

NIXON'S VENEZUELAN VISIT ■ ALBERTON BEAUTIES ■ WHY IMPERIALISM DIED

FOREIGN SERVICE

JOURNAL

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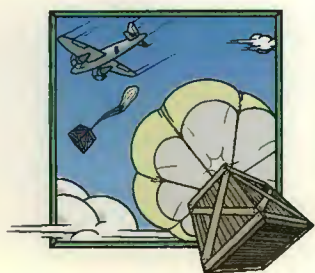


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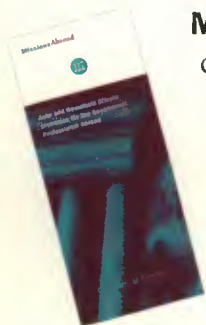
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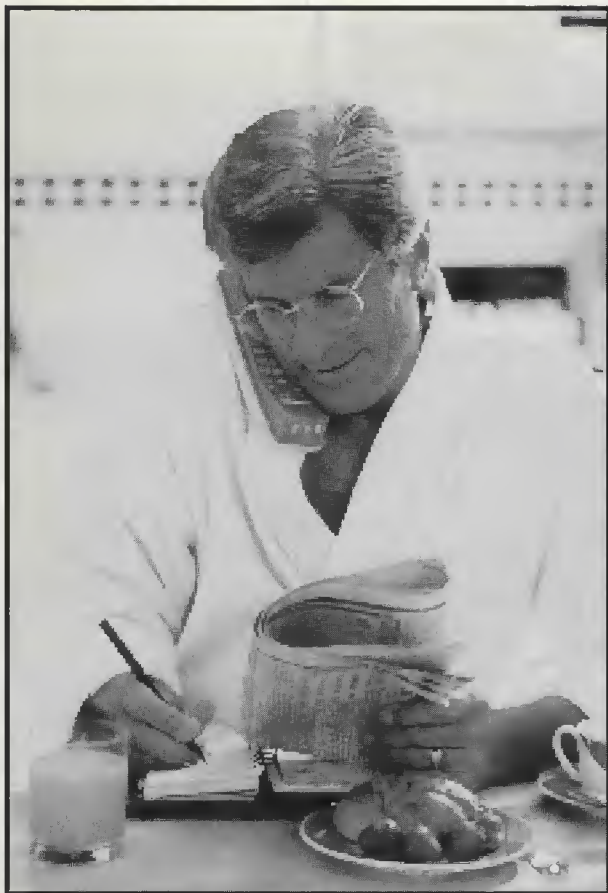
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PRESIDENT'S VIEWS

The Ball is in Our Court

By F. A. "TEX" HARRIS

The extent of the threat to the Foreign Service and the foreign affairs agencies posed by the recent elections becomes more manifest each week. It is clear that the question of America's role in the world ranks far down the list of priorities for the new Congress, somewhere below praying in public schools. Ambitious new members are shunning assignments to the foreign affairs committees and even veteran legislators are seeking politically greener pastures. The consequences of this tuning inward on America's leadership and vital interests in the world — and on the Foreign Service whose *raison d'être* is to advance those interests — are not yet fully apparent.

It's clear that the knives are out. The new chairman of the Senate Appropriations Subcommittee on Foreign Operations is proposing to abolish the Agency for International Development (AID), politicize the Peace Corps, and make both wards of the State Department, while cutting foreign assistance levels — exclusive of the Middle East and Europe — by a further 20 percent. At early hearings of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, the secretary of state will be called upon to justify not only the existence of a foreign aid program but of the Arms Control and Disarmament Agency, and of a distinct Foreign Service itself. Meanwhile, other Civil Service bashers in the new Congress will be gunning for our retirement benefits.

F. A. "Tex" Harris is president of the American Foreign Service Association.

*We can no longer do
everything we did
when foreign policy
was still in vogue.*

At the same time, the White House is debating whether to stick with the already austere budget it prepared before the November earthquake or to pre-emptively capitulate by proposing more dramatic cuts, including the dismantling of entire Cabinet departments, such as Energy and Housing and Urban Development. For the time being, the Office of Management and Budget plans to submit an almost straight-line request for foreign affairs, meaning yet another painful slash, even as the White House requests another \$25 billion for the Pentagon over the next six years.

Clearly, the administration is not prepared to buck the prevailing headwinds to make the case that global turbulence and the perilous transition from the certitudes of the Cold War to a very uncertain future call for a strengthening of America's influence abroad. While the best we can realistically hope for in the near future is to hold the already frayed line, we must keep our eye on the broader need to refine our strategic responsibilities.

But even doing that will be difficult. If we are going to fend off the

kinds of attacks threatened by the new Congress, we will have to demonstrate that we've gotten the basic message: that times have changed and that we can no longer do all the things we did when foreign policy was still in vogue. More important, while recognizing that triage is the order of the day, this is the time to seize every opportunity to showcase the concrete benefits of diplomacy in advancing U.S. economic, security and political interests.

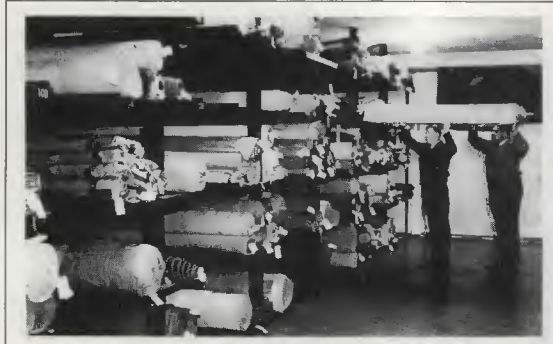
Slowly, painfully, some restructuring seems at last to be under way. In the State Department, the "strategic management initiative" is beginning to move forward with identification of the first group of activities that can be cut back within 30 days. To their credit, those on the Seventh Floor have accepted responsibility for compelling these changes. Henceforth, the burden will be on the affected bureau or office to prove convincingly that its programs should not be cut.

Now that management seems willing to manage, the Foreign Service must get its act together. Management's willingness to make command decisions is a significant breakthrough that needs to be matched by our willingness to accept a little less. Now is the time to test the Partnership mechanisms I have been touting these many months. If we don't, we will have no one to blame but ourselves when unpalatable changes are forced upon us, at best by management, at worst by a distant Congress. It's up to us. ■

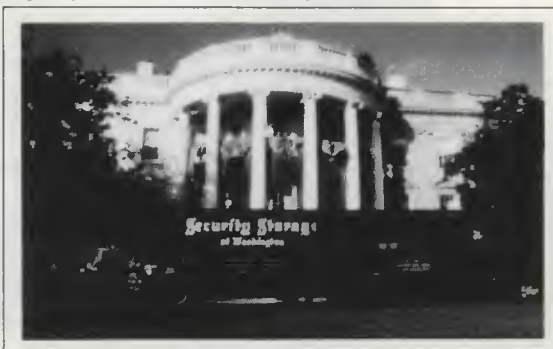
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To the Editor:

We at the Agency for International Development (AID) feel compelled to correct [Paul Niefert's] distorted and misleading picture of the AID/South Africa program (November *Journal*). It is not our policy and the facts do not support the claim that certain racial groups in South Africa and the United States are excluded from participation in AID-funded programs, nor the allegation that management decisions have been improperly influenced by political motives.

We all share a vision of South Africa as a multi-racial or non-racial society. That dream is the reason we have focused assistance on the 87 percent of South Africa's people disadvantaged by apartheid. This focus is clearly recognized in our legislative mandate on South Africa.

Thus, since 1986, AID has placed special emphasis on working with black-led South African non-government organizations (NGOs). (The term "black" in the context of South Africa has consistently meant African, Asian and Colored.) Many of these NGOs in South Africa were severely oppressed during the early years of our program (1986-89); AID/South Africa employees and disadvantaged South Africans worked closely together and demonstrated great courage in not bowing to intimidation. After 1989, the environment for black-led NGOs improved and the trend toward more black representation in NGO leadership continued. Disadvantaged South Africans wanted empowerment as

deliverers and implementors, not just as recipients.

We have consistently promoted this inclusive, participatory model in all our country programs. An increased emphasis on majority-led organizations was a necessity, given our commitment to broad-based, sustainable development and our goal of maximizing our impact on the disadvantaged population.

That said, AID still funds a broad range of diverse South African NGOs. In FY 1993 and FY 1994, respectively, 32 percent and 34 percent of U.S. assistance went to organizations led by disadvantaged South Africans. The remainder went to white-led groups in South Africa, U.S. contractors, and in FY 1994, a small percentage to the new government. This is a far cry from the article's allegation of "American-style apartheid."

The article also alleges "unrelenting pressure for utilization of black American firms and grantees." Again, this is a distorted picture. The mission has appropriately pursued Gray Amendment minority and female-owned contracting opportunities. This is a legislative mandate and a policy of the past three administrations.

The facts speak for themselves: In both FY 1993 and FY 1994, about 7 percent of total assistance to South Africa was channeled through U.S. black-led groups. These numbers do not reflect bias; they demonstrate a level of commitment to Gray Amendment and 8a legislative requirements, which is expected of all AID missions. These groups have demonstrated a strong interest in working in

South Africa and bidding on contracting opportunities. We welcome this interest and believe it is beneficial to our work.

Particularly distressing is the article's criticism of the agency's management integrity by implying that outside forces influence AID personnel policy. No one except senior agency management makes staffing decisions. The appointments criticized were filled with highly qualified Foreign Service officers and were made solely on the basis of professional competence and experience. Each officer has performed at the highest level of distinction.

All Americans, and especially AID and State Department officers involved in implementing AID's program in South Africa in the past decade, should be proud of our accomplishments. The dream of a non-racial South African is meaningless until the disadvantaged South Africans become empowered and all South Africans participate fully in the country's economic, political and social life. That is the goal, and the reward, of our assistance.

Jill Buckley
Assistant Administrator for
Legislative and Public Affairs
AID



To the Editor:

The inclusion of Paul Niefert's critique of AID South Africa in the November *Journal* is perhaps one of your more important decisions in

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recent years. A column in a politically incorrect Washington newspaper compared Neifert to Lillian Hellman of McCarthy hearings fame. The analogy is precise. Those with the courage to note that the emperor's attire is lacking are seldom perceived at the outset as heroes. Just as those willing to take on Sen. McCarthy were left twisting in the wind, so is Neifert paying the price for standing in the way of the jackboots of AID's political correctness gestapo and saying "enough." Today's risk is being branded as a "racist." It is no coincidence that AID's legal counsel, on a visit to South Africa with the AID administrator, let it be known that she understood the mission was "full of white racists," nor that the ambassador, in an interview, referred to the "subtle racism" of critics of the mission's policies.

While the degeneracy of AID's policies in South Africa is a major cause of concern in itself, it is also another symptom of a growing malaise in the Foreign Service agencies. The arrogance of AID leadership in pursuing its domestic racial agenda in the newly non-racial nation through whatever means necessary is a natural outcome of a system characterized by fear and paralysis. How many of us have been concerned about the growing excesses in pursuit of the goal, in itself laudable, of "diversity?" Yet how many of us have been willing to assume the risks and certain costs of challenging the system when it becomes unethical or corrupt? Evil in pursuit of good remains evil. In AID/South Africa, where I was Mr. Neifert's supervisor, it seems to be doing quite nicely. While "evil" may seem a strong term to use in this context, I can think of no other that adequately describes institutions so willing to sacrifice their principles and people on the altar of ideology.

The real question Neifert's article raises is this: Who in this Foreign Service, with its history of political repression, is willing today to stand up and ask, "Have you no shame?" Apart from Paul Neifert, damn few.

*Harry Johnson
Retired FSO
Durban, South Africa*

To the Editor:

Reading the article by Mr. Neifert referring to the alleged Afro-centric policies of the AID Mission to South Africa engaged my curiosity. Has he similarly written any critical articles on the Euro-centric policies of the United States, the State Department, U.S. embassies or AID missions?

It would seem that his outraged sense of fairness would demand this!

*John R. Clyne
Retired FSO
Oviedo, Fla.*

To the Editor:

In the October 1994 issue of the *Journal*, Tex Harris outlined the challenges and dilemmas facing our Foreign Service in his "Views" editorial. He correctly concludes that the State Department, without much of a constituency, will begin in due course "to eat its own" (my words). I submit the process is already well under way.

In an era of fiscal parsimony, we have two choices: seek and defend essential resources or succumb to death by a thousand cuts. The hemorrhaging has already begun. Today the importance of diplomacy and diplomatic presence seems more self-evident than ever. As our military withdraws, the global economy and American business

LETTERS



overseas expand, and the importance of diplomatic relations and influence grows, does it not follow that the department should be a major player in the new evolving international scene? Yet our stakeholders, the Congress, the White House, American business, the other foreign affairs agencies and, yes, even the American public, seem unconvinced the department warrants proper funding. Is the department becoming just the overseas innkeeper, or perhaps just irrelevant?

However, the purpose of this letter is to address the concerns of the men and women who serve in the Foreign Service as Diplomatic Security (DS) special agents. [Harris] suggests that "reducing Diplomatic Security's redundant field offices" might be acceptable.

Let me tell you all what Diplomatic Security field offices do for the department. We investigate passport and visa fraud, often involving other federal offenses such as drugs, illegal immigration and organized crime (we make over 400 arrests per year); we participate with other federal law enforcement agencies in crime task forces; we manage the department's personnel security investigations program; we [have] liaisons with 1,400 foreign embassies and consulates scattered across the United States; we provide protective security services for visiting foreign dignitaries; and finally, the trained field office agents provide temporary assistance overseas in such places as Algeria, Bosnia and Haiti. We do all this with eight field offices and about 150 agents — hardly an extravagance.

Could we do all this by telephone, fax or internet? Probably, but with the same level of efficacy that the department could conduct relations with Kiev, Pretoria or Port-au-Prince. And what does the word "redundant" mean, as in "reducing DS's redundant field offices?" Unnecessary? Obsolete?

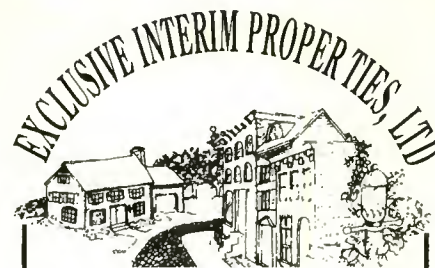
Whom are we duplicating? The answer is, not surprisingly, no one.

There is of course a larger question. Does the department want or need a security and law enforcement arm? Since 1916, DS in one form or another has existed in the department. But the past is not a justification for the future. Perhaps State would like to relinquish its security and law enforcement responsibilities to another agency. After all, we have plenty of precedent ranging from cultural to commercial affairs, to the CIA's political reporting. Why not give DS and its responsibilities to another agency? If the department cannot support DS or believes it is "redundant," than this question merits serious and honest consideration.

DS has been at the forefront in improving efficiency and effectiveness while accepting greater and greater resource reductions. But we are already at the margin. Most of the DS budget of \$170 million goes directly overseas to support local guard operations, armored cars for principal officers, residential security and a plethora of similar programs. There is no fat.

The problem is not redundant DS field offices, excessive R&R travel, or lavish lifestyles. It's our stakeholders' perception of our importance and utilitarian value, and the failure of our leadership — not management — to instill a sense of value and appreciation for what the Foreign Service does and can do in furtherance of the United States' interests. So, who owns this problem? Not DS. Let us find a solution other than death by a thousand cuts. Not just for DS, but for the State Department.

*Dennis L. Williams
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To the Editor:

Hasn't the Bureau of Diplomatic Security (DS) done enough in terms of cuts! We have far exceeded the 10 percent required reduction. [Tex Harris's] comments in the October *Journal* on "reducing Diplomatic Security's redundant field offices" was not greeted favorably down here in Bogotá.

The term redundant means excess and superfluous. Quite to the contrary, we need more agents in DS field offices. We in Bogotá have all served in DS field offices. We have worked diligently in executing both arrest and search warrants and have testified relentlessly in federal district court to bring individuals who violate federal law to justice. ... These individuals are given stiff jail sentences; they are also penalized financially, ... sometimes an exorbitant amount, which goes into the U.S. government's general fund. It is disappointing to me how you would not be supportive of such an important entity of Diplomatic Security.

We who have served in DS field take umbrage to your careless statement. DS field offices have an indispensable role to play. You should help preserve such an essential mission and you should not classify them under your caveat of "lesser importance."

*J. Patrick Durkin
Security Officer
U.S. Embassy Bogota*

To the Editor:

This letter is not being written in the hopes or expectation that it might ultimately benefit my wife and me. As this is my last tour of duty, our next and future residence will be our own — and a good deal larger than the so-called "Washington standard" that the State Department has dictated we are

entitled to abroad. I only hope that these comments might contribute to a reassessment and revision of the current housing policy that will prevent other couples from being victimized by this benighted bit of bureaucratic bungling. Its result fails not only to reflect the realities of the field, but is not even consistent with the realities of life in the Washington area.

We are told that the object of our present housing policy is to prevent overseas personnel from living too "ostentatiously." Therefore, we are required to live in dwellings "comparable" to those in metropolitan Washington [and] based primarily on size of family instead of one's grade or actual housing allowance.

This leads to the anomaly of a young first-tour junior officer with a spouse and one or two children living in a large multi-bedroom house with spacious grounds. On the other hand, the FO-I officer and spouse whose children have left the family nest are obliged to go into a virtual shoe box abroad.

Junior officers may also have the option of shipping their own furniture to post or using government-owned furniture. The old-timer, however, with an accumulation of furnishings from several previous overseas assignments must fit them into his shoe box or pay extra for a furnished dwelling.

Nor do current housing regulations provide for any kind of negotiation or trade-offs based on one's personal preferences. If one might prefer an older, more spacious house to a modern, smaller one, forget it. No flexibility is allowed in the department's overseas "Washington standard" housing policy. It is the junior officers themselves who realize that, comparably speaking, they are living more "ostentatiously" than they are ever likely to again.

In my present assignment we

LETTERS

thought we could help out with representational responsibilities. Under the current regulations, however, not only does the limited size of our unostentatious house preclude even modest gatherings, but my wife, who chaired the gourmet group at a previous post, has not even joined this post's cooking group because her small and ill-equipped kitchen is inadequate for her to take her turn at hosting it. In my opinion, this is not only ridiculous, it is outrageous.

I am aware that the current housing regulations have a deleterious effect on relatively few persons of long service and comparable rank. I hope, however, that fact will not, through bureaucratic ennui, force those remaining and those to come after me to continue to live abroad in the manner of junior diplomats.

*Albert Krehbiel
Consular Officer
Bridgetown*

China, where he again encounters the beautiful secretary (played by the unforgettable Virginia Bruce). He arrives at the consulate building on a palanquin born by six bearers. The weary vice-consul is shown to his quarters and immediately hits the sack. That night a noise awakens him, he sits bolt upright in bed as a dagger lances the pillow where his head rested only moments before.

I won't reveal the ending for fear of spoiling this classic for future viewers. Anyone who has been through A-100 class will howl at the 1950s version of this introduction to the Foreign Service. Don't miss this one — high camp at its best.

*Paul Stephenson
Consular Officer
Hong Kong*

To the Editor:

Michael Canning's amusing and informative article on Hollywood's view of the Foreign Service (November *Journal*) overlooked one of the classic movies on Foreign Service life. "State Department File 649," made in the 1950s, begins with a shot of the memorial plaque in the C Street State Department Lobby.

The plot, as I recall it, goes something like this: State needs a new vice-consul, reviews its list of applicants, and decides on our hero, whose file number is 649. Our protagonist is shown attending the A-100 class, learning how to decode messages, and tooling around in his late model convertible in the company of a Foreign Service secretary. Our newly minted officer is later assigned to a remote post in northern

To the Editor:

One reason for my being so late in commenting on the articles on the Holocaust (September *Journal*) is that I was participating in my old infantry division's 50th anniversary tour of the liberation of Dutch areas and of the campaign through Germany, including seizure of one concentration camp. Having in mind this vivid image of humanity's losses, I cannot let pass without comment the article on the State Department's tragic role in the Holocaust.

