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CONTENTS

December 2000 ■ Vol. 77, No. 12

COVER

THE CLINTON RECORD

18 / BARELY PASSING: THE C+ PRESIDENT

With the help of a booming economy, Clinton was able to maintain U.S. power and prestige intact, despite much bumbling along the way.

By Walter Russell Mead and E. Benjamin Skinner

25 / HUMANITARIAN INTERVENTION, CLINTON-STYLE

The main foreign policy legacy of this administration may well be a greater U.S. willingness to use military might to achieve humanitarian goals.

By Bob Deans

32 / CLINTON TO AFRICA: I CARE — REALLY

Despite two presidential visits and official expressions of concern, America remains largely uninvolved.

By Bill Nichols

36 / DID THE CLINTON TEAM “LOSE RUSSIA”?

Although Russia is now more hostile to U.S. interests than it was in 1992, the United States has successfully supported important progressive changes in Russian society.

By Charles William Maynes

40 / CLINTON WAS RIGHT, THE ESTABLISHMENT WAS WRONG

Despite the sniping he faced from foreign policy experts, Clinton made the right choices on most international issues.

By Leon V. Sigal

45 / CLINTON, ALBRIGHT AND THE LEARNING CURVE

The president during his first term was inclined to pursue a low-risk, low-involvement foreign policy. He never got the chance.

By Roy Gutman

FEATURE

(IN)SECURITY AT STATE / 49

After a number of well-publicized lapses, State is cracking down on security violations. But do the new measures target the real problems?

By George Gedda

COLUMNS

PRESIDENT'S VIEWS / 5

Eight Years of Clinton and the Foreign Service

By Marshall P. Adair

SPEAKING OUT / 13

Why I'm Paying \$250,000 to Keep My Job

By Susan N. Stevenson

POSTCARD FROM ABROAD / 92

The Discipline of Inaction

By Paulo Almeida

DEPARTMENTS

LETTERS / 7

CLIPPINGS / 10

IN MEMORY / 52

BOOKS / 79

INDEX TO ADVERTISERS / 90

SCHOOLS SUPPLEMENT

HOMESCHOOLING FS KIDS? IT WORKED FOR US / 55

Done right, homeschooling can keep your children's skills sharp, while yielding unexpected bonuses.

By Pat Olsen

SCHOOLS AT A GLANCE / 74

Essential data on educational choices.



Page 18

Cover and inside illustrations by Dale Stephanos

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J. KIRBY SIMON FOREIGN SERVICE TRUST

AN INVITATION TO PROPOSE PROJECTS FOR FUNDING BY THE J. KIRBY SIMON FOREIGN SERVICE TRUST IN 2001

The J. Kirby Simon Foreign Service Trust is a charitable fund established in the memory of Kirby Simon, a Foreign Service Officer who died in 1995 while serving in Taiwan. The Trust is committed to expanding the opportunities for professional fulfillment and community service of active Foreign Service Officers and Specialists and their families.

The principal activity of the Trust is to support projects that are initiated and carried out, not in an official capacity and not on official time, by Foreign Service personnel or members of their families, wherever located. The Trust, however, will also consider proposals from other U.S. Government employees or members of their families, regardless of nationality, who are located at American diplomatic posts abroad.

In 2000 the Trust made its fourth round of grants — 26 in number, ranging in amount from \$500 to \$3300, for a total of \$47,350. These grants supported the involvement of Foreign Service personnel in the following projects (further described in a Trust announcement entitled "Grants Awarded in 2000," available on the Web at www.kirbysimontrust.org):

- **Facilities for the Ill and Disabled:** Sewing machinery for an income-generating project serving HIV-positive women in Mozambique; equipment for an HIV-positive children's shelter in Zimbabwe; a medical records system for two dispensaries serving low-income Ecuadorian families; a physical therapy room for disabled Pakistani children; a bazaar that funds health programs for Macedonian children.
- **Other Facilities for Children:** For orphanages — a freezer and school desks (Madagascar), mattresses (Mexico), blankets and books (Poland) and a babies' play area (Thailand); a dormitory for Haitian boys imprisoned in a women's jail.
- **Facilities for the Homeless:** A generator for a bus bringing an intervention team to homeless Chilean youth; housing, school and toilet facilities for homeless Indian squatters.
- **Programs for Victims of Violence:** Photo equipment to document burning attacks on Pakistani women and a shelter for them; occupational training for battered women in Botswana; laundry facilities at a shelter for abused and homeless children in Sri Lanka.
- **Educational Programs:** Literacy and skills training for "Untouchable" girls in Bangladesh; a library for poor and homeless children in Mexico; furnishing a classroom for a Kenyan orphanage and computers for tutoring in a Brazilian orphanage; an educational-recreational excursion to the ocean for Burmese street children; teaching materials for business planning classes in Vietnam.

- **Cultural Programs:** A comprehensive art program for disadvantaged Zambian children; a printmaking studio and storage spaces for the National Art Gallery of Uganda.
- **Programs for Foreign Service Children:** English-language books for a children's library at the U.S. Embassy in China; safe playground equipment for Consulate and Embassy children in India and Korea.

The Trust now invites the submission of proposals for support in 2001. It is anticipated that most of the new grants will fall within the same funding range as the 2000 awards and that projects assisted by the Trust will reflect a variety of interests and approaches, some of which are illustrated by the 2000 grants and all of which further the general purposes of the Trust, set forth above.

Grants provided by the Trust can be used to defray a wide range of project expenses, such as acquisition of equipment, books and supplies, travel and data collection costs, and dissemination of materials. Grant funds from the Trust, however, cannot be used to pay salaries or other compensation to U.S. Government employees or their family members. Because of the limited resources available to the Trust, it is not in a position to support projects that, in the view of the Trustees, have reasonable prospects of obtaining all the funds they need from other sources, or that propose to conduct activities closely similar to those undertaken by other public or private programs, or that cannot be carried out effectively with Trust-size grants. The Trust will provide support for a project operated by a charitable or educational organization only where the person applying to the Trust plays an active role in initiating and carrying out the project, apart from fund-raising.

A proposal should include a description of the project, what it is intended to achieve, and the role to be played by the applicant(s); a preliminary plan for disseminating the results of the project; a budget; other available funding, if any; and a brief biography of the applicant(s). Proposals should not be longer than five double-spaced pages (exclusive of budget and biographical material).

Proposals for projects to be funded during calendar year 2001 must be received by the Trust no later than February 28, 2001.

Proposals should be sent to the J. Kirby Simon Foreign Service Trust, by mail to 82 Edgehill Road, New Haven, CT 06511, by fax to 203-432-0063 or by e-mail to john.simon@yale.edu.
Inquiries should be directed to one of the above addresses or by phone to 203-432-2698.
Further information can be found on the Web at www.kirbysimontrust.org.



PRESIDENT'S VIEWS

Eight Years of Clinton and the Foreign Service

BY MARSHALL P. ADAIR

This issue of the *Foreign Service Journal* deals with the Clinton administration's record in foreign affairs over the last eight years. In judging success, it is important to also look at how well the administration has managed the tools of government. In what condition is it leaving that apparatus for following administrations?

While this administration has had some notable foreign policy successes, it has paid relatively little attention to America's civilian foreign policy apparatus. As a consequence, the nation's diplomatic capability, which has been gradually but steadily cut back over the last several decades, is now weakening at an accelerated rate. Here are some of the areas where the administration has fallen short.

People: For the Foreign Service, which develops employees' professional expertise over the course of their careers, a steady inflow of new hires is essential. This administration aggravated already non-existent workforce planning by stopping all hiring for two years in the early 1990s for budgetary reasons. It did not resume hiring to meet attrition until later in the decade, and will not make up the deficit for several more years. The budgetary savings were modest, but the practical impact was not. Today, there are severe shortages in the middle ranks, and general shortages throughout the service. These

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

*How has this
administration
managed the tools
of foreign affairs?*



increase stress, reduce career development opportunities and restrict the service's effectiveness.

Security: Since the Cold War ended, we have confronted an increasing threat from international terrorist networks. The administration failed to heed warnings on the need to upgrade security. Then, after the 1998 bombings of U.S. embassies in East Africa, when its own studies called for substantially more investment in security, the administration increased its requests only slowly and grudgingly. It is still far behind the curve. Similarly, after several embarrassing security incidents at Main State, the administration tightened restrictions on active duty and retired FS personnel. However, it has yet even to provide estimates of what it might cost to structurally adjust Main State or more closely monitor the hundreds of non-cleared personnel, such as cleaning staff, contractors, and journalists, who have access to the building.

Political Appointments: The Clinton administration has made very liberal use of political appointees

throughout its tenure. Political ambassadors averaged 32 percent of appointees, second in the last 35 years only to the Reagan administration's 34 percent. The seventh floor of State has been almost exclusively political, and a political deputy assistant secretary has been added to almost every bureau.

Department Management: The senior levels of the department have engaged primarily in operational diplomacy, leaving little time to manage either the department or strategic planning. What's more, the political leadership has been unwilling to delegate responsibility for that management to professional employees. They have added a plethora of special coordinators and negotiators that has further undermined organizational integrity and professional morale.

Resources: More than her immediate predecessors, Secretary Albright has admirably and publicly attempted to seek more resources for diplomacy. But her straight talk was effectively silenced when the administration made its budget requests to Congress. The international affairs account, which was 1.5 percent of the total budget during the Bush Administration, declined to only 1 percent under Clinton. Security, technology, personnel, and international strategic obligations are all being shortchanged.

This record makes the next administration's job more difficult and should be part of any assessment of the overall foreign policy performance of the Clinton administration. ■



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LETTERS

A Job, Not a Career

The decision on retiree access is not only a slap in the face to every former member of the Foreign Service; it has practical consequences. It puts another nail in the coffin of the concept that, to quote the previous DG Skip Gnehm, the Foreign Service is "a career, not a job." Indeed, there are those of us who used to believe it was a way of life. For many younger officers, the service has become not a career or an unswerving commitment, but a revocable option and potential way-station subject to continuous re-evaluation and cost-benefit analyses. The decision to exclude retirees from the building without escort further highlights that truth, which will not be lost on current FSOs: The notion of a Foreign Service family or lifetime career is now a myth; you are a cog in an institutional mechanism which will use your best years and then dispense with you. To love that machine is supremely naive.

State Department retirees as a class now have been deemed untrustworthy to "roam" the building. This is a ridiculous and contemptible insult. People who have devoted up to 30 or more years of their lives to the USG are actu-

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ally, if not also morally, beyond the reach of recruitment by foreign or commercial espionage services. If they truly had been open to recruitment, they would have pursued that option as employees when they had far easier access than they enjoy as retirees.

Thus, this latest decision strikes me as part of an effort to satisfy Congress through cosmetic gestures that the department is "doing something" to address recent embarrassing and indeed serious security lapses — all the while avoiding truly effective remedies.

*Marc E. Nicholson
FSO, retired
Washington, D.C.*

Watching Out for Enemies

Following 30 years of service without a single security violation, I retired without any recognition of my blemish-free record. I had expected a decoration, pinned on my chest by the secretary at a formal ceremony, perhaps with a kiss on both cheeks in the French manner, and accompanied by a drum roll from the Marine Band. It would be something like the Good Conduct Medal I received during my Army service for not getting caught doing anything wrong. For a more security-conscious State Department, I propose that a medal be awarded on retirement to those with good security records — gold for a perfect record, silver for one violation, and bronze for two. Those with more violations would be required to do one hundred pushups.

And now, a confession. I did com-

mit one violation, and it has bothered my conscience ever since my 1980 retirement. Hopefully, with confession will come absolution. It happened one Saturday morning at my office in the department, where, like so many other eager beavers, I used to come in on weekends to catch up with paperwork. On that morning, I took my 12-year-old daughter Hania with me. When I opened my combination-lock file cabinet, Hania asked why I locked up my papers. "Because we have enemies," I explained, "who would like to know what we are doing." That seemed to satisfy her.

Eventually, I had to make a trip down the hall to the men's room. "Watch my safe," I asked my daughter, "I'll be right back." She then positioned herself in front of my file cabinet, one hand firmly gripping the rung of the top drawer as if to say, "They shall not pass." And then, as I was going out the door, she asked, "Daddy, what do I do if an enemy comes?"

*Yale Richmond
FSO, retired
Washington, D.C.*

Dangerous Retiree Problem

The department now requires retirees to be escorted during visits to its offices. I can only say, it's about time! Who knows what those retirees have been up to? The fact that none have been caught suggests they may be getting away with more than we ever thought.

I am also concerned about all those active duty personnel wandering freely in the building. I would like to

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LETTERS

offer ways to bring this under control. One solution would be to copy the system we used when we went swimming at YMCA camp when I was a boy: the buddy system. All personnel could be assigned a buddy or partner who would be with them at all times while in the department. Alternatively, it could be required that everyone going above the first floor at Main State be escorted by a uniformed security guard.

Norman T. Shaft

FSO, retired

Falls Church, Va.

Trusted by the Armed Forces

On my retirement from the U.S. Naval Reserve, a permanent identification card was issued which provides access to installations and services of the Armed Forces, worldwide, equal to military members on active duty. It would seem Foreign Service retirees are potential security risks while retired members of the armed forces are not.

William B. Hussey

FSO, retired

Laguna Woods, Calif.

FSI Takes Security Seriously

While I support Dan Geisler's admonition that we must take security training seriously (*FSJ*, September), I was disappointed with much of the information he supplied. Coping with Violence Abroad was not cut due to budgetary reasons, but because it consistently received poor ratings from students. The decision was made to vastly upgrade and expand the program, hire professional training design consultants, and turn it into a much more modern, effective, training event.

The result is the Security Overseas seminar, which is mandatory for all JOs and specialists before going overseas, and strongly encouraged for spouses and family members. It has

been attended by more than 2,000 people per year for the last 12 years and consistently scores four on a five-point scale on evaluations from participants. Refresher training is offered through the one-day Advanced Security Overseas Seminar. Training to meet the needs of Civil Service, TDY, and roving personnel is offered through the TDY SOS course. Those are the facts.

Similarly, while embassy crisis simulations as implemented in the '80s no longer exist, it is woefully inaccurate to suggest this training is no longer done. In the past two years, training teams from FSI have gone out to over 200 posts and conducted post-specific crisis-management exercises for 3,000 FSOs; those have received rave reviews around the world. These teams have included personnel from regional and functional bureaus, S/S-O, and other interested offices.

We have also expanded the scope of these training programs to include training FSNs — in the last two years, more than 2,500 have been trained. Crisis management training has been given to 6,300 government employees in a wide array of classes and agencies both inside and outside the department during this same period.

We need to train our people in security awareness as a core part of their competence as professionals — that cause is not helped by erroneously suggesting to readers that we've abdicated this responsibility.

Ruth A. Davis

Director, Foreign Service

Institute

Arlington, Va.

Ethnic Loyalties Matter

I congratulate the *Journal* for the articles on "Loyalty" (*FSJ*, October). No other serious publication I am aware of has shown the courage to address the subjects of dual loyalty

LETTERS

and dual citizenship despite their obvious importance to the conduct of foreign affairs.

That said, I found the main article by the academic Yossi Shain, well, academic. His conclusion that there is a "growing appreciation that in the present period of globalization, America's ethnic groups can strengthen and expand U.S. influence around the world" is highly disputable. It is my impression that these special ethnic interest groups have more often than not distorted our policy and undermined our credibility and influence. I would point particularly to the Cuban-Americans of Florida who have dictated our unrealistic policy toward Cuba for years, not to mention their impact on domestic politics.

Then there is the influence of Jewish Americans on our Middle East policy. Shain's statement that our all-Jewish negotiating team has demonstrated that "the idea that committed Jews cannot be trusted as brokers in the Arab-Israeli peace process is no longer viable" would not be convincing to most Arabs. Our team is accepted by the Arabs, but only because the Arabs have no choice. The Israelis have insisted for years that they will deal only through us and have repeatedly rebuffed the Europeans and the UN. The so-called "peace process" that our team has engineered has changed the long-standing American positions on the core issues of settlements, Jerusalem, borders, and refugees, all of them in a way that favors Israel at the expense of the Palestinians. The author's statement that "the prominence of these individuals in Middle East policy-making is a clear indication that in America at least, Jewish identity does not provoke serious suspicions of divided loyalties" is straight out of the ivory tower. The principal reason there is little outcry about such appointments is fear of being attacked by pro-Israeli

elements and being branded anti-Semitic or a self-hating Jew.

Arthur L. Lowrie
FSO, retired
Lutz, Fla.

Self-Interested Shocker

Yossi Shain's essay defending American ethnic foreign policy lobbies was a shocker. The *Foreign Service Journal* led its October issue with an essay by an Israeli defending American ethnic foreign policy lobbies, of which the strongest is Israeli-directed. Wouldn't anyone call that essay self-interested?

Shain's essay did not go back far enough to include George Washington's injunction against "a passionate attachment" to a foreign country. Nor did Shain note that ours is the only democracy in which ethnic lobbies are called "the democratic process."

C. Patrick Quinlan
FSO, retired
Edina, Minn.

FSOs Fellow Travelers?

General Curtis O'Sullivan, responding to the off-base editorial about the police reaction to the protest against the IMF/World Bank conclave in Washington (*FSJ*, May), far outdid the editorial by using it to attack the men and women of the Foreign Service for "weakness and weak thinking," to the point of reviving the "specter of fellow travelers."

No one has a patent on wisdom, but the Foreign Service often takes risks for our country in hard places. Neither the CIA nor the military, which also suffered from a few spies in their ranks, gets labeled as fellow travelers. The general's letter smells of a McCarthyism, which has never gone away.

Frank McNeil
Ambassador, retired
Boca Raton, Fla. ■



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"It is worth noting that Russia's GDP of today is one-tenth of America's, one-half of India's, and less than that of Brazil. ... The U.N. recently ranked Russia's health system 131st, just ahead of Sudan's. ... So much for Russia being one of the most influential centers of the modern world."

— ZBIGNIEW

BRZEZINKSI AT THE
KENNAN INSTITUTE FOR
ADVANCED RUSSIAN
STUDIES, JULY 19

IMF PROTESTS HIT PRAGUE, LIGHTLY

Prague was the site Sept. 25-27 of the latest round of protests against the International Monetary Fund and the World Bank, but the tone of the events was quite different from that of earlier confrontations in Washington, D.C., and Seattle. According to Tamara Straus in the Oct. 9 *New Republic*, local police exercised restraint in dealing with the 8,000 or so activists who arrived to protest globalization.

"No doubt remembering their own recent history of dissent, Czech officials took pains to be accommodating," Straus wrote. Leading officials tried to take a soft tone in their public pronouncements. Said Prague mayor Jan Kasl, "Please be strong in your demands, demonstrate according to your beliefs, but be kind with the city and obey the laws."

After the windows of a McDonald's in downtown Prague were smashed, Czech Prime Minister Milos Zeman declared, "I am with the protesters on one thing: I am against fast food."

Despite the kid-gloves approach, some property was vandalized, and several hundred protesters were arrested. But one student from Budapest, describing police methods, said, "We don't think they have been so brutal," adding, "You must remember that this place has a different history."

The protesters, mostly young people from Europe and North America, seemed to have decidedly different national styles, Straus noted. German anarchists vowed to shut the official meetings down, and some hurled stones at the police. A contingent of 800 Italians sported "matching white bodysuits, helmets and waterguns" and were "intent on cutting dashing figures,"

Straus observed. She quoted one American demonstrator who griped, "They are not so interested in storming the conference center. What they really like is to have their picture taken."

The Americans had their own priorities. One young woman from California complained, "They smoke constantly." Said another, "It is beautiful here. But I would prefer if there were more vegetables."

OUTSIDERS AT U.N. SEEK TO COME IN

Israeli officials, backed by the U.S. government, have begun a campaign to gain full membership for Israel in the United Nations Western European and Others Group (WEOG), reports Marilyn Henry in the Sept. 28 *Jerusalem Post*. Israel's current status in the regional group is limited and temporary; for the last four months it has been allowed to participate in WEOG's activities in New York. However, most of the Western European group's policies are formulated in Geneva, Vienna and Bonn, and Israel is forbidden from taking part in those forums.

"We lose our moral authority being outside. We lose our dignity, our responsibility," said Yehuda Lancry, Israel's ambassador to the U.N. Though from a strictly geographical perspective, Israel should be part of the Asian regional group, some Arab states have blocked Israeli membership. So becoming a member of WEOG is Israel's best shot at participation in a regional group.

Having a permanent place in one of the U.N.'s regional groups is both symbolical and strategically important to Israel, an Israeli official told the *Foreign Service Journal*. Without that membership, Israel



CLIPPINGS

cannot be elected to U.N. bodies such as the Security Council, the Economic and Social Council or the board of the U.N. Development Program.

Another government seeking a greater role in the U.N. is Afghanistan's Taliban regime, reports Zahid Hussain in the Sept. 29 *Times* of London. Abdul Rehman Zahid, the deputy foreign minister of Afghanistan's hard-line Islamic Taliban administration, led a delegation to Paris, New York and Washington to drum up support for the Taliban's claim to Afghanistan's seat at the United Nations.

Afghanistan is currently represented by the ousted government of Burhanuddin Rabbani, the former Afghan president. Rabbani was deposed in 1996 when Taliban forces gained control of Kabul, the capital. The Taliban now controls nearly 95 percent of Afghanistan, but Western and other governments oppose the Taliban's harsh rule.

SURVEY: EUROPEANS LIKE AMERICANS

A State Department survey of Europeans has found that they generally like the United States, says Charles Ries, deputy assistant secretary in the European bureau of the State Department. While much of the data in the survey cannot be made public, the Associated Press reported on Oct. 18 that despite some complaints about America's behavior as the world's only superpower, on the whole, there is widespread support in Europe for American values. Another State Department official elaborated that the United Kingdom and Germany have very favorable opinions of the U.S. while Italy and France tend to find America slightly less

appealing. European opinion of the United States varies on different issues, such as trade and security, as well.

Distaste for the United States often stems from concerns over globalization, which some Europeans view as "Americanization." Countries such as France, which are especially protective of their culture and language, tend to object more strongly to the bits of Americana — such as McDonald's and Hollywood films — that global trade brings. French Foreign Minister Hubert Vedrine has called the United States a "hyperpower" rather than "superpower," suggesting that American influence over world events has become too great.

"It's true that some ... have concerns about a world structure in which the United States has disproportionate power," said Ries, but, though the degree of anti-American sentiment varies from country to country, "in no place is it fundamental, or even dominant."

DIPLOMACY.COM: A RAY OF HOPE?

The Internet offers "a high tech answer to basic human needs" like freedom and democracy, media expert Gary Selnow told a State Department conference in October, according to reports on the *Washington File*. He noted that evidence shows the Internet can play an important role in preparing people for the transition to democracy by freeing information and linking people together. In one recent development, the State Department created the Kosovo Internet Access Initiative which allows Albanian refugees to communicate with each other. Selnow was one of many analysts from the fields of diplo-

50 YEARS AGO

"Speeches by the Chiefs of Mission, the secretary of State and even the President have revealed the increasing responsibility which weighs upon ambassadors; and their continued good health, good humor, and peace of mind should be the object of our constant solicitude."

— DECEMBER 1950

FOREIGN SERVICE
JOURNAL

"THE CARE AND
FEEDING OF
AMBASSADORS"

BY ROBERT
McCLINTOCK



CLIPPINGS

"This is the devilish thing about foreign affairs: they are foreign and will not always conform to our whim."

— JAMES RESTON

macy and technology who attended the NetDiplomacy 2000 conference and mulled over the impact information technology will have on the way the United States achieves its diplomatic objectives.

John Gage, chief researcher and director of the science office at Sun Microsystems, confirmed that the Internet has the potential to deliver basic needs to the world's poorest countries. He noted that the G-77 group of developing countries agree that the "first ray of hope to alter the lives of those in the world's poorest countries comes with information technology."

Under Secretary of State for Economic, Business and Agricultural Affairs Alan

Larson said that it is up to the private sector to drive information technology expansion worldwide. He said that governments will depend on the private sector to create low-cost access to the telephone, computers and Internet that will create change. The role for government in the process will be to "judiciously remove barriers to private sector activity" and to "ensure that the benefits of the information society are widely shared."

The conference explored issues ranging from the digital divide between rich and poor to ways the State Department can use the Web to communicate with the public during a foreign policy crisis. ■

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SPEAKING OUT

Why I'm Paying \$250,000 to Keep My Job

BY SUSAN N. STEVENSON

The State Department tells us it is becoming a more responsive, family-friendly institution. Recognizing that flexibility in personnel matters is essential to attracting and retaining Foreign Service officers, it has renamed its personnel division the "Bureau of Human Resources." While such changes are welcome, the reality still has a long way to go before it matches the department's rhetoric. Consider my case.

State's idea of a Foreign Service family is still limited to either the traditional pairing of an anchor officer and a PIT-working or stay-at-home spouse, or a tandem couple — not dual career, two-income households like mine, even though such families are now the norm in the United States.

Still, precisely because the Foreign Service is uniquely challenging and rewarding, my husband (a financial analyst in the private sector) and I have chosen to go to lengths well beyond the norm to facilitate my career while also keeping our family together. Beyond juggling my postings to coincide with job opportunities for him, we now find ourselves out of pocket a quarter of a million dollars over the next two years in order for me to stay in the Foreign Service.

