FOREIGN SERVICE JOURNAL

JULY 1993

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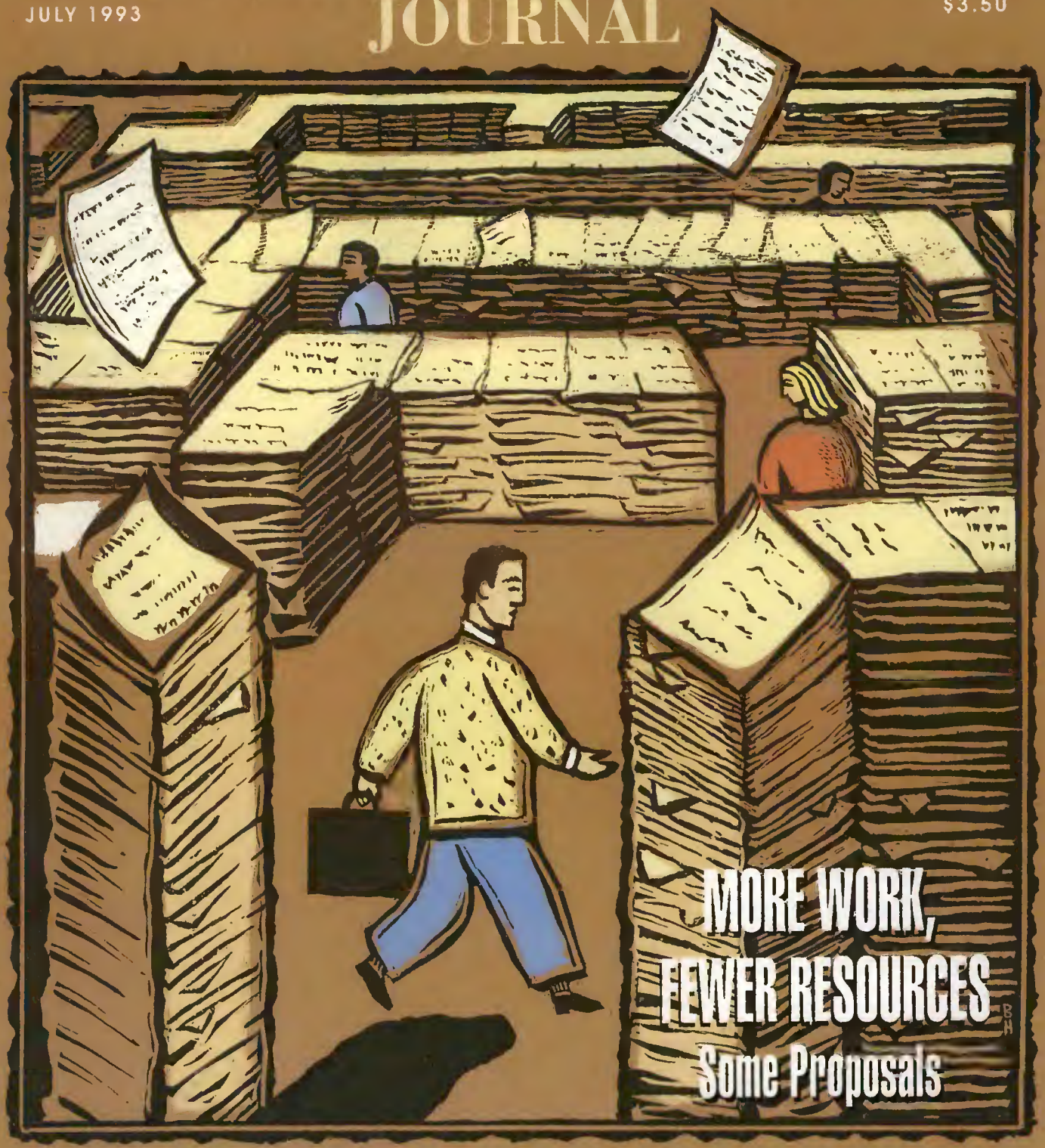

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AFSA VIEWS

Change and Challenge

A year as AFSA president provides a great opportunity to see up close what a valuable national resource the Foreign Service is. It also provides a unique perspective on the future of the Service and brings into focus critical issues that need to be addressed. Therefore, with the world in which we practice our various crafts changing around us, and with the administration we currently serve committed to change, it's worth listing some priority areas that deserve serious attention in the period ahead.

Recruitment: Are we really getting the people we need through the current system? People to exercise leadership on global issues, to harness new technology to the management of our posts abroad, and to reflect the diversity of American society? Are we getting the best of these? Our competitors are out hand-picking employees against a strategic vision of future personnel needs. Should we be doing the same?

Junior-Officer Coning: The current approach of deferred coning for new officers is clearly raising more questions than it is answering. In view of management's continuing difficulty in deciding how to go about dealing with the first group of unconed officers in just a few months, maybe it's time to declare the present system a well-intentioned but failed experiment. In a broader sense, of course, no means of coning will be seen as completely satisfactory until all cones have equal access to the top levels of the Service.

Excursion Tours: Greater flexibility and creativity in assignments cannot help but strengthen the Service. The emphasis on global issues, democratization, and business promotion as central elements of American diplomacy suggests the need for a greater exchange of personnel among all the foreign affairs agencies. Similarly, we will be well-served by an increase in the number of exchange assignments with our Civil Service colleagues, allowing them the opportunity to experience the unique problems of service abroad.

Specialists: What can be more important in the Foreign Service than sound policy? For starters, well-managed offices, functioning facilities, reliable communications, and security -- all of which are indispensable but too often taken for granted. Management must assure that our specialists are the most qualified people we can find, that their careers are predictable and rewarding, and that they have ready access to needed training. Our success in carrying out that "sound policy" depends on it.

User-Friendly Regulations: Housing, travel, and personnel regulations have a crucial bearing on the quality of Foreign Service life and therefore on individual decisions about remaining in the Service. Management has the long-term task of assuring that policies in these key areas will contribute to the highest retention rate possible. In the meantime, however, these regulations should be rewritten to make them clear to everyone. No employee should need a translator to understand the most basic aspects of professional life.

* * *

This list is clearly not exhaustive. The new AFSA Governing Board which you have elected takes office this month. Let them know what else needs to be done. Better yet, get personally involved. Whether you're overseas or in Washington, active or retired, in this time of change and challenge AFSA needs your active support.

–William Kirby

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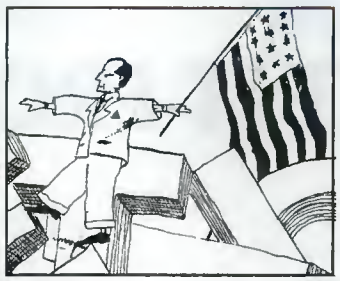

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"ORPHANED" ACDA NEEDS A PARENT

To the Editor:

Having once admired ACDA as the best-working government organization I had ever seen, I regret having to disagree with David Callahan's article "ACDA: The Orphaned Agency," (April *Journal*), in which he calls for its continued existence as an independent agency.

When it was established in 1961, ACDA represented something of a departure—with its emphasis on the promotion of national security through means other than new weapons systems. ACDA's first years thus came to be characterized by high morale and a brilliantly coordinated inter-disciplinary effort—culminating in the nuclear nonproliferation treaty of 1968.

President Johnson, at least to some extent, continued Kennedy's supportive role—notwithstanding his consuming preoccupation with Vietnam. But when President Nixon came into office, with Henry Kissinger as his national security adviser, ACDA's fortunes were destined to decline. To be sure, when Nixon signed the SALT agreements at the Moscow summit of 1972 and then told the good news to a joint session of Congress, it was a national triumph—which certainly contributed to his re-election.

But what was the reward for the arms-control team that had made this triumph possible? They were fired. Gerard Smith, head of the U.S. SALT delegation (and then-director of ACDA) is quoted: "A number of my SALT associates left the government as part of the purge that ushered in the second Nixon administration . . . of the 17 people in ACDA's top positions in 1972, only three were left by 1974. In 1973 the ACDA budget was cut by a third and it lost 50 of its 230 employees." Why? As Strobe Talbott was later to report in his book, *Deadly Gambits*, Senator Henry Jackson "demanded that Nixon purge the SALT delegation and the Arms Control and Disarmament Agency." . . . And hardly anyone in Washington knew it was happening. Although ACDA's fortunes fluctuated somewhat in later years, it was never to be the same again. Having been a witness to these goings-on, I have found time to reflect on the vulnerability of small, independent agencies.

Could this mayhem have occurred if ACDA had been part of the Department of State? I like to think that these events would at least have become known around town. In sum, I agree entirely that an enormous task still lies ahead for arms control; but the people undertaking it need a roof over their head. I think it's better to make them part of the establishment.

Ralph Stuart Smith
Special assistant to the first director of ACDA
Bethesda, Maryland

CLIMB THE HIGHEST MOUNTAIN

To the Editor:

The May *Journal* contains a Geography Quiz, which names Erebus (12,300 feet) as the highest mountain in Antarctica. I beg to differ.

An active volcano, Mt. Erebus towers impressively over the largest U.S. scientific station in Antarctica, McMurdo, on Ross Island, but it is not the highest on the continent.

The 1980 edition of *Geographic Names of the Antarctic*, published by the National Science Foundation, says this about the Vinson Massif: "A large mountain massif in the southern portion of the main ridge of the Sentinel Range, Ellsworth Mountains. The massif is about 13 miles long and 8 miles wide and has a height of 16,864 feet, the highest elevation in Antarctica."

It is named for Carl G. Vinson of Georgia, whose deep interest in Antarctica mustered strong congressional support for Antarctica exploration from 1935 to 1961.

Robert D. Yoder
Retired Foreign Service officer
Springfield, Vermont

ONE BROADCAST VOICE

To the Editor:

As a former assistant director of USIA with 25 years experience in that agency—none of them in VOA—I should like to support the views expressed by Tom Tuch in his article on government broadcasting (May *Journal*).

I look at the VOA as an integral part of the U.S. government's efforts overseas in the field of public diplomacy, which includes all educational, cultural, and informational programs. In my area of Latin America, VOA broadcasting was and is not as important as in other parts of the world. . . . However, even in Latin America, VOA broadcasting has been and could be critical to the U.S. government when changes in governments in the region lead to restrictions on USIS access to local stations. At such times VOA may be the only U.S. government instrument available to reach the people of such countries.

Washington seems to suffer from a chronic affliction. Every few years someone decides that USIA should be partitioned despite the fact that it took 25 years to get all the pieces together. I am referring to the educational and cultural programs, which remained in the Department of State when USIA was established in the early days of the Eisenhower Administration and were not transferred to USIA until the Carter Administration. During all those years USIS officers managed these programs overseas for the State Department, a somewhat awkward arrangement as most cultural affairs officers can testify. Since it took a Democratic administration to bring all public diplomacy programs together, it would be tragic indeed if another Democratic administration destroyed this accomplishment.

Let us hope that wisdom will prevail and that USIA will continue as a unified agency and that all broadcasting, whether to China or Cuba or elsewhere, will be administered by the VOA without setting up new, expensive boards such as proposed for Radio Free Asia. Indeed, in these times of severe budgetary restraints not only should Radio Liberty and Radio Free Europe be abolished, but the separate board for Radio Marti should also be eliminated and all broadcasting to Cuba should be directly under VOA.

Dorothy Dillon
Former assistant director of USIA for Latin America

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—Washington Farewell, by Charles Trueheart

The Washington Post Magazine, May 23, 1993

SLOW MOTION

The New York Times, June 4, 1993
By Jane Gross

Five months into the administration there are no ambassadors or even nominees for 37 of the 164 embassies around the world—including India, Australia, Belgium, Israel, Italy, Korea, Morocco, the Philippines, Saudi Arabia, and Somalia—largely because Mr. Clinton has yet to make his choices. . . .

The White House takes exception to the criticism that it is moving slowly. "We're moving through the process and the pace at which we are moving is the appropriate pace," said Bruce R. Lindsey, director of presidential personnel. . . . "We'll certainly have ambassadors in all those countries."

In fact, Mr. Lindsey said he thinks the embassies are functioning perfectly well without ambassadors. "Each of these embassies has career people there fully capable of performing all necessary functions."

Other senior administration officials argue that in terms of sheer numbers, the Clinton Administration is ahead of the Bush Administration in getting its ambassadorial appointments through the tortuous nominating, security, and confirmation process.

What the numbers do not show, however, is that the Clinton Administration has left many of the world's most important posts empty, and that there seems little rush to fill them. . . .

Complicating matters is that Mr. Clinton wants to reward a number of his closest friends and most importatnt contributors with embassies, according to senior administration officials. . . .

Mr. Christopher, meanwhile, following a State Department tradition, has submitted a list of career Foreign Service officers for every empty ambassadorial post. He is said by aides to be particularly eager to reward those senior officials who are wandering the corridors at

State since they lost their posts with the change in administrations.

NO HIRES

THE WASHINGTON POST, MAY 11, 1993
BY JOHN M. GOSHKO

Almost two years after Congress decided U.S. citizens could compete for previously restricted jobs in American embassies abroad, the State Department continues to block its far-flung outposts from hiring Americans.

Department officials say the delay comes from difficulties involved in implementing the law. . . . At issue are approximately 9,400 positions . . . that for years were filled only by foreign nationals. . . .

The principal problem, everyone agrees, is State's insistence on devising pay scales for different jobs in different countries that are comparable to the going rate for similar positions in the United States. . . .

Critics of State's approach say it reflects continued foot-dragging by a department that was against hiring Americans in the first place. . . . Whatever the reason, State Department officials privately acknowledge that unless there is considerably more pressure from Congress, the matter is unlikely to be resolved anytime soon.

NOT A TREMENDOUS DEMOTION

THE WASHINGTON POST, MAY 21, 1993
BY AL KAMEN

April C. Glaspie . . . has gone off to Somalia to work on the United Nations relief effort. But she will be heading back to Washington soon. . . . Glaspie, a career Foreign Service officer, has landed gainful employment at the department as director of the Office of Southern African Affairs.

A department press officer said that while in the past this job might be seen as a two-step demotion from ambassadorial-rank duties, Secretary of State Warren Christopher . . . has expanded the authority of regional office directors. . . . "This is not a tremendous demotion," the spokesman insisted. ■

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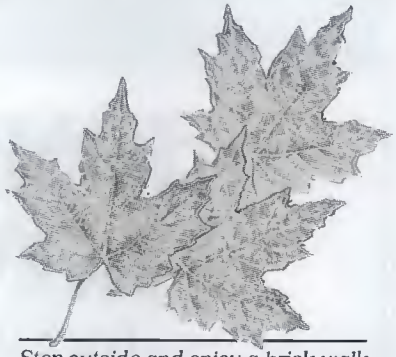

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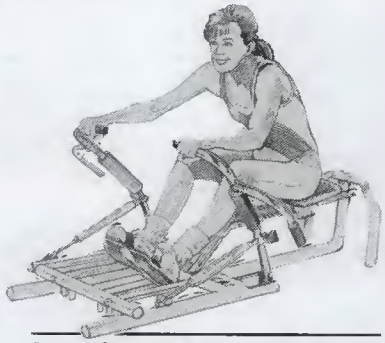

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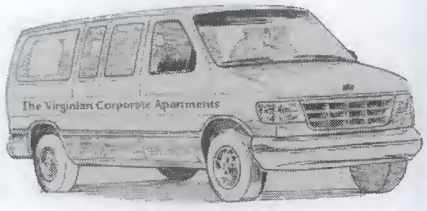

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DESPATCH

By Anne Stevenson-Yang

Christopher the Conciliator

In his introductory talk before State Department employees on January 25, Secretary Warren Christopher signaled openness to controversy and respect for the views of career employees of the department. He may not have realized how soon his tolerance for dissent would be put to the test, but he seems to have risen to the occasion, making it abundantly clear that a new era has begun.

The test came at the end of April, when, seemingly in concert, U.S. policy in the Balkan war was challenged by an appeal to President Clinton from Elie Wiesel at the opening of Washington's Holocaust Museum, a letter to the president from UN Ambassador Madeleine Albright that was leaked to the press, and a letter to Christopher from 12 Foreign Service officers that made its way to the *New York Times*. According to press reports, the State Department letter, signed by the desk officers for Serbia and Montenegro, Albania, Romania, Bosnia, Bulgaria, Macedonia, Croatia, and Slovenia as well as by other officials involved in Yugoslav policy, condemned U.S. policy as "capitulation" to Serbian aggression and urged direct military involvement in the conflict. Christopher received the letter on Saturday, April 17 and met with the 12 signers on Monday the 19th. When Christopher subsequently set out on a week-long European tour to seek support for deeper foreign involvement in the conflict, he took one of the desk officers with him.

His reaction was in keeping with efforts to include lower-level officers in policy circles, if not precisely in decision-making. Christopher and deputies have said repeatedly that they are inviting desk officers to take notes at the secretary's meetings, adjusting the promotion precepts to encourage managers to promote the professional development of their employees, and otherwise making an effort to push authority farther down the bureaucratic totempole. According to former department spokesman Richard Boucher, Christopher has "had seminars with working-level people from throughout the department on Russia. . . . He's met previously with people who disagreed with policy and, as you know, has been open." In his January 25 talk, Christopher called for more consultation with Congress, implicitly overturning the Baker "gag rule." "I want you to know that I'm going to trust the people in the department to talk to others on Capitol Hill, and I'm going to take risks in that regard," he said.

The secretary, who is said to be concerned with protecting the president from the erosion of already thin public support for U.S. military involvement in the Balkans, could not have been happy with the letter addressed to him. But, despite the leak to the *Times*—apparently against the explicit wishes of all the letter's signers—Boucher called the protest "a healthy, normal part of the policy process," and he quoted Christopher as having said, "this is what the Foreign Service is all about."

In the last well-publicized example of chafing at State over the administration's policy in Yugoslavia, Yugoslavia desk officer George Kenney resigned, saying that he would be able to wield more influence over policy from without the State Department than from within (see the *Foreign Service Journal*, September 1992). Kenney believed that his support for military intervention on behalf of the Bosnians would not receive a fair hearing in the department. Once Kenney had resigned, Acting Secretary Eagleburger was gracious in his support of the protest, and critics in the State Department say that Kenney did not make a fair attempt to register his views through normal channels. Nevertheless, a feeling that the views of career Foreign Service officers on foreign policy were not respected by Secretary Baker and his circle of trusted advisers was widespread during the Bush administration.