The *Journal* gives us both [Sam] Lambroza's informative sketch of the diversion by anti-Semites in the State Department of information that might have led to significant rescues of European Jews, and [Doyle] McManus' record of the revelation that led to belated establishment of the War Refugee Board, thereby ending some dreadful influences emanating from State. But Lambroza's brief

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LETTERS

account implodes by its incorporation of two astounding dismissals of conscience. Two of the department's anti-Semites are excused as "products of their society." Also, the author concludes, "it should be remembered that the expeditious end to the war saved the lives of thousands of other Jews," adding that "American soldiers who died to destroy the Third Reich also helped save what remained of European Jewry."

Is the article's author resilient enough to dismiss Hitler, Eichmann, and others who pursued the extermination of Jews (and Gypsies) as "products of their society?" And does he recognize that the State Department's interference in timely rescue operations allowed the Nazi extermination program to proceed so that only pitifully small numbers of those people remained when the Third Reich was finally destroyed?

The seeds of anti-Semitism in the department and Foreign Service were sown prior to World War II, with some of the operatives who infested the organization not retiring or dying until after the war and the end of the Holocaust. Now faced with the historical record, we cannot simply dismiss the malevolence among some Americans that contributed to the monstrous losses of the Holocaust.

Bernard Norwood
Retired FSO
Bethesda, Md.

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To the Editor:

All attempts to regain department leadership in the foreign affairs field fail to tackle the real problem: the existence of multiple foreign services in the government. The first step toward a real solution

LETTERS

— is the re-unification of all the foreign services.

Posts around the world are just now finishing their plans to guide activities for the FY 1995-99 period. All elements of the embassy (we have 12 agencies in Abidjan) participate in the drafting, discussion and review. But we fool ourselves if we think that even the ambassador can command the personnel and financial resources of the U.S. government agencies concerned.

Take for example a "mission" shared by virtually all posts: the promotion of U.S. exports. How much time should State officers devote to this objective while we have two Foreign Commercial Service officers at post? Should the economics section, staffed by State officers, get into these issues when Washington tells us we must identify areas where we can do less? How much influence does the ambassador have on the allocation of Department of Commerce resources?

The Foreign Agricultural Service is here to promote exports too. How much influence does State exercise over Agriculture's staffing and funding decisions? Ever try to get an agency to fill a slot it wants to abolish?

State has almost no say over how Commerce and Agriculture use their personnel and financial resources; at the mission level there's very little we can do to influence the total U.S. government effort to promote U.S. exports. If we were one [Foreign] Service, working from one Foreign Service budget and a unified personnel system, then we'd be in a position to do something about the priorities we would establish.

Take another objective: promoting democracy. Most of the money

for this comes from the Agency for International Development (AID) budget. What could be more political than democratization and human rights? Why must we turn to another agency to fund these efforts? At posts like ours, where there's no bilateral aid program, the grunt work is done by State Department political officers. Any political section worth its salt would be a source of ideas and initiatives in this field. The U.S. Information Service (USIS) promotes democracy through public diplomacy, expert speakers and exchange programs. But State has almost nothing to say about how USIS staffs its posts, nor AID, and not much about how much money we'll devote to this effort.

Meaningful reform or streamlining can't take place while we are in such a disunited condition. Real reform requires an administration committed to achieving a unified Foreign Service. I don't see even a glimmer of recognition that this is a problem. A draft mission statement that focuses on the Department of State simply perpetuates the narrowing focus that got us where we are today. A mission statement for a unified Foreign Service of the United States might begin to reverse the trend which over the last decade has produced the circumscribed role which now remains to the Department of State.

*Charles O. Cecil
Deputy Chief of Mission
U.S. Embassy Abidjan*

CORRECTION

Due to an author's error, the eighth comment on the State Department's proposal to cut hardship allowances (November *Journal*, "President's Views") was mistakenly credited. The comment was from U.S. Embassy Museat. ■



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**FOREIGN POLICY,
WINTER 1994-95**

AID FACES CRITICISM ON HILL WITH HELMS

The foreign aid budget of \$13.7 billion is only 1 percent of the federal budget, but it looms large as a harbinger of how the new Republican-controlled Congress thinks tax revenues should be spent, reported John Goshko in the Nov. 21 *Washington Post*. "Our next budget proposal will subject foreign aid to the most intense scrutiny and debate since Harry Truman started the whole thing with the Marshall Plan," admitted Agency for International Development Administrator Brian Atwood.

Atwood's comment was prompted by Sen. Jesse Helms (R-N.C.), incoming chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee. Helms put the "so-called foreign aid program" at the top of a list of programs to be closely scrutinized, charging, "We must stop this stupid business of giving away the taxpayer's money willy-nilly."

Atwood noted, "We must seek ways to work with [Helms] to fashion an aid program that will meet with budgetary austerity and still help to achieve important U.S. foreign policy goals."

Atwood is seeking to shed the agency's reputation for mismanagement and make it function more effectively under "reinventing government" strictures, Goshko reported.

"Jesse Helms believes in aid," a Helms assistant was quoted as saying. "We should first take care of the necessities like [the Export-Import Bank] and security considerations like aid to Israel. ... If there's room for some additional development assistance, it should go into one pot, and you tell the administration: You decide your priorities and what you want to do with it."

A Nov. 6 *Washington Times* article on foreign aid emphasized that foreign aid is a leading public spending target, even though it accounts for about \$45 a year of taxes for the average American family, reported Tom Carter. The United States spends more on foreign aid than any country except Japan, but when aid is calculated as a percentage of gross domestic product, the United States is last among the top 21 donor nations. He also pointed out that as much as 70 percent of aid money is spent in the United States, going to farmers and others for work done overseas. The current emphasis at AID on "sustainable development," with programs in population aid and the environment, was criticized by the Heritage Foundation's Thomas Sheehy as "socialism with a green hue."

NEW USIA I BUREAU DOES MORE WITH LESS

The U.S. Information Agency's newly created Information Bureau — or "I Bureau" — is an attempt to put USIA on the cutting edge of "reinventing government," John Goshko reported in the Nov. 10 *Washington Post*. Working with a greatly reduced staff, the I Bureau has abandoned the compartmentalization of different types of workers such as writers, researchers and program planners. Instead, teams, with only minimum direction from higher management, will deal with different policy issues such as politics, economics, human rights and environment. Although the team concept was hammered out in a year-long series of focus groups that

CLIPPINGS



included management, unions and employees, there is a great deal of concern in the agency about how successful they will be, according to Goshko.

Some employees say cynically that all the talk of teamwork merely masks an attempt to get "twice as much work from half as many people," reported Goshko. Others fear that USIA's mission is changing and that more and more products and services, such as foreign language magazines and USIA libraries, are being eliminated.

Barry Fulton, USIA associate director, concluded, "People are going to be stressed out because they're being called on to do more work and do it in a different environment. ... Some things won't be as good as before. ... The hard facts are that Congress has decided that government has to be downsized and made more efficient."

EXPLORING THE LURE OF WORKING ABROAD

"The global perspective is in," Michael Lewis opined in *The New Republic* on Dec. 12. Lewis is talking about internationalism at the professional level when he wrote that the only high status roles left in America are in international jobs, such as in international banking and the foreign bureaus of newspapers. "Call it the prestige of distance. ... However irrelevant the modern ambassador, very important people still fall over each other to become one, and thus consign themselves to a future of stilted dinner parties and lost passports."

Lewis criticized people's emphasis on 'abroad', saying that, "The practical consequence of this weird but widely acclaimed global outlook is to channel the smart and influential away from problems they might solve [at home] and into problems they cannot solve."

Not only that, he noted, but, "People whose minds are occupied by things that are far away are considered more profound than people whose minds are occupied by things close at hand."

FAS TO REVIEW WORKER DECISION

Jim Patterson, an Agriculture Department economist who had been told he would not be allowed to join the Foreign Agricultural Service (FAS) because of his daughter's medical condition, has been assured that the decision is being reviewed.

Meg Walker reported in the Nov. 21 *Federal Times* that Patterson passed the FAS tests in 1992, but the Agriculture Department would not give him a medical clearance because of his daughter's congenital heart defect. FAS employees enter the Foreign Service from a Civil Service position, and Patterson has been employed by the Agriculture Department since 1984. Patterson filed an equal employment opportunity complaint claiming he was discriminated against because of his daughter's medical condition.

The 1990 Americans with Disabilities Act includes a proviso prohibiting discrimination because the employee is related to someone with a disability. Since he was denied the position, Patterson said, "I've been treated like a secretary."

U.S. CONSULATES CALLED INSENSITIVE

The New York Times of Nov. 27 carried an exchange of letters on the trials and tribulations of visa officers. Sandra Schmidt and Randy Setlock of Princeton, N.J., wrote about the work of the U.S. embassy in Moscow: "As for complaints of rudeness: Visa application officials review hundreds of these a day.

50 YEARS AGO

Turkey's independence day was celebrated with pomp in one of the few capitals where United Nations and Axis diplomats still rubbed shoulders, recounted John Horner, third secretary at Ankara, in the January 1945 *Journal*.

"The ambassador and his staff were escorted into a waiting room at the Grand National Assembly reserved for United Nations diplomats. Representatives of neutral countries were in another room and the room for Axis countries, formerly bulging with bemedaled Germans, was occupied only by the Tokyo end of the Axis — their Teutonic allies were interned at the German embassy," wrote Horner. "As usual we were conspicuous in our evening clothes in the midst of our gorgeously uniformed colleagues," he wrote.

"The ravenous diplomats welcomed the sandwiches (white bread, often unobtainable in wartime Turkey) and lemonade served during the parade. The festivities culminated in an enjoyable ball that lasted into the following morning." ■

CLIPPINGS

"Foreign aid has made sense on economic, humanitarian, security and fiscal grounds."

EDITORIAL, THE
WASHINGTON POST,
Nov. 28

They often work much more than a 9 a.m. to 6 p.m. shift and then go home to a city apartment or hotel room. They are recognized on the street by visa applicants and harassed. They have all the problems of living in an overcrowded city, plus the problems of finding decent food, coping with undrinkable water and doing without basic services we take for granted. I would challenge any American to face these conditions and not get a bit testy from time to time."

Jeffrey Zonis of Camp Hill, Pa., had nothing good to say about U.S. embassy personnel in Budapest, claiming that every time he visited the embassy, he witnessed a "general attitude of disdain, disrespect and indifference."

The Washington Post of Dec. 1 reported that Ambassador to Russia

Thomas Pickering defended his embassy against charges of rudeness and insensitivity, saying the embassy was simplifying procedures in response to complaints. "I am not interested in having the United States portrayed as an ugly Soviet-style bureaucracy," Pickering said. "And we will do all we can to try to deal with it."

In the Soviet era, U.S. Embassy Moscow handled 3,000 to 4,000 visa applications a year; today more than 130,000 are filed annually. Many Russians said they were subjected to humiliating personal questions by consular officers.

Reporter Margaret Shapiro wrote that an underlying theme is the growing friction in relations between Russia and the United States, with the embassy a target of local criticism. ■

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SPEAKING OUT

How to Prevent Genocide Around the World

BY GILBERT D. KULICK

For most of the half-century following the defeat of Nazi Germany, it seemed as though humanity had taken to heart the commitment it proclaimed at Nuremberg “never again” to permit a national, ethnic, racial, or religious group to be destroyed simply because of who or where they were.

The world was not, of course, at peace during all this time. Dozens of wars and civil conflicts have been waged since World War II in Africa, Asia, Latin America and the Middle East. But with the exception of the Khmer Rouge’s reign of terror in Cambodia, no one had perpetrated the crime of genocide on a large scale.

Now, suddenly, with the end of the Cold War and the “order” it imposed on the international system, genocide is happening again. First, the Serbian regime of Slobodan Milosevic and his Bosnian Serb surrogates unleashed a murderous campaign to conquer and destroy the multi-ethnic state of Bosnia-Herzegovina, to kill and maim masses of Bosnian Muslims in the process, and to dispossess the rest. After a lengthy stalemate, the Bosnian Serbs have resumed their offensive and are about to overrun the “safe area” of Bihac, with the road to Sarajevo open before them.

Gilbert D. Kulick is the director of outreach for the American Foreign Service Association. This article is based on his recent remarks to the National Convention of B'nai B'rith in Chicago.

*If we are not
willing to stretch
our collective
imagination, our
ingenuity and our
courage to prevent
genocide, what
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world of civility
and security?*



Then, last April, the Hutu-controlled government of Rwanda launched what we now see was a carefully planned campaign to physically annihilate the entire Tutsi minority. In the next three months, while a horror-struck world watched on television and impotently wrung its hands, close to half the Tutsi population — between 300,000 and 500,000 people — were systematically slaughtered by Hutu soldiers, militia and ordinary citizens. Although eventually driven out by the Tutsi-led Rwandan Patriotic Front — with no help from the “civilized” world — the genocidal Hutu regime is now regrouping in refugee

camp in Zaire and shows every intention of returning to Rwanda to try to complete the genocide of the Tutsis. Yet the international community seems no more organized to stop them now than it was the first time around.

Why is the world once again confronting genocide and what, if anything, can we belatedly do to redeem our dishonored oath of “never again”?

In retrospect, it seems clear that the 50-year respite, at least in Europe, had little to do with the lessons of the Holocaust nor with any international institutions it spawned, and much more to do with the relative discipline and equilibrium imposed by totalitarian rule and the Cold War. Even in Africa, East-West geopolitical competition and the restraint that each side exercised on its respective clients may account, in part, for the fact that even bitter ethnic rivalries such as that between Hutus and Tutsis, did not erupt into all-out genocide.

In Bosnia, the old order under Tito suppressed the ethnic animosities that had ravaged the Balkans for centuries and began to lay the foundations of a true multiethnic society. With Tito’s passing and discontent against Communist regimes boiling over across Eastern Europe, Milosevic resorted to a time-honored tactic of dictators facing revolt. Looking for a scapegoat for his people to vent their anger on, he pried open the Pandora’s box of ethnic chauvinism and stoked dormant Serbian fears and hatreds, first against

SPEAKING OUT



the Croats and then against the Muslims of Bosnia. In the carnage that has resulted, some 250,000 Bosnians — 90 percent civilians — have been killed and more than 2 million have been “cleansed” out of their homes.

Many commentators have treated events in these countries as though they were forces of nature, uncontrollable eruptions of so-called “ancient hatreds,” which the international community is powerless to prevent. This is just not true. Genocide does not happen spontaneously. Genocide is always planned and perpetrated by cynical leaders who believe they can get away with it — and profit from it.

Moreover, genocide doesn't happen overnight. In the cases of both Bosnia and Rwanda, there were plenty of danger signs long before the killing began. If some international mechanism had been in place to detect these signs and sound an alarm that would trigger a rapid and effective international response, perhaps these tragedies could have been mitigated or averted altogether.

The key is to intervene early, before homicidal madness is unleashed and before only massive military measures can stop it. In these budget-cutting times, a million dollars of early intervention is worth billions of dollars of humanitarian relief.

Given the experience of the Holocaust, and humanity's self-imposed obligation to prevent its recurrence, the international machinery for doing so is shockingly rudimentary. The United Nations Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide — which the United States took 40 years to join — has just two pages, only one of which is substantive. And while its definitions of genocide are very broad, the convention's prescription for prevention — as opposed to punishment — is limited to one

extremely vague paragraph. All it says is that any party to the convention may “call upon the competent organs of the United Nations to take such action ... as they consider appropriate for the prevention and suppression of acts of genocide. ...” That's it.

As for its somewhat more extensive provisions dealing with punishment, the threat of post-facto trials by international war-crimes tribunals — as important as it is now to pursue them — is of dubious deterrent value, because the international community is unlikely to bring the perpetrators to trial.

But even if the genocide convention were packed with powerful provisions, it would only be as effective as the willingness and determination of U.N. member states to employ their power and influence to implement them. And, as Bosnia and Rwanda demonstrate, that determination is not there.

Much has been made of the failures of the U.N. peacekeeping operations in Bosnia, Rwanda, Somalia and elsewhere. But the United Nations is not a sovereign body. It can do only what the permanent members of the Security Council permit. And when those members are unwilling to empower soldiers deployed under the U.N. banner — including their own soldiers — even to defend themselves, much less to use force to deter aggression and genocide, and when repeated threats of air strikes are proven hollow, responsibility for the consequences lies squarely with them. In short, the United Nations' failure is our own failure. Nothing more, nothing less.

With the dissolution of the global menace of Soviet imperialism, the West seems to find almost no cause worth risking the lives of its soldiers for, not even preventing genocide. “Never again” now has a caveat: “So long as we don't get hurt.” Leaving aside the moral betrayal, it is strategic folly to think that permitting naked aggression

and genocide in the heart of Europe will not have catastrophic long-term consequences in a region where potential Bosnians abound and would-be Milosevics lie in wait. Far from preventing a wider war, capitulation to the Serbs now almost guarantees it further down the road.

In the case of Bosnia, we see appalling evidence of what happens when we fail to learn from history. Echoes of the Holocaust were evident from the outset. As early as the spring of 1992, it was clear that Serbia, having already conquered a quarter of Croatia, now intended to wipe out Bosnia-Herzegovina as a multiethnic sovereign state. Graphic, indisputable evidence mounted rapidly of “ethnic cleansing” of whole regions, demolition of entire villages, and concentration camps where men were starved, tortured and killed and women were systematically raped.

Though perhaps different in scale, efficiency, and the sheer depths of depravity, the intent of the Serbs toward the Bosnians was not all that different from what the Nazis intended for the Jews: the physical destruction of a people solely because of who they are.

Shamefully, the analogies between genocide in Bosnia and the Holocaust do not stop there; they extend to the ineffectuality and evanescence of the civilized world's response, and its unwillingness to confront aggressors at the outset, when firmness and strength might have curbed their ambitions. It is almost conventional wisdom that if Hitler had been confronted in the Rhineland or even in the Sudetenland, World War II and the Holocaust might well have been averted. Yet, 56 years after Hitler, having learned nothing from history, we are repeating it. In place of Neville Chamberlain, we have Douglas Hurd and Alain Juppé trying to appease the aggressors with half — or is it now 70 percent? — of Bosnia.

Continued on page 20

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SPEAKING OUT

Continued from page 18

In place of the moribund League of Nations, we have the still-barely-viable United Nations, whose Security Council has preserved enough shreds of conscience to pass numerous resolutions condemning Serb aggression and authorizing the use of "all necessary measures" to halt it. To the U.N.'s shame, however, those resolutions have remained dead letters, casualties of the irresolution and pusillanimity of those who could ensure they are enforced. More shameful still, we continue to deprive the Bosnians, through maintenance of an arms embargo, of the means to defend themselves.

The humiliation of the U.N./NATO operation has been so thorough that the best thing to do now may be to withdraw UNPROFOR, whose principal role now seems to be to serve as hostages taken by the Serbs as shields against NATO air strikes. This would remove any plausible excuse for not lifting the arms embargo, arming the Bosnian government and employing massive air power to deter further aggression against U.N.-declared "safe areas." If we are unwilling to undertake any sacrifice to oppose evil, decency demands that we at least untie the hands of Bosnians who are still trying to defend their lives and their country.

Since it is chillingly obvious that the human race has not evolved beyond the capacity to commit genocide, we must learn from the tragedies of Bosnia and Rwanda to try to find ways, even at this late date, to restore meaning to "never again." What can we Americans — and the international community — do to try to ensure that Bosnia and Rwanda don't become models of the "new world order?"

Much of what follows may seem unrealistic or naïve, especially in the current climate of isolationism, disillusionment and cynicism about multi-

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lateral institutions and shrinking budgets for foreign affairs. But if we are not willing to stretch our collective imagination, our ingenuity and our courage to the limits to prevent genocide, what hope is there for a world of civility and security? And if the United States will not take the lead, who will?

