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# PRESIDENT'S VIEWS

## *America's National Interests on "Hold"*

BY MARSHALL P. ADAIR

In August, American diplomacy suffered an important loss with the premature retirement of veteran diplomat Peter Burleigh. Burleigh left the service after waiting in Washington for a year while his nomination to be ambassador to the Philippines was held up by one U.S. senator. That senator put a "hold" on the nomination to pressure the State Department to resolve a whistleblower case in which the senator had an interest. The case, however, was in the hands of the special counsel, an office created by legislation sponsored by that same senator. The special counsel eventually ruled there was no basis for the case, and the senator dropped his hold — but not before the damage was done.

This was not an isolated incident. Last year, several senators placed holds on the nomination of Richard Holbrooke to be ambassador to the United Nations. This summer another senator is holding the nominations of seven ambassadorial nominees while insisting that the State Department make changes to its personnel system to strengthen security awareness. In each case, individual senators have used the holds to pursue their personal views of how foreign policy or government administration should be conducted.

Each of these actions imposes a cost. The absence at post of an ambassador, the president's personal representative,

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

*Senators have used holds to pursue their personal views of how foreign policy should be conducted.*



reduces American access to the highest levels of the host government and correspondingly reduces our influence. That can impact important strategic, political and economic interests.

What are these holds? There is no mention of such a power in the Constitution, or in Senate rules or precedents. There is no formal record of who places holds or how long they are maintained. Holds are an informal device permitting any senator to stop Senate action on virtually anything temporarily or permanently. They are not new, but have been used extensively throughout the congressional process to seek more information, manage the schedule of legislation, increase bargaining power, retaliate against others or simply kill an action. Within the environment of the Senate they are considered a completely legitimate tool of the trade, and staunchly defended.

However, the legitimacy of holds as a tool of the Senate should be seriously questioned when exercised in the national security domain. National

security affairs impact the interests, and sometimes the very existence, of the entire nation. For this reason the Constitution centralized authority for the conduct of foreign affairs in one person, the president. It gave Congress the power to advise and consent. Congress could vote, as a body, to reject a president's nominees, but there is nothing anywhere to suggest this nation's founders envisaged a situation where 100 members of Congress could exercise veto power as individuals.

The United States Senate is one of the most impressive and respected democratic institutions in the world. Each of the senators referred to above has made important contributions to both domestic and foreign policy. However, it is time for the Senate's collective membership to take a new look at some of that institution's old customs. Individual holds in the national security area should be eliminated or severely curtailed.

The executive branch bears some responsibility as well. It has created incentives for congressional holds with poor communication and the State Department's lack of responsiveness to the concerns of individual members of Congress. An excellent proposal to address that problem has been languishing in the State Department for months: the creation of State Department legislative liaison offices on Capitol Hill, similar to those the military has operated for years. Those offices should be established immediately. ■

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# LETTERS

## 'Wristonization' Worked

AFSA President Adair's thoughtful "Prescription for Diplomatic Health" (President's Views, *FSJ*, July/August) has an error that ought to be corrected. One is the attack on the Wristonization program of the early 1950s as something that "almost de-professionalized" the Foreign Service. It would be more accurate to say Wristonization professionalized the FS, bringing into it the variety of skills and talents, and the numbers of people, that enabled the FS to perform the vast increase in responsibilities thrust upon it as a result of World War II and the Cold War.

I should know: I was a Wristonee — a Wharton School and SAIS-trained economist who joined the State Department in 1950.

*William E. Culbert*  
*FSO, retired*  
*Maple Valley, Wash.*

## Civil Service Professionals

Marshall Adair's comments are an insult to the hard-working and dedicated Civil Service employees of the department. He discusses the "professional diplomatic service" and states, "In the 1950s it was first intimidated

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and paralyzed by Joseph McCarthy's witch-hunt, and then almost de-professionalized by 'Wristonization' (the integration of massive numbers of Civil Service personnel)." Does Adair mean to imply that Civil Service employees were/are not professional in carrying out their duties? If so, how can AFSA in good faith bless the excursion tour policy whereby Civil Service employees fill Foreign Service positions both domestically and abroad? Are those employees considered by Adair to be "de-professionalizing" the FS?

I ask that Adair rethink his comment and give credit where it is due — and was due back in the 1950s — to the vast majority of Civil Service employees who each day proudly serve the department.

*Patrieia C. Berzins*  
*Program Analyst*  
*Bureau of Diplomatic*  
*Security*  
*Washington, D.C.*

## Marshall Adair Responds:

Civil Service employees brought many talents and substantial expertise to the Foreign Service in the 1950s. What they did not bring was experience or expertise in diplomacy, which had to be developed on the job. Wristonization was necessary, and was the right thing to do. Today, the professional Civil Service employees of the Department of State continue to make extremely important contributions to American foreign policy and American national security interests. However, in most cases they make

those contributions in different ways than do Foreign Service employees. AFSA has been encouraging the department to address the differences and better coordinate the two services more directly and dynamically through better workforce planning, better training and possible structural changes.

## Nairobi, Remembered

As one of the many victims of the August 1998 bombings, I want to extend my appreciation to Ambassador Prudence Bushnell and FSO Lucien Vandenbroucke for their wonderful, insightful articles about the events in Nairobi (*FSJ*, June and July/August). Both stories were beautifully written and made me cry with the memories they evoked. That day's events and the aftermath could not have been described more accurately.

*Bonita Estes*  
*Office Management*  
*Specialist*  
*Embassy Lima*

## Dulles, Defended

I read Lincoln Bloomfield's article on John Foster Dulles ("The Genetically Engineered Secretary of State," *FSJ*, July/August), but was stunned by his flip attitude and poor understanding of his subject.

In 1956, my husband returned from Vietnam to become councilor of the State Department, which meant he was in daily contact with the secretary and accompanied him on most of his trips. My husband had great admiration and affection for the secretary

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## LETTERS



and grieved at his death. The secretary and Mrs. Dulles had stayed with us in Saigon and were charming and considerate house guests, interesting and amusing in small groups and flawless in their representation roles.

Secretary Dulles and my husband worked well together. On returning from a trip to Chile, my husband was confined to bed with a strange fever. The secretary called me daily for news of his health, insisting that he stay home until he was completely well. He was a thoughtful boss. On returning home from a trip, the secretary would always come over to the barrier to greet me and the children.

The whole diplomatic and political world traveled to Washington for the secretary's funeral, even General de Gaulle. They all understood that John Foster Dulles was the conscience of America and the world.

*Solie Reinhardt*

*Foreign Service spouse*

*New York City*

### **Getting Personnel's Attention**

You may not need yet another horror story to add to Roger Johnson's tale of PER's (now HR) utter inefficiency, which borders on total contempt for its clients (*FSJ*, June). I add mine nevertheless to provide AFSA with more ammunition in what I hope will be an insistent campaign for reform.

Eight months ago, having heard nothing in response to a simple request to Personnel for information, I asked PER/RET for assistance. Three months later I repeated my plea. On May 12, I wrote to Cecilia Cooper, PER/RET director, complaining about the unresponsiveness and urging an answer to my query. One month later I asked AFSA to intervene, and got a rapid response from the AFSA retiree liaison, providing both the information I had been seeking and the good

news that a meeting with Cooper was in the offing for a general discussion of the problem.

Several months later, I received a message from Ms. Cooper noting that she had met with retiree liaison Ward Thompson and explaining she had been out for an extended period, but that her office should have answered my queries in her absence. She apologized for the unresponsiveness and said a letter was on the way.

Hopefully this is a sign that we have the attention of at least one PER office. We should keep management's feet to the fire until there is solid evidence of a more general change of attitude and efficiency.

*Alan D. Berlind*

*FSO, retired*

*Couleuvre, France*

### **Pulp Fiction**

During my 38 years of active service and now some years of retirement, I have always looked forward to the *Foreign Service Journal* for the many interesting and accurate accounts of incidents and events abroad.

In recent years it seems that more and more the *Journal* is filled with fiction stories that you would more likely expect to find in a pulp magazine and that certainly have no place in a publication such as the *Foreign Service Journal*. The July-August issue is a good example. The space in the *Journal* would be better used for articles which describe actual experiences abroad and stimulating articles on Foreign Service issues.

The fiction stories are a waste of time and money and often contain undiplomatic slurs aimed at other countries or cultures.

*Robert E. Waska, Sr.*

*FSO, retired*

*Santa Rosa, Calif.*

## LETTERS

### Cross-Cultural Insults

I had believed the *Journal* was supposed to foster cross-cultural understanding and provide information about other cultures. I am very angry about the article "When in Rome Wear Running Shoes" (*FSJ*, July/August) because of its derogatory remarks about my fellow Germans.

Has Neu lived in my country? How else could she attempt to interpret people's facial expressions? Has it ever occurred to her that people just simply enjoy the sun? And I would certainly not consider a shoe size six huge. I have asked my husband not to bring home your magazine anymore.

Anne Elmo  
Foreign Service spouse  
Milan, Italy

### Political Appointees

In the May issue of the *Journal*, Charles Stuart Kennedy's letter was relatively accurate about the valuable contributions to our country by career officers. But, as a political appointee who served eight years as a U.S. ambassador, I take exception to Kennedy depicting political appointees as "significant problems" for career officers — linking us with other problems such as hardship posts, strains on marriage, and terrorism.

Kennedy owes all of us who served alongside fine career officers, served in hardship posts, and were targets of terrorists, an apology.

Michael Sotirhos  
Retired ambassador  
Pompano Beach, Fla.

### In Support of Dissent

In your June issue, Marshall Adair says, "The traditional culture of diplomacy does not readily support dissent." Taken as a generality, the statement is undoubtedly true. Yet it is worth recalling that the Department of State is on record as recognizing that toleration, if not actual encour-

agement, of dissent is essential to the fostering of creativity in the management of foreign affairs.

In December 1970, the department published "Diplomacy for the 70's: A Program of Management Reform for the Department of State." The task force noted the existence of "a strong tradition in the Foreign Service that the mission speaks with one voice. However desirable this tradition may be, it can have the effect of stifling creativity if it is observed too inflexibly." The task force recommended "that the Department revise FAM 262 to establish it as a general principle, rather than a departure therefrom, that officers who cannot concur in a report or recommendation submitted by the mission are free to submit a dissenting statement."

The fate of reports like this is generally to be filed and forgotten. The fate of Tex Harris indicates that this one was too quickly forgotten.

Chris G. Petrow  
FSO, retired  
Neuilly sur Seine, France

### USIA's Original Mission

Wes Pederson's letter (*FSJ*, July/August) disagrees with my assertion that anti-communism was not the sole purpose for USIA's creation. But, the historical record is quite clear as to the agency's original mission. Neither the Smith-Mundt Act (PL 402), which to this day serves as the legislative basis for USIA's (now State's) public diplomacy activities, nor President Eisenhower's initial instructions to the new agency, contain a word about anti-communism.

Opposing international communism and fighting Soviet imperialism was an important objective of USIA. It was, however, never the main reason for its creation and existence. ■

Hans N. Tuch  
FSO, retired  
Bethesda, Md.



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# CLIPPINGS



*"We may be able to open the borders, not just to capital or goods, but also to people."*

—MEXICAN PRESIDENT-ELECT VICENTE FOX  
SPEAKING TO REPRESENTATIVES OF NGOs AUG. 24 IN WASHINGTON.

## CLIFF'S NOTES FOR FOREIGN AFFAIRS

To many Americans, foreign policy is boring. A new Web site, Foreignpolicy2000 ([www.foreignpolicy2000.org](http://www.foreignpolicy2000.org)), is out to change people's minds. As was reported by Chris Suellentrop in *Slate* magazine, the Web site, published by the Council on Foreign Relations, is trying to educate voters and spark debate between candidates on foreign policy during the 2000 presidential campaign.

The site, which calls itself "an evolving educational tool designed to encourage debate on issues of foreign policy," features a very useful "Briefing Room" where voters can read accessible summaries of major foreign policy concerns — arms control, defense, Iraq, humanitarian intervention — 28 topics in all, plus a handy introduction to "central foreign policy principles." To learn more about any of the issues in the Briefing Room, voters can turn to "Experts and Advisers": This section contains citations for reports and articles from leading American experts, candidate advisers, and foreign commentators for each issue.

"Candidate Positions" is a repository of public statements made by the Democratic and Republican candidates on these foreign policy topics. It is organized so that you can compare Bush and Gore's positions on each issue.

In September, the Web site began hosting online debates between campaign advisers. The advisers debate the positions of each side's foreign policy platform and welcome e-mailed questions from the public.

It seems this strategy for interesting Americans in foreign affairs is working. Public response to Foreignpolicy2000 has

been very positive. In May, the site received 414,332 hits and 15,452 new users. Interestingly, Foreignpolicy2000 appeals to a global audience: The Web site has been visited by Bulgarians, Japanese, South Africans and British users.

## PLEASE DON'T SEND ME TO ZAIRE

Jimmy Buffett meets Madeleine Albright. That's the way Tony Doggett, USAID FSO by day, singer/songwriter/guitarist by night, describes his new CD, *Please Don't Send Me to Zaire*. This reviewer considers that a pretty fair description, though (fortunately?) the former is much more in evidence than the latter.

Most of the songs are in a mellow country idiom mixed with rock and blues, with occasional nods to Celtic music and bluegrass. Doggett not only wrote the words and music for all selections but does a nice job as lead singer and guitarist, with strong back-up vocals and instrumentals by friends and studio musicians. As a bonus, the recording's sound quality is first-rate.

The amusing title track, one of 10 on this 28-minute recording, captures in just a few rueful lines the vagaries of the Foreign Service assignment process as only an FSO could. Two other songs, "Yaounde Bound" and "Christmastime at A.I.D." will also resonate strongly with FSOs. Some of the other selections are so tied to country-specific experiences that probably only Africa hands will truly "get" the references (though even the weaker numbers are entertaining). However, the CD liner notes not only give the full texts but do a nice job of explaining what inspired each song. —Steven Alan Honley



# CLIPPINGS

## ROBERT OLSEN CASE SETTLED AT LAST

The case of former FSO Robert Olsen has been settled. Olsen was a junior consular officer in Sao Paulo Brazil who would not follow visa line procedures that he said were in effect racist. (See November 1998 *FSJ* for the whole story.)

The State Department fired Olsen in 1994, but in 1997 U.S. District Court Judge Stanley Sporkin ruled that the FSO had legally stood up for his principles, and ordered Olsen reinstated. In May 1998, Olsen rejoined the Foreign Service, but his case did not end there.

Olsen and the department disagreed about his next assignment, as well as pay and benefits. Olsen failed to report for duty, and State cut off his salary. Eventually, in February 2000, with the intercession of the District Court, Olsen's attorneys and the department reached a settlement.

Olsen resigned from the Foreign Service, and received a lump sum settlement of \$250,000, from which he had to pay his attorneys.

"The settlement is OK," Olsen told the *Journal*. "My major interest all along has been to advance a principle — that FSOs should be able to act in accordance with the law." Olsen is currently an attorney in private practice in the Washington area.

## STATE DEPARTMENT CAUGHT NAPSTERING

It seems that the musical habits of State Department employees could very well have attracted legal attention from angry rock bands. According to reports by Al Kamen in the *Washington Post* and by

Rebecca Cooper on ABCNEWS.com, diplomatic enthusiasm for Napster, the software that allows for the free exchange of music files called MP3s, was recently squelched by State Department officials who blocked government employee access to the Web site.

The motivation, officials said, was not to prevent copyright violation but to clean up the computer system which had been overwhelmed by the volume of MP3 downloads. A single employee clogged the system and blocked many users' access to their official computers when he sent an enormous MP3 file from his home computer to his State Department computer. Incidents such as this one prompted a recent "Department Notice" to all employees, which warned that "downloading these large files is causing a bottleneck at department firewalls and subsequently having an adverse effect on our networks."

## CUBA VERSUS IRAQ: DO SANCTIONS KILL?

The health consequences of economic sanctions are troubling: medical supplies dwindle, lack of electricity and water hamper hospital functioning, and governments lack the funds to keep health care systems operating. Iraq and Cuba are two nations hit hard by sanctions, and keeping citizens healthy has proven difficult in both countries. Yet according to a recent article by Richard Garfield in *Middle East Report*, the health of Cubans has fared far better than that of Iraqis, though both are under similar sanctions regimes. Cubans are healthier, Garfield reports, because their government has refocused health policy on maximizing scarce resources and emphasized preventive medicine.

# 50 YEARS AGO

"Let him finish, Bill. He's declaring war on us."

—FIRST SECRETARY AT  
EMBASSY TOKYO NED  
CROCKER TO FSO  
WILLIAM T. TURNER.

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DEC. 8, 1941.



# CLIPPINGS

*“Loyalty, if it requires anything, requires the giving of one’s best judgment at all times.”*

—WILLIAM MACOMBER

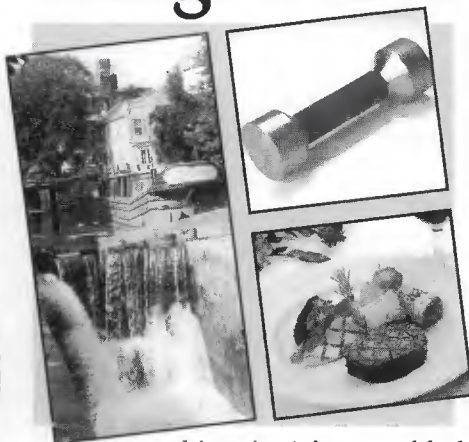
Maternal health and child health often suffer disproportionately in a nation under sanctions. The incidence of low-weight births increases, and children do not receive adequate nutrition. Yet in Cuba, mortality among infants and children under five has declined (to about 7.6 deaths per 1000 births in 1998) since 1992 when the United States tightened its embargo. The collapse of aid and trade from the former Soviet bloc between 1989 and 1992 also hit Cuba hard.

The Cuban government has promoted breast-feeding and provided extra medicine and food to maintain the health of children and mothers. Cubans are educat-

ed through the mass media on the importance of immunization and proper nutrition. These efforts have paid off: Though Cuba’s GNP per capita was about one-tenth of that of the United States when the embargo was tightened and has declined by about a third since 1992, child and infant mortality rates are almost as low as those in the United States.

Sanctions have been harder on Iraq than on Cuba, and much of Iraq’s infrastructure was destroyed by war in the 1980s and 1990s. Still, Cuba’s health record is impressive, and Iraq could alleviate much suffering by following Cuba’s example, Garfield concludes. ■

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# SPEAKING OUT

## *Making Child Custody An International Issue*

BY TERRY AND DAVID JONES

Child custody disputes — where a parent illegally takes a child to a country outside the U.S., effectively denying the other parent access — are a topic the State Department has long relegated to an obscure corner of the consular affairs bureau. Now, however, the Elian Gonzalez saga and a poignant U.S.-German case involving the children of U.S. citizen Joseph Cooke, first highlighted in the May 7 edition of the *Washington Post* (“A Family Kept Apart”), have transmuted international child custody issues from the agonizingly personal into the intensely public.

Happily, Elian is back with his father in Cuba now, and there has been high-level involvement to move Joseph Cooke’s case toward a just resolution (though the most recent media reports on our discussions with Berlin suggest palliative damage control more than viable solutions). Even so, State has managed to come across as both incompetent and callous in its handling of both these causes celebres, and international child custody issues in general.

