

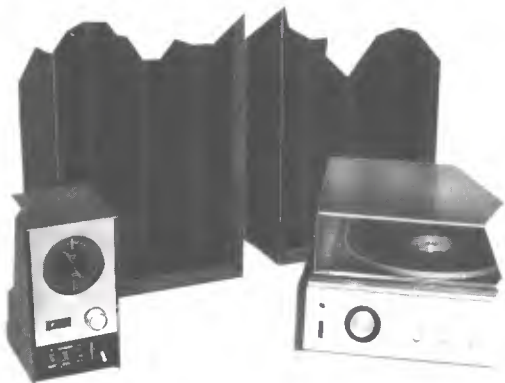
# Foreign Service Journal

DECEMBER 1980 75 CENTS

The Frontier in American Diplomacy  
by Smith Simpson  
The Polish Message  
by Eugen Loebel  
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# *The Frontier in American Diplomacy*

SMITH SIMPSON

Frederick Jackson Turner made us aware of the impact of the frontier on our history and this impact manifests itself insistently in our approach to foreign affairs. It appears not simply in red-neck haunts, extreme right-wing backwaters and hawkish precincts. It appears also in our sophisticated national capital and academic communities, bearing impeccable political and scholarly credentials.

Two commissions germinated by the federal government to deal with intertwined national and international issues provide current and striking illustrations. One was created to consider the establishment of an academy of peace and conflict resolution (the tautology is not mine); the other, to propose a national agenda for the 1980s. The first emerged from an Act of Congress signed by the president on November 1, 1978, with an appropriation of \$500,000 voted October 12 a year later and made available on January 10 of this year, the series of delays possibly indicating doubts along the way whether such a commission could be justified. The other was generated by an executive order signed October 24, 1979 and was a kind of exhaust emission from the Camp David confabulations the preceding summer when the president summoned a number of national leaders and thinkers to assist him in clarifying in his own mind where the nation is, where it should go and what it needed to get there. Its estimated cost is \$2.5 million.

Of the nine members of the "United States Commission on Proposals for the (a?) National Academy of Peace and Conflict Resolution," three were appointed equally by the president of the United States, the president pro tempore of the Senate and the speaker of the House of Representatives, all political leaders of the first rank and representing three different regions of the nation. One of the members is a senator and two are congressmen, none of whom serves on his chamber's committee on foreign affairs. Two are sociologists, one is the president of a hotel corporation, and others come from various organizations and centers dealing with community and urban problems. No representative was appointed from the United States Foreign Service or its association and indeed no one of any diplomatic experience (not even a political scientist specializing in international affairs) was appointed a commissioner or a staff member, notwithstanding the explicit mandate in the congressional enactment that the commission "review the theory and techniques of peaceful resolution of conflict between nations" and "study existing institutions which assist in resolving conflict in the areas of international

relations." The commission has, instead, focused its hearings on "peace and conflict resolution" in the local community and nation. The planetary level, including diplomacy as an instrument of "peace and conflict resolution," has been virtually ignored, although it promises to figure eventually in its final report.

The "President's Commission for a National Agenda for the Eighties," directed by the executive order creating it "to identify and examine the most critical public policy challenges of the 1980s," consists of fifty outstanding citizens appointed by the president alone, presumably on the best advice he could get from his wife, his staff and the cabinet. The commissioners are distinguished in many fields including poetry and astronomy, but not in diplomacy, although our diplomatic needs have long constituted one of our "most critical public policy challenges" and will, in the coming decade, be somewhat ahead, I should think, of the critical public policy challenges of poetry and astronomy. It is chaired by William McGill, who retired in June as president of Columbia University, and includes presidents of universities, companies, labor unions, the Children's Television Workshop, the National Council of Negro Women, the League of Women Voters and the National Urban Coalition, along with professors of environmental science, sociology, public health, economics and divinity, executive directors of the Children's Defense Fund and Consumers Union and the founding chairman of Common Cause along with that astronomer and a poetess—

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What an eminent American historian, Frederick Jackson Turner, called, "The transforming influence of the American wilderness, remote from Europe," has left an imprint on our foreign affairs.

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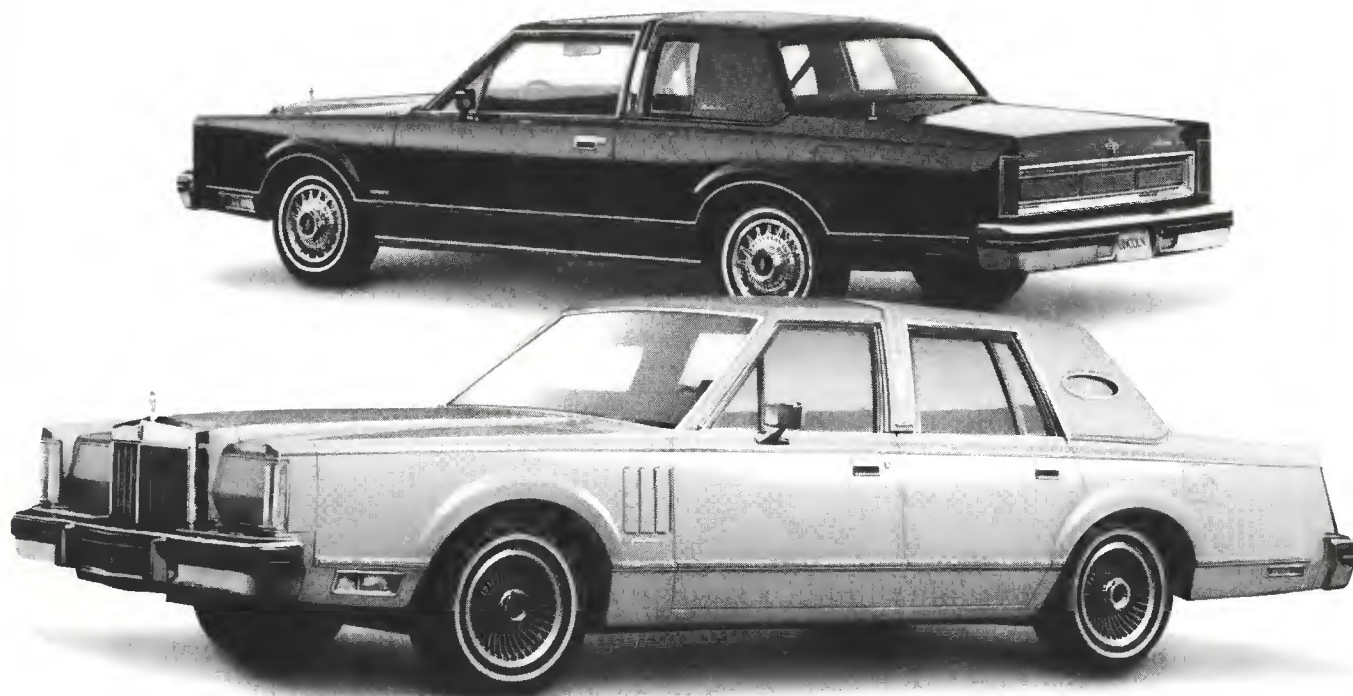
a distinguished roster—but no representative of the United States Foreign Service or of the seasoned diplomatic community. One member, William Scranton, had evanescent exposure to multilateral diplomacy during a brief service as the US ambassador to the United Nations. One member of its staff is a Junior Foreign Service officer.

The two commissions, thus, share several characteristics of interest to any student of our foreign affairs:

- both deal with matters closely related to our national security;
- both were, perforce—by their mandate—required to deal with diplomacy as an instrument of peace and of our national policies and objectives;
- yet neither has as commissioner any representative of the United States Foreign Service or any seasoned diplomat (the peace academy commission has *no* member with any diplomatic experience);
- neither has, as commissioner, a political scientist specializing in international affairs or a diplomatic historian;
- neither has on its staff anyone of extensive diplomatic experience (again, the peace academy commission has *no* one on its staff with *any* diplomatic experience);
- as a result, neither can hope seriously to address diplomacy and its role in the promotion of our national objectives and what we should do to improve our use of it.

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This astonishing and absurd situation, representing a substantial charge upon the American taxpayer and, if an Academy of Peace and Conflict Resolution eventuates, a much larger and continuing charge over the years ahead, invites analysis.

Faced by two commissions in the composition of which three of our leading statesmen have had a hand, our overseas friends will be prompted once again to shake their bewildered heads and ask why we behave so—they use different terms—simplistically, clumsily, stupidly when it comes to foreign affairs. Others, including some among us, will recall Henry L. Mencken's astrigent view that we are a nation of boobs and conclude this just adds confirmatory evidence. For myself, I would raise a less crematory question, not whether we are dumb or stupid when it comes to the kind of diplomacy exacted of a world power but whether we are hostage to that subtle factor to which Frederick Jackson Turner alluded.