As the first step, the U.S. government must acknowledge that genocide is occurring now, and must place prevention of its recurrence among the highest priority goals of its foreign policy. We must make it unmistakably clear, in deed as well as in word, that we will use "all necessary means" to stop would-be genocidists. Since the United States cannot be the world's police officer, this will require much larger investments — in influence and in money — in multilateral institutions than we have hitherto been willing to make.

Second, notwithstanding my skepticism about the deterrent effects of threats of punishment, we must pursue with ruthless determination the apprehension and prosecution of Yugoslavian and Rwandan war criminals before the international tribunals now being established. In Bosnia, this means resisting the inevitable efforts of the perpetrators of genocide to make amnesty a precondition for peace. Failure to seek justice will nullify any possible deterrent value such tribunals might still have.

Third, a multilateral body as insulated as possible from politics should develop an early-warning list of potential genocide situations around the world and monitor them assiduously for signs that international intervention may be required. As a preliminary list of the most ominous candidates, I would propose the following: Burundi, the Kosovo region of Serbia, Iraqi Kurdistan and southern Sudan.

Fourth, regional political groupings, such as the Organization of African Unity and the Organization of

American States — as ineffectual as they are now — should be strengthened and encouraged to take responsibility as the first line of defense against genocide, through early diplomatic intervention, mediation and the placing of active observers on the ground.

Fifth, where all the above deterrent measures have failed and the outbreak of genocide is determined to be imminent, an invigorated Security Council, led by the United States, must be prepared to override its traditional aversion to intervention in countries' "internal affairs" and to use every means short of military force, including total diplomatic and economic sanctions, blockades and the credible threat of full-scale military intervention, to bring the potential genocidists back from the brink.

Finally, we need to think seriously about creating an all-volunteer multinational military force working only for the United Nations and under the direct policy control of the Security Council, where of course the United States has a veto. Only such a force stands a chance of being free of the military discontinuities and the wretched politics that have rendered currently fragmented U.N. peace-keeping forces incapable of decisive action. When all else has failed to deter genocide, such a force could intervene directly. In cases such as Rwanda, for example, deployment of a few thousand well-armed troops with a mandate to intervene with force, even after the killing has begun, could save hundreds of thousands of lives.

Naive? Unrealistic? Maybe. But when contemplating the subject of genocide and what the world can do, I avoid the company of cynics. I would rather identify with Robert Kennedy, who confronted the apparently insoluble dilemma of South Africa by saying, "Some men see things as they are and ask 'why?' I dream things that never were and ask 'why not?'" ■

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KICKING AROUND NIXON IN CARACAS

HOW THE VP KEPT HIS COOL
AT HEATED 1958 MOB ATTACK

BY ROBERT AMERSON

Former Vice President Richard M. Nixon made world headlines in 1958 when anti-U.S. mobs attacked his motorcade entering Caracas, just a few weeks after revolutionaries had ousted Venezuela's hated dictator, the U.S.-backed Marcos Pérez Jiménez, who had fled to Florida in exile. However, Nixon successfully diffused the tensions and turned the chaos into a public relations coup. His visit would help establish his international credentials, making Americans, including the public, Congress and Washington policy-makers, aware of the high cost of supporting dictators in the name of political stability and anti-communism. He returned to a hero's welcome at Washington's National airport.

Waiting, formal and tense at the speaker's stand on Maiquetía airport's tarmac, Vice President Nixon suddenly had enough of the screaming anti-American mob. Without a word, he turned away from the microphone, spoke tersely with the foreign minister, then took the arm of his wife, Pat, and guided her toward the terminal. Others in the official party quickly followed behind, along the red

Robert Amerson, a retired Foreign Service officer, was press attache with the U.S. Information Agency in Venezuela from 1955-59. This article is an adaptation from his book, How Democracy Triumphed Over Dictatorship: Public Diplomacy in Venezuela, to be published by American University Press in March.

walkway ceremonially lined with an honor guard. They had to pass just underneath a crowded balcony to reach the motoreade. U.S. Public Affairs Officer Harry Casler and I turned to move, too; we needed to get the pool reporters into their station wagon and the rest of the press to their bus.

Just as well, I was thinking, to forget about microphones and the formal arrival statement. Better no words at all than the embarrassment of a prepared speech that could not be heard above the din.

Then obligation stopped all movement again, as the band inexplicably began playing the Venezuelan national anthem once more. Some of the demonstrators sang, their earnest expressions suggesting belief that they actually brought "glory to the brave people." But the screaming also continued, and now, something else: With the Nixons standing quietly at attention directly below the crowded balcony, some of the demonstrators saw their quarry vulnerable. White specks began to rain down on the dignitaries below. It was spit, first from a few, then from dozens of snarling faces leaning over the balcony railing. I could see flecks and blobs staining the vice president's blue shoulder, Mrs. Nixon's red hat, the balding pate of the short minister. "My God," I wondered aloud. "Why don't they get inside?"

"Dignity," Casler replied, his eyes narrowed. "He's showing those bastards real *dignidad*."

Against the music and crowd noises, I mouthed something about the motorcade being in the wrong place, that it should have been nearby, at planeside. Casler reminded me the Venezuelans had insisted on forming the motorcade where it was, outside on

the street. The anthem ended, the Nixons moved under cover and we rushed to attend to our press duties. A rented flatbed truck for photographers was leading the motorcade and included a few journalists. Some 22 media people were traveling with the Nixons. Moving out of the terminal, the official party had to depend on Secret Service muscle to push through the crowds still rushing down from the observation deck. Young faces, distorted with hate and spewing invective, thrust over the restraining arms of protective Americans. Where the hell was the Venezuelan police protection?

Jack Cates, head of the embassy's political section and control officer for this visit, shoved his way forward to signal colleague Sam Moskowitz to snatch the taped card with the number "1" from the exposed windshield of Nixon's convertible and move it to the ambassador's enclosed limousine. Its military driver gunned the engine, and the flashy car moved out of the line. The vice president saw Mrs. Nixon safely to her sedan, then hunched to enter the ambassador's Cadillac limo, now in place. Ambassador [Edward J.] Sparks obviously expected to ride with him, but the vice president waved him away, and the ambassador had to find space several cars back. The foreign minister, the interpreter and two agents did pile in with the vice president, and the heavy black doors slammed shut. There would be no waving to friendly crowds from an open convertible today.

Dismay gnawed at the pit of my stomach. After all the embassy effort that had gone into planning this event, after our expectations, what did we have now? The headlines in tomorrow's papers would carry completely negative implications: hostility, insults, failure. What it might mean for the future would have to be assessed later; I just knew that in the last half hour we had all participated in something that was bad — for us and for Venezuela.

But worse lay ahead. Along the autopista small, fast cars cut in and out of the motorcade, darting between the official vehicles like blackbirds hectoring clumsy crows. Security agents could not be sure whether their purpose was merely to show bravado and defy authority — or something more sinister. At the edge of the city, dozens of people scrambled from hiding places onto the road, shouting obscenities and waving placards. Hurling rocks thudded against the long car carrying Nixon and the foreign minister. In the rear jump seats rode interpreter Lt. Col. Vernon Walters and a Secret Service agent; another agent sat up front with the ambassador's Venezuelan driver.

Mrs. Nixon and the wife of the foreign minister rode in the car directly behind. The motorcade — already slowed because cars had to follow the lumbering truck of journalists — slowed still more as rocks continued to pummel and spit splattered against glass.

A more serious roadblock appeared farther into the city. Along the broad Avenida Sucre, a dump truck parked in the middle of the street halted all traffic. Once again a mob materialized to kick at the car, rip the U.S. and Venezuelan flags off the fender standards, and beat at the metal roof with sticks and bare fists. Some of the inexperienced Venezuelan policemen tried to interfere, to little effect; six Secret Service agents left their car in the motorcade to wade into the crowd of demonstrators. After two or three minutes, they had cleared the way for the car to move again — only to encounter a third blockade just four blocks from the destination, the Panteón, where the group was headed for a scheduled wreath-laying.

This time the vehicles could not move. A screaming crowd of between 200 and 300 poured from the side streets, brandishing rocks, sticks and metal rods. They began to work over the official car with their weapons, bare hands and kicking feet. Many were teenagers, agitated into a frenzy; scattered bystanders later reported seeing mob leaders riding piggyback, the better to direct action. There was so much spit on the car that the ambassador's driver tried to clear it with the windshield wipers, which made visibility worse. A large rock smashed against one of the shatterproof windows, lodging there and spraying glass inside; a sharp piece struck the foreign minister's eye. Other windows splintered and shards flew, without causing further injury. Angry shouts changed from "Fuera Nixon" to "Muera Nixon" — not merely "Nixon out," but "Nixon die," as interpreter Walters told his boss. Then the mob began to rock the car, and its occupants feared it would be turned over, set afire. The situation now had become life-threatening.

One of the agents pulled a pistol and vowed to "get some of these sonsabitches," but the vice president

*How sweet must
have been the tempta-
tion to brush
away his now-tau-
gled official obliga-
tions, pull back into
himself, think
things through, get
some quiet rest. But
somehow that
famous disciplined
will of his
asserted itself.*

urged him to hold his fire. With similar forbearance the six backup agents began clearing attackers away from the car, but without using their guns. After 12 long minutes the driver maneuvered into the oncoming lane of traffic, running interference, and the two official cars followed, toward the Panteón.

But now the vice president made a decision, intuitively guessing that if the Communist agitators could set a roadblock as effective as what they'd just seen, the scheduled stop at the Panteón could be really dangerous. He ordered the car to turn in the opposite direction, notwithstanding the anguish of the foreign minister, who was nearly hysterical. What should have been a pleasant ceremonial arrival had turned into a nightmare.

"We can't leave our protection," he cried, holding a hand to his bloody eye. "We've got to follow the police escort!"

"If that's the kind of protection we are going to get," Nixon told him, "we're better off going it alone."

Nixon's instincts and quick decision no doubt saved some lives. As the cars bolted off the designated route into a narrow side street, four blocks away at the Panteón Plaza some 5,000 agitated Venezuelans, mostly student-aged, milled about, awaiting Nixon's arrival.

An hour earlier, according to Embassy plan, the assistant naval attache, Lt. Cmdr. Lou Seliris, wearing his khaki naval uniform, had arrived in the florist's panel truck. His job was to place the large floral wreath on a stand near the Panteón's door and wait for the motoreade so that at the proper moment, with the color guard and band providing the signal, Nixon could place the wreath at the tomb, honoring the memory of South America's *libertador*, the Venezuelan-born Simon Bolívar.

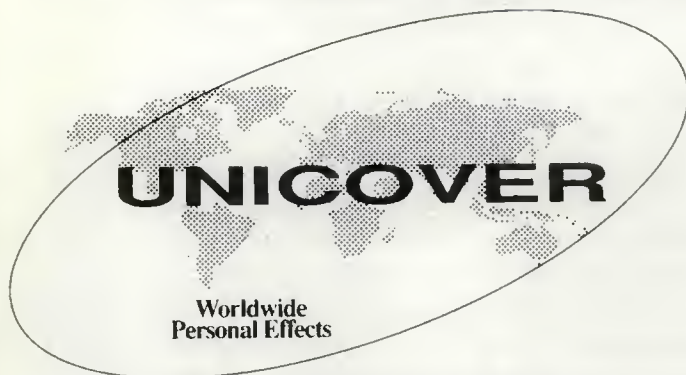
Seliris was surprised to find Panteón Plaza already crowded, and the mood unfriendly. A stocky and tough ex-submariner not easily daunted, he began to

carry the cumbersome wreath from the truck towards the Panteón. But Seliris was not permitted to complete his mission. At first some of the crowd's bolder ones jostled, then pushed trying to wrest the wreath away. Grasping fingers tore at his uniform. Then there were punches, and an athletic youth with hate in his face tried to knee Seliris in the groin. By now the wreath had been torn from his grip and several youngsters screaming in defiance had clawed it to shreds. Retreating back into the truck, he urged the driver to head for the embassy. The driver, a Spanish-born immigrant, first tried to appeal to the mob — speaking of honor and patriotism — but to no avail. The truck rocked and began to tip over. Luckily one rear tire was still on the ground. Gunning the motor, they careened — literally on two wheels for a moment — through the scattering demonstrators and away from the site.

Safely away from police escort and the established route, the Nixon party

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led trailing motorcade cars up a hill to the ambassador's residence in La Florida. Tension, uncertainty and a sense of disaster hung in the air. By this time embassy officers on duty at the house had been told by telephone of the day's events.

The day's schedule lay in ruin. Alternate plans had to be fashioned to present to the vice president and the ambassador. The question of security remained paramount. Did the morning presage an attempt to replace the government *junta* by a more revolutionary crowd, with Communists dominant? Extremist, exultant bands roaming the city still signaled danger, and a report came in about one gang actually approaching on the steep La Florida roads. Embassy Marine guards on duty received reinforcement from the U.S. military missions stationed in Caracas — ordinary servicemen who had never envisioned that in this tour of duty they'd be toting rifles to defend the U.S. vice

president against attacking Venezuelans. However, no attack materialized.

The Nixons accepted the suggestion that they remain overnight at the ambassador's residence instead of risking cross-city travel to the *Círculo Militar*, as had been planned. But first, they had to change their spit-stained clothes. "I'm going to burn these as soon as I can get out of them," Nixon had growled at the foreign minister in the car, when the Venezuelan host had tried to clean the dishonor from his guest's suit.

The residence staff, augmented by several embassy spouses, set out a planned buffet lunch, for which a small invited group of newspaper publishers, political figures and intellectuals now began to arrive. Andrea Sparks asked Nancy Amerson, as "the youngest among us," to prepare a plate for the vice president. She did so, aware that she must be feeling the tension of the moment more than the distinguished

visitor, who seemed remarkably calm and gracious.

But signs of aggravation started to show. The three leading political party leaders — Romulo Betancourt, Jóvito Villalba and Rafael Caldera — were bunched together in one corner of the residence dining area. Jack Cates was doing his best to keep them occupied until the moment when they might carry out what they had come here to accomplish — speak personally with the American vice president, at least to express their apologies for what had happened. Their itchiness increased every minute, Cates could see. "*Un momento*," he said, excusing himself. "Let me see what I can do."

He located the vice president and put the proposition straight to him about taking a few minutes now to deal with these top politicians who obviously chafed at having to cool their heels in the wings. Venezuela's guest of honor



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did not show an accommodating mood. "Let 'em wait," he replied.

By now, so much already having occurred, Cates felt ready to abandon normal protocol to save something from the day's disaster. He fixed Nixon with a steady gaze. "No! No, sir."

"What?"

"Mr. Vice President, you really can't do it that way. One of those three men is going to be president of this country. You've got to spend a little time with them. Now."

Nixon stared back at the audacious embassy officer. Then he smiled. "All right," he nodded, and Cates went to fetch the waiting Venezuelans. All that afternoon the vice president demonstrated what he was made of. He must have felt extreme fatigue from the day's events, and cumulatively from the long, arduous tour around the continent. Sheer anger must have dominated his entire being. How sweet must have been the temptation to brush away his now-tangled official obligations, pull back into himself, think things through, get some quiet rest. But somehow that famous disciplined will of his asserted itself, and he now undertook the rescheduled series of talks with leaders who had come to call on him.

They all filed into the handsome residence past the symbol of shame: the ambassadorial Cadillac, diplomatic plate 63, the motorcade number "1" still taped inside the ravaged windshield, the black metal scuffed and dented, the splintered windows smeared with dried sputum. It must have been, for responsible Venezuelans, a sickening exhibit.

An embassy officer had wondered what to do about the car, with so many leaders coming to talk. "Leave it where it is," the vice president ordered. "It's time they see some graphic evidence of what communism really is."

Provisional President Admiral Wolfgang Larrazabal and the entire *junta* arrived to express their apologies.

The three non-Communist political party leaders showed their eagerness both to talk and to listen, as did labor and business figures. We hastily rescheduled the vice-presidential press conference, to permit immediate public statements, while the news was making headlines throughout the world. Nixon's personal declarations to the media might help put the day's events into perspective.

In the diffused light of the terrace that afternoon, the vice president stood erect and calm. His manner remained courteous, cerebral but forthright as Lt. Col. Walters translated his message. He told the world that "it isn't easy" to suffer indignities such as we had seen this day. He said he was aware "the great majority of those who participated in the riots were not Communists," but that "those who directed it were subject to central direction and are without a doubt Communist-dominated."

He pointed out that students leading demonstrations throughout South America had all used the same slogans, the same words, the same tactics, which he termed "absolute proof" that they were directed and controlled by a central Communist conspiracy. In response to a local journalist's query, he said he recognized that the presence in the United States of ousted dictator Pérez Jiménez and his secret police chief angered Venezuelans, but "I personally could not think less of them," he said, adding that the United States would be glad to ship the two back to Venezuela for trial whenever asked.

He rounded off with a statesmanly comment: "We have a situation where the Communists were able to gain great support from students in this country because of what has happened over the last 10 years. What we are seeing is the terrible legacy of the dictatorship of Pérez Jiménez." Whatever we as individuals may have thought of Nixon before, those of us who watched him in action had to agree — it was an impressive performance. ■

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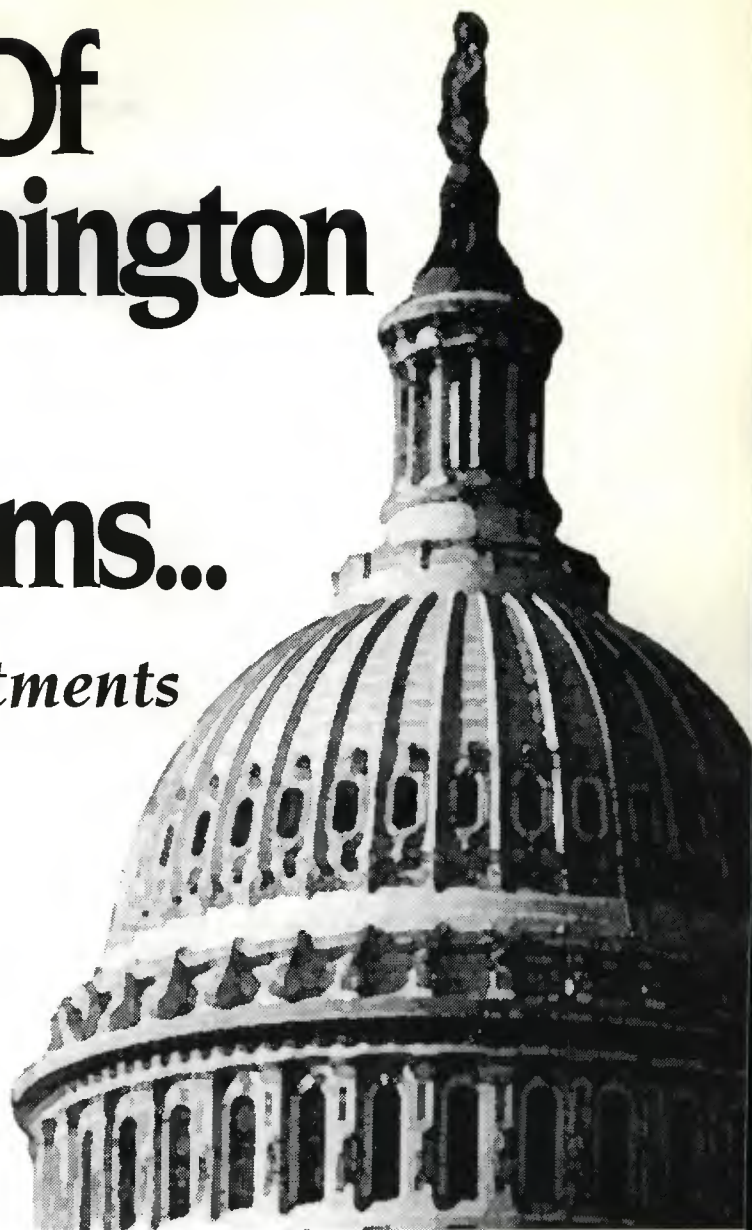
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BEAUTY IN THE BEAST

IN SOUTH AFRICA, LAND OF FUTILITY,
PAGEANTS HELP BREED SELF-ESTEEM

BY ROBYN HINSON-JONES

It is hard to ignore the frequency and prevalence of beauty contests in South Africa. These contests are a national pastime: Every age group, race, region, city and township and even some professions have contests. Men preen on the runways as well as women. Every year countless column inches and hours of air time are spent discussing the merits and demerits of Miss South Africa, no matter who gets the title. Presidents and politicians attend the contests. In sum, beauty contests are a big deal.