Farewell, USIA Flexibility

In early 1999, I was assigned as the assistant public affairs officer in Hong Kong, with the job to start in 2002 following the requisite two

*I am learning
Chinese at my
own expense —
without a salary!*



years of Mandarin Chinese training. We were thrilled to be returning to Asia (my first tour was in Bangkok), though I was concerned about balancing long-term language training with my husband's job needs and above all, wanted to minimize the impact of the transition on my two small children. Towards that end, USIA (which I had joined over State due to its smaller, more creative work environment) was optimistic that I could do both years of Mandarin in either Washington, D.C. or Taipei.

When I first inquired about my language training options, I still had a year to go in my tour as assistant cultural attaché in Mexico City. But because USIA was about to merge with the State Department, I was told to wait until that reorganization took effect on Oct. 1, 1999 before seeking authorization to study Chinese somewhere other than the Foreign Service Institute.

My request seemed reasonable enough since USIA — which was

charged tuition at FSI — used private language schools interchangeably and had therefore been flexible about language training, in keeping with its "best practices" approach to management. For example, I knew other USIA officers who had studied Arabic in New York City, Italian in the Midwest, and Russian in Tbilisi, Georgia (the latter as part of a tandem couple). The case most similar to mine was that of a cultural affairs officer in Kuala Lumpur who had done all 36 weeks of Malay at a Malaysian university to accommodate her husband's private sector job in Kuala Lumpur. USIA provided her housing, placed her in administrative status, and paid her language costs.

But it was not until February 2000 that we were able to confirm with FSI that the two-year Chinese program in D.C. no longer existed and that two years in Taiwan would be too expensive for State to cover. Since I would eventually be working in Hong Kong anyway, I then suggested that I pay for the costs for language training myself, but in Hong Kong rather than Taipei.

With no incremental cost to the government and what I thought to be a precedent in the Malaysian training experience, I did not foresee a problem in gaining State Department concurrence once I obtained FSI's approval for my proposed course of study.

Unfortunately, the reality was eminently more complicated. In



order to assign me to training in Hong Kong, the State Department needed to create a training slot there and determine how to manage all the normal perks that go along with foreign posting: diplomatic status, housing, coverage under the State medical plan, and so forth. I had assured EAP/EX that I would obtain my visa through my husband's work and therefore did not require diplomatic status, and I cited the CAO in Kuala Lumpur's experience as a blueprint for how the bureau might proceed.

The Department Says No

In the meantime, I was finishing my assignment in Mexico City and preparing to pack out my household effects. My husband left at the beginning of June 2000 to start his new job in Hong Kong, thereby eliminating my flexibility to study anywhere else. My older daughter was just two; the younger was not quite seven weeks old. My last five weeks at post were consumed with administrative details (How do you pack out a house without orders? How do you ship a car without orders? How do you book flights to depart post without orders?), distracting me at a time when the embassy needed me to do my job. In the end, I wrote IOUs to the financial management center and the general services officer to get my affairs in order, and I left Mexico City this past July 7 with my situation very much unresolved. I was officially on annual leave rather than home leave pending resolution, and I was trapped at my home leave address in Orlando, Fla., thousands of miles away from my husband. Anyone with very small children has an idea of what this was like, and it was pretty miserable.

Back in Washington, after spending more than two months

EAP/EX decided it did not want to comply with all the restrictions imposed by the legal department in order to assign me to Hong Kong for training.

mulling over my request, EAP/EX decided it did not want to comply with all the restrictions imposed by the legal department in order to assign me to Hong Kong for training. It therefore rejected my request, but neither put the reasons for the rejection in writing nor informed my career development officer or me until pressed.

As a next step, I went to the Committee on Exceptions to request leave without pay status, with the idea that the committee would find LWOP unethical in my situation and order EAP to find a way to accommodate my request. Instead, the committee immediately approved LWOP. I would have to learn Chinese at my own expense — including tuition and housing for two years — and, to add insult to injury, I would do it without a salary! In fact, my “leave without pay” is not in any sense time off, as I am engaged in work-related activity and am expected to test regularly to show my progress.

Thus, I am forfeiting two years' salary while paying more than my salary in housing (a cost I wouldn't have had during a year's training in Taipei), plus nearly \$25,000 in lan-

guage training fees. All told, this adds up to more than \$255,000 I am absorbing to stay in the service.

A Better Precedent

My family is together, however, which is what has mattered all along, and things are falling into place. At the beginning of September, three weeks after my family was reunited in Hong Kong, I started my intensive Mandarin course at the Chinese University of Hong Kong's Yale-In-China program. Our household effects — which we shipped from Mexico at our own expense — arrived about the same time to furnish the empty apartment we have rented, also at our own expense.

If all goes according to plan, we will be in Hong Kong for six years, giving my husband much-needed career continuity and me a chance to learn a language in situ (though the lingua franca in Hong Kong is Cantonese, Mandarin is more widely spoken since the 1997 handover to China). I am also aware of how fortunate we are that we could even contemplate paying all these costs on our own; many FSOs do not have that option and would have had to consider leaving the service.

State already knows that with the U.S. economy strong, it is facing increasingly heavy competition for young talent from the private sector, where international careers such as I previously had (I come from a business background) are now more attainable. The department's own recent McKinsey & Co. study found, among many other things, that “young diplomats were dismissive of what they described as demoralized management. They complained that the department was unresponsive to the demands of two-career couples, especially when sending diplomats abroad.”



Formerly

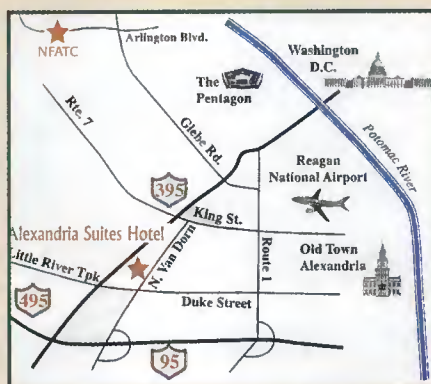
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SPEAKING OUT

*I hope that
 my case will impel
 State to be more
 "family-friendly"
 and responsive
 to all reasonable
 requests.*

I should state that I have no axe to grind about my career thus far. In my eight years of service, I have received two meritorious honor awards and a sustained superior performance award. I was promoted during my first month on LWOP, which I'd like to think indicates I'm the kind of officer the State Department wants to retain.

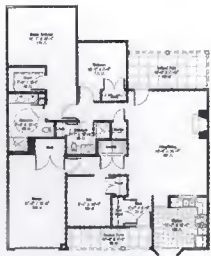
I am hopeful that my case will not only impel State to adopt USIA's "best practices" approach to language training, but to be more "family-friendly" and responsive to all reasonable requests — especially those that cost the department nothing to grant. Not only is such an approach the only fair and honorable way to manage personnel, but it is also the only way State will ultimately be able to keep good officers in the ever more competitive U.S. job market. ■

Susan Stevenson, an FSO since 1992, has served in Bangkok and Mexico City, with TDY stints in Vientiane and Doha. She is currently studying Chinese in Hong Kong in preparation for her tour as assistant public affairs officer there.



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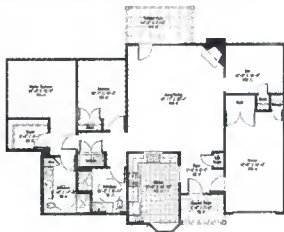
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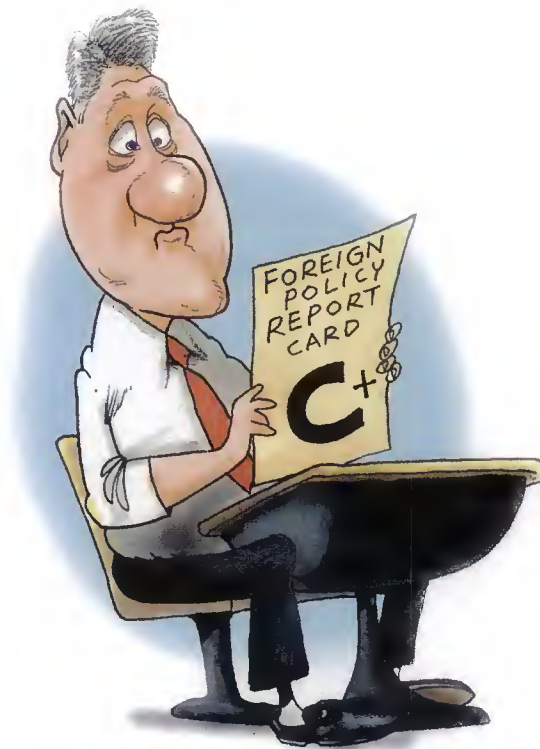
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BARELY PASSING: THE C+ PRESIDENT



Dale Stephanus

I WITH THE HELP OF A BOOMING ECONOMY, CLINTON WAS ABLE TO MAINTAIN U.S. POWER AND PRESTIGE, DESPITE A FEW MISTAKES ALONG THE WAY.

By WALTER RUSSELL MEAD AND E. BENJAMIN SKINNER

In our imperfect world, it is difficult for an American president to post a winning record in foreign affairs. Harry Truman, whose administration was responsible for the Marshall Plan, the Berlin airlift and the formation of NATO, failed to win re-election in 1952 largely because of the unpopularity of the Korean War. Franklin Roosevelt, who won the Second World War and established U.S. dominance globally, was widely blamed for giving Stalin control of Eastern Europe after World War II by signing the Yalta accords.

Without the polarizing influence of international conflict on the scale of the Second World War or the Cold War, it is even harder to be a good foreign policy president. Clear-cut victories are rare in peacetime. Perhaps worse from a president's point of view, the outbreak of peace encourages the Congress to assert itself more vigorously in foreign

affairs — imposing sanctions, subjecting appropriations requests to close scrutiny, holding up important appointments for reasons unrelated to foreign affairs, and generally acting like a co-equal branch of the government.

Decisive failure is as hard to achieve as unmitigated triumph in the contemporary world. The United States is so dominant in international affairs that even a poorly designed and incompetently executed foreign policy is likely to achieve some plausible shadow of success.

In practice, this means that when assessing the foreign policy of peacetime presidents, historians are extremely stingy with A's and F's, and generally grudging with B's and D's. C is the natural grade for a peacetime presidency like the Clinton administration.

Bill Clinton, a high achiever at Oxford and Yale, has struggled against this historical predicament but in vain. An A or even a B has eluded this Rhodes Scholar and in assessing the record of his administration one must ask whether he achieved a C+, that is, a flawed success, or a C-, a partially redeemed failure. Although there have been many eloquent and accurate attacks on various aspects of the Clinton foreign policy, the final verdict is that Clinton's foreign policy record has been a mixture of successful and failed policies that maintained American peace and prosperity.

On Clinton's watch, the United States avoided major international conflict while retaining its position as the most powerful nation on earth. The power and prestige which the United States enjoyed at the time of his inauguration will be passed, essentially intact, to his successor, and the chances of major international conflict are, if anything, somewhat less in 2000 than they were in 1992. That may not be as dramatic a legacy as some, including

Walter Russell Mead is senior fellow for U.S. foreign policy at the Council on Foreign Relations. He is the author of a forthcoming book on the history of U.S. foreign policy and also author of Mortal Splendor: The American Empire in Transition [Houghton Mifflin, 1987]. E. Benjamin Skinner is research associate for U.S. foreign policy at the Council on Foreign Relations.

***American interests,
not conservative or
liberal ideology, drove
foreign policy in the
Clinton era.***

President Clinton, might wish, but in the last analysis it is enough.

Although partisans in both parties have an interest in concealing this fact, the most notable feature of President Clinton's foreign policy has been its fidelity to that of his predecessor. At the end of the Cold War, the elder Bush redefined American foreign policy in largely conservative terms — U.S. policy

would change as little as possible following the Soviet collapse. Though American policy no longer needed to contain the threat of international communism, the United States would continue to minimize chaos and instability while advancing the principles of free markets, free government and world order which it had advocated during the Cold War. The difference between the Bush and Clinton agendas is largely one of rhetoric and political positioning. The policies have been roughly similar, but where Bush administration rhetoric tended to highlight commercial values and downplay human rights, the Clinton administration did its best to wrap its Hamiltonian policies in Wilsonian rhetoric.

The reality is that American interests, not conservative or liberal ideology, drove the key strategic decisions of the Clinton era. Candidate Clinton denounced President Bush's policies of seeking commercial accommodation with China at the expense of human rights issues. Once in the Oval Office, President Clinton changed course and embraced the older Bush's policy of pursuing change in China through trade. On major issues like the Balkans, it probably made little difference who won the 1992 or 1996 elections. A re-elected President Bush and a President Dole would have found themselves similarly entangled in the Balkans: American interests simply did not permit the U.S. to avoid involvement in an issue of such vital consequence to key allies like Germany.

The Economic Basis for Foreign Policy

Clinton's greatest success in foreign policy, ironically, was an achievement on the home front: The spectacular performance of the American economy in the last eight years more than any specific diplomatic maneuvering was the prime impetus behind the rise of American power

and prestige. Lloyd Bentsen, Robert Rubin, Alan Greenspan and Charlene Barshefsky in some ways had more to do with the international success of the United States in the last decade than did Anthony Lake, Warren Christopher, Sandy Berger and Madeleine Albright. Had the U.S. — or the world — succumbed to financial crisis, inflation or other serious problems, the foreign policy record of the last eight years would read very differently. The pull of the American economic model and the vital importance of the U.S. market to Asians, Europeans and Latin Americans enhanced the position of American diplomats in dealing with other countries during the Clinton years.

Furthermore, the strength of the American economy enhanced Clinton's ability to deal with the most dangerous, implacable foes his foreign policy ever encountered: his domestic critics. Economic growth and full employment weakened opposition to NAFTA, the WTO, and permanent normal trading relations with China. At the same time, economic success gave him the standing in the opinion polls which kept his international authority intact during the impeachment trial and frequently forced his Republican adversaries in Congress to yield ground on policy disputes.

The success of the administration's economic policies should not, however, blind us to the continuing political problems of its international economic policy agenda. The failure to renew fast track negotiating authority was a major blow to the president's ability to conduct foreign policy; time will tell whether this ground can be recovered. The screeching halt to progress towards agreement on the Free Trade Area of the Americas proposal and the failure to launch a millennial round at the WTO revealed a striking loss of momentum and direction in American trade policy. Yet despite these failures, and despite the fact that a strong economy at home did not always translate into dramatic victories abroad, American prosperity under Clinton has set the groundwork for future strategic and diplomatic successes.

Despite the foreign policy-making power that prosperity helped to create, Clinton's record in foreign relations is a not atypical mixture of striking successes, great disappointments and muddles. The two most important

*The spectacular
American economy
was the prime impetus
behind the rise of
American power and
prestige.*

geographic regions on the American map of the world — Europe and East Asia — saw an eminently mixed performance by the Clinton administration. At least in some part thanks to U.S. efforts, most of the former Warsaw Pact nations have continued to move toward the consolidation of stable democratic governments. This progress has not only included the relatively “easy” cases of such Central European states as the Czech Republic, Hungary and Poland, but some of the harder cases as well — notably Bulgaria and the Baltic states. While local forces and the attraction of EU membership have something to do with this success, the United States has clearly played an important, benign and much appreciated role in the region. Over the long term, this cannot but help U.S. interests. The Central and Eastern European states are eager to see the United States remain politically, militarily and economically active in Europe in part to balance the potentially excessive power of the larger Western European states in this region — and in part to safeguard against the possibility of a renewed Russian challenge to the European security order. As these states move into EU institutions, the Atlanticist element in the EU is likely to grow stronger with lasting and beneficial consequences for U.S.-European relations.

Failure in Russia

Set against this success, however, must be the relative failure of U.S. policy toward Russia. By any reasonable measure, the United States has fewer friends and less influence in Russia today than it did in 1992. The United States allowed itself to be too closely associated with a group of “reformers” whose agenda was never as transparent and democratic as the United States appeared to believe. U.S. confidence in the policies of the IMF and the Russian reformers was clearly misplaced, and the catastrophic failure of Russian reform from the standpoint of ordinary Russian citizens has dealt a serious blow to American prestige in Russia. Furthermore, such U.S. policy stands as supporting the expansion of NATO and attempting to make the United States a major player in the oil and regional politics of Central Asia lent unnecessary credence to those in Russia who argued that U.S.

and Russian interests doomed the states to inevitable conflict. The so-far fruitless effort to help Ukraine stabilize its independence has also irritated Russia without contributing to American security or prosperity in any significant way.

Given Russia's relative weakness and its dependence on Western investment and trade, these failures have not resulted in massive international setbacks for the United States. They certainly contributed to Russia's intransigence over relations with Yugoslavia, dangerously aggravating the Kosovo crisis, but in the end, Russian weakness meant that its ability to frustrate U.S. plans was minimal. In the event, when NATO needed a mediator to end the Kosovo campaign, Russian diplomacy actually played a useful role. Nevertheless, unless future administrations can put U.S.-Russian relations back on firmer footing more in keeping with the fundamental interests of both states, the United States will face unnecessary Russian hostility and suspicion.

NATO expansion had another unfortunate consequence. By rushing to expand NATO, the U.S. unwittingly played into the hands of the powerful interests in the EU which want to postpone EU expansion into the indefinite future. Because an expanded EU is at once a better guarantor of the peace and prosperity of an undivided Europe and also less capable of fulfilling misguided European ambitions of forming a 'rival' superpower to the United States, encouraging the rapid expansion of the EU should be an important priority of U.S. policy. NATO membership was a kind of pacifier tossed to Central European countries, reducing the pressure on the EU to do the right thing and expand. A better approach, then and now, would be to say that the U.S. supports NATO expansion *pari passu* with EU expansion into the east.

The Clinton record in the wars of the Yugoslav succession will be debated for many years to come. It is much too early for a definitive assessment, but certain things seem clear. The administration was correct to see that events in Yugoslavia affected key American interests. The security of Europe is of vital concern to our closest allies; it therefore inevitably matters to the U.S. That insight, which many domestic critics vigorously disputed, was correct, and the administration deserves high praise

***Don't tell anyone,
but Clinton's foreign
policy was very
similar to
President Bush's.***

for not losing sight of this basic truth despite the domestic pressure to avoid becoming further involved in the Balkans.

On the other hand, it is unlikely that the historical judgment on the means as opposed to the ends of Clinton policy in Yugoslavia will be favorable. Had the Clinton campaign and administration supported the Vance-Owen peace plan for Bosnia,

the war there might have ended sooner and on better terms than it ultimately did. The diplomatic record in the run-up to the Kosovo war is profoundly unsettling; looking at the difference between NATO's original "non-negotiable" demands and the terms on which the war was actually settled, it would appear that Milosevic forced NATO to improve its terms and accept a compromise peace. Thanks to Milosevic's stubborn persistence, NATO has now accepted the principle of continued Serb sovereignty in Kosovo — a commitment that will be hard to break now that a post-Milosevic regime is in power in Belgrade.

Moreover, the cost of the Kosovo war to the NATO alliance was extremely high. At least for the present, the idea of NATO acting out-of-area now appears to be dead. It seems almost inconceivable that any future German government will participate in a NATO campaign without a Security Council resolution. In that sense, although Milosevic lost the battle in Kosovo, Russia and China won the Kosovo war, successfully asserting the principle that the Security Council can veto out-of-area NATO action. Even so, defenders of Clinton policy can and will point out that through it all the Clinton administration defeated Serb expansionism, ultimately stopped ethnic cleansing, and saw Milosevic thrown out of power — without losing a single U.S. life in combat.

The Clinton administration's grades in East Asia are similarly mixed. The administration's North Korea policy must provisionally be judged one of its greatest successes and one for which it has not yet received sufficient credit. Clinton's refusal to be stampeded by domestic critics into more confrontational policies toward this difficult state and his steadfast support for Kim Dae Jung's "sunshine policy" have gone a long way toward reducing tensions in what remains the single area where U.S. forces are closest to a direct combat

F O C U S

role. While the North Korean endgame remains complicated and dangerous, conditions on the Korean peninsula are clearly much more favorable than they were in 1992.

If matters in Korea continue to go well, this success will assume increasingly greater importance in current policy and in historical memory. The Korean confrontation, after all, is the real justification for a U.S. military based on the need for a "two-war" capability. As the danger in Korea continues to diminish, a fundamental re-thinking of defense policy may become possible, with significant budgetary and political consequences. In assessing the administration's record in Korea, one must give full credit to the administration's steady political courage in choosing a difficult path and walking it with a strength of conviction that, if extended to other difficult foreign policy issues,

The financial crisis in Indonesia has left the United States largely without a policy toward this important country.

might have significantly increased the president's historical stature.

Clinton's other successes in the region are mostly due to economics. Robert Rubin and Larry Summers helped to stabilize Asia in the wake of the 1997-1998 crisis. The negotiation and final ratification of the PNTR agreement with China undoubtedly strengthened the hands of those in Beijing who counseled patience on the Taiwan issue and identified Chinese interests with peaceful economic progress based on close relations with the West.

Yet the economic success in Asia was limited. The U.S. failed utterly to anticipate the potential for economic crisis, and well after the Asian economies had begun their descent, U.S. officials were defending the economic performance of countries like Indonesia and Korea. Given that where Asian economies have recovered they have



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largely done so without making the sweeping reforms U.S. officials claimed were necessary, it may be that the U.S. government has not yet developed a full understanding of the potentials and pitfalls facing Asian economies.

The political fallout from the financial crisis continues and could ultimately be extremely costly for U.S. interests. The most dramatic case, of course, is Indonesia, where the financial crisis and the collapse of the Suharto regime have left the United States largely without a policy toward this strategically important country. Less dramatic, but in the long term perhaps more important, were the broader political consequences of the crisis. Many in East Asia were embittered by the slowness and, as they saw it, the insufficient U.S. response to Asia's crisis — especially when they contrasted U.S. policy in the Asian crisis of 1997-1998 with U.S. policy toward Mexico in 1994-1995. The veto of Japan's proposal for an Asian fund, the support for IMF programs that were later abandoned by the IMF as too restrictive, the relatively small amount of U.S. funding available for resolving the crisis, and the perception that U.S. policy was to some degree driven by the commercial interests of major U.S. banks and financial service companies created a legacy of bitterness and distrust that, over time, may seriously impair U.S. policy in Asia. It may be premature to say so, but some say that the 1997-1998 shock in Asia will have a long-term effect comparable to that of the collapse of Bretton Woods on Europe, driving Asian countries to new forms of regional financial coordination to end their economic dependence on Washington.

Mexico Sí, Cuba No

Mexico policy represents a strong success. The decision to bail out the Mexican economy following the crisis and devaluation of 1994-1995 was politically risky, required great courage and skill, and was entirely correct. Throughout the Clinton administration, U.S. policy toward Mexico achieved a standard often sought but rarely attained elsewhere: The United States managed to support forces making for democratic change in Mexico without making U.S. policy and U.S. interference an issue in Mexican politics.

*The United States
supported democratic
change in Mexico
without making U.S.
interference an issue
in Mexican politics.*

By contrast, our Cuba policy has been ill conceived. The administration's hasty and poorly considered response to the 1996 Cuban shoot-down of two civilian American planes was something that future administrations will have reason to regret. The Helms-Burton Law weakens the institutional authority of the presidency, complicates the task of future administrations attempting to manage what will always be a difficult U.S.-Cuba relationship and has introduced unnecessary strains in U.S. relations with major European allies. The president should not have signed it — and should have done a better job of managing U.S.-Cuban relations in the preceding months.

A Sad Record in Africa

In the Middle East and Africa, the Clinton record was also mixed. In the Middle East the administration continued to wrestle with the problems of containing Iran and Iraq while continuing to advance the Arab-Israeli peace process first inaugurated by Henry Kissinger. Although a breakthrough on Jerusalem eluded the administration (as of the date of this writing), the outlines of a comprehensive settlement seemed clearer in 2000 than ever before.

In Africa, the record was sadder. Clinton became the first U.S. president to set foot in Africa while in office, and sought to heighten U.S. awareness of and commitment to the second-largest continent. Unfortunately, the results were almost uniformly poor. There are many more failed states in Africa than when Clinton took office; HIV is a much more serious problem than it was; what remains of the international order in Africa is closer than ever to collapse and no real progress has been made in addressing the continent's many economic problems.

On balance then, the president gets a C+ or, perhaps in this era of grade inflation, a B-. Clinton will not be remembered as one of the most outstanding practitioners of U.S. foreign policy. Though disappointing to the president's friends, this is not necessarily bad for the United States. Happy the nation whose annals are blank and, in general, the United States was a happy country on President Clinton's watch. ■

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HUMANITARIAN INTERVENTION, CLINTON-STYLE



Dale Stephanos

O THE MAIN LEGACY OF PRESIDENT CLINTON'S EIGHT YEARS IN OFFICE MAY WELL BE THE USE OF U.S. MILITARY MIGHT TO ACHIEVE HUMANITARIAN GOALS.

By *BOB DEANS*

On a warm June morning last year, less than two weeks after NATO bombs forced an end to the Serbian repression of ethnic Albanians, President Clinton journeyed to Macedonia to address American troops assigned to join the international peacekeeping force just across the border in Kosovo.

Looking out over a sea of youthful soldiers dressed in camouflage fatigues, the commander-in-chief defined their mission and, in clear yet lofty tones, gave the troops their charge. "I hope to the day you die, you will be proud of being a part of the nation and a democratic alliance that believes that people should not be killed, uprooted or destroyed because of their race, their ethnic background, or the way they worship God," Clinton said to exuberant cheers. "I am proud of it, and I hope you are."