In our early history, the importance of diplomacy was well recognized. It was viewed as an ingredient of our national security and a way by which important national interests were to be protected. The result was that our first secretary of state was pulled in from the field, being at the time our representative in France. Thereafter, until 1829, every secretary of state but one was a person of extensive diplomatic practice. Moreover, during the quarter century and more from 1801, when Jefferson assumed the presidency, to 1829, when Andrew Jackson became the first White House occupant from the transappalachian frontier, our chief executives had served previously as secretaries of state. So inveterate was this custom that the State Depart-

ment came to be viewed as a stepping stone, if not a prerequisite, to the presidency. All of this naturally brought diplomatic experience and perception to the apex of our government. For that very long period there were no amateurs or academicians involved in the Washington contribution to our diplomacy.

With the administration of our first frontier president this sophistication evaporated, reappearing only sporadically, as when Martin van Buren and James Buchanan became president after having served as secretary of state and minister abroad, the latter to two countries, Russia and Great Britain. The only diplomat to become secretary of state with long enough background to deserve classification as a careerist was John Hay. The frontier's disdain of diplomacy as peripheral socializing now permeated Washington and, with a spreading, metastatic effect, infected the nation. This now required the celebration of victors at Tippecanoe, Buena Vista and Appomattox for election to the presidency, not service as secretary of state and diplomat. Even sober, cultured people of the Atlantic seaboard who knew better, like Daniel Webster, succumbed to it. As secretary of state, the Massachusetts statesman could descend to a coonskin demagoguery in foreign affairs which would have shocked the Founding Fathers.

What we needed, the frontier insisted, were log-cabin, hard-cider, buckskin leaders who, like Andrew Jackson, William Henry Harrison, Zachary Taylor and Ulysses Grant, knew the important things of life—how to handle a gun, a bowie knife, a horse and a military unit—and were men of action, not of words. If the Indians were in the way, move 'em West, treaties or no treaties. If the Spaniards and

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British agents were stirring up trouble on the Florida border, move in, capture the culprits and hang 'em. If it couldn't be fifty-four forty, then fight. If Mexico was too chaotic to deal responsibly with the Texans and massacred them, do not resort to enough force to protect them but stake out greater claims than they and wage all-out war to end the trouble once for ever. If Spain could not administer Cuba humanely, then move in, not only to rescue Cuba but Porto Rico and the Philippines as well and train them to be democracies. And years later, if a brutal Batista became an off-shore stench, destabilize him so as to facilitate the take-over of Cuba by an equally—or even more—brutal Castro who, moreover, becomes an off-shore ally of our implacable antagonist. Don't reason, don't consider the consequences, don't reflect upon broad issues of international conduct, just *act*. Do something. Strategy? What's *that*? All one has to keep in mind is that the rest of the world respects our good intentions, our noble objectives, our rectitude and of course our military power.

Thus, a whole new national mentality evolved with respect to foreign affairs. Its astonishing ascendancy continues to this day in spite of the revolutionary changes which have occurred in the world to transform it into a single, if chaotic and dangerous, community demanding the most erudite and perceptive understanding. It has lately bored into the political discourse incident to our recent presidential election with a strident ringing of military defense gongs but without so much as a "howdy" to the need of beefing up our diplomatic resources, as though this was just too silly and far-fetched to mention—precisely the old gun-bowie-knife-horse-and-cannon approach to foreign affairs. So widespread is the frontier assumption that

others respect us and we thus steady the peace if only we keep our *military* resources ample, whatever our diplomatic blunderings, that it is almost impossible to get the idea circulated that military power unaccompanied by an equally resourceful and professional diplomacy is a source of allied fear and reluctance to follow our proffered leadership.

This is not just a contemporary phenomenon. Diplomacy and its resources have never been an issue in a presidential campaign, although they form an essential ingredient of our national posture and effectiveness. Nor is it the only persistent political symptom of the frontier mentality. Not only are presidential candidates not selected for their overseas experience and intimate knowledge of diplomacy, but presidents are not picking seasoned diplomats to head the State Department—the Jeffersons, Monroes, John Quincy Adamses and John Hays of our time. Nor do they appoint seasoned diplomats as their national security advisers. Nor are they refraining from appointing ignoramuses and clowns as ambassadors, some of these political appointees compounding the error by appointing, in turn, brash, gung-ho, insensitive people—right off the frontier—as their special assistants. Nor do secretaries of state have the guts of Hamilton Fish to tell a president that if the man he wants to appoint as ambassador is not doing well at home he does not deserve to represent his country abroad. What the primitive mind has never made any pretense of trying to grasp is the culture, interests and feelings of other people, whether they be Indians at home, neighbors to the North and South or overseas societies and this, incidentally, at long last is coming home to roost.

(Continued on page 39)

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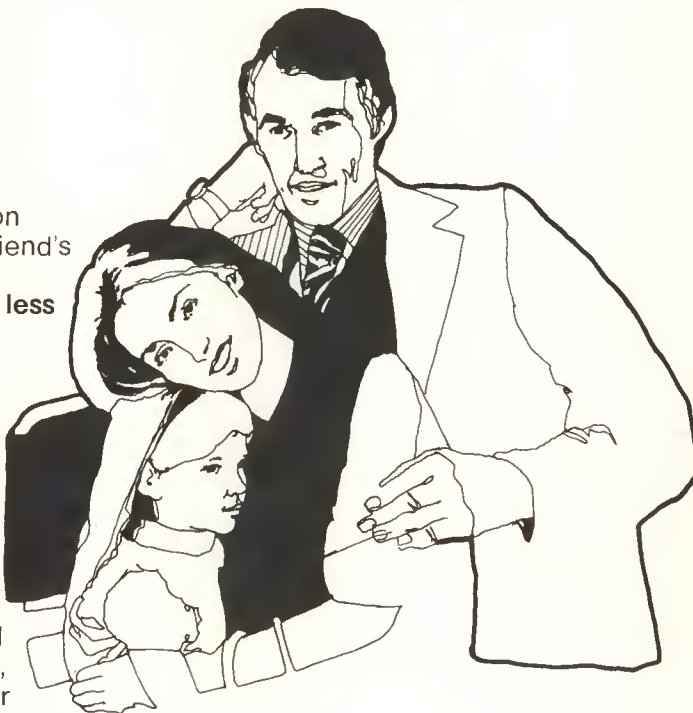
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## AID AND THE FOREIGN SERVICE ACT OF 1980

The new act should be viewed by AID management as a much needed opportunity and a challenge to adopt a rational career personnel system. However, some in top management do not want such a system. To them, Foreign Service careerism is antithetical to AID's style of appointing whomever they wish at whatever grade they wish. AFSA's position is that we should have a career system with hiring at junior levels, except in extraordinary circumstances, and competitive advancement. We have seen too many of the "new blood" crowd, generalists with influential friends, who have contributed little to the agency. Indeed, many have remained in training throughout their stay with AID, carried by the career service.

AFSA believes that AID's mission is as important as that of any other agency in the foreign affairs field and that it will continue to be so for the foreseeable future. The House of Representatives recognized this in the subcommittee reports on the new act. The majority of AID's foreign service personnel are capable development professionals, dedicated to the agency's mission. They would like to serve an agency that they can take pride in, to be able to give their best to it, and to retire knowing that their work has helped to make the world a better place. They want the opportunity to compete in a rational merit system that recognizes ability and rewards good performance. Those who toil in the vineyard effectively should not be considered and made second class to the new and unproven.

If AID is to carry out its mission it must be able to attract, develop, and retain such dedicated professionals in its Foreign Service. Otherwise it will lose effectiveness and become just another bureaucracy that exists to perpetuate itself, with employees who are motivated primarily by pay and the prospect of comfortable retirement. The most important cause of the disillusion and cynicism in AID's foreign service today is the absence of rational personnel management. After 32 years in business, the agency still has no consistent personnel policy; many actions that affect the lives and careers of foreign service employees are dictated by expediency and the whims of management. Moreover, unlike the Department of State, the administration of AID's Foreign Service personnel system (in fact, the agency in general) is controlled by civil servants who have a limited appreciation of what we do.

The new Foreign Service Act strongly supports, if it does not fully mandate, the restructuring of AID's Foreign Service system into a permanent career service like that of the department (the act does require compatibility). From the inception of the act, management has resisted, pleading that AID must retain maximum flexibility to recruit, RIF, promote, etc. in response to rapidly changing demands on the agency, and to accommodate the diversity of occupations within our Foreign Service. Such arguments might have been sound in the 1960s, but they have lost their validity today. Our Foreign Service has been reduced to a corps of generalist managers and ad-

ministrators with relatively few specialists remaining. We are spread thinly through the countries of the third world and rely upon a variety of intermediaries to provide specialized expertise for planning and to implement projects. The likelihood of any major change in our present mode of operation is remote. Flexibility to adapt the workforce to changing program requirements is available through changes in the extent to which we employ intermediaries and control recruitment, including use of limited, non-career appointments.

