Americans, about evenly divided between Christians and Muslims.

By contrast, there are only 5 million Jewish Americans. But in terms of political clout there is no comparison between the two communities. Perhaps this is because Arab Americans have come from different lands, are divided by their diverse religions, and have been in the United States for less than half of its history. By contrast, Jews have been present in North America since before the Revolutionary War, within America's Jewish population religion reinforces ethnic identity, and some American Jewish organizations have been in existence for more than a century.

Today there are some 52 Israel-centered groups in the Council of Presidents of Major American Jewish Organizations. If they comprise "the Jewish lobby," it outspends "the Arab lobby," meaning the groups represented in the Council of Presidents of Arab American Organizations, by at least 400 to 1, while paid staffs of the Arab American groups are outnumbered by paid staffs of the Jewish groups by perhaps 100 to 1.

Yet, in the wake of the ADC-NAAA merger, Arab American activists are surprisingly upbeat, regarding both domestic and foreign policy concerns. "We all agree on either a democratic secular state in Palestine or the need for a land-for-peace agreement between Israel on the one hand and Lebanon, Syria and a Palestinian state on the other," said one political activist. "Arab Americans, regardless of country of origin, also agree that U.S.-backed sanctions are hurting the Iraqi people, but helping Saddam Hussain, that the dual containment policy against Iraq and Iran is a failure that hurts American interests all over the Middle East, and that all aid to both Israel and the Arabs should be tied to performance at the peace table. All we are asking is that America act in its own best interests in the Middle East, which are traditional U.S. support for human rights, self-determination and fair play — in short, a lasting Middle East peace firmly grounded in justice.

"On the other hand, American supporters of Israel are increasingly divided among themselves," the Arab American activist continued. "The policies they advocate are increasingly unpopular with U.S. taxpayers, contrary to U.S. national interests, and endanger American citizens abroad and perhaps even at home. At present such groups may have the money, the manpower and even the media on their side. But we have the truth."

Given that paradigm, as defined by Arab-American activists and backed up by American Muslims of diverse ethnicity, the second century of Arab-American history should be even more interesting than the first. ■

ISLAMIC FEMINISM FINDS A DIFFERENT VOICE

Rick Reinhard

THE MUSLIM WOMEN'S MOVEMENT IS DISCOVERING ITS ROOTS IN ISLAM, NOT IN IMITATING WESTERN FEMINISTS.

BY ELIZABETH WARNOCK FERNEA

I first went to the Middle East as a bride in 1956. My new husband, Robert Fernea, was setting out to do the field research for his doctoral dissertation in social anthropology at the University of Chicago and we settled in a small southern Iraqi village. Before we left, my mother counseled me to "try to enlighten" Middle Eastern women, because, she said, they were in grave need of Western women's help. The little I knew about the Middle East at the time seemed to be in accord with my mother's opinion.

Rather than welcoming my enlightened self, though, the Muslim women of the town where we were to live pitied me. To them, I did not even come close to the local ideal of womanhood. I was childless, thin, had short hair. I couldn't cook and, since I had no gold, my parents and my husband's parents evidently did not value me. Further, my hus-

band had to be cruel, since he had brought me all the way from America alone, without any of my female relatives for company and support. This was further indication that a beneficial marriage had not been arranged properly by my parents.

Still, instead of ignoring and rejecting me, these kind women, young and old, took me in, and proceed to enlighten *me*. They taught me to cook rice, helped me improve my Arabic, advised me to get more gold from my husband as insurance against an uncertain future, invited me to weddings and religious occasions. Quite literally, they took care of me, benighted creature that they perceived me to be. I am forever in their debt for their ministrations.

To be pitied for what I cherished — free choice of a spouse, opportunity for education, freedom to travel — was a humbling experience. It made me re-evaluate my view of the world of women. Yet, when, on returning to the U. S. after two years of village life, I tried to explain my new understanding of and respect for cultural differences, my mother and my old college friends looked at me in disbelief. They suggested that I was misled, perhaps even brainwashed, since they were certain that Muslim women were living in ignorance and oppression. I replied that I had no desire to live the life of Iraqi village women, but that their views of the world and ways of living in it were at least worthy of respect. My experience led to my first book, *Guests of the Sheik*, a chronicle of those two years in Iraq that literally changed my life. I have been writing about, lecturing on and filming Middle Eastern women ever since.

But I am still asked the same questions today that my mother and my friends asked 44 years ago. What is it about a Muslim, Middle Eastern woman that evokes such strong negative responses in the West? After all, the West is a patriarchal society, too, sanctioned by the same monotheistic belief in God the Father as Judaism and Islam, the other two Abrahamic religions. But in any Western discussion of women's condition around the world, Islam always implies a worst case scenario. Curiously, the same stereotypes are not found in Western representations of Hindu women whose official legal status falls far below that of Muslim women. When a Hindu woman marries, for instance, she is formally detached from her own family and officially becomes part of her husband's family. This means that if her husband dies, the wife has no place to go.

Moorish Islamic law was the basis for American women's contemporary inheritance rights.

Women and the Koran

In contrast, Muslim women remain members of their natal families throughout their lives. Divorced or widowed women have the right to return home and be supported. Further, under Koranic law a woman has legal status as a person and can perform religious duties similar to those of a man. She has the authority to prophesy, to accept or refuse a marriage offer, to administer economic enterprises and, most importantly, to inherit property. Though her share is only half a man's share, it is property nonetheless. Although greedy male kin have not always honored these rights, they stand on the books as sacred law and may be invoked in court by women who feel they have been unjustly treated.

When I visited the courts of Cairo and Rabat in 1995 and 1996, I met women and their lawyers who crowded the halls waiting to argue their cases to achieve what they perceived to be their just rights. Some observers have recently suggested that the outrage against Islam in the Christian medieval world had much to do with the revolutionary — for the time — Muslim pronouncements about women. What kind of religion would allow women to inherit? According to medieval thought, women were not capable of handling money. Economic rights like inheritance were not granted to women in England until the Married Women's Property Act in the mid-19th century. Until 1970, in some states in America, daughters still did not automatically inherit, particularly if valuable assets like farmland were at stake. Unless the father specifically designated his daughter as heir, and if there no brothers, the land passed to the nearest male relative. Muslim women have had better rights since 632 AD.

In America, the first states to grant women inheritance rights were Texas, California, Arizona and New Mexico, all of which were once under Spanish control. That means that Moorish —Islamic — law was the basis for American women's contemporary inheritance rights.

Elizabeth Warnock Fernea's latest book is In Search of Islamic Feminism.

Today, Muslim women are exercising economic and other prerogatives, moving ahead in personal and professional ways that would have been totally improbable a half century ago. Women of all social classes are moving into the labor force, into schools and universities and into the mosques, banks and courts. Scores of academic books, articles and conferences held in the Western world testify to this progress. Yet despite these changes, I keep being asked the same stereotyped questions by lay, educated Westerners. Why? The answer requires digging deeper into history.

Until the 19th century, all information about Islam had been translated by Christian clerics with their own points to prove.

The Middle East has always constituted an exotic "other" for the West. When Europe was still in the process of developing from a backward economy and a group of warring states, the Islamic world was a center of culture, arts, sciences and technology. A source of silks and spices, the Eastern world became for the West a fabled land of enchantment, as well as one of hidden, erotic women. Historically, the Western relationship with the Middle East has been complicated not only by these exotic images, but by religious differences which go back to the founding of Islam in the 7th century. The Prophet Muhammad saw his new belief system as arising out of Judaism and Christianity, and even termed Jews and Christians "People of the Book," that is, those with the same original beliefs. The Christian hierarchy, however, immediately labeled Islam heresy. By the 11th century, Christians mounted the Crusades, a series of wars to reclaim the Holy Land from heretical peoples. Even in 1917, the Crusades were alive in the mind of British Gen. Edmund Allenby, who is reported to have shouted as he entered Jerusalem during the Palestinian campaign in World War I: "Saladin! Saladin! Sultan of Islam! We have returned!"

This state of mind is also reflected in media accounts that refer to Muslims as "believers in Allah," as if they are referring to some false god and not simply the Arabic word for God. And until the 19th century, when lay Orientalist scholars began to translate Arabic, Hebrew, Persian and Turkish texts, all information about Islam had been translated by Christian clerics with their own points to prove.

Of course, the political clout of Muslim countries certainly contributed to their demonization in the West. The Middle East was seen as an enemy, a rival for trade and natural resources. Late in the 7th century the Arab Empire arose, spreading north and west to Sicily, Spain and even to France. Finally, the grandfather of Charlemagne stopped Muslim armies at Tours in 722, almost a century after Muhammad's death. Muslim, Jewish and Christian merchants continued to conduct a lucrative trade across the Mediterranean until Granada fell in 1492 to the Catholic monarchists, Isabella and Ferdinand. But Muslims did not disappear from the political scene. The Ottoman Muslims next pushed east from the Anatolian peninsula to the gates of Vienna.

Odalisques and Slaves

Given this historical competition and enmity, is it any wonder that the West continues to stereotype the East? Muslim women have been doubly stereotyped. Early chronicles, novels, poems, plays and travel accounts characterize the Muslim woman as "hidden," but also an odalisque, a very sexy lady, lightly clad and much bejeweled, reclining provocatively on a chaise longue while being fanned by slaves with ostrich feather fans.

In 1849, the great French novelist Gustave Flaubert, in his *Travels in Egypt*, gives just such a description of Kuchuk Hanum, a prostitute with whom he enjoyed a memorable one-night stand. The 19th century French painters were also fascinated with the erotic, dream-like subject matter and painted harem scenes from fables, written descriptions and their own imaginations. Eugene Delacroix' *Femmes d'Alger dans leur appartement* is a well-known example of what was once a painter's favorite subject. Edward William Lane, noted Arabist, in his 1860 book, *Manners and Customs of the Modern Egyptians*, confidently tells his readers, "The women of Egypt have the character of being the most licentious in their feelings of all females who lay any claim to be considered as members of a civilized nation."

Occasionally an observer took exception to such heated exotics. Lady Mary Wortley Montagu, a poet and wife of the first British ambassador to the Sublime Porte of Turkey, noted that most Western accounts about harems

tended to be written by men, based on hearsay. In 1717, she wrote to a friend in London: "Your whole letter is full of mistakes from one end to 'tother. I see you have taken your ideas of Turkey from that worthy author Dumont, who has writ with equal ignorance and confidence. 'Tis a particular pleasure to me here to read the voyages to the Levant, which are generally so far remov'd from Truth and so full of Absurditys I am very well diverted with 'em. They never fail giving you an Account of the Women, which 'tis certain they never saw, and talking very wisely of the Genius of the Men, into whose Company they are never admitted, and very often describe Mosques, which they dare not peep into."

Lady Mary was a product of the Enlightenment and an adherent of Deism, that benevolent belief that saw all religions, including Islam, as worthy of respect. But, by the 19th century, with the Industrial Revolution and the onset of imperialism and colonialism, different images of Muslim women began to emerge from Western women's observations. The new image was that of a combination household slave and baby machine, a pathetic creature. This theme runs throughout missionaries' diaries and travel accounts. It was the burden of Western women to improve and enlighten these ladies they saw as downtrodden and whose plight they attributed to Islam, not poverty. In 1966, Germaine Tillion, a respected French ethnographer, wrote of Muslim women: "The feminine veil has become a symbol; that of slavery of one portion of humanity."

Hidden or Protected?

I, too, held such views, until I came to know Middle Eastern Muslim women as friends and learned about the diversity of their lives. For there is no single typical Muslim woman, any more than there is a single Christian, Jewish, Buddhist or Hindu woman. Muslim women's lives — like Muslim men's lives — differ depending on their social class, economic means, their rural or urban roots, their family position, and their interpretation and practice of their religion. There is no central authority that dictates to all Muslims what is and what is not religiously sanctioned behavior. Each group within the larger Umma, or community of Muslims, regulates its own behavior, according to the Koran and the sayings and traditions known as *hadiths*. But any given group also uses its traditions and social customs to interpret the Koran. Such interpretations are offered by jurists educated in one of six schools of Koranic law — four under the Sunni and two under the Shia. For example, *Mut'a*, or "temporary marriage," (a couple signs a contract to be married for a specific amount of time) is allowed by the Shia, but forbidden by the Sunnis. The Sunnis split inheritance in a way the Shia believe is unjust to women. If a Sunni father dies leaving no sons, the daughters still inherit only part of the estate; the rest goes to the nearest male relative. If there are no sons, Shia law gives daughters all of the father's estate.

Proper woman's dress is also subject to diverse interpretation. Koranic verses suggest — as do Biblical verses — that women should be modest and cover their beauty before strangers. Does that mean complete cover, as in Saudi Arabia and Afghanistan? Or partial cover, such as a long, loose dress and headscarf? Or something in between?

Though social practice varies throughout the Islamic world, Westerners have often described Islam — and particularly women's roles in Islam — as static and fixed. Yet, today women's proper role is a central political issue throughout the Muslim world. In most countries women are seen as the center of the family, as complementary to men, who, with women, are the reproducers of family lineage, culture and religious belief. But as Middle Eastern economic, political and social life changes radically, people are looking back to their shared religious roots for identity. The debates now going on within a revived Islamic community center on how Islamic faith should guide the direction of both men and women in the new millennium, with particular emphasis on women's place in society.