The Haig State Department during the early years of the Reagan administration derailed or cut short the careers of a sizable group of Foreign Service officers who had tried to tell policymakers that not all evil in Central America stemmed from Soviet aggression but that poverty and indigenous scurrilousness played roles as well. The example provided by the official snubbing of officers like James Cheek, Jack Binns, and John Bushnell and the highly publicized retirements-in-protest of Frank McNeil and Bob White cast a chill over the State Department, many of whose officers inferred that telling the truth as they saw it could mean career oblivion.

The message that "professional," like "liberal," is no longer a derogatory tenn was reinforced in a talk on February 5 by Deputy Secretary Clifton Wharton, who said: "You who are career State Department professionals have our deepest respect. If the new administration is to succeed in realigning the department in ways that will make it even more effective in a new but no less difficult world, we need your expertise." Such gestures of respect for career employees have been underscored in comments by AID Administrator Brian Atwood.

As the new administration works out its foreign policy, trust in career officers is extremely welcome to the Foreign Service. Creating a more open atmosphere for debate could do more than any coming reorganization to avoid such damaging policies as the Reagan Administration's Central America crusade. ■

Embassy in CRISIS

An Interview with Former Ambassador to Zaire Melissa Wells

Editor's Note: *A career Foreign Service officer, Melissa Wells's posts have included resident representative of the UN Development Program in Uganda, 1979-1981; U.S. ambassador to Cape Verde and Guinea-Bissau, 1976-1977; ambassador to Mozambique, 1987-1990; and ambassador to Zaire, 1991-1993. Shortly after her arrival in Kinshasa, a long period of economic mismanagement under the regime of President Mobutu Sese Seko came to a head in the form of mutinies by the Zairian army and urban riots leading to a general collapse of the economy. In the southeastern province of Shaba, tens of thousands of ethnic Kasaians have been forced from their homes by members of rival ethnic groups, who are believed to have the support of President Mobutu. Shaba's governor has been accused of carrying out a program of "ethnic cleansing," and the United States has provided assistance to some of the displaced Kasaians, who have set up ad hoc refugee camps near the railroad stations at Kolwezi and Likasi. In September 1991 Americans were evacuated from Zaire. In April 1993, Ambassador Wells was reassigned. She has not been replaced.*

This interview was conducted on March 31, when Ambassador Wells was in Washington on her way to New York to take up her responsibilities as United Nations under-secretary-general for administration and management. Journal Editor Anne Stevenson-Yang spoke with Ambassador Wells.

JOURNAL: When was the evacuation?

WELLS: The evacuation was in September of 1991, and, if I remember the numbers correctly, we had, at that time, 146 direct-hire personnel. In a matter of about 48 hours, we were reduced to 35. In addition to our embassy staff, the official Americans, close to 3,000 Americans, were evacuated, and this included a lot of missionaries from the interior of the country and business people as well, many of whom never came back. We reduced the staff to a bare minimum, and our families were evacuated, and it became an unaccompanied post.

When we had our most recent troubles, in late January of this year, we "consolidated," which means that people go to designated places to sleep so that, should we want to move more quickly, we have everyone together. Then, when we moved around the city, it was under armed escort—our own security officers. We didn't just drive around by ourselves. There were too many incidents; this is when the French ambassador was killed.

JOURNAL: Would you describe briefly how it was living there after the evacuation? I understand your husband was in South Africa.

WELLS: Following the evacuation, most families returned to the United States. Some families who had immediate family living outside the U.S. received permission to be "safe-havened" with those relatives. In our case, we have two sons—one living in Brazil and the other in South Africa, so the department agreed that my husband could go to be with the son in South Africa. As we

ended up living apart for just over 18 months, this was a particularly frustrating time for my husband, who was perpetually at loose ends, not being able to work. But at least he was with one of our sons.

I'd say most of my energy at the post, in spite of all the democratization efforts going on, was spent in trying to keep up morale. I'd like to think morale was rather good, despite our hardship, understaffing, and unaccompanied status. As chief of mission, I think it's very important to take a personal interest in each individual and to get to know each person individually. There are some people whose fears come out. It's one thing to have parties and get-togethers: I didn't do too much of that, because other people were doing that. I spent my efforts on building a relationship with every single person on the staff, inviting them to one-on-one lunches, and keeping in touch. It's very rewarding. It takes a lot of time, it takes a lot of effort, but it paid off by making us all closer. This happens very often at difficult posts.

I remember my third post overseas, which was London. I guess I'd been there about a year almost, and I went to the Fourth-of-July party, met this very nice American, and we talked, and said, "We must get together." "Oh, I work at the American Embassy." "Oh really, you work at the American Embassy too?" But it's such a huge place, so compartmentalized, that I just had not run across him.

That's hard to do in a small place, though Zaire wasn't a small place—we were one of the largest posts in Africa before the evacuation. After the evacuation we just shriveled up. There were huge, vacant halls and offices in the chancery. We still had an enormous number of houses and apartments that we wanted to get rid of, but there was no market.

First we had to get people out, which we did very successfully, thank God, without one casualty of any kind. Then after the evacuation there was the evacuation of furniture, of personal effects. Then we had a "pet evac" for people who had left pets behind. We only took dogs and cats—we didn't take parrots or snakes or whatever else. Then, because we were afraid there would be another rampage of looting, we packed out the household effects of people who had been left behind. Those of us who stayed were allowed to ship out any part of our personal effects we wanted and have them stored in Antwerp. There was an awful lot of packing and *all* of us were supervising packing—we wanted to get it out of there before the rioting started all over again.

JOURNAL: What was the hardest thing about those months of relative isolation?

WELLS: I suppose the most difficult aspect of life there was the lack of communication. All right, you're unaccompanied to begin with, but if you're unaccompanied and you have a phone service that works, no matter how much it costs, life is easier. But in our case, phone calls were difficult to get through, and the pouch service was disrupted every time there was a civil disturbance. It bugs your personal life. You get letters that the sheriff's coming to get you because you haven't paid a bill that you've never even seen, although somehow that collection letter got through. That's very trying. I have a 96-year-old stepmother in California who's not well at all, and trying to deal with that problem from what my son calls "the telecommunications heart of darkness" was trying.

This is the second time my husband and I had been separated. In 1979, I was a senior UN official in Uganda, and they had just evacuated, because there had been two murders. I came in just as everybody was going out. My husband and our younger son at that stage lived in Nairobi, but Nairobi was easy—an hour by plane from Kampala, or you could drive as well, if you could get to the border before it closed. While it was another separation, we saw each other much more often. While I was in Zaire and my husband in South Africa, in 18 months we saw each other four times. I think two evacuations in one career are more than enough. I hope there won't be an evacuation in New York.

JOURNAL: Suppose you had been ambassador there five or even ten years earlier. Is there something you would have done differently that might have changed the course of events in Zaire?

WELLS: So many changes have taken place in the world. The obvious issue you're addressing is our policy in Angola [which President Mobutu supported], and I've certainly answered that question often enough in Zaire, but you have to realize this was another era: it was the Cold War. These were our strategic interests, and we had to take measures to carry them out. Now, when that game changed, so did our goals. I think many Zairians found it very difficult to accept this. I used to hear almost daily, "You put Mobutu there, now you get rid of him." They wanted the 82nd Airborne to come in or have a UN peacekeeping force, and I had to explain that these were not realistic options, that the world had changed, these were not the 1960s anymore, and that they needed to de-

velop a process. It was not a question of finding a person to support, but rather they had to develop a process that we could support.

Eventually, that became our policy. The process toward the transition procedure, which included the prime minister, an interim legislature, something like a high council, and the president, each with defined roles, and then heading for free and fair elections.

It was never allowed to come about. I can say it quite openly: Mobutu didn't *jump* the democratization process in Zaire, in terms of closing it down clumsily by military force—he's a very, very shrewd politician. There were occasions when military force was used, but the style he used was death by a thousand cuts, and I think what you see now is what is left of this democratization process: nothing.

When I met with him for my farewell visit, I told him, under instructions, of course, that I would not be replaced by an ambassador, that there would not be an American ambassador in Kinshasa until such time as there would be in place and functioning a government of transition, according to the procedures set up over the past 18 months through political negotiations and with the approval of the High Council, the interim body which is supposed to function like a parliament.

JOURNAL: Practically speaking, what effect does the lack of an ambassador have on our relations?

WELLS: I think the practical aspect is that we are not according to President Mobutu the legitimacy that the accreditation of an ambassador conveys. An American ambassador is the personal representative of the president of the United States, and by no longer having an ambassador there, it puts our relationship onto a different plane.

JOURNAL: Is there hope for Zaire?

WELLS: It's a very bleak picture, very depressing. For over a year now we've had what you can only call ethnic cleansing going on in the south, in Shaba. When I left, the figure that the International Red Cross used was of at least 120,000 people affected, displaced, forced to move, homes burnt. There're still something like 60,000 Kasaians—these are people from another region living in the Shaba region—at the railroad station in Likasi. I went down in October to see the situation first-hand, and while there was no barbed wire around the railroad station in Likasi, I considered it a concentration camp. I mean, people were dying. Obviously the children are the most affected—the mortality rate among children under five was growing by leaps and bounds, and the sanitation was very poor. We came forward with some emergency assistance, first some small grants to get latrines built and get the water supply under control. An Office of Foreign Disaster Assistance team came down and made an assessment. We needed to take measures in terms of temporary shelters for those [displaced persons] who managed to get out. That was over $1 million worth of assistance.

JOURNAL: Could there be a role for the UN in Zaire like the one in Somalia?

WELLS: Certainly everybody's been talking about it. Zairians have been talking about it for a long time. I think the question has to be raised as to how we internationalize our concern about the lack of progress toward democratization in Zaire. For example, at the recent meeting of the UN Human Rights Commission in Geneva, there was a very strong resolution on Zaire, condemning Zaire for its abuses of human rights—that type of action, which might be more in the area of what we could call preventive diplomacy. You take measures to keep areas of the world from turning into Somalias.

JOURNAL: How much would it affect U.S. interests if Zaire were to go that route?

WELLS: That's a very personal question. Let me put it this way: I assume that one has to address the cost of these missions and efforts for humanitarian assistance. At the moment you're looking at Somalia, and everybody wonders whether Somalia is going to set the precedent, that every time something happens in the world the U.S. is going to rush out. I can't give you the answer to that. I can just tell you that it's very much on the minds of policy-makers, and the whole issue, in terms of watching what's going on in the former Yugoslavia—can we just stand by and watch people being attacked? Do you just turn your back or do you try to help? I can only speak to you on a very personal basis. I certainly addressed these issues when I was in Uganda right after Idi Amin. That was the most violence and chaos that I've had in my career thus far. Once you've seen it, it's very difficult simply to turn your back and write a report. It becomes a very personal thing—however, it's difficult in terms of building a policy. I think one has to determine what one can do, how effective will whatever actions taken be—we're learning. There are no easy answers in this new world, in the post-Cold War world.

JOURNAL: Is there anything you'd like readers to know about Zaire?

WELLS: Zaire has played such an important part in Africa, and we still consider it to be one of the most important countries in Africa—so many people have served in Zaire, it's amazing. I think those people understand clearly the magnitude of the task of trying to bring a multi-party system to the country. I think it's people who have not lived there who might think, "Why can't they just get on with it?" or "Why don't you just tell President Mobutu to leave?" They talk as if he were the Wicked Witch of the West and would just melt and disappear. The man won't leave! Outsiders, particularly, have misconceptions as to the difficulty of bringing political pluralism to a country the size of Zaire with its history. That's not to say we shouldn't play a constructive role—we should continue to play one. I'm very proud that I've played a small part.

When I arrived there was a very strong anti-American feeling. By early 1992 we had several incidents where they were throwing rocks at cars, smashing windows, and so forth. I'm very glad that that's turned around now. The U.S. is perceived in a much more understanding light, and it's important that we use our political influence to try to bring about change, even though I feel it will come about very, very slowly. ■

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SPEAKING OUT

By Frederick Dunbar Purdy

The *Missing* Legacy

One man's losing battle against public opinion in the disappearance of an American in Chile

Many among the readers of the *Foreign Service Journal* will know me personally. More will recognize my name. I was involved in the *Missing* affair, in which officers of the American Embassy in Chile were accused of complicity in the death of a young American, Charles Horman, at the time of the 1973 coup that overthrew Salvador Allende and installed General Pinochet. Horman's family brought suit against the U.S. government, and later the film director Costa Gavras made a popular movie called *Missing*, about the incident. As our consul in Santiago at the time, I was unjustly accused of involvement in Horman's death. The U.S. government failed vigorously to defend me and my fellow defendants, and the stigma has followed me for 20 years now. The injustice done to me still sticks in my craw.

Disappearance

The coup took most of us—both Americans and Chileans—by surprise, and we were further shocked by its violence. In the consulate, we made do with what we had, including an imperfect registration system, and we answered more than 700 welfare-and-whereabouts inquiries on Americans in the country. We did what we could for the numerous Americans who were detained by the military forces, even though U.S. non-recognition of the new *junta* hampered our action. We received a report shortly after noon on September 18 that a call had been received indicating that Charles Horman might have been detained, and we began trying to find him. He had never registered with us, but it is hard to tell whether that made any difference in the effectiveness of our search. When we finally learned of his death about a month later, it turned out that he had died a few hours before we first heard of his disappearance.

The Hormans' story

The story that has been promulgated by Charles Horman's family and friends about his disappearancee is roughly as follows: Horman was an idealist and pacifist living with his wife, Joyce, in Santiago. He had come to Chile to experience the Allende "experiment in the peaceful transition to socialism." On September 10, 1973, he took a visiting friend, Terry Simon, to Vina del Mar to see the beach, and they were delayed in returning to Santiago by the coup the next day. On September 16, Horman and Simon returned to Horman's house on Vicuna Mackenna Avenue in Santiago. Horman had become a target of the Chilean military because he had uncovered evidence of U.S. involvement in the coup against Allende. Thus, after he returned home, uniformed men took him prisoner and threw him in an open truck. He was taken to the National Stadium and shot. When Enrique Sandoval, a former minor official of the Allende government, reported Horman's murder to the American Embassy, the information was ignored. Testimony by Rafael Gonzalez, a junior official of Chilean military intelligence, about overhearing a kill order for Horman confirmed U.S. acquiescence in his death.

Years later, I conducted my own investigation of the incident, comparing the stories that had been told and plotting where people had been at various times. Neither Horman's supporters nor the Chilean government was very helpful; his family and friends perhaps feared damaging his reputation, and the Chilean military may have thought that opening their files would have revealed either culpability or lack of cooperation with the embassy. Nevertheless, based on careful analysis and interviews with witnesses and persons in positions of authority or with access to information, I arrived at the following conclusions:

My story

Charles Horman was deeply involved with the *Revolutionary Movement of the Left* (MIR), hardly a pacifist group, which sought the violent overthrow of Allende's constitutional government on the grounds that he was moving too slowly. On September 10, Horman went with Terry Simon to participate in a MIR rally scheduled for the morning of September 11 (and thus overtaken by the coup) in Valparaiso to protest the Chilean Navy's petition to the court for removal of the congressional immunity of Senator Carlos Altamirano for inciting its sailors to mutiny. Horman took along some leaflets to pass out at the rally and later tried to flush them down the toilet in his hotel.

Upset that the coup had interrupted the plans of the Chilean left, Horman believed that the United States was involved, but this is untrue and unsupported by any solid evidence. Terry Simon was with Horman all the time at Vina del Mar, near Valparaiso, but she has never disclosed the evidence of involvement he allegedly had in his possession. Horman was never seen by anyone who lived in the immediate neighborhood of the Vicuna Mackenna house. His wife, Joyce, seems to have

misunderstood what a witness told her in Spanish (which she did not speak comfortably) about Horman's alleged detention by uniformed men. When that witness was re-interviewed, she said she had never seen Charles Horman and that no one was "taken away" in a truck. The same witness said she saw the truck that stopped at Horman's house stop again at a factory less than a kilometer away, so she never saw it turn toward the stadium. In fact, there is no hard evidence that Horman was ever at the National Stadium; it is not clear where he died. This, of course, does not absolve the Chilean military or anyone else of possible responsibility and does not remove the great wrong of his death.

Questionable corroboration

Rafael Gonzalez' stories about overhearing a kill order in the office of the chief of military intelligence have varied so much in their seven tellings and are so lacking in verification that they are patently unbelievable by reasonable persons. Gonzalez had a reputation as a liar and self-aggrandizer and was obviously led in early questioning by an American correspondent with an anti-U.S. government bias. Sandoval's second- or third-hand story was not given full credence by the embassy, because he gave no sources for his information, thus reducing it to the level of rumor. Since he claimed to have been roughly interrogated by the military after the coup, his motives are also questionable.

Horman's family and friends were convinced that the U.S. government was either acquiescent or negligent in his death, and much of their ire was directed at me. I was even accused in the U.S. media of being a CIA agent. Members of Congress demanded investigations, and we in the embassy spent a lot of time trying to answer their questions as well as possible. Frankly, the new Chilean government was less than helpful, but I personally had little or no control over that. The General Accounting Office sent a team down to investigate, but the team had drawn its conclusions before leaving Washington, so more time was lost and no real, insightful investigation was ever completed.

In 1977 the Horman family brought suit in federal court against Secretary of

SPEAKING OUT

State Henry Kissinger and 10 others, including me. Inquiries connected with that suit followed me to two new posts, involved a trip back to Washington, and kept up the pressure on me for more than three more years, until the judge dismissed the case for lack of merit. Horman's family and friends never accepted that decision and to this day falsely claim that the case is still pending. Unfortunately for the cause of the truth, the Justice Department's defense of the 11 was based on legalities rather than on evidence, and no investigation was ever made of the numerous false allegations made in the suit. There was never any occasion to counter-examine any witnesses, so the spurious claims have stood. A careful analysis, made after State Department records were released in connection with the suit, convinces me that the department did a miserable job of checking what really happened in September 1973. The consulate's ability to investigate was reduced by a gag order shortly after Joyce Horman began inquiring about her husband.