Detailed, five-year workforce planning, including reports thereon to the Congress, is mandated by the new act. This can be accomplished only by assuming a relatively stable career Foreign Service. It must include plans for recruitment, (at mid grades for some specialists such as engineers who should have experience and a track record), training, promotion and attrition. In other words, AID is going to have to do what the State Department does. AID can no longer rush to recruit for unforeseen requirements and rely on a RIF for wholesale separations when there is a major program cutback. What the new act is telling us is that we must manage our Foreign Service personnel system, as do the other "permanent" agencies.

Commissioning is a natural adjunct of such a system which should work to the advantage of agency management. If we must tell the Congress in advance how many people we will appoint and promote to each class, and the Senate has to confirm those appointments, we believe that the Congress will not expect us to change those plans radically just because they cut back our program funding for the next year. Also, the value of commissioning to attract larger numbers of more highly qualified recruits, including minorities, is obvious.

There seems to be an impression on the part of senior AID management that AFSA advocates a commissioned service only because of the minor perquisites that it would provide for our members, including a kind of superficial equality with Foreign Service officers of other agencies. This is not the case. We do not want superficial equality, we want real equality. Commissioning alone would be little more than a symbol.

Commissioning should be adopted in the context of the other major changes necessary to bring AID's Foreign Service personnel system into line with those of the other agencies and with the new act. Within such a context, however, it would give a great, and sorely needed, boost to the morale of the service—at a time when all foreign affairs agencies should be concerned with the attractiveness of a Foreign Service career—by giving a clear sign that management has recognized the need for a rationally managed, permanent, career service. On the other hand, failure to use the commissioning authority will indicate that management is blind to the opportunity before it, and demoralization of the service can be expected. AFSA will be watching. If necessary we will exercise our right and obligation under the new act to take our case to the Congress.

# INFORMATION PROCESSING TECHNOLOGY: PRESCRIPTION FOR AN AILING INSTITUTION

DOUGLAS K. STEVENS, JR

The Foreign Service is entering the '80s in a precarious state. Iran, Vietnam and a lack of national purpose find themselves mirrored in a diplomatic service questioning its role in a world it views as increasingly complex and hostile. Even the department's sister agencies in Washington are seen as threatening its survival. Administratively, an increasing workload, rampant inflation overseas and compounding personnel problems are matched by a shrinking workforce unimaginatively organized and archaically managed, dispiritedly trying to hold even against difficult odds.

The axiomatic belief that all situations: substantive or administrative, can be managed successfully by the journalist-generalist is glaringly inadequate. Yet, traditional institutional values continue to be espoused and alternatives shunned, or worse, paid lip service but denied resources in favor of reinforcing "core" skills.

Relentless pressure to reduce its workforce has nudged the department in the direction of computers. In Washington, traditional data processing functions such as payroll and, to some extent, personnel processing are automated. Overseas, a nascent automation program is targeted at some obvious labor-intensive functions in the administrative and consular areas: accounting, visa processing, etc. Aside from these hesitant steps outside the traditional structure, management in the department and overseas has ignored fundamental changes in the way government and private-sector organizations manage information—the department's principal stock-in-trade.

The availability of inexpensive

computers and increasing demands for information collected and compared in ways impossible with manual records systems have created a new way of looking at information. It is ironic that the Foreign Service, whose work is the collection and analysis of information, is so reluctant to realize and exploit the convergence of its mission and information-processing technology. Unless the Service begins now to manage its information as its most valuable resource, its further decline is inevitable. On the other hand, if the Service can look at its mission from the perspective of the systems analyst and integrate its traditional information-gathering role with modern techniques for storing, communicating and analyzing that information, the Service can reestablish its traditional hegemony in the foreign affairs community.

Data processing has evolved from the giant and expensive computers of the '50s and '60s to what the industry today describes as distributed processing. This concept involves locating a new generation of small computers with their users, rather than with data processing specialists, interconnecting or networking these devices with high-speed telecommunications circuits and passing information in electrical form among them.

This evolution has been made possible by equipment that is low-priced, reliable, easy to maintain and capable of functioning without elaborate air-conditioning or special power supplies. Remarkably, in an era where posts have problems maintaining typewriters and air-conditioners, it is possible to install and maintain successfully sophisticated mini-computer and word-processing equipment in those same locations. Perhaps even more remarkably, the distributed processing concept, although developed for a private sector model of a corporate headquarters with a number of geographically

disbursed manufacturing and marketing arms, meshes perfectly with the structure of the Foreign Service.

The classic distributed processing "environment" (computer jargon for organizational structure), in this case the department, embassies and constituent posts, has three major activities. These are data processing (that is, collecting, storing and retrieving information), word processing, storing and manipulating textual material and, finally, telecommunications, selectively transmitting data and text from one computer to another in electronic form. The parallels to an embassy's activities are obvious.

A political section spends a great deal of time developing biographic reports. Information is collected, edited, typed, edited again and filed, usually alphabetically by name. A report can be retrieved for analysis by name, but more sophisticated comparative analysis across functional, educational, racial, tribal or historical lines is usually a function of the memory, insights and experience of the analyst. While the abilities of many analysts are noteworthy, even the best pale before the power of a small computer, retrieving information under multiple indices. Without a computer's help, the time required to collect the information to conduct a broad-based analysis at a large embassy would be staggering and certainly sufficient to discourage the effort. By contrast, anyone who has used the *New York Times* computerized index for research can attest to the speed at which large files of indexed information can be reviewed with the help of a computer.

The availability of computerized, indexed information would open the door to statistical modeling of potential phenomena, a valuable counterweight to the qualitative judgments which comprise political reports today. Electronic storage would create an easily-retrievable post mem-

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ory. Such a memory or data base (more computer jargon) would enable each new generation of political officers to concentrate on expanding and refining existing information rather than recreating a data base already developed by their predecessors. Officers could then devote much more time to hard analysis and, in turn, generate more insightful reporting. A sophisticated telecommunications network would permit timely transmission of information and analysis to the department and other posts in ready-to-use, indexed and easily retrievable form.

Economic analysis is even more susceptible to computerization. Much of the available data already exists or is easily convertible to machine-readable form, ready for analysis using a range of well-known and accepted statistical techniques. Commercial work cries out for computerized tools to help with export promotion. Ideally suited to the distributed processing philosophy, posts could maintain information about customers, suppliers and market opportunities in their own computers while telecommunicating pertinent information to potential US suppliers. Tedious and resource-consuming tasks such as preparing and addressing mass mailings and invitations to trade shows can be managed easily and much more efficiently by computers with word-processing capabilities.

Both consular and administrative duties overseas are characterized by labor-intensive recordkeeping functions which distract local and American personnel from serving the public and the embassy community. Immigrant visa processing and providing services to American citizens are functions that can be highly automated with direct manpower savings and increased accuracy and responsiveness evident after a relatively short start-up period. Accounting, personnel recordkeeping and inventory work are enormously time-consuming, not very interesting and can be automated with immediate increases in employee productivity and work quality. Hundreds of communications personnel are engaged in highly repetitive work using obsolete equipment and outdated techniques to perform tasks that can be handled much more quickly, much more accurately and much less expensively with current information processing technology.

It seems clear that the introduction of distributed processing technology could greatly increase the productivity of the overseas work force, freeing up scarce personnel resources to work in areas not easily automated. Equally clearly, the implementation of this technology would be less expensive than using costly local and American personnel to accomplish the same tasks. Most important of all, the accuracy and timeliness of routine work would increase and officers would be free to concentrate on analysis and meaningful management tasks. Why then has the Service been so reluctant to embrace an obvious and perhaps the only path out of the quagmire in which it finds itself?

There are a number of reasons. First, senior and middle-level officers in the department and overseas are, by and large, ignorant of and, in many cases, aggressively disinterested in information processing technology. While the board of directors of any significant company would be horrified to hear a senior executive describe information processing as an area of interest only to technicians and specialists, this and similar thoughts are expressed confidently and received uncritically every day in the department and overseas.

Second, while information processing technology offers great promise as a tool to manage information, increase employee productivity and job satisfaction and free resources to meet an increasing workload, its implementation on a meaningful scale would be expensive and demanding. Equipment purchase and installation, software development, training and data base building all cost money, all demand significant numbers of scarce, highly-skilled personnel and all require managers at every level to divert resources from immediate and often pressing demands.

These two problems are compounded by a third: the department's severe shortage of technical managers, systems analysts and telecommunications engineers. The Foreign Service personnel system has done little, if anything, to encourage and reward those who develop these skills. A glance at this year's promotion board precepts reveals no mention of systems skills as worthy of special note. Indeed, those few officers who have developed systems skills are continually reminded by

their personnel counselors that they are becoming overly-specialized and should return to the practice of traditional skills as quickly as possible.

