

FOREIGN SERVICE JOURNAL

AUGUST 1993

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THE VISION OF CHESTER BOWLES

BY HOWARD B. SCHAFFER



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AND

A Look at Oral History
An Interview with USIA
Director Joseph Duffey

PLUS

Myles Frechette on
Scapegoating



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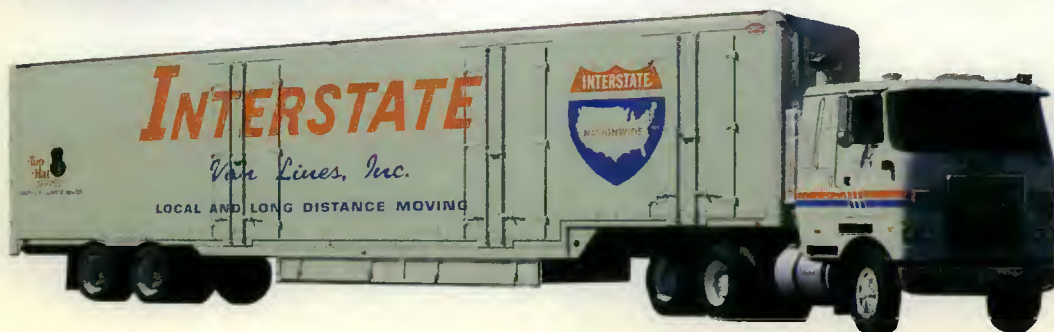
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AFSA VIEWS

NEW ERA, NEW TEAM, NEW AGENDA

AFSA's new officers and governing board have been elected at a time of unprecedented challenge and change for the Foreign Service, mirroring the awesome metamorphosis of the international order. As we prepare to take office, the different constituencies we represent are struggling with diverse and often competing new agendas, and differing expectations of their professional representatives: us.

Retirees, shocked to learn that the contract they entered into to ensure their survivors' benefits and cost-of-living parity could be negated by the stroke of a congressional pen, want us to redouble our activism on the Hill. They need and want AFSA leadership in an effective lobbying effort.

At State, agendas vary under the same roof. Everyone is being asked to do "much more with much less." Junior officers facing "threshold coning" share the managers' fear that past decisions leave no satisfactory, equitable answers for today. Senior officers worry about the looming time-in-class (TIC) limits and debate again the TIC vs. Limited Career Extension (LCE).

USIA, though gratified that the new administration's foreign-policy priorities afford it bold challenges to help promote democracy abroad, strengthen civic societies, and build independent information media, finds that opportunities to assist are not being supported with new resources and programs.

AID, while pleased that it will continue as an independent agency, faces enormous cutbacks in O&E, and is bracing for "right-sizing," which will bring hundreds of employees and their families back to an already top-heavy headquarters being reorganized—yet again—from top to bottom.

Across the board, the foreign-affairs agencies face a vexing paradox: a world becoming increasingly complex and in many ways more dangerous, and a domestic polity which, seeking to repair the consequences of years of neglect at home, is growing more reluctant to devote adequate resources to confronting those offshore complexities. Meanwhile, the major foreign-affairs budget remains frozen in its old, Cold War matrix, with billions focused on intelligence and defense and mere millions on diplomacy.

The new AFSA leadership inherits a healthy and vibrant organization, but one shaped over the decades by the relatively simple and orderly environment of the Cold War. Establishing the association's priorities in this daunting new era will not be easy. The bottom line is this: *AFSA can do anything, but it cannot do everything.* Clearly the major task of the incoming board is to make the tough decisions on what to do and when to do it. Inputs, ideas, suggestions, and most importantly, participation from you—the men and women of the Foreign Service—are indispensable to our meeting the challenges of the new era in foreign policy which we, as professionals, face.

Please address ideas, suggestions, and offers of help to the AFSA Governing Board, FAX (202) 338-6820, 2101 E Street, NW, Washington, DC 20037.

—TEX HARRIS



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Chester Bowles with Jawaharlal Nehru.

Photo courtesy of Chester Bowles Papers, Yale University Library



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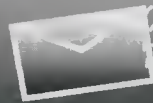
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LOCAL PRESENCE



LETTERS

THE POWER OF INFORMATION

TO THE EDITOR:

I would like to congratulate you on your June 1993 issue [on diplomacy and culture]. Why? Because you made such a fine choice of subjects, subjects that should be of interest to all who are interested in foreign affairs. For example, in speaking to others about ourselves in foreign-language broadcasts, we need to take into account not only local political conditions, but also cultural and economic conditions. We could err grievously in depicting the United States as the land of milk and honey if the result is to intensify brain drain and provoke mass migrations.

Of particular interest to me was the article "The Cold War's Deadliest Weapon: Information." I didn't need the article to be convinced of the importance of information, but I found it very useful for the manner in which the case is presented. We all need to become more aware of *how* powerful a weapon or tool information is. Even a small, short dose.

And speaking of information, that article whetted my appetite for *more*. I would like to know more about the picture on page 43 captioned "Listeners gather around the radio to hear an early Voice of America broadcast."

James H. De Cou
FSIO, Retired
France

Editor's note: *The picture appeared in a VOA anniversary publication, but the date and country are unknown.*

RUTHLESSNESS A NECESSITY

TO THE EDITOR:

In his letter on "Somalis Misperceived" (*April Journal*), Ambassador Gordon Beyer is correct that we should not condemn a people by the

actions of a few. However, we cannot let this observation blind us to the vast cultural differences between the Somalis and ourselves. We must also understand that these cultural differences often enter the area of morality.

Lord Acton wrote that morality is a set of rules society makes for its own preservation. The preservation of one's clan, in competition for scarce resources in an extremely inhospitable land such as Somalia generates far different conceptions of right and wrong from the ones produced in American society. In Somalia, ruthlessness becomes a necessity and duplicity a trait to be admired—when directed at outsiders.

In a sense, Ambassador Beyer is right in describing Mohammed Siad Barre as a despicable man, at least in terms of proper comportment acceptable in America. But in Somali terms, and in Siad's own worldview, he did what was necessary to bring stability to a country that was rapidly becoming ungovernable when he took power. During my years in our embassy in Somalia in the mid-1980s I observed that, while Siad was indeed repressive, he seemed to use the least repressive means necessary to keep the peace. He also had the support, albeit grudging, of significant segments of other clans and tribal groups.

Regarding his alleged atrocities, our embassy suffered from a situation common in the Third World, in which the local people most accessible to us were usually those of opposition clans. Many of these Somalis, though Western-educated and well-versed in the art of communicating with Westerners, were still victims of their own intense tribal prejudices. Also, they were all too often enthusiastic practitioners of the proud Somali cultural trait of duplicity. To be effective as diplomats and as objective observers, we must learn to transcend our own

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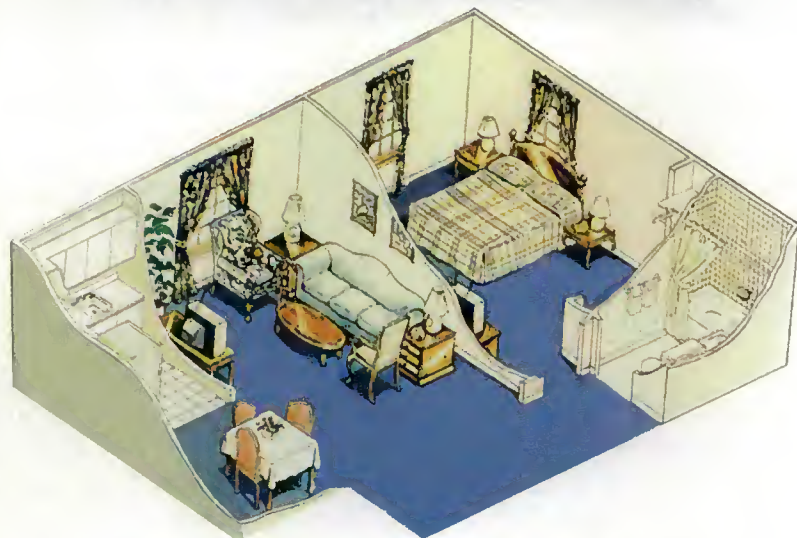
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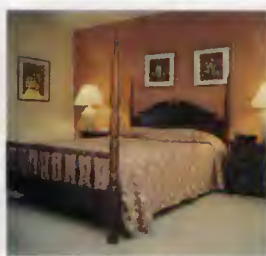
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cultural blinders to avoid being manipulated by others.

*Christopher D. Costanzo
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QUERY

The Association for Diplomatic Studies through its Foreign Affairs Oral History Program is interested in encouraging retired members of the Foreign Service to contribute their experiences and perceptions, gained after long careers, to its growing oral-history collection. Limitations in funds, interviewers, and ability to travel preclude the association from doing oral histories with the great majority of retirees. There is, however, a method whereby retirees can put their memoirs into the historical record.

The association now deposits its oral-history transcripts with the Foreign Service Institute library and with the Special Collections Room of the Lauinger Library at Georgetown University. There, the transcripts are available to researchers interested in diplomatic history. We have also included a few written memoirs in the collection. We would like to add more. Eventually we hope to have the collection available on CD Rom in other universities as well thus bringing more people's work and experiences to the attention of the historian. More and more often those who write history are interested in what individuals, other than the obvious leaders such as secretaries of state, were doing. Since diaries and letters are no longer produced the way they once were, memoirs have gained a new importance.

For those interested in working with the Foreign Affairs History Program on their memoirs, please write to, or call:

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THE STATE OF WOMEN

THE WASHINGTON POST, JUNE 20, 1993

A group of female Foreign Service officers has accused the State Department of violating antidiscrimination rulings and asked a federal court to put a stop to it.

The women's motion . . . seeks a five-year extension of a 1989 injunction prohibiting discrimination against female Foreign Service officers and asks individual remedies for women affected by violations. It also accuses Secretary of State Warren Christopher of violating the injunction and seeks to have him held in contempt of court. . . .

The plaintiffs contend that the State Department for the past four years has continued to discriminate against female [Foreign Service officers] in their assignments as political, economic, and administrative officers, as well as in evaluations of their potential and in awards for their performance.

For example, women tend to get assigned more often than men as consular officers. . . said Elisabeth Lyons, one of the plaintiff's lawyers. The suit also alleges that the department has violated numerical goals for the assignment of women as [deputy chiefs of mission].

KEEPING PROMISES

THE WASHINGTON POST, JUNE 25, 1993

BY AL KAMEN

Secretary of State Warren Christopher promised in January that 70 percent of all ambassadorships would go to career Foreign Service officers and that even political appointments would be based on merit.

So far, Christopher has left in place 61 career people whose terms end in 1994 or later. Decisions have been made on 79 others—including about 20 not yet announced. Of that 140, a total 104, or 74 percent, are career appointees, and just 36 are political appointees. More political types are expected in future appointments, but Christopher still is likely to be in the 70 percent ballpark when he's done. . . . The number of big-money or straight politico ambassadorships is at a record low. . . . Even most of the political ambassadors named so far have sub-



stantial experience in foreign policy, either from prior administrations, from academia, or from the Hill.

DON'T WRITE OFF USAID

THE CHRISTIAN SCIENCE MONITOR,

JUNE 17, 1993

BY BEN BARBER

[The] new director of the \$6.8 billion-a-year Agency for International Development—J. Brian Atwood—says he hopes to redirect America's Third World aid toward new targets: human rights, democracy, and . . . "sustainable development"—a catch phrase that includes environmental protection and empowerment of the poor in the Third World.

This year, in a significant change in policy, AID's budget bill does not list the amount each nation will receive. A congressional aide said it was an attempt to stop "micromanagement" . . .

Mr. Atwood . . . admitted that the lion's share of the AID budget—nearly one-third—will continue to go to Israel and Egypt—"not exactly a development decision" but one that "grew out of a commitment at Camp David" . . .

Indeed, according to Andrew Natsios, former AID assistant administrator . . . "there is practically no money left in the AID budget that is discretionary."

Mr. Atwood said he hopes to cut the number of countries getting aid from 108 to about 50. . . . Atwood declined to identify them. He did say the selection process will be based on the new administration's criteria: "What is the [recipient] government doing to contribute to development? Are there good partners to work with? Will there be transparency, pluralism, accountability, democracy?"

Mr. Atwood said that he believed "sustainability" also includes "participatory, people-first programs." . . . He admits to a sad and disturbing feeling that he will be fighting a losing battle against overpopulation and poverty.

SELF-INTEREST AND FOREIGN AID

THE NEW YORK TIMES, JUNE 23, 1993

BY STEVEN A. HOLMES

Contrary to conventional wisdom that foreign aid has no natural constituency, the administration's Russian aid package [did] not have a bit of trouble in the House. . . . When the votes were taken, the bills providing \$13 billion in foreign aid, including \$2.5 billion in assistance to the republics of the former Soviet Union were approved by a surprisingly wide margin. The bill authorizing the administration to spend money on foreign aid passed by voice vote, while the appropriations bill was approved 309 to 111.

One major reason for that vote is that, while American people generally view foreign aid as a giveaway, such bills are in the political, and, more important, economic self-interest of a large assortment of interest groups.

Among the 58 groups that lobbied members of the House for the foreign-aid bill were farmers who would benefit from increased agricultural credit for grain sales to Russia. Manufacturers saw a potential market for their products overseas. Jewish organizations were concerned that political instability would foster anti-Semitism there, and peace groups worried that a return to bellicose Russia would lead to a new arms race. . . .

In the end, supporters said the day was won by the economic argument, coupled with a coalition of interest groups that would hold representatives responsible for a rejection of foreign aid.

AT WORK IN FRANCE

TIME, JULY 5, 1993

BY MARTHA DUFFY

[On June 30] Ambassador Harriman, 73, will formally present her credentials to French President Francois Mitterrand. Ever since she arrived in Paris, she has been making it very clear that hers will be a high-profile tenure. On the day she landed, after an overnight flight, she was in her office meeting senior counselors, fielding her first courtesy call, and having a working dinner with her deputy chief of mission. Jet lag, anyone?

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The next day she had lunch with an ambassador, gave a speech in honor of a retiring embassy employee, hosted a reception, and made her own first courtesy call, to British Ambassador Sir Christopher Mallaby.

And so it went. Briefings, meetings with various departments of her 1,100-member staff, lunches with more ambassadors. . . .

An ambassador's role has changed since the onset of instant communication and the centralization of policy-making in Washington. The job is now often one of public relations and establishing a prominent presence. For that Harriman is well equipped. The French consider her a glamorous choice who has access to the president.

ARMORED AMBASSADOR

CHICAGO TRIBUNE, JUNE 14, 1993

By LINNET MYERS

Victor Jackovich, the first U.S. ambassador to Bosnia, started his first day on the job in a flak jacket and helmet. Sarajevo isn't your average diplomatic post.

He flew to Bosnia on a UN plane only a couple of days after the Sarajevo airport managed to open again in the midst of war. Once there, Jackovich met with President Alija Izeibegovic, who is boycotting peace talks in Geneva.

Technically, Jackovich could have presented his credentials to the Bosnian government anywhere after he was sworn in as ambassador in Washington. "But I was personally determined that it should only happen in one place, only in the capital of Bosnia. . . ."

Shells exploded in the background as Jackovich traveled around the city. The U.S. has no embassy building, and it is uncertain where Jackovich will set up a permanent base.

DOLLARS FOR FLYNN

BOSTON HERALD, JUNE 23, 1993

By JOE BATTENFELD

[Boston] Mayor Raymond Flynn has asked for as much as \$100,000 in travel

money as Vatican's ambassador—almost 14 times the ordinal budget—but the State Department plans to slash the request, officials said.

Flynn's request, which officials described as an "outside figure" based on a highly ambitious travel schedule, would have far exceeded the current travel budget of \$7,500 a year. Officials said the actual size of Flynn's travel budget will depend on the mayor's ultimate role in the Vatican.

The [State Department] spokesman said Flynn has been asked to make fairly extensive use of a State Department provision allowing private groups to sponsor an ambassador's travel and expenses for speaking appearances.

The mayor claimed Clinton has given him a mandate to travel to world hotspots as a sort of ambassador-at-large. . . . The White House and Christopher released statements saying Flynn would serve as a "crucial player in international efforts for peace and justice" but stopped short of specifying his travel needs.

AU PAIRS PAIRED WITH USIA

THE WASHINGTON POST, JUNE 27, 1993

By ALVIN SNYDER

The Mutual Educational and Cultural Exchange Act of 1961 established so-called J-visas to enable non-immigrant "bona fide students" to come from abroad to study here and to participate in cultural and educational activities. . . . Teachers, research scholars, and others are also included. And so, oddly enough, are *au pairs*.

The USIA processes almost 3,000 *au pairs* each year to provide child care. They must be between the ages of 18 and 25 and can stay for 12 months. . . . [The host family] pays the nanny \$100 a week plus room and board. Nannies can work 45 hours per week.

To USIA's credit, it tried but failed to convince Congress that *au pairs* should work less. . . . and that a cultural component should be part of the *au pair* experience. The USIA rightfully protests that it should not be in charge of a full-time work program for nannies. ■

WASHINGTON, D.C.

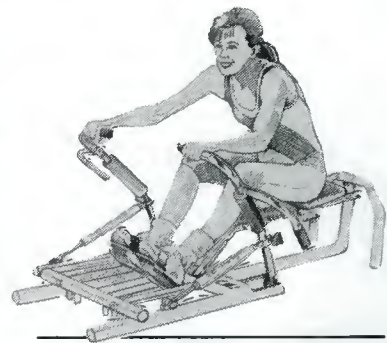
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DESPATCH

By ANNE STEVENSON-YANG

The Giant Suggestion Box

The "Reinventing Government" exercise is nearing completion, as Vice President Gore prepares to submit his report on government operations to President Clinton in September.

On May 26, Gore convened a "town meeting" for the State Department and affiliated foreign-affairs agencies that was intended to provide impetus to this segment of the review. The review had gotten under way at the State Department on April 5, when Secretary Christopher assembled a team of volunteers to examine departmental operations. Originally staffed by 10 people, the

team split into "cluster groups," says the team's former coordinator, Robert Pearson, which focused on three issue areas: people, structures, and money management. Their numbers swelled as the team recruited colleagues to help, and by May 24, they had put together a questionnaire that was sent to 16,000 people in the State Department, and by late June, 400-500 replies had been received (3 percent—not a very good response rate). Some sample questions:


- "Is there a 'crazy rule' which keeps you from doing the job you want to do?"
- "As a manager, would you save money if you had more control over how the money is spent? Please describe."

- "Assess management of overseas real estate."

If the comments at the meeting with the vice president were any gauge, arbitrary caps on personnel are one of the biggest frustrations. Several questioners mentioned the apparent wastefulness of placing limits on the number of regular employees then hiring contractors at higher pay rates to do the jobs of the missing staff. "I think I speak for a lot of people in this room," said one member of the audience, "[when I say] that they have seen dollars wasted. They have seen jobs done by contractors at two and three times the cost."

Others expressed dissatisfaction about unrealistic micromanagement from Washington of housing allotments overseas, excessive clearances required

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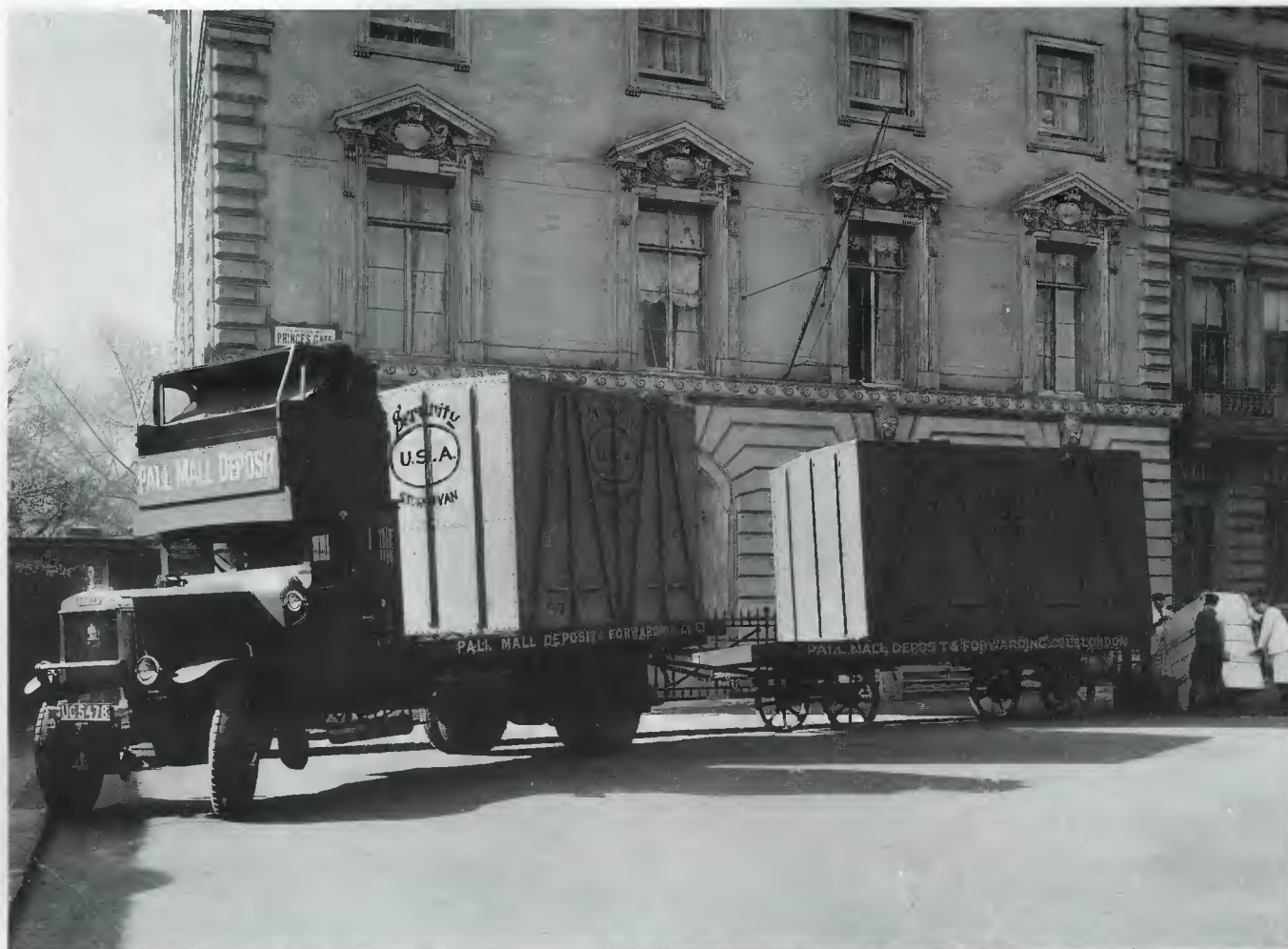
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on memos and cables, long delays before equipment can be purchased, overly exacting standards of fairness that make it difficult to fire or demote an unsatisfactory employee, and lack of funding for State Department commercial officers in the field.