Court of opinion

In the meantime, a book entitled *The Execution of Charles Horman* appeared and further stirred the pot, mentioning me by name more than 50 times and accusing the U.S. government and me of connivance in the death of the American. I was too busy doing a lot of good consular work and trying to live a happy personal life, and so, unfortunately, never took legal action against the book. Three of us who were involved in the case found more than 300 errors in its 255 pages. I naively thought that the department would stand up for me, but I was mistaken. Some individual officers did so, as did AFSA, and I am grateful for that moral support.

Then came the movie called *Missing*, which was based on the book. This melodramatic mix of lies and distortions reached a far wider audience than the book, so, even though my name was changed in the film, my reputation was further besmirched. I agreed to participate in a suit against the makers of the film, along with Nathaniel Davis, who was U.S. ambassador, and Ray Davis, chief of the naval mission, respectively, in Chile at the time of the coup. Many of my colleagues contributed to the fund to support the suit. The defendants used their armies of lawyers to delay and confuse, but finally agreed to make a statement that they had never intended to imply that we were responsible for or involved in Charles Horman's death. The *Foreign Service Journal* of June 1991 carried our letter explaining the termination of our suit and thanking colleagues for their help. It was hard for me to accept this result, mainly because the movie had no reason for existence if not to imply that the U.S. government, and thus we, were complicit in young Horman's death. We decided, however, that the statement was better than nothing.

The case has haunted my personal life and, I believe, damaged my career. I had expected to be promoted in 1974 or 1975, but my rise to the then-important rank of FS-3 was delayed until 1977, and I fear that panel members must quite naturally have thought that the accusations might have some merit, and thus held me back for another year. That extra time kept me from making it into the Senior Foreign Service and forced what I considered to be an early retirement. I fear that the State Department was not unhappy to have me off the lists during those years and no longer an issue with Congress. Numerous persons I have met over the years suddenly became hostile or suspicious when they heard I was the consul in *Missing*. Friends were told that I was a "bad guy."

Perhaps better people among you would have shaken off the anger and sense of injustice, but I cannot quite let go. I have tried writing my side of the story and tried writing a novel based on the facts as I see them, but there were no takers in the publishing world.

I would like to ask you, my colleagues, what should I do? ■

Frederick D. Purdy retired in 1986 and lives in Santiago, Chile.

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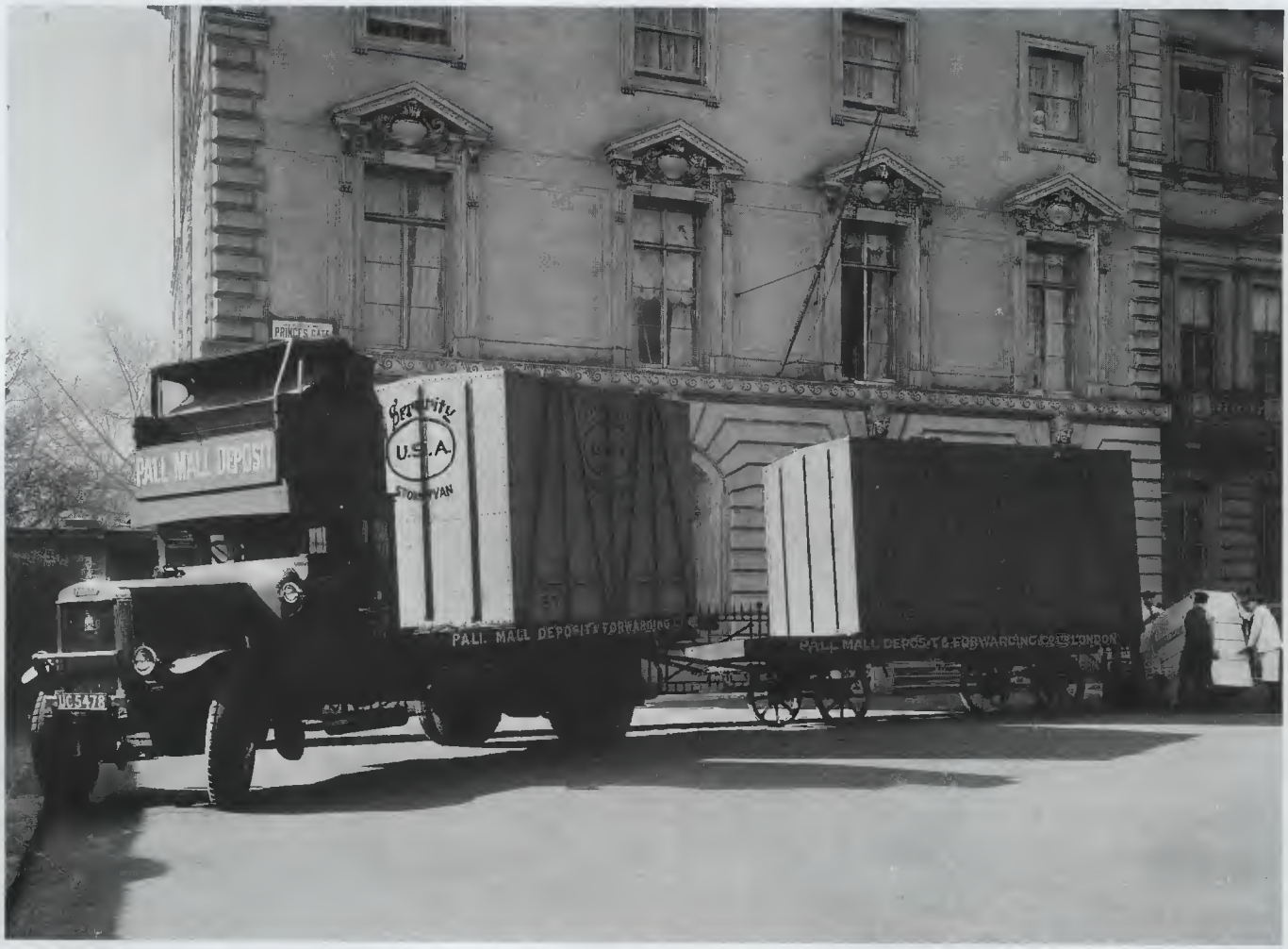

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ETHICALLY CORRECT

ASK MR ETHICSPERSON

BY JIM ANDERSON

For those who have been hacking their way through the bureaucratic jungle that is the Foreign Service and who have survived on their ascent toward the summit, the new message is: it is no longer enough to be smart, well-educated, multilingual, politically and ethnically correct, a nonsmoker, and fashionably slim. It is now required to be ethically correct as well.

A Foreign Service officer must have an ethical compass that will navigate safely between the shoals of the allowable gifts from a "prohibited source" (a phrase that sounds like a remnant of South Africa's apartheid system but simply means somebody who does business with the U.S. government) and the rocks of exploring future employment possibilities while fearing the axe because of having chosen the wrong political party or having been born too soon.

AUSTERITY TSAR

The chief of State's ethical watchdogs (that is not his real title, or intention, or role) is a young attorney, Kenneth Propp, who sits in an austere cubicle in the legal counsel's Office of Personnel and Ethics. His principal job is education and deterrence, not enforcement. He spends much of his time giving lectures to senior department personnel, sometimes sending videotape to the more remote missions overseas.

Since the new regulations, which were promulgated under the Bush administration, came into effect on February 3, 1993, nobody has been hauled in for exceeding the ethical speed limit, but the new rules have a lot of people worried. Propp says he gets 10 to 12 calls a day (telephone 647-2350) from State Department people wondering about such things as whether accepting a flower arrangement from a foreign government will blight their careers or maybe even land them in the slammer. (Generic answer: not if the arrangement costs less than $20.) As Propp puts it, "Quite a lot of people are extremely fastidious."

So are the rules. It's OK to receive a gift costing $19 from someone with business interests before the department, but not to take one worth $21. Propp says there is nothing magical about $20, but somebody has to set the visible standards. His main message is: "The ethics environment is changing; it's becoming more stringent, rules need to be paid attention to. It's basically common sensical, but with technical details."

Sometimes very technical. Take paragraph 2635.402 of the *Standards of Ethical Conduct*: "Directed divestiture. An employee may be required to sell or otherwise divest himself of the disqualifying financial interest if his continued holding of that interest is prohibited by statute or agency supplemental regulation issued in accordance with paragraph 2635.403(a)."

The bulk of the regulations are written to deter misbehavior by senior-level officials and the occasional lower-ranker who handles finances and might attract tempting gifts and other illicit benefits. Propp concedes there is some overlap with criminal law. Taking a big gift, besides being unethical, may also constitute accepting a bribe and therefore would be prosecutable under existing criminal codes. However, under the ethics regulations, criminal guilt does not have to be proven under the usual rules of evidence. Administrative disciplinary action can be taken with less

protection for the accused.

The new regulations are designed to deter, not trap the ethically disadvantaged. There are seven main categories of ethical violations covered: gifts from outside sources, gifts between employees, conflicting financial interest, partiality in performing official duties, seeking other employment while working for the government, misuse of public office for private gain, and outside activities such as speaking or writing that could conflict with official or ethical obligations.

LEAVING THE GOVERNMENT BEHIND

The new regulations were compounded by a subsequent set of regulations brought in by the Clinton administration in an effort to stop the revolving door of government gamekeepers who become non-governmental poachers—especially in that advanced training camp for foreign agents and lobbyists known as the U.S. Trade Representative's Office.

Those new Clinton rules are for the very top of the pyramid. They ban political appointees for life—for eternity—from representing any foreign entity or government. Propp acknowledges that the pledge has never been tested. He assumes that the government's legal remedy would probably be a civil injunction by the Justice Department against any violator and a claim on the money that was earned. The theory is that because the political appointee was not forced to sign the agreement, the pledge he signed on joining government service is therefore enforceable under normal contract law. Some lawyers who have read the regulations and know a thing or two about the Bill of Rights disagree.

The ethical guidelines apply mainly to senior political appointees and their employment after they leave government service. Published last November, the rules are not retroactive. But they do apply to people like Lawrence Eagleburger, secretary of state in the final months of the Bush administration. Now with a Washington legal and lobbying firm, Eagleburger is grappling with the exquisite detail of *Standards of Ethical Conduct for Employees of the Executive Branch: Final Rule.*

Essentially, it says that, while in government office senior officials have to keep prospective employers at arm's length. There is a lifetime ban in representing anybody in any matter which the former official helped set up—a trade treaty, for example. On more general matters, there is a one-year "cooling-off period" restricting any business contact with the State Department on any substantive issue.

The rules don't deal with an obvious problem. What about a former State Department official who joins a large lobbying firm and doesn't contact his former colleagues at State, but talks informally to his new associates at the firm, who then contact current department officials? Does hiring such a person put the whole firm into kind of a *purdah*? Obviously not, but how do you prevent such indirect influence?

Had these new regulations been in effect during the Nixon administration, they presumably would have prevented Secretary of State William P. Rogers from going from government service to setting up a law firm that represented the Pahlavi Foundation, the former shah of Iran's U.S. holding company. Then again, maybe they would not.

MR. ETHICSPERSON

Because of the new complexity and the potential for litigation, there is a whole new field for advice. As a readers' service, we are providing some sample cases submitted to our Mr. Ethicsperson. He is available for private consultation at the Foreign Service Club's bar.

Dear Mr. Ethicsperson:

I was asked out by a person whom I met in my capacity as an official person. He said he loved my Alabama accent. He is a "forbidden source," if you know what I mean. We decided to stay in to watch a video and eat Chinese carry-out. He insisted on paying for it, and I acceded rather than wound his self-image, which had already taken a blow when I declined to discuss our Middle East peace plan with him. Did I do wrong? **M.T.**

Dear M.T.:

This is an egregious example of corruption in government. It is clearly in violation of 18 U.S.C. 201(b) and is an example of the thin wedge of evil that would inexorably lead to violation of 18 U.S.C. 209, which prohibits "an employee, other than a special government employee, from receiving . . . any contribution from any source other than the United States Government." You ought to be ashamed of yourself. I hope your mother does not know about this.

Dear Mr. E.P.:

Upon leaving office as secretary of state, I immediately set up a $600,000 consulting contract with a certain North African country with which I had been in diplomatic contact before I was rather rudely asked to resign by the president. The contact with the North Africans involved certain helicopters manufactured by a company I used to work for. Just a friendly little arrangement. No caveat there? **A.H.**

Dear A.H.:

No problem. That is, under the rules that existed then. There would be now.

ASK MR. ETHICSPERSON

Dear Mr. E.P.:

I just returned from Ocean Beach and gave my lovely supervisor a bag of saltwater taffy worth $12. Terrible prices they charge at Ocean City. I could also tell you about hotel prices, but let's not get into that. What I want is to know whether the taffy could get me in trouble. **R.B.**

Dear R.B.:

That depends on whether your supervisor shared it with the office. If she did, you're safe under the example cited in paragraph 630.912, which permits gifts to superiors under an aggregate market value of $10. If she hogged it all for herself, I would suggest you start looking around for a good lawyer. It's the sort of thing that leads to other outrageous abuses of the supervisor-subordinate relationship, like giving your boss expensive coffee mugs from vacation trips, also quite properly banned under the same section in "Standards of Ethical Conduct." You also should be aware that gifts can lead to sexual harassment problems. Why did you give your supervisor a gift of taffy? What does taffy really mean? No wonder the American public distrusts government.

Dear Mr. E.P.:

When I was at State, I signed a letter recusing myself from any decisions or policy-making that involved any countries in the oil business. But I took the lead in the Gulf war consultations involving Kuwait and Saudi Arabia, not to mention Iraq. Now I'm beginning to wonder. Do any of those countries have anything to do with the oil business? **J.A.B.**

Dear J.A.B.:

I've gone through the ethics regulations and there is nothing about the countries you mentioned. But the problem you raise is a good one. Let me get back to you on that.

Dear Mr. E.P.:

After leaving office, I took my personal assistant and all my confidential, classified notes, which were unavailable to anybody else, and signed a $1 million book deal. Any problem there? **G.S.**

Dear G.S.:

Of course there is. That's forbidden. Give back the money—right now. Unless, of course, you were secretary of state; then it's OK.

A final question posed by the hundreds of rules and subrules is whether the stringent and sometimes confusing regulations may also be steering able people away from government service, leaving only those who are (a) totally honest and incorruptible—and dull, or (b) people who have total confidence in their own ingenuity and ability to evade or to bend the government rules to their own advantage. Mr. Ethicsperson does not have to answer that question. ■

Jim Anderson is a correspondent with DPA, the German Press Agency. He was formerly with UPI and has covered the State Department for more than 20 years.

Give Up Visas?

Creating a Foreign Immigration Service would let the State Department concentrate on what it does best

Reform is the catchword of the Clinton administration. With a popular mandate to make government less expensive and more responsive, the president's team has moved to streamline the State Department. Among the ideas being debated is the proposal to merge the visa function of Consular Affairs (CA/VO) with the functions of the Immigration and Naturalization Service of the Department of Justice (INS) in order to combat gridlock in the enforcement of immigration laws.

As two career consular officers, we encourage the administration to consider this proposal seriously. In July 1990, former Ambassador Diego Asencio's Commission for the Study of International Migration and Cooperative Economic Development proposed setting up a separate agency to handle all overseas and domestic immigration affairs and refugee processing. Within this separate agency, which would take over the domestic functions of VO and the INS, we envision the overseas visa operations being converted to a Foreign Immigration Service similar to the Foreign Commercial Service of the Commerce Department and the Foreign Agricultural Service of the Agriculture Department. The visa function overseas would then be staffed by career Foreign Immigration officers with legal expertise, language skills, and cultural sensitivity.

State Department career consular officers should then be given the option, but not be required, to convert to the new agency, in which they would specialize in visa adjudications and refugee processing overseas. The chief of each overseas visa/refugee operation would report directly to the embassy's chief of mission and be part of the country team. At most posts, this change would not create more bodies for administrative sections to support overseas; it would merely realign the agency responsibilities of existing visa officers and staff.

Those consular-cone Foreign Service officers remaining with the State Department would continue to be responsible for performing American-citizen and passport services. This area of responsibility could constitute the consular cone. Alternatively, the consular cone could be melded with another cone. It is clear that, whatever solution is created, it must be phased-in to minimize the disruption to officers' careers and to the Foreign Service.

BY DIANE REIMER BEAN AND FRANCES T. JONES

Visa applicants wait in New Delhi, February 1993.

Leaving law to the enforcers

Why would two mid-level, career consular officers support giving away the visa function? Simply put, we have observed that issuing and denying visas today is fundamentally an adjudicatory law-enforcement function, as opposed to a foreign-policy function. We are aware that such a change would dramatically depart from existing practice. Yet, we think the potential benefits to the State Department and to overall enforcement of U.S. immigration law justify the means. We present our observations and proposals here not, obviously, as a polished program but as a stimulus for constructive discussion.

Historically, a U.S. consul had a great deal of discretion in granting visas overseas to those who would support the commercial and political interests of the United States. He was also charged with denying visas to undesirables. But the historical discretion of a consular officer has been progressively eroded by extensive and increasingly complex immigration laws, culminating in the Immigration and Nationality Act of 1952 (INA), which itself has been frequently revised and expanded, most recently in 1990. Now almost exclusively, Congress dictates the classes of aliens who shall and shall not be granted visas to the United States, and this is as it should be. After all, the Supreme Court has interpreted Congress' power in the Constitution to "regulate commerce with foreign nations and among the several States" to include exclusive authority over immigration. The framers of the Constitution obviously believed that only Congress would be able to balance with foreign-policy pressures the domestic concerns about who comes to this country.

As a result, the discretion left to a consular officer consists mainly of determining whether a visa applicant is concealing his or her intent to live or work illegally in the United States, and then only in the case of a non-immigrant visa. In an immigrant-visa case, there is almost no discretion. If INS has approved a visa petition, the consular officer's primary role is to verify that the professional or familial relationship described exists and that no material fraud is present. Grounds of ineligibility are spelled out quite explicitly in the INA, the accompanying federal regulations, and the Foreign Affairs Manual. Thus, the ability to understand laws and regulations and to analyze the evidence is essential for visa work. The exercise of historical consular discretion—i.e., deciding whether the alien's presence would benefit the United States—is no longer required.