We say this without any special insights into the merits of the reportedly 1,100-plus open international custody cases, each of which has its own unique mix of pain and blame. What we can say, however, is that if the official remarks regarding the Cooke case accurately reflect our approach, then that qualifies as a feeble effort indeed. State needs to recognize and adjust to the new reality: child custody cases can no longer be dismissed as trivial irritants to bilateral relations.

*State managed  
to look both  
incompetent and  
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handling of  
these cases.*



After all, we act vigorously in areas where the U.S. has identified a priority: for example, imprisoned citizens, female circumcision, and trafficking in women and children. Is it right, for example, that we put more pressure on the German government to safeguard the rights of Scientologists than to protect the welfare of U.S. citizen children? Yet it is obvious that child custody cases have no comparable status in Foggy Bottom.

In the 55 years of our combined Foreign Service experience, we don’t remember a single country team meeting where the need for concerted action to help a U.S. citizen in a child custody case was raised. Nor do any of our peers whom we have canvassed on this score. When did the secretary of State or any senior official ever personally support a U.S. citizen’s positions? Our impression persists that outside of the officials in CA who have to cope with it (and do their best, we readily acknowledge), the rest of the department has happi-

ly washed its hands of the issue. After all, child custody cases, like most consular work, are grungy, not glamorous; they require placating whiny, unhappy people for whom little can be done and plunging into the “he said, she said, they said” realm of personal differences.

Yet not a few consular officers have won awards and promotions for doing more than required to help U.S. citizens. We recall a consular officer in a Latin American country who took the initiative to have leaflets dropped over a remote area offering real “gold” coins as a reward for locating a missing American. Likewise, a consular officer in Guangzhou braved the streets during the May 1999 riots against Embassy Beijing (following the accidental bombing of China’s Belgrade embassy) to meet with 30 couples to facilitate their adoption of Chinese children.

### **Maintain Pressure For Results**

The department’s announcement in May that 10 case officers would be assigned to abduction issues is clearly a move in the right direction. But much more needs to be done. Are our country teams now coordinating to bring U.S. influence to bear in child custody cases? Is there a record of regular demarches and follow-ups for each individual case? And above all, these efforts have to be sustained even when the issue no longer makes headlines.

To succeed, we need to remember some points:

## SPEAKING OUT



First, these children are United States citizens who need and deserve official protection and attention. Consular officers should demand access to each of them on a regular basis, just as we visit all U.S. prisoners held in foreign jails, and assure that individuals suffering from Alzheimer's disease overseas are properly attended to and their Social Security checks are not misappropriated.

Nor is it up to the U.S. government to judge the facts of the individual cases, any more than consular officers can decline to visit prisoners they believe guilty. But it *is* our responsibility to fulfill the other part of the implicit contract that allows taxes to be collected, young males subjected to the military draft, and citizens to be punished for not obeying the laws — for Uncle Sam to pay

more than lip service to these families' plights.

At the least, parents should be able to get the same kind of support given to U.S. businesses: assistance in getting their message to the right people and help in making their way through a foreign culture and bureaucracy. After all, Germany is not the only country where judicial obstructionism has become an art form.

Second, yes, this approach will cost money! Don't pretend that it can be done on the cheap and tossed onto the heap of everything else that is being done. Instead, use this proposal to persuade Congress to *increase* State's budget. Point out that an infusion of funds to substantially increase the number of consular employees would not only protect

the welfare of the children but would enhance our ability to help all U.S. citizens — their constituents — who need assistance overseas.

Third, sometimes the congressional reputation for blithe irresponsibility in foreign affairs can be a useful lever. Remember, for example, the Toshiba machine tool diversion case where congressional moves to ban all U.S. military purchases of Japanese products, as well as to ban imports of Toshiba products, was used by State to get more cooperation from Tokyo on a knotty export-import case. Likewise, we have cited congressional interest in topics as diverse as the U.N. dues structure, trade with China, and military burden-sharing in NATO.

Fourth, "quiet diplomacy" just means private; it can still be constant

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## SPEAKING OUT



and even aggressive. Child custody ought to be a basic item in every human rights demarche to a foreign office and in every meeting with senior officials. Overseas, we should regularly send official correspondence on each case with strong requests for action and then have our ambassadors make follow-up phone calls. Back here, let us call these countries' senior diplomats into the department and emphasize our concerns, over and over again. One demarche can be ignored; a dozen or more just may stimulate a response. Thus, following high-level U.S. intervention, Berlin has now indicated it will revamp its judicial procedures to expedite custody cases such as Joseph Cooke's, though sustained follow-through remains very much in doubt.

In that regard, excuses (such as

those offered by the German foreign ministry) that the central government can do nothing because local courts and officials are independent are disingenuous. Of course no government wants to expend political capital and ruffle feathers for the sake of a few foreigners. But our states are at least as "independent" of Washington's control as German's länder are of Berlin's, yet that does not prevent Washington from putting extensive pressure on states to achieve specific objectives — e.g., no highway funds without seatbelt laws; no college education funds without equal support for women's athletics.

This level of activism is controversial, admittedly. Some might regard it as special interest pleading, even interference with legitimate court actions within another state. But we

disagree. Defending the interests of American children and their families is, quite simply, the right thing to do, both on an individual and a societal level. After all, the U.S. talks endlessly about the rule of law. What better demonstration of that principle could there be than the willingness to commit resources and personnel to safeguard the rights of American citizens and their children? Even if our efforts produce no more than improved access to the child or an occasional trip to the U.S. parent's home, surely such small victories are well worth the fight. ■

*Teresa C. and David T. Jones are retired senior Foreign Service officers. They are frequent contributors to the Journal.*



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# INTERROGATING “LOYALTY”



Adam Niklewicz

**T**he concept of loyalty at first glance seems pure and simple. Back in elementary school, we pledged allegiance to the flag, and our sense of loyalty to the United States went unchallenged.

But as with so many things, loyalty becomes more complicated as we mature. In addition to loyalty to family and friends, we develop complex webs of loyalties — to our hometowns, to our alma maters, to sports teams, to political ideals, to our professions. Undoubtedly, many readers of this *Journal*

feel loyalty to the U.S. Foreign Service — an esprit de corps.

More than that, loyalty is often seen as moral quality or behavior. One of the authors in this issue, political scientist Yossi Shain, has written that loyalty is “a value-laden concept that power seekers use to rally support and undermine opposing claims.” This issue of the *Journal* seeks to interrogate the concept of loyalty — to probe its complexities and permutations in the modern world. Our authors examine the loyalties of immigrant diaspora communities, of Americans with dual nationalities, of those who in an earlier era spied on the U.S. government for ideological reasons.

By exploring instances in which Americans have felt multiple or conflicting or changing loyalties, the *Journal* hopes to shed light on this little-examined topic. — *Bob Guldin*

# FOR ETHNIC AMERICANS, THE OLD COUNTRY CALLS

Last March, when Marie Jana Korbelova returned to her birth city, Prague, this time as Madeleine Albright, U.S. secretary of State, Czech President Vaclav Havel declared, "I would personally consider it excellent [if Madeleine Albright could succeed me as President of the Czech Republic] because into this rather staid provincial environment this would bring an international spirit, someone who knows the world well, understands it, and would be able to act." In the Czech Republic, the president must be a Czech citizen over 40 years of age. Albright, a naturalized U.S. citizen, qualifies for Czech citizenship under the law that enables those who fled the communist regime after 1948 to reclaim citizenship. Albright smiled and said "I am not a candidate and will not be a candidate. ... My heart is in two places, and America is where I belong."

Havel's vision, that transnational allegiance to both an ancestral homeland and to the U.S. can exist without conflict, is quite remarkable. It represents not only his own liberal-humanistic vision of world affairs — where boundaries of state and culture are no longer so rigid — but also the perception that Americans are the best conveyors of this mentality. As members of an open liberal society where multiple ethnic identities are no longer suspect and where, in fact, ancestral identities are welcomed as the cornerstone of multiculturalism, Americans in the post-Cold War world are often perceived as the best representatives of a more flexible concept of citizenship and loyalty.

Havel's extraordinary invitation is just one sign of a changing configuration of national and ethnic loyalties. For the United States, a nation of immigrants, the meaning of ethnic identity is being transformed. Old

AMERICAN ETHNICS  
DON'T JUST LOBBY FOR  
THEIR ANCESTRAL  
HOMELANDS —  
THEY ALSO EXPORT  
AMERICAN VALUES.

---

BY YOSSI SHAIN

---

nativist fears — that Americans with emotional ties to their ancestral homelands cannot be fully loyal to the United States — are rapidly disappearing. Those people once disparagingly called "hyphenated Americans" feel increasingly free to organize and lobby on behalf of the "old country." Even within America's foreign policy establishment, one finds increasing acceptance of the legitimacy of ethnic lobbies

and full participation by ethnically identifiable players such as Jews and Cuban-Americans.

But what is arguably the most interesting new development is that the flow of political influence is becoming more of a two-way street. American diasporas — of Arabs, Jews, Armenians, Chinese — are playing significant roles in their ancestral homelands. They bring American ideologies and influence into the politics of the mother country. At times — taking up the challenge that Secretary Albright declined — U.S. citizens have even returned to their countries of origin to play leading political roles.

## Diversity and Diasporas

The signs of this more flexible world of multiple loyalties are easy to find. For example, *The Washington Post* reported this year a sharp increase in the number of young Americans who are spending summers in their parents' homeland. These parents apparently no longer fear that their children will be stigmatized; in fact, many now consider their children's bilingual abilities and familiarity with ancestral culture an asset in a globalized world order. Indeed, as America recognizes the value of diversity, homeland countries that previously restricted their kin abroad to single citizenship now permit them dual nationality.

(See article by Peter Spiro, p. 25 of this issue.) These countries have also enabled their kin diasporas to retain broad economic and political rights in their kin states, including absentee voting, even though the individuals have clearly established themselves as loyal citizens in the U.S.

The December 1996 passage of Mexican legislation permitting dual nationality is but one example. That law affects the lives of millions of Mexican-Americans — the fastest-growing voting bloc in American politics. With Mexican politicians now routinely courting support of the Mexican community in the United States, Mexico has laid to rest the image of the “pocho” — a derogatory term that questions the loyalty of diasporic Mexicans seen as having abandoned their roots in order to assimilate into American society.

There are many reasons that Mexico and other countries have reversed course and now encourage rather than prohibit dual nationality. Most importantly, they see numerous advantages in cultivating the continued loyalty of their kin diasporas. For countries such as Colombia, Nicaragua, the Dominican Republic and El Salvador, remittances and investments from kin communities in the United States play an important economic role. Diaspora money also now influences national politics and political campaigns in many countries, so politicians may want to win the approval of their financial backers abroad. More generally, they want to keep their diaspora’s loyalty intact, and thus they use citizenship as an incentive for ethnic or national pride.

Many states also want to use the lobbying power of

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*Yossi Shain is the Aaron and Cecile Goldman Visiting Professor at Georgetown University. His regular appointment is as a professor of political science at Tel Aviv University. His latest book, Marketing the American Creed Abroad: Diasporas in the U.S. and Their Homeland (Cambridge University Press, 1999) recently received the Israel Political Science Best Book of the Year Award.*

***Eastern European  
countries have welcomed  
American expatriates as  
leaders, hoping they’ll  
bring American values  
with them.***

their kin, especially in the United States. Armenia, for example — which is involved in a bitter territorial struggle with a neighboring state — works hard to maintain the intensity of diasporic involvement in the motherland’s cause.

During the past decade, Eastern European countries have evoked kinship ties even more dramatically by inviting expatriates in the U.S. to take leading roles in their countries of origin. Consider Milan Panic, a

California pharmaceutical industrialist who became the prime minister of Yugoslavia in 1992; Alexander Eiseln, an American Army colonel who became the defense minister of Estonia in 1993; and Valdas Adamkus, a Lithuanian-American who moved to Lithuania in 1997 and was elected Lithuania’s president in 1998. In the words of one Lithuanian voter, “He lived in America for a long time. ... He knows how the system works there. I think he will bring democracy from America to us.” Also, in Armenia, former foreign minister Raffi Hovannisian and energy minister Sebuth Tashjian are both from California. These are of course rather rare cases of ethnically identified Americans taking posts in their countries of origin at a time when American political and business expertise is sought in nascent states or in new democracies emerging from the shadow of communism. Because of their American experience, these individuals with dual attachments are in a special position to help their ancestral homelands.

Leaders in other countries, realizing that ethnic Americans can be a powerful lobbying force, have at times encouraged their kin to become involved in U.S. foreign policy. However, they fail to recognize that in the process of empowerment, these ethnic Americans may become even more American, and in turn bring back unexpected messages and ideas, such as democratic reforms, much to the chagrin of the kin state. Take, for example, Arab-American relations with Saudi Arabia.

In April 1999, Jeddah’s conservative newspaper *Al-Madina* ran an editorial entitled “A Clinton Victory and Arab Americans.” Noting that the peace accord in Ulster showed the great political clout of Irish-

*Ethnic lobbies  
benefit from the decline  
of traditional foreign  
policy elites.*

Americans, the editorial stated, "The Arab minority in the United States must move toward influential centers in a society where domestic politics [is so crucial]." However, when Arab-American lobbyists like Jim Zogby and Khalil Jashan were welcomed by the Clinton administration as harbingers of peace in the Middle East and subsequently began to contemplate advocating greater openness in the Arab world, they were immediately rebuffed by Arab states, including Saudi Arabia.

**Fear of Hyphenated Americans**

The question of expatriate loyalty has evolved over the years. In the 19th and early 20th centuries, the idea of hyphenated Americans was used by nativists to question the allegiance of immigrants, despite the newcomers' claims that their ancestral identities were not incompatible with their loyalty to America. Even cultural assimilation in America did not shield many immigrants from feeling threatened because of a perceived affinity to their homelands. This was especially the experience of diasporas whose homelands were enemy states at war with the U.S.

American fear of transnational allegiance was also behind the exclusionary laws of the late 1910s and the early 1920s. During World War I, the issue of dual loyalties became particularly prominent with the growing suspicion of pan-German organizations, which prompted America's demand for total assimilation and unqualified renunciation of German-American past loyalties. President Woodrow Wilson feared that American involvement against Germany might unleash "serious domestic clashes inside the U.S."

The most vivid example of misguided fear manifested itself during World War II after the attack on Pearl Harbor. The belief that Japanese-Americans might still be loyal to the ancestral homeland resulted in the relocation and internment of 120,000 Japanese-Americans. As recently as 1991, this animosity surfaced again (albeit in a much milder form), as Arab-Americans became vulnerable to attack during the Gulf War with Iraq.

During the Cold War years, ethnic Americans who sought a voice in foreign policy matters regarding a

country of origin could gain access to decision-makers mostly when their views coincided with America's hostility to communism. Richard Allen, Ronald Reagan's first national security adviser, encouraged Cuban-Americans to build up an ethnic lobby that would serve as a tool furthering the administration's effort to delegitimize the Castro regime. Over time, Jorge Mas Canosa and the Cuban-American National Foundation became a major power broker in American foreign policy.

With the changing nature of America's ethnic mix — i.e., with the proliferation of non-European immigrants arriving mostly from Latin America and Asia, and with the growing advancement of minority groups, especially African-Americans — ethnic Americans began to consider a voice in foreign policy an additional form of empowerment. In America today, there are many new ethnic voices making themselves heard. Even groups which are satisfied with their accomplishments in the American economic arena no longer shy away from foreign policy. Thus, in contrast to their historical timidity in American public affairs, the 1.4 million Indian-Americans have found a political voice and are raising the stature of India in Washington.

**Ethnic Lobbies' Growing Power**

At a time when global foreign relations are no longer defined in strictly East-West terms and U.S. foreign policy is characterized by a diminished cohesiveness, ethnic lobbies are becoming more important in influencing foreign policy makers. The fact that American society and politics permit, or even welcome, expressions of ethnic solidarity and no longer discourage preoccupation with motherlands lends itself to special diasporic influences on the U.S. foreign policy agenda. This reality has raised concerns about the ability of the U.S. to develop foreign policy in the "American national interest." Will its foreign policy be tainted and confused by partisan and divisive ethnic voices? On this point, Samuel Huntington says that by accepting the validity of multiculturalism and by heeding ethnic voices, American decision-makers are at risk of compromising American national interests.

## F O C U S

Such concerns are usually exaggerated. In my book, *Marketing the American Creed Abroad: Diasporas in the U.S. and Their Homeland*, I document that ethnic Americans who engage in U.S. foreign policy are frequently carriers of American foreign policy messages and values, rather than being agents or fifth columns for their countries of origin.

For example, Iranian radicalism is said to be waning as reformist politicians win elections in Teheran. Even Iranian-Americans now see the possibility of building an ethnic lobby without compromising their American loyalties or without being suspected of treason by their kin in Iran. Especially when a homeland is at odds with America, first-generation exiles may feel compelled to

***Young Iranian-Americans are American enough to lobby, and Iranian enough to care about their homeland.***

remain silent, lest they be accused of being traitors at home or spies abroad. Over time, however, their offspring become sufficiently comfortable to organize as ethnic Americans, and eventually to act as a liaison between the U.S. and their homeland. In the case of the million-strong and economically thriving Iranian-American community, Negar Akhvi has recently

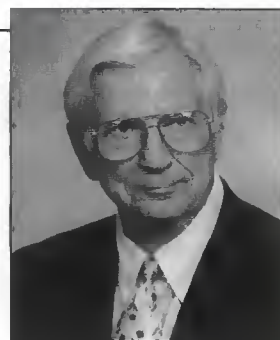
noted that after the revolution of 1979, first-generation immigrants were too timid either to speak against Ayatollah Khomeini or to organize as diasporic Americans. Describing the younger generation of Iranian-Americans in Los Angeles, Akhvi maintains, "the fatigue and the stress that enveloped the generation that fled Iran has not been passed on to my own."



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## F O C U S

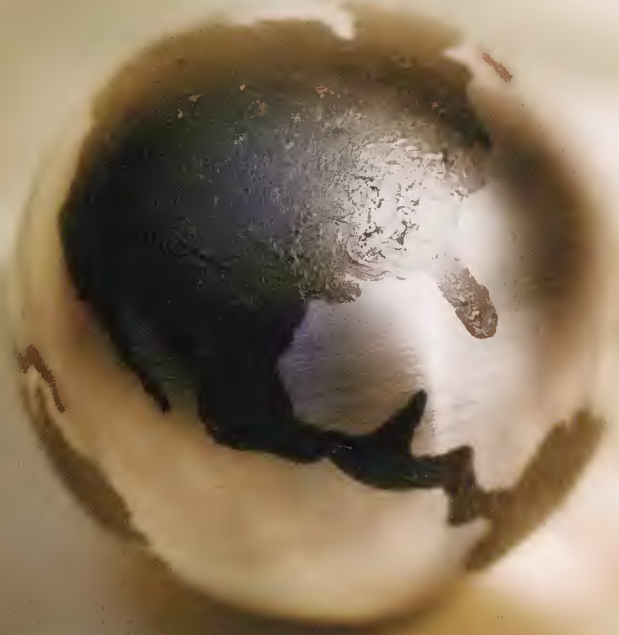
My generation is less scared by the Revolution and at greater ease in democratic forums. In short, we are American enough to form a lobby, yet Iranian enough to care about what happens in our homeland."