The vice president set out the general objectives of the bureaucratic review in response to a remark about the inflexibility of the federal personnel system.

“... [M]ost of our governmental departments and agencies were created during the industrial era and over the years adopted a management structure that consciously mimicked the successful companies of the Industrial Age, which had typically a centralized bureaucracy, a hierarchy of management layers, regulations, and procedures that were designed to carefully constrict the freedom of movement of employees, especially those at the bottom of the ladder.

“And, ironically, most large compa-

nies in the United States have over the last 10 or 20 years abandoned that kind of management structure and have left the Industrial Age for what some call the Information Age. And the most successful companies now push decision-making authority down to the individuals who actually have an opportunity to see the changes in circumstances that they have to deal with from day to day, and then they're held accountable over time for results.”

Pearson, who has recently been replaced as head of the team by Robert Service, describes the aims of the exercise as “serving our publics better”—meaning both taxpayers and people in government—“saving money, and doing our work more effectively.” Pearson stresses the “effectively,” rather than the more commonly used “efficiently.” “We want the actual result to be something positive for people. We don't want just to be running around the track faster.”

If nothing else, the exercise provides

welcome therapy to those bottled up with old frustrations over bureaucratic insensitivity and stifled initiative. To some extent, however, the problem with State, USIA, and USAID bureaucracies may come less from a failure to modernize than from success at responding to popular demands for more accountability. The regulatory labyrinth in which foreign-affairs professionals labor was built deliberately, regulation by regulation, to provide for greater control of a foreign-affairs establishment that was perceived after the upheavals of the 1960s and 1970s as autocratic, discriminatory, and arrogantly detached from the will of the people. An inevitably slow shift in public opinion will be required before the fetters of accountability are loosened.

The State Department Reinventing Government Team welcomes additional comments from the field. Ideas should be addressed to the team at 202/647-6243, fax: 647-9983 or to M/NPR, Room 2422A, Department of State. ■

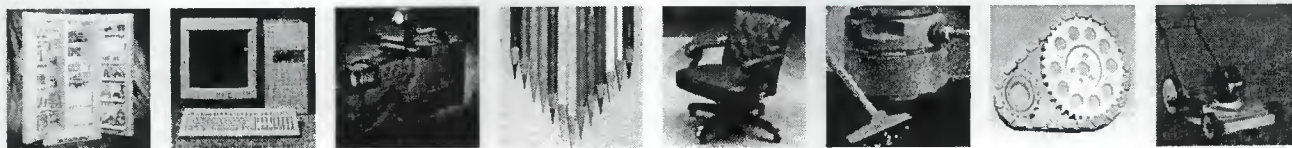
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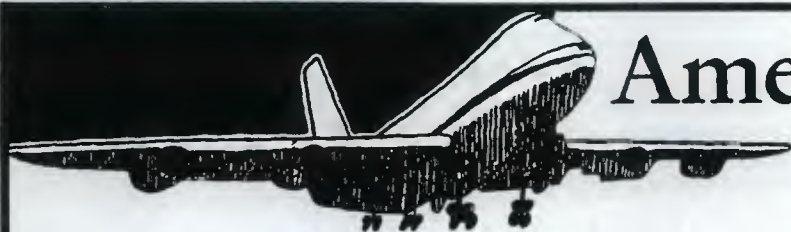
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SPEAKING OUT

By MYLES R.R. FRECHETTE

Nothing Personal

*When the heat goes on, you'd better defend yourself,
because no one else will do it for you*

The Power of the Cuba Lobby" by George Gedda in the June issue of the *Foreign Service Journal* rekindled painful memories but recalled lessons I should share with fellow Foreign Service officers.

My case began on January 13, 1982, when a Cuban stowaway jumped ship in Miami and requested asylum. After telephonic exchanges between the Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS) in Miami and the State Department during a raging Washington snowstorm, the stowaway was denied refugee status the same day. Two days later he was flown back to Cuba. I, as office director for Cuban affairs at the State Department's Bureau of Inter-American Affairs (ARA), vigorously opposed this deportation, which represented a radical departure from long-standing policy toward Cubans. Yet I was blamed for the deportation despite my opposition and despite the fact that my bureau and I were not responsible for such decisions.

Sacrificial lamb

Deportation from the United States of persons who are denied a claim to refugee status is the responsibility of the INS. The State Department's opinion in such cases is given by the Human Rights and Humanitarian Affairs (HA) bureau. In this case, mine was the only opposing voice.

I soon learned that unwarranted ideological attacks have little or nothing to do with truth and everything to do with symbolism. Because U.S. policy and legislation since the 1960s had considered persons leaving Cuba to be "voting against communism with their feet," the

United States had welcomed all Cubans who could reach our shores. Therefore, as I had predicted, when the stowaway Cuban was deported, Miami's Cuban exile community exploded. They could not believe the Reagan administration would reverse this policy. Administration conservatives, knowing that the Cuban American National Foundation and other like-minded groups were looking for blood, told them that I was

deportee were not as reported . . . Myles, in fact, fought to prevent others . . . from making the wrong move," the truth fell on deaf ears.

Policy swings

Transitions provide vulnerable territory for unwarranted ideological attacks. The Carter-Reagan transition was particularly prone to such attacks, because there were such high expecta-

The Carter policy toward Cuba had offered movement toward normalizing relations with the United States in exchange for moderation in Cuba's international behavior. I became office director for Cuban affairs in the late summer of 1979 and quickly concluded that this policy was based on an unrealistic assessment of Fidel Castro's personality and the nature of his regime.

responsible for the Cuban's deportation.

The furor quickly reached the White House, which queried the State Department about the deportation and my role in it. The department's written response, intended to avoid discussing its internal decisionmaking process or naming any of the State Department individuals concerned, stressed the correctness of the department's opinion under the terms of the 1980 Refugee Act. Because State's response did not specifically exonerate me, the Cuban-American community believed it confirmed my guilt. Even though my boss, Assistant Secretary Tom Enders, repeatedly told them that "the facts in the case of the Cuban

tions for changes in foreign policy.

The Carter policy toward Cuba had offered movement toward normalizing relations with the United States in exchange for moderation in Cuba's international behavior. I became office director for Cuban affairs in the late summer of 1979 and quickly concluded that this policy was based on an unrealistic assessment of Fidel Castro's personality and the nature of his regime.

By 1980, the Carter administration had also become disillusioned about the possibilities for moderating Cuban adventurism in Africa, Central America, and the Caribbean. In fact, in October 1980 the Carter National Security Council tasked the ARA bureau with developing

new options for Cuba policy. These were to be based on a more realistic assessment of the Castro regime. The November elections mooted the policy review.

Carter's Cuba policy was extremely unpopular with most Cuban Americans. As office director, it was my job to articulate that policy, and I did so, often on Miami's Spanish-language radio. By November 1980, I was closely identified in Miami with Carter policy.

Because of the enormous expectations for changes in Cuba policy under the Reagan administration, Cuban Americans and conservatives were dismayed when the new administration took office and I remained office director to articulate the new policy. They argued that, if I had served Carter on Cuba, I could not do so for Reagan. They refused to recognize that office directors implement policies that are established by others who outrank them.

Also, by January 1982, when the deportation occurred, the Cuban Americans and conservatives were frustrated because, after a year in office, the Reagan Cuba policy was still stronger on rhetoric than direct action. This frustration, born of unrealistic expectations about the use of force, was fed by Secretary of State Haig's frequent assertion that we would deal with Cuba by "going to the source."

Biting the bullet

In this highly charged political atmosphere, it is easy to understand why the deportation was seized on by the Cuban American National Foundation and other conservatives as a symbolic *cause celebre* for which a price had to be paid.

As soon as an unfair ideological attack begins, a quick public defense is essential. Lies about me circulated all through 1982.

The department did not defend me publicly, and I was advised that any public rebuttals would not carry much weight. Not defending myself immediately was a grave error; some critics considered my lack of public response an admission of guilt. In late 1982 one conservative journal, on learning about my true role in the deportation, defended its attack on me by noting "... we have as yet had no letter of

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SPEAKING OUT

complaint from Frechette, nor any request for a correction."

Even if Foreign Service officers respond, they may not vanquish their attackers. They will, however, make it harder for those attackers to perpetuate lies, sully reputations, and ruin careers. I should have written to every journal that printed attacks on me as soon as each appeared. I probably would not have been able to stop the attacks, but I would have reduced their number and force. As I learned, lies repeated often enough soon pass for truth. In unwarranted ideological attacks, truth is intentionally obfuscated. They prove not, "where there's smoke, there's fire," but rather "where there's smoke, there's a smudge pot."

Once an attack begins, it can get ugly very quickly. The clamor for my removal by the Cuban American National Foundation emboldened others, and emotions ran high. The Miami Spanish-language press and radio talk shows accused me of being a "Castro sympathizer" and "diplo-spy." I even received late-night death threats by telephone. One night when I was traveling, a caller made veiled threats to my wife concerning her safety and that of our children. One conservative columnist, seeking to add weight to his argument that a career Foreign Service officer could not be trusted to carry out the president's policy, threw in the fact that I was born and brought up in Chile. Another conservative organization offered to help me, but only if I delivered to them classified documents from the Carter State Department that would show how soft on Cuba and the Soviet Union President Carter had been. I declined the offer.

I found that trying to identify or convince my attackers was a waste of time. They did not want to know the truth or talk to me.

Some of my contacts with my detractors were made through members of Congress or staff members. One of the many ironies of my case was my nearly two years of effective work on Radio Marti—a Reagan administration project strongly supported by the Cuban Ameri-

can National Foundation. In testimony before congressional committees, my knowledge of Cuba was recognized both by members who favored Radio Marti and those who opposed it. Several congressmen favorable to Radio Marti wrote to the State Department and the White House in my defense.

I had little success trying to talk to political appointees in the administration who did not know me but had been willing to believe and repeat anything said against me. Initially all of them refused to talk with me. Finally one agreed to a meeting. He denied having accused me of anything but made it clear that he believed I did not really favor a "tough" Cuba policy.

My efforts to try to convince some of my detractors privately that the charge against me was false did nothing for me, because the truth was not at issue. Underscoring the symbolic nature of the attacks, one columnist commented to a mutual acquaintance that there was "nothing personal" in his attack and that "someone has to pay" for the deportation.

No neutral ground

Professionalism is no shield against ideological attack. In fact, many of my attackers did not accept the notion of professionalism in government service. They did not believe that Foreign Service officers could effectively serve whatever administration is in office. For them, only "true believers" could be trusted. My detractors used the word "careerist" as a high-powered pejorative. One columnist who accused me of the deportation said I had "a reputation among Reagan appointees of being another silly putty careerist: soft on Cuba when he served under Carter, now conveniently hard on Cuba under Reagan."

Colleagues cannot be counted upon to protect you. Friends on Capitol Hill and several conservatives identified Foreign Service colleagues who were repeating lies about me. I chose not to believe such reports, especially after the people in question made denials to me.

SPEAKING OUT

I was saddened when later I was told that these same officers continued to pass on stories about me they knew were untrue.

Because Foreign Service officers are public figures, they are not protected by libel law, thus, most have no legal recourse if they are defamed or blamed for policies over which they have no control. Launching unwarranted ideological attacks against them is as easy as shooting fish in a barrel. Nevertheless, a Foreign Service officer can rescue the truth from his detractors. Seven years after the deportation, Helene Von Damme published a book about her years with Ronald Reagan including her service as White House personnel director. She devoted several paragraphs to her success in ridding ARA of "careerist" Frechette. Because virtually everything she said about me was false, our lawyer was able to obtain from the book's publisher a written assurance "... that the references cited in your letter will be excised from any future reprints of *At Reagan's Side*."

In my case, one courageous senior Foreign Service officer, Tom Enders, did not allow lies about me to go uncorrected. Because of his action, my career was deflected, but not finished. More of us should follow his principled example. When colleagues are being unfairly accused, we must speak up.

In the recent election of new AFSA officers, both slates made campaign statements supporting a stronger AFSA public position against unwarranted, partisan attacks on professional integrity. I hope the new AFSA board will go on record defending its own.

The Foreign Service is a valuable institution, but it is not an abstraction. We are the Foreign Service. When one of us is wounded unfairly, we are all diminished. ■

Myles Frechette is an FSO who has served in Latin America, Africa (including as ambassador to Cameroon), Manufacturers Hanover Trust (Executive Exchange Program) and, most recently, at USTR.

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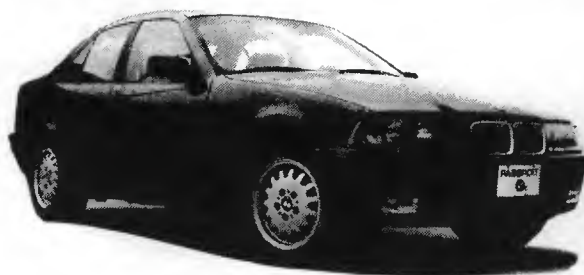
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Play It Again

By Teresita Schaffer

The amateur theatrical group in Islamabad—RATS, or the Rawalpindi Amateur Theatrical Society—produced many hits over the years, but for me their triumph was a production of Woody Allen's "Don't Drink the Water" in the spring of 1971.

The production was the brainchild of Arnie Raphael, then a political officer at the embassy. Arnie returned as ambassador and was killed in a plane crash with the country's president 10 years ago this month.

Arnie had ambitious plans for "Don't Drink the Water." The story revolves around the adventures of a hapless caterer from New Jersey who stumbles into an embassy in an obscure Communist country, chased by the secret police. Murphy's law takes over, everything possible goes wrong, an eccentric priest emerges from a hiding place in the embassy, and eventually love triumphs—between the ambassador's marvelously inept son, Axel (Woody Allen), and the caterer's daughter.

The cast was large, about 25, and drawn from all over the expatriate community. Some were natural hams—Professor Murray Weinbaum as the Woody Allen character, and his wife, Francine, the caterer's wife, and Deputy Chief of Mission Peter Constable as the priest. As economic officer, I played the

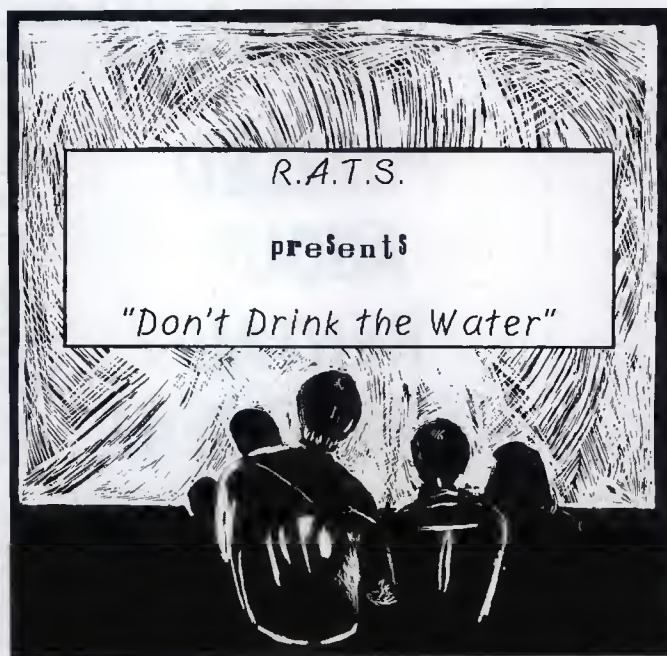
mad chef, and my husband, Howard, the political counselor, played the secret policeman. Some were reviving theatrical interests that had lain dormant for years and some were hitherto undiscovered talent. Inevitably, the cast found that the play was taking over their lives

government town, the coincidence of a play with an autocratic setting didn't raise the political temperature too much.

The most remarkable thing about the performance, however, was how it lived on. Not in Pakistan; the cast in due course was transferred away, the director went back to Washington, and RATS went on to new theatrical heights. But over the next few years, re-editions of Arnie Raphael's "Don't Drink the Water" turned up around the globe. USAID officer Tom Mahoney, who had starred as the caterer in Islamabad, put on the play again in Manila a couple of years later, with Islamabad veterans Steve and Monica Sinding, also USAID officers. By the mid-1980s the Sindings were in Nairobi, and put together yet another production. Ambassador Elinor Constable—whose husband had played the priest in the original production—was in the audience.

If a new production of "Don't Drink the Water" shows up in your corner of the globe, get your tickets early. You'll see a new side of some colleagues you never suspected—and you'll see, once again, the spirit that still makes Ambassador Arnie Raphael stand out in the memory of his Foreign Service friends. ■

Teresita Schaffer is U.S. ambassador to Sri Lanka.



TERESA AURRICHIO

for the six weeks of rehearsal time. My son, then 3½, protested: "Are you going to another rehearsal?"

As the performance dates neared, the political climate in Pakistan heated up. Indeed, we opened the day after what turned out to be a highly controversial election campaign. Fortunately, the production run was over by the time curfews were imposed, and, Islamabad being a relatively quiet

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TURNING FOREIGN SERVICE OFFICERS INTO SALESMEN FOR AMERICAN PRODUCTS WON'T WIN THE BATTLE FOR RELEVANCE

●
BY EDWARD H.
VAZQUEZ

Was Ross Perot right? Are ambassadors anachronisms who should be replaced by super-fast office message systems, and are embassies groupings of aimless kibitzers who really ought to be selling U.S. products overseas? The underlying premise is familiar: it is that, in the aftermath of the Cold War and as U.S. economic strength wanes, politics, security, and military issues must defer to economics to allow the United States to regain the economic edge that is prerequisite to global leadership.

Former Secretary of State Eagleburger seemed to agree, though somewhat more decorously, with Perot. He told the *Washington Post* (March 20, 1992) that a fundamental re-orientation of mission from politics to business is required of the State Department, and that the attempt "to change the culture of the Foreign Service" might take 10 years to effect. Eagleburger went on to stress that assignments and promotions will reflect success in commercial work for all Foreign Service officers. He also, of course, promulgated a "Bill of Rights" for U.S. business.

WINDOW DRESSING

Eagleburger was operating within Perot's changed landscape and seeking a new *raison d'être* for an institution he saw as threatened with irrelevance. He clearly hoped to re-legitimize the Foreign Service as an indispensable partner of the

American businessman abroad, thereby gaining it a powerful domestic constituency.

No clearer illustration of Eagleburger's desperation to redefine the mission of the Foreign Service need be sought than his "Bill of Rights." It is so rife with platitude, restating what has always been U.S. policy in more PR-conscious language (listen to your views, require fair trade, promote U.S. bids, etc.) that it yields little insight beyond the obvious pressure the department feels to be seen doing *something*.

One of the few people to have addressed themselves to the issue in the popular press was Stuart Anderson in the *Christian Science Monitor* (October 22, 1992). He called for a re-organization of the Foreign Service by reducing the number of political officers while increasing the number of commercial officers abroad; changing the "culture of the Foreign Service" to reflect the importance of trade promotion; providing better training (presumably for all FSOs) in commercial work, to include export promotion, marketing, and advertising; mandating longer and more logical assignments, which Anderson defines as those that match language competence with country of assignment.

As with Eagleburger's list, you wonder why someone got so worked up to produce something so jejune. The specific suggestions for change only tinker

TRADE PR

BEHIND

with what Anderson has implicitly termed a mission-less organization. The State Department might provide business training, lengthen assignments even more, and improve its officers' language competence. Ultimately, though, what would be the point, when there is already another agency whose main job overseas is trade promotion?