On a day-to-day basis, every visa officer spends his or her time adjudicating individual cases—applying the INA and its hundreds of regulations to the facts of each individual case and to detecting and preventing fraud. The work is challenging and stressful and, at times, intellectually demanding, but visa adjudication is unmistakably law-enforcement work. An individual case rarely affects our foreign relations either with the host country or with the alien's country and, when it might, it is generally taken out of the consular officer's hands and "resolved" by higher-ups at post or in Washington. (A recent example of this is when the Bosnian Serb leader Radovan Karadzic applied for a visa to visit the UN).

Eliminating the wait

Merging the functions of VO and INS would improve the enforcement of U.S. immigration laws. Current enforcement of the INA is split principally between the Department of State (authority to issue visas) and the Department of Justice (authority to enforce the INA at and within U.S. borders). Every consular officer has experienced the delays caused by this cumbersome division of labor. For example, with the exception of a few specifically designated consular posts, INS has exclusive authority to approve an immigrant-visa petition—normally adjudicated within the United States—but only a consular officer can issue the visa overseas. Thus, even if a consular officer conclusively determines that the petition was not properly approved, for example, because the underlying husband-wife relationship does not legally exist, the petition must be returned to INS for readjudication. (The consular officer may recommend revocation.) Our proposal would allow a Foreign Immigration officer to revoke the petition at post.

Other examples: If an alien is found ineligible under the INA, a waiver must be requested from the appropriate INS

Visa applicants at Embassy New Delhi: Consular officers no longer exercise much foreign-policy discretion.

office. (The consular officer or the department can recommend or refuse to recommend a waiver.) Meanwhile, the alien sits and waits. Our proposal would permit the waiver to be adjudicated on the spot, seeking guidance from the (newly created) Immigration and Refugee Agency if necessary.

Improving the lookout system

INS and the State Department do not have a common filing system, so that each visa applicant has one file at the overseas post, and/or in the Visa Office, and possibly another INS file somewhere in the United States. The two agencies as yet do not have a common lookout system where relevant information on ineligible and excludable aliens can be easily accessed and cross-referenced. Our proposal would allow for the creation of one centralized, integrated worldwide filing and lookout system under the jurisdiction of a single agency. Coordination between inspectors at ports of entry and visa-issuing officers (now sadly disjointed) could be made smoother.

Refugee adjudication is reserved by law to INS, but can now be conducted only at the select overseas posts where INS can staff the operation where a specific, temporary delegation of authority has been made. Under our proposal, Foreign Immigration officers could conduct refugee interviews and adjudicate refugee cases at every overseas post, reducing the number of aliens trying to enter the United States illegally to have their claims heard.

Most frustratingly, when a disagreement exists between VO and INS in the interpretation or application of the INA, there is no single authority to arbitrate it. Our proposal would eliminate this problem.

The list could go on and on.

The argument has been made that, in giving up the visa function, the Department of State would be relinquishing a significant foreign-policy tool. We do not agree. First, visa categories and numbers must be adjusted through the cumbersome legislative process; they do not and cannot react to quickly changing world events. It is undisputed that the overwhelming majority of the thousands of individual visa cases adjudicated each year simply do not affect and are not affected by nuances of foreign policy. In recent years, Congress has even injected into the INA a requirement that the secretary of state report directly to Congress any visa denied on foreign-policy grounds, which further constricted this already restricted basis for visa denials. Thus, the influence of visa work on foreign policy is already at a minimum.

Under our proposal, the chief immigration officer, as part of the country team, would still report directly to the ambassador. Thus, in the rare case where issuing or denying a particular visa might have a foreign-policy consequence, the ambassador, acting on behalf of the secretary of state, would have his or her say. Finally, in the unlikely event a chief immigration officer could not issue a visa to an individual the ambassador is convinced must have one, the case would have to be referred to the appropriate superiors in Washington, who, we would think, should be aware of it anyway.

In these times of tight budgets, visa operations have suffered. Staffing gaps and backlogs have become commonplace as recent legislative changes produced a dramatic increase in immigrant-visa cases. Meanwhile assistance from other agencies has evaporated with the end of the Cold War. With the world having changed so radically, it has been difficult for the department to focus on the funds and human resources needed to meet the increasing demands of visa work. In addition, the Consular Affairs Bureau has come under heavy pressure to increase internal controls on visa operations while simultaneously being pressured to delegate the visa function to part-time, temporary employees and Foreign Service National employees. By bringing all immigration officers, foreign and domestic, under one roof, funding could be better targeted at areas of need—on a global basis—and resources could be more judiciously distributed.

Consular care for Americans

A consular officer's principal and historic responsibility has always been the welfare of U.S. citizens. We propose that this responsibility and the passport function be retained within the State Department.

Major legislative action would be required to establish a new agency comprised of the INS and the department's Visa Office. Thoughtful planning and gradual implementation would be necessary to reduce the inevitable disruptions. Despite the difficulties, however, the goal is worthy and should be pursued. With the new administration's commitment to "reinventing" government, now is the time to consider a radical proposal. ■

Diane Reimer Bean and Frances T. Jones are both career Foreign Service officers in the consular cone. The views and opinions expressed in this article are solely their own and do not necessarily represent those of the U.S. government.

AUSTERITY COMES HOME

Will anyone care that we do less in Central Africa?

BY LADD CONNELL

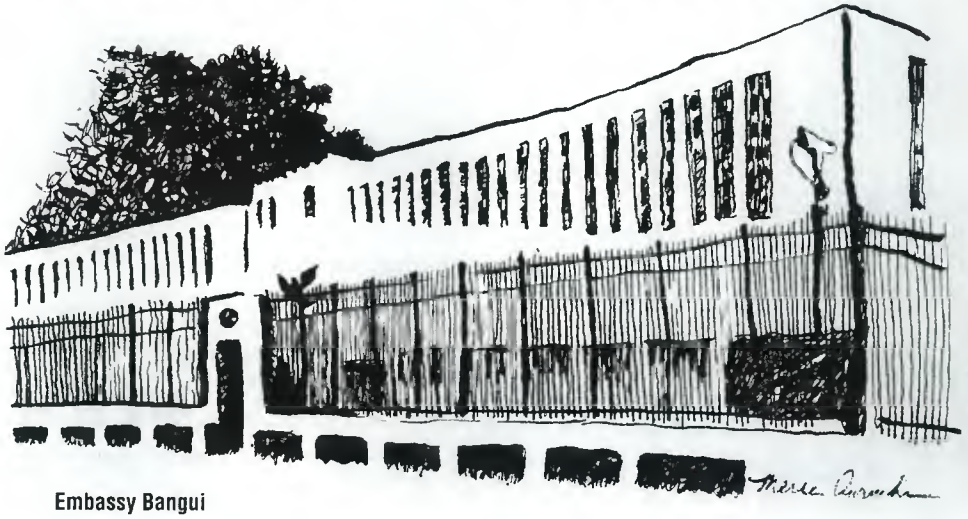

ILLUSTRATION BY THERESA AURICCHIO

Embassy Bangui

They're doing away with me.

Not with me personally, but with my position, the job into which I've been putting 40-50 hours per week for the last year and a half. (My wife will tell you it's a lot closer to 50.) My position, economic officer in Bangui, Central African Republic, is one of 70 overseas positions that the Africa Bureau is giving up to contribute to the State Department's effort to do more with less. As a former private-sector employee, I am, of course, all in favor of doing more with less.

Except that it won't happen; you do less with less, which brings me to the real question: should we be doing more or less? Having had some time to think about it—Bangui doesn't offer too many distractions—my answer is: less.

STATISTICALLY INSIGNIFICANT

The economic officer's job in Bangui actually comprises four portfolios: economic, labor, commercial, and scientific (including environmental) affairs. After hearing that I had been assigned to come here from Bermuda, I was somewhat chagrined to learn that, with a population of more than 2.6 million, the Central African Republic's (CAR) economy is about the same size as Bermuda's, a colony of only 60,000 people, and Bermuda has a lot more trade with the United States. Our Consulate General in Bermuda, however, has no economic/commercial position; the deputy principal officer handles political and economic affairs. So I came to Bangui slightly discouraged, thinking that there might not be enough to do.

I was wrong. Although CAR's economy is statistically insignificant, it receives over $100 million a year in aid from multilateral institutions and the United States is the largest contributor. Embassy input is essential to developing an informed U.S. government view on proposed loans, including structural-adjustment loans—the loan conditions are a basis for the government's fiscal policy. I also track and report on issues and sectors of regional or wider interest, such as state-owned enterprises, the CFA franc, and agricultural commodities such as cotton.

On the labor front, the U.S. government provided crucial support for reestablishing CAR's labor unions and protecting them from being banned again. We continue to provide support, guidance, and training and act as liaison with AFL-CIO's African-American Labor Center.

Commercial work here has been a bust, but in view of the moribund economy, that may be good news. I measure success by what hasn't happened. No American businesses have been ripped off here. We haven't had any investment disputes. Despite sometimes cool relations with the current government, the CAR still is eager to

receive U.S. investment and increase trade with the United States. It has usually supported our positions on international trade matters and nominations to bodies handling them.

Finally, in science, I've served as liaison between the U.S. Geological Survey and ORSTOM, the French overseas scientific research agency, for a $600,000 CAR component of the U.S. government's global seismological data-collection project. This has involved working on terms of a Memorandum of Understanding with the CAR government and a working agreement with ORSTOM. Environmental issues have required analysis, démarches to the government, presenting U.S. positions and programs at seminars, and framing requests for Washington-held eco-funds.

That sounds like a full-time job, so why cut it?

WHO REALLY CARES?

I don't think the work is unimportant. The nature and level of the contacts I have—covering national policies with the CAR's technocrats and program directors and counselors in other foreign missions here—and the importance that is attached to what the United States has to say or offer on any of these issues has convinced me otherwise. U.S. influence on matters of substance in this country goes way beyond that warranted by the paucity of assistance we give—far less aid than what is given by other, less influential missions. I know that I'm contributing to maintaining and exercising that influence.

The question is: does maintaining that level of influence matter enough to the U.S. taxpayer to warrant keeping a "full-service" embassy? My guess is that, in the current budget climate, the answer is no.

The question is: does maintaining that level of influence matter enough to the U.S. taxpayer to warrant keeping a "full-service" embassy? My guess is that, in the current budget climate, the answer is no.

I cannot say, for example, that the U.S. government has any vital interests here, or at least any that require an economic officer. No longer is there Cold-War competition. The potential for trade would have to increase many fold before warranting a full-time commercial effort here. Pushing democracy, arguably our No. 1 mission here, falls to the ambassador and deputy chief of mission. Furthermore, although recently our reporting was rated as exceptionally readable, I suspect that the eyes of all but the most dedicated stateside Africa-policy wonks glaze over when they see dateline Bangui.

IMPERCEPTIBLY LESS INFLUENTIAL

The U.S. government, both on its

own and through international financial institutions, has been preaching austerity. We should also lead by example. It is true that, to be a world power, we need first to put our own political/economic house in order. The political difficulty of tax increases means that most of this has to be done through budget cuts, so the State Department, as with other parts of the federal government, is being asked to do more with less. Some Americans may be upset when they start getting less with less, but I doubt feeling that they are underrepresented in the CAR is going to rank very high on the list of complaints.

While I agree with my position's being cut, I can't pretend to feel good about it. It's sad in that it represents the erosion of our geopolitical power—rather ironic now that the competing superpower has all but withdrawn from the scene.

Equally sad, irrationality in the budget process still reigns supreme. A detachment of five Marines plus commander will continue to guard the embassy 24 hours a day, protecting its classified material, yet the embassy is losing two of five (counting the ambassador and deputy chief) reporting-officer positions. Thus, we maintain the same level of protection while the amount to be protected, and the threat of hostile intelligence services, are less. Losing the Marines would almost certainly have a more serious impact on the social life of the American community than it would on the security of our classified material, which remains behind several locked doors.

So, they're cutting me, two of my State colleagues, and the public affairs officer (along with much of the U.S. Information Service operation). The United States will inevitably have a much lower profile in the CAR. Most Americans won't know or care and would probably agree if they did know. The Central Africans we deal with will gradually become aware of the cuts and regret them. Those Foreign Service officers staffing the reduced embassy will probably feel harried and unappreciated.

None of this is good, but in this era of constrained resources, I'll admit that it seems necessary. I'd rather have more kids in Head Start than keep a fully staffed embassy in Bangui, but I wonder what this tells us about ourselves. How much longer will we be able to claim that we are the world's sole remaining superpower? It is probably best that we face up to the limitations of our budgetary reality now rather than later. I just hope that one day reality will have changed, so that we can once again have a fully staffed embassy here, and truly dignify the title of superpower, even in the heart of Africa. ■

Ladd Connell is a third-tour Foreign Service officer who will return to Washington in the fall to serve in the Bureau of Economic and Business Affairs.

Should we be doing more—or less? The Foreign Service Journal would like to hear your opinion on staffing embassies in every country of the world.

The Tsar of RUSSIA POLICY

BY DAVID CALLAHAN

Fears that Strobe Talbott would short-circuit the policy process so far are unfounded

Early last spring, presidential candidate Bill Clinton was in deep trouble. Although Clinton vehemently denied charges that he had dodged the draft in the late 1960s, the press, with few exceptions, wasn't buying his story. One of those exceptions was *Time* magazine's Strobe Talbott, who mounted a vigorous defense of the candidate.

Talbott had been Clinton's roommate at Oxford as a fellow Rhodes scholar and had seen first-hand how Clinton handled the draft issue. Writing in *Time*, Talbott chastised his colleagues in the press for proceeding as though the charge of draft dodging were proved. "Well, it is not, and it can't be because it is not true." Talbott not only rebutted the allegations against Clinton, but portrayed his former roommate as a thoughtful young patriot.

In February, Clinton returned Talbott's favor in a big way, making him the administration's tsar of Russia policy, or officially, ambassador-at-large and special adviser to the secretary of state for the New Independent States. "This is a bolt out of the blue," Talbott said after his appointment. "I never expected to be in government, never aspired to be in government. It is a classic example of an offer I could not refuse." But in Washington, few were surprised by the appointment.

afsa news

House FAC approves State authorization bill

The House Foreign Affairs Committee approved the 1994-95 State Authorization Bill on June 8. Several provisions would affect FS personnel.

- **Away-from-post Educational Allowance:**

The committee approved language which would allow FS dependents to travel from school to an alternative location when travel to post is not feasible, i.e.: to the home of a relative or family friend or to join a parent at a different location. However, the allowable travel expense is not to exceed the cost of travel between school and the employee's post.

- **Educational travel for college students studying abroad:**

Language was approved which would allow a dependent to travel to and from a college abroad (i.e.: for a junior year).

- **Claims Waiver**:

The amended bill would allow the secretary of state to waive the $40,000 limitation for losses arising from an emergency evacuation "if [he] determines that exceptional circumstances warrant such a waiver."

AFSA successfully lobbied for the inclusion of these three provisions in the most recent version of the bill.

- **Labor-Management Relations**:

The previous version of the bill would have severely restricted participation in AFSA by all members of the Senior Foreign Service. AFSA successfully lobbied for alternative language, which provides that "Individuals who have served as management officials or confidential employees must wait two years before participating in AFSA's management for purposes of collective bargaining, and from acting as a representative of AFSA. After participating in AFSA's management or as a representative of AFSA, individuals must wait two years before serving as a management official or confidential employee." The amendment excludes from the definition of "management official" chiefs of mission, principal officers, and their deputies.

- **Authorized strength of the Foreign Service:**

As of September 30, 1994, the Foreign Service would be subject to the following caps:

Department of State: not to exceed 9,200; Senior FS limited to 825.
USIA: 1,200 cap; SFS limited to 175.
USAID: 1,850 cap; Senior FS limited to 250.

The last provision passed the HFAC despite AFSA's strong efforts to prevent it. AFSA is concerned about the micromanagement effect of these caps, especially in light of the fact that the bill was supposed to lend flexibility to the Foreign Service. We will continue to actively oppose these restrictions as the bill moves to a full House vote and on to the Senate.

Survivor annuities saved in House vote

By Ward Thompson
Retiree Liaison

Budget reconciliation action by the House has apparently eliminated the threatened reduction of survivor benefits under the Foreign Service Retirement and Disability System (FSRDS), which affects employees hired prior to 1984. The administration had proposed cutting annuities for survivors of retirees who die after September 30, 1993 and reducing the maximum age at which child survivors of federal retirees may receive benefits from 22 to 19. But strong reaction from federal employee organizations, including AFSA, prompted a compromise under which the projected savings from these cuts would instead be gained by delaying retiree COLAs for three months in each of the next three years and by eliminating the lump sum annuity option for all employees except the terminally ill.

The Senate Government Affairs Committee approved the House plan for retirement issues on June 9.

This budget round's focus on survivor benefits underscores the fact that

Public Members Association President E.D. Frankhouser (rt) presents a check to AFSA President Bill Kirby for the AFSA Scholarship Fund as Dr. Gordon Hoxie looks on. The scholarship fund donation was given in memory of Dr. Hoxie's wife, Louise. The PMA scholarship donation is for college juniors and seniors interested in foreign affairs and requiring financial assistance.

they constitute a *retirement* issue and not merely a *retiree* issue. The message AFSA has heard from concerned members, including one who became a surviving spouse in her early forties, is that it is never too early to think about these benefits.

On retirement, an FSRDS employee may elect a maximum survivor benefit of 55 percent of the employee's annuity, for which the employee's annuity is permanently reduced by approximately ten percent. (Under the new Foreign Service Pension System the survivor benefit is 50 percent of the annuity.) This is an irrevocable decision. The basic argument against the administration's proposal to reduce the survivor annuity was that the government should not be able to change its part of the bargain with employees who relinquished their ten percent in return for a specific benefit. Such a change would not only be inequitable but would introduce more uncertainty to retirement planning.

Agreement on 1993 promotion precepts

By Jnlie Smithline
Member Services Representative

AFSA and State Department management reached agreement on the 1993 Promotion Precepts during May. This is the first time in some years that the precepts have been issued before the promotion boards convene.