Finally, the few trained officers working with information processing are diffused organizationally. Although the information systems office (ISO) has responsibility for the overseas automation program, systems staffs with overlapping responsibilities exist in the bureau of consular affairs and the comptroller's office. An engineering staff working the office of communications is responsible for developing a telecommunications network for ISO's computers. This organizational fragmentation makes it difficult to establish responsibility and accountability for development of systems overseas. It precludes a rational ordering of resources and priorities while generating wasteful and unnecessary interorganizational tensions.

Despite these obstacles, there have been some solid achievements which could provide the foundation for a serious automation program overseas. The department has weathered the difficult federal procurement process and has contracts to buy state-of-the-art minicomputers and word-processing equipment for overseas posts. Other agencies are looking to State, some, admittedly reluctantly, to provide leadership in developing their own automation programs sharing State's equipment. Preliminary overtures toward developing a high-speed telecommunications network have been made and computer equipment meeting standards for processing classified material will soon be available. Most importantly, the department has already installed a number of minicomputers and word-processors overseas. By writing applications programs, training users, dealing with equipment vendors and troubleshooting problems, the department has developed the beginnings of an infrastructure which could, given the resources, manage a much larger program.

However, time is running out. The department's traditional pace of introducing change is being rapidly outdistanced by an exploding technology. The department must make an immediate commitment to implement information processing technology on a large scale in its over-

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"The proletarians have nothing to lose  
but their chains. They have a world to win.  
Workers of the world, unite."—Karl Marx

# The Polish Message

EUGEN LOEBL

Most people in the West are pleased with the success of the Polish independent trade union movement, but I am afraid that our good wishes alone will not go very far. The trade unionists need active aid and tangible support from the West, particularly the United States, in order to withstand the pressure they are bound to encounter from the Soviet Union and Poland's own government and party apparat.

Without substantive changes, both in Poland's internal structure and in its relationship with the Soviet Union, how independent can the trade unions really be? There probably will continue to be two trade unions, one run by the party and the other independent. The party trade union will continue to offer many privileges to its members—recreation, travel, health benefits, educational advantages, etc.—that an independent union will be unable to compete with. The party union will, of course, be much better financed. Will the Polish state allow union dues, heretofore automatically deducted for the party union, to be transferred to the independent union? I doubt it. Moreover, the party will

almost certainly mobilize its most active members to infiltrate the independent trade unions in order to discredit, distort and sabotage their policies and activities. Such tactics combined with the subtle kinds of pressure and discrimination that those holding political power can wield will also serve to undermine the independent trade unions.

But let us consider an unlikely proposition: that the Polish government would genuinely allow the independent trade unions freedom of action. Fundamentally, the latter would face very great responsibilities, without commensurate power to meet them.

## Limits to Bettering the Economy

Assume that the Polish trade unions might have the same independence found in the West. What path could they follow? What theories could they apply to turn an ill economy into a healthy one? No doubt, they would discover—as the five-year planners of the Soviet economy have repeatedly—that the existing planning system does not work. And, the right of the communist party to interfere with the producing sector reinforces the destructive impact of its bureaucratic ineptitude. The independent trade unions might help the Polish workers achieve higher wages, shorter working hours and more meat. But, higher wages and shorter working hours without increased productivity will only exacerbate inflation, and the real wages of the Polish worker will not increase. The worker may get more meat, but the Polish nation

won't have more. The other sectors of the population—those that lack the means to cripple the economy with strikes—will, accordingly, get even less.

Obviously, Marxist economic theory is not a Polish invention but neither has it been simply copied by the Poles. It is a theory and practice which has been imposed upon them by the Soviet Union. We have witnessed the Polish government threatening its own workers with the spectre of Soviet military occupation. There is no way the standard of living of the Polish workers and the nation can improve without an independent Poland, whose leaders could run the economy with Polish interests foremost, rather than those of the Soviet Union or of the Warsaw Pact empire. Polish levies to the latter exacerbate an already burdened economic structure.

According to official data, the Poles spend annually 70 billion zloty for military purposes. The total expenses, hidden in the budget, probably amount to more than 100 billion zlotys. This amounts to the average annual wage of approximately three million Polish workers. Those employed in the war effort are, generally speaking, also highly qualified and better paid than the average worker. Some three to four million people are employed in the armed forces or in the services and production related to their needs. But Poland has no intrinsic need for such armed forces. Of course, the USSR did use the Polish army to help subdue Czechoslovakia in 1968. But, as long as the Soviet Union

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*Eugen Loebel, a noted Slovak economist, was made minister of foreign trade when the communists took power in Czechoslovakia in 1948. Sharp disagreements with his Soviet counterpart led to his arrest and imprisonment. "Rehabilitated" when Dubcek became first secretary of the party in 1963, Dr. Loebel was made director of the State Bank. An active participant in the Prague Spring, he fled to America when the Soviets invaded Czechoslovakia in 1968. Since then he has been professor of political science at Vassar College.*

forces Poland to pursue an ineffective economic system and to sacrifice some 20 percent of its economic potential for the sake of maintaining Soviet hegemony in Eastern Europe, there is no hope that Poland can increase its standard of living.

I cannot say what the Polish trade unionists might have had in mind when they began their strike. But it is unlikely that they were interested only in free and independent trade unions. Having gone through the Marxist educational system, they know that Marxists and all communist parties object to trade-unionism *per se*, i.e., the attempt to use unions for economic betterment alone and not as a political tool to control the existing social system. Above all, the independent Polish trade unionists know from their own experience that trade unions in all communist countries have been used to impose party policy and discipline down to the rank and file workers. The trade unionists know all too well that they can be independent only in an independent Poland.

### **The "Prague Spring" and the Polish Events**

Recently, many articles in the American press have compared the current upheaval in Poland with Czechoslovakia's Prague Spring. The assumption has been that the primary difference between these two events is that the Prague Spring was led by intellectuals, while the Polish strikes were actions of the workers themselves. In fact, their differences are much more fundamental.

In Czechoslovakia, the opposition leaders and most of the intellectuals were former Stalinists. Dubcek, himself, was one. When the Soviets occupied Czechoslovakia, few were willing to fight. With the exception of Dr. Kriegel, all the leaders signed an agreement in Moscow allowing the Soviets to occupy Czechoslovakia militarily. These leaders remained in leading positions after the occupation to help pacify the nation.

To oppose the military occupation by military force would have been senseless. Yet, if the Dubcek leadership had called for a general strike, the Soviets would have had to have faced a situation which could not have been solved militarily. As a matter of fact, both Slovak and Czech workers asked for a general strike. But the former Stalinists were not willing to resist the Soviets so

directly. Most of them refused to emigrate, and some who were abroad at the time of occupation actually returned to offer their collaboration.

### **The Message of the "Prague Spring"**

The Prague Spring did show, however, that communist parties are not necessarily monolithic. There will always be conflicting factions in the party—even on the level of the politburo. In fact, the Prague Spring was started by Dubcek and his Slovak team in opposition to President Novotny. Some Czech members of the politburo joined the Dubcek fac-

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**"The greater the resistance by these nations (not necessarily armed resistance), the more Moscow will be forced to pacify other dissatisfied captive nations."**

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tion to oust the established leadership. But the so-called Dubcek team was, itself, hardly monolithic.

The most important message of these events in Eastern Europe is that the oppression of the Soviet-type regime creates explosive nationalistic responses and that, under certain circumstances, the oppressed nationalities are able to overthrow the existing leadership within the framework of the party rules. The Prague Spring emphasized the potential for independence within the party.

The Poles have concentrated on the trade unions, no doubt influenced by the events in Czechoslovakia. Their slogan of independence, even in one single organizational sector, is of tremendous political importance. The freedom of religion in Poland, when paired with the freedom of trade unions, could spread this impact to hundreds of different sectors of the Polish society.

The Polish upheaval is on sounder footing because it is not led by guilt-ridden Stalinists and apparatchiks, but by rank and file workers. At the same time, there is a certain similarity between the Slovak initiation of the Prague Spring and the

events in Poland. In both cases, nationalist self-determination and deep religious feeling merged into one powerful political stream.

### **The Polish Message**

We can deduce from the Polish events that the Soviet hinterland itself is vulnerable. The desire for self-determination or independence is deep-rooted and is the weakest link in the Soviet chain of control. It has also shown the power of religious opposition. Furthermore, the Polish situation has shown the working class, just as for decades we have seen the farmers and intelligentsia, in opposition to the existing regime.

Ironically, the West has helped the latter survive. All of its economic help, particularly the credits for machinery which amount to \$20 billion (according to unofficial estimates, \$30 billion), did not go to help the Polish people. It did supplement the Soviet war potential. Instead of putting pressure on the Soviet Union not to exploit the Polish nation, it made up to the Poles what the Soviets deprived them of.