The contemporary Islamic women's movement, then, must be viewed in relation to cultural and religious values, rather than in the context of modern, Western, feminist stereotypes. Islam enjoins both men and women to marry and have children. In this way, both become mature persons and complete Muslims. In Islam, sex within the bounds of marriage is to be enjoyed as one of the pleasures of this world, a view closer to Judaism than to Christianity. In contrast, Christians have always celebrated the elevation of the spirit and the suppression of the flesh. Historically, Christian women have been bound to the church, but without the Muslim woman's symbolic motherhood powers and role within the family. They were forbidden divorce until after the Reformation, and, most importantly, lacked economic resources of their

own. Even Lady Mary Wortley Montagu, who was beholden to her own husband for every penny, noted that Turkish women were "rich having all their money in their own hands, which they take with 'em upon a divorce with an addition which he is oblig'd to give 'em."

Following the Industrial Revolution in the 19th century, Western men and women fought for the emancipation of women. The West began to see itself as advanced, a role model for other nations and peoples. This view continues today, with Western women citing their 20th century freedoms as shining examples for others to follow. As late as 1982, Juliette Minces, a well-known French feminist, wrote, "Is it Euro-centric to put forward the lives of Western women as the only democratic, just and forward-looking model? I do not think so. They (the Muslim women, that is) must become like us."

Muslim women are searching their own traditions for the means to achieve gender justice, however, rather than trying to be "like us." One of the principal avenues of their struggle is the arena of religion. This may perplex the average Westerner, who does not see religion and women's liberation on the same page. Certainly the West has believed that church and state must be separated before democracy can develop. But in Islamic society, no such division has ever taken place. In Islamic countries, religion, as Islamic scholar John A. Williams once stated, "is not part of the structure, it is the structure." Since religion equals power, Muslim women's move to work for gender justice through the existing power structure seems a reasonable and advantageous decision.

To the average Westerner, however, religious Islam does not seem at all reasonable. The term conjures up media photos of women wearing veils, modest long dresses or headscarves. To see women on the streets and in their places of work in "Islamic dress" only proves what was never doubted: that Muslim women are dominated by men and forced to look unattractive by husbands and fathers. But the reality behind the image is complex and varies from place to place. In Saudi Arabia and Afghanistan state law obliges women to dress in this fash-

ion. But that is not the case in Egypt, Morocco or most other Middle Eastern countries. In Tunisia, the veil is forbidden. In Turkey, it is a source of controversy, as secular feminists march against its use and religious women march for their freedom to wear it. Yet, in Western minds the "cover" is an indication of oppression. Perhaps that assumption comes from the west's own experience that religious states and societies may be oppressive.

Gender Justice

Many Muslim women are finding that religious affiliation is often more freeing than restricting. A woman wearing *hijab*, modest dress, is able to move more easily in crowded streets and can expect respect rather than harassment in the work place. Westerners like Gustave Flaubert viewed Islamic society as charged with eroticism; men of the society certainly viewed women as either sexual objects or mother figures. But as more and more Muslim women become religiously identified and objects of public respect more than sexual desire, that is changing. Islamic dress also carries authority with it. A growing group of highly educated, religious women see themselves as engaged in a new effort to use their education to, as they say, look deep into the spirit of the Koran and find there the gender justice they believe was the original intent of the Prophet Mohammed. Hundreds of women's groups — with more than 300 in Cairo alone — have sprung up all over the Middle East. They have been formed not only as secular consciousness-raising groups, but also as Koranic study groups. Thus women have become today not only the subjects of intense religious debate, but also participants in that discourse. In the past, men interpreted the Koranic verses and the hadiths that described women's rights. Women themselves are now arguing for new evaluations of those older interpretations — and supporting their arguments with evidence from the sacred texts.

These new movements differ from earlier Middle Eastern women's movements because they cross class lines. Further, they must be seen in the background of

other developments in Middle Eastern society in the past 50 years. The new nationalist governments that came to power after the end of European colonial rule made many promises: equal access to education and health care for men and women, land and judicial reform, industrialization. Though not all promises have been fulfilled, most countries have made great strides in education. From a tiny minority of elite men and women in school before the 1950s, the number of men and women receiving primary, secondary and post-secondary education has jumped enormously. In Egypt, which has a literacy rate of 50 percent, half the students in universities are women. According to UNESCO comparative surveys, in 1959 in Morocco, three years after independence, only 2,500 men and women were enrolled in university programs. By 1997 the total was more than 250,000 students; half were women. In Saudi Arabia, literacy rates for women have climbed from two percent in 1970 to 48 percent in 1990.

The transformation of the Middle East economy from rural and agricultural to urban and industrial has meant that most families need two incomes to survive. Thus, for the first time, women have entered the labor force, not to take "creatively fulfilling jobs," but to put bread on the table. In 1973 studies showed that only 7 percent of Middle Eastern women worked outside the home. Today, that figure is nearly 30 percent. And official statistics do not include women who work part-time, domestic workers, nannies or seasonal agricultural laborers. The new Middle Eastern woman can be found in almost every arena: education, economics, the media, hospitals, factories, the courts, banks and industrial complexes. One of the newest representatives to OPEC is Kuwaiti Siham Rizouki, who was elected chairman for 1998. And although some countries still do not allow women to serve as judges, 20 percent of all judges in Morocco are women, more than in the U.S. Egyptian Heba Handoussa, an economist, heads the powerful Economic Forum of the Middle East and North Africa.

Consciousness Raising

What, then, if they don't want to be "like us," do Middle Eastern women want? Equal pay for equal work is the law in many Middle Eastern countries, though it is not always implemented. Egyptian factories employing more than 100 women are required to provide free childcare. Maternity leave, which is justified as better for the family, is taken for granted in professional jobs. Abortion is more or less accepted, if it is seen as better for the family or for the mother. Middle Eastern women do not seem interested in destroying the family structure, but they do want to equalize their position in it. Hence the call for equal access to divorce, equal access to child custody, equal inheritance and an end to polygamy. These issues are seldom discussed publicly in Saudi Arabia, but Moroccan women campaigned successfully in 1994 to partially improve child custody laws. In the past, custody automatically went to fathers, but now mothers receive custody, at least until they remarry.

Women in Egypt recently celebrated a great triumph: the passage by the People's Assembly of *khula*, or consensual divorce. Women are now free to ask for and get a divorce if they are willing to return their dowries; the law was justified on religious grounds.

"The *khula* right is undoubtedly provided in the Islamic sharia. It is mentioned explicitly in Quran and sunna," said Muhammad Hakashi, a leading scholar at Dar al Ifta, the official body which issues religious decisions (*fatwas*) in cooperation with Al-Azhar University, the Islamic institution that helps define the laws of public morality in Egypt. My friends in the religious women's groups who supported the move said that the right had been in Islamic law all along, but they had to point it out to the men.

Western feminists may rightly ask about the incidence of honor crimes (whereby a brother may kill a sister who has committed adultery to uphold the family honor), female genital mutilation and the total suppression of women by the Taliban government in Afghanistan. It is important to note that these practices are based on local social mores, rather than on Islam. The difference today, I believe, is that women are no longer content to accept the status quo or worse, but are actively taking steps against these crimes. Women's groups in Egypt and the Sudan are fighting against genital mutilation, and have won some victories. For example, a joint effort by Muslim and Coptic women has helped end the practice in Upper Egypt. Rana Hussaini, a Jordanian women's activist, heads a task force seeking to reform laws governing honor crimes in her country. Women's non-governmental organizations across the Muslim world are battling for better lives for

AFSANEWS

American Foreign Service Association • May 2000

AGE DISCRIMINATION LAWSUIT SETTLED ■ By Frank Miller Vice President, USAID

Employees Win $5.5 Million

The age discrimination class action lawsuit filed by 96 Foreign Service employees fired in the reduction-of-force (RIF) of 1996 has been settled with USAID agreeing to pay the plaintiffs and their lawyers $5.5 million. USAID must also give special consideration to members of the class for personal services contractor positions for which they are qualified.

The settlement represents a three-year effort by the plaintiffs, who were 40 years of age or older at the time they were fired in the RIF, their counsel and AFSA to seek redress on the grounds that USAID considered their age in terminating them.

A turning point in the case occurred in March 1999 when the U.S. District Court rejected USAID's efforts to have the case dismissed for lack of merit and instead ruled that the employees had made a "prima facie" case of age discrimination. The court, citing comments made by then-Administrator Brian Atwood and other agency officials as evidence that age was a factor in USAID's decision to RIF these employees, allowed the case to advance to trial where a judge would decide the issue based on the evidence presented.

It became clear as the trial progressed that USAID has been hiring new employees and/or converting Civil Service employees in the very areas from which RIFed employees had been fired on the grounds that their positions were in surplus.

No workforce planning was carried out before the RIF to adequately identify the backstops of employees who were in surplus to agency needs. Moreover, contrary to procedures in place at other U.S. government organizations, employees who were qualified to work in other career backstops where there were chronic shortages were not allowed to switch to these backstops before the RIF. Millions of dollars worth of language, technical and regional expertise and systems knowledge were lost because of arbitrary and inefficient procedures adopted for the RIF.

AFSA believes that USAID, when faced with the overwhelming evidence brought forward at trial, was compelled to offer a settlement rather than face a possible finding of age discrimination.

USAID's mistreatment of its more senior employees can be traced back as early as 1993 when it instituted a restrictive limited career extension policy that resulted in the premature termination of more than 150 of the agency's "best and brightest." In a three-year period USAID lost much of its career leadership, institutional memory and its senior mentors. One of those ousted seniors tells of a conversation at the time with then-Administrator Atwood where the

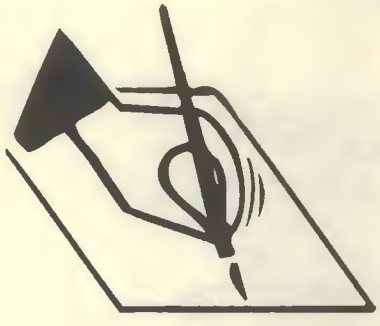
Continued on page 3

This Issue in Brief:

PROMOTING THE FS ■ By Lori Dec, AFSA's Scholarship Administrator

Time to Consider Planned Giving

Many people have only a vague idea of what planned giving is or think it is something done by only wealthy people. Quite simply, planned giving lets you plan future support for those programs that are of most interest to you, often letting you make a larger gift than you might have thought possible by offering tax breaks.



AFSA has two areas to which individuals can contribute planned gifts. The first area is the AFSA Fund, which focuses on educating the public on the importance of

Continued on page 5

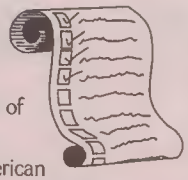
AFSA NEWS BRIEF

Scholarship Fund Receives Notification of Bequest

The AFSA Scholarship Fund gratefully acknowledges the notification of the generous bequest from William Cole to the William E. and Elizabeth M. Cole Scholarship, which he established in Oct. 1999 with an initial gift. Beginning with the 2000/2001 school year, the Cole scholarship will be given to a needy child of a Foreign Service employee as part of AFSA's Financial Aid Program. Cole recently added to his will the second-largest amount ever bequeathed to the AFSA Scholarship Fund. In 1997, $47,000 was bequeathed to the fund by Louise Holscher, a retired Foreign Service secretary.

Cole entered the Foreign Service in 1937, and served in Rome, Naples, Trieste, Ghana, the Sudan and Jerusalem, where he served as consul general from 1954 to 1958. In 1947, he married Elizabeth Penrith, a native of England, in Milan, Italy. Mrs. Cole had received Great Britain's Medal of Freedom for meritorious service as a junior commander with the British Army. After Cole's retirement in 1962, they moved to Beaufort, S.C., where they lived until Mrs. Cole's death in 1988. He currently resides in Tide Pointe, S.C.

Institutional Grievance Filed



On March 9, AFSA filed an institutional grievance against the State Department seeking the rescission of the assignment of a Civil Service employee to a DCM position in a Latin American post. AFSA's grievance alleges that State violated negotiated agreements on FS appointments and assignments by assigning a CS employee to a DCM position without meeting, or even attempting to meet, negotiated procedural and eligibility requirements. Furthermore, the grievance alleges that State's justification for making this assignment rests on a false and dangerously expansive view of ambassadorial prerogative.

AFSA/FAS Drops Institutional Grievance

After six months of escalating efforts to resolve what appeared to be a violation of our collective bargaining agreement (CBA), AFSA/FAS has withdrawn its institutional grievance from the FS Grievance Board.

On Feb. 25, 2000, AFSA received the agency's submission to the board, which included a position classification dated June 6, 1992, showing that the contested FODAG position was not an FS position covered by the CBA. AFSA would not have gone forward with the appeal had the agency provided it with this information.

The agency conceded that it erred in publishing the position on the FS list. AFSA/FAS trusts will not repeat this error, which was harmful to AFSA members. FSOs believed that they had a viable chance at this assignment when, in fact, they had none.

Staff Changes

Doug Harwood, a retired FSO who recently served as State inspector, joined AFSA on a temporary basis as Coordinator of Professional Issues to handle the upcoming AFSA Awards Program and Foreign Service Day. He may be reached at (800) 704-2372 ext. 521 or at harwood@afsa.org.

Christine Warren joined the staff as the office manager for the State Department Labor Management office. Thomasina Johnson has been promoted to accounting assistant, and Ana Lopez was hired permanently as the administrative assistant at AFSA headquarters.