The precepts for the 1993 senior and intermediate Foreign Service selection boards now form two sections, the General Precepts and the Core Precepts. The General Precepts are specific instructions for the individual selection boards. They contain the specific criteria used by the boards for promotion and will be renegotiated on a yearly basis to keep them up to date. Since the Core Precepts focus on general requirements for promotion that do not change on a yearly basis, they will be in effect for a three-year period. The Core Precepts have a provision for supplemental precepts to be included if a temporary situation arises that necessitates additional precepts.

Foreign Service Youth Award: Kimberly Costello, daughter of Edward Costello, retired USAID Foreign Service officer, receives the Foreign Service Youth Award from Deputy Secretary Clifton R. Wharton Jr. Kim, a Yorktown High junior, was honored for her work with Around the World in a Lifetime (AWAL). The overseas award winner is Patricia Andrea Rainey, daughter of Robert and Patricia Rainey, U.S. Marine Corps security guard in Belgrade. Andy contributes in many ways to the American community and also organizes volunteers to work with refugees in a nearby camp.

We suggested separate Core Precepts in hopes that they would guide employees in overall requirements and therefore allow employees to better formulate their progress towards future promotions. We suggest that the Core Precepts be detached and kept by employees for future reference. They can be an important tool in an employee's decisions regarding drafting of work requirements statements and in future bidding cycles. The Core Precepts also provide both employees and raters with the constant requirements for promotion that should be kept in mind throughout the rating cycle.

To be consistent with the new evaluation form in use from April 15, 1993, the Core Precepts now include reference to the Simon Amendment of 1990 that states, "boards are instructed to take account of language ability and, all matters being otherwise equal, to give precedence in promotion to officers who have achieved at least the general professional speaking proficiency level (S-3/R-3) in one or more foreign languages over officers who lack that level of proficiency."

Both management and AFSA made a conscious effort to complete the precepts and have them circulated expeditiously. AFSA's intention is to ensure that the precepts process keeps to the same time line as the evaluation process. Next year we hope to get the specific instructions to the boards circulated before evaluations are due in PER/PE, so that employees will know what criteria the boards will be using.

Speakers Bureau marks first year

By Gil Kulick

On May 1, the speakers bureau, now called the AFSA World Issues Forum (WIF), marked its first anniversary. As of that date nearly 40 AFSA speakers had spoken to about 90 groups in 27 states across the country. The audiences ranged from the venerable Chicago Council on Foreign Relations and a Yale University foreign-policy seminar to the Kiwanis Club of Dyersburg, Tennessee, and a middle school in Columbia, MD.

Through these efforts AFSA speakers, 85 percent of whom were Foreign Service alumni, brought expert, dispassionate views on the critical foreign-policy issues of the day–and the role of the Foreign Service in managing them–to audiences totaling more than 6,000 people. Many thousands more were exposed to their stimulating ideas through local press interviews and radio and television appearances. At every stop our speakers also sought to promote diversity in our profession by encouraging talented minority youth to consider careers in the Foreign Service.

Having successfully weathered the shakedown cruise, we plan in the coming year to raise the WIF's visibility by organizing extended tours for several of our most distinguished and recognized alumni. Their expertise will be updated by a series of briefings by senior State Department officials.

More speakers from beyond the Beltway are still needed. To volunteer, please contact Gil Kulick at (202) 338-4045.

1993 Merit Scholarship Awards

The AFSA/AAFSW Merit Scholarship Awards recognize high school seniors who have demonstrated academic excellence and outstanding leadership during high school. This year, the 20 merit awards were given in honor of Ambassador Edward J. Perkins. Funds for the awards are provided jointly by the American Foreign Service Association Scholarship Fund and the Association of American Foreign Service Women. Following are profiles of each merit award student:

Ingrid C. Ahlgren: graduate of Saint George's School, Newport, Rhode Island; daughter of Marianne and Charles Ahlgren (State); Cum Laude Society, "Top 15," Honor Roll, High Honor Roll; attending Brown University.

Dana Bigelow: graduate of Hong Kong International School; daughter of Marjorie and Stanton Bigelow (State); valedictorian, National Merit finalist, honor society, nominated for Hong Kong student of the year; attending Princeton University.

Danessa C. Carragher: graduate of W.T. Woodson, Fairfax, Virginia; daughter of DanaDee (State) and James (State) Carragher; National Merit Scholar, Spanish and National Honor Society; attending College of William and Mary.

Christopher E. Connell: graduate of Marshall HS, Falls Church, Virginia; son of James and Pia Connell (State). Salutatorian, National Honor Society president, Student Council treasurer; attending Stanford University.

Jennifer Su-Lan Ang: graduate of Phillips Exeter Academy, Exeter, New Hampshire; daughter of Wende and Melvin Ang (State); attending Yale.

Nicole Bonnaffon: graduate of Lake Braddock, Burke, Virginia; daughter of Judith & Robert Bonnaffon (USAID); National Honor Society, Spanish Honor Society; attending College of William and Mary as a James Monroe Scholar.

Elizabeth D. Carson: graduate of Choate Rosemary Hall, Connecticut; daughter of Johnnie and Anne Carson (State); Environmental Action Coalition, Gold Key Society, Model United Nations; attending Williams College.

Crystal W. English: graduate of American Embassy School, New Delhi, India; daughter of Burt English (State); Academic Excellence Award, Scholar Athlete Award, National Honor Society; attending Georgetown University.

1994 Merit Award applications

High school students graduating in spring 1994 who wish to apply for the 1994 AFSA/AAFSW Merit Awards should request an application in October 1993. Application deadline is February 15, 1994. Dependents of Foreign Service personnel in State, USAID, USIA, Commerce, or Agriculture with outstanding academic records are urged to apply.

Contact: AFSA Scholarship Department, 2101 E Street, N.W., Washington, D.C. 20037

Sherine Hamdy: graduate of American School Foundation, Mexico City, Mexico; daughter of Mona and Dr. Farouk Hamdy (USDA); College Board AP Scholar with Honors, National PSAT high scorer, Outstanding English and French Award; attending Stanford University.

Tara Malloy: graduate of The American School, Tokyo, Japan; daughter of Iris and Ed Malloy (State); National Merit winner, Field Hockey Varsity Champion, The Scholar Athlete '93, Valedictorian, Yale Book Award; attending Emory University.

Garrison Mason Morfit: Sidwell Friends School, Washington, D.C. graduate; son of Christine and Michael Morfit (USAID). National Merit Semifinalist, Presidential Scholar Semifinalist, AP Scholar; attending Princeton University.

Elizabeth C. Rabadan: graduate of W.T. Woodson High School, Fairfax, Virginia; daughter of Mary and David Rabadan (State); Virginia Governor's School for the Humanities, National Honor Society, Spanish Honor Society; attending University of Notre Dame.

Benjamin Lee Johnson: graduate of the American School Foundation, son of Sandor Johnson (State); High School Physics Award, Commendation (PSAT), AP Scholar with Honors; attending University of California-San Diego.

Carrie R. Matthews: graduate of J.E.B. Stuart High School, Falls Church, Virginia, daughter of Jane and Carl Matthews (State); Virginia Governor's School for the Humanities, Science Honor Society, president of National Honor Society; attending University of Virginia as Echols Scholar.

Robert D. Penner: graduate of Walter Johnson High School, Bethesda, Maryland; son of Dorothy and Vernon Penner (State); Maryland Outdoor 18 Singles Champion-1992, Maryland Distinguished Scholar-honorable mention; attending Princeton University.

Nelson A. Saiers: graduate of West Potomac High School, Alexandria, Virginia; son of Nancy and Larry Saiers (USAID); National Honor Society, numerous science fair awards; attending University of Virginia.

Annual AAFSW Book Fair

The Association of American Foreign Service Women (AAFSW) will hold its annual bookfair Friday, **October 23 through October 31, 1993**. Donations of books, stamps, coins, tapes, and items for the Art Corner (crafts, jewelry, pictures, etc.) are requested. The Bookroom is open all year; please think of making donations now rather than waiting until the Fall. A portion of the proceeds will go to the AFSA/AAFSW Scholarship Fund.

Donations may be left at the Bookroom, Room 1524, in Main State, or call (202) 223-5796 to arrange for pick-up.

Jennifer D. Sherman: American International School Jerusalem graduate; daughter of Dona (State) and Gilbert (USIA) Sherman; Xerox Award in Humanities, Rensselaer Medal for Math and Science, Presidential Scholars semi-finalist; attending Stanford.

Sarah H. Silberstein: graduate of Lee High School, Arlington, Virginia; daughter of Anita and Spencer Silberstein (retired USAID); National Honor Society, Spanish Honor Society; attending College of William and Mary.

Elliot Z. Stein: graduate of McLean High School, McLean, Virginia; son of Miriam and Harry Stein (retired State); 1992 Virginia Governor's School for the Humanities, National Merit Commended Scholar, National Honor Society; attending Stanford University.

Ilana R. Sumka: graduate of International School, Nairobi, Kenya; daughter of Michelle and Howard Sumka (USAID); Foreign Student Youth Award-commended, HS Service Award, Junior Year Leadership Award; attending Wesleyan University.

Fears and Family

By Alexandra Sherman

Alexandra is a graduate of The American International School of Israel. She is the daughter of Dona (State) and Gilbert (USIA) Sherman. She will attend Scripps College. Following are excerpts from her outstanding Merit Award essay.

I thought about how my Foreign Service experience has been relevant to my development, how it had changed or shaped me. What could I show you that makes me different? Well, I can show you what the Foreign Service has given to me. . . .

I can show you the riots in the streets of northern India. I can show you a dingy Third World hospital room where I lay sick with fever. I can tell you about getting lost in the bush, on the coast of West Africa. I can show you back roads through the Côte d'-Ivoire to bring aid to people so poor that after we, as guests, had eaten, our leftover food was placed in the center of the mud huts for the children to fight over what was left of the bones. . . . I can show you poverty. . . .

I can also show you sunsets. Sunsets over the Mediterranean, sunsets over the Nile, sunsets over the Red Sea, the Dead Sea and the Sea of Galilee. I can show you the Jordan River, which flows through the channels of my memory. I can show you the Sinai and the Sahara. I can show you the place where Jesus was born and where he was crucified. . . . I've lived near the Taj Mahal. I've lived in the ancient city of Carthage. I've lived all over the world, but I can still tell you about the fierce love I have for my country.

All these things are easy for me to tell you. All the spices, noises, peoples, and experiences I can effortlessly convey to you, but I cannot show you the emotional effects of war. The fear, the confusion, and the frustration of being helplessly caught up in the Gulf War is something I can only wish to make you understand.

I wish I could tell you what it was like in a sealed room with a hot rubber gas mask tied to my face. I wish I could take you to my house where the Palestinian stone-throwing and tire-burning had gotten so intense that the Marine Security Guard had to evacuate us. . . . I cannot make you understand the surreal feeling of an air raid; running down the iron staircase in the Sheraton Hotel listening to the banging of feet until the only sound left was that of my own. . . . I cannot tell you about the feeling of relief I felt when an arm dragged me into a room.

If I could tell you about the sirens . . . what their wail could do to a person. And if I could explain what it felt like to hear the soft sound of crying from my twin sister who had always been stronger than I . . . if I could show you how it felt to crawl into her bed and put my arms around her. . . .

If I could only tell you how it felt to feel the earth shake, to see the fireworks light up the sky--to hear those sirens. Those awful sirens. And to make the choice to stay in the country because my parents, both diplomats and considered "essential personnel," weren't to leave. . . . If I could only show you what fear tasted like. True fear, when you believed you were going to die at the age of 16, and you were still afraid of the dark.

If I could show you all these things, then you would see what I am and how this life has created strong bonds among the members of my family and an attachment to this "Foreign Service" life, which has shaped me in a manner that will not be easily understood by my soon-to-be peers when I begin the next phase of my life on an American college campus.

Memorial Scholarships established

By Theresa Auricchio
Scholarship Administrator

Robert L. Yost Memorial Scholarship

Mrs. June Yost and family have renewed their commitment for a second year by providing funding for a scholarship in memory of her late husband, Robert L. Yost. This was erroneously reported in the April 1993 *Journal* as the Robert J. Yost Memorial Scholarship.

Mr. Yost was a 1942 graduate of UCLA. He joined the Foreign Service after serving in the military in World War II. He was posted in Spain, Belgium, the Belgian Congo, the Philippines, France, Ethiopia and Washington D.C. He served as ambassador to Burundi and the Dominican Republic. In his retirement, Ambassador Yost continued his career as a consultant to international groups.

The Walter J.P. and Mary Curley Annual Scholarship

The annual Walter J.P. and Mary Curley Scholarship has been established through the generous contribution of the former ambassador to France and Ireland, and his wife.

Mrs. Curley earned a degree in English history from Vassar College. She has been active in community affairs in the United States, as well as in Ireland and France.

Walter Curley graduated from Phillips Academy and Yale University and received an MBA from Harvard and an Honorary Doctorate in Law from Trinity College, Dublin, Ireland. He was an executive with the Caltex Oil Co. in India and Italy and a partner in J.H. Whitney & Co. before becoming ambassador to Ireland. Currently he is the chairman of the French American Foundation.

The Harriet Winsar Isom Annual Scholarship

A new annual scholarship has been established by Ambassador Harriet Winsar Isom. She has been a career Foreign Service officer since 1961, with assignments to Malaysia, Indonesia, Niger and Burundi. She was director of Korean Affairs in the Bureau of East Asian and Pacific Affairs from 1984-86 and then became Chargé d'Affaires in Vientiane, Laos. She served as ambassador to Benin from 1990-92, and is currently ambassador to Cameroon.

Ruth Frost Hoyt Memorial Scholarship

David Hoyt has established a perpetual scholarship in memory of his late wife, Ruth Frost Hoyt. Mrs. Hoyt graduated from North Dakota State University and married David Hoyt in 1939. In 1950, the family was sent to Frankfurt, Germany with the State Department, later moving to Bonn. Other postings were Athens, Tel Aviv, Casablanca, and Lome. In 1967, in Conakry, she was evacuated after being bitten by a stray dog. She contracted rabies despite being administered anti-rabies shots at post. On July 25, 1967, Ruth Frost Hoyt died at St. Albans Naval Hospital in New York.

A gift of $1,000 or more will name a scholarship in the year it is given, while a gift in the amount of $10,000 or more will qualify the donor to name a scholarship in perpetuity. Our deepest thanks to all those who have given to these scholarship funds.

Open Forum

The following letter was received by AFSA from the AFSA-funded 1992 summer minority intern.

This letter is one of appreciation to AFSA for its commitment to racial diversity in the Foreign Service [through its minority intern program]. What is equally important is that AFSA maintains contact with the interns it sponsors, even after the internship.

AFSA sponsored my internship in the summer of 1992. . . . Although I am currently pursuing a Master's degree, my "hands on" experience [in foreign affairs] has been very limited. . . . I learned a vast amount about the inner workings of the State Department and the role and mission of AFSA. Had this sponsorship not existed, I probably would have never received the opportunity to work as an intern at the State Department. This summer I plan to work as an intern at the Organization of American States, to see international affairs from a different perspective . . .

Here at Colorado State University, I have given lectures to students of color regarding career opportunities with the State Department. The [Cox Foundation video tape on the Foreign Service] was extremely useful in demonstrating that AFSA and the State Department are, in fact, committed to building a Foreign Service that is racially representative of the United States. The intern sponsorship is an excellent way to contribute toward the building of a representative Foreign Service. I hope that AFSA continues to sponsor a person of color every summer, until the Foreign Service is fully representative of the U.S. population.

Russell A. Jones
Colorado State University

MARKETPLACE

M A R K E T P L A C E

Talbott is a quintessential FOB (Friend of Bill), with ties to Clinton that have remained strong since their time together at Oxford. His link to the president is bolstered by the fact that his wife, Brooke Shearer, is a friend of Hillary Rodham Clinton. (Shearer now works at the White House.) His brother-in-law, Derek Shearer, is a member of Clinton's brain trust on economics.

Longtime Soviet hand

Talbott may be a newcomer to government, but he is no stranger to Russian affairs. He has, in fact, been preparing for his new job for over three decades. Talbott's fascination with Russia extends back to his days at the Hotchkiss preparatory school, where he first began studying Russian. At Yale, Talbott majored in Russian literature, and he took an advanced degree in the subject at Oxford. Turning his attention to politics after graduate school, Talbott covered U.S.-Soviet relations for two decades as a journalist for *Time*. As a journalist and a private citizen, Talbott has traveled to the former Soviet Union some 40 times. In 1988, he even managed to assemble 13 members of his family, representing three generations, in Siberia for a camping and fishing trip.

Talbott first made a name for himself in the early 1970s by translating and editing two volumes of memoirs by Soviet Premier Nikita Khrushchev, but he is best known for his books on superpower arms-control negotiations. Cultivating sources at the highest levels of government, Talbott wrote inside accounts of bureaucratic warfare and diplomatic wrangling in the Carter, Reagan, and Bush administrations. *Deadly Gambits*, his scathing account of the failure of arms control in Reagan's first term, caused a political uproar when it was published in 1984. Talbott's latest book, *At the Highest Levels*, coauthored with historian Michael Beschloss, tells the story of the Cold War's end, drawing in part on personal interviews with Mikhail Gorbachev.

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Shared urgency

In his new job, Talbott occupies a seventh-floor suite in the State Department, not far from the office of Warren Christopher, to whom he directly reports. Talbott's government position gives him substantial influence over Russia policy. Quite apart from his personal relationship with the president, Talbott's potential clout derives from his substantial portfolio. He is simultaneously charged with advising Christopher, overseeing the Office of Independent States and Commonwealth Affairs, which in the past reported to the assistant secretary of state for European affairs, and coordinating the interagency deliberations on Russia policy. Talbott also oversees the work of Ambassador Thomas Simons, the coordinator for assistance to the New Independent States and a former ambassador to Poland. To manage this workload Talbott has an immediate staff of five aides and three secretaries.

When Talbott's position was first established, there were natural concerns that he might be something of a solo operator, detached from State's chain of command and cashing in on his FOB-status to circumvent normal procedures. But so far, Talbott has clearly shown his intention to be a team player. On the seventh floor, there is a sense of shared urgency regarding policy toward Russia, and instead of being a distraction, Talbott's post serves as an embodiment of State's commitment to action. Talbott engages regularly with the undersecretaries and works particularly closely with Stephen Oxman, the assistant secretary for European affairs.