### **Soviet Imperialism**

In Eastern Europe alone, the USSR is subjugating more than 90 million people. Typically, a problem for an imperialist system is the resistance of oppressed nations. The majority of the USSR's own population is non-Russian. The greater the resistance by these nations (not necessarily armed resistance), the more Moscow will be forced to pacify other dissatisfied captive nations. Owing to its very limited economic capacity, the USSR will have to reduce military expenses and limit its own armament in order to meet this resistance.

If the West had not given such massive assistance to the Soviet bloc, the Soviets could not have afforded to expand their armament program to the extent they did. They would have had to have given massive help in order to pacify the discontented in the bloc. The only safe way to curb the Soviet arms build-up is to force the Soviet Union to orient its economic capacity towards the needs of the people under its control, instead of subsidizing the Soviet Union by this so-called help to the oppressed nations, which in Poland has not helped the Poles but has

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"It's not that cold," I replied, but halfway to the *chai khane* a few icy blasts sent me scurrying back for my leather jacket.

While putting it on I noticed a little girl staring at me. She stood apart from the curious villagers, whose impassive sun-dried faces reflected the arid landscape. Her faded dress of red calico hung loosely over her thin body. The vacant stare in her big eyes pulled me toward her.

"*Khaleh shoma chatori?*" I greeted her in Farsi, squatting down so I could see her face.

She didn't answer. Gusts of raw wind whipped her dress around her fragile body and pulled at her thin hair, matted with desert dust. But she stood immobile as though frozen to the barren earth.

Reaching out, I took her hand. It was as lifeless as a puppet's.

"What's your name?" I asked softly, looking at her solemn little face, aged by malnutrition and soiled by grey stains around her mouth, blue with cold.

She remained silent. No amount of coaxing in her own language brought a word from her. Maybe she's a deaf mute, I thought. She didn't even whimper or shiver in the cold wind as though poverty had erased the last trace of feeling from her body. This unnatural lack of response blocked my maternal instinct to hold out my arms. Frustrated and angry at my own reaction. I was unaware of someone standing beside me until I felt a light touch on my shoulder.

It was the hand of a hollow-faced old woman, covered from head to toe in a faded black *chador*, a veil worn by the village women. She pointed at the little girl as words sputtered through her shrunken mouth, which moved like a suction cup over her toothless gums.

I couldn't understand her and called to Hassan, who was filling the tank with gas from the jerry cans. He glanced at me with disapproval. But when he finished he reluctantly joined me in the midst of the villagers, who seemed to be hypnotized by the drama taking place between one of them and an unveiled foreign woman.

Clutching her *chador* under her chin, the old woman addressed herself to Hassan. Her voice slowly rose to a high pitch and then suddenly stopped. Tears, too meager to flow, hung on her furrowed cheeks.

"What did she say?" I asked.

"This little girl is her granddaughter. God has sent you to save her life. She wants you to take her with you to Tehran."

"She wants to give me her grandchild?"

"Why not?" he asked sarcastically. "She's got plenty more." Obviously he hated such close contact with the poor. Yet there was a faint sadness in his eyes as he looked at the little girl.

"Come," he said, taking my arm, "let's have tea."

"Not until I've heard the old woman's story."

Seeing I was serious, he hurriedly related what she'd said; all the while averting his eyes as if to hide the

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**"Poverty knows no limits  
in its desperation. It's  
greedy and void  
of any sentiment or  
gratitude. In trying  
to save the poor, one  
ends up despising them.  
Poverty is a part of  
nature."**

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pain of revealing an ugly aspect of his country to an outsider.

The little girl's name was Zarah. She was ten years old, the youngest of seven children. About four years ago her father was badly injured when the walls of an underground water canal collapsed on him. No longer able to earn a living in the area, he had gone to Tehran to find a job. He hadn't been heard from since.

I looked at Zarah and suddenly felt sick.

She was eating mud.

"Don't do that!" I said and, without thinking, pushed her hand from her mouth.

"She's sick," Hassan said. "Ever since her mother died last year she's been depressed and has fits of eating mud."

I looked back at Zarah. The vacant stare had disappeared. Did the sudden physical contact awaken her feelings? Her eyes seemed to be pleading for help. I took off my jacket, removed my cardigan and

draped it around her puny shoulders. She looked down at the sweater and then at the old woman. "It's yours," I said in Farsi.

"Come on!" Hassan insisted, pulling me toward the *chai khane*.

The old woman ran after us, tugging my sleeve, begging me in the name of Allah.

"What is she saying?"

"If you don't take Zarah, as God wills it, she will die."

"Oh, Hassan, we must help her," I pleaded.

"What can we do?"

"Take her with us."

"Don't be foolish," he said impatiently. Turning to the old woman, he spoke in a firm voice. She let go of my sleeve and fell silent.

The tea house was dark and musty. Smoke from the open charcoal fire stung my eyes. Along one side of the small room stretched a wooden platform, covered with Persian rugs, where Professor Ahmadpour and Fereydoun sat cross-legged sipping from small glasses of steaming tea. A stream of dusty light fell from a hole in the roof, making a spot beside them on the red rug. Firuzeh leaned against the platform, her spike heels sunk into the smooth dirt floor. Opposite, three old men squatted on their haunches, like huge birds resting after a long flight.


A dark young man, in canvas-topped shoes with curled-up toes, brought us tiny glasses of amber tea and a saucer of sugar lumps. His baggy trousers, collarless shirt and sleeveless sweater were slick with a mixture of mutton grease and charcoal smoke.

After serving the tea he returned to the open fire, settled comfortably on his heels, and stared at us in childlike wonder, occasionally scratching underneath his woolen skull cap.

Hassan talked quietly with Fereydoun and the professor. I assumed he was relating the scene with Zarah's grandmother.

Drinking tea through a sugar lump, Persian style, I imagined taking Zarah to live with me in my big apartment in Tehran. Suri, my housekeeper, would be furious having someone else to wait on. But her heart would melt, I was sure, once she'd scrubbed and fed Zarah. In my imaginary picture, Zarah turned into a beautiful girl with thick glossy hair and a healthy body. Suri could

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# SAUDI ARABIA: THE AMERICA OF OIL

JOSEPH W. LITTLE

Electioneering makes people think curious things. Not long ago President Carter boasted, "We are the Saudi Arabia of coal." That pronouncement struck my ear with dissonance. Why should the president seek to brighten the image of the USA by associating it with a nation like Saudi Arabia (with all due respect)? The thought brought me despair. Yet, the president's statement also conveyed a germ of hope. We have coal but need oil. The Saudis have oil. Do they need coal? If they do, perhaps a swap advantageous to the national interests of both parties can be arranged.

Although the notion that the Saudis need coal seems absurd on its face, the absurdity dissolves upon more careful examination. Let me begin by saying that the source of hope in President Carter's statement is the realization that the United States possesses coal energy resources that far exceed the world's supply of oil and gas. This nation's coal supply, making up 25 to 30 percent of the world's total, exceeds that of any other and is closely approached only by the Soviet Union with a 15 to 20 percent share. Therefore, in the long run, the United States is more plentifully supplied with energy than anyone else. Even if we continue to use it up at the present rate, our coal would serve the nation's needs for two to three hundred years before depletion. This

is what stimulated the president to say, "We are the Saudi Arabia of coal."

Thus, we have genuine reason for optimism—the United States will be in a very favorable energy supply position once our economy switches from oil-and-gas to coal. That process will take ten to twenty years. In the meantime, what's to become of us?

Presently, runaway inflation threatens the nation's economy. Much of the cause can be attributed to the 15 to 20 times increase in energy prices since 1970. In 1970 Saudi Arabia light crude oil was selling for about \$1.80 per barrel; now it's about \$30 per barrel. The prices of all domestic products have soared. Moreover, because of our newly acquired addiction to foreign oil at the rate of several million barrels per day (as late as the middle '60s the United States was an exporter), we suffer a major foreign trade deficit, which drastically deflates the world market value of the dollar. Hence, the dollar just "ain't what it used to be" in international trade, including especially the trade for oil. Cheaper dollars cause oil countries to charge even higher prices just to keep their income constant.

To make things worse, the oil sellers are bringing their hoards of oil dollars back here to buy up American land and American industrial companies. It's not just money we're sending overseas, we are also giving up national control in private decisions about domestic affairs. Worst of all, we and the Soviet Union now teeter on the verge of a war over who will control the Middle Eastern oil during the oil-to-coal transition period.

How are we going to survive this transition without wrecking our nation's economy, undermining its home rule traditions and maybe even driving the world into war? Most sensibly, we could retreat from the high energy style of life that Americans now enjoy in favor of those less energetic days of only ten to fifteen years ago. That solution appeals to me, because it implicitly shifts some presumptions about what things are important. Values such as thought, planning and individual effort are favored by lower energy; while the need for them is simply swept aside by pouring on more mechanical horsepower to eradicate the mistakes we make when energy is unlimited. Nevertheless, cutting back does not seem to be popular with the political movers. Therefore, some other transitory solution must be found.

