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ARTICLES BY THOMAS R. PICKERING AND DAVID CALLAHAN

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AFSA VIEWS

AMBASSADORS

The *Dallas Times* called me recently. They were on a fishing trip for an article about "political" ambassadors. Would I want to speak on the record? Off the record? On deep background? I began to feel as if someone's security clearance were being updated. I replied that I wouldn't play the gossip columnist. But I'd be glad to talk about how important ambassadorial selections were for our country. AFSA in fact had a duty to speak clearly on this and other professional issues. If we lapsed into lowest common denominators, as government often did, why exist? The public affairs bureaus of our parent agencies would gladly do our job for us.

I explained that AFSA is disposed to favor career over non-career ambassadors for both labor union and professional reasons. As a labor union, AFSA holds that more career selections are simply better than fewer—although we don't like to get lost in the statistics game. As an organization of professionals, moreover, AFSA believes that career appointees in most cases are better. The worst that could usually be said against them is: "They're uninspiring, safely dull."

I stressed, however, that AFSA has no reflexive bias against non-career appointees. We profoundly believe that the overriding consideration in ambassadorial nominations should be the candidate's fitness. The contemporary record proves that in these times, no embassy is so remote or unimportant that it can safely be entrusted to an incompetent ambassador.

The average citizen might find it hard to judge how well or poorly an ambassador does his or her job. Successes or failures are rarely reported back home. But the public should know that if we are to be successful in doing business with foreign governments, these transactions cannot all be done in Washington and at the cabinet level. Much has to be done in the field by the ambassador—part composer of U.S. policy and always conductor to the orchestra of agencies in the embassy. It should be self-evident, to pursue the image, that the ambassador should be able to read sheet music and have played an instrument himself.

But above all else, the public should know that an American ambassador can have very high visibility in some foreign capitals. We should understand that foreign governments and publics will judge our country and our civilization partly by the attributes of our ambassadors. By selecting an ambassador, we explicitly tell the world how we choose to be represented. Accordingly, AFSA rejoices at the appointment of non-career chiefs of mission such as Robert D. Stuart Jr., Angier Biddle Duke, Barbara Watson, and Dr. Elliott Skinner—to say nothing of Mike Mansfield, James Bryant Conant, or Edwin Reischauer. Conversely, we groan when certain other names are put forward.

At bedrock, AFSA's position is this: patriotic Americans should feel sad and angry when an ambassador is sent abroad who causes our great country to be laughed at.

— HUME HORAN

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THE COVER:

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FEATURES

FOCUS: MULTILATERAL DIPLOMACY

DEPARTMENTS

MONDAY-MORNING CRITICISM

To The Editor:

I read with disappointment James Gormley's opinion piece, "Reflections of a State Department Drug Warrior" (June *Journal,* page 31). While the piece may be a reflection of Gormley's personal experience and feelings, it is badly dated and shows little relationship to current policy. Gormley describes a problem—the magnitude of the drug threat—of which we are all too aware. As Gormley notes, he spent the last years of his Foreign Service career in drug control positions in Washington and overseas. In fact, directly before his retirement two years ago, Gormley served in the Bureau of International Narcotics Matters for six months. If he had ideas or suggestions on how to improve our then-emerging drug policy, he never expressed them to me during that time.

Gormley's broadside indictment of U.S. drug policy does not stand up under scrutiny. He blames the "war on drugs" for tearing societies apart, when it is obvious to even the most casual observer that it is the drugs themselves and not the efforts to eliminate them which are provoking misery, crime, and corruption.

Gormley also claims that "no one in State has regarded the [drug] issue as more than an irritant." When drug control is now one of the underlying elements of much of our foreign policy in many parts of the world, this view is simply wrong. President Bush has made the drug war a critical element of his national strategy and participated in two international anti-drug summits in the past two years. How much higher a level of interest can one get?

The article ignores the successes of the past few years. To the extent that the anti-drug effort is a war, it is a war of small but important advances. It is like fighting a forest fire. The area burning attracts the cameras, while what counts is the ground gained. Taken separately, our advances may look insignificant, but cumulatively they will be the solution to the problem. For example, thanks to an active program by all governments concerned, the Andean coca crop, which until 1990 had been increasing by as much as 20 percent a year, has stabilized in Peru and declined for the second year in a row in Bolivia and Colombia. The once-powerful Medellin Cartel is essentially out of business. Does this mean that we have dealt the drug trade a lethal blow? Of course not. But it is this kind of steady, although not always "newsworthy" accomplishment which, over time, will bring the drug problem under control.

Gormley's observations about his experience in Mexico under an earlier administration are perhaps of historical interest but have little bearing on current U.S.-Mexican cooperation. When President Salinas took office, he made it clear that he intended to improve anti-drug cooperation with the United States. As a result, cocaine seizures in 1991 tripled over those of 1988 (roughly 50 metric tons in 1991 versus a little more than 15 in 1988), while cultivation of opium and marijuana has been cut by 43 and 67 percent respectively since 1989. In short, while Mexico is still a major source and conduit of illegal drugs, its performance has improved dramatically since Gormley's days.

Gormley is certainly entitled to his views on the drug problem, but his outdated information does not take into account the significant progress we and other countries have made in dealing with this difficult and complicated issue. We need imaginative, practical suggestions for dealing more effectively with the drug threat, not Monday-morning criticism from the far bleachers.

Melvyn Levitsky
Assistant Secretary for International Narcotics Matters ■

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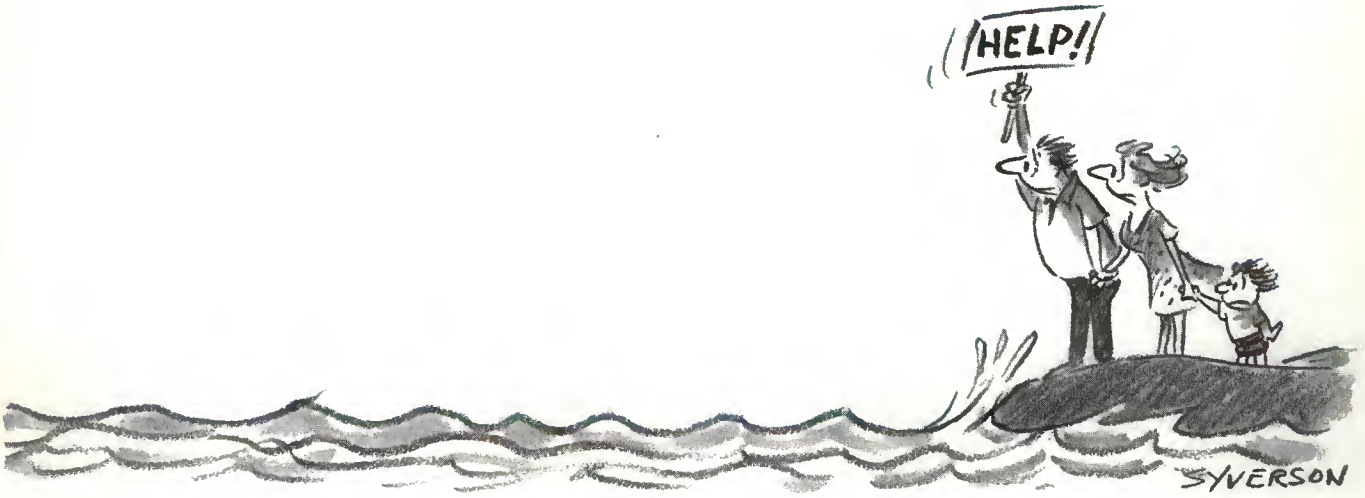

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DISORIENTATION

Time, May 25, 1992

Now that the "Evil Empire" has collapsed, many U.S. conservatives are eager to convert the Chinese to capitalism. Their nostalgic solution: Radio Free China. The project would cost $10 million to launch and $34 million a year to operate. Among its critics is Chinese dissident Nien Cheng. . . . Cheng notes that millions of Chinese are already devoted to Voice of America.

SLOW-MOTION COMMITTEE

National Journal, March 28, 1992
By Christopher Madison

The [Senate] Foreign Relations Committee, struggling to be relevant at a crucial time in world history, is hampered by a less-than-energetic chairman [Claiborne Pell, D-RI]. This, after all, should be a comeback year for Foreign Relations. With the end of the Cold War and the demise of the Soviet Union, and with the Bush Administration still striving to define its own post-war agenda, there is ample room for the panel to move.

But so far, it isn't working out that way. In fact, the committee is finding it no easier than President Bush is to make the transition into the post-Cold War era, some members of the panel admit. . . . Richard Lugar [R-IN], the No. 2 Republican, was blunt in his judgment: "The committee as a whole is not really a major player in this business," he said.

When Secretary of State James Baker comes to the committee for his annual testimony on the administration's foreign aid budget, it is usually a bland ceremonial session. Members appear reluctant to challenge him on major policy questions, and praise and pleasantness are the order of the day.

Foreign assistance is cited by some critics of the committee as a prime example of its failures. . . . "This should be the year we focus on foreign aid . . . ," a Democratic staff aide said. "Right now, it's basically a Cold War tool. . . . but the political environment just isn't there" to overhaul the program because of the unpopularity of foreign aid. Democratic Staff Director Geryld Christianson, however, holds out hope that the committee could make some progress, "We could have a total rewrite or amendments to the Foreign Assistance Act. It's hard to say what will happen until we get into hearings."

But a weak chairman remains at the heart of the committee's woes, and most foreign policy specialists don't expect any improvement until Pell's chairmanship ends . . . in 1996.

TOO GOOD TO LAST

Los Angeles Times, April 27, 1992
By Stanley Meisler

[There is] a widespread view among American and foreign officials . . . that Secretary of State James A. Baker III is transferring [UN Ambassador] Thomas R. Pickering to India because Pickering did his job too well.

Baker's problem with him, according to this view, was subtle and complex. Pickering succeeded because of his ability to think quickly and negotiate swiftly without waiting for Washington to plot his every move and word.

But that independence . . . annoyed Baker and his coterie of top aides. It made them feel Pickering was not under control.

"Pickering would say things at the United Nations," says a staff member of a key decision maker at State, "that were not contrary to State Department policy and might even have logically followed State Department policy but had not been specifically approved by the top people. . . . As a result, Margaret Tutwiler got upset when she was asked questions about something that Pickering said and [she] did not know how to reply. These people do not like someone who is out of their control."

The public spotlight on Pickering at the United Nations exacerbated the problem. "Tutwiler thinks that publicity is a zero-sum game," says a former American diplomat who also worked as a UN official. "In her view, any publicity that anyone gets detracts from Baker." ■

Internment in Rome

Published in the Journal, *July 1942*
by Elbridge Durbrow, second secretary, Rome

The first flash announcing the attack on Pearl Harbor was heard in Rome at 10:20 p.m. We went immediately to the chancery to put into motion the prearranged plans drawn up in case of such an emergency. As we were gathering up the records to burn and were stoking the furnace to the bursting point, none of us realized that for more than five months we would be "prisoners of war deluxe."

Although Italy did not declare war until December 11 . . . we anticipated our departure from Rome within a few hours after the expected Italian declaration of hostilities. The British and French had been rushed out of the city within 48 hours; they would not give us more time, we reasoned.

[On December 11] George Wadsworth, the chargé d'affaires, was asked to call at the Foreign Ministry at 2:30 p.m. He was received by Count Ciano, who announced to him, with Fascist salute and in all formality, that, as of that day, a state of war was considered to exist between the United States and Italy. . . . Informed of the action to be taken in Washington regarding the members of the Italian Embassy there, the following action [was] to be taken by the Italian government.

We were to be permitted to remain in Rome and to reside in our own homes . . . but each member of the staff would have assigned a plainclothes guard who would accompany him wherever he went, and our telephone would be cut. . . . We were asked not to frequent public places or try to contact Italian friends, although we would be allowed to do necessary shopping.

As regards official business, it was agreed that we would be permitted to continue to deal directly with the Foreign Ministry in matters relating to our repatriation and could communicate directly by telegraph through the ministry with the department and the American legation at Bern.

Many minor and sometimes disagreeable problems arose in connection with the necessary adjustments to our "guarded life," but in the end we . . . made friends with our keepers and carried on as usual as far as the rules would permit. It was particularly trying for the women to be followed wherever they went. . . .

To permit all members of the staff to enjoy a bit of leisure during the day, a staggered schedule was set up with someone on duty from 9 a.m. to 9 p.m. With our outside activities curbed . . . arrangements were made for recreational facilities in the chancery and garden. The ambassador's office was made into a club room, baseball equipment was obtained, a ping-pong table set up, a croquet course laid out. Most of the staff gathered each day to hear the 1 p.m. news and to read the department's radio bulletin, which was received as usual.

The principal diversions outside the chancery were walking, sightseeing, and bridge. We could not attend the opera or cinemas or be seen in restaurants or other public places.

In general, our guards, who were ordinary, underpaid, somewhat stupid plainclothes policemen, were quite pleasant as long as one could jolly them along a bit. They were as bored guarding us as we were to have them with us. . .

Although there were many irritating things connected with our "imprisonment" and it was far from pleasant waiting month after month in a very artificial atmosphere in an enemy country, looking back on our "ordeal," it could hardly have been less onerous. On the same day that the *SS Drottningholm* [the repatriation ship] finally sailed from New York, the first special train pulled out of Rome for Lisbon. The fourth and last train left Rome on May 13 carrying the bulk of our staff. . . . We were at last homeward bound. ■

DESPATCH

Inspecting the Inspector at USAID

There are members of USAID's Foreign Service who think of him as the agency's J. Edgar Hoover—suspicious, vindictive, eager to think the worst. But USAID's Inspector General, Herbert Beckington, made clear before the Senate Committee on Governmental Affairs in May that he sees his role more as a righteous Avenger, an Elliot Ness bent on rooting out corruption in an agency he believes is extraordinarily likely to yield to the temptations of malfeasance. The reasons, he suggested in his testimony, are, first, that USAID employees work with bureaucracies abroad in which corruption is institutionalized, and, second, that the agency is embattled, and inevitable demoralization may be eroding standards of conduct.

But in answer to questions from Committee Chairman John Glenn, Beckington backpedaled somewhat on previous statements from his office claiming that the agency's white-collar crime rate is "higher than that of Detroit and most other major cities." "Some of the problem may be a statistical fluke," he said. Beckington explained that USAID might have the allegedly high rate of crime among top-level employees because a large proportion of the agency's employees are highly graded. "Almost one out of every five employees is graded at the Senior Foreign Service level," he said. Therefore, "there is a far higher statistical probability [in USAID] that the criminal may be a high-level employee."

At the May 20 hearing, Beckington, a former director of personnel in the Marine Corps and consultant to the Senate Foreign Relations Subcommittee on Foreign Aid, also acknowledged that both the President's Council on Integrity and Efficiency (PCIE) and the General Accounting Office would be conducting independent reviews of his office's integrity and effectiveness. An FBI investigator has been charged with fact-finding in the PCIE investigation.

Senator Glenn called the hearing to consider charges of improper practices against the offices of the inspector general in USAID, the Department of Energy, and the Army, and particularly to hear concerns that whistleblowers have been subjected to retaliation. AFSA's Vice President for USAID, Priscilla Del Bosque, testified on behalf of USAID employees, claiming that colleagues are "being targeted, secretly investigated, discredited, and financially abused because they crossed wires with IG staff."

Prior to the hearing, Glenn had sent a strong letter to Beckington citing several cases of alleged IG misconduct.

"[E]mployee confidence in the IG system is nearly non-existent," Del Bosque said. "In fact, there appear to be widespread feelings of fear, mistrust and intimidation." She added that retired IG employees had said "IG audits are frequently chosen on the basis of whether indicated management weaknesses can be exploited and reported upon—not on whether the audit subject matter is of important consequence in A.I.D.'s overall mission and operations," and "the IG's investigative policy encourages criminal prosecution of high-ranking A.I.D. officials on the basis that public embarrassment will in some way have a salutary effect on the behavior of others."

Prior to the hearing, Glenn had sent a strong letter to Beckington citing several cases of alleged IG misconduct and quoting cables sent to AFSA from USAID employees expressing their apprehension about the IG's office. "Many USAID staff in [location deleted] came to regard the staff of General Beckington as savage outlaws," was a typical comment. The letter also included allegations that IG staff had abused travel regulations and attendance policies, among other things. Beckington was unavailable to comment.

Asked at the end how he intended to ameliorate the atmosphere of mistrust and resentment that prevails at the embattled agency, the inspector general stressed the importance of his office's outreach efforts—brochures, presentations in agency training courses, the distribution of detailed audit guidance, etc. He also suggested that he has made the IG's investigation methods tougher, to deal with what he perceives as an environment that breeds criminality. "I am the inspector general of an agency responsible for the management and accountability of billions of dollars of U.S. taxpayers' resources annually in what is arguably the most vulnerable environment conducive to fraud, waste, abuse, and mismanagement that routinely confronts any federal agency—the Third World. I am also the inspector general of an agency whose management and accountability performance, documented over a long period of time by my reporting and that of the GAO, with little or no

By Anne Stevenson-Yang

record of successful corrective actions, have resulted in the past year and a half in three formal outside inquiries, two of which continue today."

Referring to the controversial "audit representation letters" that USAID managers are asked to sign attesting to the truthfulness of information given by contributors to an audit report, Beckington added, "I believe that my decision taken near the end of 1990 to employ the representation letter standard in performance audits of my agency's programs and activities was a responsible, even necessary one, given the environment in which I must carry out the duties of my office."

The inspector general's testimony contained an aside intimating that the agency for years furthered the strategic objectives of the Cold War and may have outlived its usefulness.

"With the demise of the Cold War, the always unpopular subject of foreign aid is the subject of increasing debate" as to form, content, and level of funding, Beckington told the committee. "A great many Americans see foreign aid as an adjunct of the great defense burden our nation has had to shoulder."

Asked after the hearing whether he believed USAID should be abolished as an independent agency, Beckington said that it is too early to make that judgment. Asked further whether he believed it was part of his job to accelerate the political decision-making process about A.I.D.'s fate, he answered that it was not.

Ironically, other witnesses before the committee testified to strong institutional inertia and resistance to criticism that have made whistleblowers' complaints go uninvestigated or even be used as cause to persecute the complainant. No one says that the IG's office at USAID lacks zeal; instead, some USAID employees fear that the IG is so in sympathy with those who would end the agency's independent existence that inspectors are using the auditing process to quicken the death march.

Going but not forgotten: AFSA Vice President Priscilla Del Bosque came to swell the applause at an awards ceremony for exemplary employees at the Agency for International Development early in June, not realizing that one of the awards was destined for her. After all the other prizes had been given out, the presenter announced a special, surprise award from USAID management for integrity and excellence. The citation read: "For tireless and courageous leadership in enhancing the pride of A.I.D. employees by reaffirming publicly their integrity and effectiveness in executing the development mission of A.I.D." Del Bosque is leaving AFSA for a new assignment to Cairo.

Perot's Folly: For readers who missed Barbara Walters's interview on May 29 with H. Ross Perot, we reproduce his response to the question, "How would you change the State Department if you were president?"

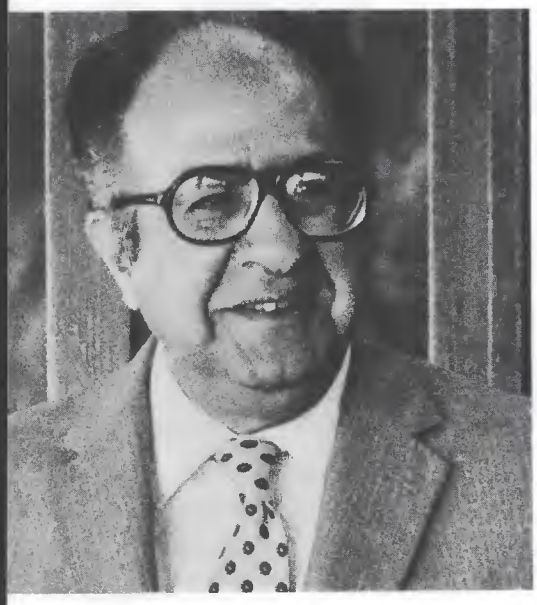
"Well, first off, the embassies are relics from days of the sailing ships. At one time, when you had no world communications, your ambassador spoke for you in that country. But now, with instantaneous communication around the world, the ambassador is primarily in a social role. If some American walks in with a problem, at least in all my experiences, you're treated [as being] sort of a nuisance. And I would recommend that we redo the whole embassy structure. I don't think it has relevance anymore." ■

Readers should note that the Despatch column represents the opinion of its author and not of AFSA or the U.S. Foreign Service.

PHILIP HABIB
A Remembrance

◆

Philip C. Habib died in France on May 25 of a heart attack. His extraordinary service to the United States included extensive work as acting head of delegation at the Paris Peace Talks, ambassador to Korea, assistant



secretary for East Asian and Pacific affairs, under secretary for political affairs, presidential envoy to the Middle East, and a number of other important diplomatic missions, including to the Philippines, Central America, and the Caribbean.

Following are reminiscences by friends and colleagues of Phil Habib.

I met Phil Habib when I was invited by Ambassador Lodge to Vietnam to write a report on the situation as I saw it. I went into his office, and he said, "I bet you are one of these Harvard smart-alecks who think they know everything. I won't talk to you until you visit a number of the provinces, and then I *may* talk to you."Phil was irreverent, he was dedicated, he was the ideal Foreign Service officer.