State Reimburses Professional Liability Insurance

AFSA welcomes the State Department's recent decision to reimburse the lower of $100 or 50 percent toward the cost of professional liability insurance for managers, supervisors and law enforcement officers. Although AFSA strongly supports this effort and even sponsors a professional liability insurance program open to members, the decision to carry this type of insurance is a personal choice. State's decision to now pick up part of the premium for certain employees may make the decision a little easier. However, employees should keep in mind the pros and cons as they weigh their decision. To assist you, AFSA has prepared a primer that can be found on our website at www.afsa.org.

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Discrimination Lawsuit • Continued from page 1

employee allegedly was told that the agency needed to get rid of its older employees and bring in new blood. Others also reported similar conversations as they were preparing to leave USAID after devoting 25 plus years of service to their country.

Despite a provision in the settlement agreement that mandates that USAID must continue to abide by the Age Discrimination in Employment Act, we recently heard a disturbing report from a RIFed employee seeking reemployment with the agency in an area with an acute shortage. Allegedly, this RIFee was told that he was "too old" to be considered for a direct hire position. Similar comments have been reported to AFSA from our field missions.

We remain concerned that there still exists in the USAID workplace a culture where some employees are looked on less favorably because of their age.

While AFSA applauds the awarding of the settlement to this courageous group of RIFed employees, we remain concerned that there still exists in the USAID workplace a culture where some employees are looked on less favorably because of their age.

This pattern of behavior is wrong. Additional measures are still needed to instill a long-term change in the way senior employees are viewed. Diversity is supposed to be a core value for this administration. It is time to stop talking about core values and follow them. At the very least, diversity training should be implemented on an agency-wide basis and USAID should act decisively and quickly so that this type of behavior is not repeated.

In settling the case, USAID does not admit to any wrongdoing. What do you think? ⊗

V.P. VOICE: **STATE** ■ BY JOHN NALAND

The Hollow State Department

"We are faced with a critical shortage of Foreign Service officers against positions. The stark reality is that at the end of this assignment cycle, more than 200 positions at these grade levels will be vacant. This is a situation without precedent. There has never been such a deficit of this magnitude concentrated in one rank."

With those alarming words, the director general of the Foreign Service announced a sweeping "position reduction exercise" Feb. 4, 2000. With a stroke of a pen, the State Department abolished 61 mid-level jobs, declared 49 as "not to fill," and identified another 54 for staffing by untenured junior officers. Another 50 or more mid-level jobs will likely be filled by Civil Service employees under the annual Hard-to-Fill program.

In taking these drastic measures, the Bureau of Personnel said it hopes to "manage the shortage" with "the least possible disruption" to posts, bureaus, and employees. They cited the need, "as good managers," to make the best of "a situation where we cannot meet our personnel requirements."

There is no mystery as to how State found itself in this situation. Between 1988 and 1997, Foreign Service employment was slashed by 16.3 percent at the same time as ever expanding mission requirements produced a sharp increase in the number of established positions. By September 1999 (last available data) there were 300 more mid-level generalist positions than employees available to fill them.

The result is a crisis similar to that faced by the U.S. military in the late 1970s: a hollowing out of the personnel structure. And as in the case of the military, ending the crisis will require decisive action backed by additional resources. Toward that end, on Feb. 15, 2000 AFSA recommended urgent implementation of five recommendations:

"Managing the shortage" of money and employees will become a euphemism for managing the decline of the State Department

- **Speed up promotions:** Only by sharply increasing promotions to compensate for the mid-1990s promotion slowdown can State start to refill mid-level positions;
- **Find other sources of mid-levels:** Given the alternative of seeing hundreds of jobs cut or left unfilled, AFSA endorsed a temporary increase in the number of detail assignments to State, recall appointments, and Civil Service excursion tours;
- **Increase officer intake:** Given the lingering effects of the mid-1990s hiring slowdown, we urged hiring 325 JOs per year for the next two years;
- **Seek additional funding:** State should use this crisis to justify an urgent request for additional funding for diplomatic readiness; and
- **Work more closely with AFSA:** We urged State "as good managers" to consult closely with us on these issues lest they find themselves in an even more draconian "position reduction exercise" during the summer 2001 bidding cycle.

Over the longer term, we must seek to change the terms of debate on Capitol Hill and in the Office of Management and Budget. Otherwise, "managing the shortage" of money and employees will inevitably become a euphemism for managing the decline of the State Department as an effective instrument for accomplishing this nation's foreign policy objectives.

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

Q&A

BY JAMES YORKE,
LABOR MANAGEMENT SPECIALIST

Q: What are the rules for cost-construction when taking R & R travel?

A. A recent State transportation cable (State 024863) clarified cost-construction when taking R & R travel. It says that you are provided transportation based on the lowest cost unrestricted fare to either the R & R point, or the nearest port of entry in the United States. This, in most cases, is not necessarily a full-fare economy ticket, but one which has no restrictions that would interfere with the normal flexibility required by the R & R criteria. If you choose another place for R & R, so long as it meets the criteria of an R & R point, the lowest cost unrestricted fare may be set against a restricted fare to that point. Obviously, that point must appear on your R & R travel order for the travel agent to issue the ticket.

Only one alternate point is allowed, and you do not get to keep the money if the restricted fare you select is less than the lowest cost round trip unrestricted fare to the primary point. You, and only you, are responsible for any extra costs resulting from using a restricted ticket.

Example: If you are serving in Rabat, Morocco, the R & R point is London. The government will pay for the cheapest unrestricted round trip ticket from Rabat to London. You may, for example, apply the cost of that unrestricted round-trip ticket to a restricted ticket to Stockholm. If the restricted ticket to Stockholm costs less than the cheapest unrestricted roundtrip airfare to London, the government pays the lower airfare and you do not get to keep the extra money. If it costs more, you pay the extra cost. If for any reason you have to return to post from Stockholm and the conditions under which you return do not meet the conditions of the restricted ticket, you are entirely responsible for any excess costs.

Another example: Again if you are serving in Rabat, the government will pay for the cheapest unrestricted round trip ticket from Rabat to the closest point-of-entry, which is New York. You may, for example, apply the cost of that unrestricted round-trip ticket to a restricted ticket to, say, Atlanta. If the restricted ticket to Atlanta costs less than the cheapest unrestricted roundtrip airfare to New York, you do not get to keep the extra money. Again, if it costs more, you pay the extra. If, for any reason, you have to return to post from Atlanta and the conditions under which you return do not meet the conditions of the restricted ticket, you are again entirely responsible for any excess costs.

But, and it's a big but, remember that post has final authority on how they spend post funds, including R & R travel. With a range of airfares from severely restricted to totally unrestricted, it is impossible to lay down hard and fast rules. You can use the above information as a general guideline.

For questions on labor management issues, contact James Yorke at (202) 647-9672 or yorkej@state.gov. ⊗

V.P. VOICE: **FAS** ■ BY EVANS BROWNE

Developing Consensual Partnership Agreements

Partnership—no, this is not about sex. It is about E.O. 12871, President Clinton's Executive Order on Labor-Management Partnerships, which directed agencies to form partnerships with their unions, and as such partners to identify and resolve workplace issues. This is to include training in consensual methods of dispute resolution.

The Foreign Agricultural Service has had an active Partnership Council since February 1995. We have agreed by consensus to a number of workplace issues such as: a "leave bank proposal;" changes to the "secretarial/clerical" titles; procedural standards for the PC meetings; re-organizations; and operating our Washington Placement Plan for returning overseas employees; and some agreements in the movement of employees from position to position.

But, all is not well. Partnership does not (surprise, surprise) mean harmony.

But, all is not well. Partnership does not (surprise, surprise, anyway) mean harmony. Many of the problems associated with having two personnel systems seem to be (so far, anyway) unsolvable. When we had positions that were either for Foreign Service or for Civil Service, there was discontent, primarily from the larger Civil Service because they saw the FS slots as better than the CS slots. To solve that one we opened all slots to both services. That hasn't always worked; for example, this year we had more people returning from overseas than we have openings at their grades. We also have civil servants being selected for some overseas positions (not unique to FAS), but they can not be down stretched (in FAS we call it shrunk).

Will this conundrum be reported to the White House? Probably not, but the PC does give all of us in the FS and CS an arena to express our views. And that alone is good.

The FAS PC meets once a month, or more often if there are many issues to discuss. We also have a "retreat" once a year to plan, and to concentrate on our more difficult issues. The next retreat is scheduled for early April. So, by the time this article is published we hope to have many consensual insights on our workplace issues. ⊗

Planned Giving • Continued from page 1

the Foreign Service and American leadership abroad through a variety of programs. One such program is the Speakers Bureau, which provides retired FSOs for speaking engagements before universities, community groups, high schools and other forums across the country.

Individuals wanting to make a planned gift for example, could establish a scholarship with the AFSA Fund to provide an ongoing speaker bureau event each year. The monetary interest from this scholarship could cover local travel expenses or fund a multi-city program on a specific subject—whatever the donor stipulates. The original gift would never be depleted since only the proceeds are used to fund that year's program.

AFSA is in the perfect position to tell the Foreign Service "story" and provide personal examples of courageous leadership and effective diplomacy. We introduce people to the unique and sometimes difficult lifestyle of Foreign Service personnel. Wouldn't you want others to know of your overseas experiences and how they shaped U.S. foreign policy?

The second area you can help with is the AFSA Scholarship Fund, which helps children of Foreign Service employees pay for their undergraduate college expenses. These scholarships are need-based with the largest aid going to the families who need it the most. By establishing a perpetual scholarship the monetary interest alone would be used for the financial aid award each year while the initial gift is never bestowed.

You can make a planned gift by a cash or stock donation, leaving a bequest in your will or by establishing a trust that provides you, for example, life-time income. You may receive substantial tax deductions or eliminate taxes on capital gains altogether. Your planned gift can be as simple or as detailed as you prefer. You can work with your tax advisor or contact AFSA for assistance. Help AFSA promote the Foreign Service. If you don't, who will?

For more information contact Lori Dec, scholarship administrator at 202-944-5504 or 1-800-704-2372 ext. 504. ⊗

V.P. VOICE: **CS** ■ BY PETER FREDERICK

Raising The Comfort Level

Two events occurred in February that raised my comfort level significantly. First, the acting director general and her senior staff issued a "Mission, Vision and Values" statement for FCS, which included the following: "We take pride in public service…We pursue excellence. We reward performance … We make integrity and accountability the solid foundation of our organization… We encourage creativity and believe learning and change are integral to quality of service and to career development… We work together in an environment that nourishes growth as team players and as individuals."

Second, I received a letter formally notifying AFSA that the proposal to implement an "Interchange Program" was rescinded and an AFSA member was assigned to a Foreign Service position formerly held open for a GS employee.

You may recall that our former management had proposed and then implemented, without negotiation, a program to allow GS employees to encumber FSO positions overseas while FSOs were assigned to GS domestic positions. Discussions with management were not productive, thus forcing AFSA to file its first ever unfair labor practice charge against FCS.

Valuing learning and creativity bodes well for the successful negotiation of a new language and training policy proposed by AFSA.

In late January, AFSA received a letter stating that management regretted creating the impression that it had implemented a change in conditions of employment without first fulfilling its bargaining obligations. The lessons learned from this exercise are many.

First and foremost, the system and procedures that are in place work if we all follow the rules. Second, as your AFSA Vice President, I need your help in identifying which issues to raise and where management may be playing loose with the regulations. Third, we all benefit greatly from the excellent support staff at AFSA: Without their advice and counsel, we would have been unsuccessful.

You may reasonably ask why these two events should be significant to AFSA as both a professional association and as a union. AFSA and FCS share pride in public service and the commitment to pursue excellence. FCS' pledge to reward performance meshes well with our membership's determination to perform well with the hope of recognition and reward.

Recent negotiations on the management planning and performance appraisal system have resulted in an equitable and transparent procedure by which management can honor its pledge. Valuing learning and creativity bodes well for the successful negotiation of a new language and training policy proposed by AFSA.

Both FCS management and AFSA recognize and accept that change is inevitable and essential if our service and our professional association are to thrive. The significance of the second event is that we have demonstrated how to manage change together. Bolstered by management's committed values and armed with the knowledge that there is a workable procedure by which we can change our conditions of employment to include those values in our work environment, I am confident that over the next year we will be able to successfully address some of the problems that have been nagging FCS since its inception and create a firm foundation for future AFSA/ FCS management teams. ⊗

V.P. VOICE: **RETIREES** ■ BY BILL DE PREE

On the Go

Retiree Representative Harry Cahill reported last month on the initiative AFSA launched for members interested in part-time or temporary employment with the State Department or other agencies. Harry got Diplomatic Security and bureau executive directors to agree to streamline the hiring process, and AFSA undertook to develop a new pool of retirees on which the bureaus could draw.

The invitation in the February retiree newsletter to register for a new on-line database for job opportunities and/or the speakers bureau resulted in scores of registrants for both, confirming the readiness of retirees to stay involved. It is now up to us, your retiree representatives, to ensure that better use is made of your interest, skills and experience than may have been the case in the past. I think that we are off to a good start.

There are two reasons why executive directors told us that prospects for temporary or part-time employment, overseas and in Washington, have never been better. First, events in the Balkans and other U.S. peacekeeping and monitoring ventures have prompted an urgent demand for experienced personnel that cannot be met by the current workforce. Second, years of reduced hiring into the Foreign Service have created a situation where State is unable to fill hundreds of authorized and established FS positions, many in the upper middle grades, because of a shortage of FS personnel. At the end of last fiscal year, as many as 724 FS workstation positions (358 overseas and 366 in the United States) were unfilled because there simply were not enough FS personnel on board to fill them. Even with increased hiring, serious staffing gaps will exist for a number of years.