That's where Saudi Arabia comes in. Have we stopped to look at the present and future from its point of view? Saudi Arabia is a desert country with a small population and a single important national resource—namely oil. It presently produces about nine million barrels a day for world markets and its reserves are big enough to produce that much for 20 to 30 years. Then the wells will dry up, and unless its oil money has been invested wisely, Saudi Arabia will once more be just a desert forgotten by everyone but the Bedouins. So, to Saudi Arabians the big question must be, "After Oil—What?" Even now Saudi Arabia is not without difficulties. How well can its people be sleeping while the Russian bear is so viciously devouring nearby Afghanistan? Hence, the Saudis ought to welcome a safe-

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guarding presence in its regions—say, that of the United States.

But warding off invaders is not Saudi Arabia's only current worry. It needs a haven for its oil dollars; one that's safe from the ravages of war and inflation. In the short term, the oil money appears to be going into gold, which may hedge inflation but earns no current income. Presumably, it's these factors that channel so much foreign wealth into heartland USA, buying up farms and businesses. The oil sheiks see, even if we do not, that the United States is the world's safest bastion for long run security and stability. Now what we need is a plan to put the long run security of the United States to work for the short term benefit of themselves and us. That's what might get the Saudis interested in coal.

Finding a plan implies making a deal that will do two things: first, make the Saudis' territory and dollars safer, and second, stabilize this country's economy while we switch from oil to coal. Suppose the Saudis were willing to trade us Saudi oil in place in their soil in quantities large enough to tide the United States over for a twenty-year period? That would help us out if the price was right, but what could the United States offer in return that would be as good an asset as American dollars. The answer is coal—American coal in place in American soil in a quantity large enough to make a fair economic bargain.

In coal the Saudis would be getting an asset equal in current value to dollars but better in other respects because it would be secure from expropriation and inflation. As to expropriation, who's going to invade the United States? And as to inflation, coal is like gold, its true value won't deflate. In addition, the United States would pay a fair severance tax (say \$5 to \$10 per barrel) of adequate size to keep the Saudi economy stable. Finally, the United States would agree to buy back the coal in the future, either in place or mined, paying the then current market price. Or, at their option, the Saudis could sell their American coal on the world market.

How much oil and coal are we talking about? Twenty years of Saudi production at the present rate would aggregate to 66 billion barrels of oil. Although less than that should fill the needs of this country, let us assume that a swap was made for

that amount. How much American coal would it cost? Although experts don't agree on a single figure, a fair composite estimate of the size of recoverable American coal reserves would be the equivalent of 2000 billion barrels of oil. Trading off even as much as 200 coal units to get the 66 oil units would still cost only about 10 percent of our coal reserves. Such a trade would not severely impair the nation's long term coal supply, and on top of that, the nation's even larger amount of shale oil would remain to be produced in the distant future.

How would this deal benefit the Saudis? First, the United States' commitment in Saudi Arabia would be

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“Perhaps he didn't realize then that his nation could give God quite a boost in helping us, and, if I am correct, in helping itself.”


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made precise and firm, thus posing a greater obstacle to direct Soviet aggression. Second, the question of secure investment would be settled. Third, the projected life of the Saudis' natural resource would be lengthened by a coal supply of equal or greater duration. Fourth, a good contract would assure a future buyer—the United States government itself. Fifth, a good bargain would set the current severance income high enough to meet current Saudi needs, as augmented by other oil sales.

What's in it for the United States? If we could get nine million barrels of oil a day for, say, \$10 cash outlay per barrel, the annual balance of payments deficit would be slashed by a huge amount—maybe \$50 billion or more. The dollar would stabilize in world trade. Moreover, because the United States government (rather than multi-national oil companies), would be the importer, huge net revenues would accrue to the public treasury if sales to consumers

were made at current world prices. Taxes could be reduced, the annual budgetary deficit cut, or even, heaven forbid, the national debt paid off, thus improving the national economy. Furthermore, secretive and uncoordinated buying up of American assets would sharply slacken, thus halting erratic disruptions of local economies. In sum, the short-run uncertainties for dependence upon foreign oil would be largely ended, and if we are forced to make a choice about fighting for oil, we would know what we were to be fighting for and where the fight was likely to be. Presumably, too, we would have a staunch ally in Saudi Arabia.

What's wrong with this plan? First, it conveys away a part of a major national asset. But we're doing that now in what may be a much more damaging style. Furthermore, when the Saudis were to mine their coal in the future, they would be doing it with American miners and technology and would almost certainly be serving American consumers. Second, the multinational oil companies won't like it. Any windfall oil profits thereafter reaped would go to the American taxpayers and not to the companies. The companies wouldn't be total losers, however, because of their continuing role to produce, transport, refine and distribute the Saudi oil. Third, working out the contractual details would be difficult and politically explosive. After all, the governance of Saudi Arabia and ownership of its oil is apparently fractionated among a number of sheiks, not all of whom are pulling together at any one time.

No obstacle should stop the idea if it is economically sound and the parties are persistent and intelligent in bargaining. On this score it has seemed to me that Saudi Arabia's Sheik Yamani has demonstrated a more sensible understanding of the world's energy crisis than any other world figure. “If you don't change your ways (meaning voracious consumption), then God help you!” he said. Perhaps he didn't realize then that his nation could give God quite a boost in helping us, and, if I am correct, in helping itself. After all, Saudi Arabia might just like the idea of becoming “the Saudi Arabia of Coal,” standing quite a few notches shorter than “the United States of Coal,” but standing nonetheless. 

# Association News

## CONGRATULATIONS, GOVERNOR REAGAN

The letter reprinted below, to Governor Reagan from the president of the Association, represents the approach the Governing Board is taking with the foreign affairs advisers and transition team of the new administration.

*Dear Governor Reagan:*

The members of the American Foreign Service extend to you our warmest congratulations on your election as our next president. We welcome the opportunity to work for you in advancing the themes you outlined during your campaign to strengthen our national security and to support our global interests.

As professionals, experienced in the close relationship between the level of our national strength and our skill in knowing how and when to use it, we appreciate the challenges you and your secretary of state will face over the next four years. You will encounter inter-related economic, political and military issues compounded by interna-

tional population and social pressures more complex than those addressed by any of our previous presidents.

Your leadership and your mandate are firmly established. In support, the American Foreign Service offers you a resource of people selected in a highly competitive process on the basis of merit, representative of all segments of our population, trained in foreign languages, customs and history and their impact on our national interests. Foreign Service numbers are small—they have not risen at all during the last 20 years as the American global role and the rest of the government burgeoned. We are ready to give your foreign affairs team honest advice and service which is both disciplined and efficient.

A new Foreign Service Act, the first in 33 years, will take effect within a month after you take office. As you move to strengthen our national security apparatus you and the secretary will have this new charter for the Foreign Service, shaped in a

bi-partisan effort which began under President Ford. It provides an extraordinary opportunity to perfect the institutional base for fielding the very best people our country has to offer in pursuit of our national objectives.

In sum, as president you will have at your disposal both a highly skilled team of American professionals and a strengthened and enhanced structure for using them. We hope that in filling key foreign affairs positions both overseas and in Washington you will turn first to this powerful resource.

The American Foreign Service Association stands ready to assist you in all possible ways during the transition and throughout your presidency. We will be glad to facilitate any communication you or your advisors may wish to establish with the 11,000 members of the Service whom we represent. As you said on election night, "Together, we will do what has to be done."

*Sincerely,*

KENNETH W. BLEAKLEY

Posts continue to send us protest cables on the issue of insured packages sent via air pouch. Unfortunately, this is something we have no control over. The United States Postal Service simply will not accept zip coded mail of packages to our overseas posts if insured. The pouch room has actually been very cooperative and has continued to forward those packages that slip through the USPS. They have even taken the Postal Service to court on this issue—and lost. So, for the time being our best bet appears to take a chance on non-insured packages.

For further info we'll reprint the text of State Airgram A-0955 of 5/12/80:

The contents of this airgram are directed to those posts authorized to use the pouch for receipt of personal mail. It is being sent to all posts, however, to advise personnel who may be transferring, of the restrictions noted below.

US postal regulations, domestic

### INSURED POUCH HASSLE

mail manual, section 126, state in part that mail sent via the Department of State to Foreign Service personnel abroad is subject to certain limitations. They are: size, weight, and prohibited items as codified in 5 FAM Chapter 300, and a postal ruling that precludes registration and insurance services. In the last few months the US Postal Service (USPS) has made a concerted effort to enforce the registration/insurance prohibition and has been returning many items to senders with the following stamp: "Return to sender, service not available (Sec. 126, 254 DMM)." Since many post offices are not aware of the regulation, much of the mail is being returned from the receiving post office in Washington. That which gets through, the department accepts and forwards to post.