The foreign policy of the United States does not depend on any one administration. The national interest and the basic values of the United States are permanent, though our political system encapsulates them into brief periods, and it is the Foreign Service that has to provide continuity, analysis, and integrity to the permanence of our foreign policy. I know no one who embodied these values better than Phil Habib.

He believed that there was some relationship between the views he held and the decibels with which he expressed them, and so, no respecter of personalities, he would present his views in a seemingly truculent manner. But those of us who loved him knew that he was our conscience. After he had his say, he would execute the decisions efficiently, loyally, and without any attempt to reverse them with the usual Washington methods. He was an idealist who knew that foreign policy must deal with necessities, but in the end, its dilemmas can be resolved only by the compass course of strong moral convictions.

I saw him 24 hours before he died, at the Bilderberg Conference. I was sitting with a friend, and Phil came up to me to say goodbye, and he said, "Boss, you're getting too fat. You know, when you've had a heart problem, you've got to take care of yourself." And I said to my friend, "Phil was my conscience, even if he brutalized me from time to time in pursuit of our foreign policy." And Phil replied, "What I am really proud of is not the policies we did together, but that, after you left, I saw to it that Secretary Vance and you remained in close and frequent contact."

To Phil, foreign policy and the Foreign Service represented the meaning of his life, never to be identified with any one person, but with the values of our country and the ideals of our society.

— Henry Kissinger, Former Secretary of State

◆

Phil Habib was one of my closest friends, and I will miss him terribly, more than I can say. We met 24 years ago, when Averell Harriman and I were sent by President Johnson to represent the United States at the Vietnam peace talks. I had never met anyone quite like Phil before. As you all know, he came on strong, but inside there was no gentler, more compassionate man.

As I found when I inherited Phil as under secretary of state from Henry Kissinger in 1977—one of Henry's most important bequests to me—foreign policy was not an abstraction to Phil. He did not believe much in geopolitical theories or in the rarefied atmosphere of government bureaucracies or universities. Foreign policy, Phil argued, should be made by men and women who had

dedicated themselves to understanding foreign countries, and it should reflect basic American interests and values.

The highest compliment Phil would bestow on any of us was "professional," the greatest insult, "amateur." But if Phil were here, he would now be very impatient with me. "Cy," he would say, "that's enough about me. Remember that I was only a Foreign Service officer doing my job," then he would insist that I say something about his Foreign Service—our country's splendid Foreign Service.

After his obligations to the president and the secretary of state, nothing about his career mattered more to Phil than the U.S. Foreign Service. He was obsessed by it, sometimes enraged by it, but always defending it. Phil railed at what he regarded as his country's failure to understand how well the Foreign Service could defend its country's interests abroad if given a fair chance to do so. He berated politicians, political appointees, and the press for denying the Foreign Service a front-row seat in the high councils of government, but he also challenged the Foreign Service to earn its place at the table by becoming indispensable, as he was, to decision-makers.

Phil Habib inspired all of us. He shunned recognition, but he fought for what he believed was right for our country for as long as he lived, and I know he will continue to do so in the afterlife.

— Cyrus Vance, Former Secretary of State

◆

It is customary on occasions such as this to emphasize the deceased's virtues and to minimize his faults. In Phil Habib's case, the task is difficult, inasmuch as Phil's faults and virtues tended to be one and the same: his candor, courage, and downright cussedness. But I am certain that Phil would prefer us, anyway, to remember him exactly as he was, warts and all. Indeed, anything less would have brought forth the top-of-the-lungs eloquence we all came to know so well.

And so I have to begin by confessing that to have been Phil's friend was to have done battle with him, not once or twice, not in one venue or one crisis, but at all times and in all places, even in retirement. He was as tough as they come, and I have the scars and bruises to prove it, as do most of us here today.

But Phil was no bully. To those who worked under him, he inspired lifelong loyalty and fanatical devotion. Phil preferred rather to pick on his superiors. He was, for example, one of the very few people I ever knew who could bring Secretary Kissinger to a screeching halt. Henry would begin a meeting by announcing his decision on the question at hand, and there would be Phil Habib bellowing that the secretary of state had no right to act without first hearing him out. (I tried the same tactic with Henry on more than one occasion, but it never seemed to work for me.)

Alas, almost everything conspires against the emergence of a Phil Habib in the Foreign Service—from the promotion system to the practice of diplomacy, to the politicians who decry timidity and conformity in the Foreign Service but in fact will usually tolerate nothing else. Part of Phil's secret, of course, was his strength of character. He was a man of real passions and opinions which the system, miraculously, never managed to squeeze out of him.

But more importantly, Phil Habib was driven by the need to conform to something higher than mere ambition; he needed to conform to his own conception of what the Foreign Service was all about. For Phil, the Foreign Service was an elite—not of the pinstriped and pampered, but of experts in a given field. He believed FSOs had one overriding duty: to render honest judgments on the basis of their expertise. They were paid, in short, to tell it like it is, regardless of the preconceptions of superiors and regardless of the consequences for one's career. And for this, a Foreign Service officer needed guts—guts to walk into a Beirut under siege, guts to walk into the Oval Office or up on the Hill and tell the truth as he saw it.

Still, the question remains as to how Phil got away with such independence. I think Leslie Gelb of the *New York Times*, in his recent op-ed article, put his finger on part of the answer, namely, Phil's conviction that the FSO, whose first obligation was to speak his piece, had an equal obligation thereafter to hold his peace and implement loyally and unquestioningly whatever decision his political superiors arrived at. Phil's loyalty and patriotism were such that he enjoyed the confidence of presidents of both political parties, which is, after all, the way it should always be with the Foreign Service.

I cannot tell you that Phil succeeded in his every endeavor. The older he got, the more presidents tended to hand him missions impossible. But those of us who practice diplomacy know that in most cases we are confronted with situations without solutions, and that our task is often to work for the better rather than the best, and above all to avoid the worst. They say that war is the failure of diplomacy, and in this sense Phil was as responsible as anyone for our nation's greatest diplomatic triumph: the winning of the Cold War by diplomatic means.

But his greatest legacy is to be found among the legions of FSOs who worked for him and whom he inspired. To them, he held aloft not the image of a spoiled Foreign Service critics love to ridicule but of an honest and courageous Foreign Service critics appreciate even less. Those FSOs will keep the spirit of Phil Habib alive and pass it on to the next generation of American diplomats. They will keep alive, above all, the lesson of Phil's career: that you can have guts after all and still succeed in the Foreign Service, and at the same time serve the national interest of this wonderful country of ours.

— Lawrence Eagleburger,
Deputy Secretary of State

◆

While I never had the pleasure of working with Phil Habib as secretary of state, I did have that privilege as White House chief of staff and secretary of the treasury.

His distinguished career represents the Foreign Service at its very best. Even as we mourn his passing, all of us in the department—career and non-career, Foreign Service and Civil Service—should draw strength and inspiration from Phil's example.

His plain-spoken honesty, unfailing integrity, and passionate commitment to excellence in the service of his country are well worth emulating as we work together to deal with the historic chal-

lenges and opportunities of the post-Cold War era.

— James A. Baker III, secretary of state

◆

Phil Habib was far more than our country's top diplomat. He talked tough, thought fast, and acted with a deft touch. He used his exuberant sense of humor and his capacity for grand theatrics as persuasive accompaniment to his argument. He was the guardian of the Foreign Service, and I salute him for his extraordinary contributions to our country. He had a great capacity for friendship, and as a close friend, I will miss him deeply. His inspiring example will stay with me.

— George P. Shultz, former secretary of state

◆

Twenty-five years ago, a group of young Foreign Service officers launched the first-ever write-in election campaign for AFSA. They sought to wrest control of the association from State Department and Foreign Service "management" and make it representative of the members of the Service. They won every seat on AFSA's board.

Phil Habib was one of a handful of senior officers who supported these "Young Turks" and legitimized their campaign. He then became AFSA's first "Young Turk" president.

One of us was with Phil the weekend before he died in May. He spoke with pride of his role in helping set AFSA on a course that it has since maintained.

Courage was one of Phil's hallmarks. So was devotion to a disciplined Foreign Service. His professional standards were of the highest, and no matter what courses AFSA pursued, what mattered most to him was professionalism.

Tough, courageous, blunt, discreet, outspoken, loyal, Phil Habib was a true friend, a model for our profession, a great American.

— Charles W. Bray and Theodore L. Eliot Jr., former members of AFSA's Board of Directors

◆

When the Israel Defense Force (IDF) drove north into Lebanon in early June 1982, the pace of political-military action outstripped traditional Foreign Service reporting practices. West Beirut was patrolled by terrorists and under siege by Israeli artillery and aircraft. Our embassy was out of action. Habib's base of operations was in the hills to the east near the presidential palace, from which he could survey the conflict and conduct negotiations with and through the Lebanese government, the warlords of the various militias, the PLO, the Syrians, and the Israelis, and try on the side to keep the French, Saudi, Dutch, Italian, Vatican, and UN representatives happy. By the time a memcom had been drafted, carried by courier to be cabled, and read in the department, Habib would have gone through three or four new rounds of his effort to negotiate the evacuation of Arafat and his PLO fighters by sea and prevent an Israeli conquest of an Arab capital.

At this point the "tacsat" entered diplomatic history. As director of the Office for Israel and Arab-Israeli Affairs, I began virtually to live in the department, talking to Habib five to 10 times a day, relaying reports, and conveying instructions over the regulation-issue army field radio set up in a back room of the old, unimproved operations center. The information age had not yet dawned on most minds, and the idea that this radio signal was beamed up by this little open-umbrella-like device at the window to a satellite and then down to Habib at *his* army field radio in Baabda was almost unbelievable.

Habib would rant and rave and shout and swear at me for 15, 20, sometimes 30 minutes at a time. He was up against one of those nearly unbearable dilemmas of diplomacy: Israeli military pressure was needed to push the PLO to give Habib their decision to leave Beirut, but the pounding the city was taking was inhumane, and prevented travel back and forth among the negotiating representatives. At 3:00 a.m. August 4 Habib was raging at me on the tacsat. The shelling was the worst he had seen in eight weeks of war. We had to get the Israelis to stop, Habib screamed. In my other hand was a telephone over which I was talking to Deputy Chief of Mission Bill Brown in Israel. Brown was at that same moment also holding two receivers: talking to me over one and talking to Prime Minister Menachem Begin on the other. Begin was calmly denying that any shelling was taking place; this had just been confirmed by Defense Minister Ariel Sharon. I relayed this to Habib.

"Oh yeah?" he said, and held his tacsat receiver out of the window. I counted the unmistakable crump of eight 105-mm howitzer shells fired in the space of 30 seconds from IDF artillery batteries just below Habib's window. I told Brown to tell Begin what Habib had done and what I had heard. When Brown reported Begin's continued assurances, I told him that at that moment Habib was watching Israeli airstrikes hit the city—and Habib was letting us hear them as they happened.

It was to me a memorable moment in Foreign Service reporting. It seemed to have struck the Israelis that way too. I was later told that Sharon had noted that he would have fired any officer who based his reports on such a tenuous chain of evidence. More significantly, the episode revealed Phil Habib in full force: ingenious, irreverent, outrageous, theatrical, overwhelming in his emotional and intellectual commitment to his country, to human life, and to the "service" as fundamental to progress toward peace and justice.

Phil Habib was the master of the tirade. He let you have it, at the top of his lungs. It was stuff you didn't want to hear, but you knew he was right, and you never took offense, because underneath the shouting and the wild gesticulation was the constant, undeniable presence of a human being who was unwaveringly kind and good and honest. I've noticed, over the years, that a few of the Foreign Service officers who worked with Phil Habib, myself included, sometimes try to emulate his style; we never quite get it right, but it often gets results. Phil Habib created a new dimension of diplomacy, one which is wholly American: direct, refreshing, and effective. His style and his substance are a legacy that will last.

— Charles Hill, former executive secretary of state

◆

Phil's integrity and moral courage were total. I have seen him dress down a tough and slippery ambassador for trying to pull a fast one on him. I have also seen him stand his ground with an overbearing and over-confident secretary of state when he felt strongly that his boss was about to make a wrong move.

One vignette: Phil found himself on one occasion at Lyndon Johnson's side at a conference in Hawaii. As Phil told it, LBJ asked him what he wanted to do next, and he replied. "Mr. President, I'm a Foreign Service officer and I'll go where I'm needed." Back in Paris, Phil moaned facetiously,"Can you imagine how stupid I was! The president of the United States offered me any job I want, and I muffed it!" But that was Phil: he would not latch onto the president's casual offer to feather his own nest.

Phil Habib was one of a kind.

— Robert H. Miller, former ambassador

◆

Right before I interviewed with Phil for a job as his special assistant in Political Affairs, I was told by one of the other special assistants that Habib absolutely abhorred people with long hair. Having both long hair and a full beard, this already trembling junior Foreign Service officer about to be interviewed by the department's highest-ranking FSO did not exactly gain confidence. The interview went remarkably well—it consisted of discussions about Vietnam, the Middle East, and other subjects about which I had some passing knowledge—until the end, when Habib remarked: "Why does a person who seems to have some intelligence look like a hippie?" My heart sank.

I was shocked a week later to get a call from Phil offering me the job (and not even suggesting that I get a haircut). All the time that I worked for him, though, I did hear at least once weekly about my hairy tendencies.

Another time, Phil returned to the office looking extremely haggard after a grueling trip to the Middle East and the Soviet Union. As the early person among his special assistants, I told Phil that he looked really bad and suggested that he lie down. I came back to check on him 10 minutes later and saw that his appearance had worsened. I told him I was going to call an ambulance. His response: "Don't you dare, I am just a little tired and need to catch my breath. I will be OK. You young Foreign Service officers panic too easily." Over his protests I called the ambulance. He was administered last rites that evening following what turned out to be a massive heart attack. Never one to give an inch, well after he recovered Phil would remind me that I had acted precipitously in phoning for the ambulance.

— Thomas J. Miller, Foreign Service officer

◆

In the past 10 years or so I used to see Phil or talk to him on the phone fairly frequently. We always seemed to have the same conversation. He would open by attacking me for "sitting on my behind" in general, or allowing my superiors to do some stupid thing, or insufficiently defending the Foreign Service, or all three. In fact he would often call and blame me personally for some egregious political appointment to an important embassy.

Our cycle became a familiar one. I would react to his attacks by attacking him. We would inevitably get into a shouting match that, in the end, did not work either. He liked all this probably a lot more than I did.

Phil was one of a few Foreign Service officers who became known to a wider American public. He loved and deserved the recognition. But probably nobody compared to Phil, either when he was in or out of the government, in dedication to the State Department as an institution.

People say Phil was the last of a breed. I think of him, with his magnificent but unusual array of qualities, as the first of a breed too. We don't have Habibs today in Washington, but that is another tale.

— Morton Abramowitz, President, Carnegie Endowment for International Peace

◆

Phil Habib was the towering Foreign Service figure of our time. Scores of the most senior officers in the Foreign Service remember serving under Phil as the most memorable, most challenging, and most satisfying part of their careers. With Phil, work was always first, indeed, consuming. But equally, working with him was sheer fun, with his wit and his readiness to take as well as give blunt, unvarnished advice.

Phil loved the drama of great political events and, with boyish delight, gloried in being an actor on the world stage. To the end, his pride in representing a nation that let him rise to the highest professional ranks was evident. At the same time Phil remained from beginning to end the same man—decent, loyal, and dedicated to the basic ideals of freedom, justice, and compassion. Phil never advocated a dishonorable action. While he recognized that realism was the first essential ingredient in foreign policy, it was not the only one. For Phil, justice and support for democratic institutions were equally part of the foreign policy equation. Phil discovered human rights far before the term became popular.

Phil lived his life as he wanted—to the fullest and to the end. He also remained at heart a Lebanese boy from Brooklyn who marveled at having made it in the big time, and loved the country that had let him do it.

— Daniel A. O'Donohue, Foreign Service Officer

◆

Phil left an indelible imprint on my approach to life and work in the Foreign Service. He immersed himself with total commitment to whatever he did, whether at work or play. And he applied the same holistic philosphy to his personal relations. As a political officer under Phil in Saigon, I really got to know him extremely well. Perhaps it was the camaraderie of serving at a war-time post; maybe it was the tail end of an era in the Foreign Service where we all seemed to get to know each other much better. Whatever the case, both in Vietnam and later in the Paris Peace Talks, Phil was without a doubt the shrewdest, most colorful, and genuinely concerned Foreign Service officer I have ever known.

Whenever we complained of overwork, Phil reminded us there were 24 hours in every day and he had no use for unfinished business. He insisted that we take verbatim notes at meetings (heaven help you if you missed an important word or phrase) and he demanded instantaneous reporting thereafter, no matter the time of day or night. Phil gave the Foreign Service work a relevance that inspires and encourages me to this very day. I wish he had lived longer so more young officers could have come to know him.

—John Negroponte, ambassador to Mexico ■

AIRLIFT MINSK

Jump-starting U.S. aid to the former Soviet republics

Red Army cadets pose for U.S. Air Force photographers, Red Square.

On a cold and dark day in early February, I found myself on the tarmac of the airport in Minsk, capital of the newly independent Republic of Belarus. I was surrounded by the foreign minister of Belarus, other senior officials, Belarus reporters and TV crews, a convoy of Red Army trucks and soldiers, and four other Americans. It wasn't difficult to pick us out. We all wore dark blue arctic parkas with American flags and the insignia of the On-Site Inspection Agency (OSIA) prominently displayed. Promptly at 2:30 p.m., a huge U.S. Air Force C-141 appeared out of the overcast sky, touched down, and taxied over to the reception committee. The soldiers and Belarus officials had prepared a warm welcome to the crew of this longstanding, former adversary to thank them for the plane's cargo, 25 tons of medical supplies and medicines in short supply. ▶

ARTICLE AND PHOTOS BY ARTHUR S. LEZIN

Red Square with pollution.

Two weeks previously I had been contacted by USAID at my home in Sunriver, Oregon and asked if I would be interested in a crash project to be carried out over the next three to four weeks. I would join a five-person team to distribute food and medicine at an as yet undecided location in one of the republics of the Commonwealth of Independent States (CIS). It didn't take me long to say yes. A State Department briefing on the project was scheduled to begin in Washington D.C. in exactly 48 hours. I made it.

Potluck provisions

The meeting was chaired by Ambassador Richard Armitage, Secretary of State Baker's choice to plan and manage this phase of U.S. assistance to the commonwealth. Military uniforms predominated on the stage and in the audience. The ambassador and his staff, joined by the director of USAID's Office of Food and Humanitarian Assistance and officers from the Defense Department and the Joint Chiefs of Staff, described the multi-donor effort to provide 54 (later expanded to 65) planeloads of food and medical supplies to 15 cities in 11 republics. (Georgia was omitted because of the security situation there.) The commodities had been stockpiled in Europe for "Operation Desert Storm" and, fortunately, never used. The flights grew out of the January donor meeting called by the Secretary of State to consider ways of providing immediate assistance—a "jump start" to help smooth the way to a market economy and democratic institutions. While it was recognized that the assistance provided by the airlift was meager compared to the need, it demonstrated our willingness to join with other more substantial donors such as the European Community and the Federal Republic of Germany. Further, if all went well, the airlift could signal the beginning of U.S. involvement in the long-term restructuring of the commonwealth economies. The flights, therefore, were likely to have a psychological impact in the CIS far greater than the tons of food and medicine they carried.

Armitage explained that a target of three weeks had been established to complete the airlift, called "Operation Provide Hope." Given the time constraints, the need for sure lines of communication, and the critical importance of logistic questions, he chose to place the teams under military leadership, in this case OSIA. There were other compelling reasons to pick the agency responsible for monitoring Soviet compliance with arms reduction treaties. OSIA military personnel had experience in Russia and many of the other republics in mid-winter, and they had Russian-speaking inspectors and interpreters.

Getting the flights in and out of CIS airspace was only a means to an end, however. Care would have to be taken to insure that the food and supplies reached those truly in need. Leakage and diversion to the black market would be a double disaster, disillusioning CIS populations about the nature of the new leadership and jeopardizing future flows of U.S. assistance. We were told that getting the local press involved early on was the best insurance against having the donated supplies show up in the bazaar or central market. Transparency was what we should strive for. Along with

The author in Belarus

the others from USAID, I was expected to play a critical role in this non-military aspect of "Operation Provide Hope."

Meaning in minutiae

The 15 target cities and the assigned teams were announced. I would have been hard pressed to locate some of the cities—Bishkek, Kishinev, Yerevan—on a map. Suddenly, I heard Minsk followed by my name and those of my fellow team members. Paul Petersen, our team leader, was a Navy commander on loan to OSIA. Lee Clausen, a non-commissioned officer with OSIA, was a Russian linguist. Both had completed arms control assignments in the Soviet Union. Lawrence Ervin, a second USAID employee en route from his post abroad, would join us at the airport for the flight to Frankfurt and Moscow. We would pick up the fifth member of our team, Eduardo Trujillo, an army sergeant and interpreter, in Frankfurt.

When the briefing resumed, questions were fielded from the team members. Many of them centered on logistic details: payloads, availability of unloading equipment, access to deicing machines, minimum runway length, landing rights and fees, the expected number of crew members, press, or VIPs on board.

"How will we pay for fuel and transport, for instance, should it be necessary to do so?"

"Each team will be provided with cash," was the answer.

"When will we know the exact contents of the flights scheduled for our location?"

"As soon as the planes are loaded." (Unfortunately, we never did get the manifests in time to work out the distribution before the flights arrived.)