Other American ethnic communities, both newcomers and those of long standing, have discovered they can unify and mobilize their particular community by pursuing goals related to the homeland as well as domestic issues in the U.S. That was certainly true of African-Americans as they effectively protested apartheid in South Africa in the mid-1980s. When in 1988 a number of American black leaders announced their preference for the appellation "African-American" over "black," the Rev. Jesse Jackson declared, "Every ethnic group in this country has a reference to some land base, some historical cultural base. African-Americans have hit that level of maturity." Indeed, in recent years African-American activists inside and outside Congress have gained high visibility

and importance in the foreign policy arena. When in 1994 President Clinton was hesitant about restoring deposed President Jean-Bertrand Aristide in Haiti, it was the Congressional Black Caucus and the hunger strike of Randall Robinson, director of the African-American lobby TransAfrica, which forced him to act.

The recent case of Elian Gonzalez is a fascinating example of how diaspora community leaders try to safeguard the exile mentality against the atrophy that would be quite natural for a community of immigrants after 40 years in the United States. It appeared that the Cuban-American community found itself at a critical juncture: Was its identity that of exiles and refugees nurturing their old rhetoric and the hope of return — or were they to become ethnic Americans plain and simple? For Cuban-Americans, the Gonzalez case served as the impetus for reassessing the question of their loyalty, and the community found itself in a precarious dilemma. The difficulty is that if Cuban-

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Americans are perceived as acting outside the laws of America regarding child custody, or in opposition to congressional tendencies to relax the economic sanctions against Cuba, they endanger the sympathy they enjoy as adherents of American interests and values and opponents of the Castro regime. That struggle over the loyalty and identity of Cuban-Americans is certain to continue.

In today's America it becomes more and more difficult to distinguish between domestic and foreign politics. America's divided government, which empowers single members of Congress and even local municipal leaders in foreign policy, enhances the stature and the clout of well-organized ethnic lobbies. These lobbies also benefit from the declining power of traditional foreign policy elites — the old "Eastern establishment." For example, the highly mobilized and well-funded Armenian-American community has gained its reputation over the past decade as the most important element in shaping U.S. foreign policy posture toward the newly independent states in the Caucasus and especially toward the conflict in Nagorno-Karabakh, a territory claimed by both Armenia and Azerbaijan. While Congress continues to support the lobby's position and prohibits direct U.S. assistance to Azerbaijan under Section 907, the Clinton administration strongly opposes Section 907 and has testified in favor of repeal of these sanctions. In his inaugural address in 1998, Armenian President Robert Kocherian emphasized the importance of "the unification of efforts of all Armenians, and ensuring the Armenian diaspora's active participation in the social, political and economic life of our republic. ... Armenia should be a holy motherland for all Armenians, and its victory should be their victory."

#### **Ethnic Americans and the Foreign Service**

The growing acceptance of diversity and multiculturalism within U.S. foreign affairs agencies also opens the policy-making process to new influences. Take, for example, the CIA's recent operational imperative to push for diversity in its clandestine branch, the Directorate of Operations. Presently, just 11 percent of the agency's

### *Henry Kissinger downplayed his Jewish origins in his handling of the Middle East conflict, and angered Israeli militants.*

case officers are minorities and 18 percent are women, while the agency's top managers are predominantly white men. But the increasing focus on terrorists, narcotics traffickers, weapons sellers and other "hard targets" has prompted the agency to recognize that non-white spies fluent in many languages are invaluable to furthering the organization's goals. Although CIA officials concede some initial difficulties in fulfilling this new

imperative, given the agency's past support for coups in Latin America and the Middle East, CIA officials insist that they are nevertheless able to find recruits who are motivated by a sense of U.S. patriotism.

At the same time that such diversity initiatives are lauded, they have not been universally endorsed. Thus, some critics maintain that opportunities for ethnic Americans continue to be limited to positions of lesser prestige and importance. The U.S. Foreign Service is a case in point. Cresencio Arcos, former U.S. ambassador to Honduras, has charged, in the December 1999 *Foreign Service Journal*, that the issue of diversity in the Foreign Service has yet to be fully addressed. Although most members of the Foreign Service welcome diversity, and the position of African-Americans and Hispanics has improved in past years, these minorities are often relegated to consular or administrative positions and are still not granted posts of strategic importance to America.

Findings provided by Rodolfo O. de la Garza of the Tomás Rivera Policy Institute, a U.S. institute for research on Hispanic issues, further reveal that 54 percent of Hispanic Foreign Service officers say that Anglo officials "treat them differently than they treat other non-Hispanic white officers." Moreover, 44 percent of Hispanic officers felt that their assigned positions in Latin America have hindered their career prospects. Yet 95 percent of Hispanic officers report that they have never felt divided loyalties even though 34 percent of officers have been accused of divided loyalties. Extrapolating from this and other data, the message appears to be one of significant discontent among Hispanic Foreign Service officers with regard to their career prospects.

Despite the discontents expressed by Hispanic FSOs, there is a growing perception within U.S. government agencies that ethnic identities do not really present a threat to the effective work of U.S. foreign affairs professionals. To the contrary, the ethnic origin factor is seen as an asset that may actually augment diplomats' expertise thanks to linguistic capabilities and cultural knowledge—skills that enable Foreign Service officers to operate more effectively in their posts. Thus, with the passage of time, there is less tendency to suspect or stigmatize the ethnic American Foreign Service employee as having a potential for divided loyalties. This trend is illustrated well by the decline of stigmatization of the Jewish-American diplomatic role in Middle East affairs.

### **Jewish Americans and Middle East Policy**

When U.S. foreign policy was determined by traditional professional elites, there was a tendency to perceive Jewish-American affinity with Israel as a liability, especially since the Foreign Service held that America's close ties to Israel could jeopardize its interest in the Arab world or the oil-rich countries. In the 1950s, U.S. foreign policy-makers under Eisenhower viewed Israel as, at best, a benign presence in the Middle East and, more commonly, as an irritant in America's strategic planning in the region. At the height of the Cold War, Jewish Americans were leery about breaking with the American official line. For instance, during the Suez Crisis of 1956, the Jewish-American lobby emphasized its allegiance to American interests and was reluctant to push Israel's case for fear of being labeled disloyal.

A Jewish-American FSO-01 who joined the service in the 1960s told me that his greatest challenge as an ethnic Jew was adjusting to the normative profile of a Foreign Service officer. Having grown up in New York City and attended a city college, he had to acquire the culture of courtesy and purify New York "Jewish" speech patterns. "Serving in the Near East and Asian Bureau was for me a cultural education into an Ivy League world I was not familiar with," he said. "I never felt, however, that my loyalty was questioned regardless of the Arabist tendencies in the bureau at the time."

The emphasis on American allegiance by Jewish Americans could also be seen in Secretary of State Henry Kissinger's handling of the Middle East conflict. During the Nixon and Ford administrations, Kissinger

downplayed his Jewish origin in his work on this policy area. Kissinger was attacked vehemently by the American-Israel Political Action Committee when he attempted to push Israel into a deal with the Arabs. In light of Israel's reluctance to accept an American dictate, AIPAC mobilized the Congress against President Ford's decision to reassess U.S. policy in the Middle East and U.S. relations with Israel. When 76 senators wrote to the president urging him to declare that "the U.S. acting in its own national interest stands firmly with Israel," Kissinger responded angrily. He berated Israeli Ambassador Simcha Dinitz and told him that the letter "will increase anti-Semitism, it will cause people to charge that Jews control Congress." As a result, Kissinger was accused of betrayal and hounded by demonstrators in Israel. His insistent loyalty to the United States thus resulted in his being pulled from both sides of the ethnic bridge.

The allegation that Jews cannot always be both good Americans and good Jews surfaced on various occasions when there was a contest between the White House and the Israel lobby. Today, however, as foreign policy-making in Washington is becoming more dispersed and influenced by, among other things, think tanks, public opinion and the media, ethnic lobbyists are no longer perceived as an inherent threat to the national interest, and the dreaded charge of "divided loyalties" is less and less persuasive. In fact, the end of the Cold War and deep splits within Israel regarding the direction of the Palestinian peace process and the character of the Jewish state have tended to divide the U.S. Jewish community. Thus, when President Clinton wanted to demonstrate his frustration with former Israeli Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu, he could call upon certain Jewish-American community leaders to mobilize their constituencies to reprimand the Israeli government for its behavior.

At times, individuals associated with ethnic lobbies have even established themselves as leading experts in their respective kin states and, as such, are mobilized by the American government as more effective messengers in the United States or in their ancestral homelands. When persons of Jewish origins, such as Aaron Miller, Dennis Ross, or Martin Indyk (who was a member of the pro-Israel lobby before he established the Washington Institute for Near East Policy) are situated at the forefront of American foreign policy in the Middle

## F O C U S

East, the idea that committed Jews cannot be trusted as brokers in the Arab-Israeli peace process is no longer viable. Even Arab leaders and Arab-Americans have grudgingly accepted this as a fact of life, despite ongoing Arab-Israeli conflicts. Take, for example, Daniel Kurzer, America's current ambassador to Egypt, who is a deeply committed and publicly identified Jew. The prominence of these individuals in Middle East policy-making is a clear indication that in America at least, Jewish identity does not provoke serious suspicions of divided loyalties.

Finally, we should not forget that America's generally benign attitude toward questions of ethnic loyalty does have its limits. After Jonathan Pollard, an Israeli-American, was convicted of spying for Israel, it was not surprising that the Jewish-American com-

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munity was much less merciful toward Pollard than was the Israeli government, which has been trying for years to secure his release from prison. More recently, Wen Ho Lee, the physicist formerly at Los Alamos National Laboratory who is alleged to have passed nuclear secrets to China, has reportedly caused a cloud of suspicion to be cast over other

Chinese-American scientists.

Despite these rare cases, the overall trend in the United States has clearly moved in recent decades in a more positive direction. There is an ever greater acceptance of the legitimacy of ethnic Americans in national policy-making, as well as a growing appreciation that in the present period of globalization, America's ethnic groups can strengthen and expand U.S. influence around the world. ■

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# MULTINATIONALS AMONG US: THE RISE OF DUAL CITIZENSHIP



**F** IN TODAY'S GLOBALIZED WORLD, NATIONS NO LONGER FEEL THREATENED BY CITIZENS WHO HOLD ALLEGIANCES TO MULTIPLE COUNTRIES.

*By PETER J. SPIRO*

For centuries, the notion that individuals should have one and only one nationality was an organizing principle of interstate relations. Just as nation-states carved up the world's territory to the end that all was spoken for but nothing shared, so too did they try to allocate the world's population. People who were citizens of more than one country presented too great a risk of sparking bilateral conflicts through the human equivalent of turf contests between states. But that risk has dissipated in the face of globalization and the development of human rights norms. States are increasingly tolerant of the status, and the incidence of dual nationality is exploding. To the extent that any distaste for dual nationality still lingers, it is a fading echo of another era.

Though migration has always resulted in some cases of dual nationality — for example, sometimes children born on

foreign soil were claimed as nationals of the countries from which their parents emigrated, and their essentially passive nationality went unchallenged by authorities — until recently, dual nationality remained an anomaly and was considered by some to be immoral. The venerable American diplomat George Bancroft observed in 1849 that nations should “as soon tolerate a man with two wives as a man with two countries; as soon bear with polygamy as that state of double allegiance.” In 1915, Teddy Roosevelt labeled the “theory” of dual nationality “a self-evident absurdity.” Dual nationality was thought to represent an intolerable division of the loyalty owed to one’s country. Almost all states canceled citizenship upon naturalization elsewhere; until the late 1960s, one forfeited American citizenship for so much as voting in another state’s elections.

### **Dual Nationality Abhorred**

The antipathy once associated with dual nationality was so entrenched that it was almost reflexive. In the popular mind, dual nationality has been loosely identified with shadowy fifth columns and saboteurs. The status was considered an affront to a nation; one could not be equally loyal to two different countries. Even today, many still believe dual nationality to be illegal or wrong.

The historical explanation for efforts to eradicate dual nationality is far more prosaic, though it will resonate with any Foreign Service officer who has completed a tour on consular duty. It had nothing to do with spies, and little to do with loyalties; rather, it was rooted in the challenges that dual nationals posed to the institution of diplomatic protection. Before World War II and the modern human rights revolution, the rights of individuals depended entirely on nationality, and sovereigns could do as they pleased with their own. In the case of a dual national, the right of one state to protect its citizen from mistreatment by another ran headlong into the other’s

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*Peter J. Spiro, a law professor at Hofstra University, is a former State Department lawyer and National Security Council staff member. In 1998-99, he undertook a study of the law of U.S. citizenship as an Open Society Institute Individual Project Fellow.*

***“Nations should as soon tolerate a man with two wives as a man with two countries.”***

***—George Bancroft, 1849***

sovereign discretion over its own nationals.

Disputes over the treatment of dual nationals were often serious irritants in bilateral relations of the 19th and early 20th centuries; at one time or another, such disputes were central to U.S. relations with the major European powers. A frequent cause of these disputes was the refusal of the “sending” states (that is, states with high emigration) — including Great Britain, Italy,

and the German principalities — to recognize the right of individuals to abandon their original nationality and become Americans. For example, immigrants who had naturalized in the U.S. could be prosecuted for failing to satisfy military service obligations in their country of origin when they returned for a visit. Conflict would arise when American diplomats tried to shield the naturalized American from such prosecution.

But U.S. authorities were sometimes put in the position of defending someone whose claim to protection was shaky at best. Many immigrants to the U.S. during the 19th century returned to their homelands for permanent resettlement at the same time that they retained their naturalized American citizenship. (One generally did not automatically lose American citizenship for simply returning home.) These dual nationals would attempt to use their status to their advantage — to get out of obligatory military service, for example — even though they had effectively abandoned their adopted country. The State Department was forced to decide which nationals it should protect and which were appropriately subject to home country obligations, a line that wasn’t always easy to draw and which rarely satisfied either immigrant communities in the U.S. or European governments. In 1874 President Grant expressed his disapproval of those who used “claims to citizenship of the United States simply as a shield from the performance of the obligations of a citizen elsewhere.” As one congressman observed in 1940 hearings on nationality law reforms, “these people have gotten awfully patriotic along about the time that they have had trouble abroad.”

Conflict over the rights of dual nationals could result in war. The War of 1812 was in large part provoked by Great Britain’s attempt to conscript U.S. citizens whose naturalization it did not recognize. U.S. foreign relations

compilations from the 19th and early 20th century are replete with high-level disputes relating to dual nationals. To solve the problem, the U.S. negotiated treaties (most notably the Bancroft conventions of the 1860s and 1870s with several German principalities and Scandinavian countries) providing for the attribution of sole U.S. nationality for immigrants, with a reversion to sole original nationality upon permanent return to a home country. These bilateral arrangements found a backstop in U.S. nationality law under which a variety of acts — voting, holding office, serving in the armed forces, or naturalizing in another country — resulted in the automatic loss of American citizenship.

Through the middle of the 20th century, dual nationality in any active sense was thus effectively prohibited under U.S. law. But the American government's decision to adopt such a regime, whose lead the vast majority of other countries followed, had little to do with fear of disloyal citizens. There is little evidence that conflicting loyalties led citizens to participate in anti-American activities. During World War II, some Americans who held passive nationality through parentage in Axis nations chose to join Axis armies with little complication; they simply lost their U.S. citizenship in the act of enlisting elsewhere. There appears not a single notable instance of a dual national having engaged in espionage — perhaps not surprisingly, as any real spy would be foolish to advertise a competing attachment.

### **Welcoming Dual Nationality**

But historical antipathy towards dual nationality is fast eroding, and its incidence is now growing rapidly. Today, many are born with dual nationality, the product of binational parentage. Others acquire dual national status with new citizenships, retaining birth citizenship upon naturalization in another country. In both cases, states are moving to recognize the retention of other nationalities. Mexico, Turkey, the Dominican Republic, Italy, and Thailand are among many recent additions to the list of countries which allow birth citizens to retain nationality when they naturalize elsewhere; Korea, India, and the Philippines are poised to follow. Some “sending” states, such as Mexico and Turkey, are actually encouraging

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their emigrant populations to naturalize in their new countries so as to cement economic and political ties with diasporic populations.

Even in most “receiving” countries, including the United States, Great Britain, Canada, France, and Italy, the quiet rise in dual nationality has attracted little controversy. In the United States, the prospect of millions of dual Mexican-American nationals concentrated on the southern border has failed to provoke any policy initiatives for deterring dual nationality. Even Germany, with its notoriously restrictive naturalization policy, increasingly tolerates the retention of original nationality by naturalizing aliens. As globalization fuels migration, and states no longer attempt to suppress dual nationality, the status is now almost commonplace.

How did we get from there to here? The shift is a profound one. The state has long demanded exclusive allegiance. The abandonment of that demand speaks importantly to the transformation of international relations.

### **Less Risk of Conflict**

If the rule against dual nationality was rooted in issues of diplomatic protection, that foundation has been washed away. In today's world, internationally accepted standards of human rights discourage sovereigns from doing as they please with their subjects. Other countries now protest the treatment of individuals regardless of nationality; it is unlikely today that a dual national could rupture diplomatic relations between states. The sticking points that once caused interstate conflict over dual nationals — especially military service and taxes — have largely been resolved under bilateral agreements which make residence, not citizenship, the criterion that determines a dual national's obligations to his or her countries.

Of course, diplomatic protection is hardly on the minds of most who persist in opposing dual citizenship, nor can they plausibly assert that dual nationals pose some sort of security risk. Rather, opponents of dual nationality are left to raise the specter of an electoral fifth column. As the political columnist and ardent dual nationality critic Georgie Anne Geyer wrote of Mexico's recent acceptance of the status: it “creates a kind of Mexican political lobby of newly enfranchised citizens of

cultural allegiance would remain in Mexico." Similarly, the restrictionist Federation of Americans for Immigration Reform claims that the Mexican government is "attempting to maintain the allegiance of a huge voting bloc in U.S. elections."

But to what end? Globalization and the end of the Cold War have greatly reduced the number of issues on which states suffer conflicting interests. On trade issues, for example, the Mexican national interest in most cases coincides with the interests of American consumers. In that case, can it be deemed somehow against the "national" interest to vote in a way calculated to benefit another country? It is increasingly difficult to isolate distinct national interests on such other global issues as transnational crime, the environment, and human rights.

Of course, the citizenship tie will hardly be determinative of voting behavior. Americans often vote with an eye to the interests of their ethnic community; indeed, that is at the core of our political tradition. Mexicans who naturalize as U.S. citizens and who abandon their Mexican nationality in the process could of course continue to vote Mexican interests even in the absence of the formal link. On the other hand, it overestimates the current significance of citizenship to assume that an individual who retains alternate nationality will necessarily vote accordingly. Citizens are hardly a docile herd, ready to do the bidding of their governmental masters. Emigrants, especially, tend not to accept the command of homeland rulers, and their political conduct is likely to be driven more by interests other than those of their alternate nationality.

Indeed, it is not clear why the political identities of dual nationals should be restricted in any significant way. In the U.S., nothing bars dual nationals from elective office. There are already cases of dual nationals serving in state and local governments, and it may not be long before we find one in high federal office. As for appointed office, dual nationality would not seem to be a disqualification for most domestic policy-making positions. Dual nationals should not categorically be denied work in national security, although under current practice dual nationality is a significant obstacle to gaining most security clearances: A congressional

*National identity may  
now resemble  
membership in other  
groups in civil society.*

staffer participating in a campaign finance investigation recently had his clearance revoked because he had acquired Irish nationality.