Five months after South Africa's historic elections, I became a part of this world when Solly Madilo invited me to help judge the "Miss Greater Alberton" beauty contest. Greater Alberton, not far from Pretoria, consists of a cross section of East Rand communities, including the black township of Thokoza, the make-shift shacks of the sprawling Phola Park squatter camp, the Colored Eden Park neighborhood and the working-class white area of Alberton.

The infectious optimism of Solly, creator of a grass-roots organization, "The Total Image Youth Development Program," was what persuaded me to try beauty contest judging. To Solly, cultural events are the secret for lasting peace in the world. The motto of his organization is, "Take

pride and believe in yourself." Despite the poverty and violence in his Thokoza community, Solly would not be discouraged. He arranged Greater Alberton's first beauty contest to build the self-esteem and self-pride of the youth of this area and help overcome feelings of helplessness and futility.

The youth of Greater Alberton have good reason to feel helpless and futile. Before the April 1994 elections, the East Rand area was one of the most violent and deadly in the nation. Hundreds of people died in daily battles between single Zulu workers who lived in workers' hostels and non-Zulu township residents. The violence created a barren no man's land and block after block of ransacked and gutted houses and shops.

No one was safe. When African National Congress leader Cyril Ramaphosa and South African Communist party chief Joe Slovo came to the area in a passionate plea for peace, they were met by a hail of bullets. Three people were shot dead.

Since the election, the level of violence has dropped dramatically. Travel in the townships of East Rand is now a less risky proposition. Although the reign of terror has eased, with only sporadic outbursts of lawlessness, "no-go" areas and other problems still exist. It would still be risky for a woman from an IFP (Inkatha Freedom Party) workers' hostel to enter the pageant for Miss Greater Alberton. Too many hostilities remain.

Robyn Hinson-Jones is a political officer in U.S. Embassy Pretoria.

Given the high rate of crime, particularly car hijacking, in the East Rand, I was not anxious to drive my two-seater red sports car anywhere near Greater Alberton. Solly assured me that he would meet me in the lobby of Johannesburg's central hotel and drive me and the contest master of ceremonies to the township. I waited to be picked up, thankful that I would not have to drive myself. However, when Solly arrived at the hotel one hour late, he was in a taxi. Distraught and overwrought, he greeted me by asking, "Can we use your car?"

My heart sank, but I realized that it was too late to turn back. As we buzzed out to the East Rand, Solly and the MC happily shared the single passenger seat and asked questions about the maximum speed of the car. Grimly thinking of nothing but hijackers, I too wondered: "How fast can this car go?" But we arrived at the community hall without incident.

One of the most memorable characteristics of the East Rand in the dry month of October is the red dust that blows through every open space and settles on every surface. Most of the 16 contestants walked long distances to the "colored" community hall where the beauty contest was held. In spite of the dust, the young women were all radiant.

The hall was filled with about 100 people, including 50 children under the age of 15. Attendance would have been greater, except that the advertised entrance fee of R15 (\$5) for adults and R10 (\$3) for children was too expensive for many. Even the organizer's sister could not afford to attend. However, the organizers failed to have anyone at the door to collect money and in the end, everyone got in free to the all-day event. In front of the crowd and farthest from the door sat the two judges — one American and one Afrikaner — and one drunk heckler.

A group of teenagers entertained the audience by break dancing and miming the words to American rap songs. Young men representing the local self-defense units (SDUs) drifted in and out of the hall. The SDUs are self-appointed groups — some would say gangs — who walk a thin line between being the protectors and the predators of the township communities. Several SDU members doubled as male fashion

models, wearing clothes donated by a chain clothing store.

The 16 contestants were well-rehearsed and represented a cross section of the black, white and colored communities. They modeled several changes of day and sportswear, but were spared the indignities of swimsuits and six-inch heels. In responding to questions from the master of ceremonies, seven young women said they wanted to work in their communities to bring peace to South Africa. The rest wanted to be models or stewardesses.

In the end, the winners were as multiracial as South Africa. A colored contestant won first place, a black contestant, second, and a white contestant, third. The crowd seemed delighted with the decisions and the relieved judges congratulated each other. Numerous prizes included a typing course for first prize and a frying pan for third. All the losers received a free one-month modeling course.

As I watched this multiracial, multicultural beauty conference I thought of the multinational convoy I had joined a year ago to view "no-go" areas of the East Rand. The convoy was heavily protected by an array of armored vehicles, helicopters, South African Defense Force troops and police. At that time every gathering of people was a potential target of violence. Before the April 27 election a "Miss Greater Alberton" contest would have been impossible, and a multiracial contest, unthinkable. Now, although all of the economic and social problems and the crime of the East Rand remain, the post-election atmosphere of political reconciliation has permeated even this violent and strife-torn area of the country.

One of the contestants had said her life's goal was to encourage peace in South Africa by bringing strangers together. In this formerly strife-torn community, the multiracial, multicultural "Miss Greater Alberton" beauty contest certainly accomplished just that. ■

In responding to questions from the master of ceremonies, seven young women said they wanted to work in their communities to bring peace to South Africa. The rest wanted to be models or stewardesses.

THE DEATH OF IMPERIALISM

IDEALISM, ECONOMICS
ENDED COLONIAL RULE

By JOHN KENNETH GALBRAITH

There can be little doubt: The oldest and certainly the most contentious of human efforts is the will of some peoples to rule over others. It is a matter on which history does not comment; it is assumed. The origins of what today we call imperialism are lost in the deeper shadows of antiquity.

That there is a different view of this exercise of power and influence between rulers and the ruled is also broadly assumed. The first oppressors, the second the oppressed. The first had intense self-approval of their power and influence; the second were constant in resentment, leading to subdued or open revolt.

It is not certain that the resentment and accompanying reaction were quite as constant as is commonly assumed. There is a view that the empire of Rome, still the most compelling example of imperial power and authority, was accepted by many of its subject people. For many it may have been thought better to be within than without. And we cannot doubt that Rome, as Greece

before it, was a great civilizing influence in the ancient world.

In the years following World War II, there came the greatest change — revolution is not too strong a word — in a thousand and more years. Imperialism came abruptly to an end. Suddenly in Asia, Africa, the South Pacific states and elsewhere, colonial rule was a thing of the past. The right of some to govern others was no longer accepted either in reality or in law.

Self-government, respect for sovereign power, became the accepted rule. Looking back, it is still hard to imagine so great a change in so little time. The very term imperialism acquired a strong overtone of condemnation. So did colonialism. This was true not alone in the former colonial world; these were terms of disrepute in the former imperial or colonial powers as well. The whole world celebrated a new enlightenment.

In these last years since 1989, there has been a new burst of celebration as the nations of Eastern Europe have been released from Soviet influence and power along with the dissolution of the former Soviet Union itself. A further and final act of decolonization. All this, to repeat, has been greatly welcomed. Nothing has been thought more in keeping with humane and evil good than the right of people to rule themselves.

Not always, and notably not in Africa, has independence brought political stability and economic well-being. Often the contrary. Nonetheless the release from imperial power, the reality of politi-

John Kenneth Galbraith, U.S. ambassador to India from 1961-63, is professor emeritus at Harvard University and the author of numerous books, most recently A Journey Through Economic Time, published in 1994. This article was based on the Rajiv Gandhi Golden Jubilee lecture given recently in New Delhi.

cal independence, are universally seen, accepted, celebrated, as a social and political good. Imperial power, the millennial experience notwithstanding, is without defenders.

It is my purpose here to see why, in its established form, imperial power so suddenly, so dramatically came to an end. And to see if, as many have supposed, it continues in a more subtle but not necessarily less effective form. Are there aspects of the current reality that call for our attention? Is sovereign power an absolute good even when it presides over massive hardship and suffering and, more than occasionally, forthright human slaughter?

That the people of the former colonial regimes sought their independence and, in many cases, organized and fought successfully to the end, cannot be questioned. They ceased to be governed because they became ungovernable by outside authority. Self-assertion, self-determination, were too strong. This was especially the case where, as under the leadership of Mohandas Gandhi and Jawaharlal Nehru, dissent had a sophistication and a resulting force far in excess of what could be mobilized in opposition. In Indochina and Algeria against the French, and in Angola and Mozambique against the Portuguese, there was political and military resistance.

Remarkably, however, in much of the colonial world the erring brothers were allowed to go in peace. In the United States there was no thought of keeping the Philippines by force. And in most of Africa, and much of Asia, there was no effective resistance to, or by, the colonial power. Colonial rule came peacefully, inevitably to an end. The colonial people celebrated their new freedom. The former colonial powers celebrated their acceptance of the new and enlightened reality. But was the decolonization by the colonial powers quite the act of social perception and political generosity commonly celebrated? Did imperialism continue in a different and disguised form? What were the social and economic costs in the new independence?

In Britain, the United States, France, Holland, Belgium, the imperial powers great and small, there was general political support and applause; decolonization was seen as a triumph of good over evil, a defeat for the forces of obsolescence and reaction.

The self-approval may, however, have been excessive. There was another and perhaps controlling fact. Colonialism no longer served any important economic interest. Perhaps it was now at some net cost. Idealism was in close step with economic advantage; it is a combination that is a vital force for social change.

Once, in the days of landlords and landed interest and merchants and merchant interest, colonialism had a powerful economic base. The extension of contiguous or even distant landed territory brought revenues and exploitable peasant manpower.

Merchant capitalism centered on the procurement of raw materials, tropical products, exotic handicrafts and elementary manufactures from the colonial lands and the return of industrial products thereto. With colonial possession went a national monopoly or near monopoly of this trade. And in the colonial powers the traders spoke with strong political voice for their own interest. Frequently this voice and that of the government were identical.

By the end of World War II, and indeed for some time earlier, the merchant interest had diminished to a negligible, even archaic role. Economic development in the developed lands was now centered internally, not externally; it was from domestic economic growth that nations now prospered, were rewarded. Trade between the industrial countries was also dominant; economic relations with the colonial world were marginalized. Lenin said that the workers of the advanced industrial lands lived on the backs of the colonial masses. No one could imagine this any longer to be even remotely true. It was estimated that the loss by the Netherlands of its great Indonesian possessions was compensated for by a mere year or two of domestic economic growth.

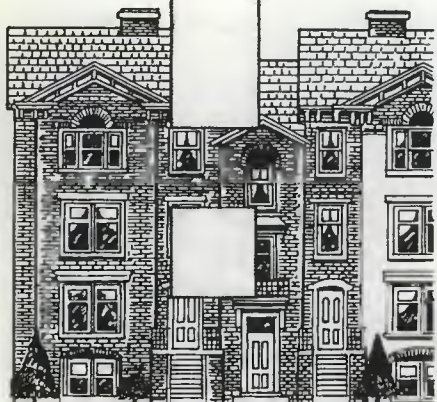
Thus the colonies could go in peace, without economic cost. Certainly not many in the United States lost much from the liberation of the Philippines. Had there been a strong economic

Colonialism no longer served any important economic interest. Perhaps it was now at some net cost. Idealism was in close step with economic advantage; it is a combination that is a vital force for social change.

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interest and a powerful lobby expressing that interest, the result might have been quite different. It remains to ask: Did a new, more subtle, more sophisticated form of imperialism now emerge to rule?

In my years in India, now a third of a century back, the thought that an old imperialism might give way to a new form of external control was much in mind. It was a thought to which I was much exposed and which I did not wholly reject. Instead of government-sponsored imperialism, there would be privately sponsored imperialism — capitalist power. The visible instrument would be the transnational corporation. To this end, a former colony should, as a very practical matter, keep a close eye on foreign corporate investment. Here was the new threat.

This danger, however plausible in the past, I think we now reject. The political power and influence of the transnational corporation and that associated generally with foreign investment were not the threat once imagined. A serious interference in local politics would be too obvious, too likely to be counterproductive.

More important, there has been a changed view of the great business enterprise. Once the manifestation of capitalist power, it has emerged in modern times as a massive, sometimes immobile bureaucracy. The concern for its power has given way in the frequent case to fear of its bureaucratic ineptitude. So it is with General Motors and with IBM, two of the world's greatest corporations. They are not a force capable of intruding seriously on the political life of a subject country. Once, indeed there was the United Fruit Co. in the banana republics of Central America. And the great oil companies dominant in the Middle East. Now no longer. And this is recognized. Developing countries wel-

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come foreign investors and investment and do so without fear. This reflects the modern reality. Foreign investment, to repeat, is something to be sought, not something to be feared. This is now true in India, perhaps the most sensitive of the new nation states. Corporate power, economic power, is not the basis of a new imperialism.

In the years following World War II, until very recent times there was, however, a more compelling neoimperialist form. What emanated from the Soviet Union, and in some measure China, and from the United States and in lesser measure Western Europe, was the counterpart of the Cold War. There was the strong Soviet influence and control in Eastern Europe already mentioned. There was the hope by the Soviet Union and the strong fear by the United States that the less developed lands would make communism, not capitalism, their approved choice. Thus the extension of superpower influence to the new and poorer nations. This was an indirect form of imperialism which took on a forthright aspect in Afghanistan and seemingly in Indochina, notably in Vietnam.

It was not a concern that I much supported at the time. In 1961, I was sent to Vietnam by President Kennedy, where I was struck by the difficulty in distinguishing a communist jungle from a democratic and free-enterprise jungle. I was more influenced by the fact, strongly urged by Marx himself, that before you can have comprehensive socialism, you must have capitalism. This the breakdown of comprehensive socialism in the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe has affirmed.

But, in any case, this is now history. The breakup of the Soviet Union, the end of communism and the end

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of the Cold War brought this so-called pseudo-imperialism to an end.

The effort to extend communist influence has gone. So also the effort to counter it. In the decade of the 1990s, for the first time in history recent and far, there is no tangible manifestation of imperialism readily to be seen. There are great economic powers and lesser ones. There is varying military strength, much of it of uncertain purpose. There is no clearly defined expression of imperial power. No country, not, I venture, even Haiti, lives in fear of rule by another. We speak sometimes of the end of history; here, indeed, history has come to an end.

We cannot take total satisfaction from this great change, although certainly there is much to celebrate. In some, alas too many, of the new, fully independent states, sovereignty pro-

ducts a sadly inhuman situation. So it has or does at the expense of tens of thousands of lives in Liberia, Somalia, Rwanda. So it did in Haiti, where, with great political reluctance, the United States has moved to restore to power a duly elected leader who had been thrown out of office by armed thugs. The only question there, I might note, is how soon we can leave. Human suffering caused by internal conflict must be on the conscience of the world community; men and women facing death, starving parents and children, are human beings wherever they are. It does not lessen their suffering that they are in politically independent lands.

I do not wish to see any one country take responsibility for countering such death and suffering. I certainly do not see it as the special mission of the United States. I do feel

that there must be an international response. We are already seeing emergency reaction by the United Nations. This must be extended and regularized. It must call on the participation of the great nations and the small, both the former colonial powers and the former colonial wards. We now accept that it is not within the sovereign right of one country to attack another. Nor can we believe that it is the sovereign right of any country to preside over the death and destruction of the masses of its own people.

That imperialism has come to an end we cannot doubt. This is a remarkable step in world history. Now we must deal with the imperial legacy — the human suffering left in the wake of its retreat. But let us not be in doubt as to the change we have seen in one lifetime. This we justly celebrate. ■

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AFSA NEWS

American Foreign Service Association



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RE-ENGINEERING A CHALLENGE AT STATE

A FSA President F.A. "Tex" Harris and State Vice President Todd Stewart are participating in the strategic management initiative launched by State's under secretaries and assistant secretaries to conduct a fundamental review of how the department performs its mission. This process will apply private sector techniques that look at organizations in terms of desired outcomes and the most effective ways of achieving them.

Six teams were formed in November to conduct six projects using this approach. The first team on workload reduction has already issued its recommendations, slated for quick implementation, which includes reducing the secretary's traveling staff and permitting bureaus to respond directly to some congressional inquiries. State's leadership, with active AFSA members' participation, will soon develop a strategic vision and launch specific re-engineering initiatives. This pro-

gram should lead to widespread rethinking and reorganization throughout the State Department.

Russ Linden, the experienced management consultant brought in by the department to guide this process, laid out the fundamental principles of the initiative Dec. 5 to a joint AFSA/Open Forum session. Linden recognized the difficulty of widespread re-engineering in State but was optimistic that it could be done, building in part on State's experience with international coalition-building and crisis management.

It is easy, perhaps even fashionable, to be cynical after many previous studies have had so few results, but given the external pressures to meet more and different challenges with flat or declining dollar and people resources, change must happen. The only issue is who decides the change. We must take charge of our own destiny.

• AFSA Dateline •

● In response to an AFSA request, State management admitted it does not have a list of food and beverages that could trigger a positive drug test result. But it stated that the amount of illegal substances present in a urine sample after consuming, for example, a poppyseed bagel or coca tea, is markedly lower than that of cocaine ingestion. This low level sample would not be reported as positive.

● AFSA is pushing for additional testing of the proposed revision of the AID employee evaluation system to provide evidence that the radically changed system works. As reported in last month's "AFSA News," there are positive aspects to the proposal that should improve AID's current system,

but there are a number of unclear or unresolved issues.

● The USIA/AFSA partnership team has completed its report on improving the performance evaluation process. This report, which will lay the groundwork for a formal exploration of the Foreign Service performance appraisal system, concluded that the present system is inadequate and leads to exaggeration and hyperbole. The report is available at the AFSA/USIA office. The comments of bargaining unit members and the responses to an upcoming AFSA/USIA poll on performance appraisal reform will help develop an AFSA/USIA position for negotiations with agency management this spring.

Continued on page 3

Reality Bites

According to author George Orwell, "Freedom of speech is the right to tell the other person what he doesn't want to hear." I have exercised that freedom in this column, criticizing State's shortcomings but also advising Foreign Service employees of some painful facts of life in the post-Cold War State Department. My September "AFSA News" column, "The Wolf Is at the Door," went further than State Department communications in describing the bleak financial prospects we face and our unpalatable alternatives in dealing with them.

However, "AFSA News" columns are no substitute for messages from the department's leaders in conveying authoritative information. For this reason, AFSA President F.A. "Tex" Morris and I continue to press senior managers to provide all employees with a realistic assessment of State's budgetary prospects and their implications for Foreign Service personnel. A partial response came in the director general's message of Nov. 23 to senior and FS-1 officers with the assessment that promotions will remain scarce and mandatory separations for time-in-class will increase. I had asked for more specific projections, but the department was unwilling to go further. More statistics should be available, however, when State finally submits to Congress its latest annual report, due last March, on the operation of the Foreign Service Act with annual projections of recruitment, advancement and retention through FY 98.

It appears, however, that the lack of specifics did not detract from the impact of the DG's message. Unfortunately, in the time-dishonored tradition of shooting

Promotions will remain scarce and mandatory separations for time-in-class will increase.

the messenger, some readers seem to have tagged the department and AFSA with responsibility for the bad news. More reasonably, others have asked what the State Department and AFSA are doing to win larger appropriations and reverse the shrinkage of the Foreign Service.

Sometimes this latter question is followed by an assertion that additional resources would be forthcoming if only Secretary

of State Warren Christopher would ask OMB and Congress for more money. To me, this thinking involves a rejection of today's political realities. I am told that the secretary has made a strong case and will continue to do so. If his intervention proves inadequate, wishing for more effective cabinet-level jujitsu seems a singular waste of time. It would be much more productive to see what AFSA itself can do.