"Will food shipments going to the Moslem populations of Kazakhstan, Azerbaijan, and Tajikistan include pork?"

"Yes . . . remove the items in question and arrange their distribution to non-Moslems."

"Will there be instructions in Russian on food preparation?"

"We'll try and get them to you," was the answer. In practice, our team had to do without.

Last-minute preparations

The next day, the last before departure, we pressed the Russian Embassy to produce our visas in less time than ever before. They came through. We then checked out the use of COMSAT, our 84-pound, suitcase-sized satellite telephone and fax link with Frankfurt and Washington and were outfitted by OSIA with the latest in cold-weather gear. It came in handy, although, fully garbed, we resembled astronauts prepared for a moon walk. Finally, we were given our advance in $20 bills. Travel was so cheap outside of Moscow that we returned with most of the money. Also, the local authorities often insisted on paying our expenses.

At dinner in Frankfurt, with all members of the team on board, Paul went over the OSIA restrictions and prohibitions that were designed for U.S. military working on treaty provisions in the Soviet Union. The prohibitions on cameras and tape recorders did not apply to us. Paul advised us that a minimum of two team members would be required for any activity out of the hotel, but this was quickly jettisoned once we were established in Minsk. It didn't make sense in that non-threatening atmosphere. (When we returned to Washington, we found that other team chiefs were not so pragmatic, and their refusal to relax the rule had been a source of friction with team members.)

I leafed through the briefing materials on the flight to Moscow. Belarus, or White Russia, is bordered by Latvia, Lithuania, Poland, and Ukraine. The population is 10 plus million. Education levels are relatively high, and the economy has a broad industrial and agricultural base. Belarussians are proud of their language and traditions, but a Ukrainian type of nationalistic fervor does not exist there. Belarus was directly in the path of the German invasion in 1941 and was occupied longer and had higher losses (a quarter of the population) than any other part of the Soviet Union.

Fast relief

In Moscow, we spent most of the day in briefings at the embassy. We were told that the Soviet Union's comprehensive system of support for the disadvantaged was still operating. We could expect that orphanages, homes for the elderly, and mental hospitals would have access to the food and medicines that were available. However, pensioners, invalids, and all those living alone and on fixed incomes were suffering. Relief or humanitarian aid committees (with representatives of both public and private organizations) were functioning in most of the target cities and should be contacted as soon as possible.

A light snow was falling as the train to Minsk left from the Belarus Station at 9:30 p.m. At the station we had bought tickets for the 10-hour journey at 90 cents each for three deluxe, two-person compartments. When we were boarding, the woman controlling access to the car admonished us that we had not

bought tickets for foreigners, but her unhappiness, and the fact that the heat could not be turned down, were the only problems we encountered.

It was still pitch black when we arrived. With some difficulty we managed to get to the 22-story Byeloruskaya Hotel and found they were expecting us. The dimly lit lobby was filled with video games, mercifully silent at 7 a.m. Stocky women were mopping the stone floor with rags attached to wooden handles. We unpacked and waited for the dining room to open. One whiff in my room convinced me that the Clean Air Act was not yet part of the Belarus legal structure. The window had been taped shut, and I opened it with difficulty. What felt like a sub-zero gale blew in, scattering the papers I had unpacked. I was not able to close the window completely for the balance of my stay. When we were finally allowed in the dining room, our team had no complaint with the fare: omelette, cheese, cole slaw, dark bread, and tea.

Chernobyl mission

Our first visit was to Aleksey Anatolievich Mozykhov, chairman of the Chernobyl Department in the Ministry of Foreign Relations, which was established to seek assistance and manage its distribution after the April 1986 disaster.

The next day, the last before departure, we pressed the Russian Embassy to produce our visas in less time than ever before. They came through. We then checked out the use of COMSAT, our 84-pound, suitcase-sized satellite telephone and fax link with Frankfurt and Washington and were outfitted by OSIA with the latest in cold-weather gear.

Mozykhov proceeded to educate us in passable English on the somber medical and budgetary consequences of Chernobyl. Belarus, according to Mozykhov, absorbed 70 percent of the fallout from the explosion of the nuclear reactor. Some 600,000 people have been affected out of a total population today of 10.3 million (that population declined between 1979 and 1989, while Russia's increased); cancer among children, particularly thyroid cancer, is up significantly; and 22 percent of farmland is unusable. More than 200,000 Belarussians are living on contaminated land. Many are still exposed to impermissible levels of radiation, Mozykhov told us, but there is no place or money to move them. Prior to the breakup of the union, Belarus had received limited help from the central government. This no longer exists, nor do they receive any assistance from Ukraine—a sore point, he said.

Over the next few days we met with the minister of Health, the Humanitarian Commission, and authorities at the airport. Their cooperation left little to be desired, and they needed no advice from us on the importance of a seamless, black-market-proof operation. We passed on what information we had on the contents of the first flight (expected in two days). Initially, the gov-

ernment leaned toward dividing the first shipment of medical supplies among 14 hospitals and clinics in and around Minsk. They then decided, and we agreed, that this would have been impractical. Instead they opted to send the entire contents of each flight to medical facilities in regions hard hit by the Chernobyl fallout. The first flight was earmarked for the Regional Cancer Clinic, a 320-bed facility in Mogilov, 200 kilometers southeast of Minsk.

The key person at the Humanitarian Commission was Ludmilla Nikolaevna Syroyegina. She knew everyone, was steeped in history of the region, and took us under her wing, giving us advice on everything from restaurants to the ballet, getting around the city (subway was the warmest and cheapest), and arranging meetings with anyone in the government knowledgeable about long-term needs for aid.

Small change

In Minsk, we saw no food lines, common enough in Eastern Europe the previous winter. Stores and shops were crowded, although many items were in short supply. Up to the time of our visit the government had managed to minimize the effects of inflation by having employers issue coupons with paychecks. Most merchandise required coupons, presumably unobtainable by visiting Ukrainians or Russians. Prices were bizarre. Gasoline was 6 cents a gallon. The bill for the five of us, even in quite respectable restaurants, often came to 150 to 200 rubles, a dollar or two at the current rate of exchange. The subway cost 30 kopeks or one-third of a cent.

It didn't take us long to realize that the momentous changes stemming from Belarussian independence had not seeped down to waiters and waitresses. We established a daily prize for the worst service. One early winner was the waitress who ignored us for a considerable period and then threw down a luncheon menu and expected us to order instantaneously. When we could not conform to her schedule, she blurted out, "You are tormenting me with time." Another winner was the woman in charge of the dining room at our hotel who sometimes refused to seat us even though there was the usual expanse of empty tables. "We can't serve you; we're expecting a big group. Come back in 30 minutes." When we returned, the big group had not yet materialized and we were still unwelcome. We tried to convince her that this was not suitable treatment for guests. Finally, we were able to sit down but not before receiving her salvo: "What do you expect? This is the Soviet Union."

At last the day for which we had been preparing arrived. We set up our COMSAT in an airport building reserved for VIPs near the tarmac and quickly established contact with Frankfurt. Our flight had left on schedule. The airport manager was awestruck by the speed with which we deployed the small antennae and dialed Germany; he had been trying, unsuccessfully, to talk to the control tower so he could pass the latest weather information on to us. At one point he shouted at the poor operator, "Look, the Americans have been here five minutes and they already have spoken with Germany. Don't you think

Ludmilla Nikolaevna Syroyegina, director of Humanitarian Commission, Minsk

I could at least manage to talk to the tower?"

Getting out the goods

It took several hours to unload the plane and distribute the contents to the waiting army trucks. Small clusters of crew members and Red Army troops not involved in the unloading were exchanging packages of American cigarettes for items of clothing. Crew members freely gave away pins and candy bars. Soldiers and airport employees entered the plane to look around. I found myself standing next to the deputy foreign minister. "Please don't misunderstand," he answered, "but I'm saddened that, at this stage in our history, my country has come to this."

The key person at the Humanitarian Commission was Ludmilla Nikolaevna Syroyegina. She knew everyone, was steeped in history of the region, and took us under her wing, giving us advice on everything from restaurants to the ballet, getting around the city (subway was the warmest and cheapest), and arranging meetings with anyone in the government knowledgeable about long-term needs for aid.

When the plane had been completely unloaded and the aluminum palletes restowed on board, the Belarus officials insisted on busing the crew to the terminal where they had prepared dinner. The pilot was anxious to leave, but this was an offer he couldn't refuse. Finally, as darkness descended, the huge plane took off for the return flight.

Our team tagged along with the convoy to the Ministry of Health warehouse, where we monitored the unloading. The only door was padlocked and sealed with a stamp. The authorities wanted us to know that no one would be able to tamper with the shipment overnight.

The good news was that the ministry car picked us up at the hotel, as promised, the next morning. The bad news: the driver didn't know how to find the warehouse. None of the reloading for the Cancer Clinic in Mogilov could start until we arrived. "I'll phone," the driver informed us, and disappeared. At such times one could take comfort in the much used Russian phrase, *nichevo nepodelaish* (nothing can be done about it). After what must have been the longest phone call in modern Belarussian history, the driver returned and we made it to the warehouse without too much difficulty.

It was immediately clear that there were not enough trucks. The ministry representative reluctantly agreed and

started the complicated process of obtaining additional transport. Our call for reinforcements was supported by the medical director of the Mogilov Clinic, Victor Ivanovich Bryknov, who had traveled to Minsk to insure that all of the promised supplies reached the clinic. While we were waiting for the trucks, we started chatting with the warehouse employees. Shyly at first, they began to ask us about life in the United States. A few years ago, they told us, we would not have had a chance to talk to you. "If we had seen you at all you would have been guarded and isolated by security people."

At last the trucks were ready to go. Eduardo and I were to accompany the shipment; Victor Ivanovich led us to his tiny Moskvitch sedan and introduced us to his driver, Vasily. He would finish the paperwork and catch up with us by the time we reached Mogilov. I asked Vasily about radiation levels in Mogilov with more than academic curiosity.

Victor Ivanovitch said that he had business in Minsk and that he would drive us. This was good news, since there were no flights that day and the train wouldn't have gotten us back before dark. The countryside was barren, bleak, and covered with snow. Occasionally we passed huts in poor repair. The two-lane road wasn't bad, but traffic was sparse. The landscape resembled nothing so much as an underdeveloped Third World country.

"Nothing to be concerned about," he said, while he extricated a Geiger counter from the glove compartment.

"When did you first learn about Chernobyl?" I asked.

"The explosion occurred on April 26," he said. "There was a brief announcement of the fire on the radio with no indication that the population in Belarus was at risk."

Mogilov is directly in the path of the prevailing wind from the Ukraine. On May 1, Vasily took his girls to the traditional parades, along with thousands of others, even though it was highly dangerous to be outdoors. A month passed before the general public was told what had happened. The government's callous secretiveness apparently brought back bitter memories, and talking about it temporarily derailed Vasily's good humor. Nobody spoke for a few minutes, then he said, "You know, up to 10 years ago we believed we lived better than anyone else in the world."

"Did you think pictures of life in the West were fakes?" I asked.

"We never saw them," he replied.

Eat, eat

After four hours in the fetal position (the Moskvitch is no threat to Japanese or any other imports) we arrived in Mogilov. The street lamps were off because of electricity shortages. Every so often I could pick out moving figures in the snow. There was a welcoming committee in the courtyard of the clinic and we were greeted with bear hugs and excited, rapid-fire Russian. Nicolai Nikolaiavich Pacutin, the assistant medical director, led us through the rundown and dimly lit corridors to the director's office. Nicolai opened the door with a flourish to reveal a table covered with wonderful smelling dishes. Bottles were stacked on the sideboard. Victor Ivanovitch, who had just arrived, stood behind the table with three female doctors on his staff. Everyone was introduced, chairs were produced, and we were urged to *"kushet, kushet"* (eat, eat). Our hosts started drinking a mixture of vodka, cognac, and a local vermouth. One sip convinced me that it would solve Aeroflot's fuel shortage. Everyone was extremely curious about our lives, and the conversation was warm and intense. Tatanya placed her hand on mine and said, "I've never touched an American before." Around midnight they relented and agreed to drive us to the hotel. Nicolai didn't give up, and wanted me to go home with him even after he'd carried my bag to my room. Luckily, I was able to remember the Russian for "Sorry, but I'm going to bed." Nicolai left, obviously unhappy that fate hadn't sent him an

American with a capacity for drink closer to his own.

He picked us up the next morning, as agreed. In the daylight the clinic buildings were a sorry sight. Several patients in bathrobes were lounging in the courtyard, impervious to the cold. Victor Ivanovitch said that he had business in Minsk and that he would drive us. This was good news, since there were no flights that day and the train wouldn't have gotten us back before dark. The countryside was barren, bleak, and covered with snow. Occasionally we passed huts in poor repair. The two-lane road wasn't bad, but traffic was sparse. The landscape resembled nothing so much as an underdeveloped Third World country.

The Kremlin Museum, Moscow

The last details

The second and last flight, another 25 tons of medical supplies, arrived the day after we got back to Minsk. The entire cargo was earmarked for the regional emergency care hospital in Gomel, 300 kilometers from Minsk, in a region also hard hit by the fallout from Chernobyl. We decided to avoid the hassle of temporarily warehousing the supplies in Minsk by loading directly onto trucks for Gomel. It was 6 p.m. and almost dark when the convoy finally was ready to go. Two team members went along to check out the hospital. They arrived at midnight and didn't finish unloading until 2 a.m. They made it back to Minsk in time for the team to take the night train to Moscow the next evening.

Ludmilla Syroyegina, Mozykhov, and Ivanov insisted on taking us to the train. First, we had to check out of our home away from home, the Beloruskaya. We had been told that our rooms would be the ruble equivalent of $45 a night, a "special" diplomatic discount. Instead, we were charged 630 rubles, or $6 a night. When I questioned my bill the cashier thought I was objecting because it was too high. "But, *Gospodin,* you had two beds in your room." The five of us and our luggage didn't fit in the van Ludmilla and friends had brought. By the time we had found a taxi we were seriously behind schedule. At the station we ran down the track, lugging our stuff, frantically looking for our car. The Foreign Ministry officials were running alongside while pressing gifts into whatever free hands they could find.

At the embassy in Moscow the rumors of another assignment were confirmed. Two C-5 flights of food to Moscow had been split up and shipped by road to Smolensk, Brest, and Tula, but no arrangements had been made for their final distribution. We were to get to Tula (three hours by train south of the capital) posthaste, meet with the local relief authorities, obtain a plan for division of the supplies, and check out the agreed recipients.

We were met in Tula by Sergei Mikhailovich Kisilev, deputy director of the Social Defense Fund and a handsome, serious man in his late twenties who exuded dedication and incorruptibility. Any doubts we may have had about security of the shipment evaporated. We discussed what needed to be done. An inventory of the food ranked high on the list. The local officials had designated four institutions—an orphanage, old folks home, and two soup kitchens—as the most in need. We were encouraged to accompany the trucks to see for ourselves. That evening the deputy mayor hosted a dinner for us. As expected, whatever shortages existed in Tula, liquid refreshment was not one of them. I asked the deputy mayor about the city's plans for turning over municipal property and businesses to private hands. "Very complicated," he said. "It will take a long time to work out the details." I pressed on. "What about government-owned land?" "Our peasants don't want the responsibility of their own land. Furthermore, farm machinery is geared to large holdings." I did not get the sense that the deputy mayor was impatient with the pace of reforms emanating from Moscow.

It took all morning the following day to segregate the food cartons into some sort of order. Many of the items—fruit compote, chile, disposable trays—were a mystery to the relief officials. Package instructions for preparation in microwave ovens would have been useful if the recipients had such appliances and if they could read English. Two truckloads were destined for a municipal soup kitchen. The director and I sat in the cab as we made our way across Tula. We passed a huge plant of some kind and I asked her what it was. "A weapons factory," she replied. "What kind of weapons?" She smiled sweetly and said, "It's a secret." The soup kitchen fed 300 pensioners and war veterans one meal a day. It was immaculate. My colleagues, meanwhile were tracking the delivery of the "Operation Hope" cartons to the other institutions. When we compared notes that evening on the train we were reasonably confident that the supplies sent to Tula would be used and appreciated by those most in need. Since our work was finished, the team would be splitting up when we got back to Moscow. The information that interested us the most was a schedule of trans-Atlantic flights. I searched through my things but couldn't lay my hands on the airline guide I had been carrying around for a month. Pity, but then, *nichevo ne podelaish.* ■

Arthur S. Lezin last served as USAID mission director in Mauritania. He retired in 1988 and now consults and writes from Sunriver, Oregon.

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THE CASE AGAINST

No issue in international broadcasting has been as hotly debated in recent years as the current proposal to create a Radio Free China. This surrogate radio network would broadcast to China (and, possibly, as Radio Free Asia, to other Asian countries under Communist control) with purposes similar to that of Radio Free Europe/Radio Liberty (RFE/RL). The latter radios were established in 1950 to broadcast to the populations of the "enslaved nations" of the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe as though they were domestic stations supplying information and news denied their audiences by the Communist authorities.

The proposal for Radio Free China was recommended by a majority of the President's Task Force on the U.S. Government's International Broadcasting in its December 1991 report and is now being considered by a new congressionally mandated commission. It is being contested in the press, in

BY HANS N. TUCH

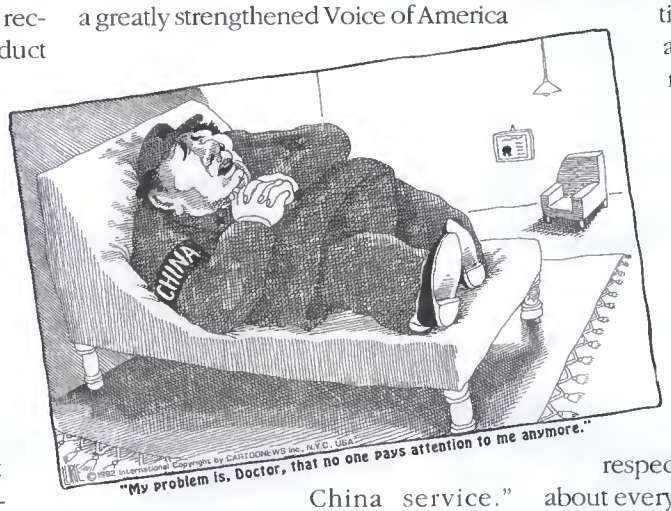
public fora, before congressional committees, among political propagandists, and among China specialists with an emotion and vehemence reminiscent of the 1950s Cold War propaganda debates. William Safire, for instance, writing in the *New York Times,* charged the four opposing members of the task force with having been "manipulated" by the State Department, and he demeaned the Voice of America as being under State's control. Meanwhile, former U.S. Ambassador to Beijing Winston Lord, who strongly favors a surrogate Radio Free China, described VOA as "our single most effective instrument to get the truth and information to the Chinese people."

The task force's several other recommendations on the future conduct of the U.S. government's international broadcasting were unanimously adopted. Among the principal recommendations were that the Voice of America should remain part of the U.S. Information Agency and that there will be an indefinite and expanding need for VOA broadcasts, especially to China; that RFE/RL's "continuing, albeit somewhat modified, mission will continue . . . for some years;" that the Board of International Broadcasting (BIB) should manage all U.S. government-sponsored surrogate broadcasting activities, including Radio and TV Martí broadcasting to Cuba (currently under USIA); and that USIA should expand its TV reach through interactive Worldnet programming and English teaching.

'Burly opposition'

On the question of a Radio Free China, however, the task force was split—seven in favor, four against, the majority stating that the United States "ought to pay as much attention to promoting democracy in Asia as we did in Eastern Europe [and] the Soviet Union." In addition to favoring increased VOA broadcasting to China, the task force's majority recommended creating a new U.S. surrogate broadcasting entity to be aimed at Asia, principally China. Stressing that "it is good for the people of the world to know that we, the people of America, are the friends and helpers of change," they argued that this new surrogate broadcasting entity would enhance people-to-people communication and would promote "the assumption that people can change history through the force of ideas . . . [through] a burly opposition to dictatorship." Their argument continued, "It is important to U.S. interests that the people of China understand that the free people of America stand with them." They added that their decision would also be shrewd: "We will not only be on the right side, but on the winning side."

The task force's opposing minority countered that "the best, most cost-effective, and quickest way of increasing information to the region is through a greatly strengthened Voice of America China service." They stressed that VOA is well known and respected in China and that it makes sense to build on this base.



"A new U.S. station," the minority argued, "would have a hard time competing against the formidable array of programs already bombarding China from the outside. It would compete with our own VOA" and, in effect, diminish the global VOA service. They suggested that the current VOA request for a $2 million increase for its China service (primarily for augmenting the Cantonese-language staff, for a Hong Kong bureau, and for a China research office) is too modest, that this request should be augmented by funds needed to increase the number of hours of targeted programming. They recommended an additional $10 million that "would go far toward enhancing this service—which is already hard-hitting and already obviously having significant impact—and also toward improving Voice programming to Vietnam, Cambodia, Laos, and North Korea." The minority also pointed out, "that beefing up the VOA China service can be done soon, not [the] three, four, five or more years hence" that it would take to bring surrogate radio into full service.