For those who want to speak on the Foreign Service, opportunities have also grown, including some generated by retirees in service clubs and other organizations to which they belong. AFSA and the Elderhostel organization have agreed to expand the programs on the Foreign Service presented by our retirees. After a successful one-week pilot Elderhostel on the United States and Israel at Eckerd College in Florida, at which five Florida colleagues and three spouses gave talks, Eckerd has asked us to put on three programs next year. We have also agreed to present programs in North Carolina, New Hampshire and New York, as well as the eight scheduled in Arlington, Va. There will be a big need in 2001 for retired colleagues to serve as faculty in these programs.

There is another initiative which could use your volunteer help. AFSA established "Friends of the Foreign Service" as an affiliate group for people who support our profession. Retired Ambassador Julius Walker will head an effort to open this group to membership to all who are interested. Likely members are alumni of AFSA Elderhostel programs, parents or other relatives of FS employees, former Peace Corps volunteers, high school classes, etc. We welcome your suggestions of who you think might be interested in joining. Please contact Ward Thompson, retiree liaison, at (800) 704-2372 ext. 528 or e-mail thompsonw@afsa.org. ⊗

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women and children. Organizations such as Mara al Jadida in Egypt are fighting domestic violence, while women-run orphanages and adoption agencies in Morocco, Tunisia and Egypt are dealing with the growing numbers of abandoned children. Other groups, such as Parsa Kabul, an NGO based in Kabul with an office in the U.S., are quietly sending aid to the isolated women of Afghanistan.

Certainly, women of any society will see women of another society through the prison of their own values and stereotypes. Both my mother and I did that long ago. But if we in the West look carefully at what is actually going on in the Middle East, if we can see behind the veil, it is clear that Muslim women are working hard to improve themselves and their families, to live comfortably and peaceably in the world. In that struggle, they are utilizing elements of their own tradition and culture. This includes Islam. For this, they are worthy of our admiration and respect. Their efforts offer alternate cultural methods to resolve the difference between males and females, which, as British author and journalist Rebecca West wrote in her early novel, *The Thinking Reed*, "is the rock on which civilization will split before it can reach any goal that could justify its expenditure of effort. There are many things in life that seem to be contradictions, and we will be able to reconcile them only when we know more."

According to psychologists, deep stereotypes take longer to disappear than superficial ones, because they are based on gut instinct and unexamined emotional reactions. For this reason, the West has clung to stereotypes long associated with Islam. As descendants of the philosophers of the Age of Reason, we should know better. But religiously based hostilities have always had great vitality, just like traditional attitudes toward the role of women. Such attitudes and hostilities may remain in place long after the particular religious beliefs have disappeared or women's roles as they are lived no longer bear any resemblance to past reality. ■

ARE ARAB AMERICANS "PEOPLE LIKE US"?

Rick Reinhard

ARABS IN THE U.S. HAVE SUFFERED FROM NEGATIVE STEREOTYPING, BUT THAT MAY BE CHANGING.

BY JAMES J. ZOGBY

Despite recent positive changes in the way Americans view some Arab countries and U.S. policy toward the Middle East, most Americans still do not understand Arabs as people. This lack of understanding is not merely a set of attitudes that exists in popular culture. Nor is it solely a matter of ignorance. And it is not a new development born of the current Middle East conflict. Rather it is a deep-rooted problem, with historic and religious roots.

In several ways, the Western animus of anti-Semitism was directed against both Jews and Arabs. Both forms of anti-Semitism emerged as by-products of the largely Western Christian struggle against the two Semitic civilizations. One the West found living within its midst and saw as an internal threat. The other the West confronted as

an external military and political challenge similarly defined as a threat to its survival.

From the Middle Ages on, both Jews and Arab Muslims were perceived as a hostile presence. Their organizations, their wealth and even their corporate identities were seen as posing a danger to the West. The results were devastating to both peoples. Both groups suffered a history of vilification and both endured campaigns of systematic violence that have continued up to the present time.

Cartoon Caricatures

Several years ago I did a study of political cartoons and other forms of popular culture — comparing the depiction of Jews in Czarist Russia and pre-Nazi Germany with those of Arabs in the United States in the 1970s and 1980s.

In content and form, the treatments were identical. The two most prevalent German and Russian depictions of Jews paralleled the images of Arabs in U.S. cartoons. The fat, grotesque Jewish banker or merchant found its contemporary counterpart in the obese oil sheik, and the images of the Arab and Jewish terrorists differed only in their attire.

Both groups were uniformly treated as alien and hostile. Both were accused of not sharing Western values and being prone to conspiracy. And both were seen as usurpers of Western wealth and as threats to Western civilization.

Jews were associated with capitalist greed and anarchist violence and communism. Arab avarice was held responsible for runaway inflation and Arabs were seen as the main agents responsible for international terrorism.

In the wake of repeated pogroms and the Holocaust, anti-Semitism against Jews is now recognized for what it is — hateful prejudice. We have yet to learn this lesson when it comes to Arabs and Islam. Despite the fact that during the past 150 years the Arab region was brutally invaded, dismembered and colonized, and many Arab economies and societies were plundered and laid waste, there is no Western acknowledgement of Arab suffering.

James J. Zogby is president of the Arab American Institute.

Photo on page 32: demonstration, Washington, D.C., 1988.

To the contrary, scant attention is given to the formative role that imperial conquest and colonialism in the Maghreb (North Africa) and Mashraq (the Levant plus Iraq) have played in shaping contemporary Arab realities or Arab popular resentment of the West. And the fact that some Islamic movements have taken the form of nativist revivals is all too often mistakenly ascribed as evidence of the religion's innate militancy and not as a reaction against the traumas of political, economic and social dislocation these societies have endured in the recent past.

The failure to understand the Arab experience and contemporary reality is often compounded by some of those in government, media and academia who pass as "experts" on the region. Too few of these experts are Arab or Muslim. All too often, they are ideologues engaged in a campaign to portray Islam as a "green scare" replacing communism as the new national threat. They depict Islam as something foreign and diametrically opposed to "our" values.

Popular culture and what passes for educational material only reinforce the negative images. Surveys of the textbooks most frequently used by U.S. high school students continue to demonstrate little appreciation for Arab history and civilization and provide all too often a one-sided view of the contemporary Middle East. And in films, books and television, as in the political cartoons, the portrayals of Arabs and Muslims are almost uniformly hostile.

Some years ago, I did a study of the treatment of Arabs by the three major television networks. I surveyed entertainment programs aired during a five-year period and found that, like the political cartoons, the only presentation of Arab or Muslim characters were either as terrorists or oil sheiks. There was not one single positive Arab or Muslim character to be found.

When I submitted my study to the major TV networks, some initially countered my findings, saying that they had also portrayed Italians as gangsters and American Jews as criminals. I responded that alongside these negative images were many positive portrayals that could, in the public mind, balance the view of Italians or American Jews as communities that include some bad but mostly good people. There were no similar countervailing images of "good" Arabs. After a meeting with executives and producers from one of the "majors," they acknowledged a problem and agreed to

make an effort to insert a "positive" Arab character in one of their programs. A few weeks later I was sent a script for review. The show was a popular series that took place in a hospital. In the opening scene, the Arab character made his entrance. In the script, a limousine drove up to the hospital's front door and out stepped a visiting Saudi doctor in traditional Arabian robes. He entered the hospital and went directly to the gift shop to browse. There he found a copy of *Playboy* and while leering at the centerfold said, "I like this. We do not have this in my country."

Arabs rejected the Zionist enterprise for reasons as legitimate as the Native American rejection of their displacement.

Needless to say, the show with the Arab character never aired. In the absence of any positive portrayals of Arabs in the mainstream media, Western audiences did not see the community as multifaceted with many positive characteristics. They only saw one-dimensional stereotypical images and, because of the media's obsession with isolated violent acts, the image of Arabs came to be defined by the terrorist. In the popular culture, the terrorist was not seen as the exception to the Arab culture or the religion of Islam, but the rule.

A few years ago, the cover of *Newsweek* magazine featured a photo of David Koresh, the Waco cult leader, on one side and, on the other, Sheik Omar Abdel Rahman. Now to those who know Arabs and Islam, it was clear that the Sheik was about as representative of the Muslim faith as Koresh was of the Christian faith. I was not certain that most Americans who saw that cover shared that understanding. This problem of negative stereotyping and misrepresentation is not only a function of this historical and political conflict. It also has more recent political roots, since for more than 70 years now, one side has shaped the American understanding of the Arab-Israeli conflict.

For many Americans, the Arab-Israeli dispute was reduced to a single equation, best expressed by Zionist leader Chaim Weizmann who, in 1936, depicted the Middle East as the scene of a struggle between "the forces of civilization, and the forces of the desert."

While there were many variations on this theme, this message was driven into the American consciousness during a sustained half-century campaign. Leon Uris brilliantly captured it in the book *Exodus* and the movie later made from it. Seen by tens of millions of Americans, this film cleverly transferred the American cultural mythology of courageous, brave pioneers and cowboys confronted by hostile savage Indians, to the Middle East conflict. Israelis were portrayed as "people like us," bright and energetic visionaries. They were people with hopes and dreams of a better life confronting heartless and soulless Arabs, who only wanted to kill them and their dreams.

Even after the founding of Israel, this propaganda campaign continued as Israelis and their U.S. supporters described the new nation as "making the desert bloom." Supporters celebrated Israel's creativity and humanity and spoke of values it shared with the United States, while describing the neighboring Arab states as a backward menace, or as terrorists. The fact that Arabs, especially Palestinians, rejected the Zionist enterprise, for reasons as legitimate as the Native American rejection of their displacement, was ignored. The Israeli version of history and the broader Israeli view of Middle East realities came to be accepted in the West.

The Arabs, never understanding the need to aggressively engage and counter this campaign, in the end, saw themselves defined by the Israeli view.

While Israelis and Jews came to be known as complex human beings "just like us," Arabs were objectified as a "problem." When they were presented or discussed, it was in caricature or as a collective. They were "terrorists" (objects of contempt), or "refugees" (objects of pity). When they were bombed in Lebanon they were "targets" (objects of invisibility). In all cases they were faceless and objectified.

Faceless Victims

Three examples make my point:

In 1981, after the Israeli bombing of the Fakhani neighborhood in Beirut, there were 383 Lebanese and Palestinian civilians known to be dead. On the same day, there were six Israeli casualties, one dead and five wounded. The American network coverage from Israel was vivid and deeply moving. Weeping and frightened parents were interviewed. Ambulances screamed, while wounded Israelis were carried out on stretchers and

police ordered onlookers to move away.

From Beirut, we were shown only rubble: a desolate, destroyed street. Casualty figures were announced and reporters told their stories well. But without victims, and without the families of victims, the numbers were just a faceless mass.

Later, I met one of the network cameramen who covered the bombing from Beirut. I asked him why his network's coverage of Lebanon had been so sanitized. He responded that that had not been his intention. He had arrived on the scene, he told me, shortly after the bombing, and had seen bodies being pulled out of the rubble, ambulances, and the anguished faces of victims and survivors. There was, he told me, so much disarray that they felt it better to wait until the street was cleared and the scene of devastation could be shown. And so, while Americans were given a lengthy treatment of the anguish of Israel's six casualties, the hundreds of Lebanese and Palestinian victims remained invisible.

Arab Americans who defended Palestinian rights were denounced as supporters of terrorism.

The media's treatment of the horrific massacres in 1982 in the Sabra and Shatilla refugee camps in Beirut revealed the same problem. Through it all, the Lebanese and Palestinian victims remained a "faceless" collective, once again "objects of pity," without personality or individuality. No names were given. No personal stories were told. As a result, the deaths of so many were never understood as personal tragedies of "people like us." It was a bitter irony that even in this instance the media and, therefore, the public mind became focused on Israeli humanity. After hundreds of thousands of Israelis took to the streets to call for an end to the war in Lebanon, Sabra and Shatilla was transformed by the press into a test of Israeli democracy and Jewish humanity. In the days following the massacre the *Washington Post* never sought to speak to family members of Lebanese and Palestinian victims residing in the Washington area, or to identify and humanize the victims themselves. Instead they carried a full page of comments by Washington area Jews on how badly they felt about the massacre.

Much the same occurred in February 1994 after a Jewish terrorist, Baruch Goldstein, murdered 39 Muslim worshipers at the Al Ibrahimi Mosque in El-Khalil. For days after the massacre, the U.S. press gave extensive coverage to Goldstein's life and trials. How, they asked, could this young Jewish doctor do something so evil? Readers of major U.S. newspapers came to know all the details of the young doctor's life. But through it all, the Arab victims remained nameless and faceless.

As an Arab American who has for three decades been active in fighting not only for better understanding of the Arab experience, but for Arab American rights as well, I can testify to the fact that this negative stereotyping has also had domestic impact. For many years, Arab Americans who defended Palestinian rights were denounced as supporters of terrorism. Arab American children were afraid to acknowledge their ethnicity. Those who organized, and became active as Arab Americans, were on many occasions excluded from U.S. politics. Candidates rejected their endorsements and returned their contributions. And Arab Americans were subjected to hate crimes and acts of violence.

More troubling still has been the more recent extension of negative stereotypes into public policy. There was the traumatizing "rush to judgment" after the horrific bombing in Oklahoma City and the tragic crash of TWA 800. And the problem of airport profiling, which we are still working to resolve (see *Out of the Middle East* on page 16), has caught too many Arab Americans in a web of suspicion where rights were violated and entire families were left in shock.