Rising to the occasion and expanding on his theme, Clinton laid out one of the most sweeping justifications ever articulated for foreign military intervention. "Never forget," Clinton told the troops. "If we can do this here, and if we can then say to the people of the world, 'Whether you live in Africa, or Central Europe, or any other place, if somebody comes after innocent civilians and tries to kill them en masse because of their race, their ethnic background, or their religion, and it's within our power to stop it, we will stop it. ...' [That] can make a huge difference to our children in the new century."

As striking as that pronouncement was, Clinton has proven that it's far more than mere rhetoric. Specifically, he has deployed American troops to oust a coup leader from Haiti, to end the slaughter of civilians in Bosnia and to halt ethnic bloodletting in Kosovo, and has expressed regrets for not intervening similarly in other trouble spots.

Balkan Ghosts

The first test of the new president's willingness to intervene on such grounds was actually inherited from his predecessor. A month before he left office, then-President George Bush had sent U.S. forces on a mission focused exclusively on helping stave off famine in Somalia. By the following October, however, as that mission became progressively more difficult due to fierce fighting, it fell to Clinton to approve sending U.S. troops to try to capture Somali warlord Gen. Mohammed Farah Aidid in Mogadishu. But the operation went badly awry and 18 U.S. soldiers were killed, in part because U.S. forces there lacked the armored vehicles needed to pull trapped troops from harm's way.

To this day, the debacle weighs heavily on Clinton. "I will always regret that," Clinton said in a recent interview with *The New Yorker*. "I don't know if I could have saved those lives, or not, because I think what we

Former State Department correspondent Bob Deans covers the White House for Cox Newspapers.

The first test of President Clinton's willingness to intervene on such grounds was actually inherited from his predecessor.

were trying to do was the right thing to do, and the people who were there on the ground did the best they could," Clinton said. "But I would have handled it in a different way if I had more experience, I think. I know I would."

That experience only reinforced Clinton's initial determination (again like President Bush before him) to keep the U.S. out of the rapidly spreading conflicts in the Balkans. By his own admission, he had taken office knowing little about the region, relying largely on

his reading of journalist Robert Kaplan's 1993 non-fiction work, *Balkan Ghosts*. That book painted a grim tableau of centuries of ethnic violence, a view that supported the belief of many opponents of U.S. involvement, who claimed that the various ethnic and religious groups in that troubled region had always hated and fought each other and always would.

Influenced by Kaplan's account, for nearly three years Clinton assuaged his guilt over inaction in Bosnia by telling himself there was little to be done to stop the cycle of murder and revenge that afflicts the land. "And I regret it now more than I can say, for I have spent a great deal of time in these last six years reading the real history of the Balkans," Clinton confessed last year during a speech at the National Defense University in Washington. "The truth is that a lot of what passes for common wisdom in this area is a gross oversimplification and misreading of history," Clinton said. "The truth is that for centuries these people have lived together in the Balkans in Southeastern Europe, with a greater or lesser degree of tensions, but often without anything approaching the intolerable conditions and conflicts that exist today."

Thus, by the time Clinton ordered NATO air strikes to press Serbs to the negotiating table in 1995, an estimated 250,000 people, most of them civilians, had already been killed in Bosnia. Americans had become disgusted with nightly news footage of the mounting toll. Women and children were being shot down with impunity on the streets of Sarajevo; schoolyards, markets and hospitals had become targets of artillery fire; soccer fields had

been plowed under to inter the dead. But not until Serbs massacred thousands of civilians in the Bosnian town of Srebrenica in July 1995, under the noses of a largely feckless United Nations Protection Force, did public pressure finally compel the Clinton administration to act to stop the bloodshed.

Its willingness to do so had been bolstered in 1994 by the success (at least in the short term) of American intervention in Haiti. Junta leader Raul Cedras was refusing to leave Port au Prince so that the country's democratically elected president, Jean Bertrand Aristide, could return from exile. In response, Clinton assembled an invasion force that was in the air and en route to Haiti when Cedras bowed to a negotiating team Clinton had dispatched to the Haitian capital. Cedras soon fled to Panama, and U.S. troops were allowed into Haiti without firing a shot: More than 16,000 soldiers, backed with armored vehicles, moved in to take control on the tiny Caribbean nation, the poorest in the Western Hemisphere.

When U.S. and other NATO peacekeepers deployed to Bosnia in 1995, they, too, went in strong: some 60,000 troops, backed with armor and extensive air support helped implement the provisions of the Dayton peace accords. Five years later, there are now some 20,000 peacekeepers in Bosnia, including 4,600 Americans and forces from 29 other NATO member and partner countries, according to Pentagon and NATO figures.

The Bosnia intervention, in turn, while long in coming, set the stage for the 1999 American-led air campaign to stop the Serbian ethnic cleansing of Albanians in the Yugoslav province of Kosovo. "We watched for four years while reasoned diplomacy tried to save lives, and a quarter of a million people died and 2.5 million refugees were created before NATO and our friends on the ground in Croatia and Bosnia forced a settlement there and ended the horror there," Clinton told the Kosovo-bound peacekeepers in Macedonia, shortly after the 11-week NATO air campaign over Kosovo ended a bloody Serb campaign against ethnic Albanians in Kosovo. "This time we didn't wait," Clinton said. "It took 79 days — but that's a lot better than four years."

*Clinton has added
a new ingredient to
the traditional recipe
for making U.S.
foreign policy:
empathy.*

Like its Bosnian predecessor, the 1999 Kosovo peacekeeping force was structured under NATO command, and now includes 46,000 troops from 39 NATO member and partner countries, including 6,000 Americans.

Lessons Learned

In each of those operations, Clinton's foreign policy team has made an effort to claim that important national interests were at stake.

They stopped short, though, of claiming that those interests rose to the standard of "vital" that have traditionally driven the decision to deploy military force overseas. Of Haiti it was said that Florida couldn't sustain a wave of refugees abandoning their troubled land. In fact, Clinton ordered camps to be opened at the U.S. base in Guantanamo, Cuba, to deal with the Haitian refugees in the months leading up to the American troop deployment to Haiti. Other U.S. presidents had witnessed decades of political and economic failure in Haiti, however, without giving serious thought to sending in the troops.

In Bosnia, Clinton belatedly made the case that allowing the conflict there to continue to burn would risk exploding a Balkan powder keg that might ignite all of Southeast Europe. If that were true, though, the administration never explained how it was that the war festered for nearly four years with little sign of spilling beyond the borders of the former Yugoslavia.

And, similarly in Kosovo, the administration made the case that continued atrocities against Albanians in Kosovo would invite a military response from neighboring Albania proper. That, in turn, could spark a wider war, the White House warned, that could conceivably draw in Greece, perhaps even Turkey, in a conflict whose consequences might quickly spin out of control. "This was not simply a humanitarian intervention," Secretary of State Madeleine Albright told a group in Milwaukee in a speech on Aug. 21 of this year. She cited a pledge former President Bush made to protect the people of Kosovo and the need to preserve Balkan stability. Yet even Albright, famously hard-nosed as she is about projecting U.S. power, ultimately defined the mission chiefly by its humanitarian intent.

F O C U S

"We reinforced the principle that massive violations of human rights by their very nature cannot be ignored; they must be opposed," she said. "America did the right thing in Kosovo."

But if the lesson from the Clinton era is that U.S. troops can be used, under certain circumstances, to check humanitarian outrages, it's just as clear that military force, by itself, can't knit conflict-ridden areas back together again. While Clinton can claim some measure of success in Haiti, Bosnia and Kosovo, none has been an unqualified victory. U.S. troops were able to run out Cedras and return Aristide to office, but, six years later, Haiti remains, tragically, an economic and civil basket case where violence is up and prospects for a functioning democracy are down. In Bosnia, the U.S.-led NATO air strikes ended Europe's worst carnage since World War II, though the roots of genuine peace in Bosnia have yet to take hold. And in Kosovo, ethnic Albanians no longer fear random murders, torture and the burning of homes carried out

with impunity by armed thugs backed by Serb troops and police — but now it is those few Serbs remaining in Kosovo who live in constant fear of retribution and attack from Albanians.

Perhaps the best way to sum up the Clinton administration's approach to armed intervention on humanitarian grounds is to note that it has avoided acting unless it seemed clear that U.S. military force could prevail with a low probability of American casualties.

"The expectations are that U.S. involvement is very selective," said Carl Conetta, co-director of the Project on Defense Alternatives at the Commonwealth Institute, a non-profit policy research outfit in Cambridge, Mass. "The message the world gets is that we aren't intervening everywhere."

Thus, President Clinton sent no forces to contend with the Hutu militia butchery that left some 800,000 ethnic Tutsis dead in Rwanda in 1994. Nor did Clinton act to head off the violence in Sierra Leone last year that claimed, according to the New York-

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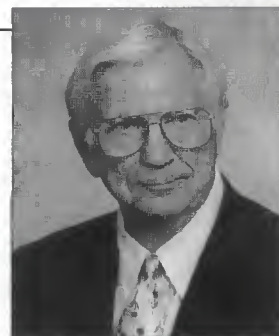
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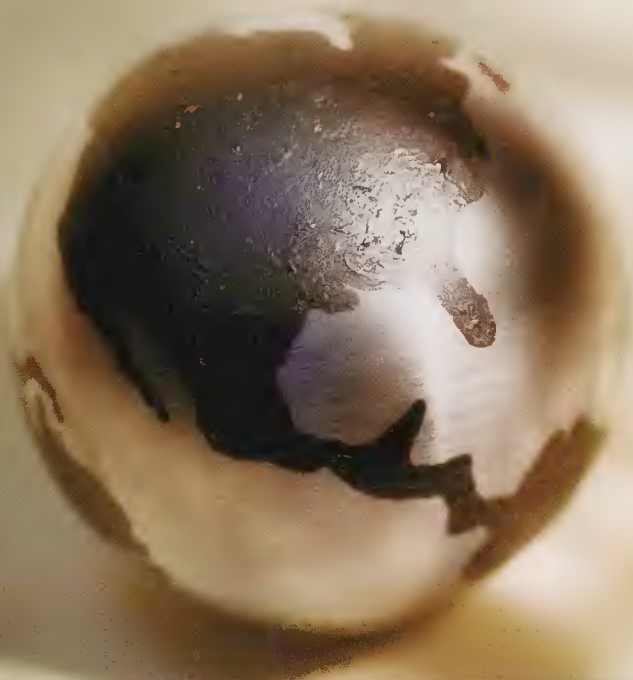
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based investigative group Human Rights Watch, some 50,000 lives, left tens of thousands of others maimed and at least a million people homeless either in Sierra Leone or bordering countries. And he refrained from dispatching Americans to help protect civilians in East Timor, when paramilitary forces backed by the Indonesian army ran amok in 1999, killing hundreds and running thousands from their homes.

Finally, perhaps most tellingly, he has never so much as hinted at the use of military force to halt Russia's bloody offensive in Chechnya, even though Moscow's indiscriminate attacks on civilians have caused the deaths of more than 4,000 people this year alone, Human Rights Watch estimates, and made refugees of half a million more over the past five years.

*President Clinton has
been willing to risk
American lives to save
the lives of others
abroad.*

The Clinton Legacy

Still, whatever else is ultimately said of Clinton's foreign policy, this much is clear: He established beyond all doubt his willingness under certain circumstances to wield military might to achieve what were previously considered largely humanitarian aims. Clinton was willing, in other words, to risk American lives to save the lives of others

abroad, and to expend enormous political capital toward that end. In doing so, Clinton added a new ingredient to the traditional recipe for making U.S. foreign policy: empathy.

To be sure, that empathy is tempered by the fact that our nation, rich as it is, lacks the resources to right all of humankind's wrongs, and by the reality that we periodically drift in and out of intervention fatigue, with many Americans calling for policy-makers to focus more on

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domestic issues. Nevertheless, during the final, fractured decade of the bloodiest century on record, the United States is more than ever a beacon of hope for much of the world.

The thorny question of under what conditions to intervene militarily on humanitarian grounds will soon be put to a new president. "The new administration will either approve these things (or not) on a case by case basis, and in every one there's likely to be a debate," said Richard Haass, director of foreign policy studies at the Brookings Institution, a Washington think tank. "How serious is the situation? How serious is the human rights problem? Are we likely to have others help us? Can we design an operation that is likely to achieve some goal at a limited cost? Is the military option better than any other option?"

Although the next president will by no means be

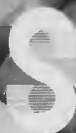
"Massive violations of human rights by their very nature cannot be ignored; they must be opposed."

—Madeleine Albright

bound by Clinton's approach, of course, he will face pressure to explain to the country, and even the world, why he chooses not to act each time a foreign conflict results in a humanitarian crisis. As Clinton told cheering Albanian refugees at the Stenkovac Camp in Macedonia on June 22, 1999, where they waited for the day they could return to their homes in Kosovo: "We're proud of what we did, because we think it's what America stands for: that no one ever, ever should be punished and discriminated against, or killed or uprooted, because of their religion or their ethnic heritage," he proclaimed. "And the president of the United States never acts alone. It is the American people who care about you, who believe in you, who want you to be free, who want you to be able to go home." ■

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CLINTON TO AFRICA: I CARE — REALLY



Dale Steplianos

CLINTON VISITED AFRICA TWICE AND FELT ITS PAIN, BUT IN PRACTICE THE U.S. REMAINS LARGELY UNINVOLVED.

By *BILL NICHOLS*

As President Clinton's gleaming motorcade headed toward Arusha, Tanzania in late August of last year, the shadow of Kilimanjaro fell on a remarkable scene: tens of thousands of ordinary Africans lining the narrow roadway to wave flags, pieces of clothing and even simple tree branches as Clinton and his entourage passed by. At times, the crowds were so thick that the motorcade slowed to a crawl. White House aides said later that the president was transfixed by the 45-minute ride, waving to the crowds and continually remarking on how glad he was that he had been able to visit Africa for a second time.

No American president has ever engendered the kind of passion, respect and even adulation that Bill Clinton managed to create during the two trips he made to the African continent, in 1998 and then last fall. In the second

trip, prior to Clinton's visit to a small village outside the Nigerian capital of Abuja, a Nigerian state legislator told reporters she had had no difficulty explaining to villagers just how important a visit from the president of the United States was. "I told them the king of the world was coming to see them," said Khairat Abdulrazaq-Gwadabe, a state senator who represents Ushafa, a village of 8,000 made up of farmers, fishermen and potters. "And I told them he would accept them just the way they were, that they didn't need to put on airs."

"A Great Personal Commitment"

As the new administration looks at Africa and begins to devise a set of policies for this beautiful but deeply troubled continent, the personal charisma and commitment of the outgoing "king of the world" set a very high standard indeed. Clinton visited Africa twice. Vice President Gore co-chaired a bi-national commission with South African President Thabo Mbeki. Both Clinton's secretaries of state, Warren Christopher and Madeleine Albright, visited the continent, as did scores of other Cabinet officers. Anthony Lake, Clinton's first national security adviser, has such a keen interest in African affairs that he became Clinton's special envoy to the Ethiopia-Eritrea conflict after he left the administration in 1996. Richard Holbrooke, Clinton's third and final ambassador to the United Nations, sponsored an unprecedented "month of Africa" in January 1999, in which the Security Council focused exclusively on African matters.

"No president in history has had a greater personal commitment to Africa," Holbrooke told me in an interview last fall. Indeed, when Nigerian President Olusegun Obasanjo toasted Clinton at a state dinner in Abuja last August, he made reference, with utter seriousness, to the fact that Clinton has been hailed by some black Americans as the "first African-American president" both because of his devotion to African-American causes and because some African-American Democrats liken the many investigations into the Clinton administration to the kind of discrimination a black president might be subjected to.

Bill Nichols covers the State Department for USA Today and covered the Clinton White House from 1993 through 1999.

"Clinton has ... demonstrated quite clearly that Africa is a region that deserves attention and respect," says Leonard Robinson, a former State Department official in the Bush and Reagan administrations and the current president of the National Summit on Africa. "Africa matters like Latin America and like Europe. ... Clinton has established a level of engagement, a dialogue with the continent that is unprecedented."

Talk Versus Action

What is less clear is the Clinton record of concrete achievement in Africa — and whether the incoming administration finds an Africa that is better off, in terms of security, economic growth and the rise of democratic stability, than when Clinton took office in 1993.

Senior officials from the Clinton administration argue that Clinton brought substantive achievements as well as simply shining a brighter spotlight on Africa. For example, Clinton's administration devoted more than \$200 million in federal funding to peacekeeping or promotion of democracy in Africa in the last two years of his presidency alone.

Clinton's support was instrumental in the passage of the African Growth and Opportunity Act, which he signed into law last May, a bill that offers African economies new, lower-tariff access to U.S. markets for their apparel.

During the Clinton years, Washington became a central broker in several African conflicts, such as the Ethiopia-Eritrea war, the brutal conflict in Sierra Leone and the civil war in Burundi. Clinton's second trip to Africa, in fact, was undertaken in no small measure because former South African President Nelson Mandela had asked Clinton to come to Arusha to witness the signing of a peace accord for Burundi, where more than 200,000 people have died since 1993. Sadly, that peace process broke down and several key Tutsi leaders refused to sign the accord, despite Clinton's presence and a biting public dressing down by Mandela.

Clinton's post-Cold War foreign policy for the first time encompassed issues like AIDS, poverty and environmental practices as key forces in determining stability and security. And there are few other places on earth where those issues matter as much as in Africa. In his presidency's final months, Clinton signed legislation to set up a global trust fund for AIDS patients. AIDS is

now the leading cause of death in Africa.

Clinton also found himself the beneficiary of an unusual bipartisan coalition on Capitol Hill in favor of global debt relief for poor countries, a majority of which are African. Last year, Congress provided all of Clinton's request for \$435 million for debt relief, the U.S. portion of a \$100 billion debt relief project agreed to in 1998 by the G-7 industrial nations. Of the first 20 countries that are in the pipeline for approximately \$40 billion of that aid, 16 of them are in Africa.

But Clinton administration officials also privately admit that the White House often talked the talk but failed to walk the walk when it came to Africa. When Clinton arrived in Accra, Ghana, to start a six-nation trip to Africa in March, 1998, he proclaimed "the beginning of a new African renaissance" before a crowd of more than 100,000. But since then, there has been little good news out of Africa.

And when the United States did send troops to intervene in an ethnic conflict during the Clinton years, it was to Europe, to Kosovo, while Washington steadfastly refused to risk American lives in African crises. In the wake of the deaths of 18 U.S. service members in Somalia in 1993 — an event one senior administration official said had more impact on Clinton's foreign policy, particularly in his first term, than any other factor — Clinton's foreign policy team refused to send troops on U.N. peacekeeping missions to Africa, though it frequently urged other nations to commit their own forces. Meanwhile, Congress continues to balk at even meeting the full financial commitment for U.N. peacekeeping.

South Africa has continued on a relatively stable post-apartheid path. And Nigeria has made progress in moving from military dictatorship to democracy. Both Clinton and Albright traveled to Nigeria to show their support for Obasanjo, a former political prisoner who is trying to bring order to a huge and chaotic nation riven by deep religious and economic fault lines.

War Without End

Otherwise, Africa remains in the world's headlines because of wars — in Congo, in Sudan, in Sierra Leone.

Guilt over inaction during the genocide in Rwanda haunted Clinton.

Of the 4 to 5 million people who have died in regional conflicts worldwide over the past decade, State Department officials say more than 3 million have died in Africa: more than 1.5 million in Sudan, a million in the Great Lakes Region, half a million in Angola, perhaps a quarter of a million in Sierra Leone and Guinea-Bissau.

In Sierra Leone, the United States — and Clinton's African envoy, the Rev. Jesse Jackson in particular — was a crucial force in pushing government forces led by President Tejan Kabbah to sign a peace accord with the rebel leaders of the Revolutionary United Front in Lome, Togo on July 7, 1999. The agreement brought a temporary end to one of Africa's most brutal conflicts, where the guerrilla bands of RUF leader Foday Sankoh wreaked indiscriminate terror on civilians, sometimes amputating the arms and legs of tiny children.

Though the U.N. sent thousands of peacekeepers to Freetown to try to enforce the shaky peace, the Lome agreement unraveled totally early last year. The ultimate success of the roughly 13,000-member U.N. peacekeeping force there is seen as a crucial test of future U.N. deployments in Africa and elsewhere.

That story is a familiar one as one looks back over the course of the Clinton administration. In Congo, the end of the decades-long regime of Mobutu Sese Seko in 1997 has brought not peace, but a long civil war in which a number of neighboring nations have become involved. The U.N. has been reduced to the role of a helpless bystander. And again, Washington plans to play no hands-on role in the Congo peacekeeping force, if there is ever a peace to keep.

The most harrowing African tragedy of the Clinton years — the genocide in Rwanda in which Hutu extremists slaughtered more than 500,000 Tutsis in 1994 — continues to haunt U.S. policy-makers as well. Clinton and Albright publicly apologized for Washington's failure to respond during the Rwandan massacre, and that guilt was a major reason Clinton chose to answer Mandela's call and lend his influence to the peace process in Burundi. Unfortunately, peace in Burundi remains elusive.

Pessimists point to this lack of progress on many fronts in Africa since Clinton's proclamation of a "renaissance" as reason enough for the United States

F O C U S

and other industrial powers to withdraw from the continent. *The Economist* went so far as to call Africa the "hopeless continent" in a cover story last year.

In an interview last May on PBS's "News Hour," U.N. Ambassador Richard Holbrooke bristled when asked about the *Economist* piece. "I simply think the idea that you write off an entire continent from Morocco to Cape Town with countries like Morocco and Tunisia, Botswana, Namibia, Mozambique, South Africa and dozens of others, struggling to make progress, stabilizing themselves, showing real economic growth, trying to deal with the problems of AIDS, that you write off an entire continent is completely incomprehensible to me," he said.

"Those people in the West who wish to draw a large Berlin-type wall around an entire continent are going to learn the hard way that the problems they're trying to seal off exist already on the other side of the wall."

Whether the new administration can translate Clinton's personal commitment and visibility into real

substantive successes in Africa — or even continue Clinton's focus on the continent — remains to be seen.

As Clinton leaves office, the riddle of reconciling Africa's promise with its tortured past and present remains vexing to policy-makers. What is clear is that Clinton's feelings for Africa have changed the way the United States is viewed by many African leaders, given Africa more of a prominence within the State Department and National Security Council and begun to change the perceptions of average Americans that Africa is a place of plagues, poverty and persistent strife — and little else.

At the state dinner that Obasanjo held for Clinton in Abuja, he announced that the road from the international airport into Abuja would be called President Clinton Drive. Obasanjo also bestowed three Nigerian names upon Clinton, including "Omwale," which means "child who has returned home."

"On this visit," Obasanjo told the president, "you have come home." ■



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DID THE CLINTON TEAM “LOSE RUSSIA”?



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WHILE RUSSIA IS MORE HOSTILE TO AMERICA THAN IT WAS A DECADE AGO, THE U.S. HAS FOSTERED POSITIVE CHANGES IN RUSSIAN SOCIETY.

BY CHARLES WILLIAM MAYNES

Ever since the Russian economic crisis of August 1998, some critics have charged that the Clinton administration “lost” Russia. Of course, if that were true, it would be a terrible black mark on the administration’s overall foreign policy record.

At first glance, the criticism seems to have some merit. Consider the following:

- Russians today as a people are more hostile toward the United States than they were even during the Cold War. Then the government was hostile, but the people were not. Now both elites and masses together view with suspicion American intentions and policy.
- The Clinton administration entered office with a man in power in Russia, Boris Yeltsin, who seemed to accept

virtually every foreign policy demand Washington advanced. The administration leaves office with a man in power, Vladimir Putin, who seems determined to thwart American initiatives.

- The Clinton team started off with Russians admiring Western political and economic models. The team leaves office with the Russian people deeply distrustful of words like “democracy” and “free markets.”

- The team entered power proclaiming a new “strategic partnership.” It leaves office with Russia adrift geopolitically, moving closer to China, stressing its reliance on nuclear weapons, presumably against a Western attack, and opposing U.S. policy on such issues as Iraq and Iran.

But there is another side to this story. A supporter of the Clinton administration, viewing the past eight years through another lens, might cite this evidence:

- While Clinton was in office, Russia carried out the first democratic transfer of power in its 1,000 years of existence as a nation.

- During the Clinton administration, Russia withdrew its troops from the Baltic states, recognized its borders with Ukraine, and cooperated in dismantling much of the Soviet military structure.

- The Clinton team took the controversial decisions to expand NATO and bomb Serbia, both measures Moscow vehemently opposed, and then through skillful diplomacy persuaded Moscow to put aside its initial bitterness to accept an enlarged NATO and a cooperative role in containing Belgrade.

- And while it is true that the pain of the recent reforms has soured many Russians on “democracy” and “free markets” as formal goals, the majority of the Russian people are hardly lost to the West. On the contrary, the Russian people by overwhelming numbers continue to link their fate with that of the democratic

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West. (One must concede that this sense of affinity is now more with Western Europe than with the United States, but the commitment to the West remains.)