AFSA's strategy centers increasingly on Capitol Hill, where an intensified lobbying effort will be taken in consultation, but not necessarily in agreement, with the department. The Governing Board has mandated the expansion of AFSA's part-time congressional relations position into a full-time one. More executive and staff support time also will be devoted to this effort, which will aim at increasing appropriations, defending agency programs and employee benefits, both active and retired, preserving the Foreign Service Act of 1980, and seeking the extension of locality pay to Foreign Service employees abroad.

Given the current political climate, can we be successful in reversing or at least arresting the shrinkage of the Foreign Service? Only with considerable luck. Should we try anyway? Of course.

Congressional Update

BY RICK WEISS
Congressional Liaison

With the Republican control of the Congress and a Republican agenda, the first 100 days of 1995 will place new parameters on the ability of the Executive Branch to govern. The current thinking is that the Clinton administration will make further cuts in federal personnel and discretionary spending in its FY 96 budget submitted to Congress with the Senior Executive Service down by ten percent for two years. The Republicans will make deeper cuts, except for the military, to the administration budget to fulfill their election mandate. AID and ACDA will be targeted.

The following mastermarks will be watched to show the severity of the reductions on international affairs agencies and the Foreign Service:

- The Clinton budget submission, specifically the Function 150 Account: A slight drop from FY 95 is expected.
- The submission of the Helms-proposed Foreign Relations Authorization Bill for FY 96-97 and hearings on "Why a Foreign Service."
- The House Budget Committee hearings and the budget bill proposed by Chairman John Kasich (R-OH).

The ability of the GOP "Contract with America" to be passed in the House and considered in the Senate will also indicate the power of Republicans. These ideas include the incremental downsizing of government, raising the retirement age, allowing personnel to retire without buyouts, limitations on COLAs for active and retired employees, and the increased taxation of benefits.

Finally, foreign affairs observers must take account of how the real world of international affairs will impact on congressional decisions — Somalia, Bosnia, Haiti, NATO, Russia and Eastern Europe, China and on and on. The next year should be interesting.

AFSA DATELINE

Continued from page 1

• In October users checked into the bulletin board of Diplomats Online (DOL), the sole international affairs forum on America Online, 2,420 times for a total of 125 hours worth of computer time.

• AFSA/USIA intervention enabled an AFSA member who was incorrectly denied on-the-payroll participation in the Career Transition Seminar to participate. For current regulations, AFSA/USIA members should refer to USIA Announcement 94-218 or call the AFSA/USIA office.

• On Dec. 2 AFSA and US&FCS signed both a partnership agreement and one criteria for a new element in senior commercial officers' performance appraisals. This new element, the sixth "critical element" in the appraisals, includes whether the manager uses "cultural sensitivity ... in achieving program objectives" and counsels "U.S. companies regarding cultural sensitivities ... in the host country." This additional element was mandated by Commerce Secretary Ronald Brown and is to be used in the 1995 rating cycle.

• AFSA has sent a letter to Director General Genta Hawkins Halmes on diversity. The letter cites a study by AFSA's legal counsel concluding that an "employer who grants preferential treatment to minorities or women without acting pursuant to a formal affirmative action plan runs a great risk of losing a reverse discrimination case." AFSA requested the DG to advise Personnel and other bureaus that, in the absence of a formal affirmative action plan, "they must take no actions in the assignment process which discriminate against employees on the basis of sex, race or ethnicity."

JOURNAL WINS AWARD

The *Foreign Service Journal* has won a Gold Award for "most improved" magazine in editorial content and art design from the Washington Editors Association, based in Alexandria, Va. The *Journal*, which was redesigned by the Washington-based Magazine Group in June, competed against other magazines in the tri-state area.

AID

V.P. VOICE

• BY GARBER DAVIDSON JR. •

AID Posts More Dangerous Today

Immediately after the Nov. 8 elections, some on Capitol Hill began questioning the need for different personnel rules for Foreign Service and Civil Service and making negative statements about Department of State "bureaucrats." This was a curious turn, since the status of the Foreign Service had not been an issue in any of the campaigns. Nevertheless, it appears that the Foreign Service is once again under attack

as an organization, seen as removed from the mainstream of America, dedicated too much to preserving its own privileges and benefits. I am offended by such sentiments as they apply to AID employees overseas. Struggling to raise children, keep marriages together, find jobs for accompanying spouses, stay relatively healthy in grassy unhealthy places and remain physically safe is not easy in many AID posts. The AID world has changed; it is far worse than it used to be. Anyone who suggests otherwise should try living in Almaty, New Delhi, or Bogotá.

Recently, in response to the proposed reductions in hardship differentials, AFSA received many messages on conditions of life overseas. Colleagues abroad speak to these conditions in a far more graphic and poignant way than anyone in Washington can summarize.

One officer describes the environmental and health conditions in his Asian city: This is "one of the most polluted cities in the world, a Third World megalopolis of almost 10 million people using infrastructure built for half that number. . . Availability of water - that's water that is not potable - is sporadic, in fact bacteriological tests of bottled water from the two major producers showed that the number of [fecal cal-

Struggling to stay healthy in grossly unhealthy places is not easy in many AID posts.

iform) colonies per 100 ml of water in most cases is too numerous to count. Most people do not realize that malaria is a problem and we are advised to take a prophylactic. Worse is dengue fever for which there is no real preventive medicine."

A single parent posted in Eastern Europe writes: "I live in a third floor two-bedroom walkup. . . The embassy has a sick room staffed one day a week by an American nurse. . .

But what does one do in the off hours? The houses have no phones."

An officer describes crime in his East African country by relating a carjacking where three men held him and his family at gunpoint. Describing a moment of terror after one gunman had ordered another to shoot, the AID officer writes, "the man in the driver's seat yelled at the man behind to 'shoot him, shoot him, shoot the muzungu.'"

The man with the .45 pulled the trigger and the gun did not fire. This so surprised him that he let go of my wife. . . I yelled at my 6-year-old son to open the door and jump, which he did. My wife fellowed immediately behind him, and they both ran."

Most of us who have served overseas with AID need no reminder of the difficulties in obtaining basic health and safety for ourselves and our families in tough posts. If reasonable critics of the Foreign Service system were to visit any one of AID's hardship posts - and not stay at the ambassador's residence but with an employee - they would be persuaded of the daily sacrifices and risks in such places and of the great dedication AID employees and families bring to representing U.S. interests abroad.

RETIREE
V.P. VOICE
 • BY DON NORLAND •

Reflections on the New Order

A FSA has been spending a good deal of time assessing the scope of the changes expected from the 104th Congress, which will convene on Jan. 4. AFSA's aim is to assist the new Congress to implement change where we believe it is needed. We're not wedded to the status quo, but AFSA will oppose changes that threaten U.S. leadership and influence in the world or discourage friends of peace and reason.

The Foreign Service has received some unaccustomed public attention about whether it should continue separately or be merged with the Civil Service. The goal behind some proposals to cut overseas housing allowances and differential payments appears to be the elimination of a distinct Foreign Service.

Because AFSA believes diplomacy in all its forms — public, developmental, coercive, private — to be the most efficient, indeed indispensable, instrument in supporting and advancing U.S. national interests and objectives, we'll be unyielding on behalf of the diplomatic profession and its Foreign Service practitioners.

First, remember that the 104th Congress was sent here by a majority of American voters; they represent the views of grassroots America. If we don't like what Congress says and does, it's at the grassroots level that we should concentrate efforts to inform, explain, elucidate.

Second, the contribution of retirees is doubly important. In their communities across the country, many retirees already bring an informed Foreign Service perspective to the growing policy debate. After all, who is better qualified than Foreign Service alumni to make sense of

If we don't like what Congress says and does, it's at the grassroots level that we should concentrate efforts to inform, explain, elucidate.

— and truly understand — the slogan: "Think globally; act locally?"

Third, Foreign Service perspective and experience take on a new and critical importance when it's clear that the most prominent foreign policy issues account for some of the rampant anti-government, anti-spending sentiment. Examples: after a two-year, \$2 billion intervention in Somalia, recent reports describe a rapid return to the status quo ante. In Rwanda, U.S.

intervention is described as "too little, too late, too superficial." And some of the anti-U.N. sentiment so evident in the new Congress can be traced to the public perception that the U.N. has prevented NATO from punishing Serbian atrocities.

Nothing is more necessary at this juncture than voices of experience able to assess, for example, which interventions have a chance to succeed and which are bound to fail, which spending programs are potentially promising and which aren't worth the investment. These voices can distinguish the pretensions of non-governmental organizations (NGOs) to succeed where governments have failed.

With our new focus on grassroots sources, we ask you to survey your community and give us the benefit of your conclusions on two questions:

- What message do you believe voters in your area/state sought to convey Nov. 8 on international affairs?

- What can you and we at AFSA headquarters do in response?

The January 1995 Retiree Newsletter will outline AFSA's strategy to promote U.S. vital interests by strengthening diplomacy and Foreign Service professionalism.

AFSA ELECTIONS

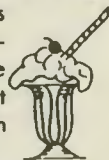
It will soon be time for the 1995 AFSA elections. In a period of budget-cutting, downsizing and doubt about the future of the Foreign Service, it is important to have strong AFSA leadership. AFSA members are urged to think about running for the AFSA Governing Board. Details on the election process will be in the February Journal. The deadline for nominations is March 10; ballots will be distributed in mid-May and the new Governing Board will take office July 15.

AFSA AWARDS

Nominations are being sought for the AFSA Awards. Nominations are due Jan. 31. For more information consult the November Journal, or a November cable sent to all AFSA post representatives, or call Dick Thompson at (202) 338-4045.

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INFORMATION HIGHWAYS

A FSA is now accessible from overseas through the State Department unclassified e-mail system. AFSA has three addresses: AFSA Labor Management, AFSA Headquarters and AFSA Grievances, which can be found in the e-mail directory. However, AFSA cannot reply to Stote members by e-mail, since messages are actually received via fax, not computer. They pass through the "Wang Multiline VS Fox Gateway," in Rosslyn before arrival of AFSA. This system allows less expensive communication with AFSA than either cable or fax, and members are encouraged to use it if they are on unclassified e-mail.

AID members can continue to use their e-mail system to send and receive messages from AFSA. AFSA can also be reached on Internet; the address is "afsatech@ool.com."

AFSA assumes most posts have already asked their bureaus for access to Internet through DOS-NET. An AFSA gopher server is also in the works. In order to communicate with the field AFSA needs post Internet addresses.

1995/96 SCHOLARSHIPS

A FSA scholarship program grant applications are due Feb. 15. There are three categories: financial need-based scholarships for full-time undergraduate college students; plus Academic Merit Awards and an Art Merit Award for high school seniors graduating in 1995. Tax dependents of Foreign Service personnel who have served overseas are eligible. Applications are available through the AFSA Scholarship Office.

The College Board annual study of university costs reported undergraduate students at both public and private four-year institutions are paying an average of 6 percent more than last year. Annual tuition now averages \$2,686 for public schools, and \$11,709 for private schools.

The Department of Education publishes a free booklet, *The Student Guide* with information about Federal Title IV student financial aid for undergraduate study. To order, call: (U.S.) 1-800-433-3243, (overseas) 011-301-722-9200. Questions about college admissions or financial aid? Octameron Press' "Paying for College in the 90s" series is now available in libraries and bookstores.

USIA V.P. VOICE • RAZ BAZALA •

Partnership Generates Changes

I returned to Washington in mid-November after three months in Skopje, Macedonia, with a renewed appreciation for the central role AFSA plays in support of Foreign Service colleagues in the field. State's collusion attempt to roll back the hardship differential caught Foreign Service personnel abroad completely by surprise. The staff in Skopje viewed AFSA as the only force that could counter this move. They also made it quite clear that they expected AFSA to press the issue, a reminder that AFSA is judged by its responsiveness to members' concerns about bread-and-butter issues.

By the time I got back, eight Partnership entities had been formed at USIA, but it appears that in the interim, communication among them and the participants representing management and unions had become sporadic and unfocused. On the plus side, Partnership has generated dialogue on an unprecedented scale throughout the agency. Partnership is directly responsible for the creation of the new Information Bureau, and dozens of employees have devoted many hours to exchanges of views on how to make it work effectively and how to improve agency performance across the board.

A key result of the Partnership has been greater understanding between Civil Service and Foreign Service employees and increasing conviction that change in the agency will come from the consideration of a broad range of views.

At the same time, too much

Partnership activity has been merely talking about recommendations for change without much action. No formal channel has been developed to move Partnership recommendations to the director or the unions for their concurrence or approval. Apparently, establishing a hierarchy among the bureau councils, and subordinating them to the Joint Partnership Council, were considered antithetical to the objectives of the Notional Performance Review.

Thus, there remains much to do before Partnership reaches its full potential within USIA. It is important to keep in mind, however, that while Partnership was designed to allow decisions to be reached and implemented without going through formal labor-management negotiations, it was never intended to be a substitute for collective bargaining.

My prime objective in the last six months of my term will be to achieve full-time status for the AFSA vice president for USIA and to ensure that our Partnership efforts are as effective for all our members as possible. In this era of reinvention, I wholeheartedly support individual initiatives and regard the establishment of the Information Bureau as a model forum for pioneering changes that may give USIA a new lease. At the same time, AFSA should not lose sight of the parameters that will continue to govern labor-management relations under Partnership. I look forward to working to serve the interests of the broadest number of members.

COUNTRY DINNERS, RETIREE LUNCH PLANNED

A FSA is organizing the first in a series of country dinners for former country personnel. Those who served in Tunisia are invited to a dinner to be held at the Foreign Service Club at 6:30 p.m. on Jan. 25. For cost and reservations, call Joseph Kemper at (202) 338-4045.

Northern Virginia retirees are invited to lunch at Ft. Myer's on Jan. 25 at 12:30 p.m. For reservations call Joseph Kemper at (703) 370-0210.

CAPITOL HILL STAFFERS TELL IT LIKE IT IS

A FSA has recently expanded its contacts with Congress. Two senior staff members of the Senate Budget Committee spoke to AFSA members on Nov. 22 about the effect of the recent elections on the international affairs budget.

At this AFSA luncheon, Douglas Olin, assistant staff director of the Senate Budget Committee, said that Congress is expected to consider whether the Foreign Service as a unique entity should continue to exist. The recent elections opened a window of opportunity for change, according to Olin. "By fall it will be extremely difficult to change anything," he said. In his view, budget cuts will not drive a review process and the foreign affairs budget is not likely to be cut by more than 10 percent. Charlie Flickner, a senior Republican analyst for the committee, noted that the proposed balanced budget amendment would mandate a balanced budget by the year 2002. He forecast that the United States would still fund large-scale assistance for Israel and Egypt, but that other new foreign aid will be considered carefully.

Olin noted that the Foreign Service's benefits package, which he called "obsolete," is very vulnerable. He said, "If the public knew about [all the benefits] they would go through the roof." He challenged the medical justification for the hardship differential at some posts - members of the audience cited deaths from malaria and other diseases - but Olin reiterated the belief of many on the Hill that the allowances are often based on the need to attract personnel to posts rather than on real health and safety concerns.

Flickner noted that the initiative now is with the executive

branch to present Congress with a realistic budget proposal. He urged AFSA not to focus too much on individual personalities in the new Congress, and noted that Sen. Jesse Helms (R-N.C.) is determined to restore the influence of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee. Olin confirmed that there will still be seasoned staffers on the committee: "They understand how you do your jobs; they know the difference between the baby and the bathwater."

Both speakers expressed skepticism about the "reinventing government" initiative. Olin suggested that real reinvention will be widespread but piecemeal and noted the executive branch agencies are much better positioned than Congress to prompt effective management reform.

Flickner noted that the GOP's "Contract with America" calls for either an increase in defense spending or at least no cuts, and since the intelligence budget is included with defense, fund transfers from intelligence to foreign affairs are unlikely. "Firewalls probably now will be around defense and non-defense," he said. "The question is how foreign affairs agencies come out in this faceoff."

The staffers believe that no one on the Hill really wants to tackle AID's constituency of citizen and voluntary organizations. The main targets of foreign assistance cuts are elsewhere: the World Bank, other international financial institutions, and small agencies such as the Arms Control and Disarmament Agency (ACDA). Similarly, Flickner mentioned exchange programs funded by USIA and AID as expensive programs that have not been carefully scrutinized, in view of the volume of other non-U.S.-government information broadcast around the world.

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7:45 A.M. *Nice day. Took breakfast and the Washington Post onto the balcony.*

8:20 A.M. *Tossed linens in washer and dryer. Left note for maid to set dinner table. Petted the cat.*

8:30 A.M. *Walked 2 1/2 blocks to meeting at State Department.*



5:00 P.M. *Picked up dessert at Watergate Pastry Shop and walked home.*

5:45 P.M. *Buzzed in guests at front door.*

7:30 P.M. *Decided to stay another month!*

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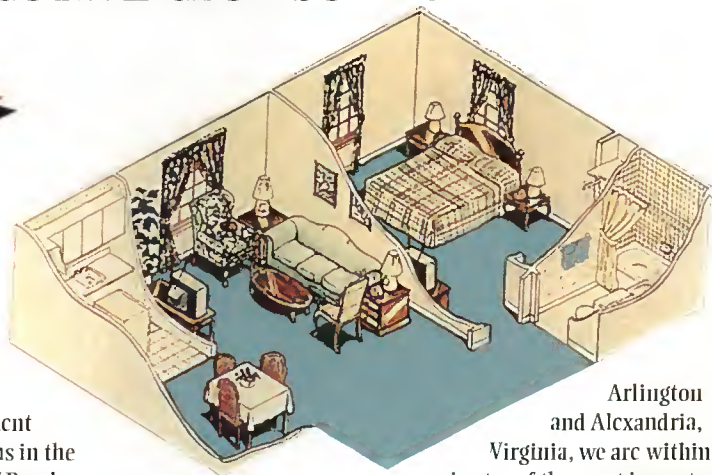
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ASSESSING CLINTON'S FOREIGN POLICY



B

LESSONS OF '93, '94
TO DEFINE DIRECTION
FOR NEXT 2 YEARS

By DAVID CALLAHAN

Bill Clinton never has claimed that foreign policy was his favorite subject. Twelve years as governor of Arkansas gave him no experience in the area, his intellectual interests lie in domestic policy, and he has clearly believed, if seldom stated, that dealing with problems abroad tends to distract the U.S. government from challenges at home. Of all the presidents of the postwar era, Clinton has been the least ambitious in his foreign policy goals. As a candidate and then as a freshly minted president-elect, he presented himself as an antidote to the globe-trotting George Bush. He would ignore the world and give voters what they seemed to want: a president who focused on America's growing economic and social problems. Following Clinton's inauguration, it appeared that keeping foreign

F O C U S

Two lessons from Clinton's rocky first half are likely to influence his actions: that it is impossible to make foreign policy problems disappear and that there are political gains to be had from showing strength and skill on the world stage.

problems off the front page would be the principal mandate of his national security team.

As Clinton heads into the second half of his presidential term, two lessons from his rocky first half are likely to influence his actions. One, that it is impossible to make foreign policy problems disappear. And two, that there are political gains to be had from showing strength and skill on the world stage. The first lesson was learned at a substantial cost. Mismanagement of foreign policy problems during Clinton's first year fed into an overall sense that the former governor of Arkansas was not up to the presidency. It contributed to the decline in Clinton's popularity and made him look weak at a time that he needed maximum strength to pursue his domestic agenda.

The second lesson, only recently absorbed, has turned out to be a nice surprise for a beleaguered White House. Success this fall in North Korea, Haiti, and the Middle East has shored up Clinton's leadership credentials and extirpated, at least for the moment, an image of incompetence in handling the country's security.

If Clinton can score additional foreign policy successes and avoid those mistakes that come from neglect, he will enhance his reelection chances in 1996. Indeed, with Congress in Republican hands, his best opportunities to gain political mileage may well lie abroad. Clinton can burnish his presidential credentials by playing the role of the responsible internationalist, upholding American commitments abroad, at a time that Republicans are seeking to curtail American activism and cut foreign aid.