The thrifty choice

In an appearance before the House International Operations Subcommittee in February, task force minority member Abbott Washburn, a former deputy director of USIA and FCC commissioner, reinforced the opposition by pointing out that the best estimate of the cost of a Radio Free China would be $110 million for construction and start-up and $34 million for annual operation. On the other hand, with an additional $2.14 million now and another modest increase next year, VOA could significantly upgrade its China service and its services to Vietnam, Cambodia, Laos, and North Korea. He quoted former U.S. Ambassador to Beijing Arthur W. Hummel Jr., an experienced China specialist:

"The VOA is much respected and well known to just about everyone in China. They turn to it for reliable information . . . If our own government can find more dollars for international broadcasting, in my view they could best be used for strengthening the Voice's capability to cover all of China with a stronger signal and more hours of programming."

This statement should be read in the context of the remarks by Representative Howard Berman, chairman of the subcommittee, introducing the hearing: "Given the current budget constraints, the subcommittee's task . . . will be to set priorities and make some hard choices about which services and projects to initiate and expand and which to cut back and curtail."

An authoritative and independent view of VOA's effectiveness in China comes from *New York Times* correspondent Sheryl WuDunn, who reported from Beijing in May 1989:

"When the streets here swell with protestors, people all over

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China tune in the Voice of America. During the turmoil of recent weeks, people in offices, factories, and schools throughout China have clustered by the radios to listen to the latest episodes in the saga of the student protest. At Beijing University, students huddle around posters that report the latest Voice bulletins, and the other day, hundreds of students crowded around a dormitory window listening to a [VOA] dispatch."

A permeable bamboo curtain

Speaking at a U.S. Information Agency Alumni Association-sponsored public discussion on the creation of a Radio Free China, Walter Roberts, one of the original U.S. radio propagandists, made the case against drawing analogies between the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe in 1950 and China today. The Soviet Bloc, he said, was a closed society with little information getting in or out. Radio Free Europe and Radio Liberty played a significant role providing the people of the subjugated nations with vital news and information. Today, Roberts pointed out, in any 24-hour period, 329 hours by 29 foreign broadcasters are beamed into China by ever more powerful transmitters from—besides VOA—BBC, Taiwan, Hong Kong, Japan, Deutsche Welle, Radio France International, and many others. "I have no doubt in my mind" Roberts concluded, "that had we had a firmly anchored VOA in 1950 and had we had a communications picture similar to the one that exists today, the idea of Radio Free Europe would not have been conceived."

At the same discussion, Stuart Eizenstat, assistant to the president for Domestic Affairs and Policy during the Carter Administration, represented the task force's majority and argued incisively for its recommendation. He quoted several China experts who favored creation of a Radio Free China, making what he considered an important distinction between targeted and surrogate broadcasting. Surrogate broadcasting, being the equivalent of local broadcasting, is not identified by listeners with a foreign government, while targeted broadcasting is.

Eizenstat further stated that the start-up costs, while high, should not be an excuse for doing nothing. He believed that transmitters might be shared with private religious broadcasters, that former Soviet jamming transmitters might be used, and that new VOA transmitters might be shared. He concluded that $140 million would not be daunting, but $25 to $40 million may suffice to start up through the use of existing facilities, including piggybacking on VOA.

Viviane Warren, another task force member in the minority, wrote in the *San Diego Union* in January that her own research convinced her that Chinese listeners do not consider the Voice of America propaganda but rely on it for accurate and authoritative news. A surrogate broadcasting service, she concluded, would be counterproductive, and Chinese listeners would largely discount it as propaganda broadcasts by emigres of whose veracity they could not be sure.

Wishful thinking

The task force's report is ambiguous with respect to sharing transmitters with VOA. On one hand, the task force majority suggests finding time for Radio Free China on existing VOA transmitters, while at the same time recommending increasing VOA broadcasts to Asia and warning that sharing "should be pursued only if it can be done without diluting VOA services to China." According to Washburn and others, however, there is no way that Radio Free China can be accommodated on VOA facilities in the Far East without crowding VOA programs off the air. New VOA facilities coming on line in the mid-1990s in Thailand and Sri Lanka will be fully committed, as will the refurbished Philippine transmitters in the late 1990s.

One other misconception held by some about VOA is that, as the U.S. government's official broadcaster, it cannot do the "targeted" broadcasting that is currently needed in China. To the contrary, VOA has the authority and consistently makes good use of it. Its coverage of the Tiananmen Square demonstrations and subsequent massacre, to which the *New York Times*' Sheryl WuDunn referred in the article quoted earlier, was a classic example of targeted programming. Two VOA correspondents were thrown out of the country for their detailed reporting on the spring 1989 events in China.

Ideological coalition

Why is it that, in the face of what, to this writer, amounts to convincing evidence against the creation of a surrogate Radio Free China, there is considerable support for it in Congress and among knowledgeable and public-spirited citizens?

First, there appears to be an unusual collaboration between normally liberal and conservative members within Congress. On the liberal side, support comes from some who oppose the Bush Administration's policy toward the current Chinese leadership and try to undermine it by advocating a tough line of criticism and opposition, which the radio could represent.

On the conservative side are those who, having lost the Soviets and East Europeans as their Communist adversaries, see the United States as letting down its guard against Communist oppression.

Second, the lobby for the Board of International Broadcasting, which would presumably run a Radio Free China, continues to be strong, with substantial emotional and ideological support from the Hill. Two of the task force's members in favor of Radio Free China, David Abshire and Ben Wattenberg, have over many years been actively associated with the BIB, which, under the highly visible current leadership of Malcolm Forbes Jr., may be looking for justification to continue its existence, now that RFE/RL have almost achieved their goals of promoting democracy in Eastern Europe and the former Soviet Union. (The prestigious Center for Strategic and International Studies, of which David Abshire is president, has published "Radio Free Asia—Background Notes for Discussion," an elaborate but tendentious research document for the benefit of the new commission to back up and promote the case for Radio Free China.)

These advocacy groups appear not to accept the facts that, one would hope, the current Commission on Broadcasting to Asia and others concerned with the issue will consider:

- A decision to start the new surrogate radio would handicap the effectiveness of VOA, both in the utilization of currently available technical facilities and the ability to recruit qualified broadcasters—both in short supply.
- VOA has the experience, know-how, and, above all, the audience to provide Chinese listeners with the information and support they need and want in their quest for freedom and democracy.
- It would take several years to bring a new radio network into service and to build an audience for its programs, a time period within which it is not unreasonable to expect the internal liberalization in China to occur that the radio would be designed to generate, thereby making it obsolete before it goes on the air.
- The radio would, in effect, be redundant, since VOA, by virtue of its charter, is designed to and does provide the information and program content today that the radio would be meant to broadcast. The daily 24-hour "domestic" broadcast from Taiwan also seems to obviate any need for a surrogate radio from the United States.
- The internal Chinese situation—in availability of information from the outside, in Chinese receptivity of foreign information, and in Chinese ability to evaluate and assimilate such information—is entirely different from that which existed in the Soviet Union and eastern Europe in the early 1950s, thus making an analogy between RFE/RL and the potential Radio Free China irrational.
- Finally, in this day of severe budgetary constraint, the American taxpayer should not be expected to pay for a new broadcasting venture costing scores of millions, when a $10 million augmentation of VOA would accomplish the same results. ■

***Hans N. Tuch, a retired USIA Foreign Service officer, is author of* Communicating with the World: U.S. Public Diplomacy Overseas (St. Martin's Press, 1990).**

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afsa news

AFSA/A.I.D. wins concessions in EER negotiations

by Deborah M. Leahy
Member Services Representative

AFSA and USAID management have reached agreement on changes in the USAID Employee Evaluation Report (EER) form and regulations. Major changes in these regulations negotiated by AFSA include:

• Elimination of all copies of Selection Board letters of criticism to USAID review panel members. Instead, an advisory or guidance letter may be sent to the panel members when a Selection Board believes that the member failed adequately to fulfill his or her responsibility. Any such letter will be sent "addressee only" to the employee. No copies will be distributed, retained, or placed in any file. AFSA considers this elimination an important victory.

• Memoranda of Performance, which were used to record performance for periods of 30-120 days, have been eliminated. AFSA was concerned that the use of an "abbreviated" EER for periods exceeding 90 days would disadvantage employees who had short tours or longer temporary duties and negotiated two changes. First, when the period of supervision is from 60 to 149 days, abbreviated EERs will be prepared. These will be the same as a regular EER except that the potential section, including areas for improvement, will not be completed by the rater. Second, assessments of any temporary duty that is less than 60 days will be included in the full EER for the rating period. For TDYs/details between 15 and 60 days, the TDY/detail supervisor is required, per AFSA insistence, to provide a memorandum on the employee's performance to the employee's rater, who is to insure that such reports are received and incorporated into the evaluation.

• Skill areas have been compressed from seven to five. The five core skill areas that now must be addressed in the EER are: professional skills, leadership skills, operational skills, interpersonal skills, and supervisory skills. Professional/technical skills and program skills have been incorporated into the remaining skill areas. AFSA believes that language describing the areas is also clearer.

• Language rating is limited to those who have been given the opportunity to learn a language. To meet a congressional mandate regarding language competency, all employees who have S3/R3 or higher in a language-designated position and who have a supervisor with S3/R3 or above in the same language must be evaluated on their effectiveness in using the foreign language in their work. Since the agency has not emphasized and invested adequately in language training, a language performance rating may disadvantage many employees who have not been given the opportunity to learn a language.

• All career candidates must have mission directors, principal officers, or deputy mission directors act as their reviewing officers. Management pointed out that this was usually the case already and both AFSA and management feel that these people are the best to judge whether or not a candidate will serve successfully through a normal career span.

Contesting assignments

by Julie Smithline
Member Services Representative

AFSA receives many questions about how to contest an unwanted assignment. Employees cannot grieve assignments unless the department/agency has violated a law or regulation in making the assignment.

While assignments are not grievable, two separate appeal mechanisms do exist. The first, contained in the regulations of 3 FAM 142.1-6, allows the department to organize a panel to hear assignment appeals. Regrettably, the department rarely exercises this authority. The second, an appeal to the director general, is available to all employees.

An employee may appeal to the director general within 10 days of being notified of the decision of the assignment panel. The director general may ask the assignment panel to reconsider its decision but there are no established criteria governing his decision. Furthermore, the director general cannot unilaterally overturn a panel decision. He/she can only request reconsideration.

AFSA hits 10,000

As of June 1, AFSA reached its highest membership level in 68 years of representing the Foreign Service. We're now at 10,000 and still climbing. Recruit a friend today, and help us remain strong!

newsbriefs

Book Fair donations. The Association of American Foreign Service Women requests donations of books, stamps, coins, tapes, records, crafts and pictures for the annual Book Fair. Donations can be left at the book room, room 1524, or call (202) 223-5796 to arrange for pickup. The 1992 Book Fair will be held October 14-25.

Foreign Service authors: The call by AFSA and DACOR for books for an "Authors' Corner" on Foreign Service Day elicited more than 80 volumes. These included weighty tomes on foreign policy issues and memoirs of Foreign Service life, but also some works on such delightfully different topics as sailing and birdwatching. Our thanks to all those who participated.

Gays and Lesbians in Foreign Affairs

GLIFAA (Gays and Lesbians in Foreign Affairs Agencies) was formed to advance the fundamental principle of non-discrimination on the basis of sexual orientation. The group holds monthly meetings and is currently receiving mail at the AFSA office. Contact: GLIFAA, 2101 E St., NW, Washington, D.C. 20037.

Metropool participation stalled

by Chris Perine
Member Services Director

Neither State nor USAID will be participating in the Washington Metropolitan Metropool program during this fiscal year. After a good bit of prodding, AFSA has been told by the management of both agencies that neither currently has the funds to pay for the program.

Recent legislation authorizes federal agencies to subsidize their employees' travel between home and work using public transportation, providing up to $21 per month to employees from existing funds.

USAID management has been forthright in explaining its position on the Metropool program. The agency has established a task force to explore the potential for future participation and will survey its employees to determine overall interest. Based on the survey data and subsequent cost projections, the task force will make a recommendation for implementation in the 1993 fiscal year.

State's response was less positive. After waiting more than three months for a response to our initial inquiry, AFSA received a series of cryptic letters from State management that left many questions unanswered. What has emerged from this correspondence is that State has no plans to participate in the program. Furthermore, management rejected AFSA's suggestion of surveying employees on the issue, asserting that any "survey . . . would likely raise expectations [State] cannot now meet."

AFSA finds State's approach to the program inadequate. Unfortunately, participation in the Metro program is at an agency's discretion and AFSA cannot compel the department to bargain on its decision. However, in these days of increasing environmental awareness, AFSA is frustrated by the department's unwillingness to give this issue the attention it deserves.

AFSA–FOR A CHANGE

USIA needs a champion

AFSA has announced that it will challenge AFGE (American Federation of Government Employees) for the position of exclusive bargaining agent for Foreign Service employees at USIA. Bud Hensgen, AFSA vice president for USIA, announced the decision at a recent luncheon held at the Capitol Holiday Inn.

On May 19, AFSA filed employee petitions with the Foreign Service Labor Relations Board requesting a challenge election to determine which union would represent USIA Foreign Service personnel. The large numbers of USIA employees who signed the challenge election petitions indicates a powerful support for AFSA, as well as employee dissatisfaction with current representation.

During the coming election campaign, AFSA will set forth the many positive reasons why USIA Foreign Service personnel need a bargaining representative totally dedicated to their best interest worldwide and with the infrastructure in place to respond to their needs. Yet, the real election issue is change:

CHANGE of overseas housing regulations; **CHANGE** of contract fare airline restrictions; **CHANGE** of USIA's role in the post-Cold War era; **CHANGE** of the many conditions that inhibit Foreign Service personnel from doing their best job for the national policy interest. And, finally, the election is about choosing a new bargaining agent that will effect needed **CHANGE** at USIA.

AFSA/USIA committee members will soon contact USIA Foreign Service employees in person or by mail to answer any questions they might have about AFSA and AFSA's USIA Action Plan. Once our USIA Foreign Service colleagues know all the facts we are confident that they will choose AFSA for change at USIA.

Speakers Bureau launched

by Gilbert Kulick
Outreach Coordinator

With the assistance of major grants from the Ford Foundation and the Una Chapman Cox Foundation, the long-bruited AFSA Speakers Bureau is now being formed. Part of AFSA's outreach effort, the bureau will draw its speakers from active and retired members of the Foreign Service.

Beginning next fall, AFSA will make experts on current international issues available to educational, business, civic, and religious groups, especially those located outside the Washington area, as well as to World Affairs Councils and other regional groups. In pilot projects last year, AFSA sponsored speaking trips by Ambassadors Edward Peck and Bruce Laingen and well-received tours by Ambassador Nathaniel Howell and his deputy Barbara Bodine, who had recently returned from their harrowing siege in Embassy Kuwait.

"With the end of the Cold War, our traditional diplomatic and foreign-policy priorities have been radically rearranged," said AFSA President Hume Horan in launching the project. ". . . broad public understanding of complicated and often confusing international issues is more important than ever if we are to maintain a vigorous, forward-looking foreign policy, which in turn requires a well-endowed, broadly representative Foreign Service. Through our new Speakers Bureau, AFSA means to foster that understanding."

In addition to promoting public education in international affairs, AFSA speakers will seek out opportunities to encourage young people, especially minorities, to consider a career in the Foreign Service. AFSA will coordinate its activities in this sphere with the Association of Black American Ambassadors. AFSA speakers will also seek out opportunities to heighten public awareness of the Foreign Service and the importance to the nation of its role in carrying out public policy.

AFSA plans to work with the State Department and other agency public-affairs bureaus to ensure maximum coordination and cooperation in promoting a vigorous public dialogue on the many foreign-policy challenges facing our country. The Speakers Bureau will take advantage of officers' home-leave travel and will encourage participation of well-qualified retirees. Procedures for volunteering to participate in the Speakers Bureau will be publicized in the next two months.

Start-up funding was also provided by grants by the Dillon Fund and the Delavan Foundation.

New luncheon reservation procedures

A significant number of individuals have been reserving places for speaker luncheons but then neither attending nor cancelling. This is unfortunate for two reasons: Someone else who wishes to attend cannot do so, and AFSA must pay for the lunch. We are therefore instituting a new reservation procedure under which a check must be received either by mail or left at either of the AFSA offices to reserve a seat. Reservations may be cancelled by phone up to two hours before the event for a full refund.

from the state vice president

by William A. Kirby

All officers are reminded that, beginning in 1993, promotion precepts will instruct the boards to recognize and reward contributions to the achievement of U.S. economic and commercial goals. This applies regardless of cone. (The precepts will also note that not all officers will have an equal opportunity to make such contributions.)

AFSA insisted that this change in the precepts be delayed until 1993 so that everyone could prepare for it. Now is the time for rating and rated officers to give serious thought to how the latter can contribute and have that contribution recognized. Economic strength and commercial vitality are increasingly important to American diplomacy and there is certainly enough work to go around. It is important that such work be rewarded.

- Everyone coming to Washington this summer–whether taking up new Stateside assignments or just passing through–should give serious thought to paying a call on his or her representative and/or senator. Let them know where you've been and what you've been doing. Describe what's attractive about the Foreign Service these days and what could stand improvement. If you have problems with the new overseas housing policy, they should hear about it; they're largely responsible for it.

  There are a number of studies of the Foreign Service under way–including the Veliotes Commission mandated by Congress itself–and our budget problems are real. Only good can come from putting a human face on the Foreign Service. Experience shows that most people on the Hill are sincerely interested in what we have to say.
- The housing situation apparently varies from post to post. If your post is a problem, are the AFSA representative and chapter actively involved? Are you? Don't forget that AFSA's right to be heard by State management extends to its authorized representatives at post overseas.
- If you have been active in an AFSA chapter overseas and are returning to Washington this summer, stay active and contact us early on. We need your input. Indeed, we need the active involvement of everyone who is concerned about where the Foreign Service is headed and wants to do something about it. Join us for what promises to be an important year in the life of our institution.

from the USAID vice president

Hail and farewell

by Priscilla Del Bosque

My service as AFSA vice president for USAID is coming to an end, since I am about to leave for a new assignment in Cairo. As people become aware of my transfer, they ask me, "If you had to do it over again, would you still take on the AFSA responsibilities?" Without hesitation, I answer, "Yes!" I explain that, while I've always been an AFSA member, I had never been active in AFSA, and I ran for office without awareness of the substantial time and effort my AFSA role would demand of me–demands that took up my evenings and weekends. I did it because I was convinced of the value of USAID's Foreign Service and the need to fight for preserving its unique strengths and for reversing the trends that have demoralized its people. I did it because I felt it was time for employees' concerns and views to be heard.

I was convinced, and still am, that despite the trials and tribulations of the agency, USAID is still the best development agency in the world. I also strongly believe that the contributions and sacrifices that we all make to make this a better world are not fully appreciated by the current USAID leadership, the Office of the Inspector General, Congress, or the American public.

I am also convinced that USAID needs to define better its role in order to help the unprecedented movements for political and economic freedom in the world succeed. USAID's Foreign Service is up to the challenge, but we need strong leadership and the resources necessary to do our jobs well. The past year has been an especially difficult one for the agency. The next year promises to be equally painful. The future of the agency is still at stake; Congress during this election year shows little support for foreign aid; the Office of the Inspector General continues to give the agency bad press; and the Office of Management and Budget continues to constrict the staffing and operating expenses lifeline. The agency's political leaders seem unable to stem this erosion or to recognize USAID's contributions.

There are many reasons for the current difficult situation. But many of the factors at play could be dealt with if the agency's political leadership had a real understanding of what it is that USAID does (or does not do and why) and of the complexities of development work and issues. To gain this understanding, these individuals need to roll up their sleeves and dig into the issues with an open mind and be willing to pull together as a team. They need to seek the expertise and advice of their professional career staff to understand better what it is that they, the top managers, need to do as a team to bring greater coherence to USAID's programs and operations. They need to begin to really manage the agency. It means taking a stand and making decisions. It means understanding that development work is an untidy, high-risk, high-stakes human endeavor, and that when something goes wrong, it doesn't mean the agency is inherently bad, corrupt, or inept. It means pushing for the resources to support and motivate USAID's talented employees to do their jobs well.

I leave my role in AFSA knowing that my fellow AFSA representatives will continue to speak out on behalf of USAID employees. I am greatly indebted to them, the AFSA Governing Board, and AFSA staff for standing shoulder to shoulder with me on advancing the interests of USAID's employees. I also owe many thanks to the USAID employees here in Washington and overseas. Together, we showed that AFSA can play a constructive role in helping the agency weather the storms. We demonstrated that a more collaborative relationship, based on a sense of common purpose and trust, is possible between management and AFSA.

We haven't found the remedies for all that ails USAID. But we've made a start. The fact that we succeeded in getting the executive and legislative branches to take a serious look at our IG operations is proof that we can do something about a long-festering problem. AFSA can and will continue to press on the many challenges and issues facing USAID. We must hang in there and pull together. Collectively, we can make a difference.

Retiree Issues

New programs seek retiree input

by Ward Thompson
Retiree Liaison

These are encouraging times for the many Foreign Service retirees who want to remain involved with foreign affairs. Three important programs announced at this year's Foreign Service Day—itself an occasion for alumni to talk directly with Secretary Baker and his top policy assistants—will rely extensively on retiree participation:

Foreign Affairs Reserve Corps. In May, State sent out 1,400 application packets to those who expressed interest in this project. Inaugurated at AFSA's initiative, it will create a pool of experienced foreign affairs experts on whom State can draw to meet needs not covered by regular staffing.

AFSA Speakers Bureau. This project is under way.

Minority Intern Mentoring Program. AFSA seeks retired Foreign Service members as resource persons to minority interns returning to school after stints at State. Several alumni have already come forward for this project, which is designed to encourage the interns to consider a foreign affairs career and thus make our Foreign Service more representative, stronger, and more effective.