Negotiations with USPS to ease this prohibition have failed. It is therefore requested that all employees authorized use of the pouch be

advised of this prohibition. They should also be requested to notify mail order houses, correspondents, etc., not to register/insure mail entered into USPS for pouch transmission to destination. It should also be noted that this prohibition effects official supplies that are ordered from US commercial outlets.

### HOME LEAVE CASES

Oral argument in the Teil and Brewin cases for deduction of home leave expenses has been scheduled for 9:30 AM on December 10, 1980 in the US Court of Appeals for the District of Columbia. No quick decision is expected. The legal cost of this appeal will be heavy and we continue to accept contributions to the Thomas Legal Defense Fund. Please give generously by sending your donation either to AFSA at 2101 E St. N.W., Washington, D.C. 20037 or to the Thomas Legal Defense Fund, P.O. Box 19443, 20th St. Station, Washington, D.C. 20036.

## THE FOREIGN SERVICE ACT OF 1980

"The Foreign Service Act represents a truly powerful and perhaps unique enterprise of the Foreign Service community," said Ben Read, undersecretary for management, "and it simplifies grotesquely complicated personnel procedures and puts labor and management relations on carefully considered statutory grounds."

Mr. Read's remarks were given before a group of over 300 Foreign Service personnel attending a briefing on "How the Foreign Service Act of 1980 Affects You," sponsored by AFSA at the State Department West Auditorium on Thursday, October 23.

AFSA leaders and State Department officials spoke together on a panel, in a question and answer session addressing the concerns of Foreign Service career people. Speaking for AFSA were President Ken Bleakley, Thea de Rouville, Vice President, Joe McBride, AFSA State Department Representative, and Ron Witherell, AFSA Treasurer. Members of the panel from the management side were Ben Read, Jim Michel, deputy legal advisor, Edna Boorady, AID personnel, and Bill Bacchus, State personnel. David Newsom was the moderator.

Secretary Read went on to say that AFSA actions in helping get the act passed represented a "classic illustration of constructive action on the part of the Foreign Service." And, he reminded us that "Further negotiations will be necessary . . . it will take a year or two to shake down. Management wants to insure the widest possible involvement of Foreign Service personnel in implementing the act. If we implement it wisely, in the national interest, it will give us a proud, professional Foreign Service."

In response to questions, he said the act "recognizes the importance of the Foreign Service family in many provisions on wives and dependents"; and he pointed out that by "establishing a more predictable and controlled environment, the act gives a systematic means of addressing equal employment opportunity requirements. It is the first law on the US statute books that uses the words 'affirmative action' and thus has sanctified efforts well underway to make the service more representative."

AFSA President Ken Bleakley spoke of the need to focus on "the role and integrity of the Foreign Service." He discussed the history of the Foreign Service Act and said, "The act gives us a mandate to develop the kind of Foreign Service that will provide members a useful and satisfying career, a chance for professional development, and compensation equal to our risks and responsibilities." "However," he said, "How we use this mandate is up to us—it's only a piece of paper now."

Mr. Bleakley also spoke of the need to concentrate attention on the economic function—"We cannot abdicate our role in the economic sphere. Coordination of US economic policy overseas is becoming increasingly critical, and is clearly the responsibility of the Foreign Service."

He also spoke about the State Department budget process, saying, "We, the members of the Foreign Service, must be willing to take a more active role in the budget process. Full implementation of the act will necessitate a supplementary request to OMB for FY 1981. AFSA will work with management to fight the battle of the budget, both with the administration, which may have some reservations about the new funding levels, and with Congress—but now we know who our friends

are there, and it will be easier."

In closing, Mr. Bleakley thanked AFSA's friends (members of Congress who had worked for the act) and their staffs. They included Dante Fascell, Pat Schroeder, John Buchanan, Jim Leach, Bill Ford, Clem Zablocki, Bill Gray, Joel Pritchard, Claiborne Pell, Chuck Percy and Paul Tsongas. Then he reminded members that this would be a good time to sign up new members, to strengthen AFSA and broaden its base.

After remarks by Undersecretary Read and AFSA President Bleakley, the floor was opened up to questions from the members for an hour and a half. There were a great many questions on the coming conversion of FS Domestic to GS. Bill Bacchus gave a description of the proposed conversion process, including the means of appeal and the timetable. Other questions concerned the prospects of getting funding for all provisions of the act, the timetable for AID conversion to the FS schedule, the means for implementing the affirmative action requirements of the act and the problem of establishing the new Senior Foreign Service.

AFSA is working to encourage management towards providing a comprehensive explanation of the provisions of the act for all FS personnel, but we are also going to do as much educating ourselves as possible.



*Secretary Muskie met with Governing Board members (L to R) Jon Sperling, Joe McBride, Galen Fox, Thea de Rouville, Ken Bleakley, Fred Shaver, Frank Dimond and Bob Stern to review a range of Foreign Service professional interests just prior to final debate on the Foreign Service Act of 1980 in September.*

## DIALOGUE ON AID BETWEEN JON SPERLING AND JIM KRAUS

*Jon Sperling, AID representative on AFSA's Board, met with Jim Kraus, chief, labor relations staff, on November 7, and your reporter was permitted to eavesdrop. Here's what we heard as Jon asked some probing questions of intense concern to AID employees:*

**Q.** What provisions of the new Foreign Service Act, signed less than a month ago, does management like? Dislike?

**A.** Jon, that's a very good question. As you know, by way of background, AID coordinated with the Department during the drafting of the legislation and a number of the original provisions were modified in accordance with our suggestions. For example, the initial legislation called for uniform personnel regulations among the agencies. We were able to have the term "uniform" changed to "compatible." Because of the opportunity to participate in formulation of the earlier drafts we are generally pleased with the act as passed.

**Q.** Is there anything you are not pleased with?

**A.** It's a bit too early to tell. We need some experience under the provisions of the act before we can answer the question with any certainty.

**Q.** AID/AFSA is generally pleased. We would have liked more conformity in certain areas to reduce management's hiring flexibility which has been exercised recently to bring on a lot of new FSR-2 and -3 generalists when there are so many qualified people already on board. However, I think we are in general agreement and naturally we will be working together very closely to make sure the regulations drafted to implement the act reflect AID's real interests. The act contains a lot of things to improve the personnel system and, in AID's case, to actually create a personnel system for the first time in 32 years. Can you tell me the general goals for improving the Foreign Service personnel system?

**A.** Virtually the entire 3 FAM system as it relates to personnel is under review by the foreign affairs agencies. By way of volume this represents about a foot of draft 3 FAM policies. In terms of AID, I might say I wouldn't envision large changes in our overall personnel pol-

icy goals. Our current Handbook 24, Chapter I, General Personnel Policy, discusses at some length personnel development, training, promotions, affirmative action, as well as other policies. While the act itself will enable us to focus more clearly on some of these policy areas, in fact many of our current personnel policies will remain essentially the same.

**Q.** From AFSA's point of view we think that the agency should pay more attention to the act's caveat for forward planning and identification of the long-term needs of the agency. Clearly the message given in the act is to institute career counseling which is one thing the agency has been slow to act on. We would like to see clearly set goals from the agency on how they plan to implement the new act's directives on personnel recruitment, planning, training. Parenthetically, Jim, we think you ought to preamble Handbook One with the statement that AID employees are investments, not costs. That would create a fine positive mindset among those dealing with personnel and might set a good tone for implementation of the new act.

**A.** We currently are reviewing the provisions of the new act; thereafter we will plan for orderly implementation at all levels to achieve the kinds of results to which you have been referring.

**Q.** The act urges a personnel system compatible to the other foreign affairs agencies. Do you see any area where compatibility should not be sought?

**A.** The act urges seeking compatibility among the personnel systems to the fullest extent possible. "Compatibility" means capable of existing harmoniously . . . in this case, with other agencies. I anticipate some differences in "conditions of employment" for AID employees under the act because of differences in the missions of the various agencies. For example, AID administers foreign assistance programs in LDCs. This means that, in cooperation with host countries, we plan and implement programs with specific goals and time frames. We are at the same time both product- and process-oriented. In this regard, we are not a diplomatic mission which has, in many cases, a different set of goals and objectives. Yes, with the differ-

ences among the agencies in mind, I believe our personnel systems can be compatible.

**Q.** Jim, one difference in implementing the act is in commissioning; this is one of the areas AID is shying away from. The other four foreign affairs entities covered under the act plan to take advantage of this, yet AID has steadily rejected it. We have argued continually for commissioning for the people that the agency will keep on for a career—that it is in the interests of the agency and is a critical element of a personnel system with a long range view. No positive response has come from management. Among the arguments for commissioning are certain financial benefits, freedom from RIF and true equality with our colleagues in other foreign affairs agencies. We are disturbed that management has not supported this. Will you, in the future?

**A.** The agency has undertaken a thoughtful and very serious review of the concept of commissioning and management does understand the need to make a decision as soon as feasible. I would anticipate that a decision would be made on commissioning soon after the results of the review have been finalized.