Looking through these two very different lenses at what has taken place over the last eight years, different analysts of course reach radically different conclusions. Some continue to argue that the opportunity to forge a true partnership with Russia has been irrevocably lost and they suggest

a new policy of resumed containment or contemptuous neglect. Others urge that the democratic West just give current policies more time. The West should press ahead with those measures first undertaken in the last two years of the Bush administration and then continued throughout the Clinton administration. In fact, both approaches are mistaken. Neither renewed containment nor enhanced engagement under the current policy makes sense at this stage. The first approach would be dangerous and the second would be futile. It would be dangerous to build a wall between Russia and the rest of Europe. That has been attempted in the past and Russia has always found a way either to tear it down or get around it. Yet if the policies of the last 10 years have failed to deliver as promised, it surely does not make sense to continue them or reinforce them.

Destruction, Then Affirmation

To understand what we ought to do, it is essential to see more clearly what has really been taking place in Russia over the last decade. During that critical period, the countries that emerged from the former Soviet Union began to address two essential challenges: creative destruction of the past and national affirmation of the new political system. Now that 10 years have been devoted to these two essential tasks, the stage is set for a different approach, which should now begin.

Creative destruction immediately after the Soviet Union collapsed was critical because lasting reform could not take place until the all-pervasive security apparatus of the Soviet past in these countries had been disabled, if not dismantled. Creative destruction was also required to disassemble the economic control apparatus, which shackled every economy in the region.

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No doubt, both tasks were imperfectly accomplished. No doubt, grave mistakes were made, both by the governments in the region and by outside advisers. But one cannot evade the fact that these steps of creative destruction were the first priority of the new regimes and that initial task has been by and large accomplished.

National affirmation was the second priority. Many of these states had never existed before as independent countries, or if they had, it was for only brief moments in history. Russia itself, the most secure, had only existed as an empire, not as a nation-state. The immediate priority everywhere therefore was the establishment of national identity and firm borders. For some states in the region, the national challenge seemed even more pressing than the economic and democratic challenges. Indeed, much as Americans may find it difficult to accept, immediate steps toward elections without adequate constitutional checks and balances in some countries — Georgia is a prime example — immediately yielded highly nationalistic and intolerant governments that threatened to outrage many national minorities and cut short the very existence of that independent state. A more authoritarian interlude then emerged to manage the transition.

Now, in many of these conflicted countries, these two fundamental priorities, destruction and affirmation, have been met. If the Bush and Clinton teams made a mistake, it was in not understanding these priorities. Both administrations misread what happened in 1991. They were haunted by the specter that the former Soviet system might return. In the U.S., the impulse toward seeing its destruction was not creative, simply destructive. The Bush and Clinton teams wanted the Communist Party gone, the Soviet nuclear arsenal dismantled, and the military-industrial complex torn down.

That is why the American embrace of Boris Yeltsin was so tight. U.S. government officials believed that he alone stood between the past and the future.

But there was never a chance that the old system would be restored once the Soviet Union broke up. Like some states in Central Europe, Russia and its neighbors may someday put the communist party or a successor back in power but they are highly unlikely to put the communist system back in place. The faith that held the old system together is dead.

No system can be held together by force alone. The Soviet Union existed as long as it did because millions of people believed in the system and were willing to do

heroic and horrible things to sustain it. Now that faith has totally collapsed.

Though the path to the future itself regrettably remains uncertain, there is no road back to the past. When Gennady Zyuganov, the head of the Russian Communist Party, decided that he needed greater domestic acceptance and international legitimacy for his presidential race against Boris Yeltsin in 1996, he chose not go to Beijing or Pyongyang to re-forge proletarian solidarity. Instead, he went to the meeting of the world's leading capitalists in Davos, Switzerland. There, I watched with my own eyes as he attempted to reassure the bankers and financiers attending — the people who in a globalized world really count — that he did not have horns.

It may be that the West's approach to macro-reform could never have worked in Russia or elsewhere. The West was not prepared to put up the necessary funds, nor was it willing to offer sufficient market access to make it work. And even if it had been willing to do so, the scope of what was needed may have been beyond the ability of outside powers to influence to any significant degree. Reform in Russia had to come from within.

Grassroots Transformations

But the Clinton administration, like the Bush administration before it, did devote a portion of the funds that were available to one sector where outside help has worked — at the grassroots.

For all the turmoil and negative news that the outside world sees at the top, Russia at the bottom has been in the process of significant change that is promising if it is sustained. Consider that on the economic front, in 1991, a small fraction of the Russian economy was in private hands and there were almost no small independent businesses. Today, approximately 70 percent of economic activity is in the private sector and there are around 900,000 small businesses. (Of course, were Russia doing as well as Poland, that number would be three to four times higher. Lending greater hope to the future is the fact that 75 percent of the population between 18 and 29 now agree with the statement that "it is important to achieve success with a business of your own.")

In the late 1980s, not a single Russian child was schooled in modern business methods. This year, Junior Achievement International celebrated the fact that the

F O C U S

one-millionth Russian had passed through its programs. Junior Achievement's program in Russia is now its second largest worldwide, after the United States.

In 1989, there were no free newspapers and television stations. Today there are more than 600 entirely independent media outlets across the Russian Federation alone — admittedly most of them are small in scope, but they are alive nonetheless.

Only a few years ago, there were virtually no non-governmental organizations unless they were under the control of the Communist Party. Today, close to 65,000 NGOs are up and running. Surveys suggest that as many as 80 percent of them are Russian-supported.

In the field of human rights, the Russian Helsinki Committee has seen its database of human rights organizations swell from 50 regional organizations in 1996 to more than 1,200 today.

Meanwhile, the outside world and this previously isolated people are learning about one another to an unprecedented degree. The Western press focuses on the oligarchs, the wealthy "new Russians" and the activities of the "mafiyas." We read little about the fact that Russia today is the ninth-largest tourist attraction in the world. (America is first, Mexico is eighth and Poland is tenth.) Russia, in other words, is slowly, steadily becoming a normal state. Borders are opening, students are learning, citizens are travelling.

Against this backdrop, the next administration must find ways to spread further the creative ferment that is now evident at the grassroots, since from this ferment will emerge the forces in society that will determine whether democratic practices and free markets develop deep roots in Russia or remain constantly under siege.

It is unfortunate that, in pursuing the more grandiose project of Russian macro-economic reform, the U.S. over the last decade focused so much of its assistance at the top rather than at the grassroots, where these successes were both possible and actually occurring. In emphasizing funding at the top, and disbursing huge sums through impersonal international and bilateral agencies like the IMF and the World Bank, the U.S. and other international donors lost the ability to monitor the

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use and impact of their assistance. As a result, corrupt government officials and elites were able to control access to these resources and divert them for their own purposes.

A primary focus from the start at the grassroots and on microlending might have instead enabled closer monitoring, reduced opportunities for corruption, and given new social groups beyond the established elites both a stake in reform and a means of generating wealth. In turn, this would have enhanced the ability of new elites to demand a say in political decision-making, increasing the prospects for democratization.

This being said, the U.S. government still must be given credit for some pioneering efforts. It has encouraged a number of instruments, including the Eurasia Foundation whose work I direct, that are designed to increase the chances that democratic norms will take root. When our foundation began to establish offices in the former USSR in the early 1990s, one of the first questions our new field directors encountered was: "What will the foundation do to protect us if the political winds shift?" It is a mark of positive change that we do not hear questions like that any more.

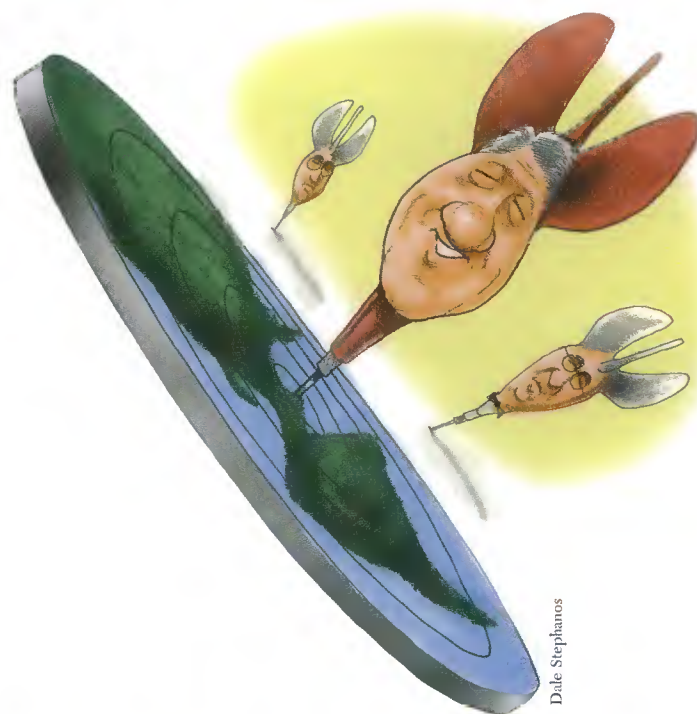
For more than 80 years, Russia was in political darkness. Citizens were taught that change, like sunlight, could only come from one source, the Communist Party.

What Western engagement at the grassroots means is that the power to illuminate is being placed in the hands of ordinary citizens. Though this level of activity seldom makes headlines, these kinds of work at the grassroots will almost certainly make a difference in Russia's future.

I would argue, therefore, that not only is Russia not "lost," but also that U.S. programs during the last 10 years have been valuable in furthering a constructive, benign subversion of the archaic Soviet-style system.

If the Clinton administration can be said to have been at least partially successful in its policies toward Russia, it has been largely because of its ongoing support for these grassroots initiatives. Focussing efforts at this level is the way forward for a new administration in formulating its policy toward Russia. ■

CLINTON WAS RIGHT, THE ESTABLISHMENT WAS WRONG



DESPITE THE HARSH CRITICISM HE FACED FROM THE FOREIGN POLICY ESTABLISHMENT, CLINTON MOSTLY MADE THE RIGHT DECISIONS.

BY LEON V. SIGAL

During the Clinton years, the most damaging political development for American foreign policy has not been partisan division or public disinterest, but the foreign policy establishment's disdain for the president's policies. Members of the establishment — former officials, would-be officials, and so-called experts in think tanks and universities who comment in the leading foreign policy journals or the news media — have subjected Clinton to unremitting criticism since he first took office. Most of his establishment critics are realists, but some are liberal internationalists or members of neither school of thought. Establishment criticism was amplified by the “he-said, she-said” style of news reporting, emboldening the president's partisan opponents in Congress and constraining his freedom of maneuver.

The critics were wrong about both ends and means. On most major issues, President Clinton chose the right policy. Although he was sometimes hesitant to make decisions and stumbled in implementing them, opposition from the foreign policy establishment helps account for his initial tentativeness and the flawed execution. Even in the face of establishment opposition and public unease, however, Clinton was willing to show leadership and do the right thing.

Kosovo is a case in point. A substantial majority of the establishment agreed with Michael Mandelbaum, a professor at the School of Advanced International Studies at Johns Hopkins, when he assailed the intervention there as "a perfect failure." Instead of preventing ethnic cleansing or saving lives, it caused them, he argued in *Foreign Affairs* in fall 1999. By his reckoning, 2,500 people had died and 230,000 had been displaced in Kosovo's civil war before NATO began bombing; 10,000 more died and 1.4 million more were displaced thereafter.

A more egregious example of post hoc ergo propter hoc reasoning would be difficult to find. More than a year before NATO began bombing, Slobodan Milosevic had ordered the Yugoslav army to draw up plans for an all-out campaign to cleanse Kosovo of Albanians and destabilize neighboring Montenegro and Macedonia. In January 1999, months before the NATO bombing began, Serb forces murdered 45 Kosovar Albanians in Racak, an event that marked the start of Milosevic's campaign of mass expulsions. Once NATO bombing began, Milosevic accelerated his ethnic cleansing. For Mandelbaum to assume that no mass expulsions would have taken place absent NATO bombing is absurd.

Far from the perfect failure Mandelbaum says it was, NATO bombing achieved the objectives President Clinton set forth at the start: It compelled Milosevic to

Clinton rightly understood that the values Milosevic stood for posed the gravest threat to stability.

withdraw all his forces from Kosovo, permitted deployment of an international force to provide security for the refugees to return home, and enabled the people of Kosovo to move toward self-government. Yet the critics stayed Clinton's hand and made it difficult for him to muster congressional support for intervening. Establishment criticism also impeded the deployment of ground troops and may yet prompt their premature withdrawal.

No Support for Intervention

The target of the criticism was not just NATO bombing in Kosovo but so-called humanitarian intervention in general. President Clinton was mistaken, writes Mandelbaum, to use force "on behalf of universal values" instead of "narrower national interests." Yet Clinton rightly regarded American values as national interests and rejected cynical realism as the basis of our nation's approach to the world. So do most Americans. Public opinion polls over the last half century show that a majority has supported military interventions on principled grounds — and not for reasons of state. Clinton rightly understood that the values Milosevic stood for, not the forces at his disposal, posed the gravest threat to stability in the post-Cold War world — a point realists deny at America's peril. By waging war over Kosovo and winning, Clinton demonstrated that he was more attuned to the new global reality than were his establishment critics.

Establishment criticism impeded other interventions as well. In Somalia and Haiti, Paul Wolfowitz, former undersecretary of defense and dean of the School of Advanced International Studies at Johns Hopkins, argued "the administration has engaged American military prestige on issues of little or no importance to U.S. national interests; on Bosnia, it has failed to develop an effective course of action that balances the considerable national interests with the significant risks involved." In the face of such criticism, Clinton wavered on Haiti and Bosnia, but after initial indecision, he acted wisely.

In Somalia, the most ill-advised of the interventions, the establishment's criticism of Clinton drove him to abandon his efforts to end the communal violence before they had a chance to work. It was not Clinton, but President Bush who, at the very end of his term, commit-

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ted, to use Wolfowitz's phrase, "American military prestige" and 28,000 troops, leaving his successor to find a way out. President Clinton was wrongly blamed for expanding the mission from feeding Somalis to nation-building, for abandoning neutrality and siding against warlord Mohamed Farah Aidid, and for letting peacekeeping slip into peace enforcement without providing the requisite reinforcements. In fact, mission creep began before Clinton took office. In October 1993 he tried and failed to limit it. As the U.S. troop presence dropped to 5,000, the fighting flared. A request from CENTCOM for reinforcements, intended to get the remaining troops withdrawn, prompted President Clinton's decision to stop going after Aidid, but administration officials, in contravention of his decision, authorized the ill-fated Delta force operation in Mogadishu that cost the lives of 18 American troops.

The American people did not turn against involvement in Somalia at that point; the foreign policy establishment and Congress did. Opinion polls, which had been registering some erosion of public support for the intervention, firmed up after the attack, but expert commentary, which had been cautiously supportive when Bush intervened, turned overwhelmingly negative. Congress, which had never signed on to the dispatch of troops, was now free to criticize.

After Somalia, support for humanitarian intervention evaporated in the foreign policy establishment and Congress. As a result, a divided administration vacillated on whether to intervene in Haiti to restore Jean-Bertrand Aristide to power. A compromise decision to send a light armed military training contingent to Port-au-Prince ended in a fiasco in September 1993 when the ship was turned back by several dozen armed Haitians at the port. Establishment criticism became vitriolic. Former national security adviser Brent Scowcroft's comment to *The Washington Post* in September 1994 was mild by comparison: "Since we would have restored Aristide, we would be politically and morally responsible for his actions — not necessarily a comforting thought."

In the face of mounting criticism, the administration followed its shameful about-face with others, as it leaned on Aristide to water down the Governor's Island accord, then imposed a blockade on Haiti that only further impoverished its people, then compounded the error by returning refugees fleeing repression and deprivation to Haiti. At long last, in a coup de théâtre in September 1994,

Clinton orchestrated invasion preparations and sent Gen. Colin Powell, former President Jimmy Carter, and Sen. Sam Nunn to persuade the military junta to go into exile. It was a proud moment: The United States had ousted Haiti's military junta and restored a democratically elected black leader to power for the first time in history.

No sooner had the intervention succeeded, however, than the critics demanded that Clinton cut and run. "Another attempt at nation-building will trap us in an endless enterprise before it ends in a fiasco," former secretary of State Henry Kissinger warned in *The Washington Post* within days. He demanded that U.S. troops be withdrawn by year's end. Such strong opposition from the establishment and Congress curtailed any sustained American involvement in Haiti to restore democracy and restructure the military. Instead, U.S. involvement was rapidly scaled back, letting Haitian democracy flounder.

Wavering on Bosnia

Establishment vacillation on Bosnia was also damaging. It fueled congressional opposition, which made it difficult for Clinton to pursue a steady course. That had tragic consequences for the people of Bosnia. For over two years, the Clinton administration talked Bosnia to death, preferring picking a fight with the European allies to taking on Milosevic. Much of the foreign policy establishment favored a European Community plan to partition Bosnia. Writing in the fall 1993 *National Interest*, for instance, scholars Robert Tucker and David Hendrickson derided the idea of a "war of righteous indignation to 'restore Bosnia' and punish the Serbs" and called for "strong American support for the principle of partition," an unprincipled notion if there ever was one. A muscular minority in the establishment, meanwhile, wanted to lift the arms embargo against the Bosnian Muslims and conduct bombing strikes against the Serbs. Their proposal, too, was an evasion, because it failed to face up to the need for U.S. troops on the ground.

Clinton appeared to embrace "lift and strike" in April 1993, only to hesitate and send then-Secretary of State Warren Christopher to sound out the European allies, knowing they would disapprove. Soon, saving NATO, not Bosnia, became the watchword. In March 1994, the administration brokered a fragile entente between the Muslims and the Croats in the hope of counterbalancing the Serbs. Not until after it sat still for the massacre of 7,000 Muslims at Srebrenica did Washington threaten the

serious use of air power against Serb forces. At the same time, it was cutting a deal with Milosevic to dismember Bosnia, a process which culminated in the Dayton Accords. A contingent of U.S. ground troops was sent to Bosnia but with a drastically curtailed mission. It "will not be a police force," Joint Chiefs of Staff Chairman John Shalikashvili told Congress. "It will not conduct nation building. It will not have the mission of disarming, and it will not move refugees." The troops, in short, would do little to secure a just and lasting peace in Bosnia or nurture multiethnic democracy there. Even that was too much for some in the establishment, who wanted to withdraw them altogether. With tepid establishment support for sustained U.S. involvement, hopes for stability in the Balkans are likely to be short-lived.

Success in Ireland, China, North Korea

Clinton's tactics for negotiating a cease-fire in Northern Ireland also met with initial establishment criticism. In January 1994, sensing Sinn Fein's readiness to end the sectarian violence, President Clinton granted a visa to Gerry Adams to visit Washington over the strenuous objections of a Conservative government in London. The establishment castigated Clinton for pandering to Irish-Americans and slighting an ally. Writing in *Foreign Affairs*, Joseph O'Grady, a LaSalle University professor, dismissed Clinton's action as motivated solely by his need for "Irish-American votes" and "the help of such Irish-American congressional leaders as Kennedy and Moynihan." The Anglo-American special relationship was expendable in administration eyes, O'Grady claimed: "Clinton's advisers saw no reason why the British should receive special treatment." To the contrary, the president's far-sighted gesture was the start of his sustained personal involvement and opened the way to successful negotiations.

The establishment was of two minds on China. Much of the establishment was enthusiastic about engagement and backed most-favored nation trade and other ties (only an alarmist minority favored containment). At the same time, many of the same establishment figures who favored engagement, like Henry Kissinger and former CIA director John Deutch, wanted to deploy missile defense, even

Strong opposition from the establishment curtailed American involvement in Haiti to restore democracy.

though such a fateful step would antagonize Beijing. Unbridled enthusiasm for missile defense was to be expected from the right wing of the Republican Party, which has espoused a go-it-alone approach to the world and was spoiling for a fight with China and Russia. The surprise was how many in centrist establishment circles saw missile defenses as practical, beneficial, and inevitable.

After an initial period of indecision, Clinton came down firmly on the side of engagement with China — easing import restrictions on technologies, opening military exchanges, and pursuing trade ties — and did so with greater consistency than the establishment. He withstood election-year pressure from the GOP and entreaties from Defense Secretary William Cohen and rejected deployment of missile defenses in favor of a more prudent policy of negotiating with would-be proliferators and threatening to preempt missile tests as a last resort. He recognized that deploying ballistic missile defense would alienate allies Japan and South Korea and hinder efforts by Taiwan to reach a political accommodation with China. He declared, "We must work with our allies, and with Russia, to prevent potential adversaries from ever threatening us with nuclear, chemical, and biological weapons." Clinton's course of action preserved the possibility of cooperation with China and Russia to curb the spread of nuclear arms, a vital national interest.

No effort at cooperative threat reduction was more successful, or more widely disparaged in the foreign policy establishment, than the administration's effort to negotiate an end to North Korea's nuclear and missile programs. Former secretary of defense Caspar Weinberger told a Heritage Foundation symposium that diplomatic give-and-take with North Korea was out of the question: "There is nothing you could really offer that is going to please them." Establishment voices were overwhelmingly opposed to negotiation and in favor of imposing sanctions. Some, like former secretary of State Lawrence Eagleburger, even talked about threatening war: "If you're not prepared to use force, then you're nowhere," he told *The Washington Post*. As the crisis with North Korea intensified in May 1994, hawks in the news media demanded that Clinton discuss war. "War — conventional sooner or nuclear later — is topic A,"

wrote columnist William Safire in *The New York Times*.

Flayed by critics for daring to talk to North Korea and for not resorting to force, Clinton nearly stumbled into war in June 1994. He was spared by an extraordinary private diplomatic initiative by former president Jimmy Carter, who publicly condemned sanctions and opened the way to a diplomatic resolution of the issue by securing Kim Il Sung's personal pledge to freeze the North's nuclear program. Within four months, Ambassador Robert Gallucci negotiated the Agreed Framework, which is intended to dismantle the North's nuclear program.

The accord was greeted with skepticism, if not outright hostility, by the foreign policy establishment. In October, *Washington Post* foreign affairs columnist Jim Hoagland disparaged Clinton's "tendency ... to reward its adversaries for hanging tough" and former defense secretary James Schlesinger denounced the deal as "a negotiated surrender" in *The New York Times*. With little support in the establishment for deals with North Korea, the administration was slow to deliver heavy fuel oil, provide replacement reactors, and ease sanctions, as promised under the accord. Pyongyang responded by warning it would abandon the nuclear accord unless Washington lived up to its promises. In contrast to the lack of support for deal-making in the establishment, a substantial majority of the public favored normalizing diplomatic relations with North Korea and opposed going to war.

In the face of establishment criticism, Clinton has also been reluctant to negotiate with North Korea on missiles. In August 1998, Pyongyang conducted a test of the Taepo-Dong I, a medium-range missile, which prompted many in the foreign policy establishment to argue for missile defenses. Instead, the administration quietly convinced Pyongyang to suspend missile testing. A deal to end North Korean export, testing, production, and deployment of missiles is in the offing.

NATO Expansion: A Mistake

Clinton's decision to expand NATO was an exception that proved the rule that his foreign policy successes came in the face of overwhelming establishment opposition. In contrast to the preceding examples, the establishment was split down the middle on whether NATO should expand, leaving Clinton more leeway to choose, but in this case he failed to choose wisely. Some believed an expanded NATO was necessary to protect Eastern Europe from a

revived Russia; others believed that NATO expansion would impede cooperation with Russia, which they regarded as essential not only to European security but also to U.S. nonproliferation efforts. Establishment voices in favor of NATO expansion like former national security adviser Zbigniew Brzezinski and Henry Kissinger dominated the debate in 1993; opposition from perennial senior official Paul Nitze, former NATO commander Jack Galvin, and others was muted until after Clinton made his decision to expand NATO.

Without unified opposition from the establishment, the president was freer to implement his preferred policy in a series of subtle steps choreographed by then-National Security Adviser Anthony Lake. According to scholar James Goldgeier's authoritative account of the decision, Lake saw expansion as a way to reunite the left and right wings of the Democratic Party on foreign policy, keep Poles and other ethnic groups in critical Midwestern swing states in the Democratic fold, and head off Republican attacks on Clinton's leadership. Yet NATO expansion needlessly alienated Russia's westernizers while antagonizing its ultranationalists. If expanding NATO precludes sustained cooperation with Moscow on European security and nuclear disarmament, it could turn out to be the president's worst foreign policy mistake.

The dominant view in the establishment is that the Clinton administration was an abject failure in foreign policy. Most Americans disagree. According to the 1999 Chicago Council on Foreign Relations survey of American public opinion, 55 percent of Americans rated the administration's handling of foreign policy good or excellent. They have a point. President Clinton was right to recognize that American values are national interests; right to nurture democracy and human rights as a way to promote peace; right to favor concerted international action against genocide; and right to engage in cooperative threat reduction to prevent the spread of nuclear arms. His critics in the foreign policy establishment were wrong to dismiss the importance of national values for American security; wrong to discount the corrosive effect of state-sponsored communal violence on international stability; wrong to let the virus of genocide spread; and wrong to prefer empty threats over diplomatic deals in curbing proliferation. As an outsider, President Clinton was smart enough to question establishment dogma, which made him better able to adjust to international realities after the Cold War. ■

CLINTON, ALBRIGHT AND THE LEARNING CURVE



T CLINTON WAS INCLINED TO PURSUE A FOREIGN POLICY OF LOW RISK AND LITTLE INVOLVEMENT, BUT EVENTS SOON CONSPIRED TO CHANGE THAT PLAN.