He also has regular contact with diplomats in the 15 countries in his portfolio, including U.S. Ambassador to Russia Thomas Pickering.

Another concern about Talbott's appointment was that the tsar concept would prove unworkable. The decision to create a tsar on Russia policy was a response to inadequate coordination in this area under President Bush. With some half-dozen agencies involved in various components of U.S. policy toward Russia, the government's overall stance was often muddled or contradictory, and things were falling through the cracks. "There was a great deal of chaos without a central focus," says Michael Beschloss. Talbott's appointment was not only intended to bring order to inter-agency deliberations, but also to send a reassuring signal to Russian leaders that the Clinton administration is serious about aiding reform.

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Better steering control

The record of tsars in the U.S. government is mixed. In practice tzars often lack the authority to coordinate policy effectively. Still, while Talbott clearly faces an uphill battle in his effort to bring a new cohesion to U.S. policy toward the former Soviet Union, there are grounds for optimism. The key to Talbott's power is his chairmanship of a new Policy Steering Group under the National Security Council (NSC). This group coordinates all aspect of U.S. policy toward the former Soviet Union, and is comprised of officials from State, Defense, Treasury, Commerce, and Agriculture. The vice chair of the group is Toby Gati, the top NSC official in charge of Russia policy. The Steering Group, which usually meets at the State Department, has no regular schedule and operates instead as events demand. Spin-off working groups handle particular policy questions. "The Steering Group is vital to the effectiveness of our policy," Talbott said at his Senate confirmation hearing in March. "The Clinton administration is determined to set a new standard for strategic and operational coherence, and that will depend on maintaining a high degree of discipline, cooperation, and coordination in the interagency process."

In his books about arms control, Talbott dwelled often on the perils of bureaucratic disarray in policy-making. Today, with the strategic nuclear standoff finished, the stakes of policy toward Russia are lower, but the complexities and potential pitfalls that face policymakers have increased.

The worst-case scenarios regarding Russia's future are nothing short of chilling. Talbott takes seriously, for example, the possibility that Russia's nascent democracy could be swept aside by an unholy alliance of Reds and Browns—unreconstructed Communists and Russian chauvinists with fascist tendencies. "That nightmare is more likely to come about if the economy continues to deteriorate," Talbott wrote in December. "That is why the industrialized democracies, led by the United States, must assemble a more generous and potent package of emergency-assistance measures, including incentives for Russia to climb back aboard the wagon of monetary and fiscal temperance."

Building up good faith

So far, aid efforts have been weak. Last spring, Western nations promised $24 billion in aid to Russia and the other new independent states. While the bilateral components of the assistance package were largely fulfilled, disagreement between the Russian government and international financial institutions stymied much of the promised multilateral aid. Although the United States came closest to fulfilling its target, this experience left the Russians distrustful of new Western pledges. One of Talbott's jobs upon entering office was to help rebuild Russian trust in U.S. leadership on aid issues and in the international community's ability to follow through on its promises.

Progress has already been made on this score. In putting together the $1.6 billion U.S. aid package announced at the Vancouver summit between Clinton and President Boris Yeltsin in early April, the Policy Steering Group emphasized assistance that would have an immediate impact. As Talbott later explained, the goal was a package that would ameliorate the pain of reform with benefits that "will be apparent to the Russian people this year." Through February and March the Steering Group looked for ways to reprogram money that had already been appropriated by Congress but not yet spent. The result was a hodgepodge aid package that includes everything from Food for Peace funds to Export-Import Bank loans. No new legislation is needed for this money to begin flowing.

Coming at a time of acute political vulnerability for Yeltsin, the larger-than-

expected aid offer demonstrated that the United States government could be responsive to Russian needs. Talbott was not officially confirmed by the Senate until April 2, just one day before the Vancouver summit, but he was closely involved in putting together the aid package that made the meeting such a success.

Talbott also played a role in the Tokyo meeting of April 14 and 15, where the foreign and finance ministers of seven leading industrialized nations met to discuss ways to help Russia. One result of that meeting was a partial healing of Russia's rift with the international financial community. The G-7 nations in Toyko made pledges of new aid totaling almost $30 billion, much of which would be in the form of loans from the International Monetary Fund and World Bank. In May, the IMF and Russian government made an important breakthrough in establishing the terms under which new loans would be available.

The United States used the occasion of the Tokyo summit to announce an additional $1.8 billion in bilateral aid for Russia and the new independent states. That promise comes on top of a request for $704 million in bilateral aid contained in the Fiscal Year 1994 international affairs budget, submitted to Congress on April 8. The administration is also proposing that $400 million from the Pentagon's FY 1994 budget be spent on dismantling nuclear weapons in the former Soviet Union. This would add to the $800 million that has already been set aside for such a purpose, but remains largely unspent. In total, the Clinton administration is proposing to provide the former Soviet Union with about $4.5 billion in new aid this year.

While the $1.6 billion offered in Vancouver is almost certain to flow, and the $400 million in the Department of Defense budget will probably be approved, the prospects for the $704 million in the FY 1994 budget and the supplementary request of $1.8 billion are less certain. Officials in both the administration and Congress do not yet know where this money will come from. In late March, Senator Patrick Leahy, head of the Senate's Foreign Operations Subcommittee, warned the administration that finding new foreign aid funds for Russia would not be easy. "My one question is, where does the money come from?" Leahy said. "We're not going to be able to increase foreign aid."

Sorting through priorities

Talbott may already have his hands full dealing with policy-makers in Washington and in Moscow, but he recognizes that his mission will also require him to spend time cajoling leaders in the capitals of Western Europe and

Asia. As he told the Leahy committee, one of the central elements of Clinton Administration policy is to use U.S. "leadership to leverage from the international community considerably more money than we are putting on the table ourselves."

As the Clinton administration looks for the money to make good on its new promises to Russia, it will confront broader questions about U.S. foreign-aid priorities. Again, Leahy has taken the lead in framing the terms of debate. "We must ask ourselves, as we look at every other part of the world where we are giving foreign aid, whether we ought to cut back on that aid and shift the money to Russia where direct United States national interests are far greater," Leahy said in a March 4 Senate floor speech.

Talbott's part in this debate will be to argue, whether explicitly or implicitly, that new assistance to the former Soviet Union is important enough to justify cutting other aid programs, and this task is not as easy as it seems. Although nobody questions Russia's strategic significance, there is little consensus in policy circles on whether aid to the former Soviet republics can be decisive. Skeptics see the region as a foreign-aid sinkhole. They observe that if Bonn is spending tens of billions a year to overhaul the economy of the former East Germany, with a mere 16 million people, the prospects are probably slim that strapped Western nations could ever raise the kinds of sums needed to revive the economies of Russia and the other republics. As Talbott makes his rounds in Washington and in other Western capitals, arguing for new aid to the East, he will have to offer evidence that a few drops in the bucket can create ripples that matter. Already, the administration has begun making an argument along these lines, carefully blending realism with optimism. "Russia's economic vessel is too large and leaky for us to bail it out; that's not what's at stake here," Clinton said in a speech just before the Vancouver summit. "Our challenge is to provide some tools to help the Russians do things that work for themselves."

Another tactic of the administration, both in its rhetoric and policy, is to seek to differentiate new assistance to Russia from the rest of the foreign-aid budget. Aid to Russia is not just another grant program, Talbott stresses, but a long-range investment that bolsters a "strategic alliance with post-Soviet reform." To counter worries that U.S. aid dollars will disappear into the black hole of the Russian bureaucracy, officials also stress that much of the new aid "will go to benefit the emerging private sector in Russia," as Clinton said in Vancouver.

Another tactic of the administration, both in its rhetoric and policy, is to seek to differentiate new assistance to Russia from the rest of the foreign-aid budget. Aid to Russia is not just another grant program, Talbott stresses, but a long-range investment that bolsters a "strategic alliance with post-Soviet reform."

Closing down the nukes

Worrying about the mammoth task of economic reform in Russia could be a full-time job in itself for Talbott, yet his portfolio also includes an array of tough political-military issues. Along with many other analysts, Talbott harbors grave worries about the prospect of conflict between Russia and its neighbors. He believes that the existence of some 25 million ethnic Russians who live in republics outside Russia will almost certainly ensure trouble in the years ahead. "The U.S., the West Europeans and the United Nations must use their own considerable influence with the newly independent states to protect the rights of Russian minorities there," Talbott has argued. "Otherwise, Russia may take matters into its own heavy hands." If that happens, Talbott warned before taking office, Russia's relations with the West would deteriorate rapidly, with aid efforts being suspended.

Since his appointment, Talbott has made clear his intention not to neglect the 14 new states that surround Russia. Already he has traveled to the capitals of some of these states. "The Ukrainians, the Armenians, the Kazakhs and the rest—these are proud, brave people who have been dealt a bad hand by history, especially in this century," Talbott said in late March. "We are going to help them." Of the $1.8 billion pledged at Tokyo, $300 million will go to states other than Russia.

Finally, among all Talbott's responsibilities, one of the most urgent is to speed up reductions in the Russian nuclear arsenal. Many analysts see a closing window of opportunity for these reductions, worrying that either chaos or renewed militarist sentiments may block the implementation of cuts that have already been agreed to in the START I and II treaties. While Congress has committed $800 million for the dismantling of nuclear weapons in Russia and other republics, with another $400 million now being requested by the Clinton administration, problems

have arisen in dispensing this money. According to a report by the General Accounting Office, made public earlier this year, only $20 million has actually been spent.

Here again, Talbott's job is to get things moving. Talbott directly oversees the work of Ambassador James Goodby, the chief U.S. negotiator for safety, security, and dismantlement. Through the Policy Steering Group, he is positioned to spearhead inter-agency efforts to cut through the bureaucratic roadblocks that are holding up the demilitarization program. Nevertheless, there is only so much that the U.S. government can do on this issue, since some of the delay in spending the appropriated money stems from the failure to date of START I and II to be ratified by all participating nations.

Unknown quantity

Strobe Talbott enters government with a direct line to the White House and an immense, if second-hand, knowledge of bureaucratic infighting. Already he has become an important actor on the international stage that he spent so many years analyzing as a journalist.

In many ways, his appointment was an inspired one by President Clinton. Talbott may possess precisely the combination of passion and verve that is needed to bring innovation and action to America's Russia policy. But Talbott's appointment is also enormously risky. For all of his obvious assets, Talbott is still an unknown quantity. He is a novice policy-maker with no experience in government who has been given one of the toughest assignments in the national security establishment. His friendship with the president can help him, but it cannot ensure his success.

Talbott's greatest advantage over the long run may well prove to be his optimism about a situation that readily lends itself to resignation. Events in Russia are confused, Talbott has said, "but there is a pattern to them nonetheless, and that pattern points in the right direction." Talbott believes that the former Soviet Union can still be saved and turned into a prosperous and democratic region of the world. But American leadership is needed to make this happen. ■

David Callahan, a Princeton, N.J.-based writer on current affairs, is a frequent contributor to the Journal.

Post Referendum Canada:

TROUBLE IN THE NORTH

The United States faces serious problems in Canada: a grassroots demand for new Canadian leadership, the probability of increasing fragmentation of the central government's authority, including the prospect of minority governments, more assertive provinces, and possibly eventual independence for Quebec.

Our relationship with Canada will therefore become far more complex and difficult to handle at a time when managing continental relations (particularly in the areas of trade and the environment) is becoming more and more important.

We should make it clear that, although what Canadians do with their polity is their business, their actions will affect us. Our goal is to strengthen North American economic, environmental, and defense cooperation. We should be prepared for eventual independence for Quebec, and, in that event, increasing interest in some provinces in joining the United States.

The root of the current political problem in Canada is the issue of Quebec's place in the confederation. French Quebeckers have successfully maintained their culture and distinctiveness from the English conquest to this day, and they are justly proud of this achievement. Their wish to preserve their culture into the future is the fundamental source of Quebec's drive for a more autonomous and perhaps independent relationship with the rest of Canada. There is a very strong consensus in Quebec on this principle.

This problem has been a part of Canadian politics for a long time, but its current manifestation is different and more serious than previous eruptions for several reasons:

- independence for Quebec is a practical proposition;
- for the first time, the rest of Canada is willing to contemplate a future without Quebec; and
- the most recent attempt to resolve the problem succeeded in exacerbating it and in focusing attention on additional historically divisive issues.

INDEPENDENCE

Quebec's population, which exceeds 6 million, is increasingly well educated, with a formidably entrepreneurial and self-confident business class. Quebec's gross domestic product is about $140 billion, placing Quebec's among the world's top 20 economies. The value of its trade with the United States is about the same as our trade with France. Current U.S. direct investment in Quebec is about $10 billion. Quebec is the home of world-class companies, one of which may build Texas's high-speed rail system. Its government is competent and lives by free-market principles. Quebec's is one of the few governments that have successfully implemented a comprehensive economic and industrial policy. Quebec would be well able to manage independence, and most of the institutions required for independence are already in place, including what amounts to a foreign ministry with posts in the United States and overseas. (This is not to say that there would not be significant economic costs to Quebec if it were to become independent. There would be such costs, although their extent is disputed).

REALM OF THE POSSIBLE

Now, for the first time, many Canadians are willing to contemplate the idea of a Canada without Quebec. They do so without enthusiasm and with a touch of fatalism. The origins of this new attitude lie in the breakdown of the traditional model of Canada as a country of two founding peoples, French and English. With about one-third of Canadians having neither French nor English immigrant backgrounds, many Canadians (particularly in the increasingly economically important western provinces) no longer see their country through the prism of Canada's origins. Hence the issue of Quebec's place in Canada and of Quebeckers' claims to special status seems less and less important and legitimate to more and more Canadians.

This shift in political attitudes received a powerful and unanticipated reinforcement as a result of the inclusion of a charter of rights in Canada's constitution at the same time it was "patriated" from Britain by Prime Minister Pierre Trudeau in 1982. (The patriation

BY DWIGHT N. MASON

Brian Mulroney, Former Prime Minister of Canada

was itself another significant and divisive event in the long history of failed attempts to manage the problem of Quebec.) What happened was that the people of Canada outside Quebec took to the notion of a written charter of individual rights (and the fact that individuals could attempt to enforce it through the courts) with enthusiasm, and it became a part of the political culture almost instantly. Thus when Quebec sought to assert a communal right to protect its culture by limiting the rights of individuals through increasingly onerous language legislation culminating in a law barring exterior signs in a language other than French, many, if not most, Canadians outside Quebec saw this policy not as a defense of French culture but as an outrageous infringement of the rights of English and other non-French speakers living in Quebec. This issue was probably the single most important factor in the failure of the Meech Lake Accord in 1990—another attempt to resolve the Quebec issue.

Thus one effect of the Charter of Rights was to add a new dimension to the Quebec issue by undermining further—and decisively, in the eyes of Canadians outside Quebec—the legitimacy of Quebec's claim to special status, insofar as that status limited individual rights. Non-Quebeckers were not prepared to accept such limitations, even if that was the price of keeping Quebec in Canada. This attitude was documented among the findings of the 1991 report of the Citizens' Forum on Canada's Future, which interviewed or received comments from more than 350,000 Canadians.

ADDING IN SPECIAL INTERESTS

The most recent attempt to solve the Quebec problem appears to have made the situation worse. What seems to have happened is that, cumulatively, the negotiations on the Quebec issue stimulated Western Canadians and the native peoples to focus more and more on their own historic grievances and to insist that they be addressed concurrently with Quebec's—an example of increasing Canadian unwillingness to allow Quebec's concerns to dictate the national agenda.

The proposed agreement was a set of amendments to the Canadian Constitution intended to strengthen national unity by meeting the key demands of Quebec as well as (and for the first time in such a context) those of the western provinces and the native peoples. The effect was to add western and native peoples' concerns to the existing Quebec problem and to guarantee that any future efforts to accommodate Quebec could not be taken in isolation. More generally, the inclusion of these two additional issues has whetted the appetites of any number of special-interest groups who can be expected to demand that their concerns be addressed as well in any future attempt at constitutional revision.

The agreement was then submitted to the country in a referendum in October 1992. It was rejected in six out of 10 provinces, including Quebec. The overall national vote was: no - 54 percent, yes - 44 percent. The no vote reached 68 percent in British Columbia and 55 percent in Quebec. The turnout was high: 83 percent in Quebec, 73 percent in Ontario, and 76 percent in British Columbia.

ENTRENCHED POSITIONS

It appears that the voters behaved as they did for [three principal] reasons: first, Canadians seized an opportunity presented by the referendum to send a message to Canadian political leadership at all levels about their bitter discontent with the prime minister, his government, the national political parties, and many provincial governments about the state of the economy and its management. (Unemployment exceeds 11 percent.) As one Canadian columnist put it, "The constitution came to be seen as the fiddle that the elites played while Canada burned." The vote was a repudiation of most Canadian political leaders and the national political parties.

The second reason the amendments failed was substantive. Canadians became convinced that they had not been sufficiently thought through (as demonstrated by the obvious incompleteness of key elements, such as the matter of the native peoples).

Finally, the campaign further sharpened and defined the traditional differences between Quebeckers and other Canadians on the nature of Canada. Quebeckers insist that Canada is and must remain an equal partnership between the two founding peoples. Canadians outside Quebec agree that, while Quebec indeed has a distinct culture, it is not appropriate to treat that province differently from the others politically; they argue that all Canadians and provinces are equal. (A Decima poll published in *MacLean's Magazine* of January 4, 1993 shows that 68 percent of Canadians hold this view.) These different points of view are increasingly seen as a zero-sum game, and it appears that the referendum campaign significantly

Now, for the first time, many Canadians are willing to contemplate the idea of a Canada without Quebec. They do so without enthusiasm and with a touch of fatalism.

reinforced that view. In the end, Quebeckers concluded that the agreement provided insufficient symbolic and practical recognition of their position, while most other Canadians reached the opposite conclusion, and both voted no. The net effect was to harden and sharpen this fundamental difference, perhaps to the point of no return. Nevertheless, this issue may lie dormant for a time, because most Canadians including most Quebeckers are heartily sick of it.

Managing this vast relationship with post-referendum Canada will be a demanding task. For example, we will probably have to deal directly with provincial governments far more than is now the case.