The areas where Clinton could shine in 1995 include:

■ **Trade:** With his successes in getting NAFTA and the GATT trade agreements passed, Clinton is positioned to

continue to build his record as one of the most effective advocates of free trade in presidential history. Last month's pledge at Miami's Summit of the Americas to turn the Western Hemisphere into the world's largest free trade zone, with all barriers to trade and investment gone by 2005, is one step in this direction. Another step that is likely over the next two years is increased efforts to foster free trade among the Asian-Pacific nations, which Clinton has already made substantial progress in promoting.

Free trade is one area where Democrats and Republicans have found common ground. By continuing his vigorous lead in this area, Clinton will not only enhance his stature as an internationalist president; he will show as well that he can overcome gridlock.

■ **The Middle East:** Here, he faces an historic opportunity to preside over the achievement of a final, comprehensive peace between Israel and its neighbors. He has already realized part of this opportunity through his involvement in the Israeli-Palestinian accord and the White House was adept, also, at associating Clinton with the Israeli-Jordanian accord. The Clinton administration will achieve a hat trick if it plays a visible role in brokering a peace deal between Israel and Syria — even if this means the commitment of U.S. troops in a peacekeeping role to the Golan Heights. Last month Secretary of State Warren Christopher announced plans to resume direct negotiations with Damascus once again.

■ **Nonproliferation:** The Clinton administration scored important successes this year by working out deals to stop the North Korean nuclear effort and remove all nuclear weapons from the Ukraine. This is an issue that the public cares about, and the administration can earn praise for its nuclear nonproliferation efforts by playing a key role at the upcoming conference to extend the Nuclear Nonproliferation Treaty. This conference will give the administration a chance to do something it does well: show leadership on an important issue in a multilateral forum.

Despite these areas of opportunity, there is no assurance that Clinton can parlay foreign policy successes into political

David Callahan is a resident project director at the Twentieth Century Fund in New York City and the author of Dangerous Capability, published in 1990, and Between Two Worlds, published in November by Harper-Collins.

*Pushing a modest overhaul of national security priorities
while staying out of crises holds the most promise of
strengthening Clinton's position for 1996.*

strength. First, to the degree that Clinton was elected with a mandate at all, it was to deal with the domestic problems that Bush had ignored. As he enters the second half of his term, this basic political dictate endures; foreign policy successes can help Clinton, perhaps substantially, but ultimately, it's developments on the domestic front that will probably make or break his presidency. Clinton must thus walk a fine line. He cannot let the pursuit of such foreign opportunities distract him from domestic challenges nor should he believe they are his salvation.

A second problem is that Clinton will face, over the next two years, hard choices and unforeseen events on some of the same thorny problems that plagued him when he first entered office — in particular, Bosnia, Haiti and Russia. The administration has managed these problems better than perceived. But continuing to keep them under control may prove to be no easy thing.

During Clinton's first months in office, it was widely remarked that no president in memory had inherited a more poisonous array of foreign policy imbroglios. This judgement overstated the situation considerably — Kennedy's problems in Berlin and Cuba, and Nixon's in Vietnam, were far worse. Still, Clinton's plate of foreign policy challenges was indeed full. And it was by no means appetizing. In Somalia, he found a U.S. military commitment that had no logical end. Withdrawal in the absence of a stable order could throw the country right back into the chaos that had triggered the U.S. intervention, yet building order would require redefining the U.S. mission along more ambitious lines.

In Bosnia, the Clinton administration was inclined toward tougher action than Bush had followed. But such action would not be possible without first building a consensus among America's European allies. In Russia, the fragile state of reform efforts and the Yeltsin government, along with the daunting problems of nuclear proliferation, necessitated a much greater U.S. aid effort. But the administration took office at a time when Congress was intent on cutting the foreign budget. In Haiti, the Bush administration's

policy of seeking to force out a military dictatorship through economic sanctions was proving to be an unmitigated failure. But the only real alternative to that policy — the use of military force — carried with it the risk of a prolonged and inconclusive intervention. From the Korean peninsula came ominous evidence that North Korea was closing in on its goal of acquiring nuclear weapons. However, neither Japan nor China was willing to support a U.S. strategy of pressuring North Korea with economic sanctions.

■ **Bosnia:** On several occasions in 1993, Secretary of State Warren Christopher called the war in Bosnia "a problem from hell." In 1995, it remains essentially that. The Clinton administration's problem since 1993 is that there has been a chasm between its rhetoric and its actions, and it has never had the political will to bridge that chasm.

The rejection by the European allies in May 1993 of the "lift and strike" plan thwarted U.S. efforts for stronger action to preserve Bosnia, and critics charged that the administration was happy with this outcome. Clinton, it was argued, hadn't pushed the allies nearly hard enough. If he had pushed harder and won European support for a "lift and strike" plan, the actions that NATO eventually took against the Serbs in April 1994 would have come almost a full year earlier. And the gains now being made by a reviving Bosnian army would also have come earlier.

Clinton's failure to pursue a more vigorous Bosnia policy has not caused any lasting harm to America's interest or prestige. Sarajevo did not fall; Bosnia was not erased from the map. Today, with aid from Belgrade cut off and the tide of the war no longer running strongly in their favor, the Bosnian Serbs appear more willing to limit their objectives than ever before. Elsewhere in the region the situation is relatively stable. For the time being at least, the Clinton administration has achieved what was perhaps its most important goal of all: containing the Balkans conflict.

Nevertheless, while the Clinton administration has stabilized the situation in Bosnia, it has not been solved. And in 1995 it will continue to face hard, and in some cases ago-

nizing choices. If it continues to go along with the wishes of its allies, and makes no more efforts to lift the arms embargo on Bosnia or use air power more intensively against the Serbs, the war could continue indefinitely.

A low-risk strategy, and the one the Clinton administration appears now inclined to opt for, would be to let the chasm between rhetoric and action endure. This strategy decreases the chances of the Clinton administration becoming more deeply embroiled in Bosnia, where outcomes are notoriously difficult to predict. But it also denies the administration any hope for a clear-cut foreign policy victory on this issue by 1996.

■ **Haiti:** As with Bosnia and Somalia, the Clinton administration inherited a no-win situation in Haiti. Clinton found himself sandwiched between opposing pressures: on the one hand, he was criticized for not resolving the situation in Haiti — for allowing a bunch of thugs to thumb their nose at the United States, especially in the infamous episode in which a small force of U.S. peacekeepers was prevented from landing in Port-au-Prince. On the other hand, there was never strong support, among either the public or political elites, for a U.S. invasion to oust the military dictators. It is no surprise that Haiti policy drifted for so long. It is far from obvious what another president might have done differently.

The support that Clinton now receives for his successful intervention in Haiti reflects the fact that the enterprise was executed with skill and finesse; Clinton employed a combination of carrots and sticks to force out an entrenched dictatorship without violence — not a minor achievement. But the praise of Clinton also is a product of his good luck.

Given the outbreaks of bad luck that may still lie down the road in Haiti, it is too early to say on which side of the ledger the operation will ultimately end up. Over the next two years the Clinton administration will face conflicting pressures. It will want to have all U.S. forces out of Haiti as soon as possible, certainly before 1996, with the mission declared a success. But it will not want to withdraw forces prematurely, and perhaps risk a return to anarchy in Haiti. The key to this dilemma lies in expediting reconstruction aid to Haiti through both bilateral and multilateral channels. Clinton can not relax in 1995, believing that a success in Haiti has been secured. Instead, he must work hard to pressure both allies abroad and the legislature at home to finish the process that he began with the intervention.

■ **Russia:** In regard to the former Soviet Union, Clinton will

face in the next two years an extreme version of the conundrum that he encountered upon taking office: He must do more to aid the transition to democracy and free markets, but there are precious few resources for achieving this goal.

During its first year in office, the Clinton administration managed to significantly boost aid to Russia in 1993 over levels approved under the Bush administration. It also attached a high degree of importance to Russia policy. Clinton moved early on to improve the policy machinery for dealing with the former Soviet Union through his appointment of Strobe Talbott as a czar in the area with interagency powers. Beyond winning approval of higher aid levels, this attention led to a U.S.-brokered resolution of the Ukrainian nuclear arsenal dispute. The United States has also done a good job of handling Russia's recurrent political upheavals.

Now, with Republicans in Congress hoping to cut aid to the former Soviet Union, the Clinton administration faces an uphill battle to continue its policies. But helping Russia is an issue on which he should be willing to wage full-scale battle. As with free trade, a crusade on this issue can help burnish Clinton's credentials as an internationalist president who is willing to take political risks to sustain U.S. leadership abroad. He must educate Americans on this issue in 1995 as he began to do in 1993. If reform collapses in Russia in the next few years, and authoritarianism or anarchy ensues, the failure to push hard for aid efforts will be remembered as one of the greatest foreign policy mistakes of the late 20th century.

It is true that whether aid from the United States is \$1 billion a year or \$2 billion a year, Russia will likely continue to move toward reform. However, the game of foreign policy is largely about buying insurance. And clearly, as so many critics say so often, the United States has not been buying enough insurance in regard to the former Soviet Union since the end of the Cold War.

Bill Clinton will never be remembered as a diplomat of Franklin Roosevelt's skill or as a strategist of Richard Nixon's vision. But already, with the benefit of hindsight, some of Clinton's alleged errors look less significant than they did at the time. Meanwhile, the list of his foreign policy successes is beginning to accumulate; eventually it could match that of other presidents.

Despite this, there remains a basic truth to the criticism that Clinton has neglected foreign policy with damaging results. Critics, however, make the right point for the wrong reasons. The price of neglect has not been in crises misman-

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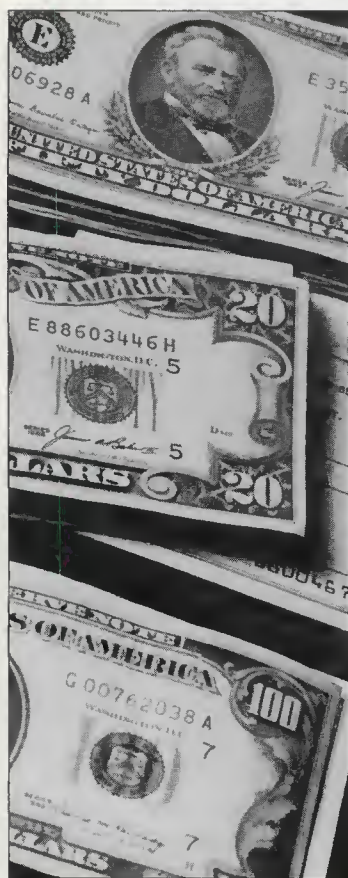
aged, it has been in opportunities squandered. Five years after the fall of the Berlin wall, United States foreign policy has still not been adequately reconfigured for the new era. As the first president to come to power in the post-Cold War era, Clinton might have been expected to seek changes in the way the United States protects its interests abroad.

The distribution of national security resources illustrates this point. Since taking office, Clinton and his top advisers have repeatedly stressed that global stability is imperiled by a variety of nonmilitary threats such as population growth, Third World poverty and environmental degradation. They have said that there is no more important strategic challenge than that of assuring the success of market reform and democracy in the former Soviet Union. And they have called for a strengthening of collective security institutions to relieve the burden the United States now bears for safeguarding world peace. Rhetorically at least, they have sketched out the basis for a new foreign policy.

But they have yet to back up that vision with resources or how they will be won in a hostile Congress. For example,

instead of addressing the causes of instability in the Third World and not just the symptoms, the Clinton administration has been unable to stop the decline in U.S. aid to developing nations. Today, annual expenditures on amphibious military forces alone dwarf the amount of money allotted to the Agency for International Development (AID) and international development institutions. By some estimates, the United States now spends more on national security than the rest of the developed world combined, yet it ranks almost last among developed countries in the percentage of GDP that it devotes to development assistance. The U.S. approach to Third World instability is like a domestic policy that sees more police and prisons as the sole solution to crime. If the United States wants to exert more influence in the poorer and less stable regions of the world and head off threats before they arise, U.S. national security resources must be reallocated.

Likewise, priorities are askew in regard to the former communist bloc. It is grimly ironic that current U.S. expenditures to prepare for a resurgent threat from Russia are



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vastly greater than expenditures aimed at strengthening democracy and reform. Just one weapons program justified along these lines, the F-22 fighter costing \$2.5 billion, will consume more budgetary resources in 1994 than all U.S. aid programs to the former Soviet Union combined.

Clinton administration officials have voiced support in principle for the idea that some money now spent on defense must be transferred into foreign aid programs where it can promote stability. The challenge of crafting a new foreign policy vision is largely the challenge of following through on this rhetoric. Polling shows that Americans worry a great deal about damage to the global environment, about over-population, and about the promotion of democracy abroad. A foreign policy that gives more attention to these threats may thus be the best strategy for building public support for internationalism. More specifically, in the face of new Republican efforts to cut spending on foreign aid, Clinton may be well-advised to take the initiative in restructuring foreign aid so that it is not seen as a bundle of annual entitlement grants to a few countries like Israel and Egypt.

With a new confidence born of recent successes, and with a new appreciation of the political benefits that come from showing leadership abroad, Clinton is bound to ratchet up his level of foreign policy activism during the next two years. Pushing a modest overhaul of national security priorities while staying out of crises holds the most promise of strengthening Clinton's position for 1996. It will not be easy, of course. Republicans want to spend more on defense and less on foreign aid, not vice versa. They are skeptical of increasing aid to the former communist bloc and committing new funds to helping the developing world. The Clinton administration will be hard pressed simply to tread water on budgetary issues, safeguarding its current spending priorities. Indeed, with such antagonists on Capitol Hill as Senator Jesse Helms (R-N.C.), the administration may encounter difficulty in simply managing foreign policy on a day-to-day basis. But by fighting hard for a distinct foreign policy vision, President Clinton can prove that he is not only competent in foreign affairs but that he is also imaginative and bold. ■

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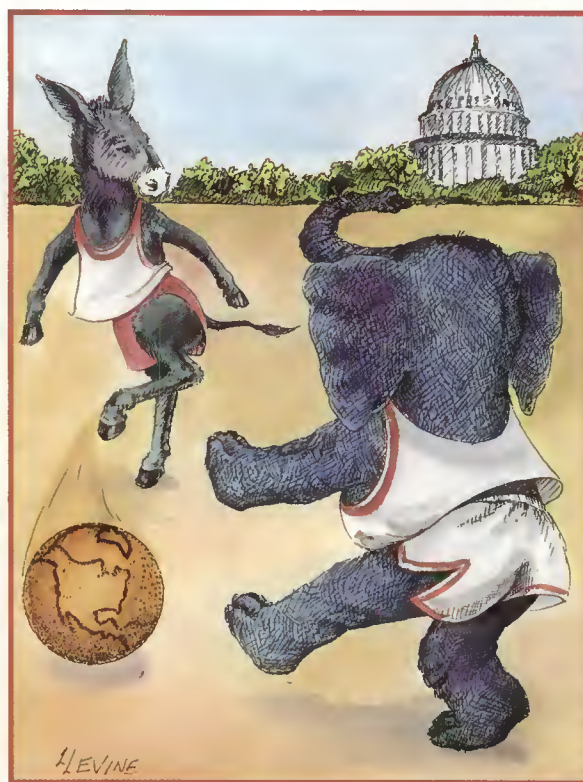


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WITH HELMS AT THE HELM



CLINTON CONFRONTS TOUGH, UPHILL BATTLE WITH GOP CONGRESS

BY CARROLL DOHERTY

After a smashing success in the midterm elections, congressional Republicans are poised to make sweeping changes in foreign policy in 1995, affecting everything from the State Department's budget and personnel practices to the Department of Defense and the CIA. The GOP has vowed to cut foreign aid, impose new statutory restrictions on U.S. participation in multilateral peacekeeping missions, take a hard look at the Clinton administration's nuclear agreement with North Korea, and increase anti-missile defenses.

It all begins with Jesse Helms (R-N.C.), the combative conservative who now chairs the Senate Foreign Relations Committee. In his 22 years in the Senate, he has demonstrated an unparalleled ability to throw sand in the gears of foreign pol-

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*Helms is a vocal opponent of the Foreign Service,
saying there is no need for two types of personnel systems.
Such issues as cuts in hardship and overseas housing allowances
are not expected to find a sympathetic ear on the Hill.*

icy initiatives. Helms and other new GOP committee chairmen are expected to chop away at the \$14.6 billion in annual U.S. aid and at the State Department's budget. Given the restive mood on Capitol Hill, it might be impossible for the administration to stave off at least some reductions.

However, with the GOP's new emphasis on defense, neither the Defense Department budget nor intelligence funds are expected to be cut. In fact, last month Clinton announced plans for a \$25 billion increase in defense funds.

House Republicans, meanwhile, are pushing the hot-button issue of U.N. peacekeeping. The House GOP's "Contract with America," which House Speaker Newt Gingrich (R-Ga.) has vowed to implement within the first 100 days, would prevent the president from placing U.S. troops under the command of U.N. and foreign officers in multinational peacekeeping missions.

The shift in Congress may not necessarily mean a sea change on all or even most major issues, except in some circumstances. Congress traditionally provides broad latitude to presidents on foreign policy. And it became obvious in this year's foreign policy skirmishes that lawmakers from both parties generally prefer talk to action. Despite bipartisan opposition to military intervention in Haiti last fall, Congress never even voted on legislation to pull the plug on the operation.

But while Republicans will probably not wrest control of foreign policy from President Clinton's hands, they will have an undeniable impact on that policy, especially issues that resonate strongly with the American people.

Foreign aid has never been popular, but the pervasive sense of economic insecurity among middle-income Americans has further eroded what little support it had. The United Nations has been a punching bag for conservatives almost since its creation five decades ago. The U.N. military debacle in Somalia — and its failure to quell Serbian aggression in Bosnia — have spurred pop-

ular opposition to U.S. participation in all multilateral peacekeeping operations.

For many observers, Helms has come to personify the foreign policy of the new Republican congressional majority. The 73-year-old senator showed that he still had a penchant for stirring controversy, when he publicly stated that Clinton was "not up to the job" of commander in chief.

Despite GOP efforts to rein him in, most Senate observers expect Helms to be as obstreperous and outspoken as he was during his years as the panel's ranking Republican. His overall philosophy, which one Senate staffer described as "foreign policy protectionism," has changed little over the years. That view pervades Helms' thinking on every foreign policy issue.

"The foreign aid program," he said recently, "has spent an estimated \$2 trillion of the American taxpayers' money, much of it going down foreign rat-holes." He also called the United Nations a "long-time nemesis of millions of Americans."

Over the years, Helms has been the nemesis of the State Department. He has opposed countless ambassadorial nominations and other foreign policy appointments, though he actually succeeded in blocking only one nomination during the Clinton administration — that of proposed ambassador to Panama Robert Pastor.

But many congressional watchers believe the key to getting Helms' ear has more to do with getting the attention of his staff director, James "Bud" Nance, known simply as "the admiral." He has been widely credited with steering Helms toward less confrontational positions, but has already warned that this committee will be more active than the one under former Chairman Claiborne Pell (D-R.I.), who was known for his disengaged leadership style.

As chairman, Helms has promised to be a vocal opponent of the Foreign Service, saying that there is no need for two types of personnel systems, and that it should be combined with the Civil Service. Given his animosity, pro-

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posed Foreign Service issues such as cuts in hardship and overseas housing allowances are not expected to find a sympathetic ear on the Hill. Indeed, Helms has not minced words on his opinion of State Department "bureaucrats," whom many Hill staffers find uncooperative and reluctant to provide information when requested.

But Helms' power as chairman, while substantial, could be constrained by several factors. For one thing, the influence and prestige of the Foreign Relations Committee have been on the wane for at least a decade. Congress has failed to enact a foreign aid authorization bill — the major piece of legislation under the committee's jurisdiction — since the 1985 revision of the original 1961 law. In recent years, Pell often had been unable to get a working quorum for committee meetings.

More important, the panel does not appear to be fertile ground for Helms' brand of rock-ribbed conservatism. The committee includes several moderate Republicans, such as Richard Lugar of Indiana and Nancy Landon Kassebaum of Kansas, who do not share Helms' views on foreign aid.