And so what of such solemn terms as "loyalty" and "allegiance" that have draped discussions of dual nationality? Nationality may still represent an important element of

identity, which explains the motivation of many who acquire or retain the status. But national identity may now resemble something akin to membership in other groups, religions, corporations, localities, and the innumerable other elements of civil society. It is not necessarily primary, and not inherently exclusive. Maintaining membership in another national community may have become no more threatening than maintaining membership in the Catholic Church, the Sierra Club, or Amnesty International; just as it is consistent to be both American and Catholic, for example, it is consistent to be both American and French. Nations can no longer jealously demand that their membership remain a monogamous one.

**No Going Back**

It seems clear that multiple nationality is here to stay. Building on the Supreme Court's watershed 1968 decision in *Afroyim v. Rusk*, which found unconstitutional the involuntary forfeiture of citizenship, U.S. law now fully tolerates the status. Americans who naturalize elsewhere retain their U.S. citizenship, unless they really want to renounce it. Foreigners who naturalize in the U.S. may retain their original nationality to the extent permitted by their home country; the American oath of naturalization, under which new citizens are required to renounce absolutely allegiance to foreign powers, has never been enforced.

It is remarkable how little opposition has surfaced in this country to dual nationality. One would have expected immigration restrictionists on the Hill and elsewhere to have jumped on the issue. They have not and will not, at least not with any success. Too many of us, Republicans and Democrats, individuals of Irish, Jewish, and Italian, as well as of Mexican and Dominican descent have spouses, children, nephews and nieces who are dual nationals, and also good Americans. ■

# DISLOYALTY AS A PRINCIPLE: WHY COMMUNISTS SPIED



Adam Niklewicz

**I** DURING THE 1930s AND ESPECIALLY DURING WORLD WAR II, SOME COMMUNISTS FELT THEY SERVED A GREATER CAUSE BY SPYING FOR THE SOVIET UNION.

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By MAURICE ISSERMAN

In the early 1950s, Americans were confronted by deeply disturbing questions and charges regarding the loyalty of federal government employees to their own country. "A conspiracy on a scale so immense as to dwarf any previous such venture in the history of man" was afoot, Wisconsin Sen. Joseph McCarthy declared sensationally on the floor of the U.S. Senate in 1951. According to McCarthy, Communist infiltrators had extended their influence to the very highest councils of the executive branch of the U.S. government during the years in which Franklin Roosevelt and his successor, Harry Truman, sat in the White House.

Newspaper headlines and courtroom verdicts seemingly buttressed the Republican senator's fervently partisan accusation that there had been "20 years of treason" in Washington. In 1948, in testimony before the House Committee on

Un-American Activities, Whittaker Chambers, a self-confessed former agent of Soviet military intelligence, accused a long list of former government employees including Alger Hiss, a senior American diplomat in World War II, and Harry Dexter White, a former assistant secretary of the treasury, of having provided secret government documents to him in the 1930s. All of them denied the charges. White died of a heart attack before he had to face the legal consequences of Chambers' accusation. But Hiss was convicted in federal court on perjury charges in 1950 for having denied his involvement with Chambers in the 1930s.

The Truman administration's efforts to purge the government of Communists and their fellow-travelers through an extensive "loyalty-review" program, though resulting in hundreds of firings and forced resignations, did little to reassure an increasingly panicked public. In fact, the program did little to reinforce national security: most of those who lost their jobs were guilty of nothing more than signing the wrong petition or subscribing to the wrong periodical. The triumph of the Communist revolution in China in 1949 led to an ill-tempered debate in the United States over "who lost China?" and to the resignations of a number of the State Department's most experienced "China hands" from government service.

One case in particular seemed to dramatize the potentially disastrous consequences of unchecked disloyalty. Julius Rosenberg, a civilian wartime employee of the Army Signal Corps, along with his wife Ethel, were arrested in 1950, convicted in 1951, and executed in 1953 for having aided the Soviets in their penetration of the top-secret Manhattan Project that developed nuclear weapons during World War II. In sentencing the two "atom spies" to death, Judge Irving Kaufman declared that the American people had to realize that they were engaged in "a life and death struggle with a completely different system." Not only were the two sides engaged in a struggle for supremacy abroad, but "this case indicates quite clearly that [the struggle] also involved the employment by the enemy of secret as well as overt outspoken

forces among our own people." The Rosenbergs, Kaufman concluded, had "altered the course of history to the disadvantage of our country."

### **When Secret Archives Open**

A half century after these events, the Rosenbergs, Chambers, Hiss, White, and others from that turbulent era were once again making headlines and provoking debate. Old controversies took on new life, thanks to the release of previously secret documents from official archives in the United States and the former Soviet Union. Among the most significant of these new sources are the files of the Venona project (Soviet diplomatic cables intercepted by U.S. intelligence during World War II and painstakingly deciphered in a decades-long, top-secret effort), as well as the partial opening of Communist Party and Soviet intelligence agency archives in Moscow.

These archives have provided evidence that confirms the guilt of many of those previously accused of espionage, and have revealed the names of scores of other individuals who were either active participants in Soviet espionage, or at the least compromised by their contacts with Soviet agents in the 1930s and 1940s. While some sensationalist and unreliable accounts, in their own way all too reminiscent of the excesses of the McCarthy era, have drawn on these sources to tarnish the names and reputations of the innocent, Venona and the Moscow archives have also provided the basis for such sober and searching accounts as Joseph Albright and Marcia Kunstel's *Bombshell: The Secret Story of America's Unknown Atomic Spy Conspiracy* (1997), Sam Tanenhaus's *Whittaker Chambers: A Biography* (1997), Allen Weinstein and Alexander Vassiliev's *The Haunted Wood: Soviet Espionage in America — The Stalin Era* (1999), and John Earl Haynes and Harvey Klehr's *Venona: Decoding Soviet Espionage in America* (1999). Taken together, these books offer a detailed and authoritative account of the successes and limits of Soviet espionage efforts in the United States in the 1930s and 1940s.

The heyday of Soviet espionage occurred in a single decade, roughly 1935 through 1945. Before then, very little actual spying went on, at least insofar as it affected the American government. Soviet agents had been arriving on American shores since shortly after the 1917 Bolshevik revolution, but they had concentrated on rather mundane tasks, such as acquiring American pass-

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*Maurice Isserman is the William R. Kenan Jr. Professor of History at Hamilton College in Clinton, N.Y., and is the author of numerous books on the history of 20th century American radicalism. His most recent published work is The Other American: The Life of Michael Harrington, Public Affairs Press, 2000.*

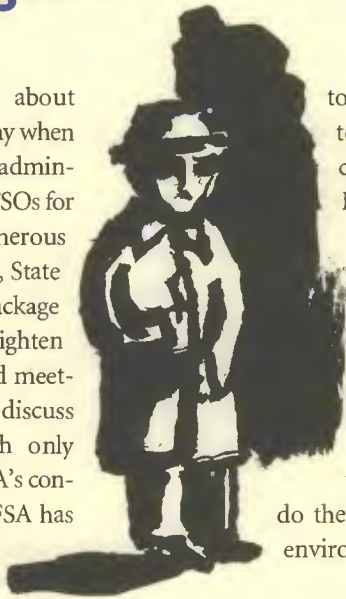
# AFSA NEWS

American Foreign Service Association • October 2000

## EYE ON SECURITY

### New Security Measures Introduced By State Management

Responding to concerns about security, heightened in May when it came to light that the administration had nominated several FSOs for ambassadorships who had numerous security infractions in their files, State management has developed a package of new measures designed to tighten security policies. AFSA has held meetings with State management to discuss the policy proposals, although only some of the changes require AFSA's concurrence prior to adoption. AFSA has expressed to management the view that the new policies need



to be strong enough to effect positive change but not so Draconian that they demoralize employees and generate resistance. AFSA has also argued that State must give employees the tools necessary to do their jobs in a secure environment, including

*Continued on page 6*

## GRIEVANCE BOARD RESCINDS DCM ASSIGNMENT

### Foreign Service Wins Historic Legal Victory

The Foreign Service Grievance Board ruled Aug. 18 that State Department managers violated the Open Assignments Agreement and the Agreement on Foreign Service Appointments when they assigned someone from outside the Foreign Service (a career Civil Service employee) to be the deputy chief of mission at a U.S. embassy. The board's decision affirms the requirement that DCM positions be filled from within the Foreign Service unless there is no one

within the service qualified and available to fill the position.

The board has directed the department to rescind that assignment and to comply with legal and regulatory requirements in refilling the position.

AFSA instituted the grievance out of concern that the assignment undermined the professional FS. AFSA believes the decision does not disadvantage the department but protects it and the integrity of the assignment process. The

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## LEGISLATIVE VICTORY

### Passage of H.R. 4040

AFSA played a pivotal role in making sure the Foreign Service was included in two new laws passed in late July by the House and Senate, and sent to the president for signature and enactment. The legislation in H.R. 4040 will allow active and retired federal employees to purchase long-term care insurance at a discounted rate, and will provide for a correction for those federal employees who were placed in the wrong retirement system.

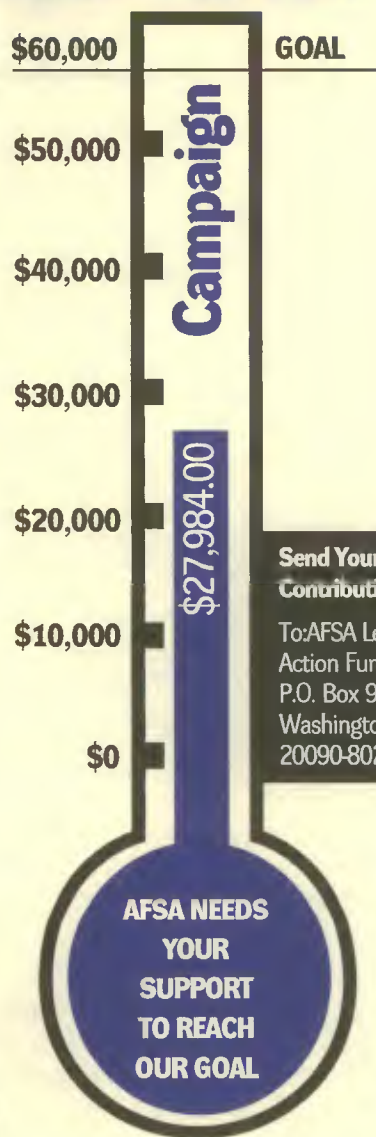
The long-term care insurance section of H.R. 4040 authorizes the Office of Personnel Management (OPM) to negotiate with insurance companies to develop a long-term care insurance package for active

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# AFSA NEWS BRIEF



## Legislative Action Fund



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H.R. 208, the bill that includes the changes to the TSP program. The House is currently studying Senate changes, but AFSA is optimistic the bill will be sent to the President.

## Progress on Changing Thrift Savings Plan Participation

AFSA has been working with other federal unions and with members of Congress to support legislation that would allow new federal employees immediate participation in the Thrift Savings Plan (TSP) and would allow the transfer of a limited portion of a new employee's eligible rollover distribution into the TSP. Currently, new employees must wait until the second TSP open season to begin participating, which can mean a wait of six to 12 months. On July 21, the Senate passed

## AFSA Distributes Financial Aid Awards

AFSA has awarded 51 students need-based financial aid scholarships totaling \$124,050 for the 2000/2001 academic year. Financial support for the scholarships comes from DACOR, AAFSW (Associates of the American Foreign Service Worldwide), and from individuals and organizations that have established scholarships with AFSA.



During the 1999/2000 academic year, \$118,000 was distributed to 62 students. The maximum award was increased by \$500 to \$3,500 per student for the 2000/2001 academic year in an effort to keep pace with increasing college costs. Six students received the maximum award amount. All students receive biographical information about their donors so they can understand the FS connection.

Reminder: AFSA scholarship applications will be available on AFSA's Web page ([www.afsa.org](http://www.afsa.org)) beginning Nov. 1. The application deadline is Feb. 4, 2001. FS high school seniors can apply for academic, art merit or need-based financial aid awards, and college undergraduates can apply for need-based financial aid awards. For more information regarding applying for an AFSA scholarship award, please call Lori Dec at (202) 944-5504 or 1-800-704-2372 ext. 504 or email [dec@afsa.org](mailto:dec@afsa.org).

## HOUSEHOLD EFFECTS (HHE) CAN GO FARTHER

AFSA has successfully convinced State management to change the regulations and now permit HHE to be delivered to a local address outside the 50-mile radius from Washington, DC.

News Brief continued on page 3

How to Contact us:

**AFSA News Editor:** Shawn Dorman  
(202) 338-4045 x 503

**Internet Addresses:**  
[afsa@afsa.org](mailto:afsa@afsa.org) (Association)  
[pres@afsa.org](mailto:pres@afsa.org) (President)  
[journal@afsa.org](mailto:journal@afsa.org) (FSJ)

**AFSA Headquarters:**  
(202) 338-4045 FAX: (202) 338-6820

**State Department Office:**  
(202) 647-8160 FAX: (202) 647-0265

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**Accounting Assistant:** Thomasina Johnson  
**Labor Management**  
**General Counsel:** Sharon Papp  
**Labor Management Attorney:** Zlatana Badrich Specialist: James Yorke  
**Labor Relations Specialist:** Carol Lutz  
**Grievance Attorneys:** Harry Sizer, Tracy Smith  
**Law Clerk:** Neera Panikh  
**Office Manager:** Naida Harrington; Christine Warren  
**Member Services**  
**Director:** Janet Hedrick  
**Representative:** Christine Spaulding  
**Administrative Assistant:** Ana Lopez  
**Retiree Liaison:** Ward Thompson  
**Professional Programs**  
**Professional Issues Coordinator:** Vacant  
**Congressional Affairs Director:** Ken Nakamura  
**Communications Coordinator:** Lauren McCuen  
**Scholarship Administrator:** Lori Dec  
**Corporate Relations:** Barbara Bowie-Whitman



### Home Businesses at Post

A new policy on home-based businesses allows FS family members to use their government housing for private business as long as the conduct either fosters cultural understanding between the embassy community and the local community or is approved by the chief of mission under certain conditions. The regulations are detailed in 6 FAM 725.7 Businesses, and can also be found online at <http://aafsw.org/workathome.htm>.

### Bylaws Amended to Change Timing of AFSA Election

The AFSA membership has approved the amendment of the AFSA bylaws by a vote of 2512 in favor and 32 against. The amendment now makes it possible for the AFSA Elections for the 2001/2003 Governing Board to begin this month with the Call for Nominations (see page 8) and ballots to be counted on March 1, 2001. The new board takes office July 15, 2001.

### Don't Forget Absentee Voting

Federal elections are upon us. Voting is a civic duty, and it also helps you maintain your legal domicile back home, which can be important when it comes to filing legal motions. Some employees overseas have had problems when authorities in the state they call home have questioned their ties to that state. The American citizens services unit in your embassy should have federal post card applications for voter registration and requests for absentee ballots. Information can also be obtained from the Web site of the federal voting assistance program at [www.fvap.ncr.gov](http://www.fvap.ncr.gov). □

## Taking Care of the Troops

Serving as a U.S. Army officer in the early 1980s, I got used to eating bread-ends because those were often the only slices left after my soldiers had gone through the chow line during field maneuvers. I recently recalled this example of how military leaders take care of their troops after someone suggested that one solution for State's staffing gaps would be to fill seventh floor staff positions only after all other vacancies had been filled. That, he argued, would quickly focus senior management's attention on resolving the problem.



Of course, State does not work that way. At times, taking care of employees seems to be the department's last priority. Here are several examples:

- State's long-term per diem rate drops to 25 percent after 120 days. This despite the fact that a) no temporary accommodation can be obtained at that rate and b) several other federal agencies maintain their employees long-term per diem at a 50 percent rate after 120 days.

- State, unlike other agencies, has not taken advantage of the law permitting agencies to reimburse employees who pay property management fees for their permanent residence when they are assigned to an overseas post.

- State had no one working with Congress to make sure that the Foreign Service was covered by legislation establishing the new long-term care insurance program. Luckily, AFSA filled this vacuum and saw to it that we were included.

Department officials argue that they simply do not have adequate funding to be as employee-friendly as they would like. However, other agencies manage to do better. For example, last summer's \$11.2 billion emergency appropriation referred to as the Colombia supplemental actually provided more money for "unfunded personnel and readiness requirements" at the Pentagon and Coast Guard than it did to counter drug production in the Andes.

Of course, the Bureau of Human Resources and the Bureau of Administration have implemented a number of employee-friendly policies in recent years (some in response to AFSA proposals). However, much remains to be done. The new director general has said that he wants to make employees "proud of being in the Foreign Service." The best way to do that is for the Foreign Service to show that it is proud of its employees.

Again, I can only contrast this with the situation at other agencies. When the new chief of naval operations took office last July, the focus of a full one-half of his first message to the field was his "commitment to our people as our most important resource." He went on to say: "We are bound by a voluntary covenant to our country and to each other, up and down the chain of command. As part of that covenant, leaders promise respect, clear direction, meaningful work and the tools and training to do that work, recognition of a job well done, and opportunity for personal and professional growth. The measure of any leader is the extent to which he or she fulfills that promise."

Compare those words to anything issued by our own leaders in recent years. More importantly, let's compare them in a few months to the initial message of the next secretary of State. □

Department officials argue that they simply do not have adequate funding to be as employee-friendly as they would like.

# Q&A

## Personnel Issues

BY JAMES YORK,

LABOR MANAGEMENT SPECIALIST

**Q. I slipped and fell on a polished floor in the embassy. I do not appear to have any lasting injuries except a slight bruise on my hip. Should I file for worker's compensation?**

**A.** Yes. Always file a CA-1 within 30 days, however minor the injury. This is not the same as filing a claim, but it gives notice to your agency and OWCP (Office of Workers' Compensation Programs) that an accident has occurred. If you fail to file because the injury appears to be minor and the "minor" injury later develops into something more serious, it will be harder to prove that the injury actually occurred.

**Q. If I am sick and exhaust all my leave, can my request for leave donations under the Voluntary Leave Transfer Program (VLTP) be anonymous?**

**A.** Yes. Although many people prefer that their names be revealed, because they know their friends and colleagues will be more likely to donate leave, 3 FAM 3344 states that information concerning individual leave recipients and donors is considered personnel sensitive. The names of leave recipients may be revealed only if authorized by the recipient on the application form. Similarly, the names of donors and the

amounts that were donated may not be revealed, including to the recipient, unless the donor asks that the recipient be informed.

The Voluntary Leave Transfer Program (3 FAM 3342.1) is administered by the executive director of a bureau domestically or the administrative officer overseas. These officials approve or deny applications to be a designated leave recipient and approve or



If you fail to file because the injury appears to be minor and the "minor" injury later develops into something more serious, it will be harder to prove that the injury actually occurred.

deny written requests to donate leave. The following quotation from the cable 92 State 149983 — "Revised Voluntary Leave Transfer Program and Guidelines," gives more information on how to manage anonymity:

**Locating Donors:** Depending on the wishes of the leave recipient, as stated on the application form, Executive Directors may use memoranda, notices and telegrams to inform colleagues of

the needs of an approved leave recipient. How widely the information is made known will depend on the estimated needs. Information circulated about a leave recipient should normally be limited to a discreet description of the employee's emergency situation and an estimate of the number of hours of leave that will be needed. The recipient's name may not be used in such publicity unless he/she has authorized that it be used. A potential donor responding to publicity must be given the name, however, unless the recipient has requested complete anonymity on his/her application.