An immediate consequence of this repudiation is likely to be changes in political leaders and governments across Canada after federal and several provincial elections over the next two years. This process is well-advanced. A new party leader (and therefore prime minister) was selected by the ruling Conservative Party in June, and preparations for a federal election are under way.

A more significant result of the referendum debacle is likely to be increasing political decentralization and fragmentation of central government authority in Canada. This may take several forms:

- A decline in the strength of the Progressive Conservatives (who now form the government), the Liberals, and the New Democrats (social democrats), which are the "national " parties (their failure to bring their membership along in favor of the amendments illustrates this point), and
- An increase in the strength of regional parties (the Bloc Quebecois and the Reform Party, both of which opposed the amendments in the referendum campaign), and therefore
- A federal parliament with five parties rather than the existing three, where the regional parties may well hold the balance of power and thus the possibility of minority government.
- The delegation or legislated transfer of some central government powers to Quebec and the other provinces in an attempt to meet Quebec's continuing demands or, as is happening now, in response to federal budgetary constraints, and
- Increasing demands for forms of self-government for the native peoples.
- Possibly eventual independence for Quebec. Although a majority of Quebeckers do not favor independence (at the moment 38 percent do), their view of the nature of Canada is so profoundly different from that of other Canadians that it is hard to see how they can be reconciled in the long run, particularly because these differences will likely intensify as the rest of Canada's population continues to increase faster than Quebec's and more of that growth shifts westward thus gradually but inexorably reducing Quebec's political and economic power in the country and therefore its ability to protect its culture. In fact it is this vision of decline which may in the end prove to be the decisive factor in a move for independence. The next Quebec provincial election must take place by the end of 1994. It will be fought on the issue of separation, and in fact the campaign has already begun.
- Increasing interest in joining the United States. At the moment, according to the Decima poll cited above, 20 percent of Canadians are inclined to join the United States. Interest in this notion would probably increase significantly if Quebec became independent.

THE U.S. INTEREST

We should be concerned about these developments because events in Canada directly affect the United States. Canada is our largest bilateral trading partner, the largest recipient of U.S. direct investment, and the purchaser of almost a quarter of our exports. We are partners in a Free Trade Agreement and in the proposed North American Free Trade Agreement. Cooperation with Canada is essential to the management of many North American environmental matters (water quality of the Great Lakes, for example), the operation of air, rail, and water transportation systems (the St. Lawrence Seaway is one example), the air defense of North America (which is now managed on a joint, integrated basis under the terms of the NORAD agreement), not to mention hundreds of other arrangements incident to the fact that we are contiguous.

Managing this vast relationship with post-referendum Canada will be a demanding task. For example, we will probably have to deal directly with provincial governments far more than is now the case. They will not speak with one voice, nor will they always agree with the federal government. Furthermore, there are significant regional differences and problems that will affect provincial policy—poverty in the Maritimes and increasing North-South economic ties in the West are two examples. This means that our trade, environmental, and political relations with Canada will become more complicated. We have had a taste of this already with such issues as the softwood lumber dispute, Great Lakes water levels, the maritime boundary disputes, provincial policies on wine and beer sales, and provincial environmental policies.

We should also recognize that our relations with any new government in Canada are likely to be more difficult than they are now, if only because the political cost of close relations with the United States can be high in Canada.

We will want and need good relations with Canadians no matter what their internal political arrangements are. We will also want and need good relations with Quebec if that province should become independent. We should start to think now about how to structure our relationship with our neighbors to the North in these new circumstances. Such a planning effort is also appropriate because, with the end of the Cold War, the nexus of U.S.-Cana-

dian relations is likely to be primarily trade and environmental matters—matters that will be increasingly subject to provincial influence.

Such an effort should be guided by several principles:

- We should continue to state that how Canadians manage their internal affairs is their business.
- We should also make it clear to Canada (including Quebec) that our interests will be affected by Canadian decisions on how to manage their polity; that we prefer to see a strong and united Canada because we believe that such a Canada offers the best way to continue and to improve existing cooperative arrangements between our two countries; but that we are prepared to work with whatever governmental structure upon which the Canadians may eventually decide. Thus we should be prepared for an independent Quebec and serious interest in some provinces in joining the United States in that eventuality.
- Finally, we should stress that we hope and expect that existing U.S.-Canadian trade, environmental, and defense arrangements will continue no matter what decisions Canadians may make about the future organization of Canada. Specifically, we should make it clear that we expect that an independent Quebec would be included (and would take the politically difficult but necessary steps to modify its economic subsidy policies to qualify for inclusion) in the Free Trade Agreement and the North American Free Trade Agreement. North American economic cooperation and integration are essential to us all. ■

Dwight Mason is a non-attorney partner at the Washington law firm of Storch & Bremer and is a member of the Atlantic Council's Working Group on Canada. He was political counselor from 1980 to 1983 and deputy chief of mission from 1986 to 1990 at the American Embassy in Ottawa.

BOOKS

Crocker's Handbook

HIGH NOON IN SOUTHERN AFRICA: MAKING PEACE IN A ROUGH NEIGHBORHOOD

by Chester A. Crocker, W.W. Norton & Company, 1992, $29.95 hardcover, 533 pp.

Reviewed by Thomas A. Shannon

Chester Crocker was a political lightning rod during his eight years as assistant secretary of state for African affairs. His largely successful effort to create an independent and sovereign Namibia, remove Soviet, Cuban, and South African influence from Angola and Mozambique, and forge the peace necessary for southern Africa's countries to embark on internal processes of change and reconciliation earned him the enmity of the right and the left. The ideological conflict and controversy that his diplomacy unleashed has resurfaced with the publication of *High Noon in Southern Africa*, Crocker's own account of his years as Ronald Reagan's most durable and effective State Department assistant secretary.

The *Washington Post's* Book World, in the guise of a January 10 review by Harvard lawyer Makau wa Mutua, reopened the debate with a harshly negative attack on Crocker's diplomacy and person. Unimpressed by the reality of Crocker's accomplishments, Mutua accused Crocker of following an "accommodationist" policy toward South Africa which left behind a region "devastated by war." Mutua's diatribe set the tone for a series of reviews and letters to the editor alternately praising and condemning Crocker. Lost in the smoke and the mud was Crocker's book, a remarkable account of a complex and difficult diplomacy of particular interest to American Foreign Service officers.

Thematically, Crocker's book can be divided in two. The first part of the book deals with the diplomacy and politics of Crocker's efforts to do what many considered impossible: create peace in southern Africa. The second part is a more general reflection on the lessons learned and how those lessons might be applied to other peacemaking operations.

In the first part of his book, Crocker leads the reader through the complex and tragic history of a region that has been at war since at least the early 1970s. He presents a series of historical circumstances that should have been enough to convince any diplomat to stay home: first, negligible U.S. influence in the region following our failed 1974 covert intervention in Angola; second, Soviet, Cuban, and South African military involvement in Angola's civil war; third, Namibia held hostage to South Africa's military ambitions in Angola; fourth, the turmoil within South Africa, as the apartheid regime slowly came to grips with the inevitability of change; and finally, South Africa's efforts to buy time by destabilizing and intimidating its neighbors.

The centerpiece of Crocker's diplomacy was UN Security Council Resolution 435, which sought to create a sovereign and independent Namibia. Recognizing that Namibia would not be free as long as Angola's civil war involved foreign powers, Crocker linked Namibia's independence to the withdrawal of Cuban and Soviet troops from Angola, and South African troops from Angola and Namibia. Through this strategy, Crocker hoped to create the conditions for national reconciliation in Angola and to undermine the security force regime, which was impeding the dismantling of apartheid in South Africa.

Crocker's account of his diplomacy is complicated and requires close, careful reading. The effort is worthwhile. Crocker describes a fluid process of exploration, coalition building, deal-making, and deal-breaking, which is a primer on how to conduct negotiations when faced with seemingly intractable circumstances as well as deep-seated animosity and distrust. That Crocker largely succeeded in achieving his goals is tribute to his skill and tenacity. It is also a tribute, as Crocker says time and time again, to the Foreign Service officers who worked with him. Crocker had the ability to attract talent. The reason why becomes apparent in his book, in which he regularly recognizes and pushes forward the desk officers, office directors, and deputy assistant secretaries who helped shape and execute his policies.

For those who believe that diplomacy begins at the water's edge, Crocker also describes in great detail the Washington politics that surrounded his southern Africa policy. Delving into the debates about military assistance to UNITA, the controversy created by "constructive engagement," and eventual imposition of sanctions, Crocker presents a Washington that is as familiar as it is distressing: unconcerned with the facts and intent on achieving domestic advantage. Crocker also sketches those on the right and left who, uncaring of the human cost, sought to live out their political fantasies in foreign lands. For the right, that fantasy was to crush communism; for the left, to liberate subjugated peoples and punish their oppressors.

In this regard, Crocker's book can be read as a companion piece to George Shultz's memoirs. Crocker's descriptions of efforts within the administration to undermine his policies, and the effective exploitation of those efforts by the South African government and security forces, make chilling reading. He also builds a strong case for the importance of moral courage and downright pugnacity in the successful execution of foreign policy.

In the second part of his book, Crocker steps back from the nitty gritty of his diplomacy to look at the broader lessons learned. Although short—less than 40 pages—these two chapters could have longer life and relevance than the diplomatic and political history that precedes them. Crocker's diplomacy was faced with circumstances suddenly familiar to us in the post-Cold War world: limited U.S. military and economic leverage, deep-seated antagonism between negotiating parties, and internal political turmoil and weakness that diminished the confidence and undercut the authority of negotiators. Crocker's description of how to use U.S. prestige and status as a lever and of the desire of parties to settle the dispute, despite their incapacity to do so themselves, has particular resonance in light of events in Bosnia and elsewhere. Crocker's description of the importance of multilateral diplomacy and coalition building—skills we have only partly learned—is also strikingly relevant.

Although Chester Crocker left the State Department in 1989, southern Africa still bears the imprint of his policies. In spite of Angola's continuing troubles, Crocker set in place the structure which, as the title of his book claims, is making peace in a rough neighborhood.

Thomas A. Shannon is labor attaché at the American Consulate General in Johannesburg.

Out of the Vortex

Whirlpool: U.S. Foreign Policy Toward Latin America and the Caribbean

By Robert Pastor, Princeton University Press 1992, $24.94 hardcover, 338 pp.

Reviewed by Cresencio Arcos

Robert Pastor has written a timely summary of U.S.-Latin American relations. His cogent presentation of this stormy relationship captures the essence of a "troubled marriage." In a *tour d'horizon* of most of the literature of the last 30 years, Pastor neatly traces this often-neglected aspect of U.S. diplomatic history. At its heart, *Whirlpool* is one more plea to U.S. foreign policymakers: Latin America is important to U.S. interests. The essential optimism of this plea, however, is undermined by the book's failure to address the Latin American issue of the post Cold War era: the culture of corruption.

What is the whirlpool? It is not until late in the book that Pastor gives us an explanation. According to Pastor's vision, policies in the Western Hemisphere flow from a whirlpool shaped by two different currents in the Caribbean Basin. "Each current represents a different conception of security, with the United States trying to exclude foreign rivals and Latin America trying to contain U.S. power," Pastor explains. The current from the north, "confident and dominant," collides with the "defensive and divided" one from the south, creating "four recurring problems: dictators, revolutions, development, and democ-

racy." An erratic U.S. policy toward the region reflects these conflicts, Pastor writes. The challenges recur, and "exhausted, Washington stops fighting the problems and floats to the edge, only to return to the center a generation later."

Professor Pastor is keenly aware of the Eurasian focus of U.S. foreign policy of the last 60 years. Noting the collapse of communism, the emergence of a United Europe and the rise of the Asian tigers, Pastor eloquently states his case. The end of the Cold War, while liberating, "did not...offer solutions to the hemisphere's recurring problems," Pastor argues. Rather, he posits, recent global changes afford U.S. policy-makers "time to learn from past mistakes and to use new opportunities provided by the more important demands of democracy and freer trade."

While Pastor is astute in describing the historical ebb and flow of policies and events in Latin America, his analysis of the future of the hemisphere is incomplete. With Soviet communism no longer the defining force in U.S. foreign policy, Pastor's optimism is understandable, but the author does not delve enough into what makes the Latin Americans tick, and for that reason his advice and predictions fall short of realism.

The history and culture of Latin America suggest that New England town councils and the Des Moines Chamber of Commerce will not necessarily be the democratic free-market models for most of our friends south of the border. Corruption and impunity so deeply rooted in the region will continue to thwart political and economic development and cause instability. Pastor is unclear whether U.S. actions can influence or improve this situation. The fact is that corruption is an endemic human condition, and each society must address the fundamental question of how to deal with it. In the United States we still pretend to honor virtue; in Latin America the powerful (and corrupt) are exalted. To be virtuous there is thought naive. This is now the real issue in Latin America, not whether "red rats" are causing mischief or the United States is seeking to intervene in the region.

The Latin Americans must determine the limits of their relationship with the United States. Macroeconomic reform, free trade and investment, and democratic celebrations are important for the region's development and for the future of the hemisphere. Ultimately, however, the impoverished people of Latin America will tell us whether the efforts and sacrifices are worthwhile.

Cresencio Arcos is U.S. ambassador to Honduras.

Foreign Service Daydream

TROPIC OF DECEIT

By Christopher Larson, William Morrow & Co. Inc., 1993, $23 hardcover, 303 pp.

Reviewed by Hume Horan

Jim Biggins, a consular officer in a small, visa-intensive Caribbean post, has just viewed a murdered American at the morgue. His reaction echoes that of our Jidda consul, years ago, in a similar case: "I've just seen Dr. Frankenstein's laboratory!" It's here the daydream starts.

The daydream goes on to stretch, but not quite to break the bonds of reality. Its ingredients are not unfamiliar and in the hands of this author—who briefly served in the Foreign Service in Dhaka—remain fictionally credible: there's a non-career ambassador, the salty station chief, a local gangster, Cuban intelligence, Jim, and Bobbi—a beautiful visitor who appears in Jim's office one day.

Jim Biggins is well-drawn. Literate, sincere, unglamorous—he worries constantly about overweight—he's also realistic and resilient. He bruises but won't easily break. He reminds me of no character so much as a young, clumsier, George Smiley. Bilbo Baggins also flitted through my mind. Bobbi is an island dream girl: a sort of Thorne Smith "Topper," a heroine with traces of Holly Golightly and the female lead in "Raiders of the Lost Ark." Aphrodite, even? Her survival skills are also well developed, in an artless, self-confident way.

The adequate plot moves along quickly and amusingly, helped by good dialogue and—from our Foreign Service standpoint—nice flashes of observation and description. One nods or smiles at: "I preferred Ben's rants to hearing for the 15th time how our Foreign Service compensation compared with what German diplomats got," (Jim). Or, "Cheer up, amigo—you look like your favorite gerbil died," (Bobbi).

At the end of the daydream...reentry. Are we, average men and women, really meant to consort with the Olympians who may come our way? Larson's denoument is another instance where Foreign Service readers will nod (and smile) in recognition.

At this writing, leaves and transfers are upon us—with *Tropic of Deceit* in your carry-on, Mr. Larson offers you a speedy and pleasant flight back to CONUS.

Hume Horan is ambassador to Côte d'Ivoire.

Lost in the Revolution

THE MAN WHO STAYED BEHIND

By Sidney Rittenberg and Amanda Bennett, Simon & Schuster, 1993, $25 hardcover, 476 pp.

Reviewed by Anne Stevenson-Yang

Short years after the opening of China, it has become almost inconceivable that millions could have willingly, even ardently, participated in the political movements that culminated in the Cultural Revolution, a sort of mass Animal Farm whose grim absurdity now makes former Red Guards shrug their shoulders with embarrassment. Although dozens of firsthand accounts have appeared, American psychologizing does not prevail in China, where the dominant tone is one of unapologetic reportage, and the reader gets the feeling that remorse is a function only of having been on the losing side. Very few writers on the Cultural Revolution, moreover, describe being anything other than victims, and one begins to wonder where, among all the clear-eyed persecuted, were the fanatic persecutors.

The political autobiography, then, of the American Sidney Rittenberg, known in China as Li Dunbai, has been eagerly awaited as the story that will make it all more intelligible to outsiders. One of a handful of foreigners who stayed in China throughout its revolution and the political movements of the 1950s and 1960s, Rittenberg is a true insider who lived with the revolutionary leaders in Yanan before they established the People's Republic, speaks impeccable Chinese, married a Chinese woman, and joined the Chinese Communist Party. Like many foreigners caught up in the revolution, Rittenberg became redder than red, a more dedicated Communist than most Chinese. Treated alternately as a celebrity and a traitor, he was given little opportunity to remain aloof from the conflicts. He suffered for his dedication and was, perhaps, steeled in it by years in prison that raised the emotional stakes on his involvement. Disillusioned at last, Rittenberg, writing in collaboration with *Wall Street Journal* reporter Amanda Bennett, examines how he came to devote himself so passionately to the Chinese Communist Party. The resulting book tells a riveting tale with disarming sensitivity and candor. Ultimately, however, it fails, as perhaps it must, to make us understand how a thoughtful, compassionate man willing to give over his life to the welfare of others could end up fomenting and participating in violence.

Dedicated in his college years to racial equality and pacifism, Rittenberg was drafted in the Second World War and trained in Chinese after showing an aptitude for hard languages. After the war he got a job in China as an observer with the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration (UNRRA), which was distributing grain to famine-stricken areas in the nation divided between Nationalists in the South and Communists in the North. As an observer, Rittenberg traveled for whole days without losing sight of corpses, yet he had to watch impotently while the Nationalists highjacked relief shipments to sell for export. By contrast, the Communists, who in the late 1940s enjoyed the moral authority and mobilizing energy of a young revolution, organized students to distribute every grain of

Books

relief rice to the hungry. Rittenberg's admiration was stirred for Mao Zedong.

Rittenberg managed to travel to Yanan, the Communist base area, with the help of Zhou Enlai, and he took up a job teaching English and working on English-language broadcasts. On the eve of the Communist victory, Party leaders asked him to go to Beijing to take on an important assignment. Excited at the prospect of a job in the new government explaining the Chinese Communists to a suspicious America, the 25-year-old got into the jeep that had arrived to take him to the future capital. The driver paused at a little house on the road, and when Rittenberg walked in, he was placed under arrest on changes of spying. That began six years in solitary confinement, the first of them in darkness and being given drugs that made him hallucinate.