There has been a strong and favorable response to these projects from many retired members. Similarly, the White Paper AFSA will soon issue on diplomacy in the post-Cold War era has benefited from important contributions from interested alumni.

1992 Merit Scholarship Awards

The AFSA | AAFSW Merit Awards recognize high school seniors who have demonstrated academic excellence and outstanding leadership during high school. This year, the 20 merit awards are in memory of Ambassador Carol Laise Bunker. Funds for the awards are provided jointly from the American Foreign Service Scholarship Fund and the Association of American Foreign Service Women. Following are excerpts from the award winners' essays.

Stephanie Bowers: (on pessimism) "There is very little room for acknowledging the negatives. If each time something went wrong I focused on it, I would probably never even try. For me, it is noticing all of the barriers that stand in the way of my success, but not dwelling on what they might become. I don't know what my future will hold, I only know that I want to be able to direct it.

Stephanie A. Bowers: *graduate of Yorktown High School, Arlington, VA; daughter of Charles Richard and Karin Bowers (State); German A.P.; competitive swimming; Auburn University.*

Cristina Brown: (on her Foreign Service experience) "As I get older, each new move is a little harder than the last; even now, part of me feels unwilling to share even my memories. I depend on them; they are more permanent than the houses and people I have known. It's hard, having to start over every time we move, having to prove myself to a whole new group of people. I've got to advertise–package myself–if I want to find people like me. Sometimes I hardly have the energy to campaign for myself."

Cristina Brown: *graduate of Winston Churchill High School, Potomac, MD; daughter of David E. and B. Tuyet Brown (State); National Merit Finalist, 1st place Wordworks Young Poets Competition; Brown University.*

Amber Sue Field: (on her experience at the 1988 Baha'i International Youth Conference) "After witnessing people of different ages, economic backgrounds, colors, and cultures coexist peacefully. . .the conference impressed upon me the importance of sharing the message of universal peace and unity with others. . . . I also make an effort to lead a simple spiritual life."

Amber Sue Field*: graduate of O'Fallon Township High School, O'Fallon, IL; daughter of Elaine Field (retired USIA); IL State Scholar, Lewis and Clark College.*

Timothy M. Finegan: (on his experience as a juror) "Social Science courses [seemed to] lack connection with the real world. There is a feeling of finality, the sense that social science is stagnant. That was my opinion until I stepped in the door of the AP U.S. government course and soon found myself sitting on a jury in the U.S. Justice Department building. . . I was [placed] in a situation in which my thoughts and ideas mattered. There were real people, not an abstract rendition of a moldy case out of a textbook. I was seeing justice in action and, even more importantly, I was a part of it, a crucial part."

Timothy Finegan*: graduate of Washington-Lee High School, Arlington, VA; son of Michael and Yin-I Finegan (State); Science Fair - 1st Place Physics, Geological Society of Washington Award for Achievement; College of William and Mary.*

Matthew Fleming: (on values) "In Bangkok, it was impossible to ignore the poverty, made painfully more important in the light of the contrasting extravagant wealth. Crippled beggars were found on every street, and in the walkways leading to fancy department stores. It is hard enough to actually witness such suffering at all in a lifetime, yet even harder to see it when you are growing up. [It had] all caused me to change my priorities, rethink my view of my place in society, and see the value of human life. Because of that, one of my goals is to contribute as much as possible to some of those in need, through medical aid and financial support; essentially, by becoming a doctor."

Matthew Fleming*: graduate of Richard Montgomery High School, Rockville, MD; son of William and Sung Fleming (State); Academic Excellence Award in Physical Education, Scholastic Blue Ribbon Art Award; Williams College.*

Lara A. Johnson: (on her Foreign Service experience) "At seven days old I took my first plane trip to my new home in Indonesia. When I was four I moved to Arlington, Virginia. At eight I [moved to] Sri Lanka [and then] to the Philippines. In April 1990, we quickly left the Phiippines after having stayed through a revolution, six coup attempts, floods, violent elections and an evacuation. I entered Washington-Lee High School in midterm and had to find my niche again. My parents' opinions have influenced me greatly, since they have been the anchor in my disjointed passages. Living in an international environment, I have learned to be sensitive to people's backgrounds, to accept diversity, and to be more tactful in expressing my own views. "

***Lara A. Johnson**: graduate of Washington-Lee High School, Arlington, VA; daughter of William and Ilse Johnson (AID); Science Fair–1st place in chemistry; National Council of Teachers of English Achievement Award–writing; valedictorian; College of William and Mary.*

David Kurtzer: (on life in the Foreign Service) "When I was younger, the United States seemed very distant and foreign, an unpleasant place to spend summer vacations, other than the fact that I could see all my relatives. It only seemed natural that [my friends] all pick up and move every few years. Sometimes I regret the constant moving, the constant change and unfamiliarity of a new country and language and culture. Still, the sense of objectivity I have gained from my experience overseas seems to outweigh any inconveniences or hardships I may have felt as a child, and in the long run, the Foreign Service was a positive factor in my development."

***David Kurtzer**: graduate of Hebrew Academy of Greater Washington, Silver Spring, MD; son of Daniel and Sheila Kurtzer (State); National Merit Finalist; high school president; Yale University.*

Vincent LaVergne: (on his experience at the Ball State University photojournalism workshop) "I especially noticed one photographer's work to be . . . extraordinary. Every picture seemed perfect in content and composition. . . . . My picture made it! This competition taught me that I can compete with anyone. I have taken that attitude into all the things I do. No matter how talented or extraordinary someone may seem, if I work hard, never give up, and do my absolute best, I can compete with them."

***Vincent LaVergne:** graduate of Shawnee Mission Northwest High School, Shawnee, KS; son of Elizabeth and Pat LaVergne (State); Kansas Governor's Scholar; outstanding photo journalist; Kansas State University.*

Jeffrey Licht: (on school systems) "The school I attended in Australia, Canberra Grammar School, could not be more different than my present one, Bethesda-Chevy Chase High School. CGS is based on the British public school model. An all-boys school, it has a very personal cast to it. Upon arriving, each boy is assigned to a house with which he stays throughout his education. It is a very structured approach to education. B-CC, on the other hand, is much freer, rambunctious, and impersonal. Being larger than CGS, there is much less a sense of community, and a much greater need to watch out for yourself."

***Jeffrey Licht**: graduate of Bethesda-Chevy Chase High School, Bethesda, MD; son of Louis and Pamela Licht (State); National Merit Finalist, summer intern at Goddard Space Center; Yale University.*

Rita Louh: (on humanities and the sciences) "A square piece of plastic just does not look like it holds much, but this computer disc contains all of the computer programs I created. In my original love-hate realtionship with computers, I liked computers for their versatility, but I detested them as well, always afraid of losing the final draft of my term paper and other writings. With an open mind and ready fingers however, I plunged into the world of introductory programming in Pascal and wrote my first program. Although the program simply divided positive integers into their prime factors, it was amazing! For someone who had always felt computer illiterate, I had performed an incredible and unbelievable feat."

***Rita Y. Louh**: graduate of Cherry Hill High School East, Cherry Hill, NJ; daughter of Philip and Evelina Louh (State); GW University Award and Society of Women Engineers Certificate of Merit of the Highest Honor, Philadelphia Science Council Award; Harvard & Radcliffe University.*

Edward McBride: (on Foreign Service experience) "My mother and I bundled into our Ford Fairmont; she tried to reverse out of our parking space. The car wouldn't budge. There was obviously something blocking our way. We got out expecting to find a pile of bricks or a fire hydrant. We were amazed to identify the real obstacle: a loaf of bread. The Romanian populace was reduced to a potato-meal bread so leaden that a single loaf could baffle the progress of a mass of angry American metal. . . . By my horror at Romania's predicament, I make a subconscious admission of my privileged upbringing, and the corresponding debt I owe society."

***Edward McBride**: graduate of Eton College, Great Britain; son of Mr. and Mrs. Edward C. McBride; drama, school prefect, journalism, sports; Harvard University.*

Susan Moody: (on an Agape Catholic youth retreat) "I made a decision to participate in Search, as the retreat is called. At Search, we were able to build a close-knit community of trust and understanding, in which openness was the top priority. . . It was a relief to see such high standards among people my own age in a world in which morals and values sometimes seem to cease to exist. It is my hope that the trusting and optimistic attitutde I gained from Search will remain with me for the rest of my life."

***Susan E. Moody**: graduate of South Lakes High School, Reston, VA; daughter of William and Marguerite Moody (State); National Merit Finalist; Math, French, and National Honor Societies; University of Virginia.*

Krister Olsson: (on growing up in the Foreign Service) "It is true that living in a number of different countries has opened my eyes to the world in ways that studying in the 'good ole USA' could never have done. But by the same token, living abroad has not been easy. I am talking about a pronounced and deeper hardship –that of making and leaving friends. . . . I have spent many nights awake looking at the ceiling of my bedroom, praying for one more year–one more year of certainty and security. Nietzsche said,'That which does not kill me will make me stronger,' and in a sense that is true."

***Krister Olsson**: graduate of St. Mary's International School, Tokyo, Japan; son of Karl and Karin Olsson (USIA); National Merit Finalist; varsity letter–swimming; school newspaper editor; Swarthmore College.*

Key Young O'Neill: (on pollution) "I gazed at the precipitous hill before me. It rose about 200 feet into the air and extended to my left and right for at least several hundred feet before tapering off. . . . a man approached me. 'It's trash,' he said. 'Excuse me?' 'It's trash and garbage buried in dirt.'. . . If a still-industrializing country like Korea can't find places to put its waste, where does the garbage of a country in industrial bloom, like the United States, end up?"

***Key Young O'Neill**: graduate of Seoul Foreign School, Seoul, Korea; son of Aloysius and Jin O'Neill (State); National Merit Finalist; AIME Math Award; University of Virginia.*

Katherine Parris: (on adjustment to the U.S.) "My first introduction to school (after living in Russia) made me realize that I would have to fight for acceptance in the United States, my 'homeland.' The teacher introduced me as a Russian immigrant. Immediately the questions and snide remarks began. 'You speak English well for a Russian.' 'Is Moscow like it is in *Red Dawn*? Do you work for the KGB?' My personal favorite was when someone asked if 'they' cut off the fingers of people who answered questions wrong. I held up my hand with one finger folded down and told the class that I had forgotten the answer to 2 + 2. This quick response won over a majority of the class."

***Katherine Parris**: graauate of Walworth Barbour American International School, Israel; daughter of Mark and Joan Parris (State); Xerox Scholarship–University of Rochester; National Merit Commended Scholar ; University of Virginia.*

Fernando Pizzaro: (on Foreign Service experience) "Having never lived in a country for more than two years at a time and having never attended the same school for more than one has made me sensitive to cultural differences. In fact, I have grown not only to tolerate them, but to enjoy them as well. (With) my Foreign Service experience, I have found that the basic element of tolerance and sensitivity is respect. This does not comprise the generic claim of 'I have traveled therefore I am culturally sensitive,' . . . I (was able to) truly empathize with a culture (by living abroad), rather than just seeing it."

***Fernando Pizarro**: graduate of Cairo American College; son of Leonel and Sue Pizarro (AID); peace essay contest; Model United Nations; Harvard University.*

Lynn Selby: (on comparison of school systems) "Relationships with my teachers could not have been more different as the concept of proper respect played a fundamental role. When a teacher entered the classroom, the pupils had to stand up promptly and chant '*Bonjour*' then sit down in unison when bid to by the teacher. Any other sort of behaviour was '*sauvage.*' A pupil's crying in class in reaction to a teacher's chastising occurred frequently. . . .life at l'Assomption became less of a nightmare in my eleven-year-old mind and gradually enjoyable. My hot tempered French teacher who would rise up in fury if someone dropped a pencil or coughed turned out to be one of the most patient and encouraging teachers I have ever had."

***Lynn Selby**: graduate of Robert Louis Stevenson High School, Pebble Beach, CA; daughter of Richard and Ann Selby (State, retired); English Speaking Union Scholarship; Dartmouth Book Award for Excellence in the Humanities; Silver Duke of Edinburgh Award (sports); UC Berkeley.*

May Tran Taylor: (on Foreign Service experience) "All around my house (in Bangladesh), there was a very high red brick wall, with a gate to let our cars in. That gate was guarded by a watchman, who was my friend. He would let me scamper about on top of that wall, pretending I was in a circus, on a tightrope. That's all that wall meant to me; it was a thing that I got to play with if I was very good and careful. I never looked over those walls, or through the gate to see those big pleading brown eyes of children, desperately in need of food. Walls everywhere must one day go down, be it another Berlin Wall or the walls between me and those children."

***May Tran Taylor**: graduate of Woodstock Union High School, Woodstock, VT; daughter of Carl and Ching-Wen Taylor (State, retired); All-Star Math Team; Citizen's Bee State Finalist; Harvard and Radcliffe University.*

Andria Thomas: (on Foreign Service life) "Seeing the 7-11 store for the first time gave me a shock. Walking around Arlington after having spent four years in Thailand, I had expected to feel welcome, at home, and completely at ease. But there were little things about being back here that kept surprising me. The weather was a lot milder and cooler, even in the summer. There was less traffic, less pollution and less people on the streets outside. I could feel safe, walking around on my own. Why, then, did I feel so uncomfortable? Why did I find myself yearning for Bangkok? I think the problem was the *sameness* of it all."

***Andria Thomas**: graduate of H-B Woodlawn, Arlington, VA; daughter of Larry and Suong Thomas (USIA, retired); National Merit commended scholar; University of Virginia.*

Melinda Winter: (on Foreign Service experience) "In the international school here (Indonesia) over 40 nationalities are represented. International events are personalized and magnified for me because in my classes I see the reactions of the students from the countries involved. I watched the Germans celebrate German reunification and the destruction of the Berlin Wall not only on CNN, but also within my school, as every nationality shared the joy of our German classmates. The combined celebrations affirmed our shared belief in the importance of freedom. I am proud to think that the once rebellious thoughts of my forefathers have become the standard in today's world."

***Melinda Winter**: graduate of Jakarta International School; daughter of Marcus and Chong Ae Winter (AID); National Honor Society; Duke University.*

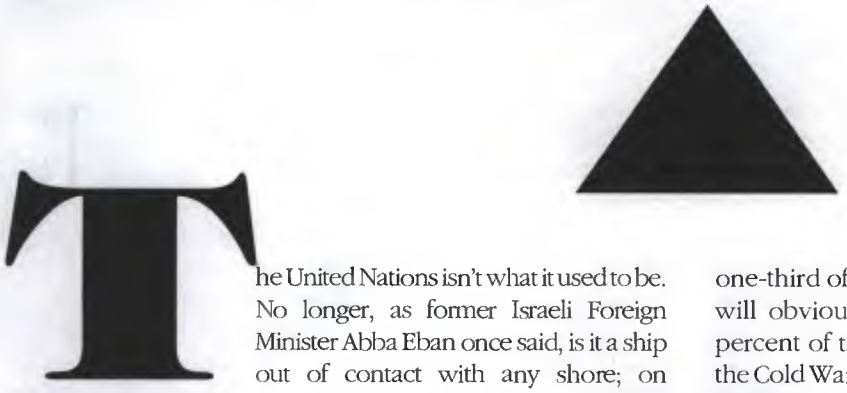
1993 Merit Award applications

High school students graduating in spring 1993 who wish to apply for the 1993 AFSA \AAFSW Merit Awards should request an application in October 1992. Application deadline is February 15, 1993. 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.

POWER AND PURPOSE

MAKING MULITILATERALISM WORK



The United Nations isn't what it used to be. No longer, as former Israeli Foreign Minister Abba Eban once said, is it a ship out of contact with any shore; on the contrary. Over the course of the last few years the United Nations in particular and the practice of multilateral diplomacy in general have become central to the management of core U.S. foreign policy interests. It is important to us as Americans that the changes be lasting ones.

The 1990s have already been called by some the "age of multilateralism," and this label may well stick; the power of hope stands behind it. By promoting the vision of a foreign relations based on cooperative problem-solving, peaceable settlements of disputes, and collective enforcement, multilateralism meets a clear need to put the angst and confrontation of the Cold War and its politics well behind us. Equally compelling is the potential of "multilateralism" to close the gap between our interests and purposes as a nation and our power to secure them. While the end of the Cold War does not mean that we will relinquish the option to employ force unilaterally, it does suggest that the necessity for such employment should be on a dramatic decline. As a consequence, today's multilateral thinking also is well placed to respond persuasively to the budget-conscious sense of national limits symbolized by Gramm-Rudman-Hollings and its successors.

From this perspective, and acknowledging the necessity for more equitable cost-sharing in multilateral diplomacy, one-third of the peacekeeping costs of the United Nations will obviously be a great deal less expensive than 100 percent of the costs of unilateral intervention. The end of the Cold War, combined with the general surge of democracy and liberal economics, transforms multilateralism in two ways. First, it has universalized it, and, second, it has devolved upon multilateralism the order-making task formerly performed by the Cold War coalitions. No event better symbolized the first change than the admission last month of Russia and most of the other republics of the Commonwealth of Independent States (CIS) to the International Monetary Fund and the World Bank. No action better captured the second change than the UN-authorized expulsion of Iraq from Kuwait.

The North vs. the South

There seems to be little doubt that the new challenges of multilateralism far surpass any preparation we have had for them. Tension inevitably inheres in the interplay among such goals as order, justice, development, and sound institutions, and how that tension is resolved will decide if a multilateral system can endure and prosper.

A central dilemma for an emerging multilateral security system that strives to be universal is the substantial divergence of the security concerns of the developed and the developing countries. In the industrial North, the former Cold War foes are coalescing around a single normative consensus favoring democracy and free markets. All of them

BY THOMAS R. PICKERING

are now members of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe (CSCE), and their goal is to build a civil community based on shared ideology, similar political systems, and growing economic interdependence. Unique among international treaties, the Charter of Paris last year asserted that order among its members is directly dependent upon civil principles within the nations. Their common security concerns therefore embrace both external threats, such as proliferating weapons of mass destruction, and internal forces, such as civil war or human rights abuses, which are capable of subverting what Secretary of State James Baker has called "the democratic peace."

With the exception of the growing political cohesion and institutional support for democracy in Latin America, and to a somewhat lesser extent in Africa, and economic cooperation among the countries of the Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN), the regions of the developing world lack a comparable consensus. Economic interdependence among them is a weak deterrent to conflicts between neighbors, since most trade and investment still flows north-south. Many different systems of government and political aspirations may exist side by side, so these countries also tend to lack the stabilizing effect of shared democratic goals.

Yet it would be mistaken to assume that differences in the aggregate or in rhetorical terms denote an unbridgeable gap in reality. In reality, developing countries deal with issues at the Security Council usually on a case-by-case basis in terms of very specific interests. Sometimes we disagree on that basis, but many more times we do not. In the last few years, the Security Council may not have done all that we sought, yet it has come remarkably close to that goal, and often by consensus. Moreover, there is really no choice about it. Despite the differing circumstances of its members and of their security priorities, the United Nations must find a way both to accommodate differences and provide leadership, or it will risk losing the authority, credibility, and relevance that have grown so rapidly over the last few years.

The effect of Iraq

The shared experience of successfully turning back Saddam's challenge to international law has deeply and positively affected the Security Council's view of its own potential. It has also earned the council unprecedented respect and established a high performance standard for it. One test of that standard is the ongoing oversight of Iraqi compliance with the provisions of Resolution 687 dealing with, among other things, weapons of mass destruction. The outcome will affect centrally the future role of the Security Council and of multilateral action generally, for example, in curbing proliferation.

A number of positive results can already be counted. At the political level, the palpable dangers posed by Iraqi development and possible use of nuclear weapons have strengthened support for the Non-Proliferation Treaty (NPT), to which several important countries have recently acceded, and for a more assertive role by the International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA). At the operational level, the special commission created by the UN and the IAEA have developed approaches and processes potentially useful in other circumstances.

Of course, it is also true that the efficacy of the inspection regime in Iraq reflects the status of Iraq as a pariah state subject to compulsory actions and sanctions under Chapter VII of the UN Charter, a unique legal limitation on sovereignty. This status provided a political and juridical context for the use of tools that are unprecedented in the history of post-war international action in general and in dealing with nonproliferation in particular. The tools include an extensive ground presence inside Iraq, a legally unconstrained degree of intrusiveness, real-time intelligence-sharing involving the latest available data from major members of the UN, and the continuing willingness and ability by the coalition to enforce Resolution 687's provisions. While these are, indeed, extraordinary measures, their application against Iraq should begin to signal to potential developers of weapons of mass destruction or violators of the NPT that such tools could also be deployed in their direction.

The Security Council's formative experience with Iraq has also spurred expansion of an international consensus on the sensitive issue of humanitarian intervention. The passage of Resolution 688 last spring was the first time that the international community, acting through the Security Council, decided it would not permit a sovereign government to use the doctrine of nonintervention as a shield for widespread internal repression and other practices prohibit by law and treaty. Coalition forces were then deployed militarily into northern Iraq in consequence of that resolution to ensure that successful relief activities took place. The passage of this resolution opened a legal space for rebalancing the claims of sovereignty and those of humanitarian values, but it did not open an entirely new frontier. The council's decision was qualified in several ways. First, Iraqi sovereignty was already limited by Chapter VII of the charter. Second, Iraq's actions were deemed to be a threat to regional peace and security under the charter and, thus, sufficient to override the prohibition in Article 2, Paragraph 7 on nonintervention in domestic affairs.