But this story does not end here, on a negative note. Despite this history of stereotyping and the resultant dehumanization and discrimination, some recent positive changes have occurred in public attitudes.

Partners in Peace

From Camp David onward, there have been some small but significant breakthroughs for Arabs in U.S. opinion. The Israeli assaults on Lebanon, the Palestinian Intifada, the Gulf War, the Madrid peace process and several positive actions by the Clinton administration have contributed to this change.

Arabs have been identified as peacemakers, "partners in peace," and allies. Palestinians have broken

through and been heard (rather remarkably, as in the case of Hanan Ashrawi) and recognized (as in the President's historic visit to Gaza and repeated White House ceremonies).

And Arab Americans have been given unprecedented recognition and respect in recent years by both the Clinton and Bush administrations. President Clinton and Vice President Gore were the first president and vice president to address Arab American audiences, and the Eids, Islamic holy days, are now regularly recognized and celebrated by the White House and State Department.

Arab Americans were excluded from U.S. politics. Candidates rejected their endorsements and returned their contributions.

The Middle East peace process provided some extraordinary opportunities for Arab Americans as well. Our meetings with the leadership of the Clinton administration became more frequent, as did our inclusion in official and unofficial peace-related activities.

In 1993 Vice President Al Gore launched Builders for Peace, a private sector initiative to promote the peace effort. He asked former Congressman Mel Levine of California and myself to serve as co-chairs. More than 100 Arab Americans and Jews were invited to serve on the group's initial board of directors.

Even with the fits and starts of the peace process's many tracks, and some renewed strains in relations between Arab Americans and American Jews, the peace process and BFP helped to produce lasting, positive change in the political acceptance of Arab Americans.

But even with these gains, problems remain in the culture, in policy and in the public's understanding of Arabs. Overall, U.S. policy toward the Middle East remains characterized by what many Arabs view as a double standard. As Americans, we still do not see Arabs as "people like us," individual human beings who feel the same hurts, react to the same pressures and aspire to the same goals as we do.

Americans understand the pain of Israelis who live with a sense of insecurity and loss, but we still find it difficult to attribute the same sense of insecurity and loss to the Palestinians and Lebanese who see their homes demolished and are burdened by a dehumanizing occupation that violates their most fundamental human rights. As Americans, we are alternatively puzzled by or troubled by Jewish or Christian fundamentalism, with their demonization of other faiths, their treatment of women and their dangerous lapses into violence, but we do not judge them in the same harsh way we judge their Muslim counterparts. It is with an eye toward ending these hurtful stereotypes and the "double standard" that Arab Americans have become organized and in the past few decades have become a part of the national discourse on these and other critical issues.

As Arab Americans, we have seen ourselves as a bridge community. We can help create greater understanding between the culture and countries of our origin and our home, America.

The road before us has not always been an easy one, but we have fought to be included as full participants in our American society. Arab Americans have confronted the makers of popular culture and the writers of textbooks and demanded fairer treatment. While we have not made the radical transformation required, we have succeeded in gaining Hollywood's ear and the media's attention. Arab Americans have worked to end our exclusion from U.S. politics. No longer are our contributions returned and our endorsements rejected as they were in the 1970s and 1980s.

We have worked to advance our community's interest, and while there are still too few Arab Americans in policy-making roles or as shapers of the public discourse on Arab-related issues, there is growing recognition that this is a gap that must be filled.

A long and difficult road remains before us, but today, at least, Arab Americans are a part of the American process. Our inclusion is helping to close the gap in understanding that has existed for so long. As we proceed, the beneficiaries will not only be Arabs and our ethnic community. America, as a whole, will also be better, because it will be better able to lead and to project its values and protect its interests and develop relationships based on understanding and mutual respect. ■

Waging Peace in Africa

The end of the Cold War gave the U.S. the opportunity to create a new peace-oriented Africa policy. We seized that moment with enthusiasm.

By Herman J. Cohen

It was a career diplomat's dream come true. When I took charge of the State Department's Bureau of African Affairs in March 1989, the Cold War was winding down. The shackles of the East-West conflict no longer bound our hands in Africa. The team of Foreign Service officers I had assembled to help manage the bureau were all veterans of the days when we helped sleazy African dictators principally because they were "pro-West." Now, at long last, we had a great opportunity to formulate new policies unencumbered by the "communist menace."

To help matters along, President George Bush, Secretary of State James A. Baker III, and their top advisers were encouraging us to be creative—to make the administration look good and work with the Soviets to find solutions to regional problems. Who could ask for better policy guidance than that? Needless to say, we began enthusiastically to lay the groundwork for a new and productive relationship between the United States and Africa.

We all remembered the ideals of the 1960s, when the newly independent African states assigned high priority to economic development. For 30 years, both Democratic and Republican administrations had consistently tried to make development the keystone of their Africa policies. Unfortunately, policy imperatives external to Africa, especially the Cold War and the endless Middle East crisis, impeded U.S. concentration on economics. Within Africa, the issue of apartheid in South Africa also complicated the development agenda, especially in the southern third of the continent.

Nevertheless, at the beginning of the Bush administration, the prospects for a return to our "development roots" looked fairly bright. The Soviets were asking us for advice about their situation in Africa, and in South Africa we sensed the first stirrings of political change as a new generation of more enlightened Afrikaner leaders was coming to power. Although the Middle East problem was still out there, we saw far less pressure for involvement of the countries of the Horn of Africa in our defense posture than had been the case 10 years earlier.

Few African countries could be considered development success stories in 1989. Three decades of misguided policies that emphasized state ownership of the major enterprises, highly centralized economic command structures, and mistreatment of the main wealth-producing farming sector had caused most African economies to regress from their pre-independence levels. In addition, the African "one-party state," which African elites had greeted with enthusiasm in the 1960s, had become repressive and corrupt in many countries, causing deep political conflict and, in some cases, civil wars.

Against this backdrop, we considered how the new administration's foreign policy could help African countries achieve economic growth. It helped that considerable work on economic policy reform in Africa was already being done by the International Monetary Fund, the World Bank, and the United States Agency for International Development. James Baker, as secretary of the treasury in the Reagan administration, had been one of the architects of those economic reform policies and continued to promote that approach in Africa as secretary of State.

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Four Wars Raging

Where we in the Africa Bureau might be able to support these economic efforts, we believed, was in the area of conflict resolution and political reform. At the beginning of 1989, four major civil wars were raging in Africa — in Ethiopia, Angola, Mozambique and Sudan. All of these wars had caused massive economic regression as well as humanitarian disasters, not only in the countries themselves but in the surrounding subregions, which also suffered from substantial refugee flows, arms proliferation, and lost trading opportunities. Civil war was clearly the great impediment to economic development.

Political reform, too, was vital to development, because repressive, corrupt states lacking effective governance and the rule of law could not possibly hope to attract the private investments that are the engines of economic growth. We decided, therefore, to make conflict resolution and "democratization" the centerpieces of our African policy.

We had no problems achieving consensus on this policy within the State Department Bureau of African Affairs. The question remained, however, as to how we could sell this to the department's senior political levels, as well as to the other agencies in the national security community. In our favor was the major diplomatic success achieved by my predecessor, Chester A. Crocker, who mediated the negotiations involving South Africa, Angola, and Cuba that led to the New York agreements of December 1988. Those agreements brought about the independence of Namibia and the withdrawal of South African and Cuban military forces from Angola. The U.S. role in that settlement became an important precedent.

Crocker's success during the Reagan administration gave solid momentum at the start of the Bush administration to the idea of the United States as a third party intervenor in African conflict. Nevertheless, because we were talking about intervening diplomatically in conflict situations in which the United States had no "vital" interests, we knew we had to proceed with caution.

The Administration's Priorities

In my first policy conversation with Secretary Baker in April 1989, he emphasized two "global" priorities for the Bush administration: to demonstrate active cooperation with the Soviet Union in solving "regional problems" and to improve relations with the Congress on foreign policy issues. He said President Bush felt strongly that Soviet President Mikhail Gorbachev merited U.S. support. Consequently, Bush wanted every assistant secretary to maintain close contact with his or her Soviet counterpart to determine how the two superpowers could collaborate. As to Congress, the Reagan administration had left some bad feelings on the Hill, especially on the Contra affair in Nicaragua and the question of apartheid in South Africa. Baker wanted me to do whatever I could to diminish congressional ill will on the South Africa question.

In response, I told Baker about my plan to concentrate on conflict resolution and democratization. On democratization, Baker did not hesitate. The promotion of democracy worldwide was something he said Bush was thinking about to replace anticommunism, and he had no hesitation in approving that aspect of my proposal. On conflict resolution, however, he hesitated but did not reject it. He suggested I look for ways to dovetail conflict resolution with the president's priorities and in any event to keep in close touch with Under Secretary for Political Affairs Robert Kimmitt on a case-by-case basis. Kimmitt would be the Africa Bureau's direct line to Baker.

Baker's reaction to my conflict resolution idea led me to conclude that I should not seek to run the subject through the laborious, formal national security policy process. Rather, I decided we should proceed cautiously, one country at a time, keeping in touch with higher authority as we advanced.

Baker's emphasis on collaboration with the Soviets to solve regional problems led me to seek an early meeting with my Soviet counterpart, Anatoly Adamishin, vice minister of foreign affairs for Africa and human rights. I had gotten to know Adamishin during 1987-88 when he and Chester Crocker were consulting on the Namibian independence negotiations. (I was senior director for Africa on the National Security Council staff at the time.) The Soviets had been helpful in nudging both the Angolans and the Cubans toward flexibility. I found that he was quite anxious to meet with me, and a meeting took place in Rome in May 1989.

Adamishin was quite frank about the Soviet view of "collaboration to solve regional problems." When Gorbachev came to power and reviewed Soviet foreign policy around the globe, he was horrified to see the costly Soviet commitments in Angola and Ethiopia. Both governments were Marxist, and both were Soviet client states.

Ethiopia had been fighting an unwinnable civil war for 30 years on two fronts — against Eritrean secessionists and Tigrean "freedom fighters." Angola's regime had been fighting a war against the National Union for the Total Independence of Angola (UNITA) since 1975, when chaos ensued after Portugal gave Angola its independence without any preparation. That same year, Cuban troops had come to install the communist Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola (MPLA) in power. In response, the neighboring

South African regime began arming UNITA, which embarked on a guerrilla war that was still raging 14 years later.

In each country, the Soviets were spending the equivalent of $1 billion per year for arms deliveries and in-country military technical assistance. Adamishin said the Soviets could no longer afford these costly burdens in Africa and did not believe either conflict could be resolved through military means. They wanted to bow out but did not want to withdraw in a way that would cause their clients to be defeated or humiliated. They were hoping that U.S.-Soviet collaboration could promote negotiated settlements.

I told Adamishin that our collaboration on Angola should be feasible because we were both involved. The Soviets and the Cubans were arming and advising their clients in the Angolan government. We had been engaged since 1986 in a "covert action" program in support of the UNITA rebels, who were popular with U.S. conservatives. Our assistance to UNITA was part of the "Reagan Doctrine," designed to counter the spread of Soviet military power throughout the world.

From the start we dealt with civil wars raging in Mozambique, Ethiopia, Angola and Sudan.

I proposed to Adamishin that we work together to push our respective Angolan clients to the negotiating table. He agreed, although he could not resist chiding me. The Soviets, he said, were supporting the legitimate regime in power in Angola, while the United States was assisting the "illegitimate" rebel group UNITA.

On Ethiopia, I told Adamishin I was less sanguine about our ability to be helpful. U.S. relations with the harsh Stalinist regime in Ethiopia under dictator Mengistu Haile Mariam were at rock bottom. We had not had an ambassador there since 1981, and during the Reagan administration Ethiopia had remained on the list of pariah Marxist states publicly condemned by the president and other senior officials. No high-level U.S. officials had visited Ethiopia since the regime took over in a 1974 coup against Emperor Haile Selassie, a friendly recipient of U.S. military aid. The Mengistu regime had turned to the Soviet Union for arms and strategic support. When I explained all this to Adamishin, he smiled and said, "Mengistu wants to make friends with you. Will you accept an invitation to make an official visit to Ethiopia?"

I could not immediately agree to

go to Ethiopia, however, because of political sensitivities in Washington. I told Adamishin that I would first need to consult with the "political levels."

Back in Washington, I raised the issue with Under Secretary Kimmitt, who said I should accept an invitation to go to Ethiopia. He would tell Baker that the visit fell under the U.S.-Soviet worldwide collaboration policy and that I should be protected from the "hard-line" folks in some parts of the White House and the Heritage Foundation. In effect, Kimmitt agreed that we could begin to engage in conflict resolution work in Ethiopia.

Congress Weighs In

Even before I could get together with my Soviet counterpart to discuss collaborating on Ethiopia and Angola, I received a call from Deputy Secretary of State Lawrence Eagleburger, who spent a large percentage of his time stroking key members of the Congress involved with national security and foreign policy. In April 1989, Eagleburger told me he was being besieged by the congressional "Hunger Caucus" about starvation and malnutrition in the Sudan, caused by the never-ending civil war. Beyond the absolute horrors of the guerrilla war and repression in southern Sudan was the added factor that the victims were mainly African Christians and Animists, while those in the Sudanese government repressing them were mainly Arabic-speaking Muslims.