Part of the sadness of the story resides in Rittenberg's description of his state of mind during this unimaginable ordeal. In what is probably a common response to brutality, he felt culpable for somehow failing as a Communist, and he accepted the imprisonment as a test of his revolutionary resolve. He emerged, with the official apology of the Communist Party, thoroughly identified with the party and broken in spirit. "I fought off panic attacks that came on me suddenly," he writes. "I was skittish and shy around uniformed people, whom I expected to begin issuing me orders at any moment. I was frequently hesitant lest I inadvertently break some rule."

By this time, Rittenberg's links to the United States had grown weak, and he doubted he had the emotional stability left to establish a life for himself back at home. He chose to stay and accept the job he was assigned. He describes his motivations for participating in the movements of the 1950s as essentially docility underpinned by a belief in the basic goodness of the system. He rationalized away the arrest and brutalization of friends and colleagues to meet quotas of "enemies" on the grounds that revolution required sacrifice, sometimes of innocents.

By the dawn of the Cultural Revolution, he had emerged from his emotional cage of fear, and his reactions seemed to echo those ascribed to Mao himself: he was frustrated by bureaucratization and missed the zeal of the early years that had motivated the country. He wanted more revolution. Rittenberg saw the Cultural Revolution as the beginning of true freedom in China—free speech, freedom of the press, and freedom to take political power. In the context of a society that allowed no freedoms whatsoever, he saw the violent seizure of power by groups of students not as an appalling descent into chaos but as revolutionary self-assertion, a sort of Boston Tea Party writ large. He so lionized Mao Zedong that he did not think it self-serving for Mao to condone the overthrow of the party cadres his own revolution had put in place. He became a prominent spokesman for the "leftists." Once Li Dunbai had served his purpose, however, his sponsor in the Central Committee turned against him, and Rittenberg was again imprisoned. This time he stayed in jail 10 years, until Mao Zedong died and the Gang of Four was overthrown.

Now living in Washington state, Rittenberg, 70, writes, "I have learned that whatever the world's problems—and they are grave—there is no one grand plan that will solve them. And I have learned that real change will not happen in the glorious tumult and clash of revolution, but rather in more measured and modest moves." It is sad that nothing except his own bitter experience could convince Rittenberg of these truths.

Besides describing a fascinating and representative odyssey, this book provides a close description of life within the citadel during that long-ago period when China could and did close itself entirely to the outside world. This sort of first-person account, meticulously described and without the distortions of vanity, is probably the best history anyone could write. ■

Anne Stevenson-Yang worked for three years for a Chinese magazine in Beijing.

The Blue Boats of Naples

By Charles Stuart Kennedy

While not included in the job description for the consul general in Naples, monitoring the view from the office windows is a responsibility that cannot be avoided. One side of the office provides a view of the city and Vesuvius, so a wise consul general, with the events of 79 A.D. never far from mind, tends to check frequently for volcanic activity. On another side can be seen the magnificent vista on the Bay of Naples, the Sorrento Peninsula and Capri. But the most fun was watching the activities of water-borne black market—the blue boats.

These were fast, wooden speedboats, about 20 feet long, Spartan in equipment except for the powerful engines. The boats all looked alike and were painted a dark blue. Each met all Italian Coast Guard safety requirements and was legally registered, but the boats existed for one purpose only—to smuggle cigarettes. Although owned by various individuals or organizations, all the boats were tied to the Camora (the Neapolitan equivalent to the Mafia) criminal underworld. At one time I could see 50 or so of these boats bobbing away in the marinas near the consulate general. The blue fleet

ILLUSTRATION BY THERESA AURICCHIO

would go out in groups of 10 or more to rendezvous with freighters loaded with cigarettes from Egypt, Tunisia, or some other Arab state. The freighters would stay just outside Italian territorial waters. Boxes, about 3 feet square, would be loaded onto the boats, some empty and some full of cigarettes so as to confound the *Guardia di Finanza* (Customs) officers who were following the operation on their own fast boats and sometimes in helicopters.

The real fun would start on the return trip. The little blue boats would criss-cross each other's wake at full speed, with the empty boats acting as decoys so that the real stuff could get through.

If Customs drew close to these decoy boats, the crews could heave the empty boxes over the side. Sometimes the *Guardia* scored, however, and picked up full boxes from the water.

The Customs people and the blue fleet moored their boats near each other, and both groups would set out together past Capri. The crews would chat as they went out to play their Neapolitan version of cops and robbers.

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As a battle moved toward the shore, it became a real spectator sport, causing people to lean out of their office and apartment windows. Often a Customs helicopter would join the chase, but it could do little except keep track of the blue boats until the Customs boat could catch them, which was not easy. There would be one "command boat" for the blue fleet, which had a walkie-talkie and could direct the maneuvers. When the boats came close to the shore they zipped to the sea wall, tossed the boxes to a waiting van, and took off.

Customs would always make a few arrests and confiscate a few boats during these battles. If a boat's two-man crew was arrested and convicted, their families were taken care of by the smugglers' organization until they returned to the fray; it was similar to occupational insurance.

At one point the *Guardia di Finanza* became too successful, so the sellers of black-market cigarettes on the street went on strike (this was before my time). These vendors—mostly elderly ladies—demonstrated in front of the mayor's office. The people of Naples did not like to have to pay a stiff tax on legal cigarettes, and the combined weight of unhappy customers and street vendor-black marketeers and their families forced the mayor to put pressure on the *Guardia* to ease up its anti-smuggling activities. The war between the *Guardia*'s boats and the blue fleet went on, but it was never allowed to be won. ■

Charles Stuart Kennedy was consul general in Naples 1979-81.

Normandy Landscape June 1944

by
Howard R. Simpson

❖

It was a beautiful day on the Vire
with marshmallow clouds
scudding
through an eye-blue sky.
A small rowboat swung with the
current
close to the charred landing.

The corpses in feldgrau drifted by
slowly,
whirled in circles, bumped
together
gently and reversed in back-eddies
like small, soft logs.

A lone cow stood knee-deep in the
water,
its muzzle buried in the yellow
slime.
When the wind was right the
thump of
artillery carried from the south.

❖

A Taste for Teashops

By Polly Clingerman

Petticoat tails, pikelets, parkin, flummery, tansey, treacle tart, spotted Dick. The quirky names of British sweets almost demand that the treats be tasted. Who could resist crumpets and crumbles, oaties and fools?

You find these delights in British teashops—cozy, cheerful places with old and young dears ready to serve you a cuppa to go with the sweets or to offer a bit of advice.

One afternoon I eyed a big square of pastry with a golden, sugar-glazed top and raisins and caramel oozing out of the thousand-layered, rough-cut edges. "I'll have the lardy cake," I said.

The red-checkered dear behind the counter pursed her lips. Wouldn't I prefer a nice bit of jam tart? The Lardy Cake wasn't at its best today. "It should be nice and greasy, you see," and today's evidently wasn't. My urge to taste it dimmed considerably, and I had jam tart. But the golden, gooey layers kept teasing at me until one day I ordered a square, which fortunately was of the desired greasiness. It was served warm. Under the crackly sugar top, a thousand tender layers of yeast dough oozed caramelized sugar, cinnamon, raisins. Greasy, maybe, but this was heaven.

British pastries are homey. They are untidy. Their edges crumble; their fillings ooze. I imagine British teashop bakers as comfy souls, not the arty sort who produce tarted-up, not-a-crumb-out-of-place French confections. What French patisserie would serve an untidy, caramelly lardy cake or a fruit tart whose crust shattered because it was so tender and whose fruit oozed out? French pastries are the soul of elegance and refinement, and often taste as if all the goodness had been fussed right out of them.

You can keep their dry apple and plum tart, their *clafoutis* and *mille feuilles* and iced *gateaux*. I'll take unpretentious British baking every time.

Here are a couple bits of British tea-shop sorcery. Try the wickedly rich caramel shortbreads or opt for a classic scone. Serve it hot, split, and buttered, with a pot of jam and a bowl of clotted Devonshire cream or, more realistically, some dense, unsweetened whipped cream. (Heap the cream on, then the jam.)

PLAIN SCONES

2 cups flour
2 teaspoons baking powder
¼ teaspoon salt
¼ cup sugar
¼ cup firm butter or margarine, cut in small pieces
½ cup raisins
½ cup milk (approx.)

Preheat oven to 425 degrees. Sift flour, baking powder, salt and sugar into a mixing bowl. Add butter and rub it into the flour with your fingertips until it is like fine bread crumbs. Toss in raisins. Add enough milk to make a soft dough you can roll out. On a floured surface, roll dough to ½-inch thickness. Cut in rounds. Bake on a cookie sheet for 12 to 15 minutes or until golden. Makes 18 2-inch scones.

CARAMEL SHORTBREAD

This wonderful shortbread has a chewy caramel top and a chocolate glaze. It's disgustingly rich.

Shortbread

1⅓ cups all purpose flour
½ cup plus 1 tablespoon cornstarch
½ cup (1 stick) cold butter, no substitutes
⅓ cup granulated sugar

Preheat oven to 325 degrees. Sift flour and cornstarch into a large bowl. Cut butter in little pieces and rub it into the flour with the tips of your fingers until there are no large lumps. Add sugar and knead until the dough binds together, is satiny smooth, and you can't feel any sugar grains. The secret of good shortbread is to knead it enough.

Turn dough out on lightly greased cookie sheet and pat it into a ½-inch-thick square—it will be about 6 inches.

Bake in center of oven for 30-35 minutes or until pale gold and firm to the touch. It mustn't brown. Cool on the baking sheet.

Caramel Layer

(Cut amounts in half for thin layer)
½ cup butter or margarine
⅓ cup granulated sugar
2 Tablespoons light corn syrup
½ cup sweetened condensed milk

In a small, heavy saucepan place butter, sugar, syrup, and sweetened, condensed milk. Stir over low heat, let it boil steadily, stirring constantly, until a deep gold color about 15 minutes. (The darker the color the more chewy the caramel.) Cool the caramel for a few minutes until it is spreading consistency and spread it over the shortbread.

Chocolate Topping

4 ounces semisweet chocolate

Melt the chocolate in a double boiler over hot, not boiling, water or in a microwave. Pour chocolate over the caramel, covering it completely. Spread it evenly and firmly with a knife so that it adheres to the caramel. Make swirls in the chocolate with a fork.

It will take several hours for the chocolate to set completely. When it is firm, cut the shortbread into fingers. Store in an airtight container until ready to serve. Makes approximately 25 bars. ■

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IN MEMORY

James H. Bahti, 69, died of heart complications in Fairfax, Virginia on April 24.

Bahti, born in Hancock, Michigan, received a bachelor's degree from Michigan Technological University and a master's and doctorate in political science from the University of Michigan. He served in the Army during World War II.

Bahti's Foreign Service career included service as consul general in Dhahran, Saudi Arabia and Alexandria, Egypt; he also served in Germany and India, and as deputy director of United Nations peacekeeping forces on the Sinai Peninsula. He retired in 1983 and worked for the State Department in the office of Historical Documentation Review.

Survivors include Anita, his wife of 45 years; two sons, Thomas, of Sobieski, Wisconsin, and Timothy, of Ann Arbor, Michigan; a sister; and two granddaughters.

Claire Teresa Burgess, 72, wife of retired U.S. Agency for International Development officer Roger E. Burgess, died at her home in Vienna, Virginia, on March 19, following a long illness.

A lifelong volunteer and civic activist, Burgess began her public service as an aircraft spotter and later worked as a boilermaker and welder while her husband served in the Army Air Corps. When the family moved to McLean, Virginia, she was active in the formation of the McLean Boys Club.

In Ankara, Turkey, where her husband was labor officer, she established English-language training classes and supported a children's hospital and orphanage.

In the mid-1960s, her husband was assigned to Vietnam and she was "safehavened" in Bangkok, where for six years she organized the Saigon Wives Club to help family members cope with separations.

In 1973, the family returned to Virginia, where Burgess continued her volunteer activities. She was recognized by Fairfax County as one of the "Most Active Volunteers of the Year" in the 1980s.

Burgess' survivors include her husband, Roger E.; four sons, who are all in the Foreign Service: Roger Jr., in Managua; John F., with USIA in Washington; David, in Washington; and Christopher T., in Washington; a daughter, Claire T., of Melbourne, Florida; seven grandchildren; two sisters, and three brothers.

Everett F. Drumright, 86, a retired ambassador, died after a brief illness in Poway, California on April 24.

Drumright retired as U.S. ambassador to The Republic of China in 1962, after 32 years in the Foreign Service. A graduate of the University of Oklahoma, his first post was in Juarez, Mexico, where he served as vice consul. He then served as language officer throughout China, moving from Hangzhou to Beijing, Shanghai, Shantou, Nanjing, and Chongqing. He also had assignments in London and Tokyo. In 1945, he became chief of the Division of Chinese Affairs. He then held posts in Seoul, New Delhi, and Bombay. In 1953, Drumright was named deputy secretary of state for Far Eastern affairs. He received the personal rank of minister as consul general in Hong Kong and Macao. He retired in 1962 and traveled throughout the world before settling in Poway.

Survivors include Florence, his wife of 38 years; and a brother, Aaron, of Ottawa, Kansas.

Mary Jane Barry Hancock, 78, wife of Foreign Service officer Robert A. Hancock, died April 3, at her home in Spotsylvania County, Virginia.

Hancock was born in Toledo, Ohio, where she studied, performed, and taught ballet for several years. Later she worked in Washington, D.C. for the federal government. In 1938 she married and traveled to many countries with her husband in support of his Foreign Service assignments.

The Hancocks moved to a 90-acre farm in 1972. In later years Hancock became a recognized painter specializing in water colors. She donated her time giving art therapy to Orange County nursing home residents.

Survivors include her husband, two daughters, Joann Hallahan of Yachats, Oregon; and Mary Jane Anderson of Springfield, Virginia; and three grandchildren.

James M. McCarron died after minor surgery on April 12 in Newport Beach, California.

McCarron served in the Navy during World War II as a photographer and cinematographer and later joined the U.S. Information Service. He served in Iran, Korea, Turkey, the Philippines, Kenya, and Swaziland.

He is survived by his wife, Corinne, and by two sons, Gregory, of Huntington Beach, California and Timothy, of London, England.

Helen M. Oxford, 74, a retired Foreign Service secretary, died of cancer at her home in Springdale, Arkansas on April 23.

Oxford served more than 28 years in the Foreign Service including posts in Colombo, Bonn, Pretoria, and Sofia. In 1974 she retired to Springdale, where she continued her interest in international affairs by corresponding with countless Foreign service friends throughout the world.

Oxford is survived by two brothers, three sisters, two stepbrothers, two stepsisters, and several nieces and nephews. ■

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Foreign Service Reform

from the *Foreign Service Journal*, July 1943

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FOREIGN SERVICE QUIZ

Indigenes

1. In the area of which U.S. state or states did the following Native American tribes originally primarily reside?
   a) Arapaho, b) Cherokee, c) Chocktaw, d) Chumash, e) Comanche, f) Menominee, g) Nootka, h) Paiute, i) Seminole, j) Tlingit

2. In what countries do (or did) the following Ibero-American indigenous peoples live?
   a) Araucanian, b) Cayapo, c) Cuna, d) Guarani, e) Miskito, f) Taino, g) Toltec

3. Identify the principal home country of the following African peoples.
   a) Fang, b) Herero, c) Kalenjin, d) Kru, e) Makonde, f) Mbuti, g) Nuer, h) Oromo, i) Wolof

ANSWERS
1. a) Colorado, b) North Carolina, c) Mississippi, d) California, e)Texas, f) Wisconsin, g) Washington, h) Nevada, i) Florida, j) Alaska
2. a) Chile, b) Brazil, c) Panama, d) Paraguay, e) Nicaragua, f) Puerto Rico/Hispaniola, g) Mexico
3 a) Gabon, b) Namibia, c) Kenya, d) Liberia, e) Tanzania, f) Zaire, g) Sudan, h) Ethiopia, i) Senegal

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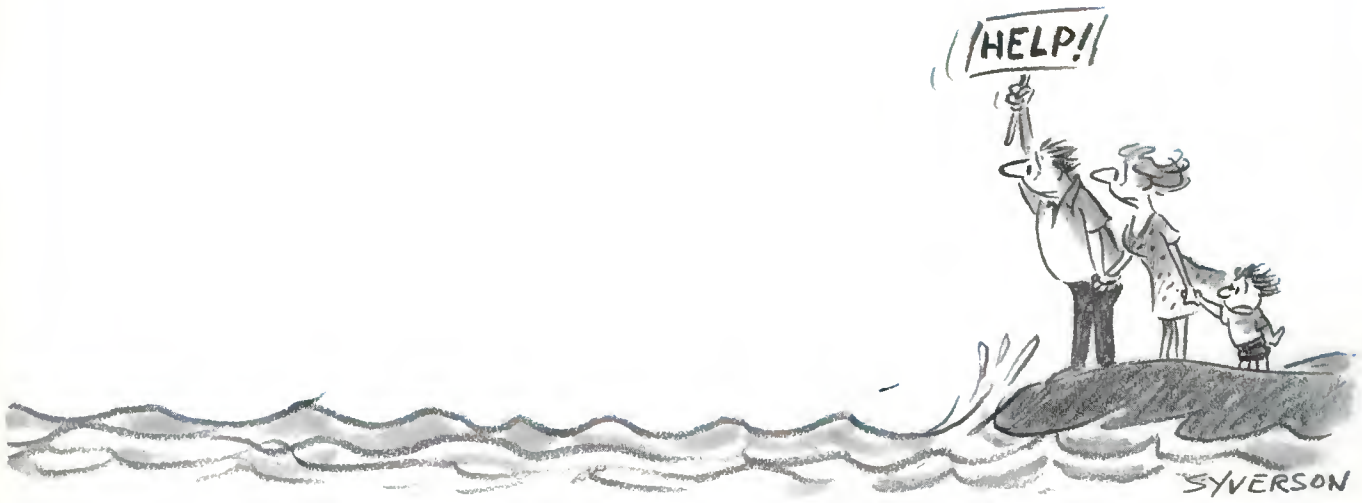

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