Notwithstanding these qualifications, the passage of this resolution and its immediate positive effect changed in subtle ways the dynamic of the Security Council. Its members and the international community at large were willing, if necessary, to employ force to end massive humanitarian suffering. The nonintervention taboo had been further constrained, and Resolution 688 is destined to become a precedent.

Action must be taken only with the greatest prudence, however. There may well be a body of activity that could justify, in extreme cases where humanitarian assistance is required, some intervention. But if we destroy entirely Article 2, Paragraph 7 of the charter, then we will pull apart the state system. If that happens, the weaker countries of the world will grow intensely nervous, and with some reason. In fact, they became colonies perhaps as a result of activities that would not have been compatible with Article 2, Paragraph 7, and they feel that hot breath still on their necks. We would have a very difficult time trying to find limits to the activity,

and I don't think that anybody is ready now to turn the Security Council into a world government whose business it is to deal in internal issues across the board all around the world.

On the other side, however, there are some actions so heinous, some activities so reprehensible, that the international community cannot but take note, and, where it is possible, under limited circumstances, take action. One of the balance wheels of this is that whatever precedent is established, it's a precedent established working through the Security Council.

Last month, that is what happened when the council passed Resolution 751, authorizing humanitarian assistance in Somalia. The terms of that resolution take the matter of humanitarian security somewhat further than those of 688 by combining a mandate for unarmed observers with agreement in principle to the deployment of armed troops to provide security for the emergency distribution of food in Mogadishu and in its environs.

In addition, the resolution makes a rare but important finding that the continuation of the civil war in Somalia itself constitutes a threat to international peace and security, thereby justifying Security Council action. The 688 precedent has also been a factor in the Security Council's deliberations and response to human rights violations, attacks upon minorities, and conflict in Yugoslavia. Successive resolutions have invited the secretary general to use his good offices, and have imposed an arms embargo, authorized the deployment of peacekeepers to Croatia,called upon the parties to observe the ceasefire in Bosnia, and levied broad sanctions against Serbia.

As in Somalia, the Security Council defines the fighting in the territory of the former Yugoslav republic as a threat to international peace and security. But the Bosnian situation within Yugoslavia, like that in Somalia, tragically demonstrates the current limits on UN action in civil wars. Since passage of Resolution 751, developments in Somalia have prevented the deployment of either the ceasefire observers or the security component. Indeed, Bosnia and Somalia show how difficult it can be to devise an effective response.

As a general principle, the Security Council measures reflect agreement about the acceptable norms of international behavior. The historic nature of a number of the resolutions described suggests that changes in global norms are significantly expanding the range of possible security action to respond to aggression, to stem proliferation, and to provide humanitarian security and assistance.

Suffering and suffrage

A different illustration of this dynamic at work is the UN's activism in assisting members' decisions to carry out democratic elections. Since 1990, the UN has monitored elections in Namibia, Nicaragua, and Haiti. It is now preparing to do so in Cambodia. It is still attempting, so far unsuccessfully, to arrange a referendum in Western Sahara, and may provide assistance to election or referendum efforts in Eritrea, Angola, Mozambique, and the Congo. In addition to supporting these operational activities, the General Assembly last year adopted a resolution implementing President Bush's proposal to create an electoral assistance coordinator in the UN and related steps designed to strengthen and consolidate the UN role. We believe elections serve an irreplaceable function in both nation-building and helping to mediate the many disputes and tensions that pull nations apart or spark or prolong conflicts, but they are not a panacea. A majority desire for democratic government may prove no match, as in Haiti last summer, for determined efforts to undermine it. The UN must also adopt a clear stand against interference with the democratic process. UN action does not always solve problems; witness its condemnation of the violent overthrow of Haiti's legitimately elected government, and of Myanmar's ignoring of election results and illegal detention of Aung San Suu Kyi. In all of these cases, stronger actions met sufficient opposition as to make them unachievable in the council.

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A MAJORITY DESIRE FOR DEMOCRATIC GOVERNMENT MAY PROVE NO MATCH, AS IN HAITI LAST SUMMER, FOR DETERMINED EFFORTS TO UNDERMINE IT. THE UN MUST ALSO ADOPT A CLEAR STAND AGAINST INTERFERENCE WITH THE DEMOCRATIC PROCESS.

But these shortcomings do not mask the reality that support for democracy and fundamental freedoms is now far stronger in New York than ever before. Indeed, modest echoes of this could be heard in this year's session of the Human Rights Commission. Notwithstanding our concern at the commission's expansion to 53 members, it voted to criticize 22 governmental violators of human rights, something of a record, and placed many more under commission purview.

Renouncing relativism

One final illustration of the UN's recent change is the treatment of terrorism. Last fall, the General Assembly passed a landmark resolution explicitly condemning terrorism in all its aspects, at any time, in any place, by anyone, for any reason. The unequivocal statement clearly renounced the situational ethic with which some member states had often found a way to excuse and rationalize resort to terror tactics. As it turned out, the cohesion of the General Assembly's action portended new cohesion on a subject where consensus is critical to world order. It was followed this January and April by Security Council resolutions directing Libya to relinquish two individuals suspected of responsibility for the bombing of Pan Am 103 and then applying limited sanctions on Libya to compel it to do so. While the council vote on the sanctions resolution was closer than we had hoped, some 10 to five, in contrast to a unanimous vote on the original resolution setting forth the goals, the split, in my judgment, largely reflected a desire of some member states to seek more time to persuade Colonel Qaddafi to comply. But, there was absolutely no argument on the vital issue: that state-spon-

sored terrorism is impermissable in the international community and barriers against it should be raised.

Common goals

Like any order, the emerging multilateral one reflects the distribution of power, but it differs in that power is not the primary arbiter of international relations. The arbiter, in fact, is a system of principles to which all countries subscribe because it is reciprocally beneficial to all participants. Military power is thus engaged to defend the system as a whole, rather than to promote solely the interests of specific states. That, of course, is the ideal. The reality is that we can expect a long period of testing and challenges. One test will be the extent to which countries see themselves as members in, and beneficiaries of, a civil international society sharing common values. The real story here lies in how rapidly this international society is taking shape at a political and moral level. A second test is whether multilateral security becomes credibly collective or increasingly selective. A third is really the converse of the second, because it involves the question of burden-sharing. While the Security Council role in dealing with Iraq has raised expectations and political pressure for a comparable council involvement in other crises, the charter never intended the council to be the constant court of first resort. In fact, Article 52 explicitly mandates regional efforts to resolve or redress threats to peace before resort to the council. Often the cohesion arising from shared economic and political and cultural interests permits a wider scope of consensus and action than exists in the Security Council, and the UN simply cannot mediate or police every disturbance or difficulty.

But the strength of the regional groups varies widely, as we all know. While some are far closer than others, none of the regional groups seems ready today to assume the full range of peace and security tasks of which the UN is capable. While recognizing the political limits to rapid change, we need to undertake a major effort to nurture their institutional development wherever that is possible. This would combine both UN technical assistance in areas like peacekeeping, preventive diplomacy, peacemaking, and election monitoring, as well as bilateral advice and support from member states. In this respect, we should make increasing use of regional contact groups to enhance mediation and peacekeeping efforts, as was done with the Four Friends group in El Salvador. Such arrangements both create invaluable regional experience and also help to leverage the efforts of the UN secretary-general and the permanent members of the Security Council.

A stronger UN?

The final test I will mention is the extent to which UN capacity in peace and security can be strengthened to meet the demands of a multilateral security system. First, peacemaking and preventive diplomacy need major improvement through better-quality analysis, member-state intelligence-sharing with the secretary general, more systematic approaches to dispute settlement, greater use of the secretary-general's power to bring incipient disputes to the informal attention of the Security Council, and the creation of a body of senior world figures available to the secretary-general, as former Secretary of State Cyrus Vance has been, to carry out urgent and sensitive good offices missions.

Second, peacekeeping ought to be placed on a far stronger operational and financial basis. This requires an integrated and rational management structure within the secretariat. It also requires a peacekeeping reserve fund to facilitate rapid responses to emerging crises; the strengthening of in-house planning; the creation of cadres skilled in de-mining, civilian policing, and electoral monitoring, and able to provide training in these areas; and the earmarking of trained troops and equipment among member states, including the permanent members, available for commitment to peace and security missions on short notice. An overall UN system of training and training standards would help greatly in this regard.

Third, within the United States,regular logistic support is frequently funded by the Department of Defense budget. As a result, we should consider an explicit budget provision. We should also return to the former tradition of paying our UN budget, as well as peacekeeping assessments to the extent that they are known, at the start or during the calendar year, rather than at the very end.

Fourth, the members of the Security Council should pursue ways to augment council cooperation with the IAEA and other appropriate international agencies to reinforce efforts to curb proliferation.

Finally, the United States should consider examining on an informal basis and together with its allies and partners the terms and modalities of future uses of force authorized by the Security Council for purposes of reversing aggression, enforcing peace, or detering conflict.

Expanding neighborhood

Since the birth of the republic, every generation of Americans has had to decide for itself the right and proper relationship between American power and American purposes. When the republic was young and weak, and Europe looked like a bad and dangerous neighborhood, our very distance from the rest of the world seemed to secure our safety. Today, from a commercial, investment, ecological, weapons proliferation, indeed many other perspectives, our neighborhood *is* that world, and we are the strongest power in it. Only by helping to lead the world can we assure its peace and security and our own.

Fifty years ago, Henry Luce wrote, "America is responsible to herself, as well as to history, for the world environment in which she lives." That has never been more true than it is today. ■

Cnrrently ambassador designate to India, Thomas Pickering was formerly U.S. ambassador to the United Nations and has also served as ambassador to Jordan, El Salvador, Israel, and Nigeria, among other posts. This article was adapted from a speech delivered by Ambassador Pickering at the Foreign Service Club on May 14. Views expressed are his own and do not necessarily represent those of the U.S. government.

UNEASY TANGO

U.S. FOREIGN POLICY AND THE UNITED NATIONS

On the last day of January, leaders of the 15 nations represented on the United Nations Security Council gathered in New York for an unprecedented summit meeting. Their purpose was to chart a path for the Security Council in the post-Cold War era. After more than a year of loose talk about a "new world order," wide agreement existed that concrete efforts were needed to resuscitate the collective security powers of the UN. The New York summit was intended to get this process going.

As it turned out, the meeting was something of a flop. Given the historic nature of the occasion, the speeches were exceptionally tepid and even inappropriate. Chinese Prime Minister Li Peng used the forum to rail against those who worried about human rights, while President Bush took the opportunity to press his crusade against Libya, asking for UN sanctions if Tripoli failed to relinquish two suspects in the 1988 bombing of Pan Am flight 103. None of the leaders addressed, in any substantive way, three issues that most outside observers agree are central to the Security Council's future: the need for some kind of UN rapid deployment force, a reconstitution of the council's membership to reflect changed geopolitical realities, and the large debt that already hobbles UN peacekeeping operations around the world.

Also undiscussed in New York was the all-important issue of how much backing the United Nations can expect from the United States. The UN's role is bound to increase in the coming years. However, the extent of its power will ultimately hinge in large measure on the attitude of the United States toward collective security. And this attitude has yet clearly to crystallize.

Accepting no imitations

With the end of the Cold War, the United States faces basic choices about how to promote global security. One option is for the United States to embrace the apparent advent of a unipolar world and to accept its destiny to run the international system. "International stability is never a given," argued columnist Charles Krauthammer, the leading advocate of this view. "When achieved, it is the product of self-conscious action taken by the great powers, and most particularly of the greatest power, which for now and for the foreseeable future is the United States. If America wants stability, it will have to create it."

At the other extreme, the United States could dramatically scale back its overseas commitments, encourage the trend toward multipolarity, and attempt to foster powerful collective security structures. Such a graceful bowing out is particularly popular among those who believe that a full-scale emergency has developed at home in the realm of economic and social policy.

A third approach to world politics, the one preferred by the Bush Administration, is to retain U.S. global primacy yet promote increased cooperation on security matters. In the new world order imagined by President Bush and his senior advisers, the United States will still be the ultimate guardian of the international system. "Recent events have surely proven that there is no substitute for American leadership," Bush said in September 1990, when he first introduced the

BY DAVID CALLAHAN

notion of a new world order. The administration has emphasized, however, that its goal is not overarching American dominance. "The new world order is neither a Pax Americana nor a euphemism for the United States as world policeman," said then-National Security Council aide Robert Gates in May 1991. What the administration imagines instead is a pluralist international system with slightly stronger collective security mechanisms than now exist. As advocated in new Department of Defense planning guidance issued in April, this system would be dependent upon undisputed U.S. political-military strength.

Having it both ways

This vision has some appeal. With the United States serving as a quasi-hegemonic global power into the 21st century, the international system may have a better chance of remaining stable during an otherwise dangerous transition period.

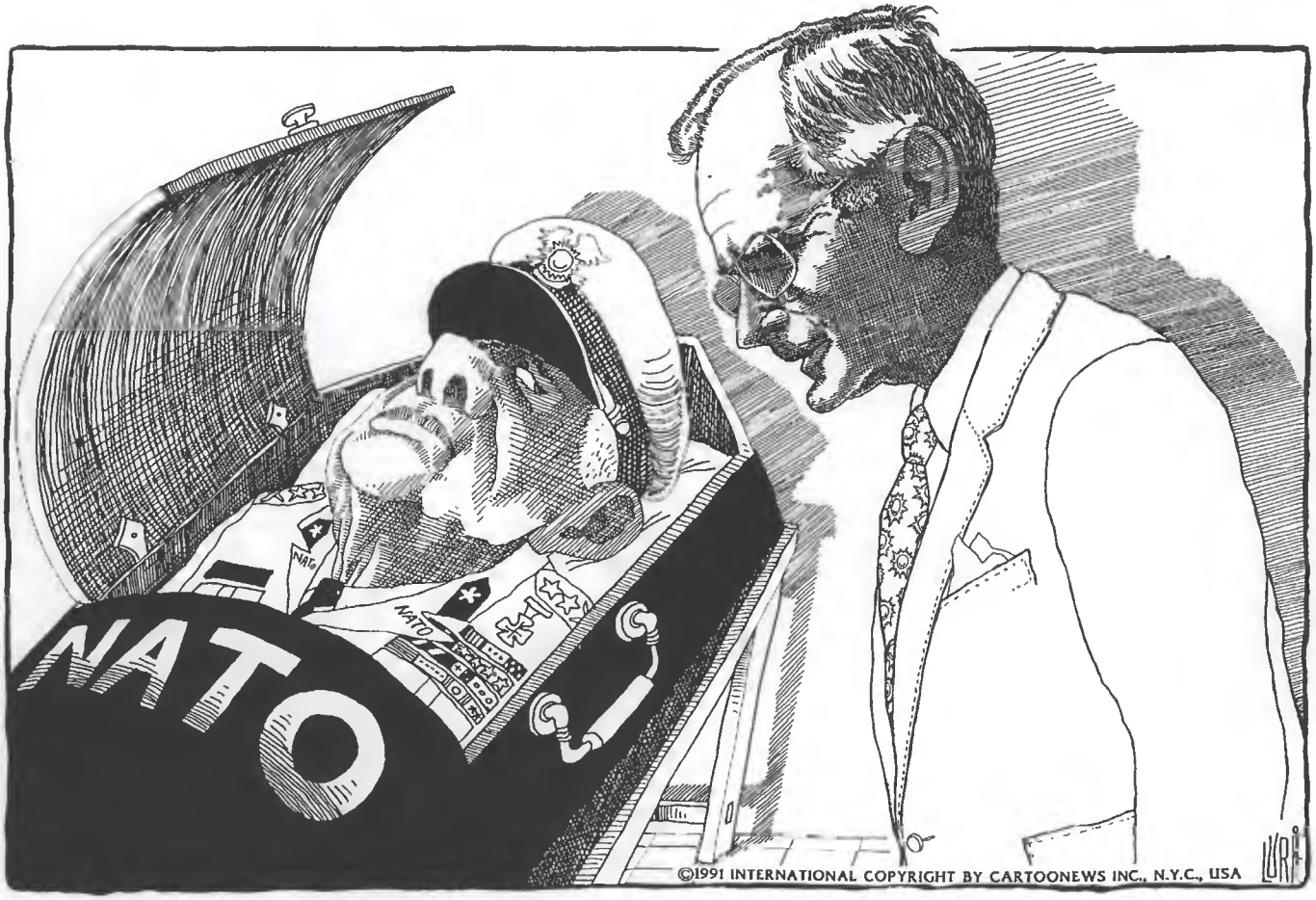
But even such a modified leadership role would impose high costs on the United States. Current Pentagon plans, for example, call for more than $2 trillion in military spending in the 1990s. Nearly 300,000 troops would remain stationed abroad through at least 1995. In comparison with the Cold War years, the burden of defense spending envisioned by the administration would be light, dipping to under 4 percent of the GNP and less than 20 percent of the federal budget, the lowest level since World War II. However, given the U.S. fiscal situation, this reduced burden would still be onerous.

Another drawback to quasi-hegemony is that it may prove unworkable, with the United States slipping back into the heavily paternalistic role it played during the Cold War. "As long as other nations believe that the United States will do the hard work of defending their interests, they are tempted to sit back and let it do so," observed foreign policy analyst Christopher Layne. And despite its rhetorical support for collective security, the Bush Administration has so far expressed little interest in new mechanisms that might serve as viable substitutes for U.S. leadership on security matters. At the UN summit, for example, President Bush failed to call for a UN rapid deployment force or for revival of the Military Staff Committee of the Security Council, the body of top military officials of the five permanent members, which is officially supposed to coordinate military action by the United Nations.

Relying on persuasion

As the Bush Administration sees it, major collective security undertakings of the future will be ad hoc affairs similar to Operation Desert Shield/Desert Storm. Essential to such a model is America's ability to persuade the international community to follow its lead in security emergencies. But how much can such an ability be taken for granted?

While industrial states in Europe and Asia may prove ready to confront security threats in their own regions, they could be unenthusiastic about dealing with more distant threats that arise in the Third World. Germany and Japan—



"I just passed by to discuss your future."

two of the obvious candidates for shared leadership on security matters—both have constitutional limits on the use of force overseas. The Bush Administration sees NATO as a potential forum for coordinating informal multilateralism, but this will likely prove unworkable. NATO's 1949 charter prohibits formal alliance involvement in operations outside its alliance territory, and many members want to keep it that way. At a summit meeting of NATO leaders in November 1991, the United States and Britain met substantial resistance when they pushed for a greater NATO commitment to tackling regional security problems. Such resistance will not disappear any time soon. As an independent report on NATO's future stated: "When it comes to Third World regions, there are substantial differences of perspective, and of interests, between the United States and most West European countries, as well as among West European states themselves."

In the past, the United States has worked successfully outside of formal alliance arrangements to convince select NATO members to join in Third World operations. Absent a new consensus in NATO on out-of-area undertakings, this ad hoc system would remain the primary means for securing European cooperation on Third World affairs.

Such a system suffers from two deficiencies: first, it has rarely yielded a fair sharing of the military burden—it didn't in the most recent Gulf crisis and didn't in 1987 and 1988, when the United States and its allies intervened in the Gulf to stop Iranian shipping attacks. Second, the system carries no guarantee of functioning in every crisis; allies may opt out of security operations for a variety of reasons, especially if they can rest assured that the United States will protect their interests whether they help or not.

A collective security model that hinges on U.S. primacy has other limitations. The United States is willing to lead cooperative efforts against aggression when it perceives U.S. vital interests to be threatened; it is unlikely to do so when no such interests are at stake. Notwithstanding President Bush's rhetoric about opposing aggression worldwide, the American public will usually be against leading crusades abroad when U.S. vital interests are unthreatened. It is therefore not hard to imagine U.S. inaction in the face of injustices comparable to Iraq's invasion of Kuwait—whether that may be aggression in the Balkans or in Central Africa.

To be fair, collective security cannot be chiefly the burden of the United States, especially given its economic problems. To be effective, a collective security system function when U.S. vital interests are not at stake. Whether a nation exports oil to the West or bananas to India, it should be assured of assistance in the face of unprovoked aggression.

A UN that works?

A more equitable and reliable system of collective security requires a reinvigorated United Nations. It would be naive to think that the UN could be transformed overnight into a viable guarantor of world peace, but if the United States cannot go it alone, and if an ad hoc collective security system is unreliable, there remains little choice but to commit new energy and resources to realizing the UN Charter's potential.

Under the charter, responsibility for maintaining world peace rests squarely on the shoulders of the Security Council. The Security Council is supposed to identify "any threat to the peace, breach of peace, or act of aggression" and initiate action to restore "peace and security." It has the power to organize and deploy armed forces drawn from member states. Article 47 of the charter stipulates that UN military operations are to be run by the Military Staff Committee of the Security Council.

On paper, the charter provides the United Nations with all the mechanisms it needs to enforce collective security. The charter does permit states to act by themselves, however, to keep the peace, with Security Council approval. But the whole idea of the United Nations, embodied in its name, is to act in a unified fashion.

This potential has never been realized. The Korean War was the only instance in nearly half a century of violence in which the UN flag flew over troops seeking to reverse aggression. Yet even though the war was sanctioned by the UN and General Douglas MacArthur served as a UN commander, the Security Council had no control over its conduct. MacArthur did not report directly to the Security Council, and the Military Staff Committee played no role in supervising his actions.