Eagleburger instructed me to "go to Sudan right away to demonstrate that we are on top of the problem." Thus, on my first overseas trip after becoming assistant secretary, I spent most of my time persuading those in power in Khartoum to cooperate with the United Nations by allowing humanitarian relief convoys into the war zones in the south. While working to secure immediate food shipments, my colleagues in the Africa Bureau and I knew that we had to attack the fundamental problem—the war itself. We decided, therefore, to add conflict resolution in the Sudan to our checklist of diplomatic priorities.

By the middle of 1989, the door had been opened for us to become third party intervenors in three of the four major African conflicts then in progress: Angola, Ethiopia and Sudan.

That left Mozambique, where the civil war between the government and the RENAMO rebel movement was having an impact similar to the one in the Sudan. Over a million refugees had fled Mozambique and an equal number were internally displaced. The humanitarian situation, which was always in crisis, was receiving U.S. assistance worth $100 million per year. No compelling policy reason argued for us to intervene in the Mozambique conflict, because the country had never really been an element in U.S.-Soviet competition, despite its earlier Marxist regime. Nevertheless, the government there had been helpful to us with South Africa, serving as an important communications channel during the Namibian independence negotiations. We therefore wanted to be of help to them.

During 1987 and 1988, conservatives in the Reagan administration had sought to stimulate support for the RENAMO rebels in Mozambique as anticommunist "freedom fighters" but were unable to make much progress against Chester Crocker's and my resistance. Moreover, Reagan had developed friendly relations with Mozambican President Samora Machel, as well as with Foreign Minister Joaquim Chissano, who became president after Machel's death in an airplane crash in 1986. We were therefore pleased when conflict resolution efforts in Mozambique began in 1989 under Italian leadership. In 1991, we moved from a position of

interested bystander to one of deep involvement after the Portuguese government prevailed upon Secretary Baker to back Lisbon's participation in the Mozambican peace process.

Juggling Conflicts

Since each conflict had its own "personality," we could not employ any single approach to all. In Angola, for one, the government saw the United States as part of the problem and sincerely believed that the war could be ended on their terms if the United States would stop helping the UNITA rebels. Since domestic U.S. politics prevented us from stopping our assistance to UNITA, had we even wanted to, our approach in Angola, therefore, was to work indirectly through the neighboring heads of state to stimulate a peace process.

In Ethiopia, we were able to exercise leverage directly on the regime because of its desire to replace declining Soviet interest and assistance with something else. That "something else" turned out to be a scheme to reach out to the Israelis for arms and technical assistance, working through the United States. We were able to take advantage of this strategy to exercise considerable influence on the protagonists.

In the Sudan, we were working with a democratically elected regime that lacked the competence to deal simultaneously with a major famine and a civil war. The regime was anxious to have a dialogue with the United States in the search for solutions. Normally, in African civil wars, the regime insists on its own legitimacy, as opposed to the "illegitimacy" of the insurgent forces. The regime's first approach to the problem is usually to ask the international community to help suppress the "illegitimate" rebels or "bandits." In the Sudan, the situation was reversed. Our biggest problem was persuading the insurgents to get into a dialogue with the government, because they did not want to "legitimize" the regime despite its having been elected democratically. For its part, the regime was quite happy to recognize the "Sudanese character" of the rebels and would have been pleased to welcome them back to full participation in the "democratic process." When the democratic regime was replaced by an Islamic military dictatorship early in the game, the situation became more complicated, with the rebels being even less willing to enter into dialogue.

In Mozambique, the head of state fully understood the need for negotiations to end an unwinnable war, but his power structure bitterly opposed dialogue. They saw the rebels as creatures of the apartheid regime in South Africa. For them, a solution to the Mozambican war lay in the ending of minority rule in South Africa. With that formidable barrier to negotiations, our entry point in Mozambique was to encourage the head of state to use the power and prestige of the U.S. presidency to influence his own policy team. President Chissano twice brought his hard-line teams into the White House to listen to successive American presidents (Reagan and Bush) insist on the need for negotiations with the rebels.

The civil wars in Angola, Ethiopia, the Sudan, and Mozambique had been going on for a long time when Bush assumed the presidency and could be considered "mature" wars. The approaches to conflict resolution in those countries necessarily differed from our approaches to the three new wars that erupted during the Bush administration — in Liberia, Rwanda, and Somalia. In none of these countries could we invoke a broader "extra-African" policy umbrella that would give us political cover for playing a role as a third party intervenor. We nevertheless became involved in all three, based mainly on the momentum of our work in the first four. Acting as a third party intervenor in Africa had become a critical part of the U.S. policy environment fairly early in the administration.

Managing Three New Crises

The "mature" wars could be the subjects of slow reflection and deliberate step-by-step approaches over lengthy periods of time, but the new wars presented the challenge of "crisis management." When a new conflagration breaks out, even if it first appears only as a hundred guerrillas running around the forested border areas of Liberia, there is little time to think about strategy. One wants to help achieve a negotiated settlement before major damage is done.

In Liberia, we jumped in quickly on the basis of the close historic relationship between Liberia and the United States. We were the big brother who was expected to restore order in the family. We sought to be mediators and power brokers along the lines of President Reagan's actions a few years earlier in the Philippines, where we had a similar historical relationship. It was not to be.

At the working level in the Bureau of African Affairs, we formulated detailed plans to effect a peaceful regime change in Liberia and were ready to try implementing it in the spring of 1990. Unfortunately, these plans were vetoed at higher levels: Liberia was not considered sufficiently important for the United States to take charge.

In Rwanda and Somalia, others intervened before we did, and we were happy to play secondary roles. It was probably no coincidence, however, that here, where our interventions in the early stages were the least aggressive, the conflicts turned out to have the most tragic consequences of all. Our approaches were timid and tardy, leading to costly interventions later to deal with humanitarian cata-

strophes. There was also probable cause and effect between our refusal to intervene in Liberia and its total collapse as both a state and a society.

Clearly, our interventions in the "mature" wars were more productive than those in the newborn wars.

Co-opting the Bureaucracy

While we did not seek a formal interagency consensus for a presidential policy decision regarding conflict interventions in Africa, the Bureau of African Affairs considered it vital to bring the national security community into the process at virtually every step of the way. We did this through a combination of formal and informal procedures.

We were fortunate in being able to convene interagency meetings without seeking the approval of higher authority. Our main mechanism was the Policy Coordinating Committee for Africa, the formal multiagency body I chaired within the NSC system. We convened this body rather frequently on specific African conflict situations, including those where there was no civil war in process, such as in Zaire, South Africa, and Kenya. This practice had several objectives.

We wanted to identify potential impediments in the bureaucracy to our acting as intervenors—a big problem, as it turned out, in the case of Somalia. We also found the PCC a major source of information and insight. Intelligence briefings set the stage for the development of ideas on the conflict resolution role, if any, of U.S. intervention. The jump to actually taking an initiative from that point was both small and logical. Finally, these meetings gave each agency, including the National Security Council staff, a stake in the process and reinforced State Department leadership. Informal small group meetings, attended by experts from various agencies, dealt with specific problems as they arose.

Decentralizing the Bureau

Within the State Department Bureau of African Affairs, the main role in our conflict resolution effort was played by the subregional office directorates. It was there that we conceptualized specific country approaches and developed and carried out our day-to-day tactics. The office directorates were in direct touch with our embassies, both in the countries concerned and in interested neighboring countries. Deputy assistant secretaries provided higher-level supervision.

My role as assistant secretary was to provide policy impetus to the entire process, keep the political levels informed, consult with appropriate congressional players, and deal with higher-level counterparts in other agencies to keep them interested and supportive. I also spent a significant amount of time stroking counterparts in other governments to keep them happy and supportive of our efforts or encourage them to take initiatives.

Above all, I was a deployable asset. The country directors frequently asked me to go to certain capitals, or appear at certain negotiations, in order to achieve specific short-term goals. To economize on both time and money, we would try to consolidate travel missions. I would always visit several countries and work to make their leaders stakeholders in building peace. In Washington I met with a steady stream of visitors from governments and the private sector interested in the peace process of one or another African country.

One of the principal advantages of keeping other agencies and State Department bureaus involved in our conflict resolution activities was the availability of the many talents in those organizations. The unsung heroes of several conflict negotiations, including those where the United States was not in charge, were the military experts and legal wordsmiths who came from within the U.S. bureaucracy to sit patiently with apprehensive African negotiators in the search for "win-win" compromises. In one notable example, military experts facilitated Angola's October 1992 elections by cleverly devising a way to have the Arizona Air National Guard conduct its annual exercises in Angola. In the process, while flying daily missions, the guardsmen transported election workers and redeployed troops.

I was immediately slapped on the wrist for "making policy during confirmation hearings."

Talking to Everybody

Early on, we adopted a tactical policy of avoiding fights over who was legitimate or illegitimate among parties to African civil conflicts. We decided to talk to everyone and not worry about who might be offended, either in the country concerned or among the ideologues in Washington who closely followed events.

I made this policy somewhat inadvertently during my confirmation hearings in April 1989, when I was pressed by Sen. Jesse Helms, R-N.C., to open a dialogue with the RENAMO insurgents in Mozambique. Until that moment, we had followed a policy of refusing to talk to RENAMO in view of their unsavory reputation for cruelty and human rights violations against civilians. I told Helms that it would be my policy to talk to anyone if it could contribute to peace. I was immediately slapped on the wrist for "making policy during confirmation hearings," but there it was, and we adhered to that policy throughout the Bush administration.

In addition to opening a dialogue with RENAMO, which offended both the Mozambican government and the American ideological left, we talked regularly to a wide range of actors in other conflicts: "Marxist" insurgents in Ethiopia, the leftist Angolan government, various Somali insurgent groups. We decided that, as a superpower, we did not have to worry too much about offending anybody. We kept our eye on the prize of conflict resolution, which took precedence over diplomatic niceties.

No Magic Formulas

We tried to avoid routine formulas for negotiations. In particular, we were not fanatics about cease-fires. When there is a war going on, the side that wants a cease-fire is almost always the one that happens to be at a temporary disadvantage on the battlefield. Our experience was that the most fruitful negotiations are achieved in the absence of a cease-fire, callous as that may seem.

We were also not rigid about constitutional reform as part of the peace process, although it was clear that no rebel group could be expected to accept being integrated into a "status quo" power structure after having fought that power structure for a long period. If the UNITA rebels in Angola, for example, had accepted integration into the existing power structure in 1989, as proposed by the regional heads of state, we would not have been upset. Nevertheless, when UNITA said they preferred to keep fighting in order to force negotiations for "free and fair elections," we expressed understanding for that point of view as well.

Similarly, we did not condone the refusal by any side to a conflict to enter into dialogue, nor the setting of preconditions for talks by one or both sides. Like the question of

legitimacy, we considered negotiating preconditions to talks another waste of time, as were lengthy negotiations about procedures.

In late 1992, toward the end of the Bush administration, we decided that it would be "untidy" to leave office without having established a formal policy covering what we had done and learned. Consequently, I initiated a process within the Policy Coordinating Committee for Africa to write a comprehensive U.S. policy toward Africa. In December 1992, we sent a cleared interagency policy document to the White House. That document formalized our key policy initiatives for the previous four years, emphasizing development based on economic reforms and free markets, democratization and good governance, and conflict management, including increased support for Organization of African Unity initiatives.

President Bush signed the policy document in January 1993 as one of his last foreign policy acts before leaving office. We later learned, with much pride, that the Clinton administration reviewed the policy directive signed by President Bush and adopted it as its own.

In the end, our work as third party intervenors in these African conflicts taught us a great deal about what does and does not work in conflict management in Africa. Most notable was that the United States, as the sole remaining superpower, carries particular weight as well as special responsibilities. Its involvement conveys certain intangibles — moral authority, a sense of security, confidence in the neutrality of U.S. proposals — that tend to create a positive environment for negotiations. In effect, Washington's decisions whether or not to intervene diplomatically can greatly influence the prospects for peace and stability in Africa. ■

BOOKS

INTREPID, BUT AWFULLY OFFENSIVE

The Most Offending Soul Alive: Tom Harrisson and His Remarkable Life
Judith M. Heimann, University of Hawaii Press, 1999, $26.95, softcover, 480 pages.

REVIEWED BY ANGELA DICKEY

The subject of this thorough, if not completely satisfying, biography is one of the most enigmatic figures the British Empire ever produced, Tom Harrisson. For nearly half a century, until his death in 1976, this self-styled adventurer was practically a household name both in London and abroad. He earned this recognition not only for his various foreign exploits and his pioneering work in the field of public opinion polling in England, but also for his larger-than-life persona. Heimann, a former FSO who has lived in Europe and Southeast Asia most of her life, knew her subject personally and tells his story with great enthusiasm.

Harrisson first discovered his love of foreign cultures in the early 1930s while cataloguing birds in the New Hebrides islands, now Vanuatu. For this work, and earlier research in Britain, he is still regarded as a premier ornithologist (though he never earned an academic degree). Thereafter the South Pacific and Southeast Asia became his emotional home, and throughout his life he kept returning there in various guises: expedition guide, anthropologist, freelance journalist, mountain climber, colonial "agent in charge" and museum curator.

Harrisson's sociological skills and particular intimacy with Sarawak and Dutch Borneo (located in present-day Malaysia and Indonesia, respectively) served him well in World War II and won him wider fame. First, Whitehall's bureaucrats recruited him and his "Mass Organization," an early opinion-polling firm, to keep tabs on the mood and morale of British citizens during the Blitz. Then they sent him to Borneo to lead an Australian unit, organize indigenous guerrillas and gather intelligence on the Japanese. One of the few British commanders in any theater to emerge from the war without losing a single Allied soldier, Harrisson won the Distinguished Service Order.