BY ROY GUTMAN

Three-and-a-half years ago, during a fast and furious tour of the Balkan towns associated with ethnic cleansing, Madeleine Albright flew into Sarajevo on her first visit since becoming secretary of State. It was familiar territory, for she had been the first Cabinet-rank officer to visit during the war.

The challenge before her was to help shape Bosnia's future and to win public support. At the U.S. Army's Camp McGovern near Breko, in north Bosnia, Albright told the troops their mission was nothing less than to finish the Cold War. So much had been achieved in the revolutions of 1989 to 1990, when the West proclaimed a Europe whole and free, she said. "What was missing from this Europe whole and free was Bosnia-Herzegovina. What we have to fix now is that one piece which was left out."

Today, astonishing change has occurred throughout the Balkans. NATO's intervention in Kosovo in spring 1999 saved the ethnic Albanian majority from a massive deportation and genocide, sealed Milosevic's biggest defeat, and effectively separated the province from Serbia. Croatia, after the death of President Franjo Tudjman in December 1999, elected a reform government. And in response to intense U.S. and European pressure, it turned over all indicted war criminals to the Hague Tribunal and agreed to resettle Serbs who fled Krajina during the Croatian re-conquest in 1995. On Sept. 24, Milosevic lost Yugoslav elections and was ousted from power in a peaceful national uprising. The replacement, a multi-party opposition headed by avowed nationalist Vojislav Kostunica, falls far short of the Croatian model, but the administration moved smartly to assert its priorities and convey them to the new government, with the backing of allies and friends.

Finally, there is the prospect of a Europe whole and free.

How did Bill Clinton, a president with no manifest interest in foreign policy during his first term, lead the NATO alliance into two international interventions? The answer is, in part, a tale of the learning curve at work — for it is only a matter of time before events force a president with a populist, follow-the-polls approach to take on international issues. It is also a tale of two essential personalities: the rise of Richard Holbrooke to a critical trouble-shooting and policy role in the first term, and Madeleine Albright's succession of Warren Christopher at the helm of the State Department in the second.

Clinton has been a remarkable president, capable of great political feats. He was able to bridge the Protestant-Catholic chasm in Northern Ireland, to secure congressional passage of the North American Free Trade Agreement, and Permanent Normal Trade Relations for China. He achieved tangible results at times of crisis in the Arab-Israeli dispute. But too often, the dominant pattern was inattention to an issue until it was too late or almost too late, as with Bosnia, Somalia, and the enormous flap with China over a visa given the president of

Roy Gutman is a diplomatic correspondent for Newsday, and is the author of several books on foreign policy. In 1993, he received the Pulitzer Prize for his reporting on Bosnia. He is also the director of the Crimes of War Project, based in Washington, D.C.

Taiwan. Frequently, Clinton paid attention only when it was a political necessity.

His appointment of a "flaccid, almost purposefully obscure foreign-policy team," in the words of writer Joe Klein in *The New Yorker*, reflected his lack of interest in anything other than the budget, trade, and health care. It consisted of former Deputy Secretary Christopher as secretary of State, Congressman Les Aspin at the Pentagon, former State Department official Anthony Lake at the National Security Council. Naming Albright to be U.N. ambassador was a clear exception.

Economics First

This was the first post-Cold War administration, and it arrived on the scene amid a security crisis over NATO's inability to respond decisively to the Bosnian carnage. Clinton ducked the issue. In his January 1993 confirmation hearing, Christopher disclosed that Clinton's broad aim was to dispense with traditional diplomatic goals.

Under Clinton's "entirely new" foreign policy, "economic security" was a "primary goal," Christopher said. The guiding principle of the administration's "strategic approach" was to "advance America's economic security with the same energy and resourcefulness we devoted to waging the Cold War." In other words, to get rich.

The second "pillar" of the foreign policy "effort" was military strength — not to achieve anything in particular, but to be "preserved" and "adapted" to unstated new security challenges. And the third "pillar" was to promote the spread of "democracy and markets abroad" — that is, flacking American ideology and products in the same unconvincing breath. It sounded more like the mercantilism of a bygone colonial era — trade follows the flag — than the policy of the sole remaining superpower, with primary responsibility for global peace.

More likely, the platitudes were the projection on the world at large of a neophyte president's poll-driven domestic concerns. Looking back, the statement had a dreamlike quality, for it focused on the tools of foreign policy while mostly avoiding the goals and priorities for using them. Significantly, the first two pillars in Clinton's "strategic approach" — economics and the military — were the responsibility of departments of government other than State.

Turning to the Arab-Israeli dispute, Christopher promised only to "build upon the accomplishments of our predecessors" and "maintain the momentum" behind

AFSANEWS

American Foreign Service Association • December 2000

KEEPING IN TOUCH WITH MEMBERS

AFSA Hosts Town Hall Meeting

AFSA hosted a town hall meeting Sept. 28 at Main State, filling the auditorium with approximately 150 people. Both AFSA President Marshall Adair and AFSA State Vice President John Naland stressed the need for members to be in touch with AFSA, voicing concerns, making suggestions, and calling attention to issues that AFSA should address. The best ideas come from members in the field, Naland commented. Naland said AFSA was becoming more assertive and more pro-active in its roles as a union and a professional association.

Naland gave an overview of the new security policies, including retiree access,

and addressed the promotion list hold. He also discussed the deficit of mid-level officers and the response from management to remove positions from the bid list and

Continued on page 9



RETIREE (LACK OF) ACCESS TO THE STATE DEPARTMENT

AFSA and Retirees Respond to New Policy

State management revoked retiree unescorted access to Main State on Sept. 1, and it wasn't long before retirees let State know how they felt about this. The reaction has been overwhelmingly negative. Letters of outrage from retirees have poured in to AFSA. AFSA has voiced strong opposition to the new policy. AFSA President Marshall Adair submitted a letter to Assistant Secretary for Diplomatic Security David Carpenter along with a proposal for measures to improve security and ensure proper retiree access. The proposal included suggestions for ways to allow limited access to retirees to those areas of the buildings where they have business, unlimited access for certain retirees who have a need

for it, and establishing a plan for structural changes at Main State to expand the public access area. Adair has met several times with State management to push for a re-evaluation of the policy. Thus far, little progress has been made. AFSA will keep members informed of any developments.

Here are summaries of some of the letters addressed to Secretary Albright on the subject:

Marshall Adair's Sept. 6 letter:

AFSA President Marshall Adair expressed concern on behalf of AFSA, the American Academy of Diplomacy, the Associates of the American Foreign Service Worldwide, DACOR and the USIA

Continued on page 7



This Issue in Brief:

NEWSBRIEF:	
SCHOLARSHIPS, AFSA REPS.....	2, 3
EDITORIAL BOARD'S	
SEPTEMBER SONG.....	3
HONEST FEEDBACK.....	4
DCM GRIEVANCE UPDATE	4
Q & A: SERVICE NEED	
DIFFERENTIAL	5
EYE ON SECURITY	5
READER SURVEY	6
MEDICAL LEAVE BANK FOR FAS	6
AAFSW.....	9
INSIDE THE FS COMMUNITY	10

CALL FOR AFSA

AWARD NOMINATIONS

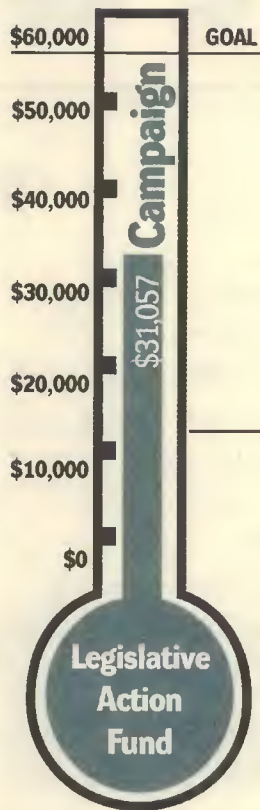
It is time to recognize the excellence and integrity of our colleagues and acknowledge publicly the contributions they have made and the risks they have taken. All awards include a cash prize of \$2500, and winners will be honored at a ceremony in the Diplomatic Reception Rooms of the Department of State. Please consider your colleagues and get your nominations in now!

Challenging the System

The four awards for Foreign Service employees are aimed at encouraging those who take chances, possibly even put their careers at risk, to advocate a position they think is right even though it may differ from the views of higher levels or conventional wisdom.

Continued on page 8

AFSA NEWS BRIEF



Legislative Action Fund

You have seen the monthly graph that shows the total contributions made to the Legislative Action Fund. Have you ever wondered where the money goes? The fund directly supports the legislative affairs department of AFSA, which has an annual budget of about \$130,000. A large part of the budget goes towards the staff that support AFSA's efforts on the Hill - one full-time staff member, Congressional Relations Director Ken Nakamura, and one part-time consultant, Ivo Spalatin.

Five years ago, AFSA did not have full-time help with legislative affairs. Because of increased threats to the Foreign Service and decreased funding for foreign affairs, the Governing Board decided to put more resources into legislative affairs in spite of a tight budget. AFSA turned, successfully, to members to help support the legislative affairs efforts. The Legislative Action Fund is one place where members can give directly to an activity that directly benefits them.

If you would like to contribute to AFSA's legislative efforts, please mail your contribution to

AFSA Legislative Action Fund, P.O. Box 98026, Washington, DC 20090-8026

or go to the Website at <http://www.afsa.org/laform.html>.

New AFSA Staff Member

Barbara Berger has joined the AFSA Staff as Coordinator for Professional Issues, and her responsibilities include the AFSA Awards and Memorial Plaque programs. Barbara served as a CLO in The Hague and Tel Aviv and has recently returned to Washington from New York, where she worked for a non-profit organization.

Get Involved... Be a Post Rep for AFSA!

AFSA aims to have an AFSA post representative at every mission overseas to serve as the link between FS employees at post and AFSA headquarters. While employees increasingly contact AFSA's Washington office directly when they need assistance, it is still vital that each post have a rep to watch over local quality-of-life issues and make sure that members see



important AFSA messages. If there is no rep at your post, please consider volunteering. This position does not require much of your time. For more information on what reps do and how they are elected, see www.afsa.org/postreps/index.html or contact AFSA's Kris Spaulding at member@afsa.org or call 202-338-4045 ext. 525.

We Want to Know

What do you want to hear more about, or less about, in *AFSA News*?

Let us know your ideas via e-mail to dorman@afsa.org, phone (202) 338-4045 ext. 503, fax (202) 338-8244, or mail to AFSA News, 2101 E. St. NW, Washington, DC 20037.

Correction:

Due to an editing error, the closing date for retiree health benefits open season was incorrectly listed as Dec. 11. In fact, retirees have until Dec. 31. Active duty FSOs have until Dec. 11, or, if they are overseas, 31 days from the time they receive the materials.

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Putting a Face on the Foreign Service

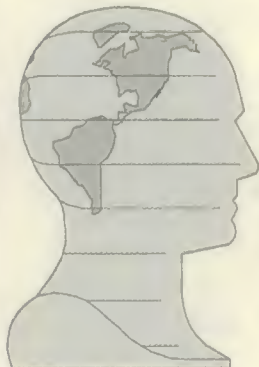
The important work of the Foreign Service is under-appreciated and often misunderstood by the American public. AFSA is sponsoring a public relations campaign, "Putting a Face on the Foreign Service," designed to spread the word to the American public about the role of the Foreign Service. Part of the campaign involves placing stories of Foreign Service employees in their hometown newspapers and alumni magazines. AFSA needs to hear from you in order to make this campaign a success.

Have you experienced a newsworthy event on the job? Have you had a career or are you starting a career that would interest your hometown paper? Do you have a message for the American public?

If so, we want to know. We will write the articles - all you have to do is supply us with the information. Or, we can help you publish articles you write. Either way, we want to get your story out.

Please contact us by email at paintern@afsa.org, fax (202) 338-6820 or phone (202) 338-4045 ext. 523. Another option is to

fill out a form on the AFSA Website at www.afsa.org/pffis.html and submit it directly or print it out and send it to AFSA's Public Affairs Department, 2101 E. St. NW, Washington, DC 20037.



It's Friday, I Must Be in Warsaw

With summer transfer season over, make sure that AFSA has your new address. There are several ways to update your address: online at www.afsa.org; via e-mail to member@afsa.org; by telephone (202) 338-4045 ext. 525; or mail to AFSA Membership, 2101 E. St NW, Washington, DC 20037. Please include your e-mail address as well. Keep your address updated so that you will continue to receive the *Foreign Service Journal* and other AFSA mailings.

AAFSW donates \$25,000 for Scholarships

Through proceeds from its 1999 BOOKFAIR, the Associates of the American Foreign Service Worldwide donated \$25,000 to fund 11 undergraduate college scholarships for the 2000/2001 school year under AFSA's Financial Aid Scholarship Program. These scholarships ranged from \$1,500 to \$3,500 depending on the family's financial situation.

AFSA Scholarship Fund Benefits from a Planned Gift

In September, the AFSA Scholarship Fund was the recipient of a \$108,000 gift from the estate of Elizabeth Norma Landeau. This is a great example of a planned gift. Landeau, who began working with the State Department in 1945 and ended her career as a USAID officer in 1971, established a trust in 1980, prior to her death. Upon the death of the last beneficiary in the trust, the trust dissolved and a portion of its assets were distributed to the AFSA Scholarship Fund. Ms. Landeau was born in Russia in 1918 and served in Washington, Montevideo, and Saigon.

If you would like more information on how to make a planned gift to the AFSA Scholarship Fund or the Fund for American Diplomacy, which educates the public on the importance of a U.S. leadership abroad, contact Lori Dec at 800-704-2372 ext. 504 or dec@afsa.org.

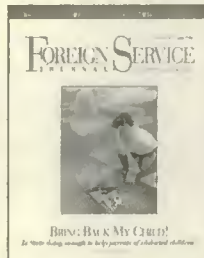


Press Guidance Close to Home

The *Foreign Service Journal* Editorial Board got a new chairman and some fresh energy in September, as three members departed for their onward assignments.

Caroline Meirs, a retired USIA FSO, took over as chair of the board from Edward Marks. Meirs has been a mem-

The Editorial Board evaluates articles, and decides on topics for future focus issues.



ber of the board the last three years, and also chaired the Editorial Board in the 1980s. Marks will remain on the board as a regular member.

The board's new members are Lisa Brodey, a State FSO working on environmental policy in the East Asia and Pacific bureau; Wes Carrington, a former USIA officer now working in public diplomacy at State; and John Dwyer, coordinator of International Information Programs at State and also a former USIA FSO.

The board appreciates the many contributions of its three departing members: Mitchell Cohn, now studying Indonesian at FSI and then bound for Jakarta; Ted Craig, who has moved on to a posting at Embassy La Paz; and Wayne Molstad, whose viewpoint as a member of the Foreign Agricultural Service was much valued, and who is headed for Warsaw.

The *Journal's* Editorial Board evaluates articles, decides on topics for future focus issues, and weighs in on matters of *FSJ* process, style and content. If you are interested in serving on the board, keep an eye out for announcements of openings, which are published in the *Journal* every spring. □

Honest Feedback

Three commonly voiced complaints about the State Department are that some managers can't manage, the evaluation process doesn't promote honest feedback, and assignments are often made based on the bidders "know-who" instead of "know-how." To tackle the first problem while setting groundwork for possible future action on the other two problems, the department recently announced a "360-degree feedback" pilot program.

It is called "360" because, unlike the traditional Employee Evaluation Report, which only documents the views of superiors, this mechanism incorporates the perceptions of colleagues at other levels. In this pilot program, all Foreign Service employees at a handful of posts and bureaus may volunteer to select up to ten peers and non-FSN subordinates (current or past) to fill out an evaluation of them. Their colleagues do so anonymously via an Intranet survey containing 25 questions on management and leadership skills. The ratings will be on a scale of one to six without narrative. Finally, the employee will complete a numerical self-evaluation on those same questions.

The department hopes that participants who score below average will use their results to establish personal action plans for improvement.

Post-survey assistance from the department will include advising interested employees of FSI courses that might be beneficial. The department hopes that participants who score below average will use their results to establish personal action plans for improvement. That, in turn, would improve management and leadership capabilities department-wide.

AFSA supports this pilot program. We actively participated in the working group that devised it. We are confident that its structure guarantees confidentiality for all participants. Again, only the evaluated employee will see the ratings. Management will not see the ratings, let alone use them for promotion or assignment purposes.

That said, if this experiment proves successful, there is at least the possibility that some 360 feedback mechanism could be used one day to increase honesty and effectiveness in the much-criticized evaluation and assignment processes. Currently, those processes arguably favor employees whose top priority is making their boss look good rather than doing the best possible job. Such an expanded use of 360 feedback could only come after the current pilot and likely follow-on pilots have proven the usefulness of 360 feedback in the Foreign Service context. It would only come via revised promotion and assignment rules negotiated with AFSA.

Given this background, AFSA supports the 360 pilot and encourages participation by employees at selected posts and bureaus. □



Grievance Board's Final Ruling Recommends Curtailment

On Aug. 18, in response to a grievance filed by AFSA, the Foreign Service Grievance Board ruled in favor of AFSA's position that department management had violated the Open Assignments Agreement and the Agreement on Foreign Service Appointments when assigning a non-Foreign Service employee to be DCM at a U.S. embassy. The board ordered the department and AFSA to attempt to negotiate provisions for the curtailment of the assignment, taking into account personal and professional interests of the employee and staffing needs of the embassy.

The department response to the FSGB decision stated "we believe that the DCM assignment we made is in the best interest of the department and we stand by that assignment." The department held the position that it needs to maintain full control over filling senior management positions regardless of existing negotiated agreements concerning assignments. AFSA met with department management on several occasions, and expressed willingness to show compassion in allowing for a non-immediate curtailment, but did not agree to let the assignment stand.

On Oct. 31, the FSGB issued its final ruling, recommending the individual be curtailed after one year, and directing the department to put the position on the open assignments list as part of the normal 2001 cycle. The department has 30 days to respond to the ruling, which can only be overturned if the Secretary of State herself rejects it on legal, foreign policy or national security grounds.

Meanwhile, AFSA has filed an unfair labor practice charge against the department for the first time in nearly a decade.

Continued on page 5

Q&A

Personnel Issues

BY JAMES YORKE,
LABOR MANAGEMENT SPECIALIST

Q. If I had a "security violation" in 1993, how will that be classified today, now that security incidents are divided into "violations" and "infractions"?

A. Prior to March 1, 1995, all security incidents were classified as "violations." After that date they were divided into violations and infractions, depending on the probability of compromise of classified information. A department notice and State cable 168052, both dated 9/1/00, give guidance on this aspect. DS has assured us that, when either the Human Resources bureau or the employee makes a request for a security history, incidents prior to 3/1/95 are reclassified according to the current rules.

Q. Can I check my security record?

A. Yes. Active duty State employees are encouraged to check their security records by sending an e-mail to Jack Gibbons (DS/ISP/APB). You must give your date of birth, and only request your security record. A memorandum giving your name and date of birth is also acceptable. If, after receiving the information, you find that your record contains infractions or violations which you did not commit, this is the time to identify such errors and to try to get them put right.

Q. How does the new pilot "Service Need Differential" program work?

A. The department has identified a need to recruit bidders to fill positions at 38 most-difficult-to-staff posts in the summer 2001 assignment cycle. These posts are identified in the Oct. 14 cable, State 198919. Employees who agree to take a three-year assignment at one of these posts will receive an extra 15 percent Service Need Differential in addition to the existing Post Differential, up to a maximum 40 percent combined Post and Service Need Differential. None of the selected posts are presently authorized Danger Pay.

However, if any one of them is subsequently designated to receive Danger Pay above 10 percent, the Service Need Differential would be reduced by the equivalent percentage, since the sum of the Service Need Differential and Danger Pay may not exceed 25 percent of basic pay. The existing Post Differential is not affected by this restriction and will remain unchanged.

Q. What if I am already at post?

A. The department apparently felt that it could not afford to make the program retroactive, so anyone already at post will not receive the Service Need Differential unless they can either, a) successfully bid on their own position in the 2001 summer cycle for a third year at post, or b) successfully extend for a third year by submitting an extension request for the Summer 2002 cycle by the necessary date in May 2001 (assuming that the pilot program is extended beyond the 2001 cycle to cover future years). Those who extended in May 2000 for a third year from 2001 to 2002 will thus not be eligible for the differential. Since the differential is applicable to the 2001 summer cycle it will not be paid before May 1, 2001. □

DCM • Continued from page 4

In it, AFSA alleges that the employee improperly assigned as a DCM made statements at a staff meeting that had the effect of encouraging members to resign from AFSA and pressuring them to sign a petition urging AFSA to abandon support for the FSGB decision. The Washington regional office of the Federal Labor Relations Authority will now investigate and, if appropriate, issue a complaint against the department. If they find enough evidence to issue a complaint, the issue will go before the Foreign Service Labor Relations Board for a hearing. If the hearing results in a finding of improper behavior, the board can order the department to cease and desist from such unfair labor practices and to post notices informing senior managers of that order. □

EYE ON SECURITY

Following New Rules

As of Oct. 1, State Department employees have been operating under significantly tougher security rules. Anyone who accumulates three or more infractions within three years will suffer consequences that could damage their careers. Given these stakes, AFSA has issued the following guidance for employees:

- Familiarize yourself with the new rules and urge your colleagues to do likewise (details are found on the DS Intranet site at isp.ds.state.gov).
- Contact your security officer or the DOSNet DS Help Desk if you need clarifications.
- Make any adjustments necessary to

your office routine to avoid security incidents. Seek your RSO's suggestions for avoiding incidents, if necessary.

- Notify your supervisor of anything that hinders your ability to do your job in a secure way (for example, balky safe or locks) and ask for remedial action. If management is not responsive to your requests for assistance, notify AFSA.

- Do not accept responsibility for infractions chargeable to others.

- Promptly appeal any infraction that you believe is invalid or is not chargeable to you. If you would like

assistance, contact AFSA.

- Inform AFSA if you see these policies



Continued on page 6

It's Time for a Medical Leave Bank

Since all of us Foreign Service folk work in agencies that have more than one personnel system in place, it is not often that the employees of the various personnel systems can see eye to eye on an employment practice. There is one concept on which the partnership councils within the Farm and Foreign Agricultural Services can agree, however, the creation and implementation of a medical leave bank program for qualifying personnel.



HOW WILL IT WORK?

The leave bank would be voluntary, with employees individually electing to join, and it would complement, not replace, the current leave transfer program. Employees would be eligible to join during the annual open season, or when they first enter on duty in Washington. Participating employees would contribute one pay-period's worth of annual leave (4, 6, or 8 hours) per year. In order to continue membership,

In order to continue membership, an additional donation of annual leave is deducted from the first pay period of each new year.

Members of the leave bank may make additional donations of any "use or lose" category annual leave.

In order to continue membership, an additional donation of annual leave is deducted from the first pay period of each new year. Members of the leave bank may make additional donations of any "use or lose" category annual leave. Only members that have been determined to have an eligible medical emergency may apply for leave from the FFAS leave bank, and only after they have exhausted all annual and sick leave. This determination would be made by the bank's board, based on a published set of criteria, and on the amount of leave available in the bank. Thus, in contrast to the leave transfer program, a person's request for leave would be known only by the board and not published for the whole agency to see. If approved, the plan is to have the open season for joining the leave bank in November/December 2001 for a bank that will be operational in the 2002 calendar year.

WHERE DID THIS IDEA COME FROM?

The Federal Leave Sharing Program (Public Law 103-103, Oct. 8, 1993) became a permanent program effective Jan. 31, 1994. Leave sharing programs allow federal employees to donate annual leave to other federal employees who have medical emergencies, or have family members with medical emergencies, and who have exhausted their own leave. Federal law requires agencies to operate a leave transfer program, but a leave bank program is optional. Federal leave banks allow employees to contribute a specified amount of annual leave every year to their agency leave bank, and for members to be granted leave from the bank under defined circumstances. A number of agencies including the Departments of Justice (DOJ) and Labor, the Office of Personnel Management and the CIA have already instituted medical emergency leave bank programs. It's time for FAS to have one too. □

Security • Continued from page 5

being implemented selectively.

• If you receive three infractions and get a proposal for disciplinary action, contact AFSA if you would like assistance in the discipline process. It is better to contact AFSA sooner rather than later.

• Review your own DS security incident record. (see Q and A, p. 5)

Promotion List Hold

Release of the 2000 promotion list for employees promoted to FS-01 and above was delayed by the DG's office because of concerns about the security records of some of the people on the list. The names of eight employees (out of 359 selected for promotion) were temporarily removed from the list. AFSA successfully convinced the department to extend the deadline for submission of bids for onward assignments, because of the disadvantage to all employees on the list that the delay in publication of the promotion list would cause. AFSA is urging the department to create a system for security screening and training that will help ensure that such a hold does not happen again next year. □

READER SURVEY

Who Are You?

AFSA has the results of the 2000 *Foreign Service Journal* Reader Survey, which was designed to help the *Journal* collect information that would be useful in attracting advertisers. We thought you might want to know who you are.

Surveys were sent to 578 subscribers, or five percent of the total *Journal* readership of 11,560. The surveys went to five percent of each membership category (all FS levels and retirees). The 20 questions included topics such as education level, purchasing habits, and car ownership. To boost the response rate, the chance to win a grand prize of \$125 or one of 20 other prizes was offered. The response rate was 30 percent, quite high for this type of sur-

Alumni Association. Adair noted in his letter, "We strongly support efforts to strengthen security, but are convinced that scarce resources must not be wasted in trying to guard against populations that pose little or no threat to national security. ... Foreign Service retirees are being restricted while, at the same time, the cleaning force and the construction contractors in the building walk about unescorted, and the press is allowed to work on an honor system."