ANALYSIS, NOT SALES

While nearly everyone agrees that the United States has seen a substantial decline in its relative economic power and influence, there is no unity on what, if anything, to do about it. When a consensus does emerge, its conclusions will not only frame foreign economic and trade policy but influence the parameters of U.S. diplomacy for decades to come.

The Foreign Service must join this debate if it hopes to have a significant role in the diplomacy of the future, but its insights must be those garnered from a political/economic analysis of the economic and trade systems of our major competitors. This is something quite different from selling U.S. products overseas (though not antithetical to such a role). The Clinton administration has chosen advisers who straddle the economic divide on managed versus free trade, while the policy debate concerns the framework for international competition, not the ad-

equacy of the government in helping U.S. business compete at the retail level.

Analysts who laud the efficacy of our Asian competitors in running a different kind of capitalism point to the domestic arrangements that foster heavy investment and an export-oriented economy, as well as to undisputed governmental authority to set strategic direction. The Foreign Service is uniquely positioned to apprise our policymakers of not only the mechanics and efficiency of such policies, but of their political and social consequences (usually viewed as analytically unpleasant "externalities" by economists). Such an integrated perspective comes more naturally to the Foreign Service than to other professional observers and should be highly relevant to the kinds of political decisions that the new administration will soon be taking.

Redefining the core work of the Foreign Service as trade promotion risks irrelevance not only in the international economic-policy debate but in the political one as well. Despite the supposed consensus around the need to restore our economic power, we have hardly been easing up on our other international commitments of the traditional variety. U.S. political and military power

has been heavily engaged around the world from Panama to Liberia and the Philippines, in Iraq and Somalia, with Bosnia waiting in the wings. Unless we believe that the world has changed so that there will be no future Somalias or Bosnias—or that we will soon cease to care about them—the United States will continue to need the skills that a traditional Foreign Service career builds.

BACKHAND TRADE PROMOTION

While the work of the Foreign Service is arcane, it is not inexplicable: I suspect that most Americans, were they to think about it, would be glad that former Special Envoy to Somalia Robert Oakley hasn't spent his career selling computers to the Japanese or that Ambassador to Russia Thomas Pickering knows more about politics than he does about franchising fast-food restaurants. Indeed the current thrust of our foreign policy, with its emphasis on democracy, human rights, and economic liberalism is far more directed at the internal structure of foreign societies than it has ever been. Maybe we need more political officers!

PROMOTION

Skepticism that the Foreign Service can be our government's most important trade-promotion corps does not mean that the service should shun this work. There will never be a powerful domestic constituency for a large foreign-policy bureaucracy, and maintaining the support we have requires keeping in touch with the concerns of average Americans. The question then is, what do businesspeople want from the Foreign Service? Can support be provided in a way that does not detract from the primary mission of the service?

If the press is any guide, business wants mostly basic information and useful introductions that could easily be given. The *Los Angeles Times*, in an article on trade promotion by U.S. embassies in Asia, quoted David G. Sant, managing director for international operations of a voice-mail-systems company in California, as saying, "One of the most difficult things about dealing with government agencies is finding out whom to turn to for help." The *Washington Post* described attempts by a would-be exporter of plastic bags to get information from the Commerce Department as a never-ending run-around of bouncing from phone to phone, until, finally connected with the Mexico desk, ". . . I asked her, 'How do I determine the price of plastic bags in Mexico City?' and she said 'Go there.'"

Susan Schwab, former director general of the U.S. & Foreign Commercial Service, told *Business America*: "How often have I heard an otherwise sophisticated entrepreneur remark, 'Why would I consider going to the U.S. Embassy when I'm on business overseas?'" Schwab was acknowledging a view that is all too common in business: wariness combined with skepticism that there is anything of value to be gained by making contact with government employees. Suspicion of the government in whatever guise by



Eagleburger issued a "Bill of Rights" for U.S. business in 1990

the American business community is simply a fact of life, and Schwab goes on to explain that the FCS has made inroads to convince businesspeople that embassies are resources that it makes sense to consult. Interviewed this year by the *Foreign Service Journal*, Schwab indicated that foreign commercial work is firmly ensconced within the Commerce Department, and there it will stay.

BROWNIE POINTS

Schwab is certainly correct in her prediction that overseas trade promotion will stay at the Commerce Department. Savvy ambassadors can and should turn this situation to the advantage of the Foreign Service by working with the FCS to assure U.S. businesspeople of high-quality service abroad. What the Foreign Service can offer is country knowledge and contacts.

Employing diplomatic contacts to advance commercial interests is hardly a revolutionary idea, but it gains plaudits from satisfied customers. The *Wall Street Journal* featured a long article in its November 4, 1992 edition on the trade-promotion efforts of our embassy in Seoul, focusing especially on the activism of Ambassador Donald P. Gregg. Gregg makes the obligatory nod to salesmanship: "I feel that the role of the embassy is to be the No. 1 assistant salesman." Gregg considers commercial work as a kind of backdrop to each embassy officer's job, assigning the most logical person (who might be a vice-consul or defense attache) to use contacts to get an American business representative in the door.

The success of Gregg's method belies Eagleburger's assertion that the "culture of the Foreign Service" needs to be changed in some 10-year long march. It would be hard to imagine an official culture more insouciant about commerce than that of the Central Intelligence Agency, yet that is where Gregg spent most of his career. Embassy Seoul places the unique contact

network of Foreign Service officers at the disposal of an important American interest. It wins friends for the Foreign Service while still leaving most of the work of trade promotion with the FCS, where it probably belongs in the first place.

COMMERCIAL LITERACY

Facilitating commercial work should be seen as a theme in all Foreign Service jobs, and has a nice analogue in consular affairs. The obligatory consular first or second tour ensures that every embassy officer is literate in protection and welfare and visa matters, issues that are recurrent throughout everyone's career. While commercial tours are not available to FSOs except at small posts in relatively unimportant markets, it would not be too tough to design a commercial component under FCS supervision for all junior officers during their five "unconed" years. Preceded by a segment during junior-officer training that acquainted career candidates (perhaps through brief—a week or two—assignments to businesses or Commerce Department field offices) with what business needs, everyone could become commerce-literate before tenure.

The Foreign Service, to be honest, would be mostly looking to reap some public-relations benefits among the domestic business community by a better advertising and packaging of services we've always provided. The sudden anxiety of a long-complacent corporate sector, driven by economic circumstance to be conscious of the need to export, is fueling the fire of movements like Perot's. Combining with a native American skepticism of government in general (and more than a pinch of Philistinism), this current of opinion is challenging the government's traditional view of its responsibilities. The Foreign Service (and everyone else) must respond constructively to this challenge, but it must bring its own perspective to the dialogue and not simply confess supposed sins and vow to change. The department ought to:

- Designate some central point within the State Department where businesspeople can call someone to ask a legitimate question; whoever takes these calls should then do the internal checking required to get the

answer. This is currently impossible (I speak here from the experience of having been assigned for a year to a Houston corporation where I've often been driven nuts trying to find the right person to ask questions on behalf of the company, even after 15 years in the Foreign Service).

- Make the country experts—office directors, their deputies, and the desk officers—available for briefings on political, economic, and cultural issues to interested business concerns outside of Washington. In addition to keeping corporations in touch with us, it would inform us of American business concerns.
- Get the Foreign Service Institute (soon to be the National Foreign Affairs Training Center) involved in outreach to the American business community on cross-cultural-communications issues. FSI does this better than the consultants I've watched, and it could create jobs for the very talented group of ex-community-liaison officers we have available in the Foreign Service community.
- Follow the Seoul model, in which every embassy officer keeps the commercial utility of his contacts in mind. Have FCS organize a system that makes use of these contacts when an American businessman asks for assistance or is seeking information.

None of the actions that I have described is especially novel. We need only show that we are willing and able to be a resource for the business community and persevere in the effort to do so.

THE CULTURE

In *Ambassador's Journal*, John Kenneth Galbraith penned the witticism: "The State Department, to a remarkable degree, is the sum of less than its parts." He contrasted State with the Pentagon, which, though much larger, was far more manageable because most of its people were involved in operations and contentedly obedient to the few who set policy. Galbraith's observation is still funny because it is still true, and gets to the heart of what is behind the largely inchoate desire to change "the culture of the Foreign Service".

No one joins the Foreign Service in order to become a retail salesman for

American industry. There is nothing wrong with an official culture that emphasizes political and economic policy and analysis in a department whose main job is to provide substantive foreign-policy advice to the president. Problems arise, and the Foreign Service acquires a reputation for arrogance and indifference (what people who use the word "culture" in its pejorative sense really mean) when the preoccupation with high policy leads to a headlong rush from any job assigned the Foreign Service outside the core areas of political and economic work. The public, be it the traveler in need of consular assistance or the businessperson abroad, has little reason to support or even understand an institution that slightes their major concerns.

This failure of personnel management exposes the Foreign Service to the charge of irrelevance leveled by Perot in the campaign, and to the intellectual confusion of an Eagleburger who, in correctly identifying an image problem, cures it by gutting the substance of the organization. Export promotion is a modestly useful service rendered by the U.S. government abroad, but was seen (correctly) by FSOs as a career backwater. It was therefore done poorly and without interest by the Foreign Service and lost to the Commerce Department. To try to get it back and elevate it to primacy is not only to fight a lost battle, but to miss the larger point of the loss in the first place: how can the Department of State assure that routine work assigned it is properly done without slighting its main mission?

There are really only two ways: 1) split the service, along the old diplomatic and staff corps model, into policy and operational components,

with the latter explicitly subservient to the former, and recruit honestly on that basis while permitting little if any permeability, or (far better) 2) recruit an integrated service where access to the policy jobs at all levels is dependent on demonstrated competence (reiterated at various points of the career) in the operational work of the department outside the political/economic core areas.

Unfortunately, State does neither while trying to substitute admonitions from on high for real incentives or effective discipline to ensure that everyone serves in operational jobs for a significant portion of their career. The disdain among entering junior officers with no experience of the Foreign Service for consular and administrative work is a result of the current non-system, and damages the service as a whole. Where the work has another real suitor (like Commerce) it

is ripe for the plucking. Trouble is, should it suddenly become sexy, you don't get it back.

Maverick political leaders, and the public in general, are not being entirely irrational in questioning the utility of an organization whose main claim to fame is the production of a half-dozen superstars. A Foreign Service more responsive to the public would let Americans know that the rest of us are up to something useful, too. ■

Edward H. Vazquez joined the Foreign Service in June of 1978. He has been assigned to Rome, Santiago, Dhabrau, and Mazatlan, Mexico. He spent a year on assignment to the ENRON Corp., a Houston-based energy company. The views expressed here are his and not necessarily those of the Department of State.

THIS FAILURE OF PERSONNEL MANAGEMENT EXPOSES THE FOREIGN SERVICE TO THE CHARGE OF IRRELEVANCE LEVELED BY PEROT IN THE CAMPAIGN, AND TO THE INTELLECTUAL CONFUSION OF AN EAGLEBURGER WHO, IN CORRECTLY IDENTIFYING AN IMAGE PROBLEM, CURES IT BY GUTTING THE SUBSTANCE OF THE ORGANIZATION.

**Oral histories
are proliferating
in the Foreign
Service**

The **SPOKEN** Record

BY ANN LUPPI VON MEHREN

When the Association for Diplomatic Studies (ADS) moves to its space in the new National Foreign Affairs Training Center this fall, it will bring along more than 800 oral histories related to U.S. foreign affairs. Many of the transcripts to be deposited in the Diplomatic History Research Center are interviews with, and conducted by, retired Foreign Service officers, their spouses, and colleagues.

Oral history complements the more traditional sources for historical research, such as treaties, memoranda, cables, background notes, and letters. The need for oral history is growing as the paper trail dries up. The telephone and jet, word processor and computer have affected both the substance and quantity of written records. Few decisionmakers record their calls and meetings or preserve every computer file, and historians must look to officials' notes and memoirs to piece together the decisionmaking process. Oral history can provide crucial missing detail. It also permits clarification of the record. "In some respects, oral histories may be more reliable. You can place more faith in what they say when you can interrogate, require them to justify their spin on events," says Donald A. Ritchie, associate historian in the U.S. Senate Historical Office, who does oral histories of Senate staff. "Written documents don't tell the whole story. You have to get to know the people mentioned in documents as well as those not mentioned . . . the behind-the-scenes interactions, the off-the-record conversation. In oral history, you get the disagreements, the explanations of what was happening."

The State Department does not conduct oral histories, as the security agencies and military services frequently do—all of the transcripts at ADS are the result of privately funded efforts. The Office of the Historian, which produces the "Foreign Relations of the United States" series after the expiration of the 30-year period of classification, has a traditional approach, using interviews only to question officials about particular documents. "Serious historians still rely 95 to 99 percent on documentary records and contemporary accounts," says Paul Claussen of the Office of the Historian. He notes, however, that "a review of oral histories is more and more expected and becoming a part of the culture of foreign-affairs historians."

Interviews of junior and mid-level Foreign Service officers can fill out the official record. "Documents are linear, a one-dimensional approach. A set of cables may describe a negotiation, but oral history can relate some of the human factor—the underlying motives, the hoped-for results," says Claussen. Ann Miller Morin, who has done oral histories of American female ambassadors, adds that oral histories can reveal a "corridor reputation"—impossible to find in documents—by interviewing "people who knew, worked with, worked for, loved, or hated your subject." For Foreign Service spouses, who rarely or never got into the written record, oral histories are the only way to share their experiences.

Groups that have been overlooked in mainstream historical studies, such as minorities and women, often turn to oral history for a record. "These groups

feel *compelled* to get their history down," Ritchie says. The Foreign Service Spouse Oral History Program, for program led by Jewell Fenzi, seeks greater public recognition of the role of spouses as one of its goals.

THE TRAIL OF DISSENT

Oral-history programs may delve into the lives of individuals or gather varying accounts of a historical period. The ADS oral histories of Foreign Service personnel provide insights into historic events and personalities of the post-World War II period. There are also fascinating comments on the Foreign Service itself. Morris Draper, in Baghdad prior to and during the July 1958 overthrow of the monarchy, discusses an internal dispute at the embassy:

There was a division in the embassy between those who predicted an early overthrow and others who felt the situation's being relatively stable. The ambassador . . . was undecided. Some of the senior officials were far too complacent. They seemed that way even at the time. They were out of touch. A lot of us younger officers felt that we had a better feeling for the society because we were out in the countryside, talking to everybody, from archaeologists, to reporters, to soldiers, to shopkeepers. Some of our senior officers only talked to other diplomats or senior Iraqi officials of the establishment.

That junior officers may be able to pick up information that challenges conventional wisdom is discussed in other contexts, particularly Vietnam.

Roger Kirk recalls Saigon in 1968:

There was one small unit in the political section called the provincial reporting unit . . . These were all very junior officers, and, partly for that reason, some of their reports were discounted. Partly they showed the indignation and surprise at corruption that you might expect from a junior American officer. That tended to lead people to give less weight to their reports than they might otherwise have done. It was sort of as if they were discovering the real world, that they were a little bit too idealistic. But I must say, I thought as a whole they gave a better picture of what was going on than almost anyone else. They were inconvenient, these reports, because they did vary with what was going out.

Robert Keeley, who served in Athens during the "colonels' coup" of 1967 and had strong differences with many of his colleagues about what policy line to take, says that he believes his ambassador in Amman, Sheldon Mills, had the right approach to reporting differing opinions on a policy issue:

When a young officer has an idea, even if a bit outlandish, on which he or she has worked and which he or she has considered at some length, even if the conclusions are not viewed sympathetically, the decent and correct action to take is to forward it to the department with a disclaimer, if necessary, that this is not the embassy's policy, but it is an idea that might be considered; it could stimulate some other approach more acceptable to the U.S. government. Such a process is good for the officer and the service as a whole.

Donald C. Stone recounts that, when he disagreed with Nixon and Kissinger's decision to send the *U.S.S. Enterprise* aircraft carrier into the Bay of Bengal to support Pakistan in the 1971 Indo-Pakistani War,

I really felt that all I had been working for in terms of improving relationships between the United States and India was being totally jeopardized almost overnight. I seriously considered resigning from the Foreign Service at that point. . . . I finally concluded I could be more

effective by remaining in the service and doing my best to do what I felt was right. . . . Once the decision is made, if you are a good Foreign Service officer, you simply carry out your instructions as best you can.

UNHEEDED WARNINGS

Philip Manhard has a particularly vivid description of a junior officer grappling with an analysis that challenges the conventional wisdom. A vice consul in Tianjin, he was preparing to evacuate the post in April 1950 after Washington decided not to recognize Communist China, when one night he and a colleague were called to the house of "an official in the Chinese Communist export and import corporation":

Manhard: . . . it was a very strange scene in the dining room, a Western-style house. . . . The next crack out of the box was, "You know the war in Korea is about to start. . . ."

[Questioner:] For heaven's sake! This was two months before the war actually started. It was June 25th when it started.

Manhard: That's correct. . . . I thought it was a set-up, and so did Howie [Boorman]. So we played as dumb as possible. . . .

[Questioner:] Do you still think it was a set-up?

Manhard: Now I don't because of what happened afterwards.

[Questioner:] Was this a government-authorized warning?

Manhard: No. . . . He said, "There will be very soon, we don't know exactly when, an all-out offensive against South Korea. . . . Please tell my friend Mr. Freeman.

[After returning to Washington] the fourth of June, boiling hot, opening of business on Monday morning, I went straight to see [Foreign Service officer] Tony Freeman. . . . about a week later . . . he said, "I checked it out with the Korean desk, and they said there was nothing to that because there's no indication of anything happening in North Korea, and our main problem now is to prevent Syngman Rhee from marching north. What could I say? What could I do?"

[I]n 1952 . . . I just happened to

note in an FBIS article . . . the announcement by the Chinese in Peking on their radio that [the informant] had been executed for treason or disloyalty to the Party in Mukden.

CLIMATE OF SUSPICION

George Vest, in Canada during the McCarthy period, remembers the oppressive climate of the time:

Scott MacLeod in the State Department, who was then head of the security bureau and a great buddy of McCarthy's, questioned whether or not we [FSOs] should be reading magazines like the *Reporter*. . . . [which was] very slightly left wing. So I wrote to the *Foreign Service Journal*, wrote them a letter which I invited them to publish, which said that I had subscribed to a wide selection of magazines and felt that, as a Foreign Service officer, I should [subscribe], and that it included the *Reporter* and the *Atlantic Monthly*, both of which were allegedly viewed with some suspicion by Mr. MacLeod. And that I thought that we in the Foreign Service should be told whether or not . . . this was the kind of conduct that was approved or not. Very interesting: The *Foreign Service Journal* carefully wrote me right back and said, "We're going to publish your letter, and we will forward it to Mr. MacLeod's office, the text, but we are withdrawing your name because we think it might be too controversial." . . . That gives you an idea of the era. In point of fact, MacLeod did come back and say, "No. We don't disapprove of Foreign Service officers subscribing to a broad range of magazines. We do think they should be very careful that they are not seduced by ultra-liberal propaganda." (Laughter) And my name did not appear. It made me realize then, you know, how sensitive it was.

CLIENTITIS

Several interviews touch upon the problem of coming to identify too closely with the interests of a foreign post. Dayton Mak says, "It's so easy to live in the Arab world and become more Arab than the Arabs, or live in Austria and

become more Austrian, or Holland, more Dutch. . . . It is a disease that is easy to catch in the Foreign Service or in any other endeavor where you're living with foreign people. You're going to adopt their attitudes toward basic issues." Wells Stabler, in Jerusalem in 1948, explains, "It was very hard to be entirely neutral. You invariably felt more one way than you did another way, although our official position was that of being entirely neutral between the two. I always cite what happened to me on the 15th of May, 1948, when the British left, as evidence of my following instructions to the letter. When I was caught in the crossfire between the Jews on one side of the street and the Arabs on the other side I ended up with 37 bullet holes in my car, and, still being alive, at least I was neutral to the extent of saying, 'Who shot at me?'"

LOOSENING TONGUES

Sometimes the oral histories provide interesting additions to the historical record. An anecdote from USIA retiree Hans Tuch describes how he learned where Gary Powers was shot down in 1960:

[W]e couldn't find from the Soviets where, actually, they had shot [the plane] down. That became a very important issue for us, because . . . we were saying it was not shot down inside the Soviet Union. That evening, there was a press reception that Union of Journalists were sponsoring for May 1, and because of our improving relationship up to that time, I had been invited to that reception for the first time ever. Of course, I got to the reception, I was surrounded by very, very angry Soviet journalists, and all kinds of, "How can you do this? You are ruining the relationship and spying," etc., etc. I said, "Well, you know . . . it's an unfriendly act that you committed, shooting down the plane." One of the journalists said, "*Gospadin* Tuch, what can you do? What could we have done? The plane was over Sverdlosk. We had to shoot it down." And I said, "Where?" And he kind of backed away from me, and they all sort of dispersed." . . . I thought, ". . . I think I'm going to wake up Llewelyn Thompson," our ambassador, Tommy

Thompson. . . . I did not want to take a chance of using the telephone. I went to the residence, and I didn't wake him up, but he was in his robe. I told him what I'd heard, and in his very quiet sort of laid-back way . . . he looked at me and said, "I think you'd better go back to the embassy and report this to Washington . . . because I think this is one item of information they'd like to get."