Many Senate Republicans are privately uncomfortable — and even embarrassed — with Helms as the party's foreign policy spokesman. Consequently, Bob Dole, (R-Kan.), is likely to take the lead on many issues, while Lugar and others — such as Mitch McConnell of Kentucky, who will chair the appropriations subcommittee that funds foreign aid, will continue to play key roles. Lugar, who joined with Armed Services Committee Chairman Sam Nunn (D-Ga.), in writing legislation authorizing aid for the former Soviet Union to dismantle its nuclear weapons, is working closely with Nunn on Bosnia and other issues.

It is clear that Helms does not represent the views of most of his GOP colleagues on many issues. For example, Helms recently jolted the government of Israeli Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin with his call for a review of U.S. aid to the Middle East and a bitterly negative assessment of Israel's peace talks with Syria. But Helms apparently speaks for no one but himself. During a Washington visit, the Israeli prime minister received warm assurances of continued strong support from Dole and other GOP senators. Helms did not attend the meeting.

While Helms is occasionally overshadowed by some of the party's big guns, his impact could be significant. The mere fact that he controls the gavel — he can convene hearings on any subject he wishes — means that Helms can help

frame the public debate on the nation's foreign policy.

Previously, when the Clinton team stumbled on foreign affairs issues, it could at least count on Democratic committee chairmen not to hold a spotlight up to its failures. With Helms in the chair of Foreign Relations, the administration will no longer have that protection.

Helms also will be the gatekeeper on foreign policy nominations, which may ultimately prove to be his most important source of power. There already have been suggestions that Helms' elevation may have given Secretary of State Warren M. Christopher a bit more job security. The Clinton team is understandably reluctant to seek confirmation for a new secretary with Helms in the chair. While Helms has never hidden his contempt for Clinton and some of his senior advisers, he has always maintained cordial relations with Christopher. At a committee hearing last June, Helms was nearly effusive in his praise for the secretary. "You've taken a great deal of lumps in the past few years, a lot more than you could ever possibly deserve, and you've handled yourself admirably," Helms told Christopher.

A probable presidential candidate in 1996, Dole can be expected to pounce on every perceived Clinton international misstep during the next two years. He launched his new role with a whirlwind trip to several European capitals in late November, which had all the trappings of a presidential visit. Dole was scathing in his criticism of the administration and NATO leaders for failing to take tougher military action against the Bosnian Serbs. Dole said that the North Atlantic Alliance had rendered itself "irrelevant" in Bosnia, a remark that was widely criticized.

Earlier this year, the Kansas Republican fell short in several attempts to force Clinton to stop complying with the U.N. arms embargo against Bosnia's outgunned Muslim-led forces. Dole has already vowed he will try again this year. Given the widespread congressional disgust with current U.S. policy toward the Balkans, he could well succeed. Lifting the arms embargo has long been appealing to many members of Congress as a "clean hands" solution to the Bosnia policy imbroglio. It is seen as a way to blunt the Serbs' huge advantage in heavy weaponry without directly intervening on the side of the Muslims.

But support for ending the arms ban masks a serious rift among Republicans over U.S. policy toward the Balkans. While Dole has called for more intensive NATO air strikes against the Serbs, other senior Republicans — such as John McCain of Arizona — strongly disagree.

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Surprisingly, while Helms has never hidden his contempt for Clinton, he has often praised Secretary of State Warren Christopher. Last June he told him, "You've taken a great deal of lumps in the past few years, a lot more than you could ever possibly deserve, and you've handled yourself admirably."

Some well-known ultraconservatives like Patrick Buchanan dispute the notion that the United States has a vital security interest in containing the conflict.

There also is a glaring lack of consensus on the broader question of NATO's role in the post-Cold War world. Perhaps inadvertently, Dole's harsh critique of NATO's performance in Bosnia could spur lawmakers from both parties to begin raising pointed questions about whether the United States should scale back its participation. At the same time, Lugar and other Republicans have been pressing the administration to speed up the expansion of NATO to include Eastern European nations such as Hungary, Poland and the Czech Republic, a move that Russia has strenuously opposed.

Many Democrats object to the idea of extending NATO's security guarantees to Eastern Europe at a time of shrinking budgets for domestic programs. And the war in Bosnia has cast a large shadow over the entire issue: How can the United States and its allies credibly guarantee the security of Poland, say some Democrats, if they are incapable of providing any security for Bosnia?

The House traditionally has played a less important role on international issues. Not only does the Senate have jurisdiction over treaties and nominations, but the rules of the Senate allow for unlimited amendment and debate.

But by seizing control of the House, the Republicans have enhanced their ability to influence foreign policy issues. In the past, the Democrat-dominated Rules Committee prevented Republicans from offering amendments aimed at hamstringing Clinton's policies. But now Rules — and every other committee — are in GOP hands.

The new GOP majority will help shape policy by exerting its power over the purse and the administration worries that Republicans will try to eviscerate its budget for international affairs, which funds everything from the

State Department's operations and salaries to foreign assistance and contributions to international organizations. Significantly, the Budget and Appropriations committees will probably have more to say about those programs than the International Relations Committee — the new name for the Foreign Affairs Committee. And that could be bad news for the foreign policy bureaucracy.

The chairman of the International Relations Committee will be Benjamin Gilman, a mild-mannered New Yorker who has generally supported foreign assistance. But the Budget Committee will be chaired by John Kasich of Ohio, an aggressive budget-cutter who has tried repeatedly to slash funding for international financial institutions like the World Bank. The budget blueprint currently being hammered out by Kasich's committee may include a cut of 10 percent or \$2 billion more from the international affairs account.

Other committee assignments also do not bode well for the administration. For example, Sonny Callahan of Alabama, perhaps the leading House critic of aid to Russia, is chairing the Appropriations Subcommittee that doles out foreign assistance.

At this point, it is unclear whether the Republicans will go after specific programs, propose an across-the-board cut, or adopt some combination of the two strategies. But officials at the Agency for International Development (AID) and the Treasury Department, which sets policy toward international banks, are nervous. Aside from obvious exceptions like aid to Israel and Egypt, everything will be on the table. But some agencies and programs appear to be more vulnerable than others: Republicans have long attacked the International Development Association (IDA), the World Bank's concessional lending arm for poor nations, many of which are in Africa. Congress appropriated \$1.2 billion for the IDA last year, but Republicans may try to eliminate all its funding this year.

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At AID, which delivers the bulk of U.S. foreign assistance, Administrator J. Brian Atwood is trying to stave off deep cuts in his agency's \$6 billion budget. As part of an overall reform effort, Atwood recently closed 23 overseas posts and thinned the ranks of senior officials. But the GOP will probably try to mandate more cutbacks. During a recent interview, Atwood acknowledged, "there is probably not a phrase less popular than foreign aid unless it is welfare."

Congress provided \$1.2 billion for U.N. peacekeeping last year, but now that program is near the top of the GOP hit list. Even many Democrats have grown weary of the escalating budget demands of the United Nations, particularly in light of its peacekeeping efforts in Bosnia. Rep. Harold Rogers of Kentucky, a sharp critic of peacekeeping, is in line to take over the Appropriations Subcommittee with jurisdiction over most U.N. programs.

The Arms Control and Disarmament Agency, which barely avoided consolidation with the State Department in 1993, might not be so lucky this year. The arms control agency has tried to expand its portfolio to devise steps to

control the proliferation of conventional weapons, but many Republicans view its mission as duplicative.

House Republicans will also launch a frontal assault on the president's authority to deploy U.S. forces to multilateral peacekeeping missions. In the "Contract with America," the GOP hit upon a simple yet popular theme: No U.S. forces under foreign command. Clinton long ago retreated from his ambitious plan, first broached during the 1992 presidential campaign, to support the creation of a U.N. "rapid deployment force." In a peacekeeping policy announced earlier this year, the administration set tough restrictions on participation in U.N. operations.

But those limitations are not tough enough, from the GOP's perspective. The Republicans have written a draft bill that would cut off funding for any Pentagon units that come under "operational control" of a foreign commander. The president will have the power to waive the restriction if he determines it is necessary to protect "vital national security interests." Despite the waiver, the administration is likely to view the legislation as infringe-

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ment of the president's authority to dispatch troops overseas and almost certainly will fight to defeat the measure.

But peacekeeping often triggers a visceral public response. Most people do not want the lives of American men and women endangered, even under U.N. auspices. "Peacekeeping is the Willie Horton of national security issues," said Jeremy Rosner, an ex-director of the National Security Council staff and now a Carnegie Endowment for International Peace associate. "It's the only foreign policy issue that cropped up in many congressional campaigns."

While the committees will have much to say about the budget and other nuts-and-bolts issues, Republican leaders Dole and House Speaker Newt Gingrich of Georgia are committed internationalists. While each has harshly attacked Clinton's foreign policy at times, they also have provided strong support on a number of controversial issues, including the recently approved global trade agreement, last year's trade pact with Mexico, and aid for the former Soviet Union.

At the same time, the new leaders of Congress could come under strong pressure to adopt more inward-look-

ing positions. The ranks of younger, GOP back-benechers in the House are filled with lawmakers who hew closely to the positions of billionaire businessman Ross Perot, who led opposition to both the NAFTA and GATT treaties. Gingrich, in particular, may find it difficult to control his party's Young Turks if they take an isolationist turn. Many junior GOP lawmakers lack the same sort of grounding on international affairs as their predecessors. Most did not serve in the military and came of age — politically, at least — after the fall of the Berlin Wall.

So far, the inward-leaning GOP conservatives have had their greatest impact on trade policy; some joined with pro-union Democrats to form an unusual coalition against GATT and NAFTA. But the same sort of alliances could eventually form on national security matters, such as the continued deployment of 100,000 U.S. troops in Europe. But at a time when the GOP is about to control Congress for the first time in four decades, there is no sign that it will be able to unite its disparate wings into a coherent attack on President Clinton's foreign policy goals. ■

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A MIDTERM REPORT



LESLIE GELB



ALEXANDER HAIG JR.

Q IN ONE SENTENCE, HOW WOULD YOU CHARACTERIZE THE THRUST OF CLINTON'S FOREIGN POLICY IN HIS FIRST TWO YEARS?

Gelb: Too many thrusts.

Haig: U.S. foreign policy has lacked a disciplined strategic vision and is dominated by the excessive influence of diverse and often contradictory special interests, which have deprived American foreign policy of realism, consistency, predictability and credibility.

Kirkpatrick: I would characterize President Clinton's foreign policy as globalist, as altruistic, and as lacking an adequate regard for U.S. national interest.

Schorr: Erratic.

Q WHAT WERE THE BEST OF CLINTON'S MAJOR FOREIGN POLICY ACHIEVEMENTS?

Gelb: North Korea nukes.

Haig: Recognition of the changes in the strategic environment permitting the administration to achieve con-

tinued progress towards peace in the Middle East.

Kirkpatrick: The principal achievements, I believe, are maintaining reasonably good relations with a democratic Russia, providing leadership on NAFTA, and giving greater attention to Asia-Pacific countries and our relationships with them.

Schorr: Trade agreements, North Korean agreements, Haiti (in the end).

Q WHAT WERE THE WORST OF CLINTON'S FOREIGN POLICY MISTAKES?

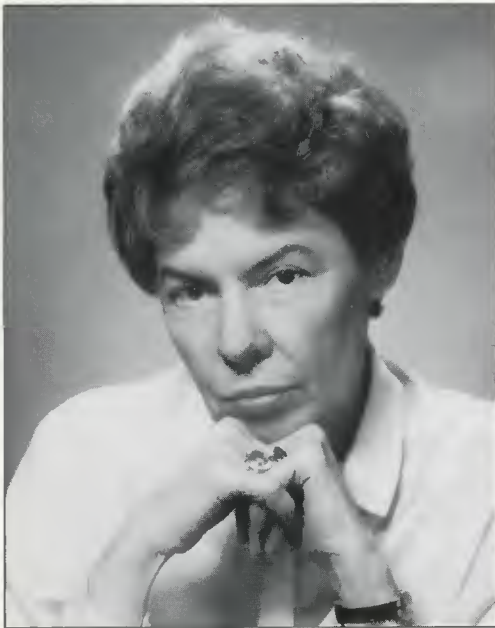
Gelb: Flipflops and absence of compelling overall policy.

Haig: Failure to adopt an overall strategic vision contributed to excessive unsound emphasis on special interests, including excess advocacy of *inter alia* human rights, nuclear proliferation, economic determinants, trade protectionism; misreading the essential interrelationships between domestic and foreign policy; misreading of the nature of existing and future threats; inability to achieve a balance

Leslie Gelb is president of the Council on Foreign Relations. A former New York Times columnist and editorial page editor, he was assistant secretary of State from 1977-79 under President Carter.

Alexander Haig Jr. was secretary of state from 1981-82 under President Reagan. He has been the NATO commander, White House chief of staff and presidential assistant for National Security Affairs.

CARD ON CLINTON



JEANE KIRKPATRICK



DANIEL SCHORR

between pragmatic vital American interests and the achievement of ephemeral American values.

Kirkpatrick: The greatest fault of Clinton's policy is its lack of a center of gravity, the absence of a clear sense of U.S. national interest, and its marked reluctance to anchor our foreign policy in our national interest.

Schorr: Permitting disastrous mission creep in Somalia, growth of tension with Russia over NATO and repeated shortsightedness on Bosnia.

Q IN THE LONG TERM, HOW ARE CLINTON'S FIRST TWO YEARS LIKELY TO BE VIEWED BY HISTORIANS?

Gelb: Better than now.

Haig: Confused and incoherent.

Kirkpatrick: Clinton's first two years will be viewed as a not very successful period of "assertive multilateralism," especially his experimentation with use of force through the United Nations.

Schorr: I can't do the long term from the short term.

Jeane Kirkpatrick was U.S. ambassador to the U.N. from 1981-85 under President Reagan. An American Enterprise Institute fellow and Georgetown University professor, she is a founder of Empower America.

Q CONSIDERING THE NEWLY ELECTED REPUBLICAN CONGRESS, WHAT DO YOU SEE AS THE OUTLOOK FOR CLINTON'S FOREIGN POLICY IN THE NEXT TWO YEARS?

Gelb: Misery.

Haig: Two factors will dominate U.S. foreign policy. The first is the consequences of the current reassessment of the failure of past policies within the administration combined with vigorous opposition by the Republican congressional majority in both Houses which will, on the one hand, propel the thrust of American foreign policy toward a more conservative course and, on the other, complicate the achievement of a bi-partisan foreign policy consensus and the successful realization of required new directions.

Kirkpatrick: The Republican Congress will seek to restrict the Clinton administration's use of force through the U.N. in a wide range of "peace operations" and will prohibit assigning U.S. force to serve under U.N. command and control.

Schorr: He is a quick learner, but the education of Bill Clinton has been expensive. If he is not scared by past experience out of necessary political and military involvement, he should do better. ■

Daniel Schorr is senior news analyst at National Public Radio. His journalism career includes 20 years as a foreign correspondent for The New York Times and senior correspondent for CNN.

"Without the Cold War's rigid categories, the West must now sort out the morality of regional conflicts on a case-by-case basis. Is it right to send back the Haitian boat-people? Should we pay for a United Nations peacekeeping force in Cambodia? Should we intervene in Bosnia? Should we send soldiers to Somalia? Needed: A framework for ethical analysis to replace instinctual anticommunism."

—Rushworth M. Kidder

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Prior to founding the Institute for Global Ethics in 1990, Kidder was senior columnist for *The Christian Science Monitor*. The author of six books on subjects ranging from poetry and international ethics to the global future, Kidder received the 1980 Explicator Literary Foundation Award.

Published by William Morrow and Company, Inc., New York. Hardbound, 224 pages, 5¾" x 8¾". \$25.00 postage paid. Book #B009. All proceeds from the sale of this book go to support the Institute for Global Ethics.

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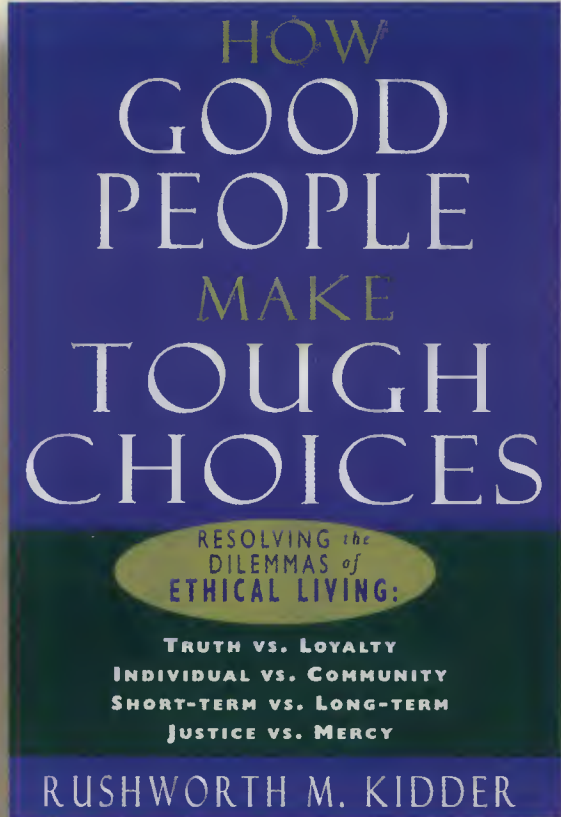
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—John W. Gardner



BOOKS

IRANGATE INSIDER BREAKS HIS SILENCE

Special Trust

By Robert C. McFarlane and Zophia Smardz, Cadell & Davies, 1994, \$25.00, hardcover, 389 pages.

BY JACK H. SHELLENBERGER

This book greatly exceeded my expectation because the canvas is far wider than Irangate. The author's attempted suicide in February 1987 is minutely detailed, but in a dispassionate way — as if McFarlane was being interviewed by a performance review panel. Indeed, the entire book, which he dubs "half-history, half memoir," is a coherent yet expressive recital of all that mattered to him, from his birth 57 years ago, through his Woodrow Wilson High School days in Washington, D.C., the Naval Academy, marriage and family amid two Vietnam tours, five exhausting years as aide to Henry Kissinger, then to Al Haig's State Department as Counselor and, on Oct. 17, 1983, taking over for Judge William Clark as the president's national security adviser.

The book begins and ends with the Iran-Contra fiasco, for which McFarlane concluded he was most culpable even though its origins with Israeli and fringe Iranian operatives and its initial appeal to White House colleagues were demonstrable. At the core of all this was McFarlane's con-

viction that Iran was vital to U.S. Middle East security interests, that a change in its leadership through accession of "moderates" to power would stem the threat of Soviet expansion in the region and secure release of American hostages in Lebanon. What was parenthetical to McFarlane became bold type for the president and certain members of his inner circle, CIA Director William Casey and his White House asset, Lt. Col. Oliver North, titularly McFarlane's subordinate, but an individual who, according to the authors, "somewhere along the way, through a combination of hubris, lack of character and pride ... lost his moral compass."

With all of its rich and vibrant detail of clandestine meetings in far-flung locales, *Special Trust* has an electricity absent from other accounts concerning these climactic years, including of the telltale Tehran embassy; of bureaucratic infighting, especially between "Cap" Weinberger's Department of Defense and George Shultz's Department of State over nuclear weapons strategies; of the seminal Reagan-Gorbachev START negotiations; and of the genesis of Star Wars to stress the Soviet economy beyond limits. What distinguishes McFarlane and Smardz is the reconstruction of biting, believable conversations rather than relying on the deadening prose of cables and memoranda that loom large in the recollections of other writers of these events.

At the zenith of his government career, McFarlane decided for the sake of his family and financial interests, spurred by Don Regan's imperiousness as Reagan's new chief of staff, that he'd be wise to enter the private sector. But at a late 1985 farewell party in his honor hosted by media friends, he confessed to CBS correspondent Bill Plante that perhaps he had made the wrong decision. And so, he kept the umbilical cord, the secure e-mail communications link to the White House and soon after accepted the ill-considered mission to Tehran, and the arms-for-hostages deluge that ensued. Ollie North's aside at the Tel Aviv airport following the flight from Tehran was the chilling clincher, "Don't worry, Bud, it's not a total loss. ... At least we're using some of the ayatollah's money in Central America."