Employees expressed concern in the past about the lack of privacy in connection with making an appeal for leave donations. In response to these concerns, AFSA proposed that the Department institute a Voluntary Leave Bank to work in parallel to the VLTP. We believe that the information provided above has met the concerns, and that a leave bank program would impose another bureaucratic layer. AFSA will not, therefore, pursue the leave bank proposal further.

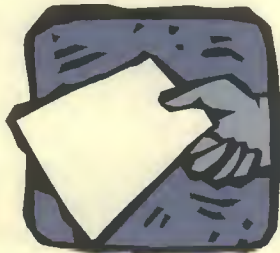
The VLTP is run by Anita Brown in HR/ER (tel: (202) 261-8171), who is ready to answer any questions. As always, do not hesitate to contact me in the AFSA Labor Management Office by phone, (202) 647-8160, on DOS Opennet, or on the Internet at [yorkej@state.gov](mailto:yorkej@state.gov) if you have any questions or problems concerning personnel matters. □

## Online Database Matches Retirees with Jobs and Speaking Engagements

The new AFSA skills database is now online. It already contains information on nearly 300 retired members who agreed to make their data available to the public for use by prospective employers and/or for potential speaking engagements. AFSA is making a special effort to encourage State Department offices to draw on the database for their temporary staffing needs.

While anyone can use the database, you must be a retired AFSA member to be included in it. You are invited to visit the database. If you are a retiree, you can check your own record and edit it as necessary. Registrants are also urged to encourage other retired members to sign up. Find the skills database on the AFSA web page at [www.afsa.org](http://www.afsa.org). □

and retired federal civilian and uniformed employees. Participants will pay the full premium, but the group rate should be about 15-20 percent below market rates. The program should be fully implemented by 2002. AFSA, working with



Former AFSA President

Dan Geisler met with

congressional staff and testified before the House and Senate to make sure they were aware the FS should not be left out of any corrective legislation.

Rep. Connie Morella, R-Md., and House Civil Service Subcommittee staff drafting the legislation, made sure the Foreign Service was covered under the legislation.

The correction of employees in the wrong retirement system section requires that all government agencies make efforts to identify and notify individuals affected by retirement coverage errors. In the mid-1980s when the "new" retirement system (FERS/FSPS) was created, many agencies made errors when placing newly hired federal employees, or those re-entering federal service or transferring from one agency to another, into a retirement system. The new law should help ensure the errors are corrected. Efforts to provide for the correction of those FS personnel in the wrong retirement system began in 1997. Former AFSA President Dan Geisler met with congressional staff and testified before the House and Senate to make sure they were aware the FS should not be left out of any corrective legislation. □

## "New State" Is an Oxymoron

In public remarks at a recent ceremony, a senior State Department official was looking back on the past few years and proudly referred to "New State." Not only would I argue that it is not "new," I would contend that the phrase "New State" is an oxymoron.

There is no way to create something new without change. While change is a challenge for any established bureaucracy, it appears to be anathema to the State Department. After three years working as an elected official of AFSA, first as the USIA AFSA Vice President (1997-99) and then as the AFSA representative for integration issues, I have watched the State Department bureaucracy struggle to deal with change. For the most part it isn't a pretty sight. Good ideas, policies, and proposals with support within management as well as AFSA repeatedly come to naught because of State's culture of inflexibility and resistance to change.

If the department is truly serious about attracting and keeping "the best and the brightest," it needs to rethink where and how to conduct diplomacy in the 21st century.

As the oldest Cabinet office, the State department appropriately takes pride in its long tradition. However, State's inability to take advantage of the integration with USIA and ACDA to review its operating style and structure was a great disappointment. State's ability to ignore three different studies last year that recommended sweeping changes for the department was even more frustrating. Even a basic concept like the introduction of a "maxi-flex" work schedule, which has been adopted by other government agencies, remains "under review" at State. Threatened by change, the response to new ideas continues to be a renewed commitment to "business as usual."

Perhaps the State Department's ties to tradition and the reluctance to accept change or embrace reform should not surprise us. There is ample evidence all around of the triumph of tradition over innovation. Despite having a modern building, the Department created on the top floor of Main State a series of 18th century drawing rooms in which to conduct diplomacy. The computers in the library have been removed in order to avoid a "security risk," thereby giving us another period room instead of an information center. The initiation in other parts of the government of "casual Fridays" resulted in several State bureaus banning the practice as inappropriate dress for the conduct of diplomacy.

It is no wonder there is a problem with the perceptions held by Congress and the public of the role of diplomacy in the new information age. We have not been effective in redefining our work and responsibilities or in demonstrating that we are changing with the times.

This is my last column for the *Foreign Service Journal*. I suggest that if the department is truly serious about attracting and keeping "the best and the brightest" as well as developing a constituency on the Hill and support from the American public, it needs to rethink where and how to conduct diplomacy in the 21st century. Thomas Jefferson might feel at home on the top floor of the building or even in its library, but he would probably be one of the first to say that receptivity to change and new ideas is crucial to intellectual development as well as good diplomacy. □



## Security Gets Harder

“Security is a very difficult issue and it’s only going to get harder,” said Carol Rodley, accepting AFSA’s 2000 Christian Herter Award. She also deserved an award for prescience, in light of Assistant Secretary for Diplomatic Security David Carpenter’s recent letter telling retirees they will no longer be permitted unescorted access to department buildings. The only reason given was that “to be effective, ... access control must be comprehensive and uniformly enforced.” Apparently this means it must be applied to all those not currently employed, regardless of the number or duration of their prior security clearances.



No one who is not an active duty employee will be allowed to visit the credit union, library, Foreign Service lounge, AAFSW housing office, AFSA offices in Main State, and even the retirement office in Columbia Plaza, without waiting in the lobby for an escort responsible for the visitor for as long as he/she is in the building. AFSA

“How can the department exclude retired personnel, who have worked with classified material most of their lives, and continue to provide unrestricted access to contract, cleaning and catering personnel who have no clearances?”

will provide escorts for retirees wishing to visit our Main State office (of course AFSA’s main office on E Street will not require an escort). It is still unclear whether the other facilities mentioned have the staff or the time to provide escorts.

When the department gave AFSA an early draft of Carpenter’s letter on July 20, AFSA President Marshall Adair responded quickly, asking “how can the department exclude retired ... personnel, who have worked with classified mate-

rial most of their lives ... and continue to provide unrestricted access to ... contract, cleaning and catering personnel who have no clearances?” State Vice President John Naland, Retiree Liaison Ward Thompson and I met with the acting director of the office of DS domestic operations. Although the Carpenter draft said the decision to withhold access had been made in August 1999 — meaning it was held up by discussions within the department for a full year — no thought appeared to have been given to its consequences. No provision had been made for escorts to the public facilities we listed. When we mentioned the credit union, we were told that DS understood it had branch offices. We replied that indeed it had — in Northern Virginia — but none in D.C. or Maryland.

Marshall’s letter and our visit resulted in a new draft but not, unfortunately, in a new bottom line, which remains a blanket edict. We were assured that ID cards will continue to be issued to all retirees who request them, even though they are no longer useful for building access. DS staff also told us they had urged moving the “hard line” from the Department lobby to the second floor, which would open up the ground floor to retirees and other visitors. As usual, the problem is money. Until we learn that better security requires appropriations, not shutting out our own people or visitors we need to see, security will continue to get tighter, but not necessarily better. □

Security • Continued from page 1

adequate staffing, physical structures, and information technology.

A few of the proposed changes from State management to look for:

- The number of infractions that triggers the placement of a letter of reprimand in the performance file will be reduced from five to three.

- The period during which the triggering infractions are counted will increase from the current 18 months to three years.

- Tenure boards will be allowed to deny tenure for a pattern of failure to ensure the proper safeguarding of classified material.

- EER instructions will require rating officers to comment on any pattern of failure to safeguard classified materials. □

Grievance • Continued from page 1

board’s decision is significant in supporting both the professional Foreign Service and the principle of honoring negotiated agreements.

AFSA President Marshall Adair said, “This is a welcome decision. It protects the integrity of our professional diplomatic service, and strengthens the service’s ability to carry out its statutory mission of assisting the president and secretary of State in conducting our nation’s foreign affairs. We still have a great deal of work to do to coordinate better the management and work of the Foreign and Civil Services — the issue which lies at the heart of this case — but this decision makes it easier for all parties to approach that task constructively.” AFSA will keep employees informed of progress towards compliance with the grievance board’s instructions. *Note:* AFSA has intentionally avoided naming the individual and the post to protect the individual from possible adverse impacts. The focus of the grievance was not on an individual but on an institution. □



## AAFSW's 40th Annual BOOKFAIR

### October 13-22:

Oct. 14, 15, 21 and 22: open to the public from 10:00 a.m. to 4:00 p.m.

Oct. 13 and 16-20: open to State Department pass holders from 11:00 a.m. to 3:00 p.m.

**Location:** Diplomatic Exhibit Hall



Proceeds benefit the AFSA/AAFSW scholarship program, other FS community projects, and local charities.

AAFSW would like donations for the Art Corner, for the Collector's Corner (rare books) and regular books, stamps and coins.

### In the Washington, D.C. Area:

Donation pick-ups can be arranged by calling Virginia Jones in the Book Room at (202) 223-5796.

**In the Department:** Donations may be dropped off in the Book Room, Monday to Friday between 10:00 a.m. and noon or by appointment.

### From Overseas:

Donations may be pouched to the AAFSW Book Room, Room #1524 Main State. Careful packaging is essential as items are often handled roughly.



The Book Room in Main State is open daily from noon to 2:30 p.m. for State Department pass holders. For more information contact Robin Jones, Book Room manager, at (202) 223-5796.

V.P. VOICE: FAS ■ BY EVANS BROWNE

## The Season of Change

It's the season of change again. Fall colors are one of the true joys of a Washington assignment. The "end in sight" of presidential campaigns is another October bonus. October also marks the beginning of change for AFSA, and that includes AFSA/FAS. It is now time for you to decide whether you or someone of your choosing will run for AFSA office. Here in USDA, the main choice is for the VP, the only full-time position in AFSA/FAS.



If you are already here in D.C. and did not get that posting you wanted for next year, consider running for VP. If you are already here in D.C. and want a change from your current job, run for VP. If you are being returned to D.C. put your hat in the ring now, and if you get elected, you won't need to go through that game of chance called the WPPP.

Now, the BIG QUESTION — why in the world would I want to be a VP?

The most rewarding part of the job is helping individuals who have been hurt by an oversight. It is also challenging to research issues and then hear others quote untruths on why something is as it is.

Answer: you could help those who, mistakenly, had their pay advances submitted to the IRS (it's the penalties that hurt); you could contribute to increase in home leave for returnees; you could help those who missed getting some of their language incentive pay; you could head the team to re-negotiate our collective bargaining agreement (CBA); you could protect the interests of all FAS

Foreign Service employees in the partnership council; you could work with AFSCME to support good things for all FAS employees, such as the availability of metro check for all (including FS employees), and developing a leave bank program; you could help increase our FAS Foreign Service numbers; you could help protect management from violating the CBA — and when they do violate it, you could let them know how they can compensate for their error; you could use the AFSA/FAS VP position as your stepping stone to ... who knows, becoming the next Ronald Reagan.

You may wonder how a VP job could be full time. It is, if you are doing your homework. Sometimes it is even if you are not doing your homework. The most rewarding part of the job is helping individuals who have been hurt by an oversight. It is also challenging to research issues and then hear others quote untruths on why something is as it is. It requires leadership to plan your presentation of issues. It requires patience in watching your plans materialize. And, it requires communication, which often absorbs vast amounts of time. But again, the biggest reward is helping individuals resolve problems that, without you, would not get resolved. It's time to get involved. Nominations will close the 6th of November — ACT NOW. □

# CALL FOR NOMINATIONS



This election call, issued in accordance with Article VII (2)(a) of the AFSA bylaws, constitutes a formal notice to all AFSA members of the opportunity to participate in nomination and election of a new governing board. All of the officer and representative positions listed below are for two-year terms beginning July 15, 2001. Please note that the AFSA governing board positions have changed to reflect the consolidation of USIA into the Department of State. The USIA board positions are eliminated. The Department of State constituency gains an additional representative for a total of six. A group of Foreign Service employees formerly part of the USIA bargaining unit became employees of the International Bureau of Broadcasting (IBB). AFSA continues to represent these employees so they are the IBB constituency entitled to 1 representative.

## A. Positions to be Filled

1. The officer positions to be filled in this election are:

- President
- Vice President for State
- Vice President for USAID
- Vice President for CS
- Vice President for FAS
- Vice President for Retirees
- Secretary
- Treasurer

The President and State, USAID, and FAS Vice Presidents are full-time positions detailed to AFSA. The CS Vice President is detailed for 50% time to AFSA.

2. The constituency representative positions to be filled in this election are:

- State Department Representatives (six positions)
- USAID Representative (one position)
- CS Representative (one position)
- FAS Representative (one position)
- IBB Representative (one position)
- Retired member Representatives (four positions)

Article V (4)(b) of the AFSA bylaws authorizes a constituency vice president for each constituency with a minimum of 100 members and one constituency representative position for every 1,000 members or fraction thereof. The calculation of the number of constituency vice president and representative positions to be filled in this election is based upon the membership rolls as of September 30, 2000.

## B. Nomination Procedures

1. Any AFSA member in good standing (i.e., a member whose dues are automatically deducted or who has paid dues as of November 6, 2000) may submit names (including his or her own name) in nomination for any or all of the above-mentioned positions for which the nominee is eligible. No member may nominate more than one person for each officer position or more than the number of representatives established for each constituency. No member's name may appear on the ballot for more than one position.

2. In order to be nominated, a person must be a member in good standing and remain in good standing through the election process and, if elected, for his/her term of office.

3. The Foreign Service Act restricts employees occupying certain positions in the foreign affairs agencies from serving on the governing board. Only employees in AFSA's bargaining unit may serve on the AFSA governing board or nominate others to serve on the board. Therefore, individuals who will be serving as management officials and confidential employees (as defined below) when the new board takes office on July 15, 2001 are ineligible to occupy a position on the governing board. In addition, management officials and confidential employees may not make nominations for governing board positions. For the purpose of the above discussion, management official means an

individual who: is a chief of mission or principal officer; occupies a position of comparable importance to chief of mission or principal officer; is serving as a deputy to the foregoing positions; is assigned to the Office of the Inspector General; or is engaged in labor management relations or the formulation of personnel policies and programs of the foreign affairs agency. Confidential employees are employees who act in a confidential capacity with respect to an individual who formulates or carries out management policies in labor management relations.

Furthermore, the Foreign Service Act also places a two-year restriction on the movement of Foreign Service personnel between certain positions in AFSA and certain Washington-based jobs in the foreign affairs agencies. The pre-AFSA restrictions: Any individual who has served 1) in a management position in Washington in which he or she has engaged in labor management relations or the formulation of personnel policies and programs or 2) as a confidential employee (as defined above) within two years prior to taking office in AFSA is ineligible to hold the position of AFSA president or constituency vice president. Post-AFSA restrictions: In addition, any individual who has held one of the foregoing positions in AFSA may not serve 1) in a management position in Washington which involves labor management relations or the formulation of personnel policies and programs or 2) as a confidential employee, for two years after leaving AFSA.

Members should consider these restrictions before deciding whether to run for AFSA governing board positions covered by these restrictions. Please direct questions regarding this issue to Sharon Papp, General Counsel, 202-647-8160, FAX 202-647-0265, email [papps@state.gov](mailto:papps@state.gov).

4. Nominations may be submitted individually or in slates. To qualify as a slate, a proposed slate must have a minimum of

four candidates from at least two constituencies. Slate designations will be noted on the ballot.

5. All nominations must be submitted in writing by letter, cable, fax or email. All written nominations must be addressed to the AFSA Elections Committee, 2101 E Street, NW, Washington, DC 20037. To be valid, they must, without exception, be received at this address no later than 12 noon on November 6, 2000. Members overseas can send "AFSA channel" cables marked for delivery to the AFSA Elections Committee. They must be received in the Department's Communications Center within the same time limit. Faxes can be sent to 202-338-6820 and email to [exec@afsa.org](mailto:exec@afsa.org).

Alternatively, nominations can be hand-delivered to a committee member who will be in the AFSA office, Room 1251, Department of State, from 11 a.m. to 12 noon on November 6, or to a Committee representative at AFSA headquarters at 2101 E Street NW during that same time period.

6. A nominee can indicate his or her acceptance of a nomination by appending a letter to the letter of nomination or by appropriate notation on that letter, or by communicating with the Elections Committee, AFSA, Room 1251, Department of State, or AFSA, 2101 E Street NW, Washington, D.C. 20037, or by fax or email as described in paragraph 5 above. Otherwise, an authorized representative of the Elections Committee will communicate with each nominee (excluding members who nominate themselves) as quickly as possible after the receipt of each nomination to determine whether the nominee wishes to be a candidate. Any member who so accepts the nomination must confirm his or her acceptance in writing through one of the channels described above addressed to the AFSA Elections Committee to be received no later than 12 noon on November 22, 2000. Any nominee whose written acceptance of nomination has not been received by the Elections Committee by the above time limit will be considered to have declined candidacy.

### C. Election Campaign

1. All candidates nominated under the procedure outlined above will be given the

opportunity to submit campaign statements for dissemination to the AFSA membership in a special mailing. Further information regarding such statements and editorial deadlines will be contained in the "Instructions to Candidates," which will be issued by the Elections Committee on or before November 6, 2000.

2. The AFSA bylaws provide that, should candidates wish to mail supplementary statements to the membership, the association will make available to them on request, and at their expense, the membership mailing list or address labels. Further information on this and other campaign procedures will be included in the "Instructions to Candidates" mentioned above.

### D. Voting

Ballots will be distributed on or about Jan. 10, 2001 to each person who is a regular AFSA member as of December 31, 2000. Candidates or their representatives may observe the ballot distribution process if they so desire. Each member may cast one vote for President, Secretary, Treasurer, and constituency Vice President, and, in addition, one vote for each Representative position in the member's constituency. Votes may be cast by voting for candidates listed on the official ballot, or by writing in the name(s) of member(s) eligible as of Nov. 6, 2000, or by doing both. To be valid, a ballot must be received by Wednesday, February 28, 2001 at the address indicated on the envelope accompanying the ballot. More detailed balloting instructions will accompany the ballots.

### E. Vote Counting and Announcement of Results

On or about March 1, 2001, the Elections Committee will count the ballots and declare elected the candidate receiving the greatest number of votes for each position. Candidates or their representatives may be present during the tally and may challenge the validity of any vote or the eligibility of any voter. The committee will inform candidates individually of the election results by the swiftest possible means and will publish the names of all elected candidates in the next issue of the *Foreign Service Journal*. The elect-

ed candidates will take office on July 15, 2001, as provided in the bylaws.