Much the same situation prevailed during the Gulf War. As in Korea, the Security Council authorized military action to reverse aggression (although this time the UN flag was not used and no UN commander was designated). And as in Korea, the Security Council had no control over the military operations it had authorized. In both cases the United States supplied most of the troops for combat and suffered most of the UN forces' casualties. In both cases, as well, the United Nations provided little more than moral legitimacy for American action and the appearance of collective security. In both Korea and the Persian Gulf, U.S.-led forces exceeded their UN mandates, with deleterious results. MacArthur crossed the 38th parallel to destroy the North Korean army and government, precipitating Chinese intervention. During the Gulf War, the U.S. military command orchestrated an over-zealous strategic bombing campaign designed to eliminate Iraq as a regional superpower, producing widespread civilian suffering after the war.

Quick response

Since the end of the Gulf War a host of suggestions have been put forth for reviving the UN's collective security apparatus. First, it is widely agreed that the secretary-general must have broader powers to engage in preventive diplomacy, investigating international disputes and preventing them from escalating into war. A crisis-monitoring center and regular access to intelligence data collected by the five permanent members of the Security Council could bolster the secretary-general's ability to anticipate crises. (It has also been proposed that the UN create its own intelligence establishment.) The secretary-general's power to defuse such crises might be increased, former Ambassador Richard Gardner has suggested, if he "could be given four or five high-level representatives responsible for the main regions

of the world who could monitor incipient conflict situations and engage in missions of preventative diplomacy."

Second and more important, it has frequently been suggested that the Security Council create a rapid deployment force under its command. As stipulated by Article 43 of the charter, such a force would be composed of military units from many countries whose availability would be guaranteed by agreements between the UN and participating states. (An agreement by the United States to provide forces would have to be ratified by the U.S. Senate.) The Military Staff Committee would oversee the "strategic direction" of these forces, as stated in Article 47. In particular, it would appoint a UN commander and supervise his operations during wartime.

The attraction of a standing force is that, at least in theory, it would swing quickly and reliably into action when clear-cut aggression occurred. There would be no waiting for U.S. political leaders to determine whether the aggression had threatened American interests. If the aggression violated the UN Charter, a response would be forthcoming. This would insure a response when unimportant countries are attacked (not every nation sits on lakes of oil). It would also create a far higher degree of deterrence than might exist under a U.S.-led collective security system.

Of course, this system would not be without limitations. Inevitably, it would function best in the face of minor aggression; bigger challenges would bring more complications. Nations might balk at placing large numbers of troops at the Security Council's disposal. In the United States, political leaders have a longstanding uneasiness about international covenants that appear to impinge on national sovereignty. (Even the 1949 convention on genocide was never ratified by the U.S. Senate, nor was the 1966 covenant on human rights.) Also, while Americans are more positively disposed toward military action abroad that reflects the will of the international community, this does not mean that the public would support the deployment of large American troop contingents when no U.S. vital interests are at stake. "It is difficult to imagine Congress agreeing to this police role for the United States, or the American public marching off to wherever the United Nations has voted it should go," argued political scientist Robert Art. Beyond these political problems, a large UN army would face substantial difficulties in the area of command, control, and logistics. Finally, it may be unrealistic to talk of new collective security responsibilities for the UN when member nations already owe nearly $400 million to the UN peacekeeping fund.

Still, most of these obstacles are probably surmountable. During the years immediately after World War II, the United States overcame a tradition of isolationism to forge the NATO alliance and other security pacts around the world. These ties compromised the freedom of action that comes with isolationism by linking America's destiny to the fates of other nations. A commitment to a collective security system, run by the Security Council, would be only a modest extension of this compromise. And the United States would not have to comply blindly with misguided UN decisions. Like each permanent member of the Security Council, the United States has a veto over UN military operations. (Richard Gardner has suggested that contributing nations without a veto might be given the right to opt out of UN operations.) Moreover, because the United States would be a major player in any collective action, it could be assured of a large measure of operational control. As for the problem of coordinating multilateral operations, the examples of NATO and Desert Shield/Storm suggest that such coordination is possible.

Other obstacles to major UN sponsored action would surely crop up. Disagreement among Security Council members could easily result in the vetoing of proposed collective security operations. Some nations might renege on commitments to provide forces or not provide them expediently enough. And there could be fierce disagreements about the ultimate strategic goals of UN forces. In short, there is no guarantee that a UN army could successfully be deployed to thwart or reverse large-scale aggression. Obviously, the United States could not base its defense planning on collective security until there was evidence that it worked.

The heavy mantle of leadership

Furthering international cooperation has never been easy, and the feasibility of empowering the Security Council is far from clear. Nonetheless, this goal stands as a logical next step in the evolution of the international security system. Even modest success in achieving it would signal historical progress toward a new world order and could substantially relieve the United States of the world leadership burden it currently carries. This would be especially true if a newly active Security Council came to include the economic powerhouses of Japan and Germany.

The ramifications of a revived United Nations could be profound. In an influential treatise on international affairs, the political scientist Kenneth Waltz summed up the grim reality of a world without a central peacekeeping authority: "Because some states may at any time use force, all states must be prepared to do so, or live at the mercy of their militarily more vigorous neighbors." The consequences of this fear of aggression are pervasive: global military expenditures are now over $800 billion a year. Regional arms races are commonplace, with many Third World nations buying and deploying some of the most advanced weapons the industrial world has to offer. For numerous impoverished countries, national security comes before all else.

The rise of a powerful United Nations, combined with other trends such as increasing economic interdependence and the spread of liberal democracy, could mean a much less dangerous world. If a UN army stood ready to defend any nation against aggression, then all nations might be able to devote fewer resources to national defense. Indeed, that was the intention of the UN Charter when it called for the "maintenance of international peace and security with the least diversion for armaments of the world's human and economic resources." ■

Author of* Dangerous Capabilities: Paul Nitze and the Cold War, *David Callahan is now working on a book about the future of U.S. security policy.

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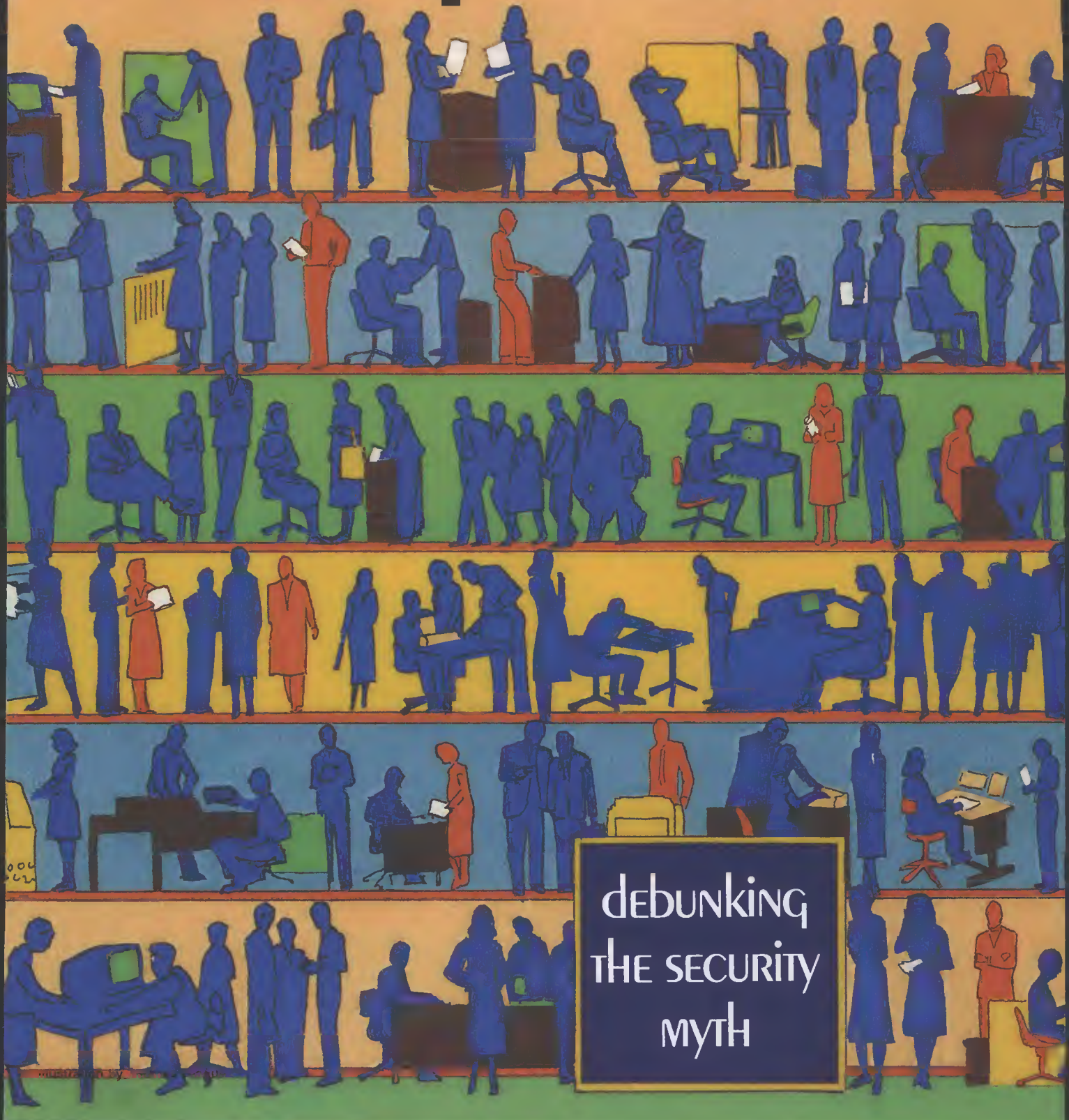
Gays in the Foreign Service



debunking the security myth

The Foreign Service leaves a sizable group of people guessing about whether their sexual preference, if known, would be damaging to their careers. "The State Department's director general has not made it clear that jobs are not in jeopardy if [employees] are gay," says David Buss, a program director in the State Department's Office of Foreign Missions who has been subject to security review as a gay. "There is a real concern that being gay can negatively affect your assignments and career," says a USAID officer who asked to remain anonymous. "The way they briefed us at the A-100 course [for entering officers]," says another, "I almost expected to be drummed out of the service."

BY MEAD JENNINGS AND ANNE STEVENSON-YANG

The Department of State, the U.S. Information Agency (USIA), and the U.S. Agency for International Development (USAID) have established policies toward gay employees in a piecemeal manner, failing to publicize existing policies, charge several gay employees. As a result, some gays in the Foreign Service feel that a degree of uncertainty attends their security clearances. AFSA wrote in March to Director General Edward J. Perkins asking for a clarification of the Foreign Service's policy toward gays in its ranks, so far without reply. Also in March, an informal group representing gay employees of the Foreign and Civil Service in State, USIA, and USAID expressed their concerns about "inconsistent standards" to the director general. In response, Ambassador Perkins assigned Deputy Assistant Secretary for Personnel Kenneth Hunter to meet with the gay employees and determine a course of action. David Buss, spokesman for the employees, says that they now have established a group called Gays and Lesbians in Foreign Affairs Agencies, which meets monthly to represent the concerns of gay employees of State, USIA, and USAID.

"My main problem with [State's Office of Diplomatic Security]," says a gay officer, "is that, in my five years, there's never been a policy promulgated. . . . I've wanted to be out ever since I entered the service, but I've never known whether I would automatically be [fired] or what. . . . By not promulgating this, they wait until it's a crisis."

Relevant, but not damning

Officially, homosexuality is no offense. Personnel officers in all branches of the Foreign Service are guided in general terms by the Foreign Affairs Manual, which specifies that grounds for disciplinary action may include, "conduct which furnishes substantial reason to believe that the individual may be or is being subject to coercion, improper influence, or pressure which is reasonably likely to cause the individual to act contrary to the national security or foreign relations of the United States;" or, "notoriously disgraceful conduct," defined in part as "that conduct which is shameful in nature and is generally known and talked of in a scornful manner." Diplomatic Security (DS) adheres to a general policy that was stated during a press briefing on August 4, 1982: "[A]dmitted or alleged homosexuality, per se, does not constitute a basis for denial of employment or security clearance." According to the statement, however, sexuality in general "may be relevant" during a security review. USAID follows the State Department protocol, a USAID spokesman says. He adds, "We've never turned anyone down [for a security clearance] because of homosexuality."

Russell Sveda, a Foreign Service officer on detail to the National Science Foundation, says that is not the practice in State. Sveda says he was first investigated on the grounds of homosexuality in 1978, when he was posted to Israel. He worked without incident, however, until 1986, when DS sought his discharge on suitability grounds, initially because of "homosexuality," following disclosure of a brief liaison with another American man. Then Director General George Vest ruled in Sveda's favor in July 1986 but, shortly afterwards, Sveda was informed that his security clearance was being suspended and subsequently revoked. Since that time, Sveda says, he has spent more than $30,000 on his defense and received letters of support from dozens of colleagues and superiors, including ambassadors, but his clearance has not been restored. "It's absolutely capricious," he says.

Others say they have been singled out for security interviews on the basis of sexual preference alone. Danny Hall, an administrative officer most recently assigned to the Dominican Republic whose sexual preference is known to colleagues, says that on his return to Washington from his first tour he was called to three interviews with Diplomatic Security and asked about his homosexuality. No charge of misconduct was raised. Two DS agents also flew to Dallas to ask Hall's mother whether she was aware that her son was gay. The agents were courteous and made sure Hall was informed of his rights, he says, and his security clearance has not been revoked. Nev-

ertheless, he found the experience disturbing. "I see that there's prejudice or harassment that does exist," he says.

Richard Hoagland, a gay Foreign Service officer in USIA, came under investigation by the USIA Office of Security in August 1989. Hoagland, like Hall, was out of the closet to colleagues and superiors, had possessed an exemplary work record during his four years of Foreign Service, and had never breached any security regulations. But, Hoagland says, it would have been unrealistic to imagine that his sexuality would never come under official review.

Cautious opening

An exclusionary policy toward gays in many federal government positions existed through the 1960s. In the 1950s FBI Director J. Edgar Hoover had made "sexual perversion" a criterion of nonloyalty for the Federal Employee Security Program, reporting that the FBI had identified many "sex deviates in government service." In 1953, President Eisenhower signed an Executive Order explicitly barring homosexuals from employment in the federal government, and a number of employees were fired. The Department of Defense had a policy of dismissal for employees with gay "tendencies," according to Mary Newcombe, a staff attorney with the Lambda Legal Defense and Education Fund who specializes in Defense Department issues.

As attitudes changed in the 1960s and 1970s, so did government employment practices. The Civil Service Commission in 1976 and 1977 amended its regulations to bar dismissal of any federal employee on the basis of sexual orientation, and the Civil Service Reform Act of 1978 did the same thing by statute. Exclusionary policies toward those holding security clearances, however, remained in place, and gays went to the courts to reverse discriminatory policies. According to Franklin E. Kameny, an authority on security clearances for gay people, several cases have established a precedent that curtails the federal government's ability to refuse a security clearance on the basis of homosexuality alone.

continud on page 46

Clearances and Closets:

Gay Life in the Foreign Service

BY JAN KRC

The invasion of Czechoslovakia by half a million Soviet troops was the most significant experience of my childhood. My family emigrated to the United States, and I developed a keen interest in international affairs. This interest and the desire to give back something to my adopted country turned my attention to public service. After finishing graduate school, where I focused on Eastern Europe, I joined the Foreign Service in September of 1982. This is what I had always wanted to do. It still is. My first offer came from USIA, and I accepted it for a practical as well as a sentimental reason: I was gay and mistakenly assumed that a press-and-culture operation would be a more tolerant setting that the State Department. I also wished to honor my grandfather who, charged with listening to the Voice of America, spent the 1950s in a Communist concentration camp.

Much to the surprise of most of my classmates, we all got the assignments we wanted. I tested out of Serbo-Croatian in seven months and was eagerly on my way to Belgrade. Part of Eastern Europe but not the Soviet Bloc, Yugoslavia then had excellent relations with the United States. I had a successful tour of duty there, as evidenced by my supervisors' evaluations of my performance. On the way to my follow-up assignment in Capetown, South Africa, I was to stop for three weeks in Washington for consular training and consultations.

I 'confess'

A few days before my departure for South Africa, I was called in for a "routine security debriefing" concerning my Belgrade assignment. I cooperated fully with what turned into a nine-hour interrogation. Foolishly, I allowed the two officials from the USIA Bureau of Management's Office of Security to cajole me out of securing legal representation. This was a fatal mistake, since it allowed them to lie to me about the fraternization policy in Yugoslavia and to misrepresent what I had told them about my personal life. I believe that their interest in me stemmed from a CIA report that I was gay—information that the CIA had received from me years earlier during a campus recruitment interview. Since my homosexuality had never come up during my Foreign Service security background check, USIA now seemed determined to get me to sign a "confession." During the course of the interrogation, it became obvious to me that another purpose of the questioning was to ferret out other gays in the Foreign Service. I asked about the liberal fraternization policy in Yugoslavia (single officers were allowed to date local nationals and only had to report serious relationships as they developed) and was assured that it was still in effect.

After signing my "confession," I was told to go ahead and get my shots for Africa. Although shaken by this encounter, I firmly believed that my candor and cooperation had been proper. I was determined to prove that I was not subject to blackmail (and therefore not a security risk) and that I was an honest and loyal employee. I took this position against the advice of those who argued that with Security, one should never be forthcoming on sexual matters.

It was the summer of 1984, and, despite the Orwellian date, I assumed that times had changed. I discovered the extent of my naivete when, without explanation,

my assignment to Capetown was canceled. For weeks on end, I waited for something to happen.

Double standard

Six weeks after the security interrogation, I received a letter from the USIA director of Personnel that proposed to terminate my Foreign Service appointment based on alleged misconduct that demonstrated "insubordination, irresponsibility, poor judgment, and lack of discretion." The specific charge of insubordination was based on alleged violations of agency instructions prohibiting sexual relations with Communist country nationals. The letter also informed me of my right to a pretermination hearing before the Foreign Service Grievance Board.

I was stunned and at first could only believe that the charge was a terrible mistake. After all, my Serbo-Croatian teacher was a Yugoslav national who had recently married a USIA Foreign Service officer, and I knew of other Foreign Service officer who had married Yugoslavs. The Office of Security did not bother to show the personnel director the actual fraternization policy for Yugoslavia; the office merely assured her that it was the same as for the Soviet Union. I held a number of meetings with the director of personnel at which I produced the text of the policy and half a dozen signed statements from unmarried FSOs who had recently served in Yugoslavia and never been told that sex with local nationals was prohibited. After the meetings, she revoked the proposed termination and assured me that, based on my performance thus far, I would be tenured. She also encouraged me to take an immediate overseas assignment and get on with my career.

My faith in the ultimate fairness of the system restored, I looked forward to my new assignment in the Philippines. Unfortunately, I had not counted on the deep-seated homophobia and bureaucratic doggedness of the USIA Office of Security. Once they leveled their charge against me, no amount of evidence and no review process could persuade them to see the matter differently. They advised Personnel that they would not approve *any* Foreign Service assignment for me. Consequently, in January of 1985 I received a second letter of termination from the director of personnel. This termination, unlike the first one, was supposedly not disciplinary or performance-based but rather a result of Security's determination that my "homosexuality would make [me] an extremely likely target for hostile intelligence approaches."

Going to the courts

Realizing that I could not settle this dispute quietly inside the agency as I preferred, and determined to clear my name of the misconduct charge implicit in the overseas clearance revocation, I turned to the outside world for help. The American Civil Liberties Union and I, through volunteer attorneys at the firm of Covington & Burling, filed a grievance against the U.S. Information Agency.

After two years of intensive legal wrangling, the Foreign Service Grievance Board made its decision. The board found my termination to be invalid, since Security's action was "arbitrary and capricious and contrary to agency regulations." It directed the agency to reinstate me in the Foreign Service, clean up the files, and remove the blanket restriction regarding overseas assignments.

Nevertheless, the Office of Security persuaded the agency to ignore this directive and take the case to U.S. District Court. Once on the outside, the agency chose not to argue the facts of the case but rather to dispute the board's and the court's jurisdiction even to hear the case. To this day agency attorneys, at great expense to the taxpayer, are fighting to make Security's actions absolutely unreviewable.

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I find this position frightening and even un-American. Simply put, it means that whenever the Office of Security invokes "National Security," it can deprive any government employee of due process rights. It was precisely such unfettered state power that drove my parents to flee Czechoslovakia.

My hope is that soon the U.S. Foreign Service will find better uses for its resources than eliminating from its ranks loyal and talented Foreign Service officers who happen to be gay.

Jan Krc is currently awaiting a security clearance for a new Foreign Service candidacy. This article does not necessarily represent the views of the U.S. Foreign Service.