Diplomatic and Consular Officers, Retired:

DACOR President Kenneth Rogers, Jr. wrote, "We find it very hard to believe that men and women who have served their country for many years, often in difficult or dangerous circumstances, and who have passed numerous security investigations, will in retirement suddenly become security threats. ... By further restricting its institutional ties to retired personnel, the department will contribute to its isolation from the American people. That is almost certainly a short-



DehArt

sighted and disproportionate response to the security problem."

Willard DePree, AFSA VP for Retirees:

In his letter, DePree highlighted the important work

retirees do to push for adequate resources for American diplomacy, including outreach as speakers, as Elderhostel instructors, and as contributors to local media. "Several leading retirees, busy men and women who make time available for outreach, have expressed concern that the new restrictions on retiree access to State create an unnecessary physical and psychological obstacle to their activities as full and supportive members of the Foreign Service community."

American Academy of Diplomacy:

AAD President Bruce Laingen and Chairman Joseph Sisco wrote "to record the Academy's concern over the directive conveyed by Assistant Secretary Carpenter. ... Many of our members, now

retired, frequently continue to visit the Department for substantive, protocol and personal reasons. The department surely has an obligation to facilitate that access, an obligation that rests fundamentally on a degree of trust reflecting their long years of service in and to the Department of State. An escort requirement does not reflect that trust."

Foreign Service Retirees Association of Florida:

The Chair of the Foreign Service Retirees Association of Florida, Irwin Rubenstein, wrote that the 850-member organization "strongly protests the recent decision that requires retirees to be escorted on visits to the Department of State. ... To imply that retirees who have devoted their lives and careers to, as our motto states, 'serving America abroad with dignity, honor and love of country,' have suddenly become potential security risks is a gratuitous and public slap in the face to our members, totally undeserved and totally counter-productive to the department and the Foreign Service. ... Our members strongly feel that the policy of escorts for retirees must be rescinded or seriously modified immediately." □

vey, and responses were anonymous.

We received a reasonably representative sample of *FSJ* readers, so we can make some generalizations about you. You are a well-educated group: 61 percent of you have advanced degrees, and 48 percent of your spouses do. You are a potentially influential group: 90 percent of you have worked with foreign officials; 70 percent have worked with foreign business leaders; 51 percent of you have advised American businesses. You have something to say: 44 percent of you have written an article or book for publication; 53 percent of you have written a letter to the editor. You are involved in your communities: 62 percent of you have played an active role in a civic or social issue; 78 percent of you have given a speech at a public meeting.

How do you shop and what services

You have something to say:
44 percent of you have written
an article or book for publication;
53 percent of you have written a
letter to the editor.
78 percent of you have given a
speech at a public meeting.

do you use? Annually, you spend over \$500 on catalog purchases and about \$400 shopping online. When you shop online, it is primarily to purchase books, music and airline tickets. During the past three years, 56 percent of you have gotten help from a tax adviser, 64 percent have worked with an investment broker, and

70 percent have used a travel agent. On non-official travel, you have flown an average of four times internationally during the past three years, and 5.5 times domestically. Ten percent of you had flown internationally ten times or more on non-official travel. During the past three years, 66 percent of you have rented a car. On average, you eat out 7.5 times per month. A quarter of you eat out ten or more times a month. The average number of vehicles per household is 1.5, and the most popular brands of cars you choose are Toyota and Ford.

Your comments about the *Journal* were generally positive. You spend about 47 minutes reading the *Journal* each month. Thanks from AFSA to those who participated in the survey, and congratulations to our grand prizewinner, Anna Bay of Alameda, Calif. □

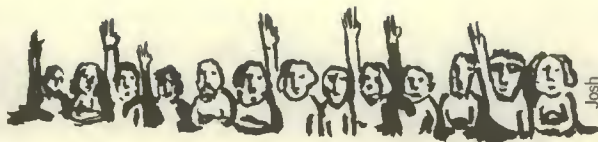
Nominations • Continued from page 1

These awards go to three FSOs and an FS specialist “who have exhibited extraordinary accomplishment involving initiative, integrity, intellectual courage and constructive dissent.” The Christian A. Herter Award is for a member of the Senior Foreign Service, the William R. Rivkin Award is conferred on a mid-career officer (FS 1-3), the W. Averell Harriman Award goes to a junior officer (FS 4-6) and the Tex Harris Award is for Foreign Service specialists.

Awards for Exemplary Performance and Professional Contributions

The Delavan Award recognizes a Foreign Service secretary “who has made an extraordinary contribution to effectiveness, professionalism and morale.”

The M. Juanita Guess Award is conferred on a community liaison officer “who has



demonstrated outstanding dedication, energy and imagination in assisting the families of Americans serving at an overseas post.”

The Avis Bohlen Award recognizes the accomplishments of “a member of the family of a Foreign Service employee whose relations with the American and foreign communities at a Foreign Service post have done the most to advance the interests of the United States.”

Format for Award Nominations

The nomination should include the elements below and not to exceed 500 words or one page.

Part I: Award for which the person is

being nominated, nominee’s name, grade, agency, and position (or family relationship).

Part II: Nominator’s name, grade, agency and position, and description of association with the nominee.

Part III: Justification for the nomination. This narrative should discuss the actions and qualities which qualify the nominee for the award, with specific examples of accomplishments that fulfill the criteria.

Nominations should be returned by pouch or mail by Feb. 9, 2001 to Awards Committee, AFSA, Room 1251, Main State, or to 2101 E Street NW, Washington, DC 20037. They may also be sent by AFSA channel cable, by fax to 202-338-6820, or by e-mail to berger@afsa.org. Any questions should be directed to Barbara Berger, AFSA coordinator for professional issues (Tel: 202-338-4045 Ext. 521, fax and e-mail as above). □

WHERE THEY ARE NOW ■ BY LORI DEC

AFSA Scholarship Recipients Influenced by FS Experience

Being born and raised in the Foreign Service has an impact on your worldview for life. That’s the message we get from past AFSA scholarship winners when they talk about their career choices. Although there is the occasional student who wants to plant firm roots and never move, most AFSA scholarship recipients want a career that involves international travel.

Maria Ferreira Sachero, who attends Ithaca College, cannot get enough of it. She spent a semester in Paris her junior year and is now exploring the opportunity to study abroad after she completes her undergraduate journalism degree in 2001. She wants to pursue a career overseas that will utilize her writing talents. Jennifer Gibson, a senior at Syracuse University, says, “I find that every two to four years I want to pack up and move.” She spent last spring break with her roommate exploring Germany staying in youth hostels. During the summer of 2000, she worked at Main State to help



The old saying is true
that you are indeed a product
of your environment.

her determine if pursuing a Foreign Service career is right for her.

Influenced by the many cultures, languages and customs to which they were exposed growing up overseas, many students choose to pursue a profession in the arts or to follow in their parents’ footsteps. Brierley Ostrander is pursuing a

master of fine arts degree from Florida State University following completion of her B.A. in painting and poetry at Bryn Mawr College in Pennsylvania. “I hope to do something creative in my job while getting paid for it,” she says. She is considering going into cinematography after she graduates in August 2001, “since the language of pictures transcends cultural borders more easily than other forms of communication.” Since the age of 10, Brierley has lived in Pretoria, Berlin, Stuttgart, and Toronto. Ellen Prespare, a senior at the University of Richmond, wants to enter the Foreign Service like her father William Prespare. “International studies not only gives you a basic understanding of different cultures but of the relationships between each that affects the global system. I continue to crave new experiences, ideas, viewpoints, etc., and the stimulating process of adjusting to new places.”

The old saying is true that you are indeed a product of your environment. □

AFSA MAGAZINE DISCOUNTS

Town Meeting • Continued from page 1



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The Washington Quarterly	38.00	30.40
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The one question that elicited a full-house applause was from a mid-level officer who said she's "mad as hell" about how State treats its people.

NOT JUST FOR WOMEN ANYMORE

AAFSW Serves the Foreign Service Community

Founded in 1960, the Associates of the American Foreign Service Worldwide (AAFSW), formerly known as the Association of American Foreign Service Women, is a non-profit organization representing the interests and concerns of Foreign Service officers and their families. It is not just for women anymore. AAFSW lists among its accomplishments the establishment of the department's Family Liaison Office in 1978. AAFSW helped establish the Overseas Briefing Center and the Foreign Service Youth Foundation. AAFSW promoted the first Bilateral Work Agreement and the Foreign Service Associates proposal, and has led the fight for the rights of divorced spouses.

AAFSW has made significant contributions to scholarships for Foreign Service youth, to D.C.-based non-profit organizations focusing on family welfare, and to other projects. The Evacuee Support Network provides help to anyone in a foreign affairs agency who has returned to Washington due to an international or personal emergency. In Washington, the Foreign-Born Spouses Group, the Virginia-based playgroup, and writing groups serve to bring members together. AAFSW has a Neighborhood Network and a Housing Office in the State Department to help people transition to the Washington area. AAFSW runs the Book Room and sponsors the Bookfair.

AAFSW communicates with members through its monthly newsletter, Global Link, and its listserves, livelines@egroups.com, and globalcareers@egroups.com. The AAFSW Website, www.aafsw.org, is a great source of information for Foreign Service families. If you would like to join AAFSW, please call 202-362-6514 or e-mail membership@aafsw.org. Membership is open to adult family members or employees of U.S. foreign affairs agencies, active and retired. Annual dues are \$35. □

move entry-level employees into mid-level jobs. He said the department was still hiring below attrition.

Several questions and comments from attendees focussed on security: the new incident policy; the promotion list freeze; and the lack of adequate resources to work securely. One question addressed the retiree access issue, and Adair elaborated on AFSA's efforts to convince management to re-think the policy. Another question related to the public diplomacy employees' personnel files. People were hearing that some of the files of USIA officers who had moved over to State had not been adequately converted to match State files and had items missing, possibly disadvantaging them in the most recent promotion board sessions. Former USIA AFSA VP Riley Sever responded that AFSA was aware of the concern about the files and was working on a proposed solution to present to management.

The one question that elicited a full-house applause was from a mid-level officer who said she's "mad as hell" about how State treats its people.

Over 200 people responded to the offer given in the invitation letter to sign up for AFSANET Internet e-mails to better keep abreast of AFSA's efforts on their behalf. If you have not signed up for AFSANET and would like to, send your name and e-mail address to member@afsa.org. □

INSIDE THE FS COMMUNITY

Former FSO Attends Republican Convention

Former FSO Barbara Bowie-Whitman attended the Republican National Convention as a Virginia delegate. She participated in the International Republican Institute's foreign policy briefing which featured George Shultz, Lawrence Eagleburger, Brent Scowcroft, Paul Wolfowitz, Bob Zoellick, and Richard Armitage. Bowie-Whitman is corporate relations director for AFSA.

DACOR Forum

Ambassador William Harrop, recipient of the "Year 2000 DACOR Foreign Service Cup" and a former chairman of AFSA, was the guest of honor at DACOR Bacon House

on Sept. 26 at the first program event of the 2000-2001 DACOR Forum series. The Forum, a monthly lunch with a guest speaker focusing on current foreign affairs issues, usually meets on the fourth Tuesday of each month at noon. DACOR members can call the DACOR office (202) 682-0500 to make reservations.

U.S. Naval Mission to Haiti, 1959-1963: Reunion

In August, the first reunion of those who served during the U.S. Naval Mission to Haiti (1959-1963) was held in Quantico, Va. Several retired FSOs, more than 60 retired Marine and Navy personnel and their families, as well as three former Haitian army officers and their families, gathered

for their first reunion since 1963. Interest in getting together was sparked by the publication of Charles T. Williamson's book, *The U.S. Naval Mission to Haiti, 1959-1963*. The naval mission "alumni" hope to have another reunion within two years. Anyone interested should contact Col. C.T. Williamson, USMC (ret.), by mail: 2510 Virginia Ave. NW, Apt 314N, Washington, DC 20037; or by email: ctwmson@earthlink.net.

Researching W. George Hayes

Donald W. McGraw is conducting research on the life of W. George Hayes, a deceased FSO who served from 1918 to the mid-1940s. He served in Belgium, France, Japan, Mexico, and presumably in other posts as well. If you knew Hayes, please contact McGraw at P.O. Box 265, Glendale, SC 29346.

Send Us Your News

Do you have news about an AFSA member or an event of interest to the FS community? Fax it to (202) 338-8244, or e-mail dorman@afsa.org. □

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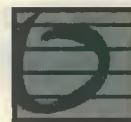
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F O C U S

current negotiations. He did not hint that a leading U.S. role was indispensable to avert another Middle East war.

In the case of Bosnia, Christopher ignored Clinton's election-season criticism of the Bush administration and promised only to "vigorously pursue concerted action with our European allies and international bodies to end the slaughter." But this lawyerly formulation spelled paralysis because Britain and France made clear they would resist. As for NATO, he made no commitment to expanding the alliance and promised only to "support the evolution of new security arrangements" incorporating the emerging democracies in Eastern Europe.

One of the most spectacular foreign policy advances in the first term occurred in September 1993, when Israeli Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin and Palestinian leader Yasser Arafat shook hands in a White House ceremony and opened direct relations. But this was the outcome of their own direct diplomacy, assisted by Norway, and it was driven by the paralysis in U.S.-sponsored talks in Washington.

When the Israeli-Palestinian peace process came unglued this fall, at a moment when a final settlement seemed within grasp, no one in the administration quite knew what had gone wrong. It became evident that the diplomacy, devised by academics and foreign affairs functionaries, and conducted at that level and above, had omitted any effort to reach out to public opinion among Israelis and Palestinians and win broad support for further risk-taking. Nor had the administration consulted key Arab states before, during, and after negotiations and crisis.

Post-Somalia Paralysis

Clinton blamed inexperience for his calamitous decision to withdraw U.S. forces from Somalia after 18 soldiers were killed while trying to capture a local warlord. This failure seems to have paralyzed U.S. Africa policy from that time forward, most notably during the Rwanda genocide, when the administration refused to act. It led to abject passivity and the appeasement of war criminals in the Liberia and Sierra Leone conflicts and in the failure ever to tackle seriously the enormous human catastrophe in the Sudan.

*Too often,
the administration
didn't pay attention
to an issue until it
was almost too late.*

Inexperience does not explain Clinton's passivity when the key decisions had to be made on Bosnia. The fact is that the president, left to his devices by the national security team he had handpicked, let polls and pollsters guide policy — if the account of one-time Clinton political adviser Dick Morris is to be believed.

In 1995, as atrocities in Bosnia mounted, the administration made numerous mistakes. It failed to coordinate its policies with key European allies, failed to win congressional support, and vacillated on whether and when to use military force.

Finally, with Clinton, Christopher, Lake and every other top adviser other than Albright on vacation, it was left to their principal deputies to preside over the U.S.-led bombing raids of Bosnian Serb military targets. Special envoy Richard Holbrooke took charge of the diplomacy, and the result was the Dayton peace accords, a highly imperfect document whose content he hammered out, by his own credible account, largely on his own.

Holbrooke played a key role in the other major policy advance of Clinton's first term, the expansion of NATO and the developing of the "Partnership for Peace" into an outer waiting room for NATO membership. In the brief period between mid-1994 and early 1996 when he served as assistant secretary of State for European affairs, he organized the bureaucracy, marshaled U.S. allies, and ensured popular and political support at home.

Albright and the Second Term

In contrast to Christopher, Madeleine Albright was driven to act. She had strong and definite views and was ready to go to the ends of the earth to state them. Reacting to the horrors of "ethnic cleansing," she helped establish a vital new institution — the International Criminal Tribunal for the Former Yugoslavia in The Hague. In spring 1994, she told Sarajevans not to fear the plans of European mediators to divide the capital along ethnic lines, for Sarajevo would remain undivided. "Ja sam Sarajevka," (I am a Sarajevan,) she told the besieged city, echoing John F. Kennedy in Berlin. "America's future and your future are inseparable." Two years later, she returned in triumph. "Some thought it was a little

visionary," she said, understating the extent to which she had pushed the policy envelope.

Nominating Albright as the first female Secretary of State in history, Clinton praised her "steely determination." With a new national security team in place, consisting of former Sen. William Cohen at Defense and Lake's deputy, Sandy Berger, taking over the National Security Council, she took a conventional approach to foreign policy, focusing on problem areas.

Addressing the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, she set her priorities: controlling the threat of weapons of mass destruction, followed by settling dangerous regional conflicts, maintaining American economic strength, and advancing principles of democracy and law. She said key alliances have a central role in upholding U.S. foreign policy and the entire international system, and placed Europe at the top of the list of regions whose stability was of vital U.S. interest. It was a decidedly different take than Christopher's emphasis on economic security.

After successfully winning Senate approval of the Chemical Weapons Convention, she launched a formal Bosnia policy review. The review concluded, according to diplomat Robert Gelbard, that if indicted war criminals were not arrested and refugees were not free to return to their homes, war would break out again by mid-1998.

"Madeleine's War"

By 1998, it became clear that the next showdown with Milosevic would occur in Kosovo, and Albright argued energetically that the only language he understood was the credible threat of force. First she had to get the administration on board. "What is it with you people at the State Department, always wanting to threaten force and bombing?" State Department spokesman James Rubin quotes an unnamed official as saying in a high-level internal debate that spring. "I remember five years ago when I was ambassador, Tony Lake cut me off time and time again and he wouldn't let us really discuss this issue," Albright replied. "Well, now I am secretary of State and we are going to have this discussion."

In July 1998, a senior NATO official expressed astonishment at her investment of energy. "We Europeans are divided about what to do," said the diplomat. "I cannot believe what effort you Americans are putting into this issue when we can't decide."

"Madeleine's war," as her critics called it, lasted longer

than anyone thought possible. It took 78 days of bombing and the credible threat — particularly by Britain — of the introduction of ground troops before Milosevic withdrew his own force from Kosovo. It took another 15 months before the people of Serbia rendered their verdict on his leadership. And today, the region is poised for integration into Europe, slowed only by vestigial nationalism in Kosovo, Serbia, the Republika Srpska and Croat-dominated Herzegovina.

The policy that evolved during the Clinton years will not endure unless accepted across the political spectrum. George W. Bush, at the time of writing still a candidate for president, endorsed the NATO intervention that preceded Milosevic's ouster as a "triumph" and said it was the strategically necessary to keep NATO "strong and confident." At some "point in time," U.S. troops should be withdrawn, he said. "I'd very much like to get our troops out of there. But I recognize we can't do it now." To which Gore replied: "I certainly don't disagree that we ought to get our troops home from places like the Balkans as soon as we can, as soon as the mission is complete." Gore went a step further, saying that if a genocide is taking place in Rwanda or elsewhere, "that, to me, can bring into play a fundamental American strategic interest, because I think it's based on our values."

With both major candidates appearing to accept the value of U.S. involvement in the former Yugoslavia, the debate appears — however tentatively — to have advanced. It is no longer in question whether the United States should mount a "humanitarian intervention" to halt a genocide in Europe. The debate today is whether to respond similarly elsewhere in the world.

And East Central Europe, the region that spawned five wars in the past century — World Wars I and II, the Cold War, the Balkan wars of 1912-13, and the wars over Yugoslav succession in 1991-1999, has come under the U.S.-led Western security umbrella. NATO's expansion into the vacuum left by the departure of the Red Army a decade ago is not a matter of debate at all.

Thus, the Central Europe question, which bedeviled the continent throughout the 20th century, is well on the way to resolution. The question mark hanging over the enterprise is that like so much in the Clinton era, it happened largely without presidential engagement or leadership, without articulated goals or plan. Clinton has thus left it to his successor to define whether his achievement will be seen as historic or fleeting. ■

(IN)SECURITY AT STATE: ACTION AND REACTION

STATE IS CRACKING DOWN ON SECURITY VIOLATIONS IN RESPONSE TO WELL-PUBLICIZED LAPSES AND CONGRESSIONAL PRESSURE. BUT ARE THE NEW MEASURES LIKELY TO HELP?

BY GEORGE GEDDA

David Carpenter has been running the State Department's diplomatic security bureau since Aug. 11, 1998 — just four days after the terrorist bombings of U.S. embassies in Kenya and Tanzania. Carpenter, a Denver native who spent 26 years in the U.S. Secret Service before joining State, understandably focused his initial attention on ways to make America's overseas facilities more secure. But a series of events over the past year has forced him to devote more time than before to security at Foggy Bottom. The most notable of these were the discovery of a Russian spy operation inside the State Department's headquarters in 1999 and the disappearance of a laptop computer with highly classified information from one of the department's most sensitive areas earlier this year.

The 1999 incident involved use of a sophisticated eavesdropping device planted in the seventh floor conference room of the Bureau of Oceans and International Environmental Scientific Affairs. The bug might never have been found were it not for the work of a government surveillance team which spotted a Russian diplomat loitering near the State building in the summer of 1999. Additional surveillance showed that the agent, Stanislav Gusev, was turning up outside the department on roughly a weekly basis. His actions fueled suspicions he was receiving transmissions from a device planted inside the building, using equipment installed in his car.

The problem was to find the device. The most opportune times for locating it occurred when Gusev was outside and had the bug's transmitter turned on. U.S. investigators covertly prowled State Department halls for weeks carrying a disguised detector about the size of a Geiger counter

before locating the radio signal the bug sent from the OES conference room to Gusev's car. The device was found in a section of wooden chair rail molding halfway up the conference room wall; disturbingly, the paint on the section holding the bug had been matched almost exactly to that of the rest of the molding, indicating a sophisticated operation. Once the bug was discovered, Gusev, an agent of Moscow's SVR spy operation, was ordered home.

Scores of meetings were held in the conference room while Gusev was lurking outside, so all participants were interviewed in an effort to determine what he might have heard. Fortunately, no sensitive information is believed to have been compromised. The conference room was located on the same floor as Albright's suite of offices, but that was not cause for concern because the two locations are hundreds of feet apart. However, the question of who planted the device is still unanswered more than a year later.

As embarrassing as it was, the Russian spy operation did not compare with the anguish caused by the missing laptop. In the former case, the operation was exposed, the spy was sent packing and no secret information is believed to have been exposed. In the case of the computer, whose disappearance from the Bureau of Intelligence and Research was discovered around Feb. 1, the losses involved highly classified information about arms proliferation issues and about sources and methods of U.S. intelligence collection. While it is not clear whether this was a case of someone trying to pilfer state secrets or a simple theft motivated solely by the intrinsic value of the equipment, the laptop mystery remains unsolved despite an all-out investigation and the offer of \$25,000 in reward money for information.

These incidents caused deep reverberations on the seventh floor. Secretary of State Madeleine Albright acknowledged she was "humiliated" by these lapses and ordered Carpenter to find ways to make the building safer. At the

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same time, she recognized that there was just so much that her Diplomatic Security personnel could do on their own. The overall effort had to include all employees. And that was her message on May 3 when she convened a meeting of department employees in the Dean Acheson Auditorium. For a building accustomed to diplomatic ambiguities, her words were uncommonly straightforward: "I don't care how skilled you are as a diplomat, how brilliant you may be at meetings, or how creative you are as an administrator; if you are not a professional about security, you are a failure."

Albright further recognized that the stakes were not limited merely to keeping the nation's secrets safe from prying eyes and ears. The impact of the issue was much broader. At a time when she was frustrated to the point of bitterness over Congress's refusal to provide the State Department with what she believed was adequate funding, the last thing she wanted was to give lawmakers an excuse to be more parsimonious.

We Care About Security

Rightly or wrongly, the department already suffered from the impression that building security was a secondary issue. Rep. Benjamin Gilman, R-N.Y., chairman of the House International Relations Committee, said, "The missing laptop is the latest in a long string of security failures at the State Department. It is obvious that the department lacks a professional environment that is sen-

sitive to security concerns." Chimed in House Intelligence Committee Chairman Porter Goss, R-Fla., "There is not sufficient awareness, or sufficient attention, to security" at the department.

six, wondering in a letter to Albright how her newly stated emphasis on security could be reconciled with the president's nomination of individuals not always attentive to security regulations. Grams agreed in September

to permit the six — their names were never disclosed — to be confirmed but only in exchange for written promises from the State Department to tighten procedures for dealing with security infractions.

The new emphasis on security also led to reviews of security records of almost 400 employees who were up for promotion this fall. State reviewed each officer's DS security incident records using a point system not unlike that used by most state departments of motor vehicles, and identified a handful of individuals (fewer than 10, Marc Grossman, director general of the Foreign Service, told *The New York Times*) whose career-long security record merited their being temporarily removed from the promotion list. Those FSOs all have the right to appeal incidents that were improperly attributed, but if no appeals are made or an appeal is unsuccessful, each employee will be required to attend a targeted, multi-day security-training course. Upon successful completion of that course, the employee's name will be reinstated on the promotion list. As for the others, the 200 or so mid-level officers have already been cleared for promotion, but some 200 senior FSOs are still on hold as of this writing.



Getting ahead of the curve has not been easy for Albright. Just weeks after she had admonished employees about the need for vigilance, Sen. Rod Grams, R-Minn., a member of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, complained that six Foreign Service officers nominated for ambassadorships had committed a total of 62 security infractions, including one with 22 on his record. Their transgressions were never revealed but they are assumed to be minor.