Considerable as his accomplishments were, Harrisson's enormous ego and self-promoting behavior also contributed to his notoriety. He ran through a slew of wives of various nationalities (some concurrently), alienated nearly everyone who had ever befriended him, and committed his only son to a mental institution in Britain so that he could pursue his adventures abroad without undue concern for family responsibilities. Given this background, Heimann could not have chosen a better title. It comes from a line in Shakespeare's Henry V: "But if it be a sin to covet honor, then I am the most offending soul alive."

Heimann appears to have tracked down everyone associated with Harrisson and read everything he wrote or said. At the same time, she sometimes falls prey to the typical biographer's trap of including too much detail. The plethora of characters popping in and out of the story, for example, slows down the narrative and borders at times on name-dropping. The book would also have benefited from a map of present-day Southeast Asia in order to orient the reader better to Harrisson's peregrinations.

This biography is definitely targeted for specialized audiences, and is slow to persuade us to care about this difficult character. Yet it is an impressive work. One can't help but be amazed by this tale of a man who could practically read a foreigner's mind and see his point of view. For this insight alone, the story of Tom Harrisson is a lesson to those in the Foreign Service who believe, but perhaps merely presume, they know that ever-elusive "Other."

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JOE MCCARTHY, REHABILITATED

Joseph McCarthy: Reexamining the Life and Legacy of America's Most Hated Senator.
Arthur Herman, New York, 2000, The Free Press, hardcover, $26, 404 pages.

BY RORIN PLATT

Using recently declassified Soviet and American archival materials (including the Venona decryptions released in 1997), historian Arthur Herman has produced the first scholarly revisionist portrait of Senator Joseph McCarthy (R-Wisc.). In this attempt to rehabilitate the reputation of "America's most hated senator," Herman argues that McCarthy "has been proved more right than wrong in terms of the larger picture" of communist infiltration of the federal government. He points out that contrary to popular belief, McCarthy's controversial investigations never sent anyone to prison, but says they did reveal that "Democratic administrations had been unconscionably lax in dealing with the internal communist threat," especially in the White House and the departments of State and treasury.

According to Herman, the 57 State Department employees whom McCarthy cited in his famous 1950 speech in Wheeling, W. Va., had been known to department officials as security risks since 1946. Yet even after McCarthy's denunciation, State never fired any of them, though 54 of the 57 did resign; the other three were found disloyal but were still in the department pending appeal as late as 1951. In fact, Herman concludes, State "bent over backward to avoid dismissing anyone for communist associations or pro-communist views, and was willing to allow people of doubtful loyalty, as it was then defined, to remain rather than have to get rid of them."

Herman cites several individual cases: Secretary of State Dean Acheson promoted the international legal authority Philip Jessup to ambassador at large in 1949 despite Jessup's holding views virtually indistinguishable from those of the communists. He convincingly argues

that McCarthy was right about State employee Mary Jane Keeney, who indeed proved to be a Soviet agent. And while China expert and State Department adviser Owen Lattimore was not Stalin's "top espionage agent," as McCarthy initially claimed, or the "arehiteet" of Ameriea's Far Eastern policy, Herman coneludes that he was indeed an influential "fellow traveler."

While Herman zealously defends McCarthy's intentions, if not neeessarily his taeties, he does reject his contemptible charge that George C. Marshall, the exemplary Army chief of staff and later secretary of State and of defense, had knowingly sold out China to the communists and was part of a eonspiracy to advanee international eommunism. But Herman still eharaeterizes Marshall as a "dupe" of Chinese Premier Zhou En-lai and says he was more responsible than anyone else for the West having "lost China."

Herman does aeknowledge that despite McCarthy's sincere and determined effort to rid the government of Reds, fellow travelers and Soviet agents, his boorish behavior and partnership with the odious Roy Cohn invited a backlash. And in 1954, the politieal establishment, including the Eisenhower White House, used McCarthy's own tactics to censure and destroy him. Though he remained a hero to millions of ordinary, anxious Americans (especially urban Catholics) who embraced his anti-eommunist crusade, McCarthy's self-destruetive lies, distortions, wild aceusations, aleoholism, and probable bipolar disorder ended up strengthening anti-anti-communism and reviving liberalism's "fatal attraction" to communism.

Would Joe MeCarthy have been more believable to the Wise Men and liberal intelligentsia if he had been a produet of Andover and Yale rather than rural Wisconsin? That is but one of the many worthy questions raised by Herman's brave enterprise of rethinking this heretofore untouchable chapter of the Cold War. ■

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In Memory

John Paton Davies, 91, a former FSO and an "old China hand," died Dec. 23, 1999, at his home in Asheville, N.C.

The son of Baptist missionaries, Mr. Davies was born in Kiating, China on April 6, 1908. He studied for two years at the University of Wisconsin, followed by a year at Yenching University near Beijing, and a final year at Columbia University, where he graduated in 1931. The following year he entered the Foreign Service and returned to China.

On Aug. 2, 1943, Mr. Davies and 16 fellow passengers were forced to jump from a transport plane flying from India to China when an engine failed. A radio correspondent on board reported that Mr. Davies rallied the group during the month it took for them to walk out of the jungle, and offered the correspondent his last cup of water. Mr. Davies later received the Medal of Freedom.

Mr. Davies served in several posts in China during that country's civil war in which Mao Tse-tung's communist forces ultimately defeated Chiang Kai-shek's Nationalist forces supported by the U.S. government. Mr. Davies questioned the U.S. government's policy in supporting Nationalist forces when it became clear the country would fall to Communism.

In a memo dated Nov. 15, 1944, Mr. Davies wrote, "We should not now abandon Chiang Kai-shek but we must be realistic. We must not indefinitely underwrite a politically bankrupt regime. We must make a determined effort to capture politically the Chinese Communists rather than allow them to go by default wholly to the Russians."

For giving his honest assessments, Mr. Davies was one of many diplomats, including John S. Service and John Carter Vincent, targeted by Sen. Joseph McCarthy, R-Wisc. Gen. Patrick J. Hurley, ambassador to China in 1944 and 1945, accused them of being pro-communist and of sabotaging his efforts in support of the Nationalists.

Four years after McCarthy began his political crusade, Secretary of State John Foster Dulles dismissed Mr. Davies from the Foreign Service on Nov. 5, 1954, saying that Mr. Davies had "demonstrated a lack of judgement, discretion and reliability." In private, Mr. Dulles said he would provide Mr. Davies with a recommendation should he need one.

After his dismissal, Mr. Davies returned with his family to Lima, Peru, where he had served as chargé d'affaires in the early 1950s. There he wrote a weekly column for a local newspaper and opened a shop to design and make furniture. In 1964, he published his first book, *Foreign and Other Affairs*.

Shortly thereafter, Mr. Davies returned to Washington, D.C., to raise his children. In 1969, he was granted a government security clearance to work on a research project on Latin America at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology. *Dragon by the Tail*, Mr. Davies' second book, published in 1972, was a memoir and history of Chinese-American relations from 1931 to 1945.

Mr. Davies and Mr. Service were invited to testify before the Senate Foreign Relations Committee in 1971. Committee Chairman William Fulbright, D-Ark., welcomed them by saying, "It is a very strange turn of fate that you gentlemen, who reported honestly about conditions, were so persecuted because you were honest about it. This is a strange thing to occur in what is called a civilized country."

In 1973, AFSA honored the old China hands, including Mr. Davies, at a luncheon in the State Department. Mr. Davies, living in Spain at the time, did not attend.

Survivors include his wife, Patricia; seven children: Sasha, of White Plains, N.Y.; Tiki, of Washington; John G., of Baton Rouge, La.; Susan, of Chatham, N.Y.; Jennifer, of Seattle; Deborah, of London; and Megan, of New Orleans; a brother, Donald, of State College, Pa.; and 11 grandchildren.

Arthur A. Compton, 81, retired FSO, died Oct. 29, 1999 of heart failure at his home in Auribeau-sur-Siagne, France.

Mr. Compton was born in Wilkinsburg, Pa., and received a B.A. from the College of Wooster in Ohio, and also did undergraduate work at the Sorbonne; Balliol College in Oxford; and Alten Universität in Freiburg, Germany. In 1941, he received a master's from Harvard

University's Graduate School of Public Administration.

He joined the Foreign Service in 1941 and served in the Bureau of Latin American Affairs until 1943 when he joined the U.S. Army Intelligence Service, attaining the rank of captain. Mr. Compton returned to State in 1945, serving in the U.S. delegation to UNESCO. From 1951 to 1954 he served in the embassy in Vienna, and from 1955 to 1957 he was officer in charge of Austrian affairs in State. He was officer in charge of NATO political affairs from 1957 to 1959, first secretary in Embassy Manila from 1959 to 1962, and consul general in Antwerp, Belgium, from 1962 until his retirement in 1966.

Mr. Compton began a second career as an international business consultant, and in 1968 he established and managed the first overseas office of the State of Illinois in Brussels. In 1978, he retired to the south of France, where he remained active in promoting U.S. interests.

His father, A.H. Compton, received the Nobel Prize in Physics.

Survivors include his wife, Nathalie.

William C. Jones III, 78, retired FSO, died Oct. 30, 1999 at Sibley Hospital in Washington, D.C., of septic shock.

Mr. Jones was born in 1920 in Blackwell, Texas. He earned his B.S. from West Point Military Academy in 1944. He served in the 82nd Airborne in Germany from 1944 to 1945, and was wounded in action in February 1945.

He joined the Foreign Service in late 1945 and was posted to Munich, where he processed displaced persons. His career spanned 33 years and included posts in Paris, Frankfurt, Moscow, Berlin, Saigon and Monterey, Mexico. He served as senior inspector in the Inspection Corps in 1967 and was director of INR's Office of Intelligence Liaison prior to his retirement in 1973.

After retirement, Mr. Jones lived in Bethesda, Md., stayed in close touch with his colleagues from INR, and according to his daughter Beth, grew the most beautiful garden in his neighborhood.

Survivors include his four daughters, FSO Beth Jones of Bethesda, Md.; Kathy Jones of Hanover, N.H.; Sally Jones of Frederick, Md.; and Diana Thomas of Round Hill, Va.; his sister Clydene Hazel of Richmond, Calif.; and eight grandchildren.

Robertson R. Grant, 76, a retired broadcaster for the African Division of the Voice of America, died Nov. 2, 1999 of congestive heart failure at the Bon Air Home in Stephens City, Va.

Mr. Grant was born in Portland, Ore., and graduated from Whitman College in Walla Walla, Wash. He then studied at Stanford and Northwestern universities, and the School of Oriental and African Studies at London University. During World War II, Mr. Grant served in the U.S. Army in the Pacific.

Before joining VOA in the late '50s, Mr. Grant was an announcer and reporter for radio stations KRNR and KRXL in Roseburg, Ore. From 1958 to 1962 he headed English language broadcasts for VOA in New York. He served as a regional correspondent in Kenya and Nigeria. Mr. Grant retired in 1986 after a 30-year career with VOA.

Survivors include his wife, Barbara Grant of Arlington, Va.; and two brothers, Norm Grant of Portland, Ore., and Mort Grant of Sandwich, Mass.

Adrienne Cochran Huey, 78, wife of deceased retired FSO George Owen, Jr., died Nov. 20, 1999 in Milwaukee, of complications from Alzheimer's disease. Mrs. Huey accompanied her husband to posts in Buenos Aires, New Delhi, Panama and Liverpool, England. She studied painting, portraiture, and indigenous crafts at each post, and her artwork was exhibited in the United States and abroad. An accomplished writer, Mrs. Huey published a number of short stories in the *Foreign Service Journal* based on her travels, and illustrating her experiences in New Delhi with her own batik paintings.

Survivors include her four daughters: Nancy Runner of Milwaukee; Barbara Brennan of Washington, D.C.; Shirley Hastings of Detroit; and Peggy Huey of San Diego; four grandchildren; two brothers: Paul Cochran, Jr. and Bruce Cochran; two nieces; and two nephews.

Montgomery Hill Colladay, 97, retired FSO, died Dec. 17, 1999 in San Diego of complications from pneumonia.

Mr. Colladay was born in Middletown, Conn., in 1902 and graduated from Dartmouth College in 1926. He took the Foreign Service exams in 1929 and was first posted to Warsaw. He then served in Basel, Switzerland and Tallinn, Estonia (which he and his family left after the Soviet takeover of Estonia in 1940).

After two years in Winnipeg, Canada, Mr. Colladay went to London for the duration of World War II as second secretary of embassy to the governments in exile. Further assignments took him to Dublin; São Paulo; Port of Spain, Trinidad, and Valencia, Spain.

He retired in 1953 and spent the rest of his life sailing, hiking and gar-

dening in Southern California and Arizona.

Survivors include three daughters; 10 grandchildren; 10 great-grand children and three great-great-grandchildren. His wife, Nina, died in June 1985.

Willie Jo (Williams) Vickers, 74, a retired FSO, died Dec. 22, 1999 of Alzheimer's disease.

Mrs. Vickers was born in Graham, Okla. Her family then moved to Reedly, Calif., and later to Fresno, Calif. After high school, she relocated to Oakland, Calif., where she continued her formal education. Upon graduation, Mrs. Vickers was employed by an accounting firm.