### F. Questions, Suggestions, Complaints or Challenges

Any member may file a written question, suggestion, or complaint concerning the conduct of the 2001 election. Such question, suggestion, or complaint should be addressed to "Chair, AFSA Elections Committee" and mailed or delivered to either AFSA, Room 1251, Department of State, Washington, D.C. 20520 or AFSA, 2101 E Street NW, Washington, D.C. 20037 by May 30, 2001.

Members may also file a written challenge to the outcome of the election. Such challenge must be filed by April 15, 2001 and should be addressed to "Chair, AFSA Elections Committee" and mailed or delivered to either address stated above. The AFSA Elections Committee will respond in writing to the challenge within three months of receipt of the challenge. If the member is not satisfied with the AFSA Elections Committee's response, the member may file a written complaint with the U.S. Department of Labor, Office of Labor-Management Standards. Such complaint must be filed within one month of receipt of the Elections Committee's response.

### ELECTIONS COMMITTEE MEMBERS

Robert J. Wozniak, Chair	202-686-0996
John Biercke	202-712-1049
Shirley Pinkham	202-647-5910
Richard Thompson	301-229-6442

### STAFF

Susan Reardon	202-944-5505
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### 2001/2003 AFSA Governing Board Election Schedule

Oct 2000 — Call for nominations published in *Foreign Service Journal*  
Nov. 6, 2000 — Deadline for nominations  
Jan. 10, 2001 — Ballots mailed  
Feb. 28, 2001 — Deadline for Ballots  
March 1, 2001 — Ballots Counted  
July 15, 2001 — New Board takes office

## The One Percent Solution is No Solution

Foreign policy should not be carried out with barely one percent of the federal budget. That is the thesis of Ambassador Richard Gardner's



Ambassador Gardner

July/August *Foreign Affairs* article, "The One Percent Solution." At a July 26 lunch hosted by COLEAD (The Coalition for American Leadership Abroad), Gardner took part in a general discussion with NGO leaders and AFSA representatives on strategies for pushing for an increase in the 150 account (the non-military costs of protecting U.S. national security). Gardner argued that there is a critical need to push for a new consensus, which sees the international affairs budget as part of the national security budget.

Gardner spoke of the urgency of moving forward with the campaign to increase the foreign affairs budget. He tied the

urgency to three factors: an incoming new administration; the budget surplus, which could allow for consideration of expanding foreign affairs programs; and the growing consensus that the U.S. is under-funding the

foreign affairs account. Harry Blaney, president of COLEAD, plans to create a steering committee to lead the campaign.

Ambassador Donald Norland, representing DACOR, led a discussion of the need for a "redefinition of security," a shift from a military focus on security to one that includes health, humanitarian and diplomatic efforts. □

### TWO FUNDS TO REMEMBER

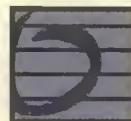
## Scholarship Fund and FSN Emergency Relief Fund

Funds donated to the Federal Diplomatic Family Assistance Fund — Africa will continue to be accepted to assist with the education of the children of the American victims of the East Africa bombings. Checks may be made payable to the Federal Employee Education and Assistance Fund (with a notation on the memo line that it is for "FDFAF-AF") and mailed to FEEAF, 8441 West Bowles Ave, Suite 200, Littleton, CO 80123.

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ports for use abroad by other agents, or keeping tabs on Russian exile groups. As late as 1934, according to documents uncovered by Allen Weinstein and Alexander Vassiliev in the Moscow archives of the NKVD (the Russian acronym for the People's Commissariat of Internal Affairs, the Soviet intelligence agency known in later years as the KGB), Soviet spymasters were complaining among themselves that they didn't have "any agents" in Washington, D.C.

### **The First Soviet Spies**

That would shortly change. Starting that very year, the Soviets gained their first significant contacts within the federal government. The key initiator was an American Communist organizer, Harold Ware, who drew together a network of left-wing sympathizers in Washington. Many of them were lawyers who had recently been hired on to staff the New Deal's Agricultural Adjustment Administration — and among their number was Alger Hiss, a young, ambitious, and politically and socially well-connected graduate of Harvard Law School.

At first the Ware group — as it has come to be called in subsequent histories — functioned mostly as a kind of earnestly radical if otherwise unobjectionable study circle, meeting periodically to read and discuss the writings of Marx, Lenin and the like. But in time, and apparently without much self-reflection, members of the group began passing along government documents to Ware, who in turn passed them on to the headquarters of the American Communist Party in New York. As one member of the Ware group, John Abt, acknowledged in his 1993 memoir *Advocate and Activist*, "If there were developments we thought were particularly interesting or important," in terms of government policy or the internal politics of the Roosevelt administration, "someone would be asked to draft a report to be given to Hal [Harold Ware], who presumably passed it on to the national [party] leadership in New York for its consideration."

Abt chose his words with lawyerly care, admitting only to passing along "reports" of his own drafting to Ware, and not purloined documents. He never admitted that his actions or those of his comrades amounted to espionage. And in their own minds, it may not have, at

## **Recently opened archives give an authoritative account of Soviet spying during the 1930s and '40s.**

least in the beginning. Clandestine meetings, secret reports, even the occasional theft of an official letter or memorandum, could all be rationalized as a kind of rebellious bureaucratic counterpart to the raucous protests then being led by radical organizers in the streets and workplaces of the United States.

Washington Communists didn't have the luxury of openly proclaiming their political affiliations, which would have led in short order to their dismissal from federal employment. They were even instructed by Ware to avoid purchasing *The Daily Worker* or other Communist publications from newsstands or bookstores. Instead, they could aid the cause by other means. They would be making their contribution to the revolution by bending the rules of official confidentiality.

### **Steps to Espionage**

Soviet spymasters were quite expert at this kind of incremental cultivation of sources. Rarely if ever did they send even the most eager recruits out after really big secrets until they had gotten them used to the idea of handing along materials of considerably less consequence with no obvious harm done to the security interests of the United States. Harry Gold, later to gain notoriety as the courier who carried data on the atomic bomb from Los Alamos to his Soviet controller in New York, got his start in industrial espionage in the 1930s by stealing the secret of how best to use dry ice to keep ice cream from melting. Another important figure in wartime atomic espionage, Morris Cohen, accepted as his first NKVD assignment the task of keeping tabs on the pro-Nazi activities of German-American Bundists in New York City. The initial steps into espionage were, by design, made easy to take, really nothing more than a political good deed involving at most a trifling indiscretion — and given the stakes, who could quibble over legal or ethical niceties?

The 1930s were ideologically charged years. In the midst of the most catastrophic depression in the history of capitalism, and with war looming ever closer on the horizon, it seemed to many people — and not just Communists — as if the entire world was choosing up sides in a titanic international struggle that would deter-

mine the fate of humanity for the foreseeable future, if not forever. Franklin Roosevelt spoke of his generation of Americans as having a "rendezvous with destiny." For Americans to the left of FDR, the road to that rendezvous often seemed to require a detour to Moscow. The American Communist Party grew from fewer than 10,000 or so members at the start of the 1930s to over 75,000 at decade's end, and tens of thousands of other Americans adopted what was at least a mildly benevolent attitude toward what was commonly referred to in those days as the "Soviet experiment."

Most of those accused in later years of espionage on behalf of the Soviet Union would prove reluctant, for obvious reasons, to discuss the political views they had held in the 1930s. While awaiting trial, and then execution, the Rosenbergs wrote literally hundreds of letters — to each other, to their children, to friends and associates — with excerpts published by their supporters in *The Death House Letters of Ethel and Julius Rosenberg* (1954), and in a more extensive edition later edited by

their son Michael Meeropol, *The Rosenberg Letters* (1994). Never once in those letters did they explicitly acknowledge their membership in the Communist Party, let alone any illegal activities. Alger Hiss was similarly circumspect in his two memoirs, *In the Court of Public Opinion* (1957), and *Recollections of a Life* (1988).

To reconstruct the worldview of the few who engaged in espionage, we thus have to rely on the memories of the many who were drawn to Communism in the 1930s — bearing in mind that accounts written many years later may, for many reasons, reflect imperfectly the reality of that period of political turbulence. Sympathy for the Soviet Union did not automatically translate into willingness to engage in espionage on its behalf, even when the opportunity presented itself. (The director of the Manhattan Project, physicist J. Robert Oppenheimer — whose brother was a Communist, whose wife was a Communist, and who may well have been a Communist himself — was ideally placed to help the Soviets learn about American progress with nuclear weapons during

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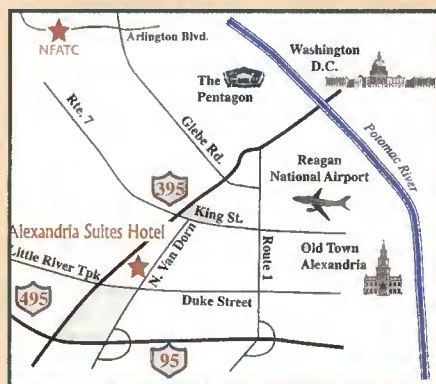
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World War Two. But nothing uncovered in Venona or the Moscow archives provides any credible evidence that he did so.)

### **How Communists Saw The World**

How did ordinary Communists view the world in the 1930s? First of all, not every Communist was the same. There were those who were virtually born into the movement, and accepted on faith its preachments. Peggy Dennis, born in Los Angeles to exiled Russian revolutionary parents, joined a Communist Party children's group at the age of 13. In her memoir *The Autobiography of an American Communist* (1977) she recalled of her childhood political enthusiasm how she and her young comrades thought of themselves as "a vanguard far removed from mainstream America, and we were fiercely proud of being different. For public occasions we wore the flaming red, embroidered shirts of the Soviet Russians, our songs pledged our lives to the International Soviet that would free the human race. We were confident that we alone were tapped by history to fulfill its mission for humanity's liberation from exploitation and oppression."

For a young Communist like Peggy Dennis, the Soviet Union was her real homeland, while life in the United States was a kind of unfortunate exile she had to endure until the great day came when American workers overthrew their own oppressors. Others, who came to Communism at a less tender age, sought to combine their new political convictions with their older national identity and loyalties. Walter Bernstein, who would later become a well-known Hollywood screenwriter, was a fairly representative figure. Like Dennis, he was the child of immigrants, and like her he had some family connections to the radical left — his father's sister was a charter member of the American Communist Party. But his aunt's politics was regarded by the rest of the family in the 1920s as "a stain" and "something to be avoided." He identified much more closely with two uncles who had served in the American military during the First World War, and spent a childhood immersed, not in tales of the wonders of the Soviet homeland, but rather in Tom Swift adventure tales, the Brooklyn Dodgers "and, above all, the movies." It wasn't until he left Brooklyn for his undergraduate education at Dartmouth College that he finally joined the Young Communist League — doing so in 1936, a year in which Communist Party leader Earl

Browder was proclaiming that "Communism is 20th century Americanism." Writing in his memoir *Inside Out* (1997), published many years after he had left the movement in disillusionment, Bernstein remembered of his younger self circa the mid-1930s: "I believed in antifascism and international solidarity and brotherhood and the liberation of man, and the Soviet Union stood for all of these. ... I was in the grip of a new kind of patriotism, one that transcended borders and unified disparate peoples."

### **The Popular Front Against Fascism**

That "new kind of patriotism," of which Bernstein spoke, plus a genuine horror at the prospects of a world in which Hitler and Mussolini could spread their power unchallenged, made it all too easy to overlook the grim realities of Stalin's rule in the Soviet Union. In 1936, when Bernstein became a Communist, there was disturbing news coming from Moscow about the trials of the Old Bolsheviks who were now accused of conspiring to betray the Soviet Union to its enemies. But 1936 was also the year in which Spanish fascists, backed by Nazi Germany and Fascist Italy, launched an uprising against the democratically elected Spanish republic. The purge trials were distant, blurry, poorly understood, while the horrors unleashed in Spain seemed all too vivid and close at hand.

Writing in the liberal weekly *New Republic* in January 1937, editor Malcolm Cowley declared that for supporters of the Soviet Union like himself, "the personal character of Stalin [seems] relatively unimportant." Cowley never joined the Communist Party, but counted himself a strong supporter of the "Popular Front," the Soviet-supported movement in the Western democracies that called for domestic anti-fascist unity, and international collective security in the face of German, Japanese, and Italian expansionism. The purges and other repressive measures then under way in the USSR were, in Cowley's view, "the inevitable result" of Stalin's efforts "to unify and strengthen the Soviet Union in the face of an international fascist alliance."

"Disloyalty is a matter of principle with every member of the Communist Party," Whittaker Chambers declared in his testimony before Congress in 1948. Thus it was not at all surprising, he suggested, that American Communists should agree to spy on behalf of the Soviet Union — that was part and parcel of their decision to

## F O C U S

become revolutionaries in the first place. But Venona and the Moscow archives suggest otherwise. Robert Oppenheimer was not the only hold-out. Soviet spymasters often had to go to elaborate lengths to draw even the most committed Communists into agreeing to cooperate, and then, after documents had begun to change hands, they often had to maintain elaborate fictions about the final destination and purpose of the purloined materials. As one NKVD agent reported to Moscow of a potential espionage recruit in 1937: "He has very little experience and sometimes behaves like a child in his romanticism. He thinks he is working for the Comintern [the Communist International], and he must be left in this delusion for a while."

Those who agreed to become spies did so, no doubt,

***"I was in the grip  
of a new kind of  
patriotism, one that  
transcended borders,"***

***wrote one  
ex-Communist of his  
1930s beliefs.***

for the same complicated mixtures of reasons that almost always motivate people to break with accepted patterns of behavior and belief. Some craved the fraternity of common, clandestine bonds, others the sense of power that came from working behind the scenes, knowing more about what really mattered than those who did not share in their secret world; still others craved the excitement of taking on such a risky assignment. No one seems to have done it for the money — indeed, the archives are full of anecdotes about spies indignantly refusing payment from their Soviet controllers.

### **"Romantic Anti-fascism"**

There were lots of small, personal reasons why this or that individual became a spy. But beyond the individual

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idiosyncrasies lay the spirit of the age — an age that, today, in the aftermath of the fall of the Soviet Union and the discrediting of Communist doctrine, requires an enormous leap of historical imagination to understand. Allen Weinstein and Alexander Vassiliev argue persuasively that what the men and women drawn into the Soviet espionage network in the United States in the 1930s shared in common was a “romantic anti-fascism.” This seems much more persuasive to me than the “they-sold-their-souls-to-the-devil-so-what-else-would-you-expect?” interpretation so popular in the years after Whittaker Chambers took the stand. The 1930s and early 1940s — unlike the later 1940s and 1950s — were years when terms like “underground” and “resistance” were celebrated in popular culture as standards of moral purity and commitment.

This was the atmosphere in which, by ones and twos in the years leading up to and during the Second World War, certain American Communists began to find their way to the Soviet espionage network. The Ware group itself was short-lived (Ware died in a traffic accident in 1935). It was

important chiefly as a dress rehearsal for later and more significant Soviet efforts to acquire official secrets from the U.S. government. The inside scoop on New Deal agricultural policies couldn't be all that interesting, after all, to the men in the Kremlin. But when veterans of the Ware group began to find their way into more important jobs, such as the new position Alger Hiss took on in the fall of 1936 as aide to Assistant Secretary of State Francis B. Sayre, the potential value of their contributions increased.

Over the next half-decade, the Soviet espionage effort in the United States remained a surprisingly haphazard enterprise. As most of the Ware veterans drifted off to other pursuits, a few new sources like State Department employees Laurence Duggan and Noel Field were drawn in. We still lack an exact head count. Writing in his autobiography *Witness* in 1952, Whittaker Chambers declared that to his knowledge the Soviets had five “active sources” and four “contacts” in Washington as of 1938, but as he noted, and as recently released documents also show, there were others working in networks of which he was

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## F O C U S

kept in ignorance. Still, it is likely that there were no more than a few dozen reliable sources for Soviet espionage operating in any kind of official capacity in Washington through the end of the 1930s. (Other non-governmental sources, most of whom were engaged in industrial espionage, were run by a separate network operating out of New York City). Some reported directly to American Communist leaders, others to couriers working for Soviet military intelligence (among their number was Chambers, who took over some of the Ware group contacts, including Alger Hiss), and still others to the NKVD.

Clandestine Washington was a small place in the 1930s, and spies from one network were always crossing paths with spies from other networks — a violation of elementary tradecraft that horrified the espionage professionals in Soviet intelligence. It didn't help that there was a constant turnover among the resident Soviet spies entrusted with coordinating espionage efforts in the United States, as many of them were recalled to Moscow, arrested, and shot in Stalin's great purge of the late 1930s.

### Worried Over Stalin's Purges

The spectacle of the self-devouring of the Soviet elite was not good for the morale of the Americans who had risked so much in agreeing to spy on their behalf. On the whole, ironically, those Americans who had crossed over into the Communist underground in the 1930s seemed to pay closer attention to the dark side of the "Soviet experiment" than their peers in the aboveground movement. Laurence Duggan badgered his NKVD controller, Itzak Akhmerov, with his doubts. "He claims he cannot digest events in the Soviet Union," Akhmerov cabled Moscow in early 1938. "He thinks something is fundamentally wrong, since there cannot be so many members of the Right and Left oppositions [within the Soviet Communist Party] who become traitors."

Whittaker Chambers was also worried — not so much about whether or not Stalin's purges were trumped up, but whether he might find himself among the victims (one of Chambers' fellow agents, Juliet Stuart Poyntz, had already disappeared under mysterious circumstances in

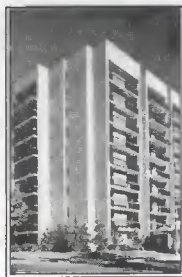
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New York in 1937). Chambers' anxieties led to his defection in 1938. He broke all ties with his former associates in both the Communist movement and Soviet intelligence, and shortly made a new life for himself as an editor of *Time* magazine. Fortunately for the Soviets, Chambers proved a fairly indecisive character, who wrestled for many years with the question of whether or not he would turn on all his erstwhile comrades in espionage. Though making an initial effort in 1939 to warn State Department officials in general terms of the dangers of Soviet penetration, he did not specifically accuse Alger Hiss of spying for another nine years.

The popular image of Soviet spies as crisply efficient super-villains does not accurately capture the reality of their operations in the United States in the 1930s. The Americans involved in the effort were, almost without exception, rank amateurs, playing at a conspiratorial craft they were far from mastering. But even their Russian controllers seemed to be decidedly second-string. Throughout the 1930s the United States was simply not very important as a target of Soviet espionage, save as a kind of listening post from which information could be gleaned about places of greater concern to Soviet policymakers. The NKVD first team was sent off to places that counted, like Great Britain, Japan, and Nazi Germany.

That changed in 1941. The war saw the expansion, professionalization, and centralization of Soviet espionage efforts in the United States. Wartime cooperation between the two great anti-Nazi partners made it much easier for the Soviet Union to move experienced spy handlers into the United States under diplomatic and trade cover identities. It also became easier to recruit sources in Washington, because of the vast expansion of the wartime bureaucracy, because of the relative ease with which Communists and other Soviet sympathizers could gain government employment, and because of the widespread public gratitude to the Red Army for handing the Nazis their first significant military defeats in the war. The Russophilia of the war years would be forgotten by the time Whittaker Chambers took the stand in 1948, but only five years earlier such an ultra-respectable organ of American mainstream opinion as *Life* magazine would pay the Russians the supreme compliment of being "one hell of a people," who "look like Americans, dress like Americans, and think like Americans." (In the same issue *Life's* editors would offer

a flattering portrait of Soviet NKVD chief Lavrenti Beria, and describe the NKVD as the equivalent of the American FBI.)