There are potential pitfalls in doing oral histories. The issue of self-censorship, however, is not as great as might be imagined given the security constraints. "People can be candid," Claussen believes, "because, by the time they're interviewed, they're retired. You tell the story the same way five, 10, 20 years later. You may get the story wrong from the first," says Ann Miller Morin, and the historical researcher will then have to evaluate the merit of the interpretation, but the passage of time doesn't seem to affect the telling.

JUST THE FACTS, MA'AM

Charles Stuart Kennedy, future director of the ADS Research Center, has developed guidelines to help interviewers interrogate their diplomatic subjects, emphasizing preliminary research into the period that will come under discussion in order to be prepared to challenge questionable statements. "An interviewer's own knowledge precludes an interviewee from not being challenged," Kennedy says.

A good interviewer will be on the watch for puffing or hindsight, keeping the recollection focused on the way it was, not the way it should have been. Then there is getting beyond what Morin calls "the mask," the public or role-playing persona. "It is very tricky, indeed, to coax an individual into revealing glimpses of the inner self," Morin says.

Morin recalls how Constance Harvey, one of only two women to enter the Foreign Service in the 1930s through the exam process and the first female consul general, steadfastly refused to discuss on tape anything that might reflect badly on the Foreign Service. "I threw out questions: 'Would the department have given that assignment to a man?' 'Did you have the same authority in that

position your predecessor did?' 'Was your entertainment allowance commensurate with your rank?' And so on. At first she brushed aside such queries. Then, as time passed and she began to see her life from a modern-day perspective . . . she was, retrospectively, pretty indignant . . . exclaiming that she had put up with entirely too much nonsense!"

As Morin says, with oral history, "You get color, opinions, and a sense of the effect an event had—an immediacy you can't get any other way." ■

A former editor of the Foreign Service Journal, Ann Luppi von Mehren is a freelance writer in Silver Spring.

The oral histories to be archived at the Association for Diplomatic Studies' Diplomatic Research Historical Center include the following:

The Foreign Affairs Oral History Program was established in 1985 by Charles Stuart Kennedy and Victor Wolff. The program has done more than 500 interviews, conducted by about 300 volunteer interviewers, of retired State and USIA Foreign Service officers, labor officers, and non-career officials. Plans are under way to collect USAID histories.

The Foreign Service Spouse Oral History Program, under the direction of Jewell Fenzi, has 170 interviews of spouses.

American Women Ambassadors have been the subject of Ann Miller Morin's research. Herself a Foreign Service spouse, Morin has done 35 interviews of ambassadors.

Presidential Libraries collect oral histories of individuals who worked with a particular president. The center intends to tap into these collections as well as diplomatic oral history records at Princeton, Columbia, and other universities.



Howard Schaffer (left) was second secretary in the New Delhi embassy political section when Bowles was ambassador in the 1960s.

Chester Bowles: IDEALISTIC VISION

BY HOWARD B. SCHAFFER

When President Harry S. Truman offered to make him ambassador to Jawaharlal Nehru's India in the spring of 1951, Chester Bowles was already a prominent figure in American public life. Just turned 50, he had made a small fortune in the advertising business in New York during the Depression years, then gone on to Washington to play an effective and highly visible role as wartime head of the Office of Price Administration. These early successes paved the way for his entry into postwar elective politics. An ardent New Dealer despite his family's longtime allegiance to the Republican Party, he became the Democratic governor of Connecticut in 1948 in a closely contested race. His national standing as a thoughtful, outspoken liberal and his performance in Hartford made him appear, in the late 1940s, eminently eligible to become Truman's successor in the White House. But, to his dismay, the voters of his state put his political ambitions on temporary hold by rejecting his bid for reelection, despite his accomplishments in enacting far-reaching reforms during his two-year term. He was angling for something important to do in government operations overseas when the call came from the president.

Few who knew Bowles would have predicted that Truman's offer would be a crucial turning point in his life. He had taken considerable interest in international affairs both before and after the war and had briefly held several foreign-policy positions, but he had focused his major attention much more on domestic matters. In 1951, the smart money would have bet that Bowles would bring to the embassy in New Delhi the same creativity, energy, and enthusiasm that had won him fortune in Manhattan, fame and respect in Washington, and political power in Connecticut, but that after two years or so in India foreign policy would again move back to second place on his professional agenda. The ambassadorship would no doubt look good on his resume as he returned to the domestic political battlefields; it would certainly not mark the beginning of two decades focused on international affairs.

To his friends' surprise, and very possibly his own, it did. In the 1950s and 1960s, at home and abroad, Bowles was one of the leading liberal lights on the American foreign-policy scene. When Dwight D. Eisenhower's 1952 election victory brought Bowles's impressive performance in New Delhi to an

early end, he returned to Connecticut and became a chief Democratic Party spokesman and adviser on international affairs. He spoke and wrote extensively on foreign-policy issues. As a freshman congressman at the end of the decade, he played a highly active role on the House Foreign Affairs Committee and served as foreign-policy adviser to Senator John F. Kennedy during his campaign for the Democratic presidential nomination. Disappointed when Kennedy did not make him secretary of state, he accepted the second slot in the department under Dean Rusk. His relations with Kennedy and Rusk became increasingly difficult, and after less than a year he was dismissed and kicked upstairs to become the president's special representative and adviser on Asian, African, and Latin American affairs. In 1963, a decade after he had completed his first ambassadorial assignment, Bowles returned to India for what proved to be a six-year stint. He left New Delhi in 1969, following the return to power of the Republicans under Richard M. Nixon, and retired from public life.



Bowles was a remarkable man, important and interesting in his own right. But his significance in foreign affairs goes beyond his immediate, often limited, achievements. His career provides broad insights into the objectives of U.S. foreign policy and the way it is made. It has particular contemporary relevance as the United States debates its role in a world suddenly made less threatening, yet more challenging, by the end of the Cold War. The part Bowles played at the height of the Cold War as the standard bearer of idealism and liberal interventionism raises in particular this fundamental issue: is there a higher American purpose beyond immediate national interests, and, if there is, how should the United States pursue it?

Bowles had been a young admirer of the universalist tenets of Woodrow Wilson, and, perhaps more than any major figure of his time, he believed that U.S. foreign policy should be guided by American values and principles. For him, these were the liberal political, economic, and social ideals he had imbibed during the New Deal and sought to put into practice when he took the job of price administrator and later governor of Connecticut. He was convinced that these ideals—the continuing American revolution—could inspire and move leaders and peoples everywhere, whatever their countries' historical experience and current circumstances. The United States should promote these principles at home. He called for "a good America, a strong America (as) a vehicle for the better-

ment of life in all corners of the world" and "an instrument in the creation of a truly world society."

These views set him apart from most other foreign-policy practitioners and commentators of the time. Many of them considered him the ultimate unreconstructed, out-of-date liberal, a woolly-minded New Dealer beyond his intellectual depth in an America confronted by the harsh challenges of the Cold War. They also regarded him, more accurately, as an outsider, drawn neither from the foreign-policy establishment of lawyers, bankers, and academics who moved in and out of government during the 1950s and 1960s nor from the foreign-affairs community itself, the Foreign Service officers and career civil servants who permanently staffed the State Department and other foreign policy-making organizations.

Bowles agreed with these much-praised "wise men" that the "free world" faced dangerous challenges from Moscow to Peking and that the United States needed to take the lead in containing Communist power. He devised his foreign-policy constructs in a Cold War context and considered them not only morally just and in accord with America's historic purpose but also effective containment strategy. He took issue, however, with many of the containment policies adopted by successive administrations, a disagreement most notable in his view of the role of the military. A realist as well as an idealist, Bowles was not, as his detractors sometimes alleged, unmindful of the need for

powerful armed forces. In his view, the United States had to be prepared to respond credibly and flexibly to the threat of aggression from Communist powers. Nor was he in any way "soft on communism," another charge leveled against him. But he resented and resisted the militarization of foreign policy that had begun in 1950 in the Truman administration. He believed that effective use of military force had narrow limits. He did not want U.S. foreign policies to ignore the power of the gun, but to stress also the power of the ideas that had made America a distinct society, "a city set upon a hill" with a message for the world.

INSPIRING THE THIRD WORLD

Nowhere, in Bowles's view, were such policies more needed than in the Third World, the vast belt of poor, often politically fragile countries of Asia, Africa, and Latin America. Differing again with many members of the largely Eurocentric foreign-policy establishment of his time, he maintained that the fate of the globe would turn on what happened in this Third World. Though he acknowledged that a firm commitment to the security of Western Europe had to be the bedrock of U.S. foreign policy, the Third World became the focus of his attention and his creative energies. His fundamental, long-held position was that the United States needed to stress "positive" policies that would identify it with the aspirations of Third World leaders and peoples, not "negative" ones such as military measures de-

afsa news

Tex Harris wins AFSA presidency

After counting more than 3,300 ballots from State, USAID, USIA, Commerce, Agriculture, and retiree members of all agencies, the AFSA Elections Committee has announced that F.A. "Tex" Harris will lead the new AFSA Governing Board, which took office on July 15. Following are results for all the candidates in the 1993 Governing Board elections (the winners are listed in **bold** type; the numbers of votes are in parentheses):



Grievance regs considered in authorization bill

The State Department Authorization Bill, which moved to the Senate in early July, retains the provisions that affect employee benefits—away-from-post educational allowance, educational travel for college students studying abroad, and a claims waiver—that were discussed in the July AFSA News. The bill was scheduled for consideration by the Senate Committee on Foreign Relations on July 15.

AFSA's efforts succeeded in altering the provision affecting employees' rights to participate in AFSA management, removing personnel and admin-

President: F.A. "Tex" Harris (1,416); Joseph Melrose (1,161); John Harter (742).

State VP: Tibor Nagy, Jr. (927); Sandy Vogelgesang, write-in (191).

USAID VP: C. Stuart Callison (178); R. Carey Coulter (140).

USIA VP: Raz Bazala (102).

Retiree VP: Donald Norland (852); Chuck Schmitz (739).

Secretary: Catherine Barry (1,807); Carolyn Dollar (1,287).

Treasurer: Anne Woods Patterson (1,839); Marshall Carter-Tripp (1,284).

State Reps: David H. Shinn (723); **Sue Saarnio** (694); **Dennis Kux** (642); **Christine Fulena** (615);

Hugh Neighbour (590); Thomas Miller (521), Robert Brand (506); Richard Jackson (492), Harry Thomas Jr. (456), William Veale (242); Frederic Baron (215); Charles Huseman, write-in (79).

USAID Reps: Lee Ann Ross (273); **James Washington** (229).

USIA Rep: Bruce Wharton (102).

Retiree Reps: Edward Peck (889); **Samuel Hart** (674); **Kathryn Clark-Bourne** (655); **M. Bruce Hirshorn** (596), Aurelius Fernandez (592); Kempton Jenkins (591); Stephen Koczak (589); Sally Smith (586); Joseph Kemper (566); Irvin Coker (370).

istrative officers overseas from the prohibition. AFSA still believes the language is too restrictive and will seek further changes.

Further changes to the strength of the Foreign Service are sought in the Senate version of the bill, which in 1994 would reduce State Department numbers 100 more than the House version (see Legislative news story, page 2) and reduces Senior Foreign Service numbers to 765 by 1995.

Newly inserted language deals with two other important issues, grievances and consular accountability:

- An amendment seeks to limit the authority of the Grievance Board to grant prescriptive relief. Under the amendment, the board would be able to grant such interim relief for

no more than one year. The one-year period could be extended if the delay in resolution of the grievance were caused by either the board or the agency. Since the board already has the authority to terminate interim relief, AFSA believes the provision is unnecessary, and we oppose this amendment.

- Another amendment would make consular officers accountable for failure to refer to the visa lookout system to find excludable aliens. AFSA opposes this provision, as such a check would depend on adequate facilities and personnel, and AFSA is not confident that the necessary funds would become available.

AFSA forwards budget-cutting ideas

AFSA has consulted with USAID management on budget-cutting measures put forward in response to Administrator Brian Atwood's request for innovative budget-reduction ideas. USAID must achieve a reduction of more than \$50 million in the operating expenses budget for 1994 and subsequent years. Many of the proposals appear to be both workable and necessary; others could have more far-reaching negative effects than the relatively modest saving could justify. AFSA is working to find alternatives to mitigate the impact on employees' working conditions. In cases where we have the right to negotiate, we seek to ensure that working conditions are protected.

A principal aim of both AFSA and management is the avoidance of Draconian reductions or furloughs. AFSA will continue efforts minimize undesirable effects on the workforce.

Make your voice heard!

Write to AFSA News with your views on association issues. Write to AFSA, 2101 E Street, NW, Washington, D.C. 20037 or fax 202/338-8244.

Institutional grievances filed against USAID

AFSA has recently filed two institutional grievances against USAID:

Exclusion from promotion-board briefing

Our collective bargaining agreement with USAID stipulates that AFSA has the right to information provided at the briefings given to promotion board members. An AFSA representative attended the briefing for all three promotion boards (Consolidated Senior Foreign Service, Senior Threshold, and Administrative) in early June, but AFSA was not allowed to attend a further briefing for the Consolidated Promotion Board, at which questions that AFSA had raised were to be answered.

AFSA's grievance states that USAID has violated the agreement by excluding AFSA from this briefing and seeks either a reconvening of the Consolidated Board or a meeting between AFSA and the board members to discuss the implementation of the 1993 promotion precepts.

Reversion to past practice on shortened tours and R&R costs

A general notice issued by E-Mail in early June had the effect of severely restricting criteria under which shortened tours and/or waiver of

repayment of R&R would be granted. Previously, school schedules and the need to fit them into the 24-month tour cycle have been sufficient reason to grant shortened tours and waivers of R&R cost repayment. Under the new notice this is no longer so. AFSA also learned that the provisions of the notice were being implemented well before it was issued. Any changes in this past practice should have been negotiated with AFSA before promulgation.

Management stated that it did not intend to apply the new guidance in a manner that penalized employees for irrevocable actions already taken. However, since the notice contained clear instructions changing past practice, the grievance seeks immediate withdrawal of the notice and reversion to past practice. AFSA and management will negotiate regarding a long-term resolution to the problem of matching tour length to school schedules and other factors over which employees have little control.

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Legislativenews

"Rightsizing" the Foreign Service

By Rick Weiss
Congressional Liaison

Congress, following administration requests, is "downsizing and downgrading" the executive branch. The Foreign Service is not exempt from this effort, as shown by the following examples in House bills:

- Appropriations for State and USIA "provide for 95 percent of adjusted current services and incorporate the president's initiative to reduce administrative costs."
- Appropriations for USAID reduce

the president's \$14.4 billion request by \$1.4 billion.

- The authorization bill, as passed by the House, provides that "State may not have more than 9,200 Foreign Service officers, of whom no more than 825 may be members of the Senior Foreign Service." The numbers for USIA are 1,200 with 175 in the SFS, and for USAID, 1,850 and 250 SFS. For FY 95, the numbers for the Senior Foreign Service are further reduced to 775 in State, 165 in USIA, and 240 in USAID.
- Provision is made for a GAO classification audit of all Senior Foreign Service positions in State, USIA, and

USAID in Washington; a report is to be submitted to Congress.

- Provision is made for a study to consolidate domestic administrative operations of State, USIA, and USAID; limit the time to file grievances; and provide for a "limited" voluntary retirement incentive program.

The House has passed the authorization bills for State, USIA, and USAID, as well as the USAID appropriations bill. Authorization and appropriations bills are now in Senate subcommittees.

Negotiations and EEO concerns

By Lauren Hale
USIA Representative

In May and June AFSA's USIA Standing Committee negotiated with management on the framework agreement, presented to Agency leadership our concerns about lack of opportunities for women and minorities in USIA's Foreign Service, met with USIA Director Joseph Duffey, and co-hosted with AFGE a reception for the director and deputy director.

AFSA worked to support the initiative the Women's Action Organization (WAO) has taken to improve the status of women in USIA. Raz Bazala, AFSA USIA vice president, wrote to Stephen Ledford, chief of USIA's Labor and Employee Relations, asking that a fair number of senior women be appointed to the 1993 selection boards--if necessary bringing overseas employees to Washington for that purpose. Joe Melrose, AFSA State vice president, wrote to Director General Genta Hawkins Holmes requesting that she recommend women FSOs from State to sit on USIA panels.

EEO was a major topic when members of the AFSA standing committee met June 22 with Director Duffey and

other agency leadership. We noted that minorities are under-represented at all ranks of USIA's Foreign Service, a problem that begins at recruitment. Women are well represented in the lower grades but their numbers drop sharply in the senior ranks; assignments and, consequently, lack of promotion opportunities have created a "glass ceiling" for USIA's FS women.

At Duffey's request, we followed the meeting with a memo with statistics demonstrating the status of women and minorities in USIA's Foreign Service. Among recommendations made were that women and minorities be included in promotion panels, especially at the FS-01 to FEOC levels, and that the director review the qualifications of all women and minority bidders on senior assignment before he signs off on the final choice for that assignment.

AFSA is pleased with Dr. Duffey's decision to name a task force to study USIA's EEO problem but disappointed that it does not include union or WAO members. We nevertheless believe that he and the new leadership are committed to making USIA more diverse and look forward to working with management to resolve inequities in USIA's Foreign Service.

At the meeting with Duffey, we also

expressed AFSA's interest in having USIA retirees be part of the Foreign Affairs Reserve Corps.

The standing committee also discussed concerns that, while USIS is an important part of the country team overseas, USIA is often overlooked in Washington, not only by the foreign affairs community but also by Congress and the public. We noted that USIA loses on the Hill, which too often appropriates money to other agencies for programs that USIS implements in the field. Duffey said that one of his objectives is to build a domestic constituency, an initiative AFSA supports.

We reiterated AFSA's objection to the decline in field presence, when it is overseas that the Agency's mandate is carried out. We stressed the need to have people in Washington who understand overseas audiences.

The director also met with AFGE on June 22. One week later the two unions hosted a reception for him and Deputy Director Penn Kemble. The two unions, which have many issues in common, organized the reception to give members active in labor-management relations a chance to meet informally with the new agency leadership.

Supreme Court on rules on retiree tax inequality

By Ward Thompson
Retiree Liaison

The U.S. Supreme Court ruled June 18 in *Harper v. Virginia Department of Taxation* that its 1989 decision in *Davis v. Michigan Department of Treasury*--ending some states' practice of taxing federal retirement benefits while exempting state retirement benefits from state income tax--must be applied retroactively. The case affects Virginia and 15 other states (AL,AZ, AR,GA,IA,KN,KY,MS,MT,NY,NC,OK, SC,UT,WI), which corrected their laws but were sued for refunds for those years prior to 1989 not covered by their statutes of limitations. For Virginia, *Harper* represents a potential liability of almost \$500 million to 200,000 for-

mer federal employees who were retired and paid VA taxes in 1985-88.

In sending the case back to Virginia, the court said that Virginia "must provide meaningful backward-looking relief either by awarding full refunds or by issuing some other order that creates in hindsight a nondiscriminatory scheme." Negotiated cash settlements and tax credits have been mentioned as possible forms of relief, but actual benefits will not be determined for some time. After the Virginia courts' final ruling, retirees will have one year to file amended returns. Only in Alabama is the matter considered settled. Since claims submitted earlier may not have been retained by Virginia or other states, AFSA urges affected members to

be prepared to resubmit them and to keep copies of their returns for the relevant years until the case is resolved.

Housing-policy change for singles

A recent change to the A-171 housing guidelines eliminates the separate space standards for the one-person family. The current standards for couples will in the future apply to both one- and two-person families. AFSA believes this change will eliminate a major housing problem for personnel overseas, but AFSA continues to seek further changes to meet proposals we have made to management recently. months.

Speaker on Islamic fundamentalism urges support for democracy

by *Richard S. Thompson*,
Professional Issues Coordinator

Speaking on the topic "Understanding Islamic Fundamentalism" at the Foreign Service Club June 29, Professor As'ad AbuKhalil suggested there was a "peculiar attitude" toward Islam in the United States. To illustrate, he noted the events involving the Branch Dravidian cult near Waco were not considered typical of Christianity, whereas explanations for the World Trade Center bombing were sought from experts on Islam. He asserted that Christianity, Judaism, and Islam all have their fundamentalist movements, which are strikingly similar.

AbuKhalil assailed the school of thought that relates all phenomena in Moslem societies to theological texts, and said there is great diversity of thought and lifestyles within Islam. He took the view that the conflict between Islam and the West is not a clash of civilizations or culture, but is about political and economic issues which can be solved, although with difficulty.

Looking more closely at Islamic fundamentalism, AbuKhalil found its root causes more socio-economic and po-



AFSA President Bill Kirby speaks with Dr. Abukhalil at AFSA Speakers Lunch.

litical than religious in nature. Among other causes he mentioned the lack of democracy in Moslem countries (especially in Syria, Saudi Arabia, and Iraq); government alliances with certain clerics; the hostility of the West; rural-urban migration; the increasing gap between rich and poor (within and among countries); and successive military defeats, which encourage fundamentalism as a way of developing the enthusiasm and zeal for victory.