What *Special Trust* affirms to any in the federal bureaucracy is the accountability dimension. McFarlane was duped on his watch by roving subordinates, including Admiral John Poindexter, whose loyalty was of less importance than what they perceived as a higher calling to please a president riveted to the cause of the hostages and the contras in Nicaragua, a president, McFarlane surmises, who retreated in denial.

"Bud" McFarlane, pleading guilty in 1988 to four misdemeanor counts of unlawfully withholding material information from Congress, and his eventual unrequested pardon by President Bush recalls with poignancy



those years in the wilderness when he was damaged goods at best. Doing YMCA phone bank community service "was a far cry from my days as a White House mover and shaker," he writes, "but no less meaningful ... in the larger scheme of things."

At the end, his Georgetown abode with his family, his view of the Potomac and his international consulancies, offer solace and reprise from a life lived very close to a very hot stove.

Jack H. Shellenberger is a retired USIA Foreign Service Officer who served as Dean of the School of Area Studies at the Foreign Service Institute from 1988-91, and is now president of the Japan-America Student Conference, Inc., in Washington, D.C.

JOHNSON & THE HILL: VIETNAM REVISITED

**War and Responsibility:
Constitutional Lessons of
Vietnam and Its Aftermath**

*By John Hart Ely, Princeton
University Press, 1994, \$24.95, hard-
cover, 244 pages.*

By Frank A. Sieverts

Author John Hart Ely uses the Vietnam conflict to illuminate the war power struggle between President Lyndon Johnson and the Congress, coming down firmly on the side of Congress. In his view, the plain language of the Constitution and the stated intent of the framers leave no doubt of its primary role in the deci-

sion to commit U.S. forces to combat.

A major part of his book is devoted to the Gulf of Tonkin Resolution that formed the legal authorization for U.S. action in Vietnam. Ely concludes that the resolution was properly adopted and that it indeed provided such authorization. He dismisses the concerns of congressional leaders, such as Sen. J. William Fulbright, saying they had not understood the resolution supported so vast an enterprise, pointing out that its text said it did, and that subsequent dismay about its unintended consequences was irrelevant. In his analysis of the secret wars in Laos and Cambodia, he concludes that they were not authorized by the Congress and thus were illegal.

Ely acknowledges that the factual basis of Tonkin was flawed, but observes that if all legislation based on mistaken premises were declared invalid, few laws

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BOOKS



would stand. He twice quotes Admiral James B. Stockdale on the importance of congressional support for U.S. troops, but misses the irony that the "secret" Stockdale endured torture to protect as a POW in Hanoi — for which he was awarded the Medal of Honor — was his knowledge as a pilot over the Gulf of Tonkin that the alleged Vietnamese attacks on U.S. vessels had not occurred.

Ely's broader thesis is a complaint that Congress has not insisted on its war power prerogative, and that the 1973 War Powers Resolution only made things worse. He would remedy this through the courts. If Congress doesn't act, concerned citizens should use the legal system to compel Congress to do its duty. In a final section, Ely provides his personal rewrite of the War Powers Act.

Ely's argument on the Tonkin Resolution may be correct as a matter of

law, but surely Congress's collective memory of being misled has shadowed every subsequent war powers debate, including current ones on Bosnia and Haiti, and including what is regarded as one of the Congress's better moments, the 1991 Persian Gulf War.

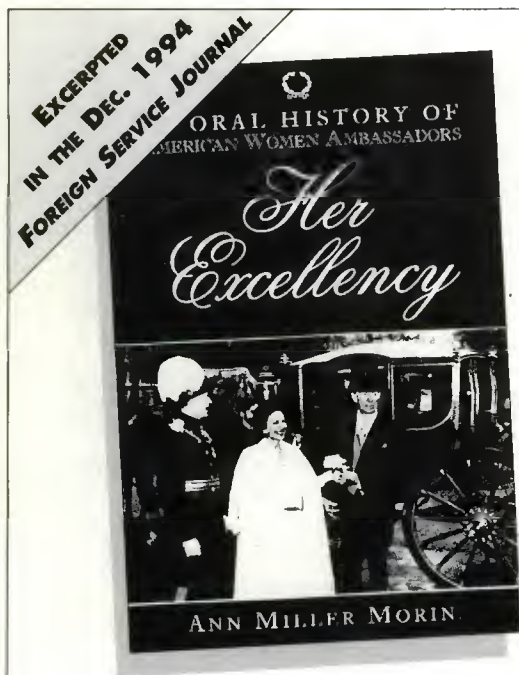
Regrettably, Ely provides a less detailed discussion of these more recent debates, which are linked to the earlier ones by the question of how much a president is prepared to tell Congress to win its support. After Vietnam, any remaining disposition to go along with executive branch actions on faith was shredded by Iran/Contra and other episodes of misleading testimony. Congress now is voracious in its demands to be included in the information and policy loops before authorizing proposed actions.

So the foreign policy struggle continues. Congress wants to be consulted but

doesn't want to write a blank check. Presidents want congressional support but are reluctant to share information that might tip off a potential adversary. Legal issues are not the whole story in this era of "selective security;" it's hard to imagine that the courts would find it easier to make an informed decision.

Other formulas have been suggested. Sen. Joe Biden and author John Ritch recommend a "joint decision" approach to compensate for the executive's "monarchist" tendencies. Author Jane Stromseth advocates an executive-congressional "contract" as an agreement for U.S. participation in U.N. operations.

Frank A. Sieverts, the spokesman for the Senate Foreign Relations Committee for the last eight years, formerly spent 24 years in the Foreign Service at the State Department. ■



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The Boarding School Search

What's Best for Your Child?

By Dan Kubiske

Your dream overseas assignment is within reach. The only thing holding you back is that the location does not have a school for your high school-aged children. Your daughters urge you to go for the assignment; your spouse also wants you to take the job, but is nervous about sending your daughters to a boarding school. Finally, you decide to bid on the job and, if you get it, send your children to a school in another country.

Your situation is not unique. According to the State Department's Family Liaison Office, 435 children of Foreign Service Officers attended boarding schools in the 1991-92 academic year, the most recent period for which there are statistics. Slightly less than one third of those students attended schools in New England, about one-quarter were at schools in the Mid-Atlantic region and another 30 percent were in Europe.

Once a decision has been made that a boarding school is necessary, parents should discuss each step of the selection process with their children. Peter Pelham, coordinator of International Services at The Association of Boarding Schools, says, "This is not something that can be decided by only the

parents." Sidnee Tyson, FLO education and youth officer, agrees, "If the student is not consulted, you have a recipe for a major disaster."

But the search for the right school takes time and effort. Applications for most schools must be received by January or February, with acceptance letters issued in March or April. "The bottom line is to plan ahead," warns Tyson.

The FLO office maintains a network of parents who have gone through this process before. If you live in the United States, the reference section of your local library should have three directories with information about the hundreds of boarding schools in the United States and abroad.

The Association of Boarding Schools (TABS) Directory includes more than 275 schools in North America and Europe. Peterson's Guide of Private Secondary Schools includes hundreds more world wide. The Vincent Curtis Register, which also lists summer programs operated by the schools. Each of the directories includes contact names at the school, student body size, and a brief description of the school, including special programs for students. State's FLO office also keeps a set.

For help overseas, each CLO office or administrative officer receive the TABS directory. Many USIS libraries have the Peterson's guides as well.

Dan Kubiske is a freelance writer and Foreign Service spouse based in Virginia.

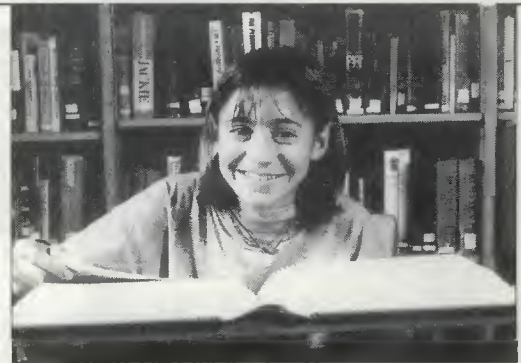
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Travelers on the information super-highway can access information about many private schools on the Internet World Wide Web through Netcom. The Association of Boarding Schools will send free directories to those requesting them.

The questions you should ask about a school are similar to ones you would ask about your neighborhood school:

- ◆ Do you want your child living in the United States or in a third country that might be closer to your assigned post?
- ◆ Do you want your child to attend a large or small school?
- ◆ What is the academic structure of the school — progressive, traditional or a mix?
- ◆ Are you looking for a school with a particular academic program such as specialties in music or art?
- ◆ How well does the school environment mesh with your family's values?
- ◆ Which colleges do the school's graduates attend? If your goal is a Harvard-educated child, you will want to find a school that has a high ratio of placements at Harvard.

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- ◆ What experience does the school have dealing with parents?
- ◆ How is the school set up to care for the student after school hours?
- ◆ What type of counseling is available for students?
- ◆ Are special weekend programs arranged for boarding students?
- ◆ What is campus security like?
- ◆ What are the eating and dormitory arrangements?

After narrowing your choices to a handful of schools, the next step is to obtain admission forms, arrange for your child to take the Secondary School Admission Test (SSAT) and set up appointments to visit the schools. Because getting registration material and arranging meetings can be difficult if you are stationed overseas, FLO can make requests for you and have the material forwarded to you. SSAT exams are held throughout the school year at more than 600 U.S. test sites and in Hong Kong and Paris.

Pelham and Tyson stress that for the parents' peace of mind and the students' happiness, the most important part of the school selection process is the personal visit. Many families considering boarding schools incorporate the campus visits as part of home leave.

During the visit, says Pelham, parents should arrange meetings with teachers and administrators. At the same time, student can visit classrooms and living quarters and talk with students already attending the school. "The visit gives the student a chance to picture (himself or) herself in that school," says Tyson.

Afterward, if the school does not seem right, the Peterson's guide suggests you move on to the next school on your list. "It is important to take a fresh look at your choices as you go along," guide authors note. Tyson agrees: "No one school is the best. You have to find what is best for your child."

Another consideration in choosing a school is cost. The amount paid each year by the State Department is

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based on a formula worked out by the Office of Overseas Schools. In 1995, the cost covered by The State Department is up to \$20,757 for each student. Travel costs covered can be added to that sum for up to three trips a year.

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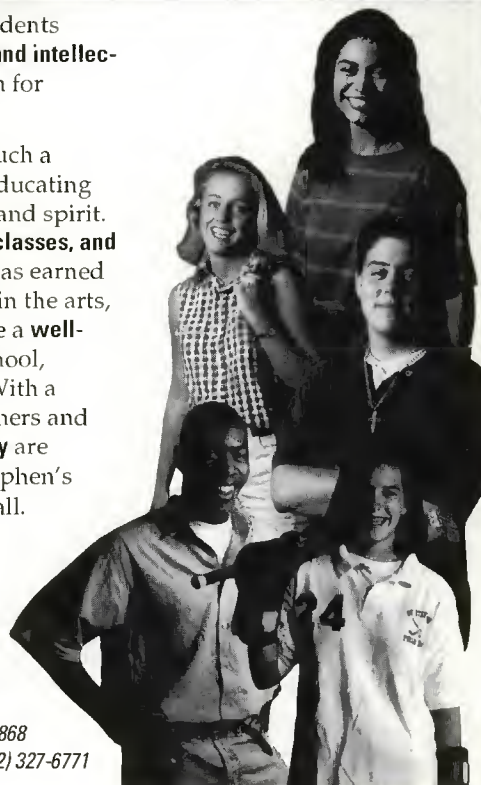
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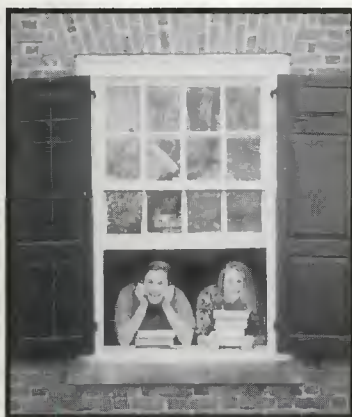
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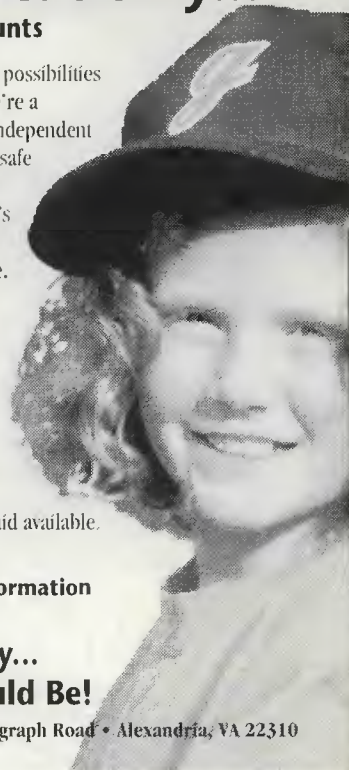
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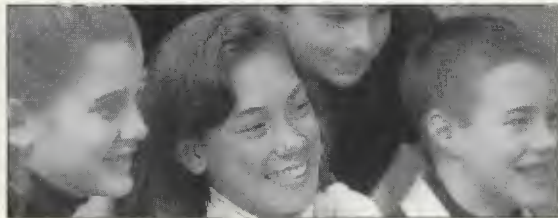
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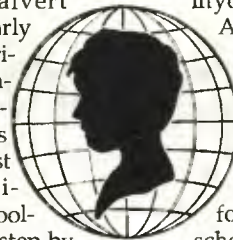


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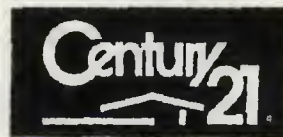
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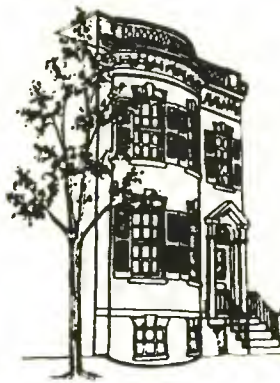
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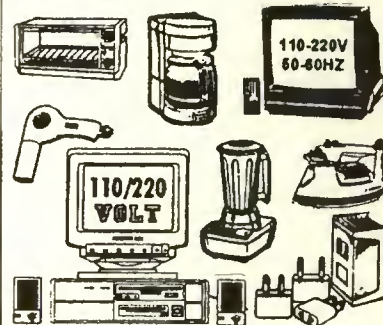
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POSTCARD FROM ABROAD

In Cairo, Making Memories

BY PAMELA ANDERSON

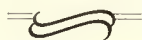
As I made the bed this morning and fluffed the pillow into place, I was reminded of my grandmother. For this had been my grandmother's pillow, then my mother's and now mine. My grandmother raised and plucked the geese for the down and feather pillow herself, then covered it with a cheery rose floral ticking. I had just rescued it from 40 years of sleep in humid Wisconsin summers; now its ticking was sweat-stained and yellowed. I had tucked the pillow into our household effects with the intent of getting it re-ticked in our next post. Now, in Cairo, where I had had it recovered, I sleep on it every night, aware of all the family memories it recalls.

The images of grandma that come to mind are of an elderly woman who kept an entryway wall covered with her grandchildren's artwork. I remember the old-fashioned black telephone that hung in the parlor and sleeping in grandma's bed, where I continually rolled downhill into the permanent trough where grandma slept.

The funny thing about grandma was that she became better looking as she aged. Earlier pictures showed her as haggard, her hooked nose the most striking feature of her face. Grandma's nose had an extra function: It could touch her chin when she took her teeth out, something she did often to entertain my sister and me.

Pamela Anderson and her family live in Cairo where her husband, Timothy, works for the Agency for International Development. The stamp is courtesy of the AAFSW Bookfair "Stamp Corner."

*Given such little
time spent with
their grandparents,
will my sons have
any memories of
them at all?*



I remember coming home from a weekend at grandma's house with my long hair in a ponytail slicked back with Alberto VO. My sister and I always reeked of the stuff and the first thing mother would do would be to wash our hair. The last image I have of grandma is also of hair, but instead of her doing my hair, I am combing hers. I am 15 and she is lying on the couch wasting away from stomach cancer.

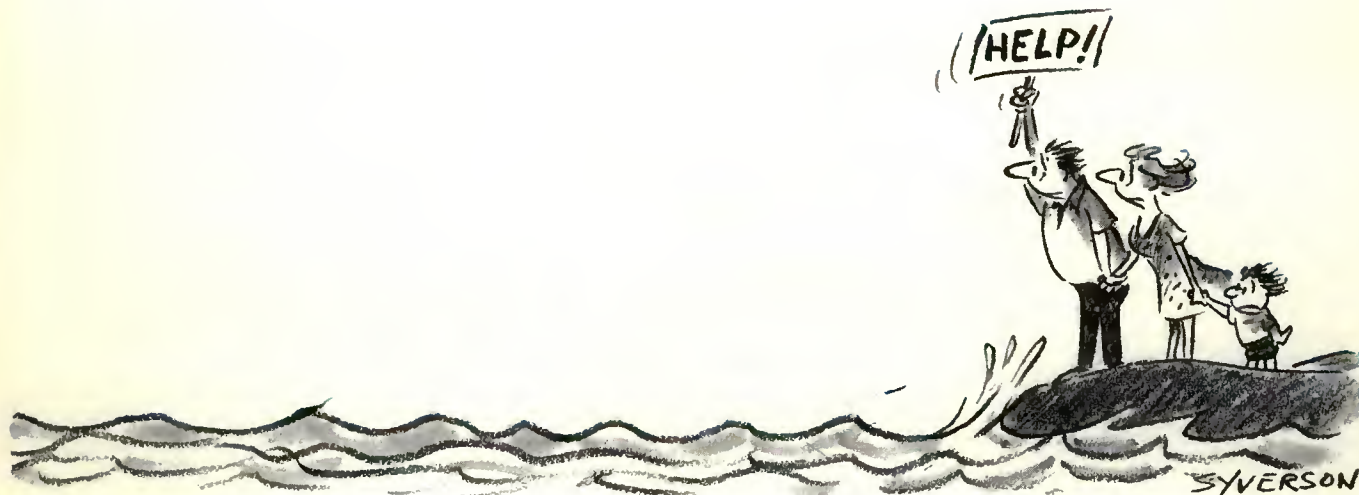
As a parent of two middle-school-aged boys, I sometimes wonder if we are not doing our children a disservice with our vagabond Foreign Service lifestyle. Sure, we give them all the advantages our type of life affords: They become bilingual, or perhaps even trilingual. They know what it's like to ride camels at the base of the pyramids or see a pride of lions up close. They've been to Jerusalem, home of three of the world's religions, and have traveled the Silk Road in the footsteps of Alexander the Great and Genghis Khan.

I wonder if they will have the same kind of memories of their grandparents that I have of mine. Will they remember their grandma for her twinkly blue eyes and her scrumptious apple pie? Will they remember being shown grandpa's latest invention in a two-car garage piled so high with junk that there was barely space to walk, let alone store a car? Will they remember that grandpa helped bait their hooks the first time they went fishing? Given such little time spent with their grandparents, will they have any memories at all?

I have two close friends who are good at making memories. They have a special knack of making gatherings of friends and family meaningful. They celebrate holidays with many decorations; as soon as one holiday is over, up go the decorations for the next. They give small gifts spontaneously, sometimes for no reason at all.

I think Foreign Service families need to make special efforts to keep ties with relatives far away. We need to help our children develop a talent for writing letters and for writing down thoughts that can be cherished again and again. We need to keep pictures close at hand so that the faces that are dear to us are not forgotten by our children. Like my two friends, we need to do things not just to occupy time, but to make memories for ourselves and our children. Most of all, I want my boys to be able to pick up some small memento from their grandparents and be able to say, "Remember when ...?" ■

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