### World War, then Cold War

The few dozen American spies of the 1930s grew to scores, perhaps hundreds, during the war (there are coded references to about 350 Americans in Venona, about half of whom have been identified — although not all of these code-named individuals were successfully recruited as agents). Much of the purely political intelligence passed along by sources in Washington was of little ultimate consequence — nothing that "altered the course of history" as Judge Kaufman would say of the Rosenbergs at their sentencing in 1951. It was the Soviet penetration of the Manhattan Project, undoubtedly the greatest triumph ever achieved by the NKVD, that created the illusion in the United States after the war that an infamous conspiracy of traitors had gained the upper hand in Washington.

However spectacular its wartime record, NKVD successes within the United States were short-lived. The defection of espionage courier Elizabeth Bentley to the FBI in 1945 crippled Soviet intelligence gathering in Washington. The defection of a Soviet cipher clerk in Canada in 1946, and the subsequent decoding of Soviet wartime diplomatic messages in the Venona project, led in a few years time to the detection and arrest of most of those involved in the theft of atomic secrets during World War II. By the time Joe McCarthy came on the scene with his charges that hundreds of Soviet agents and spies remained in positions of influence within the American government, the reality was quite different. In a 1951 memorandum uncovered in the Moscow NKVD archives by Weinstein and Vassiliev, Soviet spymasters acknowledged to their superiors that they no longer had any inside sources in the American government: "the most serious drawback in organizing intelligence in the U.S. is ... the lack of agents in the State Department, intelligence service, counterintelligence service, and other most important U.S. governmental institutions."

By 1953, the FBI had quietly written off the American Communist Party as a serious espionage threat. In subsequent decades, Soviet espionage could no longer tap the resources of "romantic anti-fascism": The only sources it was able to recruit, such as Aldrich Ames in the 1980s, were in it strictly for the money. ■

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# WHEN VICTIMS SUE TERRORISTS

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IT SEEMS ONLY FAIR THAT AMERICAN VICTIMS OF FOREIGN TERRORISM SHOULD BE ABLE TO SUE THE GOVERNMENTS THAT SPONSORED THE ATTACKS. BUT IS IT REALLY THAT SIMPLE?

By GEORGE GEDDA

**B**efore April 10, 1995, few people had heard of Stephen Flatow, of West Orange, N.J. On that day, his 20-year old daughter, Alisa, was killed when the bus in which she was traveling in the Gaza Strip was rammed by a van packed with explosives. Also killed were seven Israeli soldiers. The driver of the van was identified as a member of Islamic Jihad, an Iranian-backed group.

Although it happened over five years ago, Alisa's death is continuing to have reverberations in Washington. Stephen Flatow wants Iran to pay for Alisa's murder, and in that quest has bipartisan congressional support. He also has the backing of a U.S. court, which last year held Iran liable in the case and awarded him \$247 million. But the Clinton administration has grave reservations about the processes being used to force Iran to pay and worries that key foreign policy interests could be sacrificed.

One such interest is the administration's goal of resuming official dealings with Iran. With the increasing strength of moderate political forces in Iran, reflected most recently in parliamentary elections last February, the administration sees its best hope for warmer ties with Iran in more than 20 years. Toward that end, Secretary of State Madeleine Albright announced in March a series of measures in trade and other areas designed to build on the momentum generated by the ascendancy of the moderates. The administration believes

achievement of that goal is not being helped by the efforts of Flatow and other litigants with similar grievances to punish Iran for its misdeeds. Complicating matters for the administration is the strong support such plaintiffs have received from Congress, including many in the leadership of both houses. Attempts at compromise have not succeeded.

## Simple Justice?

Five years ago, in the immediate aftermath of his daughter's death, Flatow was confident the administration was on his side. Indeed, on the night that Alisa died, President Clinton telephoned him to offer condolences and promised help in obtaining justice. And, three years later, on the day the U.S. court decided that Iran was obligated to pay him a huge judgment, Flatow felt that justice was within reach. "Here I was, an average taxpayer, receiving what seemed to be the full support of the mighty United States of America in my quest to find justice in the death of my daughter," he recalled in House testimony this past spring.

But his elation was short-lived. Hours after the judgment was announced, the State Department said the United States did not believe in judgments against foreign countries but in negotiations with them.

Flatow was flabbergasted. He felt he had done all the right things.

Congress had laid the groundwork for his suit by passing a law in 1996 that gave U.S. citizens the right to use U.S. civil courts to sue foreign governments that sponsor terrorist attacks. True, the legislation did not mean much initially because there was no means of collection. But in 1998, Congress strengthened the law by specifically authorizing

*On the night that Alisa  
Flatow died, President  
Clinton telephoned her  
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George Gedda, a frequent contributor to the Journal, covers the State Department for the Associated Press.



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the seizure of assets owned by nations deemed to be terrorist states. However, it also included a broad national security waiver that allowed the president to prevent the assets of an offending country from being used to collect legal judgments.

### Sending A Signal

A new bill before Congress, with the evocative name "Justice for the Victims of Terrorism Act," would remove the president's waiver authority. It would also allow U.S. citizens to satisfy judgments against foreign governments with the help of assets that are not used for diplomatic reasons, such as commercial properties or rents from seized buildings. "There is no earthly reason why a profit made here by a government-owned facility ... should be exempt" from seizure, says Sen. Frank Lautenberg, D-N.J., who counts Flatow among his constituents. Lautenberg and Sen. Connie Mack, R-Fla., have introduced the Senate version of the bill. Rep. Bill McCollum, R-Fla., who introduced the identical House version, says, "It is time to send a strong message to terrorists and their state sponsors that they cannot get away with murder." The House passed the bill on July 25 and sent it to the Senate, where the Judiciary Committee has already approved it and sent it to the floor.

According to the *Wall Street Journal*, Hillary Rodham Clinton met with Flatow in New York last December and told him the administration was wrong to encourage the Flatows and others to file lawsuits and then not help them enforce their judgments. A spokeswoman for Mrs. Clinton told the newspaper that the First Lady supports the bill and the efforts to collect the judgment.

Another supporter of the bill is Terry Anderson, the former Associated Press chief Middle East correspondent. He was taken hostage

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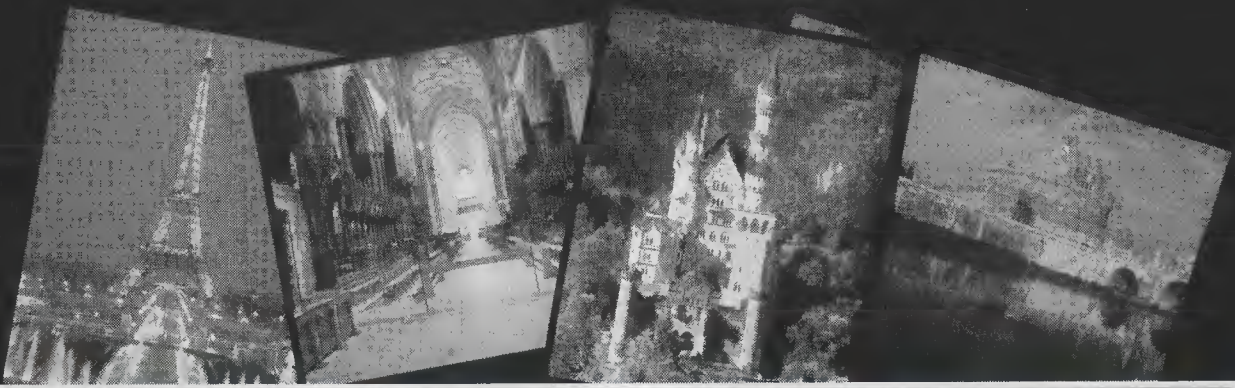
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by an Iranian-sponsored group in Lebanon in 1985 and held captive for 2,454 days, the longest of the many Americans held captive in Lebanon. Throughout his ordeal, he was chained and blindfolded, fed only bread, cheese and water, moved from cell to cell numerous times, and was constantly made to fear for his life. He told a House Judiciary subcommittee hearing last April that until Iranian money "is actually seized and distributed to that country's victims, there is no reason for Iran or any other state sponsor of terrorism to think twice about doing it again." Anderson also says normal relations with Iran should not be reestablished until that country "has acknowledged its past sponsorship of terrorism, compensated its victims and publicly vowed not to do it again."

Last March, U.S. District Judge Thomas Penfield Jackson awarded him a judgment of \$341 million. Like Flatow, Anderson is embittered by the Clinton administration's resistance to using frozen Iranian assets to punish Iran. They have company. Other Americans who were held hostage — David Jacobsen, Joseph Cicippio and Frank Reed — have won a combined judgment against Iran totaling \$65 million, but also have yet to collect a dime.

Four months after the Anderson verdict, a federal judge awarded \$327 million to relatives of an American couple, Sara Duker and Mathew Eisenfield, who were killed in a 1996 terrorist bombing in Jerusalem. As in the other cases, the judge held Iran responsible based on evidence that the perpetrator had links to an Iranian-backed terrorist group.

### **Who Will Pay?**

In theory, the claimants who already have been awarded judgments could be compensated from the estimated \$400 million in funds paid by the pre-revolutionary Iranian

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## ***The Justice for the Victims of Terrorism Act would remove the president's waiver authority.***

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monarchy for U.S. weapons and related parts that were never delivered. The funds have been sitting for two decades in an account officially designated the "Iranian Foreign Military Sales Trust Fund."

The disposition of the funds is in the hands of the Iran-U.S. Claims Tribunal, an arbitration court set up in the Netherlands as part of the agreement that led to the freeing of the American hostages in 1981. The panel consists of American, Iranian and independent members. Most of the claims taken up by the tribunal have been settled. The claim relating to the long-ago military sales is the largest still pending.

The administration's point man for resolving this and other claims issues is David Andrews, a San Francisco lawyer and former State Department legal adviser. Andrews says resolving the weapons sales claims alone has been excruciatingly slow because millions of pieces of equipment are involved. The transactions spawned enough documents to fill entire warehouses, he says.

The administration rules out use of these funds for compensation in the terrorism cases, noting a suit filed by Iran in the claims tribunal. That suit contends that the United States should have transferred Iran's diplomatic and consular property in the United States back to it in 1981 at the time the hostages were released.

(Iran's property at the United Nations was not an issue because, under U.N. rules, such properties are considered immune from bilateral disputes). If the tribunal sides with Iran on this point and the properties are not available because they have been liquidated to pay private judgments, U.S. government lawyers say that American taxpayers would be asked to foot the bill for the value of the properties. However, a spokesman for Rep. McCollum insists that this is not the case; he says Iran would have to go to court and sue the individual recipients of the funds in order to collect.

### **The Cuba Corollary**

Iran is not the only target of terrorist victims. Families of four Cuban-Americans whose two unarmed planes, sponsored by Brothers to the Rescue, were shot down north of Cuba in 1996 have been awarded \$187 million by a U.S. court. This past spring, they filed suit to attach \$39 million worth of Cuban government assets on deposit in a U.S. bank. Their efforts are being contested by Justice Department lawyers.

Months after the \$187 million award was announced, Cuba struck back with a suit of its own against the United States. Last November, a Cuban court, the Provincial Popular Tribunal, found the U.S. government liable for deaths and damage to the island during 40 years of "aggressive policies" and ordered the United States to pay \$181.1 billion in reparations, almost 1,000 times the award against Cuba granted by the U.S. court. However, no U.S. representative attended the trial, and the U.S. government did not respond to a summons issued by the court.

Cuba's main target was the U.S. embargo against the island. Havana maintains the embargo has made it impossible for Cuba to acquire products, equipment, services and technology, and severely damaged its for-

eign trade and ability to get funding and credits.

While obviously sympathetic to Americans suffering as a result of terrorist acts, the administration strongly opposes the proposed remedy. It believes, in line with previous administrations of both parties, that individual recovery should not take precedence over the interests of the entire nation.

Administration officials point out that denying terrorist states access to their assets by freezing them is one of the most significant sanctions a president has in dealing with such issues. They point out that shortly after the Iran hostage crisis erupted in 1979, President Carter blocked almost \$10 billion in Iranian assets. They believe the safe release of the U.S. hostages in early 1981 would not have been possible if the administration had not been able to use these assets as a bargaining chip.

The administration says it recognizes the need for immediate compensation and is proposing alternate legislation that would make "partial and advance" payments of 20 percent of compensatory damage awards to those with judgments against the Iranian and Cuban governments. The funds would be obtained partly out of blocked assets and partly out of an appropriation in the case of Iran and entirely out of blocked assets in the case of Cuba. Once the payments are made, the United States would seek to recoup the outlays as part of any normalization of relations.

The administration also wants to amend the legislation to ensure the president would continue to have full waiver authority (the proposed bill contemplates only partial authority) to protect blocked assets. Failure to provide such protection would violate international law, officials say.

In addition, they say the legisla-

tion, as written, could cause the United States to violate its obligations to protect diplomatic property, and would undermine the legal protections for U.S. diplomatic property on which the government relies to protect the safety of its property and personnel abroad.

According to government figures, the United States owns over 3,000 buildings and other structures abroad. Their total value is estimated at between \$12 billion and \$15 billion. Officials point out that the United States could suffer great harm if diplomatic protections are eroded because it has more overseas property and personnel than any other country. "We should not give those states who wish the United States ill an easy means to strike at us by declaring diplomatic property fair game," said one official.

Beyond that, the administration is concerned that the legislation would

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benefit a narrow group of individuals with claims against Iran and Cuba based on terrorist acts but would leave out others with legitimate grievances.

They point to the 5,911 U.S. nationals who have certified claims against Cuba resulting from expropriation of property. Additionally, there are claims by family members of two individuals whom the Cuban government executed for alleged crimes against the Cuban state. Officials point out that none of those claimants, even though they have already waited more than 35 years for compensation, would be helped by the proposed legislation.

The administration also wants to strike from the bill a provision that would require the defendant nation to pay punitive damages. It contends that such damages are not recognized under international law. In the Terry Anderson case, the punitive damage

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***The Clinton  
administration is  
sympathetic but still  
prefers negotiations to  
judgments against  
foreign countries.***

---

award was \$300 million out of the \$341 million total.

In addition, some critics of the legislation are concerned that passage of the legislation could pave the way for foreign governments or groups to sue the U.S. government based on the dozens of U.S. military interventions in recent years. But supporters are convinced that any such litigation


would be fruitless since the bill is clearly designed to benefit only Americans.

### **Iranian Reaction**

Not surprisingly, Iranians resent the new front opened against their country in U.S. courts. After the judgment in the Flatow case was announced in 1998, an official Iranian statement said, "The allegations raised in the hurried proceedings of the court are without a shred of substantiation, have no basis in fact and fail any standard of evidence." Iranian officials also contended that they had been served with no papers concerning the suit.

In addition, the Islamic Jihad, the Palestinian group held responsible for Alisa Flatow's death, ridiculed the court finding in her case. "This is a big joke, because thousands of Palestinians have been killed during the past 50 years without anyone car-



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ing about them or about their family," said Mohammed Said, a leader of the group.

The Clinton administration seems to recognize that the terrorist acts which triggered the lawsuits against Iran did not occur in a vacuum. Accordingly, while the State Department deplors the acts of terror blamed on Iran, it also concedes that Iran has its own grievances against the United States.

A major sore point for Iran was the CIA's role in the 1953 coup in Iran that deposed Iran's popular prime minister, Mohammed Mossadegh, and reinstated the monarchy. "The coup was clearly a setback for Iran's political development," Albright said in a March speech. "And it is easy to see now why many Iranians continue to resent this intervention by America in their internal affairs." She also noted that the regime of the Shah of Iran received strong American backing for the next quarter century even though it "brutally repressed political dissent." After the 1979 revolution, Albright noted, the United States tilted toward Iraq in the Iran-Iraq war of the 1980's, a policy that she conceded was "regrettably shortsighted" in light of the subsequent U.S. experiences with Iraqi President Saddam Hussein.

Albright remains hopeful that her admissions of past U.S. wrongdoing against Iran could start a healing process; and certainly there is a lot of healing to do. During Clinton's first term, the administration and the Congress collaborated in building up layer upon layer of sanctions against Iran, supplementing earlier punitive actions resulting from Iran's designation as a terrorist state.

In May 1995, announcing a severing of all remaining U.S. economic ties with Iran, Clinton said, "If we are to succeed in getting other nations to make sacrifices in order to change Iran's conduct, we, too, must be willing to sacrifice and lead the way." He

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***Former hostage Terry  
Anderson insists that  
Iran must admit its links  
to terrorists and  
compensate its victims  
before the U.S.  
normalizes relations.***

---

spoke those words just a month after the murder of Stephen Flatow's daughter.

A year later, Congress approved legislation mandating sanctions against any person or business that invests \$40 million or more in any one year in Iran's energy sector. Attitudes toward Iran changed sharply with the election of Mohammad Khatami, an avowed moderate, as president in 1997. Khatami's election and, in particular, this year's parliamentary elections have created the hope of a new, less contentious relationship with Washington.

The changing political climate has not yet led to Iranian policy changes on issues of vital interest to the United States, however. Tehran is still viewed as a terrorist state and apparently is still intent on pursuing programs to develop nuclear, biological and chemical weapons. There remain lingering suspicions that Iran was behind the 1996 Khobar Towers bombing in Saudi Arabia that killed 19 American servicemen. And, unfortunately for Washington, the moderate president is still subservient to anti-American conservative mullahs on national security issues. Proposals by Washington for an official dialogue with Iran continue to be rebuffed.

In addition, despite American overtures, Iran sees itself as the aggrieved party. Mohammadreza Khatami, brother of the president and head of Iran's largest and most influential reformist group, said last February, "The United States supported the totalitarian regime of the shah. And now that Iran has become one of the most free nations, it continues its policy of sanctions." Clinton did lift restrictions in 1999 on the sale of food, medicine and medical supplies to Iran and other sanctioned countries but the action has had little impact on the overall relationship.

Still, given Iran's size, location and oil reserves, the administration wants to be able to influence events there again some day. It is not about to allow its policies to be shaped by lawsuits, however legitimate the cause. Albright recognizes that change in U.S.-Iranian relations can only come in small steps. Barely a month after the parliamentary elections, Albright responded to the strong moderate showing with several gestures, including an end to restrictions on the import of Iranian carpets and certain food items and a reduction in "unnecessary impediments" to contacts between American and Iranian artists, scholars and athletes. She also said the United States was prepared to seek a settlement of the remaining outstanding claims between the two countries.

"Our goal now is to settle the relatively few but very substantial claims that are still outstanding between our two governments at the Hague," she said. "And by so doing, to put this issue behind us once and for all." But the claims issue won't go away if Congress decides to use it to try to punish Iran for past abuses of innocent Americans. And if that happens, administration hopes for a new day in relations with Iran no doubt will be dashed. ■

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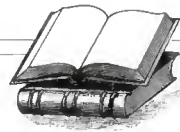
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# BOOKS

## HOMEGROWN TOXIC TERROR

### **Toxic Terror: Assessing Terrorist Use of Chemical and Biological Weapons**

Jonathan B. Tucker, editor; MIT Press, 2000, \$20.00, paperback, 287 pages.