Events since the Gulf War are also relevant: sympathy for the civilians in Iraq, perceived Western indifference to the suffering of Muslims in Bosnia, Western support of Saudi Arabia, and Western acquiescence in the overthrow by the military of elections won by fundamentalists in Algeria.

USIA agreement signed

In early July, AFSA concluded negotiations with USIA management over the bargaining agreement, which outlines the ground rules and arrangements of the AFSA/USIA relationship. Significant provisions include: USIA's commitment to treat all employees equally without regard to sexual orientation, to meet with AFSA's EEO working group to discuss diversity and EEO initiatives, and to ensure that employees are apprised of their right to union representation during security and OIG investigations.

The parties signed the agreement July 14, and copies will be distributed soon to all members of the bargaining unit.

AbuKhalil believes that as fundamentalists are brought into the political system, such as in Jordan and Lebanon, the movement is deflated. He suggested that in Algeria democracy should have been risked, with the fundamentalists there being held accountable by the people.

He concluded by saying that the United States should consistently promote democracy and respect for human rights, regardless of whether a regime is a friend or enemy of the United States.

F.Y.I.

The medical claims process

M/MED has recently issued a cable and department notice containing procedures for better monitoring of payment of authorized medical treatment in the United States. Previously, it was difficult to track payment of bills or audit the conduct and completion of treatment. The new initiative for claims processed in Washington and for treatment provided in the U.S. only is designed to make sure that the employee, the health care provider, the employee's medical insurance, and the department all meet their respective obligations in a fair, understandable, and verifiable manner. AFSA reviewed the new system care-

fully and suggested appropriate changes and limits.

Any eligible medical treatment authorized by M/MED should not be pre-paid by the employee. Bills for charges related to clearance physicals etc., authorized by a DSL-820, for which the department is liable in their entirety, should be sent directly to M/MED for payment.

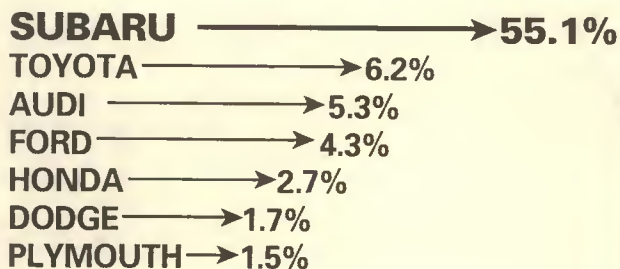
For other treatment authorized by Form FS-569:

- First, submit the bill to your health-insurance carrier.
- The bill for the balance not covered by insurance should then be forwarded to M/MED for verification and payment, together with a copy of FS-569, and the insurance company's explanation of benefits.

- If you receive a bill from the health-care provider for balances remaining after the department and the insurance have both paid, do not pay but return it to the health-care provider with a note disputing the charges.
- Any further bills should be sent to M/MED together with a copy of the original FS-569 and the note disputing the charges. M/MED will take any further action necessary. Plans are under development for an improved medical-claims review system for use overseas. AFSA also will be closely reviewing that program with M/MED during its formulation.

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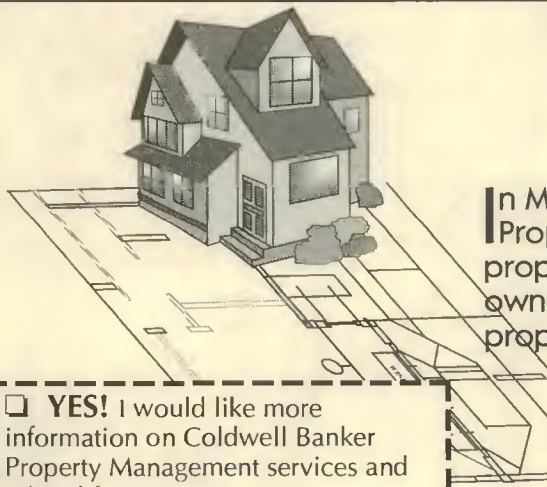
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Above, Bowles and his wife Steb. Right, Chester Bowles in India.

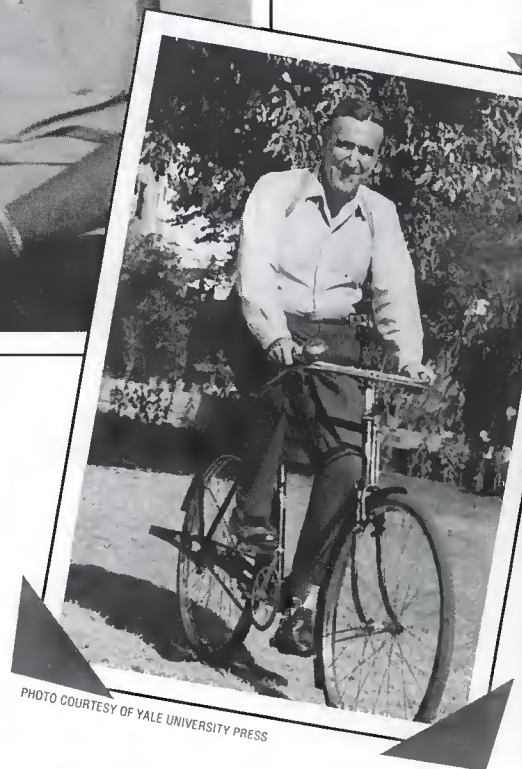


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signed simply to thwart Communist threats.

A major element in Bowles's approach was his insistence that Washington recognize the potency of nationalism and accept the preferences of many Third World governments, such as Nehru's, for independent, nonaligned foreign policies. He was confident that the appeal of nationalism could counteract both external Communist challenges to Third World countries and the more menacing danger he found in the seductive attractiveness of communism to their illiterate, poverty-stricken masses. For years he argued that the United States should mobilize Asian nationalism against the threat of Chinese Communist expansionism in Southeast Asia and elsewhere, not by drawing Asian countries into the Western security system but by encouraging and providing behind-the-scenes support for an indigenous Asian Monroe Doctrine led by India. As he looked for more effective ways to contain Communist China, a

country that both fascinated and frightened him, he also explored approaches that could moderate the behavior of the Peking regime and reduce its ties to the Soviet Union. Like so many of Bowles's initiatives, these endeavors often brought him into sharp conflict with powerful contemporaries more ideologically rigid or less politically courageous than he was.

Economic assistance to the developing world was another major item on Bowles's "positive" foreign-policy agenda. He believed that extensive, carefully programmed aid linked to precepts assuring its proper use, preferably in a democratic setting, could be an important Cold War tool. His emphasis in the immediate postwar years and long afterwards on the importance of foreign aid helped give it the centrality to U.S. policy toward the Third World it has had since the mid-1950s. But unlike many of his contemporaries, Bowles also saw foreign aid as a moral obligation that reflected the historic spirit and

revolutionary principles of America. It represented for him the most rewarding and tangible aspect of America's postwar international role, the opportunity to export American wealth, experience, and values to help the world's poor help themselves to achieve better lives under free institutions. He believed such aid could foster a global New Deal that would bring about a just society for the common man, whose cause he championed at home and abroad.

UNDERESTIMATING THE DIFFICULTIES

Bowles's ideas, ably set forth in a host of books, magazine articles,

memoranda, speeches, and private correspondence, made him as unique and arresting a figure in his foreign-policy years as he had been earlier in his life. He had great strengths: his enthusiastic and indefatigable energy, his creativity and skill as a wordsmith, his long-sighted approach to the great changes coursing through the mid-

approach to foreign policy both within the party and outside. His failure to become a strong voice within the Kennedy administration and to persuade it to place less emphasis on military power was a terrible disappointment to him, especially since he had viewed the 1960 election, which brought Kennedy to power, as an

Bowles had great strengths: his enthusiastic and indefatigable energy, his creativity and skill as a wordsmith, his long-sighted approach to the great changes coursing through the mid-20th-century world, and his ability to inspire younger people with his realistic idealism and devotion to public service.

20th-century world, and his ability to inspire younger people with his realistic idealism and devotion to public service. But he also suffered from glaring weaknesses: an inability to master the game of bureaucratic politics and to relate to his peers, a cultural insensitivity, which led him to underestimate seriously the obstacles to the kinds of social and economic change he wanted the developing countries to undertake, a reputation as a visionary unwilling or unable to deal with immediate pressing problems, and an overidentification with the Third World in general and India in particular that reduced his credibility and effectiveness.

His influence and standing waxed and waned, leading him to private moments both of great hope and of bitter despair. He was enormously successful in his first assignment to India, where his role in winning greater understanding for U.S. policies and fostering the newly established economic assistance program contributed to a decided improvement in bilateral relations at a time when these had become badly frayed. As a leading Democratic foreign-affairs spokesman later in the 1950s, he effectively propagated his liberal interventionist

opportunity for a historic breakthrough in America's approach to international affairs.

His long second ambassadorship to India in the 1960s was less productive than his first. He played a major part in the effort to bring about the reforms in food and agricultural policy that led to the Green Revolution. But he was frustrated in his determined campaign to develop a closer U.S.-India security relationship as a cornerstone of U.S. containment policy in Asia, and in his last years in New Delhi he saw India slip downward on the Johnson administration's foreign-policy agenda, which was increasingly dominated by Vietnam. Highly skeptical of military solutions to political problems and concerned about the United States' playing a colonialist role in Southeast Asia, he used his New Delhi perch, as he had his earlier ones in Washington, to try to influence U.S. policy in Indochina, with scant success.

WHO WAS RIGHT?

Bowles was ambitious both for himself and for his country. He thought he might become president, and for years set his sights on being appointed secretary of state. Despite his frustrat-

ing setbacks, he never flagged in his persistent efforts to promote the fundamental changes he believed necessary for the preservation of American security and the flowering of American ideals in the post-colonial Cold War world. He would, no doubt, have seen in the outcome of the Cold War the triumph of these ideals and the vindication of his belief that they represented universal aspirations. He would today be in the forefront of those urging the United States to employ its resources, depleted as these have become, to sustain and strengthen free political institutions and more liberal and equitable economies in the former Communist world, much as he had called on it to do in Asia, Africa, and Latin America in the 1950s and 1960s.

The United States and the rest of the world are vastly different now from what they were then. The specific battles Bowles fought have long since ended, and the players and stakes have changed. As Dean Rusk observed, "Only the historians can determine who was right and who was wrong." For the first time in 45 years the United States faces an international system not dominated by a single crucial contest. In consequence, Americans are reexamining many of the larger foreign-policy issues that Bowles's career highlighted. In this new context there is surprising resonance in the story of this New Dealer who came to political maturity in the last decade of relative U.S. isolation and went on to promote, in the Cold War era, a distinctively American view of the world and an idealistic vision of America's national purpose. ■

A former U.S. ambassador to Bangladesh and husband of the current ambassador to Sri Lanka, Howard Schaffer is now working on a biography of Ellsworth Bunker. New Dealer in the Cold War: Chester Bowles in U.S. Foreign Policy, from which this article is excerpted, is an Institute for the Study of Diplomacy book to be published in October by Harvard University Press.

The MUKDEN Affair

Two accounts of the internment of Foreign Service officers after the Communist takeover in China

In October 1948, after a 13-month siege against Nationalist troops, the Chinese Communists won the northern city of Mukden (Shenyang), the capital of what the Chinese called the Northeast and had formerly been called Manchuria. In the chaos of the takeover, the new government authorities first ignored the American Consulate General in the city, refusing to recognize most foreign powers, then seized the consulate's radio-broadcasting equipment and placed the staff under a year-long house arrest. After many months of confinement under armed guard in the consulate general and neighboring living quarters, an incident occurred that spurred formal arrest.

According to an account by then-Consul General Angus Ward in the February 1950 *Foreign Service Journal*, a Chinese member of the staff, Chi Yu-heng, resigned his job but refused to leave the premises. After two weeks, Ward escorted Chi off the premises, leading to a charge that he had assaulted the man. Ward and several members of the staff were arrested and placed in solitary confinement in unheated and unsanitary cells for about a month. At the end of this period, the men were put on trial, although apparently the sentences had been written ahead of time. Ward describes the proceeding thus: "I, being the archcriminal, was sentenced to six months' imprisonment, fined the equivalent of about U.S.\$20 in damages for Chi, and placed on parole for one year; my prison sentence was commuted to deportation. . . . Since we had been held incommunicado, it was not until we arrived at our residences that we learned of the furor and wave of resentment which our imprisonment had aroused in the United States. I have every reason to believe that the display of public indignation in the press and on the radio was instrumental in expediting our trial and release." ▶

U.S. Consul General Angus Ward and members of his consulate staff and families gather Dec. 14, 1949 after arriving from Mukden: *Left to right, front*, Ralph Rehberg, Jack Feigal, Mary Braden, Ward, Mrs. Ward, Mr. and Mrs. Shiro Tatsumi, Akiko Tatsumi (daughter, kneeling), Mrs. Aiko Chen and son George, Mrs. Frank Cicogna (kneeling with two dog evacuees, Norka and Butch.) *Back row*, Harry Tatsumi, Alfred Kristan, Fred Hubbard, Elden Erickson, Walter Norman, William Stokes, Frank Cicogna, and Hugo Picard



AP/WIDE WORLD PHOTO

Following are excerpts from interviews with two Foreign Service officers who served in China during the Mukden internment, Elden B. Erickson in the consulate in Mukden and Philip Manhard in Tianjin. Erickson was interviewed by Charles Stuart Kennedy and Manhard by Marshall Green for the Foreign Affairs Oral History Program, directed by Kennedy at Georgetown University under the auspices of the Association for Diplomatic Studies.



Q: *How long was it before the Communists came into Mukden?*

ELDEN B. ERICKSON: I arrived in February [1948] and they didn't come in until the first of November. . . . [W]e were very apprehensive. We were on the roof of the consulate general when they came in. We could see them coming down the main street.

•Q: *Had the Nationalist Army just plain pulled out?*

ERICKSON: They just evaporated. We went up to the roof of the consulate and watched [the Communists] start taking over the communications building, which was about two blocks down. Then they came up to our area. I remember there was an old lady whom they just shot and went right on. They saw us looking over the top of the building and they started shooting at us.

Q: *How had the consul general prepared for this eventuality?*

ERICKSON: We had lots of food in tins and sacks and sacks of flour. Angus was afraid that we would get bored, so we would have to take these 48-pound sacks of flour from one room to another, and then in a month or two we would move it all up to the second floor. A couple of months later we would move it bag by bag somewhere else. He said it was to keep the mites out, etc., but it was really to keep us busy. As much as we disliked doing that, it really was a good idea. But it didn't make him all that popular.

Q: *What about Angus Ward at this time? How did he strike you the first few months you were there?*

ERICKSON: Well, he was very much in charge. Very imposing and autocratic. He had good contacts with the Chinese authorities. He was busy constantly either with the office or working on his [Chinese-Mongolian-Japanese] dictionary.

Q: *Were you trying to make contact [with Communist authorities after the takeover]?*

ERICKSON: Yes, Angus was trying to make contact but he couldn't. They came in on November first. On November 20 they threw a cordon of guards around the consulate building and around the Standard Oil Compound and Ward's residence. From then on we could only go with them. To go to the office, they would come to the compound and march us with pistols in our back to the consulate. We would have to show our lunch and they would inspect it. Then they would bring us back in the evening. Only half of us would go each day, so no one was isolated.

Q: *What were you doing?*

ERICKSON: Nothing, but we were showing the flag, pretending to be carrying on normally. We were moving flour part of the time. They always gave us the newspapers. In the beginning the Chinese staff still came to work. We were translating. It was very interesting what was in the press at that time. So we were doing that. And we sent messages the first 20 days, but after that, nothing.

Q: *Was that forbidden after that?*

ERICKSON: Well, they came and took all the equipment away. They went into every house, every room, everywhere and got any radios, anything electronic. That was the pretext for clamping down. That we were doing unauthorized transmitting.

Q: *Was there any protest?*

ERICKSON: There was protest but they didn't recognize the American Consulate, the American government, that America even existed. They stated that they didn't recognize America or the consulate general. They just flatly said so. After the 20th they would come to the office and demand the radio equipment and this and that. And, of course, Angus stood absolutely solid against their demands.

Q: *Was there any way to get word out at all?*

ERICKSON: Not at all. We were

totally incommunicado after the 20th. Nothing in or out.

Q: *How long did the Chinese staff stay?*

ERICKSON: I can't remember exactly. They were told very soon after we were locked up to not have any more communication with us. They still lived in the servants' quarters in the compound and they would bring eggs and various things because we had no way at that point to go to the market, although we did have canned food in the commissary. The servants would leave eggs and fresh vegetables in the basement, and we would go down and find them in the morning. But we couldn't talk to them or have any communication with them. They didn't dare, and we didn't want to jeopardize their status.

Q: *Were there any anti-American demonstrations?*

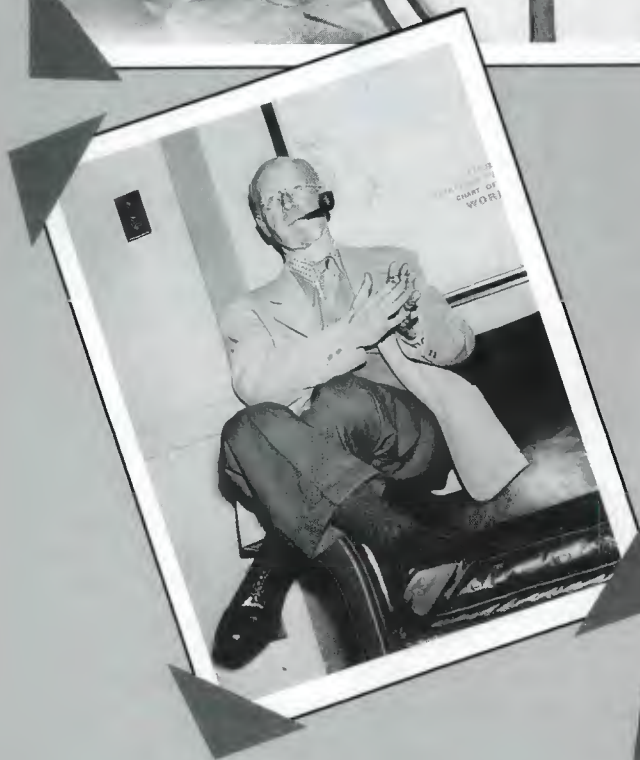
ERICKSON: Oh yes. Every single day. Singing and parades all along the side of our compound. I still can sing their little chant: "Without communism there will be no China." Two or three hours every day, in the beginning.

Another thing that was rather terrifying in the beginning was that every night we were bombed by the Nationalists. That was ironic too. Here we were being bombed by our own planes. We were hit one evening, quite a few of the windows blown out. Ralph Rehberg was hit, and also Franco Cicogna. I remember picking glass with tweezers out of their lips.

We had a regular drill to put water in the bathtub and open all the windows because of concussion. It was already getting cold.

Q: *And, of course, that is a very cold area up there. Did you get the feeling that nobody cared or knew the situation?*

ERICKSON: Yes. We had no knowledge otherwise. It was an eerie sensation. It went on and on. Then they cut



Top photo, Angus Ward (left), talks over the Chinese situation at the State Department with Under Secretary of State James E. Webb (center) and Assistant Secretary of State for Far Eastern Affairs W. Walton Butterworth. *Bottom left photo*, Angus Ward perches on the arm of a chair in the State Department Press Room as he tells newsmen of his experiences in Communist China. *Bottom right photo*, Mr. and Mrs. Angus Ward disembark from the S.S. President Wilson at San Francisco January 3 after a rough voyage from China.

off our electricity, which cut off our water supply. We had no fuel. You couldn't take a bath because there was no hot water. You just put on layers of clothing like the Chinese did. They didn't take our clothing away. Each week we were permitted to write a list in Chinese of what we wanted and give it to a couple who would come to the gate. But we couldn't speak to them. We kept ordering needles because our clothes were wearing out. The servants had done all the mending before. So that really became an important thing, to have a needle. Thread was another item.

But it was really the cold that I remember as the worst. It would get 40 below, and that was really cold. Then the pump would freeze. We didn't have any running water, of course. We would bake bread, and the cockroaches would practically line the bread pans as it was rising.

But it was really the cold that I remember as the worst. It would get 40 below, and that was really cold. Then the pump would freeze. We didn't have any running water, of course. We would bake bread, and the cockroaches would practically line the bread pans as it was rising. We would bake it with the cockroaches in it and then just slice the sides off. They didn't get inside the bread.

What did we do? We played bridge. We didn't have any electricity, and nights start very early in the winter-time. We did get candles, and that was all we had. We played pinochle five days and couldn't stand it any longer so started playing bridge. They always let us buy vodka. The vegetables—carrots and cabbage—we got most of the time, meat, from time to time, but it would be full of straw and dirt. However, we would just wash it up and boil it well. We were never hungry, and I think that is important in maintaining at least a modicum of

morale. If you are cold and hungry that is a lot worse than being just cold.