Grams held up confirmation of the

motion list. Those FSOs all have the right to appeal incidents that were improperly attributed, but if no appeals are made or an appeal is unsuccessful, each employee will be required to attend a targeted, multi-day security-training course. Upon successful completion of that course, the employee's name will be reinstated on the promotion list. As for the others, the 200 or so mid-level officers have already been cleared for promotion, but some 200 senior FSOs are still on hold as of this writing.

SECURITY 101

Less than three weeks after Secretary Albright's May speech to State employees about making security their top priority, the department initiated a program of mandatory briefings on security issues in the East Auditorium. The main briefer is James D. Tromatter, 42, a Williamsburg, Va., native and self-styled "Army brat" who followed his father's footsteps by making the Army his career as well. After retirement four years ago, he joined the State Department's Diplomatic Security bureau. Amiable but no-nonsense, Tromatter seems well suited to his task. He leaves no doubt that he personally believes in the importance of keeping secrets secret. His briefings essentially restate long-standing policy.

Between May 22 and Sept. 11, Tromatter gave 77 briefings to 8,160 employees. The sessions usually run a little more than an hour, and each State employee (whether Civil or Foreign Service) is expected to attend one such briefing over a 12-month period. (Top officials too busy to attend one of Tromatter's sessions get a private briefing.) Next spring, computer-based training is scheduled to begin, and DS is designing a testing system to ensure everyone is up to speed.

Tromatter makes ample use of visuals in his briefings, which consist largely of reminders: Top secret material is always covered by a special sheet that identifies it as such. Use red "secret" labels on computer disks that have been used on classified computers. To hand-carry top secret information requires a top secret clearance.

Copying of top secret materials must be carried out by a "top secret

control officer." Secret and confidential materials can only be copied on designated machines.

There are several ways of disposing of secret documents, Tromatter tells employees. One is to use

*Television scenes from
Tehran showed Iranian
militants painstakingly
piecing together
thousands of shredded
U.S. documents*

machines that "pulverize" paper down to what looks like talc. An alternative is a shredder, which must trim paper to no more than 1/32 by 1/2 inch. Gone are the days when documents were shredded lengthwise only, leaving the finished product with a spaghetti-like look. That change was instituted in the early 1980's after television scenes from Tehran showed Iranian militants painstakingly piecing together thousands of shredded U.S. documents which had been run through old-style machines just before the embassy was seized in 1979.

As Tromatter points out, there also are rules for the type of containers that can be used for storing materials. Bar lock containers are acceptable for storing secret material. Safes weighing 500 pounds are the norm for top secret material. The difference is that bar lock containers can be rolled away but safes, which weigh

considerably more, can't.

In his briefings, Tromatter says that of the various threats the department faces, none is greater than what he calls "sigint," or signals intelligence. This can occur when the "electronic transmission of unencrypted classified materials is sent by facsimile, cell telephone or other communications equipment." Electronic transmissions are, for all intents and purposes, "thrown into the air for any entity with the desire and tools to intercept," Tromatter warns. Another threat in the "serious" category is "imint" or image intelligence, which is the collection of information by hand-held photography of employees and facilities that may be used to "target or exploit weaknesses."

"Humint" or human intelligence is another concern. The summary describes it as "nothing more than one human being exploiting another, to the detriment of the target country and the benefit of the nation the collector works for." Tromatter admonishes his listeners during briefings not to tell strangers about money problems because foreign entities might try to exploit the information. He seems pleased with the results of the first four months of mandatory briefings. Reports of infractions, he says, are already down 20 percent. (An infraction occurs when information is put at risk but is not compromised. A violation is more serious because that signifies that the information has come into unauthorized hands.)

Incidentally, Tromatter says that the most common security lapse is also one of the most easily preventable: leaving a classified document uncovered on a desk. —GG

Word of the promotion delay came as the U.S. ambassador to Israel, Martin Indyk, came under FBI investigation for suspected security lapses. While his supposed negligence did not occur within State Department confines, the episode seemed to reinforce the notion that security is less than the highest priority for some State officials, particularly those in the most demanding positions.

Indyk, a former assistant secretary of state for Near Eastern affairs who is on his second tour as ambassador to Israel, is alleged to have taken briefing books and other classified materials back to his residence and other unsecured locations in order to prepare for meetings. Another allegation is that he used an unclassified, government-issued laptop computer to prepare, while in transit, memorandums about discussions with foreign leaders.

Accordingly, the Australian-born political appointee was temporarily stripped of his security clearances and denied access to classified documents. Also off-limits were all discussions with Israeli Prime Minister Ehud Barak and other leading Middle Eastern figures.

"I regret that my trying to do the best possible job under very difficult conditions has led to the temporary suspension of my security clearances," Indyk said in a statement. "Jeopardizing the national security interests of the U.S. is absolutely abhorrent to me, and I would never do anything to compromise those interests."

As it turned out, his suspension coincided with the clashes between Israelis and Palestinians in early fall. Eager to have Indyk back on the job during this tumultuous period, Albright decided to reinstate his security clearance after just two weeks. But the investigation into his alleged lapses continued. Whatever the outcome, it seems clear that the extraordinary

*A year later,
we still don't know
who planted the Russian
listening device on
the seventh floor.*

demands of Indyk's job caused him to disregard some security procedures.

Who has Access?

Making the building more secure involves not only more employee vigilance but money, and the State Department is asking the Congress for three annual increments of \$100 million. Much of the money, if appropriated, will be used to double the number of diplomatic security agents to 1,500. There also are plans to upgrade electronic turnstiles and to introduce devices that scan human features as a means of controlling access to sensitive areas.

These steps would supplement measures already taken over the past two years, many of which are aimed more at countering terrorists than catching spies. These include surrounding the State Department with security barriers and closing D Street to public traffic.

Carpenter recognizes that more must be done. He is almost wistful when he considers the difficulty of making the State Department safe, compared with, for example, the CIA, out in leafy Langley, Va., six miles away. There visitors are screened almost a half mile away from the main entrance. By contrast, there is no screening at State until visitors actually pass through the front door.

Carpenter would have to step on

some toes if he wants to make State as invulnerable as the CIA. For instance, he may well request that C Street (which runs directly in front of the department's main entrance) be closed to all but official traffic. That would create some inconvenience but not nearly as much as similar restrictions Carpenter is contemplating for 21st and/or 23rd Streets, both heavily used during rush hours, particularly 23rd. He may also ask that the trunks of all cars that use the building garage be inspected each day, a 12-second process on average, according to his calculations.

Another major issue is building access. Until 1982, journalists were able to roam State Department halls freely. Starting that year, reporters were supposed to have an appointment if they wanted to go above the second floor, where the press room is located. But the regulation was never enforced. Beginning nearly a year ago, however, escorts have been required for journalists who needed access above the second floor. Violators can be stripped of their building pass. That threat seems to have cowed reporters into compliance.

Like journalists, cleaning and contract personnel at State do not have security clearances, on the grounds that they have no "need to know" which would justify the effort and expense of doing background checks. However, unlike reporters, they have unescorted access to hallways and other common areas throughout the building. While there has always been a requirement that such personnel be accompanied whenever they work in areas with sensitive materials — which is most of the building — until recently, this was not consistently done in Foggy Bottom. (This rule is strictly enforced at U.S. diplomatic facilities overseas, where Marines or embassy officers accompany cleaning crews and contractors everywhere

they go.) Now, however, individual bureaus have been tasked to ensure that non-cleared employees are supervised whenever they enter a secure area.

For non-government employee visitors who are not journalists, Carpenter has imposed a comprehensive escort policy. The rule allows no exceptions — not even for Foreign Service retirees, who historically have been required only to have a retiree badge for unescorted access to the building. This puts State in line with the CIA. In contrast, the NSA is even more restrictive, permitting retirees access only to the cafeteria even when escorted, while the Pentagon allows veterans unescorted access except for the most sensitive areas.

In an Aug. 15 letter mailed to the nearly 11,000 retirees, Carpenter said that effective Sept. 1, all “must sign in and be escorted during visits to the department and its annexes...We regret any inconvenience to you, but we are facing new challenges on the security front and must adapt our practices to fulfill our requirement to protect national security information.”

The new restriction quickly touched off a firestorm of protest. Marshall Adair, president of the American Foreign Service Association, protested in a Sept. 6 letter to Albright that the measure will do nothing to enhance security at the State Department.

“We strongly support efforts to strengthen security but are convinced that scarce resources must not be wasted in trying to guard against populations that pose little or no threat to national security,” Adair wrote.

The measure elicited other responses that were much less diplomatic. Ambassador Michael Smith, formerly the No. 2 official in the office of the U.S. Special Trade Representative, said the requirement was insulting.

“If you are not a professional about security, you are a failure.”

— **Secretary of State Madeleine Albright**

“I haven’t been as upset by anything as this in a long time,” he said. “We didn’t lose the laptop, they did. ... This has been nagging at me for days.”

Gilbert Johnson, who served for many years in Africa and Latin America and retired after 27 years, said, “We’re not trusted as much as the newspaper people are.” (It might interest Gilbert to know that one journalist with a building pass once worked for *Pravda*, a main propaganda outlet in the former Soviet Union.)

Robert Fritts, 66, a two-time ambassador in Africa, asked, “Can you imagine Larry Eagleburger having to be escorted?” He was referring, of course, to the career diplomat who retired in 1984, then came back eight years later as secretary of state under President Bush. (Efforts to reach Eagleburger for comment on the retiree policy were unsuccessful.) A senior State Department official said that even if the department did not require escorts for visitors, Eagleburger would be given one as a courtesy.

Despite the uproar, State Department officials seem wedded to the escort policy. They recognize that, as a group, retirees are as loyal as any Americans, but there is concern

about those who work for lobbying groups or other foreign governments that may be hostile to U.S. interests.

In addition, officials told Adair, the AFSA president, another concern is that disgruntled former employees cannot automatically be counted on to behave properly when visiting State.

In his letter to Albright, Adair said the department has an obligation to give retirees access to retirement and AFSA offices. “Retirees also need access to the State Department library and the Credit Union as well as to special events such as Foreign Service Day and the Book Fair,” he wrote. He also noted that retirees are asked to consult with the substantive offices of the department on foreign policy matters.

If the retirees keep up the heat, Carpenter and his colleagues may have to reconsider. One senior official outlined a possible compromise: Those with a demonstrated need should have unescorted access and those who don’t, shouldn’t. Of greater concern to this official was the possibility of someone hitting an employee over the head and taking off with his or her building pass. Since there is no routine mechanism other than random hallway checks to ensure the badge picture matches that of the bearer, turnstile access to the department under such circumstances would be relatively easy. (Of course, the same has long been true for every State employee.)

Past drives to crack down on security lapses have run out of steam over time, and this latest one may prove to be no exception. But the new policy has already accomplished at least two objectives: it has demonstrated to Congress that Secretary Albright is serious about enhancing security at State, and it has brought home to employees the potential damage to their careers if they fail to protect classified material. ■



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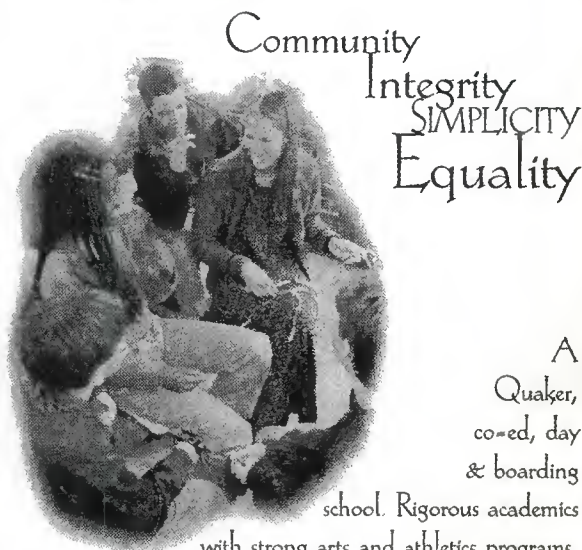
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BY PAT OLSEN

Back in 1989, if you had asked me whether homeschooling might be a good option for my children, I would have answered with an emphatic "No!" A Foreign Service spouse with three young boys, I was sure that homeschool was an option chosen only by missionaries and a few counter-culture types.

What did it take to change my mind? The availability of a posting to Majuro, on an atoll in the Marshall Islands, where the house had its own palm-treed beach, a coral reef off the back deck, a bridge over the water to reach the front door, sailing and snorkeling every day of the year. Water shortages? No telephone? Questionable school? I was suddenly and enthusiastically willing to teach our kids so that we could have the adventure opportunity of a lifetime.

And so for two school years, 1989-1991, I homeschooled grades 2, 3, 4, 5, 7 and 8. And what a time we had! We explored remote atolls, dove with sharks, snorkeled among giant clams, and swam through pristine coral reefs.

Our decision and dedication to making homeschool work were well worth it. We carefully followed and completed the Calvert School curriculum, which includes textbooks, school supplies and instruction manuals for a solid American-style education. As a result, all three boys later entered with ease an American international school at grade level. In addition, each boy picked up a little something extra that we think was a direct result of our homeschool. After six months, our seventh/eighth grader realized that procrastination was not a useful habit, so he developed good

Pat Olsen recently arrived at Embassy Chisinau, Moldova, where her husband Norm is DCM. She welcomes comments at pat@olsenglobal.com. She previously served in Kingston, Oslo, Washington, Majuro (Marshall Islands), Tel Aviv and Geneva.

independent study skills which prepared him for entering high school at our next post. Our fourth/fifth grader enjoyed the extra challenge and quick pace of his own math class. Our second/third grader worked quickly and spent many extra hours reading while school was in session. He may have terrible handwriting, but he is an avid reader.

Little did I realize at the time how few Foreign Service families actually chose to homeschool. I couldn't help but laugh when I realized that I had fallen for the Foreign Service's quiet whisper of "homeschool" to sell exotic (and underbid) locales, thinking that it was then a common practice. When I briefly passed through Washington after the tour, the Family Liaison Office expressed surprise at finding someone who really had successfully homeschooled. No statistics were available in 1991 (nor are there any now) and the Office of Overseas

Schools suggested to me that fewer than 10 Foreign Service families then homeschooled their children.

Times have changed. Homeschooling is now a popular and culturally acceptable choice in the United States. Many resources exist to support homeschools and state education laws have been written to respond to the rise in homeschooled children.

Talk it Over First

Before deciding to homeschool, members of a Foreign Service family should talk over the choice carefully and thoroughly. If schooling is not available at a given post, are there compelling reasons to take the assignment? Are local school options so unsatisfactory that students and parents prefer to homeschool?

And perhaps most important, is there a family member dedicated to being the homeschool teacher? The students need active teaching. If they are to give school first priority, so must the teacher.

Keep in mind that elementary and high school children

*When I first considered
homeschool, I believed it
was just for counterculture
types and missionaries.*

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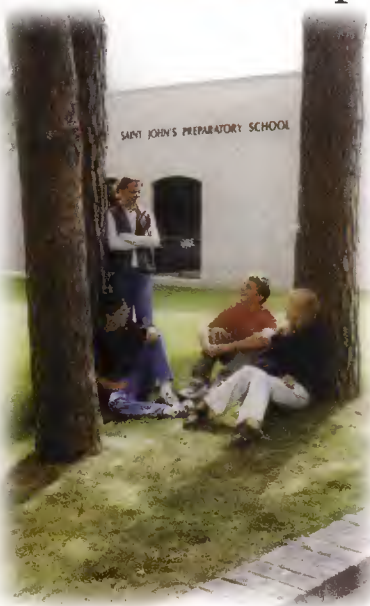
have different academic, social and extra-curricular needs. Young students need to master reading and learn social skills such as cooperation. Teaching upper elementary math and science may be challenging to a homeschool teacher. Students should have experience with drama, art, music and sport. Students of any age need to make friends. Many experts believe that homestudy is more appropriate for elementary students because few of us as parents can offer the expertise needed to teach a complete high school program.

Choosing a good curriculum is very important. With the rise in popularity of homeschooling in the United States, more choices have become available. The goal of short-term homeschooling (which is entirely achievable) is to enable the child to move smoothly back into school at the expected American grade level. When reviewing programs, compare with the curriculum from your stateside school to determine what students study in a particular grade. Some curricula offer an advisory service, where students send in their work and tests to an assigned teacher for grading and recording. At the end of the course, the service will provide a transcript of work completed, simplifying transfer into a new school. The State Department offers limited funding for homestudy, designed to cover the cost of curriculum and any associated advisory service. (Refer to Standardized Regulation 270.)







Bring it With You

All states now have regulations on homeschooling. The requirements vary, but many require certification of subjects to be taught and examination of student work and instructional materials. In addition, many states now require of all students specific achievements tests during selected grades covering subjects and information which your child will be responsible for having learned. (Not all will be as easy as the 6th grade literacy test
(continued on page 58))

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Homeschooling

(continued from page 56)

my high school senior was required to take upon entering the Virginia school system.)

Many families who choose to homeschool do so because of the lack of educational opportunities at a small post. That means that families will probably have no resources except those they bring with them. A computer is essential today and the Internet provides unlimited opportunity to access information, adding a new dimension to homeschooling. Unlike our days in the Marshall Islands, American homeschoolers today are widely networked, offering assistance and support for students, teachers and families. Also bring maps, a globe, dictionary, thesaurus, a teacher supply catalog, a large selection of age-appropriate literature, an electric pencil sharpener, games and arts and craft supplies.

Successful homeschooling needs the entire family's support and cooperation. And be sure to include fun as an essential element. Homeschool, if done right, can be an adventure for you and your children. ■

ONLINE RESOURCES

The following Web sites are excellent sources of information, including articles written by homeschoolers, books, FAQs, and links to curricula:

WWW.HOME-ED-MAGAZINE.COM

Library, resources, on-line newsletter, monthly publication. Look at their on-line Pocket Field Guide to Homeschooling. Click on "Resources - State Laws and Regulations."

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Family Liaison Office, Education. See Direct Communication Project Paper No. 30, The Home Study Option, available online.

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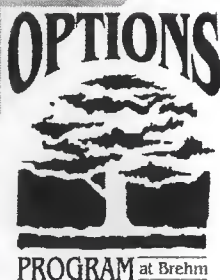
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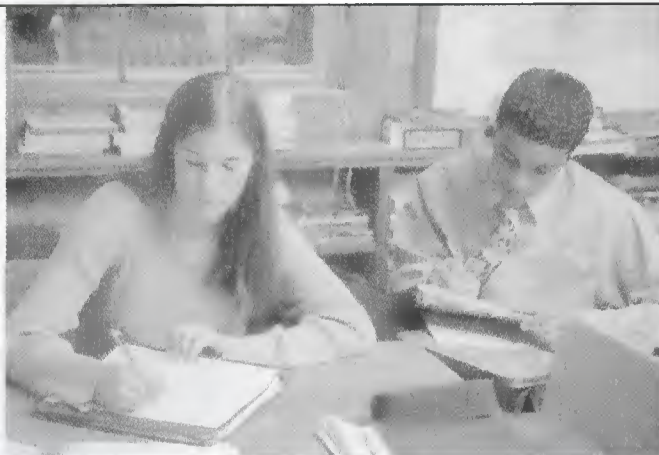
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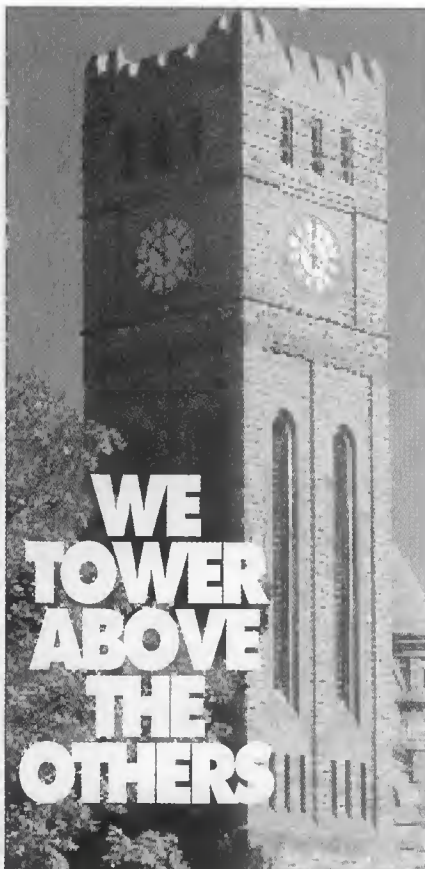
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Schools at a glance

See our web page WWW.afsa.org and click on the marketplace tab.



JUNIOR-SENIOR HIGH SCHOOLS

Andrews School, The	205	All girls	28	13	6-12	Y	N	30 miles	Y	Y	N	\$21,750
Cardigan Mountain	203	All boys	92	8	6-9	N	N	130 miles	Y	Y	N	27,700
Dana Hall	435	All girls	50	14	6-12	N	N	12 miles	Y	Y	N	28,940
Delphian School	230	50/50	60	9	3-12	N	N	50 miles	Y	Y	Y	24,748
Grier School, The	174	All girls	100	50	7-12, PG	Y	Y	120 miles	Y	Y	Y	24,250
Linden Hall	120	All girls	75	25	6-12, PG	Y	Y	30 miles	NA	Y	Y	24,100
Linsly School, The	400	58/42	25	6	7-12	N	Limited	60 miles	Y	Y	Y	18,150
Oakwood Friends School	140	55/45	55	5	6-12	Y	Y	35 miles	N	N	N	25,900
Oldfields	188	All girls	80	14	8-12	Y	Limited	35 miles	N	N	Y ¹	26,900
Rabun Gap School	275	48/52	55	10	7-12	Y	N	100 miles	Y	Y	Y	21,000
Randolph Macon Academy	475	70/30	84	13	6-12, PG	Y	N	60 miles	Y	Y	N	16,000
Shattuck - St. Mary's School	310	61/39	80	15	6-12, PG	Y	N	45 miles	Y	Y	N	22,300
St. John's Preparatory	292	55/45	38	18	7-12, PG	Y	N	75 miles	Y	Y	Y	18,800
Stony Brook	375	60/40	50	11	7-12	Y	N	55 miles	Y	Y	N	22,900
Tallulah Falls School	150	50/50	99	9	6-12	Y	N	90 miles	N	N	N	15,300
Vanguard School, The	148	63/37	95	30	5-12, PG	N	All ADD/LD	50 miles	Y	Y	N	27,800
Washington Int'l School	802	49/51	0	37	PK-12	N	Limited	8 miles	Y	NA	NA	16,400
West Nottingham	125	67/33	75	20	6-12	N	Y	50 miles	Y	Y	Y	29,460

SENIOR HIGH SCHOOLS

Christchurch Episcopal High School	225	85/15	66	10	8-12, PG	Y	Y	120 miles	Y	Y	N	21,750
Dublin School	116	58/42	74	12	9-12	Y	Y	80 miles	Y	Y	Y	27,400
Episcopal High School	410	60/40	100	6	9-12	Y	Y	2 miles	N	Y	N	24,300
Fountain Valley School	230	48/52	64	14	9-12	Y	N	70 miles	Y	Y	Y	25,300
Foxcroft School	160	All girls	75	13	9-12, PG	Y	N	30 miles	Y	N	Y	26,940
Garrison Forest School	213	All girls	46	9	9-12	Y	N	35 miles	Y	Y	N	26,950
Hockaday School, The	432	All girls	16	3	9-12	Y	N	25 miles	Y	Y	Y	26,990
Idyllwild Arts Academy	250	40/60	90	27	8-12, PG	N	N	120 miles	Y	Y		28,700
Interlochen Arts	447	27/73	92	13	9-12, PG	N	N	16 miles	Y	Y	Y	26,200
Lawrence Academy	377	55/45	50	48	9-12	Y	N	50 miles	Y	Y	Y	27,800
Masters School, The	395	48/52	43	15	9-12, PG	Y	NA	20 miles	N	Y	N	25,950
Milton Academy	660	53/47	40	14	9-12	N	N	10 miles	Y	Y	Y	26,950
Northfield Mount Hermon	1139	53/47	82	25	9-12, PG	N	Limited	60 miles	Y	Y	Y	25,950
Pomfret School	335	55/45	75	12	9-12, PG	N	N	60 miles	Y	Y	Y	28,350
Sandy Spring Friends School	207	50/50	18	12	9-12	Y	N	20 miles	Y	Y	Y ¹	19,500-24,050

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Schools at a glance

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SENIOR HIGH SCHOOLS

Saint Johnsbury Academy	956	50/50	18	9	9-12, PG	Y	Y	75 miles	Y	Y	Y	\$21,875
Subiaco Academy	205	All boys	75	32	9-12	N	N	50 miles	Y	Y	Limited	12,300
Verde Valley School	95	45/55	80	17	9-12, PG	Y	Limited	105 miles	N	Y	Limited	25,400
Westover School	195	All girls	70	20	9-12	Y	Limited	55 miles	Y	Y	N	25,800
Westtown School	386	46/54	74	10	9-12	N	Limited	20 miles	Y	Y	Y	24,250
Wyoming Seminary	425	54/46	33	15	9-PG	Y	N	15 miles	Y	Y	Y	25,000

MILITARY SCHOOLS

Admiral Farragut	345	75/25	50	10	6-12	N	N	20 miles	Y	N	Y	18,000
Fishburne Military School	200	All boys	90	15	8-12	Y	Limited	90 miles	Y	Y	Y	17,400
Lyman Ward Military Academy	200	All boys	100	5	6-12	N	Y	100 miles	N	Y	N	13,350
Marine Military Academy	370	All boys	100	15	8-12, PG	NA	N	1.5 miles	N	N	Y	15,600
New York Military Academy	304	47/53	85	20	7-12, PG	Y	Y	NA	Y	Y	N	23,500
Oak Ridge Military Academy	220	80/20	69	15	7-12, PG	N	Y	6 miles	Y	Y	Y	16,985
San Marcos Baptist Academy	280	66/34	72	24	6-12	N	N	30 miles	Y	Y	Y	17,998

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Frederic L. Chamberlain School	80	77/23	80	2	7-12	N	All ADD/LD	45 miles	N	N	Y	99,499
Gow School, The	143	All boys	100	12	7-12, PG	N	All LD	20 miles	Y	Y	N	28,450
Linden Hill	46	All boys	100	12	6-12	N	Y	70 miles	Y	Y	Y	33,900
Nawa Academy	70	55/15	100	2	7-12	N	Y	120 miles	Y	N	Y	23,500

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Brentwood College School	425	58/42	78	22	8-12	N	N	42 miles	Y	Y	N	16,500
Leysin American School in Switzerland	315	55/45	100	60	9-12, PG	Y	N	75 miles	Y	Y	N	25,000
Queen Margaret's School	160	All girls	50	15	6-12	Y	N	60 miles	Y	Y	Y ¹	18,000
TASIS-American School in England	740	50/50	50	30	Pre-K-12	N	Limited	15 miles	N	Limited	N	16,470
TASIS-American School in Switzerland	215	50/50	90	65	7-12, PG	N	Limited	60 miles	N	Limited	Y	27,800

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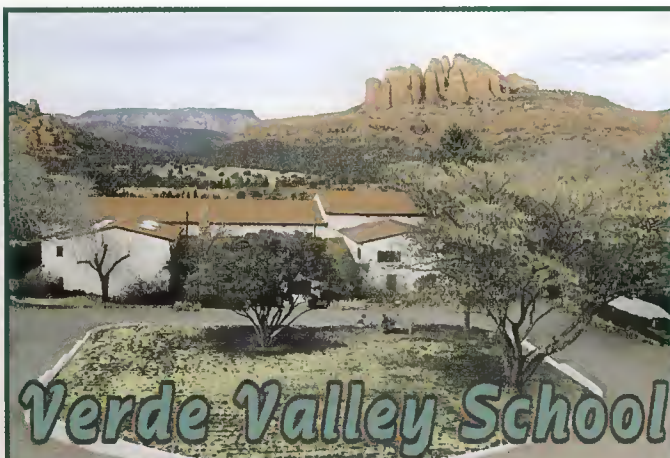
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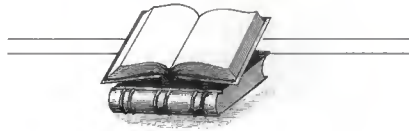
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BOOKS

HURRICANE MADELEINE

Madeleine Albright and the New American Diplomacy.
Thomas W. Lippman, Westview Press, 2000, 372 pages, hardcover, \$27.00

BY CAROLINE BENNER

In his policy-intensive biography, *Madeleine Albright and the New American Diplomacy*, reporter Thomas Lippman of *The Washington Post* argues that Albright "has tried to renovate diplomacy in theory and practice." Specifically, Lippman praises her for tackling transnational issues that cannot be resolved by bilateral deal-cutting, such as terrorism, public health, organized crime, the environment, the oppression of religious and ethnic minorities and the status of women.