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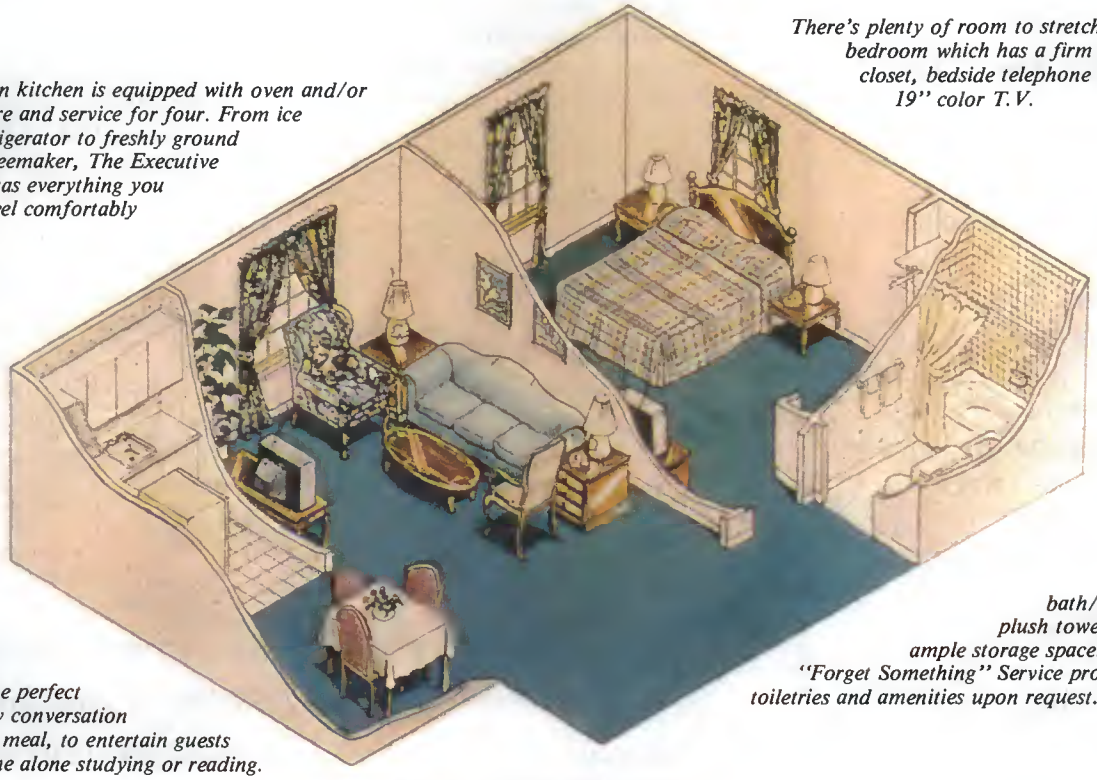

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Instead, a "nexus" must be established between sexual orientation and the ability to perform a job.

In 1988, the National Security Agency decided to grant gays and lesbians access to "sensitive compartmented information" (SCI) under certain circumstances. The CIA in the late 1980s also decided that homosexuality *per se* was not grounds for denying an SCI clearance, although it was one factor to be taken into account in determining trustworthiness.

Currently, one of the last bastions of exclusion—the armed services—is being assailed by Congress. In May of this year, Representative Pat Schroeder (D-CO) introduced the Military Freedom Act of 1992 to forbid discriminaton in the armed services on the basis of sexual orientation.

Fears of blackmail

The official anxiousness about gay employees stems from an old perception that gays, leading a lifestyle that is stigmatized, may be more susceptible to blackmail than heterosexuals. "The idea was that homosexuals were particularly apt to be blackmailed," says Larry Williamson, deputy assistant secretary of State for Personnel. "I think there was something to it, because in [the 1950s] there were damn few people out of the closet. There was a great deal of fear about exploitation by [Communist] Bloc intelligence." Williamson believes attitudes have changed significantly in the past 10 years. The State Department, however, still considers applicants and employees who are homosexual to be *potentially* vulnerable to blackmail, Williamson says.

A study undertaken for the Department of Defense on the susceptibility of gays to blackmail suggests, however, that gays and lesbians are no more likely than heterosexuals to be pressured into committing treason. The report, prepared in 1988 by the Defense Personnel Security Research and Education Center but never released by DOD, examined 117 cases of Americans between 1945 and 1989 who had committed or attempted to commit espionage. Of these 117 offenders, seven were identified as homosexual. In brief biographic sketches of the seven and synopses of their treasonous acts, no connection was established between sexual orientation and espionage. None of the offenders was recruited by a foreign government, which would seem a requirement if blackmail had been a motive; all but one volunteered their services.

None of the State, USIA, or USAID spokesmen interviewed for this article could offer substantiation for the fear that gays are vulnerable to blackmail. Larry Williamson says he is not aware of any cases of blackmail involving a gay, and Larry Carnahan, acting director of USIA's Office of Security, says, "There have been no such cases in USIA." Officials in the Office of Security at USAID also can

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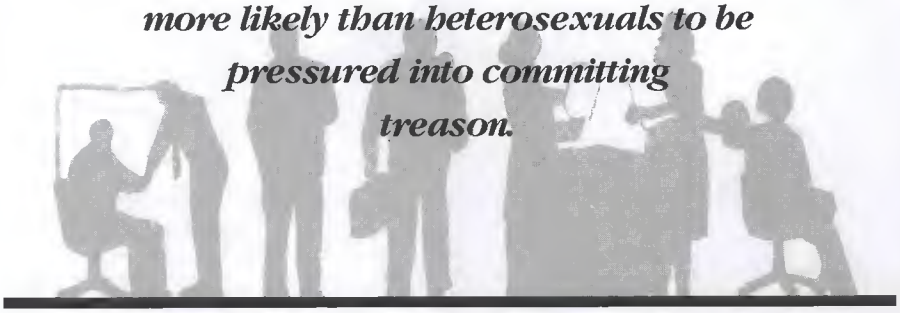

recall no case of blackmail involving a gay or lesbian employee.

A secondary reason for subjecting gay employees to heightened scrutiny is the reluctance to allow any Foreign Service employee to engage in behavior that might embarrass the U.S. government. But the gay employees interviewed all emphasized the need for discretion, and none reported being counseled for inappropriate behavior. "Generally, a current employee's sexual practices become a matter of concern to the agency only if they seem relevant to the employee's alleged violation of security or suitability regulations," says Harlan Rosacker, director of USIA's Office of Personnel. Acts that are committed during a foreign posting and are considered "notoriously disgraceful conduct" could result in a security investigation for either sex. For homosexuals, "commonly accepted displays of affection, such as kissing" are not considered notorious. Neither is presence at gay bars. However, "employees who engage in sexual acts in gay bars, bathhouses, and theaters" would fall into the realm of "notoriously disgraceful."

At many foreign posts, homosexuality is technically illegal—as are many homosexual acts in most of the United States. But, according to a USAID Office of Security official who requested anonymity, even engaging in homosexual acts that are illegal in the host country should not put a Foreign Service employee's security clearance in jeopardy. "We're not in the criminal business," he says. "[We would not be involved] unless the employee were to commit a crime that is also in violation of U.S. code, like rape, for instance."

Scrutiny from the Hill

In 1987, Representative Schroeder, chairman of the House Subcommittee on Civil Service, received allegations that Foreign Service personnel suspected of being homosexual were subject to disparate treatment. Her concern was directed at USIA. In response to Schroeder's inquiry, USIA compiled statistics on the treatment of homosexual Foreign Service employees. Included was a listing of the 18

security reviews carried out between 1982 and 1987 looking into sexual indiscretion in USIA. Of those listed, 12 involved homosexual Foreign Service officers and six involved heterosexuals.

The report reveals that all but two of the 12 gay cases were initiated solely because of an accusation of homosexuality, not unlawful conduct. One of the two remaining admitted sexual contact with foreign nationals, and the other admitted having sex with foreign nationals from a "criteria" country. (A "criteria country" is one in which the risk of hostile intelligence operations against American officials is considered particularly high, traditionally including countries in Eastern Europe, the Soviet Union, and China.) By contrast, all six heterosexual cases listed involved contact that violated regulations, including one person in the Voice of America who was married but engaged in "sexual relationships with prominent nationals of other countries, some of whom were believed to have connections with foreign intelligence organizations."

Schroeder's 1987 inquiry and correspondence with then Agency Director Charles Wick was followed in 1988 with a request from Schroeder for the State Department to answer seven pages of questions concerning discrimination against gays. Since that time, security reviews have become less intrusive for gays. "Diplomatic Security approaches it with a certain amount of understanding," says Washington attorney William Bransford, who has represented several gay Foreign Service employees. "They put it in a nice way: 'You have your lifestyle, that's your business. But we have national security interests, and sometimes the two conflict.' It's much easier for most gay Foreign Service officers to accede to that kind of an interview."

'Potential' risks

State Department Personnel now follows guidelines that were laid out in the December 7, 1988 response to Schroeder's queries. According to Williamson, this response is the standard policy now in effect for the State Department. Among other things, the policy states:

- The department does consider applicants and employees who are homosexual to be *potentially* vulnerable to blackmail.
- State does not, without more specific security concerns, limit or revoke a security clearance if it ascertains that an employee already posted to a criteria country is homosexual.
- If the department learns that a Foreign Service employee posted to a criteria country is (or is believed to be) homosexual, an appropriate investigation is initiated, consisting normally of record checks, inquiries to cognizant security officers or supervisors, and a personal interview with the employee.

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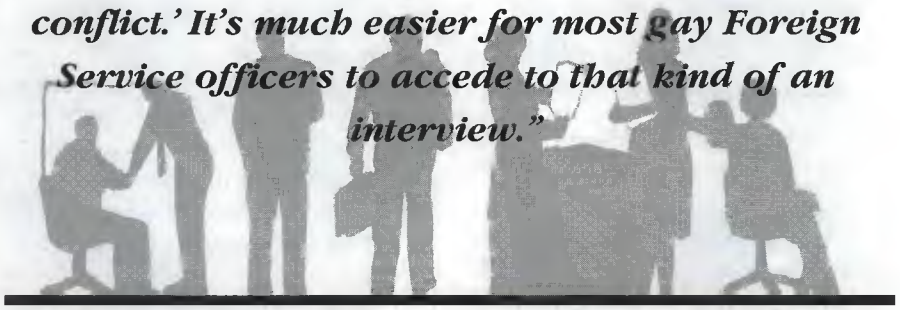

Tolerable discrimination?

Where does it all leave gay Foreign Service employees? Some contend it leaves them to deal with subtle patterns of prejudice and discrimination. For example, while officials of each branch of the Foreign Service say there are no security distinctions between heterosexual and homosexual activity in foreign countries, gays and their families are often subjected to interviews about the employee's sexual behavior that they may find offensive and intrusive.

Furthermore, a few gay officers say they would like to bring their companions to post. "Most couples now have to deal with, 'who's going to put his career on the slow track?' We do that too, but we do it without a [diplomatic] passport, without housing, without evacuation protection . . . " says one gay officer in State. "We laugh because the president talks so much about family values. Well, I believe in family values, and this is my family. What am I supposed to do? Marry a woman and make her miserable? Be alone all my life?"

Nevertheless, the system is improving, according to Williamson. As much as the attitudes of the 1950s were reflected in departmental policy of that period, greater societal acceptance of homosexuality is filtering into Foreign Service thinking. "Overt and official discrimination is absurd," Williamson says. "I would say, however, that there are individuals who still find [homosexuality] an aberrant behavior and don't like to deal with [gays]."

For Richard Hoagland, the Foreign Service's attitude toward gays is, at worst, "benign." "I think the majority of Foreign Service officers across the board are—privately, maybe—very supportive of these issues," he says. Nevertheless, although he has risen steadily through the ranks, he accepts that his sexuality will limit his personal life in comparison to heterosexuals. That includes getting involved with any foreign nationals of any country: "It's something I've decided I wouldn't do, because it would raise questions in the security apparatus. Yes, it boils down to discrimination. I know it's morally wrong, but that's the level of discrimination I'm able to live with." ■

***Mead Jennings is a Washington-based journalist. Anne Stevenson-Yang is editor of the* Foreign Service Journal.**

BOOKS

State's Hair Shirt

GEORGE BALL, VIETNAM, AND THE RETHINKING OF CONTAINMENT

by David DiLeo, University of North Carolina, 1991, $37.50 hardcover, $12.95 softcover

Reviewed by Henry E. Mattox

The name of George W. Ball will remain forever linked historically with America's war in Vietnam—linked as a critic, that is. He was not one of the "best and brightest" who urged one form or another of an American solution in the 1960s. Rather, while an insider in government, the former under secretary of state and (briefly) ambassador to the UN put himself repeatedly on record, beginning with his service in the Kennedy Administration, that the United States should not follow France in becoming fatally mired in Vietnam. No one else at his level of responsibility did so at such an early point or so persistently. He seemingly never held any illusions about the possibility of success of our Vietnam policies, while in office or later.

In his memoirs, *The Past Has Another Pattern*, Ball covers these controversial episodes in only three chapters out of a total of 30. His long career, after all, involved a multitude of other questions, including important European affairs and economic issues.

DiLeo, drawing on extensive interviews with Ball and others, concentrates on Vietnam alone in this scholarly study. He impressively documents the details of Ball's objections and of their many submissions to higher authority. DiLeo also discusses at length how the lawyer-banker-diplomat managed to maintain good relations with virtually all of his superiors—even Lyndon Johnson—while acting as "in-house hair shirt" on Vietnam. This remarkable ability, along with Ball's role as public spokesman for policies he privately opposed and his steadfast refusal to resign on a point of principle, drew fire from disappointed colleagues and the media. He long tempered his dissent to the war, apparently in the hope that he would be called to serve as secretary of State.

DiLeo's work contains a few curious bobbles: he identifies Roger Hilsman twice as a mere "State Department intelligence analyst" and political scientist Richard Neustadt as a diplomatic historian. More importantly, the title is misleading, despite the inclusion of an unconvincing concluding chapter entitled "George Ball and the Theorists." Realist though he was in the halls of diplomacy, and as valuable as his dogged persistence occasionally was in injecting a note of caution in plans to escalate U.S. involvement in Southeast Asia, Ball scarcely played a leading part as theoretician in "rethinking containment." The impetus for such strategic thinking and writing came mainly from academic revisionist opponents of the Cold War doctrine attributed to George Kennan—including Kennan himself. This study nonetheless provides a useful look at George Ball's policy views and motivation; the serious student of the Vietnam War will find it a must.

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A retired Foreign Service officer, Henry Mattox currently teaches at the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill.

The Military and U.S. Grand Strategy

A PREPONDERANCE OF POWER: NATIONAL SECURITY, THE TRUMAN ADMINISTRATION, AND THE COLD WAR

by Melvyn P. Leffler, Stanford University Press, 1992, $29.95 hardcover

Reviewed by James Edward Miller

The early years of the Cold War have long exercised a special hold on students of modern American foreign policy. The structures and the outlook created during the presidency of Harry Truman remain central to contemporary foreign policy. In spite of their brave words about a "new world order," politicians in both the United States and Europe are more interested in fitting the states of Eastern Europe and the Commonwealth into the existing international system than in creating a new one. No better indication of this desire exists than U.S. insistence on preserving the cornerstone of Truman's containment program: NATO.

The second reason for this scholarly preoccupation with the Truman years does little credit to our government. Since the late 1970s the United States has created a heavy-handed, costly, and overzealous censorship bureaucracy. These modern-day grand inquisitors have withheld so many documents in the name of "national security" that scholars suspect a conscious effort to distort the historical record. In late 1990 Congress stepped in to put a stop to what the *New York Times* aptly defined as "Historygate" (see the *Foreign Service Journal*, December 1991, "Despatch").

While waiting for the U.S. government to overcome its fear of releasing the "secrets" of the Eisenhower Administration, scholars have used the massive record created in the Truman

years to produce a seemingly endless stream of studies of bilateral relations and regional policies, many of great value. Strangely, few have essayed an overview of U.S. grand strategy. Gabriel Kolko made a heroic effort in the 1960s prior to the release of most of the documentation. Since this neo-Marxist interpretation, a quarter of a century passed before anyone took on the daunting task of producing an equally comprehensive synthesis of the rapidly accumulating scholarship and archives.

Fortunately, that scholar was extremely well equipped. Melvyn Leffler of the University of Virginia combines an iconoclastic outlook with policy experience acquired as an official in the Carter Administration's Defense Department. No historian operates without an ideological bias, and Leffler's is a commitment to the ideals of the democratic left. However, he has produced a sophisticated, readable, and fair-minded study of the making of a global strategy that may dominate historical debate for the next quarter century.

The key to Leffler's success lies in his ability to integrate the military perspective acquired from an exhaustive perusal of defense planning and operational records with more commonly utilized archives of the State Department and the Truman presidential library. In doing so, he shows how the requirements of military planning shaped U.S. grand strategy. Shifting rapidly but gracefully from Washington planning to the political, economic, and social realities of a world ravaged by war, Leffler illustrates how the chaotic conditions of postwar Eurasia led Truman Administration officials to a series of "prudent" actions to defend U.S. interests. Underlying American policy, Leffler explains, was the desire to preserve a "preponderance of power."

Leffler's policymakers are not cardboard figures marching to the tune of the unrelenting demands of monopoly capitalism but men possessed of ideals, plagued by difficult choices, and dedicated to serving the best interests of the American people. While he challenges many of their conceptions of these interests, Leffler never falls into the trap of demonizing or belittling Truman and his collaborators.

Quite properly, the center of this book is Europe, where the administration frontally challenged Soviet power and provided material and moral support for the efforts of the democratic center to defeat their internal Communist opponents. The great success of Truman and his collaborators was that they pulled together a block of states that possessed the vast majority of the world's economic potential. For the next four decades, the United States utilized its economic, military, and political-ideological assets to hold these nations together in a mutually enriching cooperation.

Strategic concerns, including securing the West's uninhibited access to petroleum, inevitably led the United States into a widening involvement in the turbulent Middle East, while civil war in China and a need to keep the industrial potential of Japan in the democratic camp shaped an expanding East Asian commitment.

The problem, as Leffler sees it, was

an overextension of U.S. geopolitical reach, first evident in the Middle East and in such peripheral areas as Korea and Southeast Asia. This overextension was the result of a serious misperception of the strength of the Soviet threat. The results of this overly ambitious policy undertaken for the best reasons by men of unquestioned patriotism were serious: "The price of predominance—the costs of linking Western Europe, Japan, and their dependencies to a U.S.-led orbit—was an unlimited arms race, indiscriminate commitments, constant anxiety, eternal vigilance, and a protracted Cold War."

These conclusions will undoubtedly provoke criticism. It is a tribute to Leffler's skill as a scholar that his major points are so firmly rooted in skilfully employed, massive documentation that, even if secondary conclusions are successfully challenged, the central argument remains compelling.

The treatment of Stalin's motivations, an area in which Leffler has little documentation, will undoubtedly bother many. Leffler makes a strong case for giving the Soviet dictator the benefit of the doubt in international affairs, though he entertains no delusions about the bloody and repressive nature of Stalin's regime. However, it strains credulity to argue that the Soviet Union was as consistently restrained in its international activities as Leffler would have it.

More troubling for this reader is Leffler's treatment of the threat posed by European national Communist parties to international stability. Leffler relies heavily on the work of other American historians, who often overestimate U.S. influence and underestimate the internal factors shaping European foreign and domestic policies. The United States was a hegemonic power in the 1940s, but that hegemony was based on mutually reinforcing alliances with dominant foreign elites. However, in some nations, the possibility existed that Communists would come to power through elections. Communist parties were dangerous precisely because their leadership was not fully in control of an armed and radicalized base. A real potential for insurrection or civil war existed within the U.S. sphere of influence, and with this threat came the possibility that European or U.S. actions would provoke Soviet intervention. Prudent men, like those in command of the Truman Administration, had to take this possibility into their planning.

Leffler will not have the final word on the origins of the Cold War—and probably would not want it. *A Preponderance of Power* should provide both a model and encouragement for other scholars to deal with issues of grand strategy during the Cold War era. ■

James Edward Miller is a Foreign Service officer. The opinions expressed are solely those of the author and do not reflect the views of the Department of State.

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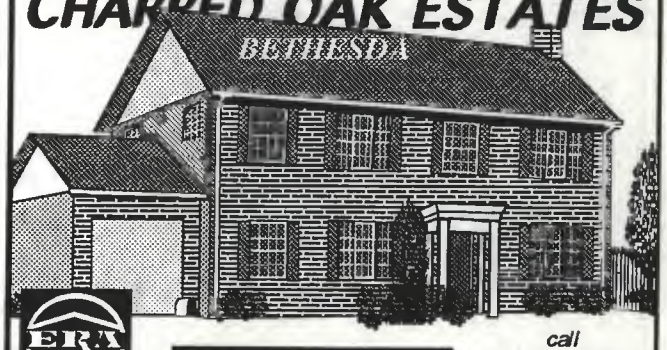

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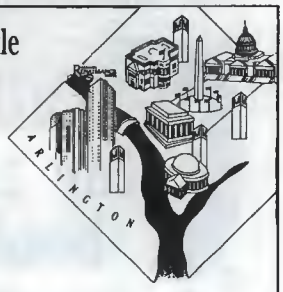

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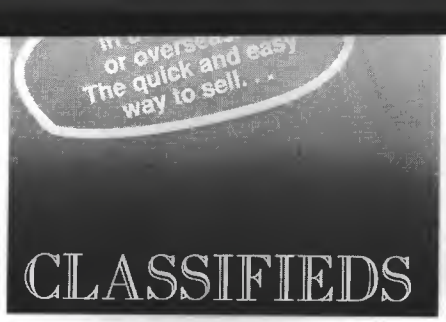

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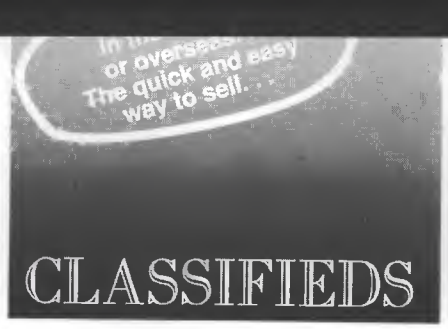

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