Q: *Did the authorities ever try taking a person out and threatening to kill them?*

ERICKSON: They did the Chinese. They would even accuse them of taking "capitalist" paths. Eventually one night they were all taken away. We never were able to say goodbye. We had no idea, as far as I know, what happened to any of them.

Q: *You mentioned that there was a Japanese-American there.*

ERICKSON: He was an American citizen, Tatsumi.

Q: *Yes, but obviously being Oriental. Did this cause him any particular problem?*

ERICKSON: There is another time frame when Angus Ward and four others were taken away and put in solitary confinement, and Tatsumi was treated much worse than any of the others. They would tell him that Angus Ward was killing his wife and his children and they would have people outside, women, who would scream, pretending that all of this was going on. So as far as mental torture was concerned, he was probably the worst off. The five of them were in solitary confinement for four weeks. They were taken from the compound, put in solitary, and then returned after four weeks. Then they were tried as criminals for assaulting one of our Chinese employees. There was lots in the Communist paper about that.

Q: *This a very common type of accusation.*

ERICKSON: There was nothing to

it. He, Chi Yu-heng, had been put up to it. He was a very nice man; he wouldn't ever have done this. But he came up to demand his severance pay. Ward said that he had quit and escorted him out. The press said that Ward was so rough on him that he lost control of his bladder, and also that Ward had mistreated him. This was a criminal charge according to the Chinese. I think that was in April 1949.

Q: *What happened when they came in and took five people away? How many of you were left?*

ERICKSON: There were nine of us, including the dependents; no, 13.

Q: *What were your thoughts?*

ERICKSON: We didn't know if they were coming back. When Angus was taken out to the truck, he insisted I come along. I still did my shorthand. He said, "Erickson, you come along with your notebook." I went out the front door and toward the weapons carrier, or whatever, and the Communists kept saying "You can't go. You can't go." And to him, "You go, move on. You go, move on." We got finally just to the truck and they took their bayonets and pushed me right back into the consulate. Angus said, "You'd better go back." So I escaped all the trouble, really.

Q: *When they came back in April, then how long did you remain?*

ERICKSON: In June we were charged with espionage. Up to that time we were just there, not charged with anything. . . . I was charged with espionage. They had the finding ready before the trial, so it went very fast.

Q: *How did this trial work?*

ERICKSON: Only [William N.] Stokes was there. They just read off all the charges and the findings and that was it. All of it was bilingual in Chinese and Japanese.

The economic and administrative people got three years in prison. Angus and the political people—Stokes, [Fred E.] Hubbard—got five years, as I recall. All the sentences were commuted to immediate deportation and banishment forever from the People's Republic. That was it.

When they did finally come, I think we said that we wouldn't leave without our things. They said, "You can't

take your personal belongings.”

But finally one day they came, in December 1949, and said to be ready to go in 24 hours. We could take 20 kilos each; everything else was to be left behind. Of course we had to take the cats and dogs. Our captors came early one morning in December, and it was cold. We got into an open personnel carrier with soldiers at all four corners covering us with rifles. After we climbed in, three more came with pistols to cover us from behind. We got down to the railroad station, and there was a big semicircle of military or police. We got on board this horse car with six big stalls in it and cold as the devil.

Meanwhile, Vice Consul Philip Manhard was at the U.S. consulate in Tianjin following the proceedings in Mukden. Below is his account, drawn from a 1988 interview with former Ambassador Marshall Green.

PHILIP MANHARD: Shortly after I got to Tianjin in October 1949, the news had come that our consul general, Angus Ward, and his entire staff and dependents in Mukden had been placed under house arrest, i.e., in a compound in which they lived between the office and residences in the city of Mukden. No one knew what was going to transpire there. The communications were closed down with that office. . . . At that point we were totally dependent on what we could pick up, at least as far as I knew, in Tianjin from the local Chinese-language press. I followed that closely, and I noticed that the male members of the staff had been put in jail. There was a trial before what they called the People's Court, and they were finally convicted of sabotaging the revolution. Angus Ward himself was convicted of supposedly attacking a Chinese citizen and conducting various spy activities against the Chinese Communist regime. Shortly thereafter it was announced in the press again that, due to the lenient policy of the Chinese Communist regime, their sentence was being commuted to deportation.

At that point I simply decided that I would try to—war game is not an appropriate name—but I would try

simply to analyze for myself what I would be expected to do if I were a Chinese Communist official handling that situation. The first thing that seemed obvious to me, my own personal speculation, was that they had no way of physically carrying out the sentence of deportation from China's mainland unless they had the cooperation of the United States or some other foreign power. They had no aircraft, there was no commercial transportation coming in or out of North China, at least of a regular nature.

So I decided that I'd take the initiative to go down to see the head of the Public Safety Bureau in the Chinese Communist regime, which was the equivalent of the internal and external *gestapo*. The head of that office, I was informed by a Belgian businessman who had long residence in Tianjin before and after World War II, was . . . bitterly anti-foreign and specifically anti-American, a very difficult, tough, elderly, and senior Communist official. But he was the one with whom I had to deal, so I went down and insisted on seeing him.

Q: You took the initiative on this?

MANHARD: I took the initiative.

Q: Did you get the consul's permission to do this?

MANHARD: At this point I can be frank, Marshall. I did it on my own. I simply went down and said, "I've seen from the paper that Angus Ward and his party have been sentenced to deportation." I asked him first if his government intended to deport them via the Soviet Union. . . . I personally believed that the Chinese Communists were having great difficulties with their relationship with the Soviet Union. This was late October 1949. . . . [I] got the answer that I really expected. He glowered and bristled and said, "Certainly not. Absolutely not."

I said, "Perhaps Dairen," which was then the port in the Loudon Peninsula of Manchuria, which was still occupied.

Q: Now called Dalian.

MANHARD: Port Arthur. So I asked him about that place, which was even by implication at issue in the Chinese Communist press, [where] their slo-

gan at that time was, "Lean to one side, learn from our big brother": ostensible good relations with the Soviet Union, but restiveness and some criticism about the continuing Soviet occupation of that port. Total extra-territoriality, by the way, is the way they ran it, apparently, as a military base.

He again gave the same answer, "Absolutely not." He wouldn't think of it.

I said, "Then I assume the only way that you can send this group out of China is through Tianjin, and either directly from Tianjin to the United States or perhaps go down to South China somewhere, a long and perhaps unnecessary trip." At this point he backed up and said, "I'm not authorized to discuss this in any way with you." . . . So my parting shot at this point was simply, "Well, I trust you and your superiors realize that there is no way you can carry out the order of your court unless you have the cooperation of the United States. . . . The United States government is prepared to send a ship to Tianjin."

Q: And you knew that we were?

MANHARD: I did not know any such thing. We had no instructions whatsoever. Whether Peking or Nanjing had instructions that were not divulged to low-ranking officers like myself at the end of the line, I had no way of knowing. But . . . it seemed to me . . . [that everybody] was bound to cooperate if they had a chance to rescue this group of our representatives. So I assumed this was going to happen. I said, "We can't do this by ourselves. You have to do your share. You have to bring them to Tianjin, presumably arrange somehow to get them to a ship, because we can't come in over [a sandbar] which is a navigational obstacle to a large ship coming into the wharf and docks at Tianjin." I said, "But we are prepared to cooperate, and I hope that you and your superiors will do something about this." Whereupon I was rather unceremoniously removed from his office, and left. . . .

. . . As it turned out later, in December the State Department not only sent one ship, they sent two. ■

ECONOMIC DIPLOM



Edwin M. Martin

Throughout his career, Edwin M. Martin disputed the attitude that economic analysis is a ragged stepsister to political appraisal in the work of diplomacy. From the immediate post-war period until his retirement in 1975, Martin was one of the most influential career economic officers at the Department of State.

From 1945, Martin headed the State Department office that monitored the economies of Japan and Korea (and, after 1947, also Germany and Austria). In 1948, Martin succeeded Paul Nitze as deputy director of the department's Office of International Trade Policy. Martin's career also included service as assistant secretary of state for economic affairs (1960-62), assistant secretary for inter-American affairs (1962-64), and ambassador to Argentina (1964-68). He was given the rank of career ambassador in 1969.

Following are edited excerpts from a six-hour interview with Martin conducted by retired Foreign Service officer John J. Harter.

JOHN J. HARTER: *Ambassador Martin, in general, how do international economic issues affect political relationships between nations?*

AMBASSADOR EDWIN M. MARTIN: There is a tendency to underestimate the impact of economic factors on international political relationships. When there is prosperity and stability, economic relationships may be more or less routine; but they may become critical when people face economic pressures or when there is sudden change. After the European colonies became independent in the late 1950s and early 1960s—when Britain gave up India, for example, and especially after many new African states emerged—economic issues demanded the attention of U.S. foreign-policy-makers. New nations that were relatively poor and inexperienced in handling their own affairs suddenly

entered the international community, and the United States could not ignore their economic situations. That wasn't only because of international sympathy for poor and starving people, but also because of the competition between the United States and the Soviet Union for their cooperation and support, especially with respect to countries that were in strategic locations and countries that produced certain raw materials. For those reasons, the whole question of Third World development—and aid to and trade with Third World countries—became a major new economic dimension of foreign policy after World War II.

But important as those matters were, our economic relations with the European countries were more central to our interests in the years immediately following World War II, as reflected in the Marshall Plan and the European

Common Market.

Q: *Some people say the economic dimension of foreign policy tends to be concerned with the underlying, long-term issues, while the political factors, which attract more public attention, are typically more concerned with immediate crises. Is that an accurate perception?*

MARTIN: Probably, in general—but sometimes economic factors force political crises. Debt problems, for example, may take years to mature, but they can suddenly hit a boiling point and erupt. A decision by a foreign government to expropriate a U.S. investment can also precipitate an immediate crisis that requires quick reaction, as do decisions relating to embargoes and other trade-interrupting measures, such as those that affected our relations with Cuba and the Soviet Union from time to time during the Cold War. Also, the earthquakes in Chile in 1960, floods in Bangladesh in the 1970s, and famine in Africa in the 1980s required immediate economic attention. But on the whole, it is true that economic issues have a long-term character.

Q: *Weren't you much concerned with commodity issues over the years?*

MARTIN: Oh, yes. Commodity problems were major issues for the United States when I was assistant secretary for economic affairs and assistant secretary for inter-American affairs. U.S. policies affecting sugar, coffee, cocoa, bananas, and a few minerals, such as copper, iron ore, and tin, were critical to our political relations with the countries that exported those commodities. In fact, the economies of a great many countries in Latin America and Africa—and hence their political stability—depend upon their export earnings from those commodities. That's somewhat less true in

ACY

Retired Ambassador Edwin M. Martin reflects on how economics and trade affect the interaction of nations

the Far East, where the economies tend to be more diversified. Malaysia, for example, is very tin-oriented, but not so dependent on tin as Bolivia.

In nearly all cases, efforts have been made—sometimes successfully and sometimes not—to organize international groups to stabilize commodity prices around a so-called “re-munerative” level by purchasing stocks when prices fall and storing them until prices rise. But the management of commodity agreements is very difficult, because many unanticipated developments are likely to affect both demand and supply. For example, in the early 1950s, a world boom that resulted from the Korean War pushed commodity prices up—and then, suddenly, by the early 1960s, the demand for the same commodities dropped and their prices fell substantially. Sugar fell from about 5 cents per pound to about 2 cents per pound, for example, and that led to foreign-exchange crises, government deficits, and inflation in several countries, with very large political consequences.

We had a terrific battle with the Bolivians while I was assistant secretary for economic affairs, because we were selling from our tin stockpile, and that somewhat depressed the worldwide price of tin, which represented about two-thirds of Bolivia’s export earnings. That obviously affected Bolivian employment. We tried to limit sales—and their impact—and we sought to persuade the Bolivians that an excessively high price for tin would encourage the substitution of plastics and coated steel in the manu-

U.S. policies affecting sugar, coffee, cocoa, bananas, and a few minerals, such as copper, iron ore, and tin, were critical to our political relations with the countries that exported those commodities.

facture of tin cans. We had similar problems with respect to rubber-exporting countries, as synthetic rubber increasingly competed with raw rubber.

Q: *What was the most serious commodity-related political issue that you dealt with?*

MARTIN: The biggest crisis relating to commodities during that period by far related to the redistribution of the enormous Cuban sugar quota after Castro took over in 1960. That amounted to some 3 million tons—perhaps more than half of our total sugar imports. The quota was important, because it ensured a price for sugar that was 2 or 3 cents a pound above the world price, and that amounted to a considerable *de facto* subsidy. President Eisenhower first imposed the embargo shortly before he left office, and President Kennedy made it firm in 1961.

After the embargo went into effect, ambassadors whom I hardly knew—or lobbyists on their behalf—appeared in my office, seeking a piece of our sugar-import quota. I never dreamed that some of those countries—like Ireland, for example—could export sugar. And meanwhile, U.S. domestic producers of beet and cane sugar were eager to ensure that their own

earnings from sugar sales would rise, even though their prices were already above the world level. The use of sugar for soft drinks was declining at that time, and that depressed the world price of sugar, and as a result, there was a great deal of public interest in this question. The major player, of course,

was the Department of Agriculture, which was under considerable pressure from domestic sugar producers and their lobbyists—and the U.S. Congress—to restrict sugar imports.

Some people advocated barter arrangements: that is, they proposed that if country X took a big chunk of our wheat, we would give it a chunk of our sugar quota. They said this would help us get rid of our “surplus” wheat. I spent a lot of time trying to weave my way through that.

Q: *You became assistant secretary for inter-American affairs when you left the Bureau of Economic Affairs.*

MARTIN: Yes, I was involved in a number of issues affecting Latin America while I was still in the economics bureau. For example, we had some skirmishes with Argentina on meat exports. That is, Argentina couldn’t export meat to the United States because of “Aptosa fever,” better known as “hoof-and-mouth disease,” which was then quite widespread in Argentina, and meat accounted for up to one-third of Argentine exports in those days.

I came to understand the importance the Latin Americans attached to economic matters. In my new job, I worked more closely with the White House, and I saw President Kennedy

himself, on the average, once every two weeks, and Secretary Rusk more often than that. I was much involved in coordinating visits to Washington by Latin American chiefs of state and our reciprocal visits to Latin America. For example, I oversaw the arrangements for a fascinating March 1963 meeting that lasted several days and was attended by Kennedy and the presidents of the five Central American countries and Panama. The discussions there focused on the Central American Common Market.

Q: *What went wrong with the Central American Common Market?*

MARTIN: Well, CACM made complete economic sense, but politically, those countries had very little in common. Guatemala, Honduras, and El Salvador were very disorganized politically, and there were politically incompatible regimes. Nicaragua had a rather dictatorial government under Somoza, and Costa Rica—known as “the Switzerland of Latin America”—had a high literacy rate, a high level of income, a modern society, and a very democratic government. Also, there was a so-called “soccer war” between Honduras and El Salvador, which had experienced border conflicts and other difficulties for more than 100 years. Also, we thought Panama, with its unique assets and problems, should be involved, but I’m not sure that ever would have worked.

Q: *So divergent political philosophies impeded economic cooperation?*

MARTIN: Yes, but there were also divisive economic issues. A common market can open up the real economic potential for large-scale industries, so long as the countries agree that one of them will supply its products for the entire area. When you have two or three producers of the same product in two or three different countries, which ones will you close down? For example, there were two or three oil refineries in Central America, and if you had a real common market, only one of them should get all the business. Issues like that are difficult to resolve. And then, of course, when Nicaragua went Communist, the problems intensified. But in the long run, I think a common

market is really the answer for Central America. Small may be beautiful, but smallness is not realistic in the modern world economy.

Q: *Would you say political difficulties have restrained economic development throughout Latin America?*

MARTIN: Oh, yes. The whole question of “political development” represented a serious problem in Latin America. I don’t think the American people sufficiently understand how the Latin American cultural heritage has handicapped industrial progress in the region. In fact, much of the economic modernization in Latin America has been spurred by immigrants—from Austrians in Colombia, for example, the so-called “Turcos” in Chile—a Middle East Group built up the textiles industry there—the Germans and British in Argentina, and the Japanese in Sao Paulo. All of these recent immigrants made real contributions to Latin American society.

There have also been some very serious political splits in Latin America on the basis of race: the Guatemalan Indians, the Haitian blacks versus mulattos, and similar splits in Ecuador and Peru, where the people living on the slopes of the Andes were set against the people on the coast. Under those conditions, a national sense was missing.

Latin America also has a political tradition of autocracy—in the church and in the military as well as in the government. Democracy is rare in Latin America, and I think that’s related to their tradition of not trusting the people. “*Personalismo*,” they call it, meaning you group around a special person, often a relative.

Q: *Wasn’t the Alliance for Progress supposed to bring Latin America into the 20th century?*

MARTIN: Well I’m writing a book about Kennedy and Latin America in which I try to assess the alliance. I believe its essential concept was sound. We were trying to do the right things, both in terms of stimulating development and deterring communism. But we did not adequately understand the cultural handicaps or the time that would be required to bring about the changes we had in mind.

President Kennedy picked up on a phrase from the president of Brazil, who said: “We need a Marshall Plan for Latin America.” Although that was a conceptual error, an early draft of the president’s speech launching the alliance reflected that idea. The Marshall Plan accomplished its goals in Europe in five years, but those goals involved the recovery of a devastated—but already modern—economy. Modernizing the Latin American society would require a totally different time frame. I think that confusion has clouded our whole national approach to development assistance.

Q: *Do you have other comments on the alliance?*

MARTIN: Yes, I think it was a mistake to set targets for achievement—to get all children in school and all adults literate within 10 years, for example, with comparable improvements in nutrition, health care, and housing—targets intended to apply across the board, ignoring the vast differences between Haiti and Argentina and their radically different needs.

It was also a mistake to set up the alliance as a 10-year project. Kennedy barely had time to start when President Johnson succeeded him, and Tom Mann took over the Latin American Bureau. They adopted a totally new approach: they dropped the Kennedy motto, “The only alternative to violent revolution is peaceful change,” and they enunciated a new doctrine: “The present power structure can best serve U.S. interests.”

Q: *Were there other mistakes in the Kennedy approach to Latin America?*

MARTIN: Yes, I think we made a mistake in assuming that the elimination of poverty should be a main answer to the dictatorships of the left and the right. Related to that, we erred in thinking the worst problems lay in widespread discontent among the landless, rural laborers. We thought agrarian reform would solve that, so we sent the Peace Corps into rural areas, where they really couldn’t achieve anything. In fact, there were worse problems in the urban areas, where semi-educated students were

especially vulnerable to radical ideologies. We simply had the wrong focus.

I also think it was a mistake to try to harness the Latin American military to economic development. The theory was that the armed forces had certain skills and a lot of time on their hands that could be applied to construction projects and educational programs. But on balance, I think bringing the military into this tended to broaden and entrench their political influence.

Q: *You later served at OECD...*

MARTIN: Well, to my great surprise, I was asked in 1968 to go to Paris as chairman of the OECD [Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development] Development Assistance Committee, which provides a forum for industrialized countries to comment upon one another's economic and technical assistance programs. I was there from 1968 to 1974, assisted by a staff of some 15 professionals. Basically the job was to urge the industrialized countries to improve their Third World assistance activities and to suggest how they might best do that. I spent about a third of my time visiting developing countries, trying to assess the impact of these programs.

Q: *Could you cite a specific example to illustrate how you may have had a real impact?*

MARTIN: Yes, the Socialist prime minister of Austria once urged me to press in my public statements to the media in Vienna for improvements in the Austrian program. He encouraged me to criticize Austria for not putting a larger percentage of its GNP into Third World development. I did, and that seemed to help. On another occasion, I went to a hearing of the Swiss Parliament, and the same thing happened there: the political leadership wanted to improve Swiss development assistance, and I was able to help gain the support of their congress. I nearly always met with the prime minister and the minister of finance, as I traveled around the world. At one point, the Australians asked me to go to Papua New Guinea—just before it became independent—to teach their cabinet how to deal with donor

countries and private investors.

Q: *Could you say a few words about your work in 1980, when Secretary Vance asked you to study State's economic functions?*

MARTIN: This came after Congress and the Carter administration had already agreed to transfer responsibility for commercial attaché functions in our embassies from the State Department to the Commerce Department and certain trade and commodity policy functions to the office of the U.S. Trade Representative—which, in fact, doubled the size of USTR. That created a tremendous furor in the State Department, as many Foreign Service economic officers deplored the loss of economic functions by the State Department. John Leddy, Frances Wilson (formerly the principal administrative officer in the Bureau of Economic Affairs), and I worked on that for some six months.

Q: *What were your principal conclusions?*

MARTIN: Well, we felt that the commodity function should not be transferred to USTR, because commodity policies were too sensitive politically. USTR lacked the requisite staff and files. There had been congressional complaints about State Department positions on commodity policy, but we opposed that switch. We also felt there was a need for more effective coordination of USAID activities with foreign policy.

We also thought better analytical reporting was needed on economic and technical programs in several developing countries. We thought a joint Treasury/State person was needed in about 10 countries to report on and support development programs—in Bangladesh, for example, where there were important interrelationships between foreign exchange shortages, inflation, and development projects and the activities of the various donors. In most cases, USAID personnel did not submit good analytical reports on development and development finance to Washington, because USAID personnel were, for the most part, insufficiently attuned to the need for such reports, being primarily project oriented. That was an important

recommendation, but it was ignored.