Yet the bulk of his narrative reflects the reality that Albright has had to devote most of her time and energy to a host of strategic and political challenges requiring the "old" kind of diplomatic attention — bilateral negotiations to enhance American security and address complex political problems.

Like other Clinton administration officials, Albright has frequently been accused of lurching from crisis to geopolitical crisis, and he lurches right along with her. He flies with her to South Asia to tame the India-Pakistan

nuclear confrontation, then on the red-eye back to Geneva to confer with Russia's Yevgeny Primakov on how to make Saddam Hussein accept weapons inspectors in Iraq. Then it's on to the difficult problems of Middle Eastern peace and decisions about Bosnia, Kosovo, Cyprus, and Indonesia.

Lippman's reporting throughout is first-rate. He tracks speeches and

Albright is no stuffy, tradition-bound diplomat.

interviews to expose (and sometimes, re-expose) the gritty detail of individual policy decisions over the last four years. He demonstrates that, if nothing else, Albright has consistently promoted America's political and economic interests in an era of new rules, if not always new priorities.

It is not until his penultimate chapter that Lippman finally examines new diplomacy in detail, and then only addresses a handful of Albright's priorities (though there are scattered references to various policy initiatives throughout the book). He makes a strong case that Albright has made international environmental issues one of her most prominent causes, noting that she has designated U.S. embassies in

Jordan, Costa Rica, Ethiopia, Thailand, Denmark, Nepal and Uzbekistan as regional environmental hubs where a Foreign Service officer is assigned to address regional concerns. Another achievement he credits to Albright's efforts is the passage of the Kyoto Protocol to reduce greenhouse gases in 1997 (though the agreement was dead on arrival in the U.S. Senate). Lippman also covers Albright's travels to refugee camps and small villages to champion women's rights and challenge customs that hurt women.

However, Lippman does not spend much time on what many might assume the new American diplomacy is all about — the increasing economic and technological integration of nations. He short-changes the secretary of State's role in addressing the interdependence of the world's economies. American policy aimed at solving the epidemic of financial crises in 1997-1998 is covered in just a handful of pages; Albright, Lippman argues, had a smaller role to play than Treasury officials in crafting American responses to foreign financial disasters.

In addition, even though participants in the State Department's NetDiplomacy 2000 conference this past October predicted that technological innovation will radically transform the way foreign policy is made in the information age, Lippman fails to consider technology's impact on foreign policy.



Ultimately, Lippman shows us that what may really be the newest thing about American diplomacy is the woman wielding the carrot and the stick. Albright is no "stuffy, tradition-bound" diplomat. She rocks out with a gospel choir in the Dean Acheson auditorium at the State Department to celebrate Black History Month and chats about makeup with high school girls. While big picture issues will continue to dominate the agendas of foreign policy-makers and the journalists who cover them, the force of "Hurricane Madeleine's" personality may have been just enough to nudge U.S. diplomatic priorities in new directions.

Caroline Benner is the managing editor of the Journal.

UP FROM THE STONE AGE

Culture Wars and the Global Village: A Diplomat's Perspective.

Carl Coon, Prometheus Books, Amherst, N.Y., 2000, hardcover, 256 pages, \$27.00

BY ARNIE SCHIFFERDECKER

Not many diplomats would be so bold as to try to chart human progress from the Stone Age into the 21st century, but then Carl Coon, former U.S. ambassador to Nepal, is no ordinary diplomat. In this anecdote-rich, compact account, Coon examines the evidence of humankind's cultural evolution from

small, mutually exclusive groups into increasingly large, multicultural societies in which cooperation replaces competition as the primary mode of human interaction.

Throughout this process, Coon notes, man's prehistoric survivalist instincts, seemingly hard-wired into our brains and spoiling for violence, constantly war against those cooperative impulses. So in this framework, should the brutish behavior of Serbia's Milosevic and others of his ilk around the world be regarded as mere deviations from the norm?

Coon seems to think so, though he readily acknowledges that current outbreaks of ethnic violence in at least three continents have muddied the waters. But, taking a longer perspective, he argues that the world's remain-

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BOOKS

ing despots represent the last vestiges of age-old intercultural competition, now beginning to fade with the rapid spread of revolutionary new technologies and modes of cooperation. In particular, he cites the second of two information revolutions (the first being the development of written language, the second the computer), which is rapidly transforming societies — helping to erase ethnic-based distinctions, spurring creative thinking, fostering new forms of cooperation — and ending forever that handmaiden of dictators, the monopolization of information.

How, more precisely, does Coon believe the spread of global cooperation will proceed? Here he is on less certain ground. As an experienced diplomat, he understands that the better angels of our nature may be no match for perennial disputes in the Middle East, Cyprus, South Asia or Western Sahara (he labels them “cultural wars”). Yet he remains convinced that a global civil society is emerging amid flare-ups in these crisis-prone regions.

Dismissing the notion that contemporary religions offer any hope of healing current societal conflicts, he makes a case for “progressive humanism,” an evolving secular force that can create a “new framework for the future.” Coon suggests that our cooperative impulse is already moving humankind away from exclusivity and conflict and that this process will evolve naturally, over the span of another generation or two.

Ever the pragmatist, Coon acknowledges that sentiment in the U.S. does not favor the development of major new global institutions. So, like most American analysts, he stops short of advocating world government, favoring instead the elaboration of a global civil society, utilizing the U.N. where appropriate, to contain conflict, promote international understanding

and foster a more equitable world community.

In the final chapter of this book, “The Millennial View,” he offers a favorite vista, the view from a mountaintop, as a metaphor for his passionate, yet practical, faith in the future of humankind. Coon’s argument that world understanding is gradually coming into focus cannot be confirmed by the daily fare of beastly behavior in a cruel world. Nor will his optimism be fully shared by many of his hard-bitten colleagues. Yet his generous vision of humanity’s potential, as described in this remarkable book, is powerfully persuasive.

Arnie Schifferdecker, a retired FSO now living in Washington, is a member of the Journal’s Editorial Board.

TIME OF TROUBLES U.S.-Russian Relations at the Turn of the Century: Reports of the Working Groups

Organized by the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, Washington, D.C., and the Council on Foreign and Defense Policy, Moscow. Washington, D.C., Carnegie Endowment for World Peace, 2000. Both English and Russian texts are included; paperback, 206 pages, \$9.95.

BY BENJAMIN R. JUSTESEN

Useful as it is, one can hardly put down this book without an intense feeling of foreboding. The U.S. and Russian working groups which produced these complementary

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BOOKS

reports sought to put the best possible face on the future of U.S.-Russian bilateral relations, offering constructive advice to leaders on both sides for managing the relationship. Yet they concur that by the end of 1999, what began under the first Clinton administration as a "strategic partnership" had deteriorated so badly that prospects were uncertain even for limited bilateral cooperation. In fact, the Russian group describes the current situation as "a state of sluggish crisis that has the potential to intensify dangerously."

Members of the groups — the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace and the Council on Foreign and Defense Policy — included leading

American and Russian policy analysts and former senior government officials. The Carnegie group was chaired by resident scholar Arnold Horelick, formerly a top Soviet analyst for the intelligence community; the Council on Foreign and Defense Policy group co-chairs were CFDP chairman Sergei Karaganov and Yuli Vorontsov, former Russian ambassador to the United States.

Both sides agree that Russians are primarily to blame for their own recent internal failings. But there is significant indirect blame for the United States, as well, for favoring an inappropriate and unrealistic economic reform movement for Russia after the Soviet collapse, and then pinning its hopes on a narrow circle

of new Russian leaders, centered on Boris Yeltsin. Thus American shortsightedness and Russian ineptitude converged, just in time for the Chechnya debacle and the resulting political strains.

As one might expect, the Carnegie report argues that only persistent engagement will help transform Russia into a peaceful, constructive major power. It is a common sense conclusion, on its face, and lowering expectations is the critical first step. But constructive engagement is possible only when dealing with a reasonably friendly (and functioning) Russia which accepts its less exalted place in the post-Cold War world — by no means a sure thing.

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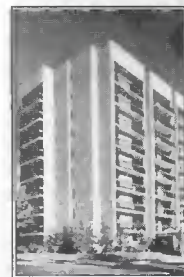
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possible visions, ranging from stabilization without real improvement in the near future (the most likely, in their view) to a total collapse. The only encouraging aspect of their assessment is the prediction that if Russia does "muddle through," new leadership will have a better chance of pursuing constructive engagement with Washington than the current climate allows.

Since the reports were written just before Yeltsin's resignation (but not published until this year), it is understandable — if regrettable — that none of the analysts speculate on the possible effects of then-prime minister Vladimir Putin on the equation. Nor do they address prospective policy changes in the next U.S. administration, even

though the Russian working group did predict that the "Who lost Russia?" debate would become a major issue in the presidential campaign. (That this did not happen perhaps says more about the U.S. electorate's lack of interest in foreign policy than anything else.)

Thoughtful and thought-provoking, if incomplete, *U.S.-Russian Relations at the Turn of the Century* is worth the attention of everyone interested in this complex issue — as we all should be.

Benjamin Justesen, a former Foreign Service officer, is a freelance writer and editor in Alexandria, Va. His book George Henry White: An Even Chance in the Race of Life is scheduled for release this month.

FS AUTHORS

Note: The following title was inadvertently omitted from last month's roundup of books by Foreign Service authors.

Welcome Home: Who Are You?

Gene and Kathryn Schmiel, Aletheia Publications, 1998, paperback, \$12.95 plus \$4 shipping and handling

Retired FSO Gene Schmiel and his family spent 24 years in places including Djibouti, Iceland, South Africa, Sweden and Kenya. Any FSO or family member will appreciate the dozens of amusing, touching and sometimes just plain bizarre vignettes he and his wife recount in this book, as well as the insights the Schmiels draw from their experiences. ■

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IN MEMORY

Seth John Foti, 31, an active State Department diplomatic courier, was among 143 passengers who perished aboard the Gulf Air flight that crashed in Bahrain on Aug. 23.

Mr. Foti died in the line of duty, while delivering diplomatic pouches originating in Cairo and bound for the State Department in Washington. He had been a diplomatic courier for only 14 months. Prior to that, he served in Moscow as a contractor for the U.S. government.

Mr. Foti was born May 21, 1969, on Long Island, N.Y. He was a 1987 graduate of Warren County High School in Browntown, Va., and received a B.S. degree in Russian Studies from George Mason University. He attended Calvary Episcopal Church.

Mr. Foti is survived by his wife of only two months, Anisha Olivia Foti of Manama, Bahrain; mother Deyann Demarest Davis of Browntown; father Dominick Foti, Jr. of Shawnee, Kan.; step-father Maxwell S. Davis of Browntown; step-mother Stephanie Foti of Shawnee; step-sister Shona Foti of Mission Viejo, Calif.; maternal grandparents Dey C. Demorest and Doris V. Demorest of Front Royal, Va.; and paternal grandparents Dominick Foti, Sr. and Mary Foti of Irvine, Calif.



Beverly C. Williams, 66, died Sept. 28 at her home in Tavares, Fla.

Ms. Williams was born in 1934 in Longmont, Colo. She joined the Foreign Service in 1954 as a communicator. Postings included Rhodesia, Pakistan, Indonesia, Gabon, Lebanon, the Philippines, Hong Kong, Zaire, and Ghana. She retired in 1984 and joined a small community of Foreign Service friends in Tavares. She is survived by a sister, Berniece, and a nephew and niece.

Memorial contributions may be made to the Senior Living Foundation of the American Foreign Service, 1716 N. St., N.W., Washington, DC 20036 or to your local hospice organization.



Gilbert Douglas Dietz, 68, retired FSO, died Aug. 26 in Fond du Lac, Wis.

Mr. Dietz was born in Fond du Lac in 1931. He served aboard the aircraft carrier U.S.S. Boxer for four years during the Korean War. He was a policeman in Fond du Lac for 10 years prior to going to work for USAID in 1963. Among his postings were Kabul, New Delhi, and Saigon. He retired in 1992.

He is survived by his wife Helen Mitzalis; son Gilbert Peter of Cambridge, England; step-son Jim Bramstedt of Rosholt, Wis.; step-son George Bramstedt of Fort Atkinson, Wis.; two grandchildren; one great-grandchild; and seven brothers and sisters.

Thomas F. Killoran, 71, retired FSO, died of leukemia Oct. 4 in Hyannis, Mass.

Mr. Killoran was born in Waltham, Mass. in 1929. He served in Japan as a U.S. Army Signals Intelligence soldier from 1947 to 1952 and was a Korean War veteran. He received a B.A. with honors from Northeastern University in 1956 and was sworn in as an FSO that same year.

Mr. Killoran served as consul general in Luanda, Angola, from 1974 until leftist forces took control of the city in 1975. Other foreign posts included Rio de Janeiro, Tegucigalpa, San Pedro Sula, and Bogota. In the department, he was officer in charge of Guatemalan affairs from 1966 to 1968 and director of the Office of Central American Affairs from 1968 to 1970. He attended the National War College in 1971 and served on the Board of Examiners from 1976 to 1977. From 1977 to 1980, he served as faculty adviser to the Inter-American Defense College in Washington. Mr. Killoran retired in 1980 in order to care for his ailing wife, the former Joan C. Horton (deceased), who had contracted cancer a year earlier. In retirement, Mr. Killoran worked as the student job developer at Cape Cod Community College. His hobbies included gardening, composting, walking and reading.

Mr. Killoran is survived by his four children: Kathryn of

Cambridge, Mass; Nancy of Hope, Maine; Matthew of Columbia, Md.; and Amy of Nashua, N.H. Other survivors include three grandchildren: Matthew, Nathaniel, and Leah; and sister Barbara of Boston.



V. Miro Morville, 75, retired FSO with the former USIA, died Sept. 5 at Sibley Memorial Hospital in Washington, D.C.

He was born in Anzio, Italy in 1925. He served in the Italian army during World War II. He graduated from the Scientific Lyceum in Rome, and later worked in the exhibits section of the U.S. Embassy in Rome for five years, becoming a noted linguist. He received a B.A. in international studies at George Washington University (magna cum laude), and did graduate work at Johns Hopkins University's School of Advanced International Studies. He became a U.S. citizen in 1961, and in 1962 joined USIA's Voice of America, working in the Italian section in Washington. In 1968, he went to Ivory Coast as a foreign correspondent for USIA. In the early 1970s he was commissioned as a Foreign Service officer with USIA and served in Mexico, Spain, and Pakistan. He served as cultural attaché in his last two posts, Argentina and Zaire.

He is survived by his wife of 50 years, Janna Morville of Washington, D.C.



James Edward Hoofnagle, 88, retired FSO, died Oct. 11 in Sarasota, Fla. from complications of diabetes.

Mr. Hoofnagle was a native of Southwest Virginia and attended Marion College and later the University of Virginia, where he received a B.A. and M.A. in education. He joined the Department of Agriculture in 1938 to work as a junior clerk in personnel manage-

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IN MEMORY



ment. He rose rapidly in USDA, and by 1942 was an assistant director in the Office of the Budget, Food Production and Distribution. During World War II he volunteered for the U.S. Navy and saw action as a lieutenant on the U.S.S. *Bluc Ridge* in the South Pacific. After the war, he returned to USDA. In 1953, he joined the newly formed United States Information Service and was posted to Bonn, where he was promoted to deputy director of USIS Germany. Mr. Hoofnagle returned to the U.S. in 1956 and served as assistant director for administration at USIA until 1960. In 1960, he returned to Bonn as USIA Germany director. In 1965, Mr. Hoofnagle transferred to the Department of State, serving as the deputy director of the Foreign Service. From 1969 to 1972, he was DCM in Dublin.

Mr. Hoofnagle retired from the Foreign Service in 1972 and worked as a realtor and a special assistant to Virginia state Sen. William Spong. In 1974 he was elected clerk of the court for Fairfax County, a position he held for eight years. He retired a second time in 1983, living part of the year in McLean, Va., and part in Sarasota, Fla. His wife of 62 years, Evelyn Houston Hoofnagle, died in December 1999.

Survivors include three sons: John E. Hoofnagle of Orlando, Fla.; Jay H. Hoofnagle of Bethesda, Md.; and Van R. Hoofnagle of Tallahassee, Fla.; a sister, Ann Cline of Rural Retreat, Va.; a brother, William S. Hoofnagle of Daytona Beach, Fla.; and 10 grandchildren: James, Holly, Reed, Holden, Chris, Mark, Drew, Nathan, Eric and Emily Hoofnagle.

Mr. Hoofnagle was interred in

Rock Creek Cemetery next to his wife Evelyn.



William H. Christensen, 91, retired FSO, died Aug. 30 in Whately, Mass.

He was born in Wilmont, S.D., in 1909, and studied at the University of Manitoba in Canada, and Trinity College in Dublin. He joined the Foreign Service in 1940 and retired in 1964. He served in France in the late 1940s, and received a medal from the city of Sete for his role in Marshall Plan assistance to France. He spent much of his career in Canada and the Caribbean. His postings included Toronto, Calgary, Antigua, Barbados, Martinique, Marseille, Dublin, Port of Spain, and Luxembourg, where he was DCM.

After retiring from the State Department, Mr. Christensen became executive assistant for the Great Lakes Gas Transmission Co. in Detroit, where he served until 1975.

He is survived by his wife of 62 years, Flora McRae; a daughter; two sons; six grandchildren; and two great-grandchildren.



Ruth "Polly" Clingerman, 68, wife of retired FSO Ambassador John R. Clingerman, died of cancer on August 13 at Lake of the Woods, Va.

Mrs. Clingerman was a native of Michigan and a graduate with honors of Michigan State University. She accompanied her husband to posts in Nepal, the former Belgian Congo, France, Dahomey, Belgium, Zambia and Lesotho, and after his retirement in 1987, to military bases in Greece,

Germany and Great Britain.

Mrs. Clingerman was the author of eleven cookbooks, including the best-selling, award-winning *Kitchen Companion*. More than one million of her books are in print. She was a consultant to the recent revision of *The Joy of Cooking*. Her latest book, co-authored with Sheila Kaufman, *The Pie Companion*, is to be published in the fall of 2000. In addition to her cookbooks, Mrs. Clingerman published travel and food articles in *The Washington Post*, *Vogue*, *Mademoiselle*, *Stars and Stripes*, and the *Foreign Service Journal*. Mrs. Clingerman was also a familiar television personality on QVC and the Home Shopping network.

Survivors include her husband John R. Clingerman of Lake of the Woods, Va.; and three nieces: Janet Kleigel of Lindsay, Calif.; Marilyn Griffiths of Bridgman, Mich.; and Gail Levy of Baltimore, Md.

Memorial contributions may be made to the American Cancer Society. ■

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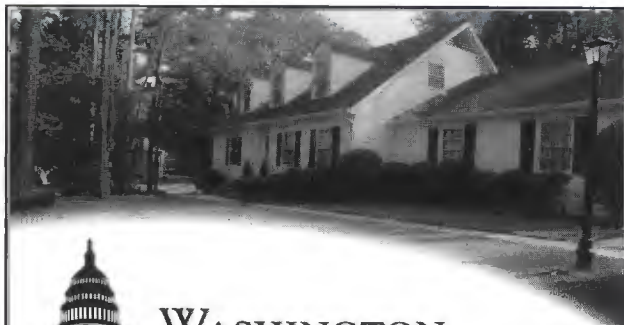
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The Discipline of Inaction

BY PAULO ALMEIDA

After working overtime at an international conference, I rewarded myself with a little sightseeing in Kyoto, the “city of a thousand temples.” Happily, I found myself there during the cherry blossom season; unfortunately, finding a hotel vacancy was difficult. A Japanese-speaking friend arranged lodging at a Buddhist temple which still practiced the tradition of offering hospitality to wayfarers.

I was concerned about the instructions I received for finding the temple. They seemed to reflect the oblique wisdom of Zen: They offered some general directions but left out details in order to test the awareness of the seeker. I had been told to take a bus from Kyoto’s train station to a remote part of the town, get off at a certain intersection, and then follow a “little street” until I found the “great gate.”

Raindrops streaked the windows of the bus as it droned along a thoroughfare as unremarkable as K Street. My temple, I assumed, lay somewhere behind a screen of bleak office blocks. Exiting the bus, I opened my umbrella, and opted to follow an alley that lay wedged between two tall buildings. I found

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myself in a warren of low, compact houses. As I hunched under my umbrella in the quickening rain, I wondered at the folly of my quest. Then I remembered that the seeker should maintain awareness of his surroundings. As I focused on that task, I saw before me two orange columns rising above the monotonous landscape. The columns were surmounted by the graceful arch of a Japanese gate, and I was embarrassed to realize how easily I might have walked passed such an obvious landmark had I continued with eyes downcast. I stepped through the gate and into a spacious gravel courtyard. Across the courtyard stood a building, and inside, a row of shoes rested neatly arranged at the base of a step. A small bronze bell with a wooden mallet stood on the step. I removed my shoes, and struck the bell.

A caretaker appeared. We exchanged a few words of elementary English; I followed him through a back door and along a path that ran under the eaves of the buildings in the temple complex. Rainwater was now pouring off the roof tiles. The caretaker stopped and slipped aside a paper screen to show me my room. A low table stood in the center of the room, a scroll hung on the wall. The caretaker revealed my bedding behind a second paper screen: a futon, a quilt, and a small sack of soybean husks that was to be my pillow. He gave me a pot of green tea, and left me in this cold, empty room. Sightseeing in such a downpour seemed unpleasant at best, and I was disturbed by the realization that I had nothing to do. Then a voice came to me from the past.

Years before, I served as a staff assistant in the State Department, and a fellow junior officer and I were often beleaguered by impatient individuals asking who had “action” on issues that proved to have little lasting importance. One especially hectic day, my friend sighed philosophically and paraphrased Pascal: “It seems to me that the troubles of the world are due to man’s inability to sit quietly in his own room.” I considered his words and then I took advantage of this rare opportunity to practice the discipline of inaction. Settling onto the floor, I savored a cup of bitter tea. ■



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