She soon became interested in the diplomatic corps and in 1955 was accepted into the Foreign Service and was assigned to the embassy in Ankara. There she met and married FSO Harold "Vic" Vickers. For the next 35 years, she accompanied her husband, working in 11 countries (Italy, Turkey, Lebanon, the Sudan, India, China, Cuba, Guinea, Austria, Tunisia and Argentina) as well as at the State Department in Washington, D.C.

Mrs. Vickers' tours abroad often put her at personal risk. In 1957, while going through a tiny Turkish village, her car was severely stoned when she inadvertently failed to wear a headscarf. In Omdurman, Sudan, a gang surrounded, rocked and attempted to overturn her car until she sped away. In Conakry, Guinea and Havana, Cuba, for four years, Mrs. Vickers and her husband were placed under virtual house arrest. While assigned to Havana, the Cuban government, angered by U.S. policy, cordoned off the American offices: For 48 hours, she was isolated within the building and continuously threatened with physical violence. There were better moments, however.

When the United States and China reestablished full diplomatic relations, she and Mr. Vickers were assigned to reopen the mission. They had the honor of raising the American flag over the new embassy in Beijing. Memorial contributions may be made to the Alzheimer's Association, 1330 San Pedro NE, Suite 205, Albuquerque, NM 87110.

Survivors include her husband, retired FSO Harold "Vic"; her sisters Bettie Bianchi, Lou Perry, Pauline Norin and Bonnie Caglia; and her brothers, Samuel Williams and Eugene Williams, all of California.

Thomas M. Finn, 74, retired FSO, died on Dec. 23, 1999 at his home in Palm Harbor, Fla.

Mr. Finn was born in Providence, R.I., and served in the U.S. Coast Guard. He received his B.A. from the University of Maryland. From 1952 to 1958, he served as an agent in the Federal Bureau of Investigation. In 1958, he joined the public safety administration, assigned as an adviser in Iran. In 1963, he became chief of the technical services division, and in 1971 he became director of the International Police Academy and chief adviser for the OPS program in Thailand. Mr. Finn next transferred within AID to be deputy director for the office of international training, from which he retired in 1978.

In 1979, Mr. Finn became the deputy director of the National Sheriffs' Association. He retired from that position in 1989. After the death of his first wife, Ann, he remarried.

Survivors include his wife, Peggy; one son; five daughters; one stepson; one sister and 10 grandchildren.

Nadine Jones Cunningham, 77, wife of retired FSO and Air Force officer Robert Cunningham, died Jan. 4 in San Francisco, as the result of several critical health problems.

Mrs. Cunningham was born in 1922 in Bannock, Ohio, and grew up in Lowellville, Ohio. She studied at Youngstown University.

She married Robert in 1943 and spent the next 57 years accompanying her husband abroad in his Air Force and FS career, including posts in Canada, Germany, Turkey, Italy and South Africa. Mrs. Cunningham represented her country abroad as an employee of the federal government as well as a businesswoman in the private sector.

In Germany from 1946 to 1953, Mrs. Cunningham worked as a financial accountant with the U.S. Air Force and supported the Berlin airlift. During tours in Washington, D.C., she served as support staff for intelligence research in the federal government. She held similar positions in the embassy in Ankara and in the consulate in Cape Town.

In 1964, the Cunninghams moved to Italy to manage the English-language newspaper, *The Rome Daily American*. Mrs. Cunningham served as the newspaper's administrative officer, and was an active member of the American Women's Society. After leaving Italy in 1970, the Cunninghams founded a newspaper in the Grand Strand coastal region of South Carolina. Mrs. Cunningham also began another career as office manager for Clemson University's wildlife research center.

Survivors include her husband, Robert; three children, Robert Jr. of Mount Dora, Fla.; Charles of San Francisco; and Candis of Arlington, Va.; and nine grandchildren.

In Memory

Jay W. Gildner, 73, retired FS career minister, died Jan. 14 of cardiovascular failure at Sibley Hospital in Washington, D.C.

Mr. Gildner was born in Mason City, Iowa. He served in the Army Air Corps during World War II. He graduated from the University of Minnesota magna cum laude in 1949 and was appointed Phi Beta Kappa.

Mr. Gildner's USIA service began in 1955 as information officer at the embassy in Bonn, and he subsequently directed U.S. cultural centers in Berlin and Stuttgart. In 1960, he opened USIA's first branch post in Canada, and assisted White House Press Secretary Pierre Salinger in handling President John F. Kennedy's first state visit to Canada in 1961. Later that year, Mr. Gildner became assistant press secretary responsible for liaison with the foreign press. He also did the press advance for President Kennedy's state visit to Venezuela, and was press secretary for Jacqueline Kennedy's visit to India, Pakistan, Italy and England. He served as press officer for Vice President Lyndon Johnson's crisis mission to Berlin at the time of the erection of the Berlin wall.

From 1962 to 1965, Mr. Gildner served as the administration's chief news policy officer. He served at the embassy in Israel from 1965 to 1971, first as a public affairs officer and then as counselor for public affairs. From 1971 to 1975, Mr. Gildner served as assistant director of USIA. He then directed the agency's program in India for four years. From 1980 until his retirement from USIA in 1983, Mr. Gildner was USIA's deputy associate director. In 1983, he became vice president of Radio Free Europe and Radio Liberty.

Mr. Gildner received USIA's Superior Honor Award, and the Meritorious Honor Award. He also received the Edward R. Murrow Award in Public Diplomacy from Tufts University's Fletcher School of Law and Diplomacy.

After retiring, Mr. Gildner was active in community, environmental and foreign affairs. He was a member of the Natural Resources Committee of the Upper Mississippi, and of the advisory board of the *Walker Pilot Independent* newspaper.

Survivors include his wife Beverly Eriksen Gildner; his three sons: Page W. Gildner of Chevy Chase, Md.; Gray M. Gildner of Fairfax Station, Va; and Hunt W. Gildner of Apple Valley, Minn.; his sister Mary Gildner Snore of Naples, Fla.; his brother, Dan Gildner of Boulder City, Nev.; and five grandchildren.

Thomas Hawes Murfin, 84, retired FSO, died Jan. 22 of complications of chronic lymphocytic leukemia in Seattle.

Mr. Murfin was born in Sunnyside, Wash. and entered the Foreign Service after serving in the U.S. Navy during World War II. A Japanese language officer, in his final Navy assignment he was responsible for assistance to civilians in Okinawa displaced by the conflict there.

He served in FS posts in Japan and Italy, including as consul general in Yokohama and Tokyo from 1962 to 1969, and in Genoa from 1969 to 1973, when he retired. After retirement he lived in Olympia and Bellingham, Wash., where he was active in Episcopal Church programs to assist refugees in East Asia.

Survivors include his wife, Julie, of Seattle; two sons; two daughters; twelve grandchildren; six great-grandchildren; a brother; and a sister. Memorial contributions may be made to the Fred Hutchinson Cancer Research Center, 1100 Fairview N., Seattle, WA 98109.

Pauline Hoffmann, 93, wife of deceased FSO Walter Wesselhoeft Hoffmann, died Feb. 10 in Williamsburg, Va.

Mrs. Hoffmann was born in Sydney, Australia, but grew up in Wellington, New Zealand. For 30 years, she traveled with her husband to posts in Honduras, El Salvador, Hong Kong, Brazil, Colombia, Germany and England. She spent the last third of her life living in Cambridge, Mass., Santa Barbara, Calif., and Williamsburg.

Survivors include her three daughters: Caroline Williams of Williamsburg; Hillary Hoffmann of Atlanta; and Elizabeth Happy of Denver; six grandchildren; and two great grandchildren.

John "Arch" Archibald Calhoun, 81, retired FSO, died Jan. 21 in San Rafael, Calif.

Mr. Calhoun was born in Berkeley, Calif. in 1918. He studied at the University of California and Harvard University, where he received his master's degree in history. He entered the Foreign Service in 1941, and was first posted to Tijuana and then Tehran.

From 1944 to 1946, Mr. Calhoun served with the U.S. Navy, including an assignment in Okinawa. His following assignments in the Foreign Service included Berlin, Pusan and Seoul during the Korean War, Paris and Athens. In 1954, he served as a U.S. delegate to the Geneva Peace Conference. In the late 1950s, he served as deputy director and then director of the executive secretariat at the State Department.

Mr. Calhoun served as ambassador to Chad from 1961 to 1963, and then as minister at the U.S. mission in Berlin. He was minister-counselor for political affairs in Saigon from 1967 to 1968. In 1969, he was named ambassador to Tunisia. He retired in 1972.

There are no immediate survivors.

James R. Ruchti, 78, a career diplomat and U.S. Army officer, died on Jan. 10 at the St. Joseph's Regional Medical Center in South Bend, Ind., of cancer.

Mr. Ruchti was born in Janesville, Wisc. on June 14, 1921. He earned his bachelor's degree at the University of Wisconsin, Madison, and also attended graduate school at Columbia University.

In the State Department, Mr. Ruchti served as a political officer specializing in German affairs. He was posted to Berlin and Bonn in the 1950s, and was appointed consul general in Stuttgart from 1970 to 1974. He also served as deputy chief of mission and chargé d'affaires in Nairobi during Kenya's time of independence (1963 to 1967).

During his career with State, Mr. Ruchti also served in the U.S. Army. His first military assignment was in field artillery during World War II. He retired as lieutenant colonel in the reserves in 1981, receiving the Meritorious Service Medal.

After his retirement, Mr. Rutchi was active in the World Affairs Council, Boy Scout Troop 173 and the South Bend Lions Club.

Survivors include his wife, Helen Louise "Ruth"; his two sons: Dr. Randal Ruchti of South Bend; and Jefri Ruchti of Guilford, Conn.; his daughter, Jamie Hester of Bowie, Md.; and five grandchildren. ■

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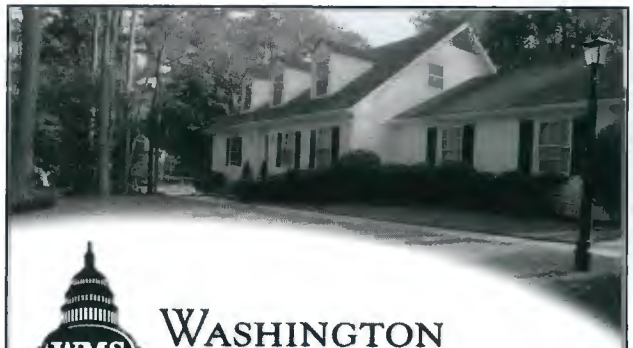

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POSTCARD FROM ABROAD

A Fallen Hell's Angel

BY MARK TONER

Winding our way up a narrow country lane, we spotted the crowd from a distance — a small knot of brightly colored T-shirts clustered beneath the Polish and American flags. We had reached our destination in the green, rolling countryside an hour southeast of Krakow.

It was a warm September day, the time of year Poles refer to as "zlota jesien" (golden autumn). We buttoned our jackets and straightened our ties as we stepped out of the consulate's van. Our small delegation had come, after all, for a ceremony to honor American war dead.

The county commissioner shook our hands and led us to a monument that stood on the spot where the plane crashed. It consisted of three thin metal rods forming a cross roughly nine feet high, next to a granite slab. An inscription in Polish read: "On this spot, 13 September 1944, six airmen from the U.S. Army Air Corps fell in the battle for Poland's freedom. We honor their memory." Behind the cross was a charred, twisted piece of the downed aircraft. It seemed out of place in this quiet agrarian setting.

As we walked up to the site, a local historian was recounting the plane's final moments to a group of schoolchildren. He explained that the plane, a B-24 Liberator nicknamed "Hell's Angel," had crashed into the trees, killing six of its 11 crewmembers and a young Polish girl who was hit by debris. Decked out in baggy jeans, knee-length shorts, T-shirts and baseball caps, the young onlookers could have been from some small town in Ohio.

> *The aged Polish veterans still wore their berets at a jaunty angle.*

To their right was a local brass band whose members spanned three generations and a cluster of Polish "Home Army" veterans — the fierce, fearless partisans who waged an effective but costly guerrilla war against the Nazis. Draped with distinctive red-and-white sashes, they wore their black berets at an angle that still suggested a young man's reckless courage in the face of overwhelming odds.

The mayor of the nearby town of Wadowice (the birthplace of Pope John Paul II) arrived and the ceremony began. The brass band played the Polish and American national anthems as our delegation and the local Polish officials laid wreaths at the foot of the monument. Then we shook hands and returned to our van.

As we drove back to Krakow, I reflected on the strong connection I felt to the men who died here. After all, my father was a B-17 pilot during the war and his life could easily have ended in a place like this, far from his home and family.

I recalled the picture of my father that hangs in my living room, a black-and-white, standard-issue crew photo. My father, dressed in a khaki uniform, is crouched down in the foreground with three others. The remaining crewmembers stand square-shouldered behind him. In the background, the plane's metallic skin glares in the sunlight.

I do not know when the photo was taken, or whether or not my father or the others had already seen combat. But the most striking detail of the photo, aside from the crew's youth, is their confident expressions. Any fear and self-doubt they may have felt had been overcome to create a timeless portrait of young warriors in repose.

I will never understand the experience of that generation so shaped by war. But I felt privileged to have taken part in that morning's ceremony — and grateful that the residents of Wadowice had not forgotten six young men who died to free a country and a continent so many years ago. ■

Mark Toner is the public affairs officer at the U.S. consulate general in Krakow. The stamp is courtesy of the AAFSW Bookfair "Stamp Corner."

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