Q: *Your report was best known in the Foreign Service for its recommendation relating to commercial attaches. Could you explain your rationale for that?*

MARTIN: Well, we concluded that the transfer of the commercial-attaché function to the Department of Commerce was not of major importance, since we felt it would not adversely affect the foreign policy functions of the Department of State. We were disappointed, however, with the decision that the commercial counselor should henceforth report only to the ambassador, because we felt the ambassador should be free to organize an embassy in a way that he or she felt the job could best be done.

Q: *It seems to me that during my career in the Foreign Service—from the mid-1950s to the mid-1980s—the impact of economic considerations on U.S. relationships with other countries steadily increased, even while the influence of the State Department on international economic policy shrank.*

MARTIN: Yes, and we also made very strong recommendations about the need for improved Foreign Service programs to educate Foreign Service officers on economic issues and the need for an improved assignment process that would ensure better use of Foreign Service officers with economic skills. We made an analysis that showed how many ambassadors and deputy chiefs of mission in each region had some economic training or background, and we found that too many of those assigned to our African posts were especially lacking in that area, although those were the posts where the need for an understanding of economics is greatest, because that's where our senior officers should have the ability to help the local leaders make wise choices. We put a great emphasis on the need to assign more economically qualified officers to senior positions, both in the field and in the department, especially in the regional bureaus. The corollary of that was that more "political" officers should take economic courses at the Foreign Service Institute and elsewhere. ■

The Great American Idea

AN INTERVIEW WITH USIA DIRECTOR JOSEPH DUFFEY

Editor's Note: *The United States Information Agency was established 40 years ago this summer, during the Eisenhower administration, at a time when the United States was becoming aware of the emergence of the*

Cold War. Now the great polarities that marked the Cold War have ended, and USIA is rethinking its approaches to public diplomacy. As part of the process of reconfiguring the agency to meet post-Cold War challenges, USIA has proposed to Congress a reorganization of international broadcast services under a newly formed Board of Governors for Broadcasting. The plan would dissolve the Board of International Broadcasting, under whose aegis Radio Free Europe and Radio Liberty have operated. The broadcast plan also proposes establishing an Asian



DAVID BURNETT

Democracy Radio to provide news for and about societies in Asia that restrict the flow of information to their own people. The Foreign Service Journal interviewed USIA Director Joseph D. Duffey about the new directions of USIA.

Confirmed as

director on May 24, Dr. Duffey has had a long career in academia and government, most recently having served as president of the American University in Washington and, before that, as chancellor and president of the Massachusetts University system.

Duffey was assistant secretary of state for educational and cultural affairs in 1977 and chairman of the National Endowment for the Humanities from 1977 to 1981. He has taught at Hartford Seminary, Yale University, and American. The interview, conducted by Editor Anne Stevenson-Yang on July 9, has been edited.

Q: *Perhaps you could begin by talking about the role of USIA, now that the Cold War has ended.*

DUFFEY: The initial impulse for the creation of USIA was the recognition that, even 40 years ago, international relations had expanded beyond formal, government-to-government relationships. As Americans, we also sensed that a great contest of ideas was becoming more acute. Even without the Cold War, I believe we would have moved

identity in the face of modernity, the next confrontations may be confrontations of cultures and civilizations. That suggests that the mission of public diplomacy is coming into its own. Relations between nations are more and more shaped by relations between persons and non-governmental institutions. And our future, with respect to national economic security, the protection of the environment, and freedom from threats of

fairly common problem and that the way out is through a new set of relationships in terms of trade and commerce.

Q: *Does that mean increased emphasis on the second mandate, of interpreting other countries to the United States?*

DUFFEY: You can approach our mission within the United States in two ways. The sentimental approach—now dismissed as too sentimental—is that of the internationalist, which is the consciousness that I and many of my generation grew up with and still claim. Or you can also look for the practical benefits of increasing understanding of foreign nations at home. I think this kind of international competency on behalf of our citizens flows naturally from what the agency does. Our mission is to encourage and facilitate greater movement of

ideas and persons across national borders and greater attention to what is being spoken and written in the press and in literary and intellectual circles in other nations.

Q: *Some maintain that the USIA director ought to be involved at a higher level of policymaking, specifically, at the National Security Council. Do you have any views about that?*

DUFFEY: I must say, it's not something that preoccupies me a great deal. I think USIA has earned the respect of policymakers. I also think some policymakers may find that, as often as not, they are preoccupied with responding to events instead of making policy.

Q: *You talked in your testimony before the Kerry subcommittee about our Foreign Service officers overseas and about broadcasting and exchanges, but you did not discuss the cultural centers or the libraries overseas and the English-teaching programs that are conducted there. Do you have views on the relative importance of these in the overall mix of USIA programs?*

The essence of our country is really an idea. We do not have blood in common, we do not have an inheritance of land in common: we have an idea that has to be renewed in every generation.

toward the creation of an agency such as this. In fact, an awareness of the importance of cultural dimensions as an aspect of diplomacy and of international relations came to the fore in society before USIA was created.

The essence of our country is really an idea. We do not have blood in common, we do not have an inheritance of land in common: we have an idea that has to be renewed in every generation.

Are the focuses for public diplomacy changing now? Certainly there is an element of change. If we are honest with ourselves, I think we will admit we have been disoriented by the loss of the bipolar confrontation of the Cold War era. You could describe the nation's mission during that period of four and a half decades of Cold War almost as a crusade. Now USIA is free of the deep divisions that were created even in our own society by our attempt to define that mission.

Now, there is a strong possibility that, as nationalism and national identity recede and people reach back to their religious heritages for

terrorism, is very much related to the emergence of a world where communication is open, perceptions are accurate, and there is greater understanding of the interdependence of nations.

Perhaps we ought to emphasize understanding the global dimensions of both threats and opportunities. Migrations of peoples due to the effort to flee poverty or oppression have now become threats to stability in this country. For a country like ours, which has due process and has a conscience, these are security issues that cannot now be addressed in military terms. There are threats from environmental damage that have global implications. Now there is a new threat to American security, the problem of the loss of jobs due to dysfunctional trade barriers: these are all areas to which public diplomacy is very well equipped to respond. I think President Clinton managed at the recent economic summit in Tokyo to move our nation a bit further toward the understanding that unemployment in mature industrial societies is now a

DUFFEY: Given my background and values, libraries will always be important institutions. I was told the other day that there has been a marked decline in the study of English among young people in Europe, and I am concerned about that. The teaching of English continues to be important to our national interests, because generations keep changing, and people don't pass linguistic learning on to the next generation by genetic inheritance. I am also troubled by the loss of an intellectual relationship

the growth of broadcasting. But it is a troubling tendency, and I have spent time with our area directors talking about it. You'll see some of my colleagues walking around here with sort of a little banner that says, "It's the field, stupid!" I am troubled by the imbalance between investments in Washington and in the field. But the issue is really, how can we best fulfill our mission around the world? I am also troubled, frankly, by what I think has been too rapid a tendency in recent years to privatize great parts

broadcasting. The reorganization plan that was announced a couple of weeks ago contains a great deal of discussion of radio broadcasting but not very much on television. Do you have any plans for the expanded use of TV in public diplomacy?

DUFFEY: I am not thinking of building a worldwide television network. That would be pretentious and Promethean. Television is an effective means of communication. Our goal is to use it quite selectively. Radio is still important: in moments of crisis, in areas that are starved for information or where information is controlled. We are moving from shortwave to medium and FM. During the Cold War we confronted societies that were both closed to outside information and controlled internally. Today there are few societies left in the world that are both closed and controlled. There are still societies that are, in traditional terms, more open in terms of information but controlled. The issue is: what strategies are appropriate for dealing with such societies, in such a time as this?

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with Europe by the younger generation, which I sense is the case. What my generation knew and felt by way of relationship and identity one cannot assume is there for the next generation. But, I am also delighted that President Clinton is calling a Pacific summit meeting in the fall, because now there is a need for communication across cultures and civilizations. Even as we now have less awareness of Europe and growing trade with Asia, we need to look to both directions. We are struggling to see whether there isn't a global cultural language or cultural awareness. The idiom is modernity.

Q: *How about the relationship between Washington and the field? Over the last 10 years, resources have been shifted rather significantly toward Washington operations. Do you see it as important to reverse this trend?*

DUFFEY: Some of that has to do with

of international relations. Government-to-government relations are still an important part of the interface of nations. We maintain a cadre of carefully recruited, well-educated women and men at posts around the world. We have a responsibility to think carefully about what we want them to do and also to give them the resources and tools they need to do the job. I think we are paying a price already for the shortages of personnel that have developed in some overseas posts due to recent budget cuts. Still, we have a period of demand with an enormous number of new posts, and shifting areas of responsibility or attention, so we probably have to try to address the imbalance with existing resources and see whether there's a better way to meet our responsibilities at a time when our resources are not going to expand.

Q: *I wonder if we could talk about*

Q: *What about the new Board of Governors for Broadcasting? What is going to be its relationship with USIA?*

DUFFEY: Official government broadcasting always struggles for credibility. Those who have worked on the problem of consolidation of the radios came to feel that a board of governors who review policy and provide a kind of independent oversight for broadcasting policy would serve the best interests of all our international broadcasting. This is not a new idea. I think such a board would give greater credibility to our international broadcasting. This is an appropriate institutional change.

Q: *Under this arrangement, will USIA and VOA keep the sort of symbiotic relationship that many believe is very*

important to the functioning of VOA?

DUFFEY: Yes, I think so. You're going to have a board appointed by the president that will have a responsibility for several aspects of our broadcasting in the context of USIA's public-diplomacy mission. The charter of the VOA will not change. In the tensions and debates that have emerged over the question of the future of Radio Free Europe and Radio Liberty, there have been prolonged, intense debates. There are always distortions of perspective in such debates, and I think we may even now be too close to the experience of the Cold War to see these things very clearly. These questions have been charged with so much emotion that we have a hard time thinking clearly about what the exact role of surrogate radio was and what its role should be in the future. I don't find that we are yet able to engage in much helpful discussion about the form of surrogate radio. There are some things one might say about the limitations of radio and surrogate radio that one can't say today because of a certain form of "political correctness" in Washington at this moment. The techniques used to struggle against totalitarian societies 30 years ago, for example, may not be appropriate in Asia today. But whoever suggests that this may be the case is politically incorrect in current Washington. As each year goes by, we are going to be able to think more clearly about these matters than we have been in the heat and intensity of this recent struggle over the future of the radios in Europe.

Q: *Is there a significant role for surrogate radio services in the post-Cold War world?*

DUFFEY: Surrogate is a loose term, and people appear to mean quite different things by it. I define surrogate radio in terms of the effort to provide to closed societies information about what's happening in the society in the local idiom. That is what VOA is trying to do through China Focus, that is what VOA did

so brilliantly in Guatemala in the auto-coup a few weeks ago. That is what VOA is trying to do in Somalia. That is what VOA was trying to do in the recent referendum in Malawi. That is what RFE [Radio Free Europe] and RL [Radio Liberty] have been trying to do in certain areas. It is our policy to try to counter efforts to restrict information: that is surrogate radio, as I define it. I think there is a future for that kind of broadcasting.

Q: *Do you like the term "public diplomacy"?*

DUFFEY: When Archibald MacLeish was sworn in as assistant secretary of state for public and cultural relations in 1944, he called the term "cultural relations" a kind of "boring phrase." I wouldn't say that about "public diplomacy." I use the term frequently, but I'm not quite comfortable with it, in the sense that I don't think it's the best way to speak to the American people about how we're spending their tax dollars. I would begin with what I think is, if not a preoccupation, at least a deep need and opportunity in contemporary America to reconsider where we are as a nation and who we are as a people and what opportunities are present for us to put ourselves forth to the rest of the world.

Q: *One more question. What made you leave your distinguished academic career to come and be a government bureaucrat again?*

DUFFEY: That is a loaded question. I think that the opportunity that USIA has and that this administration has is to assist the peoples of this country—and I include myself and my children and grandchildren—to prepare for the future. This entails a rather formidable agenda—returning the economy to some stability, returning the country to some self-confidence about its mission, defining an appropriate role for American national leadership. Some of us are drawn to the hope we might do that by a sense of excitement, obligation, maybe even ambition, and one doesn't have to apologize for any of those things. ■

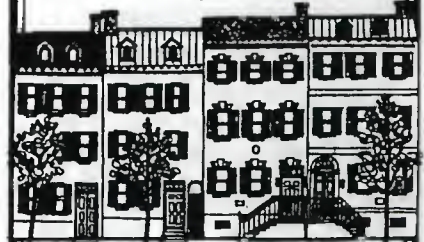
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BOOKS AND THE ARTS

Editor's Note: With this issue, the Foreign Service Journal widens its critical lens to take in all the arts and information media, rather than reviewing books exclusively. In future months reviewers will consider international exhibitions, videos and television programs of interest, films, architecture, and other cultural expressions of international note or with implications for U.S. diplomacy. Readers are encouraged, as always, to submit articles for this column.

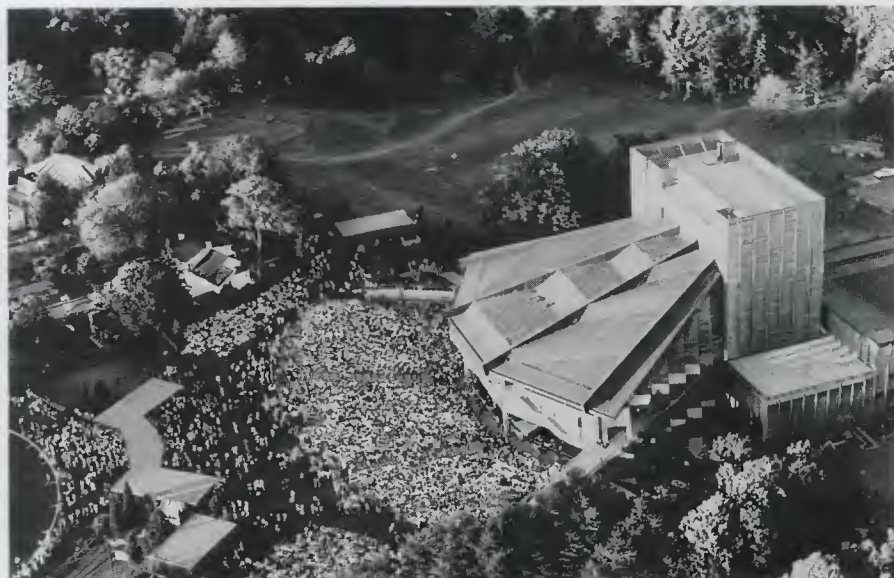
The Coming-of-Age of Washington Opera

By Hans Tuch

During the past 15 or 20 years, opera in Washington has come of age, both qualitatively and quantitatively. Before that, the Washington Opera, the only major player, remained in the still minor league compared with the Metropolitan in New York, the San Francisco, or the Chicago opera. Neither the Wolf Trap Opera nor the Summer Opera (at Catholic University) had been founded, and the Washington Concert Opera was not to be established until the mid-1980s. All this has changed. This brief overview of the 1992-93 season will show that Washington has become one of the four or five centers in this country where first-rate opera is produced and performed.

The Washington Opera, the city's grandest, with the largest budget and widest renown, did some outstanding work during the 1992-93 season. Like most major houses, it tries to balance its season by presenting traditional fare by the great composers of the 18th and 19th centuries with new works by contemporary composers and innovative productions of lesser-known yet worthy compositions.

Every bit the aesthetic equal of New York, San Francisco, Munich, Berlin, Vienna, or Milan, its home is the Kennedy Center—the grand, luxuriously appointed Opera House and the more intimate Eisenhower Theater. The Washington Opera's last production of the season turned out to be the high point: Leo Janacek's 1924 opera *The Cunning Little Vixen*. This rarely heard opera is a



Wolf Trap has the ambiance of an American Glyndebourne.

gem, and in this production, which originated at the Royal Opera, Covent Garden, it sparkled in a glittering array of musical values, imaginative staging, breathtaking scenery, and wonderful singing, acting, dancing, and even aerial acrobatics. The composition, its performance, the production, and visual aspects were synthesized into such an ingenious creation that the result was a memorable musical, emotional, and dramatic experience.

The Washington Opera's season started last fall on a dissonant note, a production of Verdi's *Othello* that was flawed by the barely adequate singing in the title role by the Italian tenor Ernanno Mauro and the less-than-convincing portrayal—until the last act, that is—of Desdemona by the Bulgarian soprano Stefka Evstavieva. Why the Washington Opera re-engaged these

two singers after similarly unimpressive appearances last year is a mystifying artistic decision. There must be any number of American singers, less expensive but better qualified, to fill these repertory roles in an opera house that charges top prices to present supposedly world-class performances.

The season began its artistic upward climb with its second offering, a revival of Nikolai Rimsky-Korsakov's *The Czar's Bride*. Missing this time around was the exuberant, authoritative, and loving involvement of Mstislav Rostropovich, the National Symphony's musical director, who had conducted the original 1986 production.

The three productions performed in the Eisenhower Theater were examples of the Washington Opera at its best. The first was a relative novelty, Georges Bizet's *The Pearl Fishers*, beautifully

conducted by Cal Stewart Kellogg, a perennial favorite in Washington, and imaginatively directed by Roberto Oswald from Argentina. For many listeners this was a first-time experience, since this opera is seldom performed on the stage in this country, even though musically, if not dramatically, it is a work of great merit. The singing artists were especially fine: Katherine Luna as the priestess Leila, the Chinese tenor Jianyi Zhang (who had the lead in the Chinese opera *The Savage Land* the previous year) as Nadir, and the American baritone Eugene Perry as Zurga.

Next was Donizetti's *Don Pasquale*, conducted by Paulette Haupt and directed by the noted Italian baritone Paolo Montarsolo, who also repeated his by-now-famed comic characterization of the title role in a voice that, while

still adequate to the demands of this role, is showing its vintage. Outstanding was Jan Grissom's Norina, a soprano of fine vocal talent and charm as an actress.

The last of the three Eisenhower theater productions was Rossini's *Cenerentola* (Cinderella), an opera that, I think, is every bit the equal of the better-known *Barber of Seville*. This revival of the Washington Opera's 1982 production was an example of genuine ensemble opera. It was led by the brilliant young conductor Steven Mercurio, who is the newly appointed musical director of the Spoleto USA festival. He guided his excellent artists through this delightful yet complex musical romp, shaping each solo, duet, trio, and multi-voiced ensemble with sensitive orchestral accompaniment.

The role of Cenerentola was sung by the young Italian mezzo coloratura Sonia Ganassi, who was making her U.S. debut. She handled the tricky score with vocal aplomb, but she will have to learn to sing to her partners on the stage rather than to the conductor in the pit, as though *he* were her desired prince. David Evitts, the Don Magnifico, Susan Foster and Kathleen Segar as the two jealous sisters Clorinda and Tisbe, Glenn Siebert as Don Ramiro, and Christopher Trakas as Dandini rounded out the American cast, all handling their comic and vocal duties expertly.

Turandot in the Opera House turned out to be a grand success, the "grand" also being descriptive of Puccini's last work. Conducted by Steven Mercurio, it was a thrilling performance of one of the most unpleasant stories in opera,

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BOOKS AND THE ARTS

one in which all but one of the protagonists (the slave girl Liu) are wooden figures without character, undeserving of the immortal melodies they are singing. The one disappointment was Eva Marton in the title role. She either had an off-night or is past her prime. Her delivery was frequently wobbly, unfocused, and off-pitch, hardly worth the expense of bringing her here.

Opera in Washington has become a year-round enjoyment, with the best summer productions coming out of the Wolf Trap Opera Company and the Summer Opera Theater. Wolf Trap has come to fill a necessary role as a sort of U.S. farm team for the big league of international opera—a service to young American artists, since the United States, unlike Europe, has only a few high-quality provincial opera companies with extensive seasons and repertoires to perform this function.

In some respects, Wolf Trap resembles the physical and musical ambiance of the Glyndebourne festival in England—let's say a bourgeois Glyndebourne—in other respects, it is an uncomplicated rustic equivalent to Santa Fe's famed summer opera. With both it has in common exquisite musical taste and sophistication. Every year, Wolf Trap selects 12 to 15 artists from across the country to spend two months studying, rehearsing, and performing ensemble opera. (Unlike Santa Fe's apprentices, Wolf Trap's artists perform all the leading roles, and there are no stars. Unlike Glyndebourne, prices are relatively affordable, at \$35 per ticket.)

Two of the annual Wolf Trap productions are performed in The Barns, a pair of 18th-century barns moved to Washington from upstate New York, seating about 350, without elaborate

stage or pit facilities but with excellent acoustics and good sight lines. Last season's productions—each of which has only three performances, making tickets often hard to get—were Mozart's *Don Giovanni* and *La Finta Giardiniera*, the latter first performed in 1775, when the composer was barely 19, and rarely since then until recent revivals. The two conductors, Cal Stewart Kellogg and Will Crutchfield, with the collaboration of a first-rate musical and dramaturgical staff, created memorable productions. Several of the participating artists are on their way to international careers. For evidence one need look no further than to the names of Wolf Trap veterans from recent years, Margaret Jane Wray, Denyce Graves, Alan Held, and Stanford Olsen among them.