REVIEWED BY JAMES T. DUNNE

The inherent difficulty in analyzing terrorist acts involving the use of chemical and biological weapons (also known as “weapons of mass destruction”) and coming up with preventive measures is that there have been so few such “superterrorist” attacks to date (fortunately!). For a variety of reasons, terrorist groups have so far largely avoided such “unconventional” weaponry in favor of less sophisticated devices such as car bombs.

Any book that offers in-depth analysis of a problem that essentially does not yet exist therefore automatically merits a degree of admiration.

Writing such a book must be like juggling soap bubbles — as soon as you get your hand on an essential element, it disappears. Despite these obstacles, *Toxic Terror: Assessing Terrorist Use of Chemical and Biological Weapons* succeeds in bringing its elusive subject to life through persuasive case studies of real or suspected chemical or biological activity.

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### *Lone actors and small groups are the most likely to turn to chemical and biological terrorism.*

---

Jonathan Tucker, of the Monterey Institute of International Studies, has assembled 12 diverse examples and framed them with a thoughtful introduction and conclusion. (He has also provided several useful charts to assist the reader in comparing various aspects of the case studies.) Although several chapters deal with well-known foreign groups like the Japanese Aum Shinri Kyo cult and the Middle East-affiliated World Trade Center bombers, it is particularly noteworthy, even sobering, to realize that just over half of the incidents profiled are U.S.-based.

Perhaps the most provocative chapter describes an attempt at biological terrorism planned by the Minnesota Patriots Council in the early 1990s. This small group of anti-government, tax-protesting “patriots” intended to use ricin, a deadly poison found in castor beans, against IRS agents, a federal deputy marshal

and local law enforcement officers. The plotters obtained the beans through the mail and one of them extracted the ricin, but before they could mix it with hand lotion and apply it to objects the victims were likely to touch, the FBI penetrated the council and arrested four key members.

Which of these cases should cause the greatest concern about unconventional terrorism? The book’s answers might not be what you expect. While the diversity of cases makes generalizing difficult, the researchers conclude that the most likely perpetrators of chemical and biological terrorism are not groups with outside constituencies and established support groups, but lone actors and cultish, paranoid, disaffected groups (often with goals that are more apocalyptic than political), whose only audience is themselves. Judging from the incidents described here, these conclusions seem quite reasonable.

Precisely for this reason, however, the book does have one shortcoming: it offers no clear prototype or profile that authorities can use to identify a likely chemical or biological terrorist, even though such a profile may be what is needed most at this time. The analysts’ ambiguity reflects reality, but it also adds to our unease.

Nonetheless, *Toxic Terror* provides the clearest and most realistic description of the threat to date. By the end of the book, the reader will

## BOOKS

better understand the relevance of groups ranging from the Weather Underground to the Rajneeshee cult of Oregon, even for a regional security officer protecting a remote U.S. embassy. It is highly recommended for anyone — professionals and lay people alike — concerned about our national security.

*James Dunne is an analyst for the Office of Intelligence and Threat Analysis in the Bureau of Diplomatic Security. The opinions expressed in this review are solely his and do not represent the views or policies of the U.S. government.*


## OUR MAN IN MOGADISHU

**Safirka: An American Envoy**  
*Peter Bridges, Kent State University Press, 2000, \$24.00, hardcover, 241 pages.*

REVIEWED BY JAMES E. MILLER

Less than a decade ago, civil war and massive famine in Somalia triggered an international intervention-cum-humanitarian mission designed to display the ability of a post-Cold War international community to cooperate for the common good. When that operation not only failed to live up to expectations but produced significant casualties, the United States pulled out and Somalia receded from public interest almost as quickly as it had erupted.

Peter Bridges, our man in Mogadishu from 1984 to 1986, provides useful background to that debacle, as well as an engaging overview of his own career, in *Safirka: An American Envoy*. The



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book is part personal memoir and travelogue, part analysis of embassy operations, part dissection of a thoroughly rotten Third World dictatorship, and part review of American diplomacy in the Horn of Africa.

The first 56 pages of *Safirka* (the Somali word for ambassador) recount Bridges' rise through the Foreign Service to the position of DCM in Rome, where he bid on the Mogadishu appointment (a logical follow-on). But the bulk of the book details his efforts, despite daunting obstacles, to carry out major aid programs to address unsustainably high fertility rates, mass migration into pre-industrial cities, a crumbling infrastructure and widespread illiteracy.

To make matters worse, President Mohammad Siad Barre brutally presided over a thoroughly corrupt political system rife with clan tension. He tirelessly sought military aid to retain power and pursue his pet project, a senseless war with Ethiopia that uprooted countless refugees. Recognizing the futility of the situation, Bridges lobbied for a reduction in U.S. assistance and staffing levels, targeting aid towards food programs to keep the Somalis from starving and education as the key to building civil society over the long term.

As he dueled with Siad Barre on a variety of fronts, from administration of aid projects to the release of political prisoners, Bridges also had to deal with embassy security, resolve interagency squabbles and try to revive flagging staff morale. He provides a detailed and interesting account of these facets of his duties.

Bridges then concludes with some reflections on the realities of aid to failed states and on the grim future of Somalia itself. Throughout the book, the author is admirably

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***Bridges provides useful background to the Somali debacle and is admirably frank in his analysis of U.S. policy.***

---

frank in his analysis of U.S. policy and its implementation as well as the politics and personalities of the societies in which he served. His judgments on the Reagan administration are scathing, so it comes as no surprise that he resigned from the Foreign Service in April 1986.

In reconstructing his career, Bridges has read widely, made use of a personal diary and consulted other documentary sources. His exceptional powers of recollection, particularly for the details of his personal travels, give the book charm and color. On occasion, however, the author pushes his flair for the dramatic a bit too far, asking the reader to believe he can recall his exact thoughts during events nearly 15 years ago.

One factor that is virtually missing from Bridges' recounting of his Somali experience (and indeed of his whole diplomatic career) is the role of intelligence in his decision-making. This is especially regrettable since Bridges served in a series of posts (Rome, Moscow, Prague, and Mogadishu) where intelligence operations were a critical part of U.S. activities.

In spite of this unnecessary reticence, Bridges has produced a first-rate memoir that tells us a great deal

about American diplomacy during the Cold War era.

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*James Miller chairs the European area studies program at FSI. His latest book, Politics in a Museum: Governing Postwar Florence, will be published next year by Praeger.*

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## WHY AMBASSADORS STILL MATTER

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**First Line of Defense: Ambassadors, Embassies and American Interests Abroad**

*Robert V. Keeley, editor; The American Academy of Diplomacy, 2000, paperback, \$9.95, 124 pages.*

REVIEWED BY STEVEN ALAN HONLEY

Most readers of the *Journal* would obviously have no difficulty with the proposition that ambassadors matter. But as this volume recognizes, the difficulty lies in convincing those less familiar with diplomacy.

*First Line of Defense* fills this gap by relating dozens of instances where chiefs of mission intervened successfully in all sorts of foreign situations to further U.S. interests, even sometimes at the risk of their personal safety.

Some stories, like the one that opens the book, are quite dramatic. Ambassador Robert Strauss arrived in Moscow in 1991 in the midst of the attempted coup against Soviet President Mikhail Gorbachev. Days afterward, even though he had not yet had a chance to present his credentials, Strauss approached Gorbachev just prior to a memorial service for three young men who had died defending the pro-democracy forces. Through sheer force of personality, he persuaded Gorbachev to add him to the program literally at the last minute

## BOOKS

*Defense relates instances  
where chiefs of mission  
furthered U.S. interests,  
sometimes at the risk of  
personal safety.*

so he could read words of support from President Bush.

Most other case studies in the book are less "sexy" but still highlight ambassadors who were arguably just as effective as Strauss in advancing various U.S. interests in their respective countries. This is particularly true of the chapter dealing with promoting American business abroad, which makes clear the importance of involving all mission elements, under strong leadership, in carrying out this increasingly important diplomatic objective. (In general, however, the subtitle of the book notwithstanding, its focus is much more on the chief than on the mission, which is understandable but nevertheless regrettable.)

Robert Keeley's editing respects the inherent strength and appeal of the stories he has compiled and lets them speak for themselves, which they do, quite eloquently. Perhaps Ted Turner or some other internationally-minded philanthropist could pony up the funds to send a copy to each senator and representative? Even if only a handful of the recipients read the volume, it would still be money well spent. ■

*Steven Alan Honley is associate editor of the Journal.*

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## IN MEMORY

**Richard H. Courtenaye**, 76, retired FSO, died of cancer March 5 at his home in La Mesa, Calif. Mr. Courtenaye was born in Pomona, Calif., in 1923. He received a B.A. from UCLA in 1944. After serving in the U.S. infantry, he was sent by the U.S. Army to the Japanese Language School at the University of Michigan. As a language officer in Japan, he handled press and radio work.

After taking the Foreign Service exam in Japan, he was sworn in as an FSO in Washington, D.C., in 1947. He went on to earn a master's degree in public administration from Harvard University in 1956.

Foreign posts included Barcelona, Mexico City, Quito, Kobe/Osaka, Madrid, and Tijuana. He served as consul general in Quebec City, in Windsor, Ontario, and in Tangier, Morocco. In the department from 1959 to 1961, he served in the Middle America branch of the office of research and analysis, and as chief of the inter-American political division from 1961 to 1962. From 1970 to 1972, he was on loan to the Denver Office of Economic Opportunity and served as federal regional representative for a six-state area. Following his retirement in 1975, Mr. Courtenaye worked as a volunteer adviser for foreign student exchange programs at various San Diego high schools.

Survivors include his wife, Norma Jean Drew Courtenaye of La Mesa, Calif.; two daughters, Mary-Ann Courtenaye of San Diego and Catherine Courtenaye of Emeryville,

Calif.; and his sister, Yvonne Brown of La Jolla, Calif.



**John Paul Heimann**, 67, retired FSO, died of cancer on June 9 at his home in Washington, D.C.

Mr. Heimann was born in New York City in 1933, and grew up in Shanghai, Mexico City, New Delhi, and Washington, as his father served in the U.S. Public Health Service. He graduated from Western High School in Washington, served two years in the U.S. Army, and graduated from Harvard University in 1957. He entered the Foreign Service later in 1957, and his first posts were in Indonesia at Embassy Jakarta and Consulate General Surabaya. He served in Belgium several times, including a period as consul general in Antwerp.

From 1964 to 1965, he studied at Yale University's graduate program in Southeast Asian studies. He served in Kuala Lumpur and later in Kuching as principal officer for East Malaysia and Brunei. In the department, he served as a Foreign Service inspector and as an Indonesia-Malaysia desk officer.

After retiring in 1987, Mr. Heimann accompanied his wife on her assignments as consul general in Bordeaux and to Manila. Mrs. Judith Heimann retired in 1992, after which the couple maintained homes in Oxford, Md., and Brussels, until they moved to the District of Columbia in

1999. During retirement, Mr. Heimann was tapped for special projects for the department in Croatia, Luxembourg and the State Department Archives.

Mr. Heimann belonged to AFSA, DACOR, and the Cercle Gaulois in Brussels. He is survived by his wife of 44 years; son John Paul Heimann, Jr. of Columbus, Ohio; daughter Mary Elizabeth Heimann of Glasgow, Scotland; sister Barbara Filson of Bluffton, S.C.; and aunt Nathalie Brooks of New York City.



**Sheila L. Kachmar**, wife of retired FSO George Kachmar, died of cancer on June 24 in Carlisle, Pa.

Mrs. Kachmar was a native of New York City and a graduate of Hunter College of the City University of New York. She accompanied her husband to posts in Argentina, Sweden, Paraguay, the Republic of Korea, England, Norway, Pakistan, and South Africa. She taught English, Spanish and French in New York City and Scarsdale, N.Y., and at the American schools of Oslo and Karachi.

She was country director of the Girl Scouts of America in Norway, community liaison officer at the American consulates general in Karachi and Johannesburg, and did volunteer and education work for schools and other organizations throughout her life.

Survivors include her husband,

## IN MEMORY



George; daughters Alisia and Jill Kachmar of Carlisle, Pa; and son Shawn Kachmar of Mount Pleasant, S.C.

Memorial contributions may be made to the Senior Living Foundation of the American Foreign Service, 1716 N St. NW, Washington, D.C. 20036, or the American Cancer Society, 1500 N. Second St., Harrisburg, Pa. 17102.



**Robert A. Stevenson**, 81, former ambassador, died of Parkinson's disease on June 23 in Sterling, Va.

Mr. Stevenson lived in Sterling, Va. at the time of his death, and was a winter resident of Naples, Fla. The Vermont native was a graduate of the University of North Carolina and the National War College, and received a master's degree in public service from Harvard University. He served with the Navy in the Pacific during World War II.

He joined the Foreign Service in 1947 and retired in 1978 following four years as ambassador to Malawi. From 1958 to 1960, he served as Cuba desk officer at the department and as coordinator of Cuban affairs from 1966 to 1967. He also served at posts in Germany, Latin America and Africa.

In retirement, Mr. Stevenson was a tireless advocate of the dwindling American bluebird population, designing, building and donating bluebird houses to neighbors and conservation groups. His hobbies included fishing and tennis.

Survivors include his wife of 60 years, Dorothy McIntyre Stevenson of Sterling and Naples; son Gordon Stevenson of Yorktown, Va.; two daughters, Roberta Schrage of Vienna, Va. and Monica Stevenson of Boston; a brother; two sisters; eight

grandchildren; and two great-grandchildren.



**Beatrice K. Bassin**, 85, wife of retired FSO Jules Bassin, died Aug. 5 at the Carriage Hill Home in Bethesda, Md. Mrs. Bassin accompanied her husband on assignments to Tokyo; Karachi; the Armed Forces Staff College in Norfolk, Va., where he served as a member of the faculty; Washington, D.C.; and Geneva.

Mrs. Bassin was a speech and English teacher in the New York City school system from 1937 to 1944, and a speech pathologist in the Washington, D.C., school system from 1962 to 1969.

Survivors include her husband Jules, who lives in Washington, D.C.;

and sons Arthur J. Bassin of Ancramdale, N.Y., and N. Jay Bassin of Silver Spring, Md. ■

### CONDOLENCES

The Foreign Service community offers condolences to the wife, family and friends of diplomatic courier Seth J. Foti, who died in the tragic August 23 crash of a Gulf Air flight from Cairo to Manama. The *Journal* received this news as we were going to press. A full obituary will follow in the December issue.



**Grace Towse Borell**, 94, widow of FSO Charles B. Borell, died after a short illness October 17, 1997, at her home in Center Harbor, N.H. Mrs. Borell accompanied her husband to his postings as an Immigration and Naturalization Service officer to Northern Ireland, Italy, and Belgium in the 1920s and 1930s. Mr. Borell joined the State Department in 1945 and Mrs. Borell accompanied him to postings in London; Montreal; Cork, Ireland; and Frankfurt. Mrs. Borell was a Red Cross volunteer and served as president of the Frankfurt women's club. She had many fond memories of her Foreign Service friends.

Survivors include her son Barry T. Borella of Merrimack, N.H.; grandson Benjamin Borell of Somerville, Mass.; and granddaughter Nicoya M. Borella of Merrimack, N.H. (22 Boulder Way, Merrimack, NH 03054).

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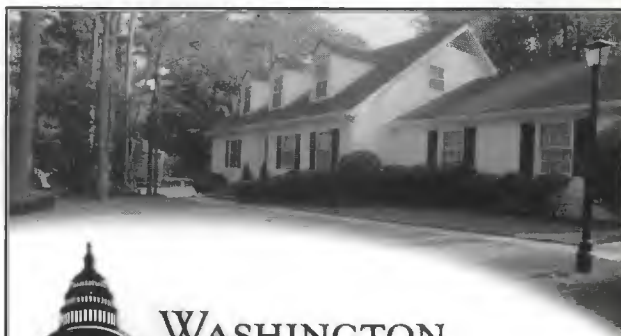
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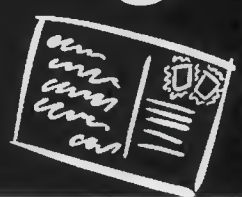
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# POSTCARD FROM ABROAD

## *The Eternal Tug Of War*

BY JOHNNIE E. PRATHER

An awesome tableau has welcomed visitors to Angkor Thom for more than a thousand years. Newer, bigger, cruder than Angkor Wat, its far more famous neighbor, Angkor Thom is nevertheless a magnificent ruin, rich in remnants of Cambodia's celebrated ancient past and wounded by its grim recent history.

On a recent visit, I lingered on the causeway that leads to the site, taking a few moments to acquaint myself with the vision of the ancient builders. On one side of the causeway, there is a row of 54 identically carved demons, each glowering fiercely and so tall that even though they are kneeling, they still tower at least a foot over my head. Opposite them, there is a row of 54 deities, stern but serene, and also identical to one another.

Well-matched in size and strength, the two sides are having a tug of war over possession of a snake. Its stone body goes down one line of figures, then extends on a metaphorical path that takes it to the center of the city. There, the body loops around an actual tower representing the center of the world, and comes all the way back down the other side of figures.

This serpent is indeed a prize worthy of a cosmic struggle, for its Khmer carvers believed the snake, called a naga, held dominion of the

---

*Johnnie Prather is a Washington writer and editor. The stamp is courtesy of the AAFSW Bookfair "Stamp Corner."*

*A half-century  
of greed,  
neglect,  
randalism and  
stupid cruelty  
has ravaged the  
sculptures.*



waters of the world. Whoever possessed it gained power over water, the element essential to the prosperous rice culture that provided the economic foundation of the Khmer empire.

For a thousand years, this vision of opposing forces fixed in struggle over the source of life and wealth has guarded the entrance to Angkor Thom. Grasping the full meaning of the ancient vision requires more background than I had brought to the scene, but I had no difficulty interpreting a set of signs that told of the half-century of greed, neglect, vandalism, and stupid cruelty that has ravaged the sculptures.

Not one of the demons or deities is whole. Heads, hands, arms, and ears have been hacked off and carried away; eyes and noses have been gouged out leaving abrupt and jagged scars to gather lichen in the

sandstone. Thieves with an eye on the high prices Khmer carvings bring on the black market have carried out much of this vandalism. Some of the statuary has been taken away by conservationists, who have put it in the national museum. But even there, safekeeping is a relative concept; pieces regularly disappear from its collection.

The Khmer Rouge, who murdered as many Cambodians as they could during their heyday of destruction, have also left their ugly mark on Angkor Thom and other ancient edifices. Members of Pol Pot's ragtag army used the figures on the causeway for target practice, leaving gaping bullet holes.

Man's malice aside, the famous heat and humidity of Southeast Asia also bear a share of the blame. So do well-intentioned but sloppy repair jobs: replacement heads set at haphazard angles; limbs and other body parts attached with thick globs of adhesive that spill out of their seams and onto the limestone in ugly smears of a different color than the statuary.

Nevertheless, the vision of the ancients stubbornly survives. The 108 figures are still there, each side playing its part in the eternal tug of war. Cambodia's recent history suggests that the demons have gained control of the serpent. But as I surveyed the scene, I found myself strangely hopeful that the deities will regain the upper hand — not just for the sake of Angkor Thom but for all of us. ■

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