The Summer Opera, as usual, did two operas (with five performances of each) in Catholic University's Hartke Theater. They were Jules Massenet's *Manon* and Rossini's *Cenerentola*, both well sung by young American professionals, some with already impressive performance records in the United States and abroad, others on the way up. The settings and production styles were imaginative and attractive; the musical aesthetics made for thoroughly satisfying and, in some cases (*Cenerentola*) outstanding performances.

Leaving the best for last, the two Concert Opera productions, coming as they do in the spring and fall respectively, represent, as far as I am concerned, Washington's top in musical taste and quality. The Concert Opera iconoclastically presents its productions at Lisner Auditorium of George Washington University without scenery, cos-

Opera in Washington has become a year-round enjoyment, with the best summer productions coming out of the Wolf Trap Opera Company and the Summer Opera Theater. Wolf Trap has come to fill a necessary role as a sort of U.S. farm team for the big league of international opera—a service to young American artists...

BOOKS AND THE ARTS

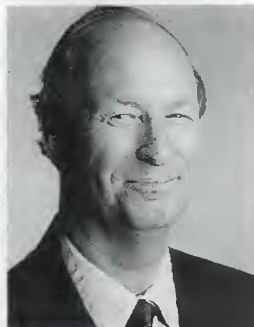
tunes, or action. The orchestra, chorus, and conductor occupy almost the entire stage. The singing actors come out on stage only when they have something to sing or say. Conductor, orchestra, and singers convey the opera's story, whether comic or tragic, solely through their articulation of the music and text. To do this well requires artists of the highest caliber.

Stephen Crout, the musical director of the Washington Concert Opera is such an artist. Over the last six years, he has successfully produced two operas each season. (Until this year, they were each presented only once; starting in the spring of 1993, each production has been presented twice, thus doubling the availability of reasonably priced tickets.) Most of the operas chosen are works relatively infrequently produced in American opera houses. Last season they were Carl Maria von Weber's *Der Freischütz*, featuring the outstanding American soprano Deborah Voigt as Agathe, and a fine new import, the German bass Franz Hawlata as Kaspar; and, in the fall, Donizetti's *Anna Bolena* with a truly splendid cast: Nelly Miricioiu in the title role, Judith Forst as Giovanna (or Jane Seymour), Washington's own Denyce Graves as Smeton, and Umberto Chiummo as Henry VIII.

The performances at the Washington Opera, the Summer Opera Theater, and the Washington Concert Opera are significantly enhanced by the use of English surtitles. Comprehension and enjoyment of not only the rarely produced works but even those performed in English (such as *The Cunning Little Vixen*) are sufficient arguments to justify surtitles as a regular production feature of opera in this country.

Anticipating the next season, Washington opera-goers can look forward to a varied and innovative potpourri of old and new, well-known and rarely produced works, conducted by outstanding maestros and sung by some of the finest established upcoming singing artists currently performing on the world's opera stages.

The Concert Opera will feature Anton



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Dvořák's rarely performed *Rusalka*, with the superb American soprano Renee Fleming, and Verdi's *I Vespri Siciliani* (*The Sicilian Vespers*), with the equally celebrated American diva Carol Vaness. Wolf Trap will do Rossini's *The Turk in Italy* and Mozart's late *Opera Seria*, *La Clemenza di Tito*, both in the barns; and Mozart's *The Marriage of Figaro* in the large Filene Center. The Summer Opera will perform Puccini's *Madama Butterfly* and a double bill consisting of Mozart's early comic *The Impresario* coupled with Leoncavallo's veristic opera *I Pagliacci*.

The Washington Opera's season, ever grander and more expensive, will present a truly eclectic repertory of seven works: Gaetano Donizetti's *Anna Bolena*; Eugene D'Albert's rarely performed *Tiefland*; Donizetti's *The Daughter of the Regiment*; Richard Strauss' *Ariadne auf Naxos*; Dominick Argento's *The Dream of Valentino*, a world premiere; one of Verdi's finest, *Un Ballo in Maschera*, and Puccini's personal favor-

ite, *Madama Butterfly*.

Some of his former colleagues claim that Haus Tsch, a retired Foreign Service officer in USIA, never served in a post without a good opera house, but he points to four years in Brasilia as proof to the contrary.

To Do This Month: Decentralize Power and Free the Press

**WINNERS IN PEACE: MACARTHUR,
YOSHIDA, AND POSTWAR JAPAN.**

By Richard Finn, University of California Press, \$35 hardcover, 432 pages.

Reviewed by Charles Schmitz

Our colleague Dick Finn participated in the U.S. occupation of Japan, first as a young naval officer and then as a diplomat. His book, *Winners in Peace*, attempts to focus the story of the occupation on the two main actors, Supreme

Allied Commander Douglas MacArthur and Japanese Prime Minister Yoshida Shigeru, and details the major events and programs of the six-and-one-half-year era largely through their roles.

Several hours after receiving his orders to proceed to Japan in August 1945, MacArthur noted down what he was to do: "First, destroy the military power. Punish war criminals. Build the structure of representative government. Modernize the constitution. Hold free elections. Enfranchise the women. Release the political prisoners. Liberate the farmers. Establish a free labor movement. Encourage a free economy. Abolish police oppression. Develop a free and responsible press. Liberalize education. Decentralize political power. Separate the church from the state." Given the size and audacity of the task, it seems that only a MacArthur, or someone with equally grandiose visions and self-confidence, could hope to make a success of the mission.

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Finn says, "The occupation was one of the rare occasions in history when a modern industrial state had virtually unchallenged power to direct the destiny of another major modern state for a lengthy period, in this case 80 months. . . . How the two nations went about this, and how they were able to turn a Pacific rivalry into a Pacific friendship, is the basic story that needs to be told about the occupation." Finn does not quite manage to tell the whole story (certainly, it would be too long and complex for any affordable book), but he does give us an excellent piece of historical craftsmanship.

Finn's craftsmanship is reflected both in his discernment of some of the less

obvious points of the occupation and in his unencumbered, explanatory prose. "Several features of the plans for the occupation were significant. The plan-

Finn's craftsmanship is reflected both in his discernment of some of the less obvious points of the occupation and in his unencumbered, explanatory prose. "Several features of the plans for the occupation were significant. The planning was almost entirely the work of Americans. Its purpose was to reform and punish Japan, not to help rebuild it or to make it an ally."

ning was almost entirely the work of Americans. Its purpose was to reform and punish Japan, not to help rebuild it or to make it an ally. The planning ignored the problems of how the Japanese were to feed themselves and revive production of consumer goods, let

alone rebuild their industrial machine. It paid no attention to what was going on in the world around Japan and seemed to assume that Japan would have only a modest and unimportant international role. It presupposed that Nationalist China would be a major power in Asia and the most important ally in the region. It also assumed that the Soviet Union would follow cooperative policies. It said nothing about Korea or Taiwan or Okinawa. Pax Americana, as Washington saw Asia in 1945, seemed to be based on short-term, localized, and sometimes ill-conceived policies."

Dick Finn shows up as a good, reserved Foreign Service professional in telling this story: while he was a part of the occupation, he keeps himself out of

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the story line and mostly out of the commentary. Instead he allows the interaction of the two main characters to carry the story forward as much as possible. Throughout, his presentation is measured and realistic: MacArthur is not made out to be a larger-than-life hero or a preposterous strutter, and Yoshida is not portrayed as a right-wing extremist.

At the same time, one wishes for more background description of the two. If anything, they seem to get a little lost in the larger story. The important story of the occupation, which does emerge from Finn's book, is how the dynamic tension of the two quite different, Japanese and American systems yielded resolutions that prepared the way for the surprisingly successful Japan of the 1960s and beyond.

Finn draws on an impressive range of American, Japanese, British, and Australian sources, including interviews with nearly 100 people who took part in the occupation. Almost every paragraph is footnoted to original sources in English and Japanese. An extensive bibliography, a good index, and straightforward, unadorned prose add to the quality of this book.

Some good reading is even in the excellent footnotes: "Ambassador Grew expressed the opinion in May 1945 that 'the best we can hope for in Japan is the development of a constitutional monarchy, experience having shown that democracy in Japan would never work.'" So much for the clear-eyed vision of America's greatest professional Japan-watcher of the era. And, "Yoshida spoke some years later of MacArthur's habit of talking as he strode up and down in his office and said, 'I could understand him well when he was facing towards me, but when he turned his back I did not understand a single word of what he was saying. It used to make me so angry but there was nothing I could do.'" So much for the clear communication of

Finn draws on an impressive range of American, Japanese, British, and Australian sources, including interviews with nearly 100 people who took part in the occupation.

policy to occupied Japan. We have to wonder if the world is worse off that some portion of what the supreme commander meant to communicate to the Japanese sank into the woodwork.

Every student of Japan or of international relations in modern East Asia needs this book in his or her library, right alongside full biographies of

Douglas MacArthur and Yoshida Shigeru.

Charles A. Schmitz, a lawyer, helped negotiate the Okinawa Reversion Treaty in the early 1970s and subsequently worked on the U.S.-Japan security relationship in American Embassy Tokyo. He is now chairman of Global Business Access Ltd. in Washington, D.C.

All That We Protect

MASTERWORKS OF MAN & NATURE:
PRESERVING OUR WORLD HERITAGE

Edited by Mark Swadling, Harper-McRae, 1992, \$75 hardcover, 448 pages

Reviewed by Daniel Newberry

Even though the United States has ended its boycott of that organization, "UNESCO" is still a bad word in some political circles. Only the most Philistine among them, however, would scoff at the UNESCO imprimatur on the Convention Concerning the Protection of the World Cultural and Natural Heritage. The agreement, first adopted in 1972, now has 121 states signatory. There are 360 sites around the world registered on its World Heritage List. The signatory states are committed to taking special measures to protect and preserve each of those sites. Many of the sites hold man-made monuments. Many of the others are simple but precious ecological marvels.

Here in a gorgeous coffee-table book is what is, in effect, an annotated catalog of those 360 sites, splendidly illustrated

BOOKS AND THE ARTS

with some 391 photographs, each of them of salon quality. The book is more than that, and it is certainly more than an armchair book designed for browsing. It is also a compendium of information about each of the sites on the World Heritage List.

There are, to be sure, scores of entries for the classical, medieval, and Renaissance monuments familiar to survivors of art-history survey courses. There are also the wonders of nature familiar to readers of *National Geographic*. Beyond those, waiting to surprise and delight are such little-known natural marvels as the Garajonay National Park in the Canary Islands, the seal sanctuary at Banc d'Arguin in Mauritania, or the Srebarna bird preserve in Bulgaria.

Among the man-made treasures off the beaten tourist track are such gems as the Mogul mosques at Bagerhat in Bangladesh, or the Lalibela rock-hewn churches in Ethiopia, or the Buddhist carvings and frescoes in the Magao Caves in the Gansu province of China. By way of counterpoint to all that antiquity, we find only one truly modern artifact—the Oscar Niemeyer-designed National Cathedral in Brasilia, completed barely 25 years ago.

Masterworks of Man & Nature is further studded with eloquent statements of the world's political leaders in support of the tandem objectives of the World Heritage Convention and the World Conservation Union.

The American inspiration behind these global programs is worth recalling, especially for those who are still shamefaced about the awkward performance of the U.S. official delegation at the Earth Summit in Rio de Janeiro in 1992.

The book is especially suitable for Foreign Service readers who are looking for a handsome presentation that would pamper, flatter, and edify the recipient. ■

Daniel Newberry, now retired, did a stint as office director in the Bureau of Educational and Cultural Exchanges when those programs were managed by the Department of State.

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The Infernal Trade in Women and Eunuchs

Despatch from U.S. Minister to Turkey
George H. Boker to Secretary of State Hamilton Fish
1873



Constantinople, August 25, 1873

Sir:

... In my previous despatch I also mentioned the real or feigned activity of the Ottoman authorities in searching for slaves in vessels arriving at this port from Africa, and of the zeal with which papers of manumission are thrust into the hands of every negro suspected of the slightest taint of slavehood. I have some doubts of the genuineness of this ostentatious display of virtue. It is performed with too much noise, too much parade, and too much is said to the simple public about the matter. I do not observe that the number of slaves is

The United States outlawed the slave trade in 1808 and freed its own slaves with the adoption of the 13th amendment to the constitution in 1865. In the intervening years, the United States undertook some naval operations to stop the trade in African slaves, but American efforts were generally lackluster and had very limited success. The British fleet was far more active and effective in its efforts to suppress the trade. Once slavery was abolished at home, Americans became more outspoken in their opposition to slavery elsewhere. Just eight years after the Civil War, American diplomats around the Mediterranean were asked to report on the slave trade from Africa to Turkey and how it might be ended. Although the Turks had outlawed the trade, a large clandestine traffic was still under way. In the following despatch, provided to the Foreign Service Journal by Foreign Service officer Peter Eicher, the U.S. minister in Turkey reports on some aspects of the slave trade and gives his recommendations on how to curb it.

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State Department.



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diminishing in Constantinople, not even of eunuchs, which latter sexless things should be on the decline were there not a regular source of supply and a way of importation, which are kept carefully hidden from all but the faithful.

Perhaps the clamor made by the Turks over the introduction of African slaves is for the purpose of leading our eyes away from the much greater and more nefarious traffic in female slaves for the harem which is carried on from the north by way of the Black Sea. Abhorring, as all Christians must, this latter infernal trade in helpless women, whose very charms and lovely sensibilities—gifts which to a higher degree give them a natural right to freedom—are used but to increase their price to the chaffering sensualist, I am astonished that such representations have not been made to the Russian government as would induce that power, in the name of our common humanity, to put down this business with the strong hand, if need be.

While on the general subject of slavery

in Turkey, permit me to call the attention of the department to that branch of it which relates to trade in eunuchs, carried on between Egypt and the Levant, and which, I believe, might be suppressed by a joint action of the powers...

These unfortunate creatures are manufactured in Upper Egypt, not one in 10 surviving the barbarous operation. At an early age they are brought through the whole length of Egypt, and those that are not sold for the harems of Cairo and Alexandria are exported from the latter city to stock the harems of the Levant. In the various conversations which I have had with the Khedive and his minister of foreign affairs on this subject, they have invariably replied to me with complacent irony: "The eunuchs are made by Christians in a region beyond our jurisdiction, and in purchasing them we greatly better their condition."

These unqualified facts, facts though they are, involve a fundamental lie when unexplained. Without the encouragement of the harem system of the Turkish Empire, eunuchs would not be

made at all. The producers of them, the Copts of Upper Egypt, Christians in name, would disgrace any religion that was ever contrived by pagandom. Over the region which the Egyptian government affects to have no jurisdiction it has nevertheless perfect control; or, granting the official assertion to be true, it is equally true that the trade in eunuchs could not exist for a day after the Khedive prohibited their transportation through Egypt. I beg the department to consider the above suggestions; for, leaving religion out of the question, the horrible practice of eunuch making and selling, which exists only because of the Turkish market for these maimed beings, is a reproach to any organized government, whether living under the law of the Bible or the Koran. . . .

In accordance with the instructions of the department, I shall continue my investigations of the matter in hand, and report any new information as soon as it may be obtained. . . .

**I have, &c.,
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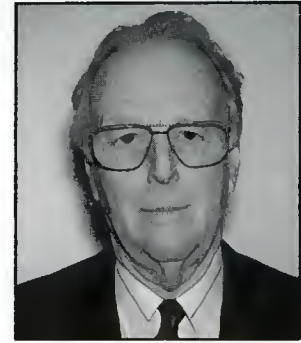
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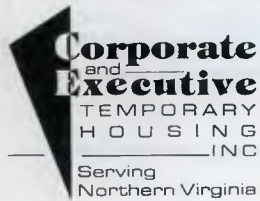
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Claims by Members of the Foreign Service for War Losses

from the *Foreign Service Journal*, August 1943

Extracts from House Document 250 . . . transmitting a report from the secretary of state regarding claims by certain officers and employees of the Foreign Service who have sustained losses by reason of war conditions.

Theodore Achilles, FSO Class VIII:

Mr. Achilles was assigned to the Embassy at London [with] his wife and family. Because of the danger of bombing by German air forces, he sent his family to the United States and stored his furniture and household effects in [a] warehouse, which was believed to be the safest spot in which storage facilities were available. On October 20, 1940, the warehouse was struck by an oil bomb and his furniture and effects were completely destroyed by the explosion and consequent fire. Claimed \$9,860; disallowed \$4,022.50; approved, \$5,837.50.

Henry K. Stebbins, FSO class VII:

Mr. Stebbins was assigned to the embassy at London as third secretary and vice consul when, on the night of April 19, 1941, his private residence was destroyed by a high-explosive bomb. He was able to salvage some of his property, but part of his personal effects were destroyed. Claimed: \$530.25; disallowed, \$119.25; approved \$411.

Harold D. Clum, FSO, class IV: [His effects] were packed and awaiting shipment on the docks of the Hamburg-American Line in Rotterdam. On May 14, 1940, that city was bombed from the air by German planes. His effects were totally destroyed. Claimed, \$8,967.63; disallowed, \$1,877.48; approved \$7,090.15.

Landreth Harrison, FSO class IV:

As the German forces approached Warsaw in 1939, the Polish government left the city to establish headquarters elsewhere. . . . The American Embassy staff

was evacuated from Warsaw to follow the Polish Government. Upon his return to Warsaw, he found that his apartment had suffered minor damages by bombardment and that certain of his property was taken by soldiers. Mr. Harrison left Warsaw in his personally owned automobile, that being the only available means of transportation, and while en route his automobile was stripped of all removable accessories. Claimed, \$1,478.63, disallowed, \$308.38; approved, \$1,170.25.

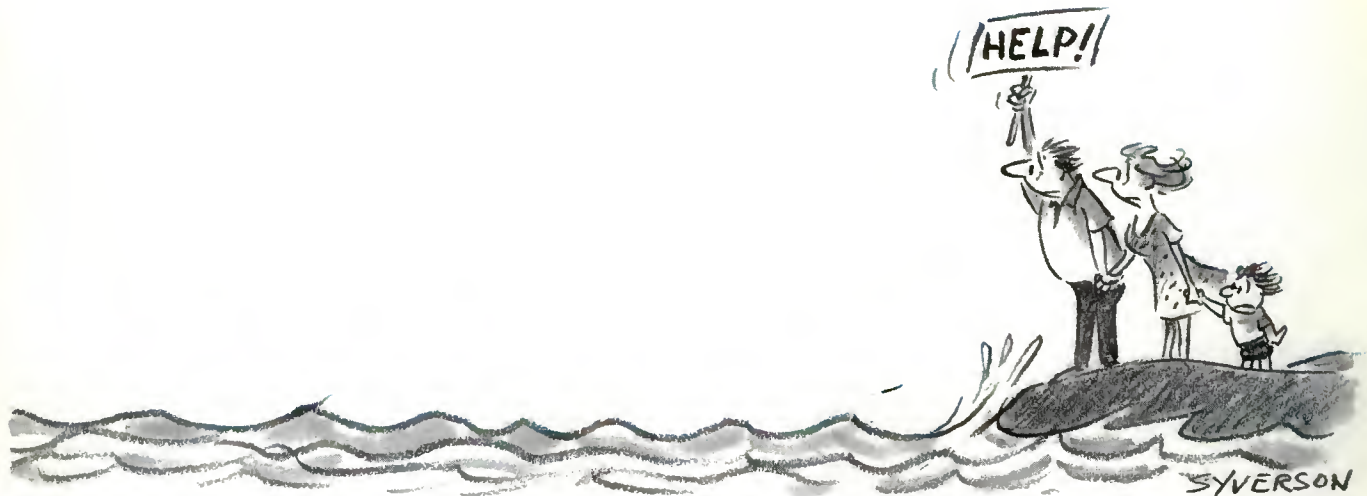
John K. Caldwell, FSO Class 1: Mr. Caldwell was consul general at Tientsin at the outbreak of hostilities. The Japanese military authorities seized personal property consisting of a 1940 Lincoln-Zephyr sedan and a supply of gasoline. Claimed, \$2,774.19; disallowed, \$1,982.19; approved, \$792.

U. Alexis Johnson, FSO class VIII:

Mr. Johnson was serving as vice consul at Mukden at the outbreak of hostilities between the United States and Japan. . . . personal property was confiscated, looted, or sold at forced sale by the Japanese authorities in control at Mukden. He was not permitted to bring out any of his personal property with him. Claimed \$964.50; disallowed, \$66; approved, \$898.50.

Clarence E. Gauss, ambassador to China: When Mr. Gauss, who had been minister to Australia, arrived at Hong Kong, en route to China, he found it would be possible to take with him only a limited amount of clothing, as he was to travel by air. He stored two trunks of clothing and personal effects. . . . When the Japanese forces occupied Hong Kong they seized British and other warehouses, and these effects must, therefore, be considered lost or destroyed. Claimed, \$447; approved, \$447. ■

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