**Sperling Comment:** We certainly hope so. It has been too long that AID people have been left out in the cold on this important condition of work. The State Department, AFSA and the Congress all supported commissioning during the discussions on the Foreign Service Act of 1980. It behooves AID to get on board with this much-needed and virtually costless action which would signal both respect for employees and a commitment to a planned personnel system rather than a lurching crisis-oriented series of actions.

**Q.** Jim, there are a whole slew of allowances authorized under the new act which redress a number of inequities which have developed over the years and we are all very thankful for them. Unfortunately, because of the administratively determined policy that no one can earn more than \$100 less than the ambassador, over 25% of AID field people will be unable to earn either their full entitled salary and benefits or avail themselves of some of these new benefits. We understand that this ambassadors' cap is an administrative decision and can be solved by the stroke of a pen. AID is going to

continue to have a very difficult time staffing many of its hardship posts (which are most of AID's posts these days) unless that cap is lifted. As well, it is a simple injustice not to pay employees all that they are entitled to. Does AID support the lifting of this cap which we calculate should cost about one and one-half million dollars, or do you think that you will have difficulty finding money to do it?

**A.** AID management currently is reviewing all of the problems attendant to the cap and is doing so in conjunction with the other foreign affairs agencies. We are sensitive to the needs of our people working overseas and have every expectation that the situation which you have just described can be ameliorated.

**Q.** You know, of course, that 80% of our personnel and 80% of our posts overseas are authorized differentials, so it really is quite important.

**A.** We understand that the cap impacts heavily upon AID personnel, and I can assure you the entire problem is being given a thoughtful and thorough review. We would expect decisions among the agencies in the near term.

**Q.** We certainly hope so. Mr. Read made a public commitment last spring when AFSA wanted this written into the act to administratively deal with the problem, and while we are on the subject, there is no reason why ambassadors should not be given post differentials as well. Their lights go out and their water doesn't run and they get malaria the same as everyone else.

**A.** I assume you are talking about the entire range of allowances which are written into the act and, of course, it is important that these allowances be provided to the Agencies on as uniform a basis as possible. AID, in this regard, has the same prospects as the other agencies for implementing the allowances but, of course, the ability to provide allowances for our overseas staff depends on appropriations. We have not always had sufficient funding availabilities. As Congress has given us the Foreign Service Act of 1980, they should also give us the funds with which to do the job they have mandated. If this is not done, we might consider a supplemental appropriation.

**Q.** Well, Jim, from our reading of the AID '81 operating year budget,

you could pay for a great many of these benefits right now. Once again, the agency has set aside 18,000 hours of overtime for the SER bureau alone and in looking at your worldwide on-board employment figure one can see that the development support bureau is still paying for 258 employees of other government agencies to carry out centrally funded projects. There is probably about five million dollars in that alone and I think you would have to look far and wide to find field people who would believe that that has as high a priority as the just payment of earned income. While most AID people truly enjoy their work and the psychic income from working on development is probably higher than that of any of our foreign affairs colleagues, losing income because of an outmoded status-based policy is just plain unfair in 1980. It may have been justified in 1910 but surely not now. There are a whole slew of other costs which could be trimmed or eliminated. We think it is not a question of money but a question of priorities.

**A.** Obviously I haven't had the opportunity of analyzing in depth the operating expense budget for FY 81 so that it is difficult for me to comment on the justification or lack thereof for any line item. The budget was prepared, based on projected needs of the agency. In any case the operating expense budget reflects a request for funds and is contingent in large part on what Congress is willing to give us. It is not a reflection of what we have. As you know, last year and again this year, it appears that we will have to live with a continuing resolution. This may mean that budgeted amounts will need to be adjusted downward. Regarding agency budgets, generally, under the FS act of 1980, Chapter 10, Labor Management Relations, the budgets of an agency are not the subject of direct negotiation with a labor organization—which AFSA is under the act.

**Q.** Wow! We weren't trying to rob your bank, we were just trying to help you find some money to compensate your employees who are by the way, AFSA constituents. We would be pleased to identify from our membership some budget and income experts, program officers, execs or even sharp-pencilled loan officers, to go through the operating expense budget vigorously. I bet you

\$5 we could wring out that budget in 24 hours to the point where you could pay everybody everything they have coming to them.

**A.** Thank you for your kind offer of assistance. Perhaps management, with that offer in mind, may be able to identify funding opportunities unilaterally should Congress provide us with our full request.

**Q.** We have had a year of experience with the personnel regulations adopted pursuant to the Obey amendment. From AFSA's point of view it has been an often painful fight chasing management around to make sure that the Obey amendment is not circumvented. Things like creation of 32-hour week jobs, no good positions for Staff Corps in Washington, encumbering of FS positions by GS for extended periods of time have been a constant annoyance and indicate less than full commitment to the principle of Obey. How does management view the Obey regulations, are they accomplishing what was intended and do you see any need for modification of them?

**A.** Agency management agrees fully with the goal of Obey; that is, to oversimplify, that policy jobs in Washington be filled by Foreign Service personnel. It is now time to assess the impact of the Obey regulations on that goal. As with any new regulations we do need at least one cycle of experience. At least a year, as you have mentioned, followed by an assessment of what has been achieved. We understand that there is unhappiness among both FS and GS personnel regarding the Obey amendment and, with this in mind, we do intend to undertake a complete review.

**Q.** We would hope that this review, whenever it occurs, and I might add that AFSA is not holding its breath, would occur fully in the light and spirit of openness and cooperation with AFSA. As you know, when Mr. Nooter testified before Congress on the Obey amendment he committed the agency to a full and frank interchange with the exclusive bargaining agent on all matters pertaining to the Obey amendment. This has not always been the case. We would hope that you do live up to this commitment.

**A.** The agency will meet its lawful commitments with regard to the Obey amendment and attendant regulations. I can assure you of that.

**Q.** This year we have written in-

numerable letters to you, Miss Boardy, and Mr. Wheeler expressing our dismay at the astoundingly large number of high level entries to the AID Foreign Service. This has an obvious deleterious impact on the careers of our on-board people and reflects to many of our members an anti-careerist attitude toward those who have worked many years with the AID and amassed a tremendous amount of experience and knowledge. You have 512 FSR-3s on board and over 200-2s. Why the agency feels it necessary to go out on the street and hire a generalist whose only overseas experience has been a barbecue in Juarez is beyond our comprehension. What are management's views on AFSA's position?

A. The agency will continue to promote from within and select judiciously those persons from outside who bring with them particular talents or qualities needed by us. We expect that the preponderance of promotions will, of course, be from within the ranks of our highly-valued and professional officers and staff.

Q. It seems to me that when the agency is just coming out of a long drought in promotions such as we had between 1976 and last year, judicious promotion from within would indicate high promotion levels and hiring from the outside would be accomplished only at the IDI (International Development Intern) level. To the extent that you need specialists or some exotic talent, these people are readily available under contract. Last year your hiring level at the 0-2 level was equal to 80% of the promotions given between 1976 and 1979. We don't view this as particularly judicious or, I might add, politic in the eyes of our large, highly qualified on-board staff. What is needed are more and larger IDI classes. AFSA understands that in September 1979 you had between 8- and 10,000 applications for 200 jobs at the IDI level. So you see there is a supply to meet your demand. I guess it all points to a strong need for system and some sort of discipline on management's hiring practices. Increased crossover and retraining opportunities would also be helpful.

A. I am glad you recognize that the long drought in promotions appears to be over, as evidenced in 1979 and hopefully again this year and beyond. Promotions, of course, are based on projections of attrition

rates and agency needs as related to program size and composition. In addition to promotions from within, the agency does, as is the practice in other federal agencies and the private sector, recruit from outside particular individuals who bring with them to the agency management experience and skills which are needed. We agree with the need for increased emphasis on IDI programs and on cross-over programs. These kinds of entry level opportunities, of course, are contingent again on agency requirements. We hope to improve and refine all of our personnel policies including promotion and recruitment.

**Sperling Comment:** Thanks, Jim, I guess Andrew Jackson would have said the same thing about his hiring practices if he had been asked in 1828. What we recommend and support is certainly harder and more costly than going out on the street and hiring. However, the work of the agency is going to take a long, long time to bring to a successful conclusion and we think that our suggestions hold greater promise of creating the type of Service suited to our long-haul objectives. We look forward to further bouts on this matter.

Q. Morale has clearly risen in the aftermath of the pay comparability and with the promise of more modern conditions of work in the FS Act of 1980. However, it is still not what it should be. What is management's view of employee morale? Do we have a trend line? Do you have any plans for improvement?

A. Morale among AID Foreign Service personnel has been and is quite high. This is evidenced by the excellent work our people have done overseas, sometimes under trying circumstances. These accomplishments have been praised by the administrator and more recently by members of Congress. We believe that morale will improve even further after the benefits of the Foreign Service act have been implemented, including career counseling and the many allowances which are under consideration.

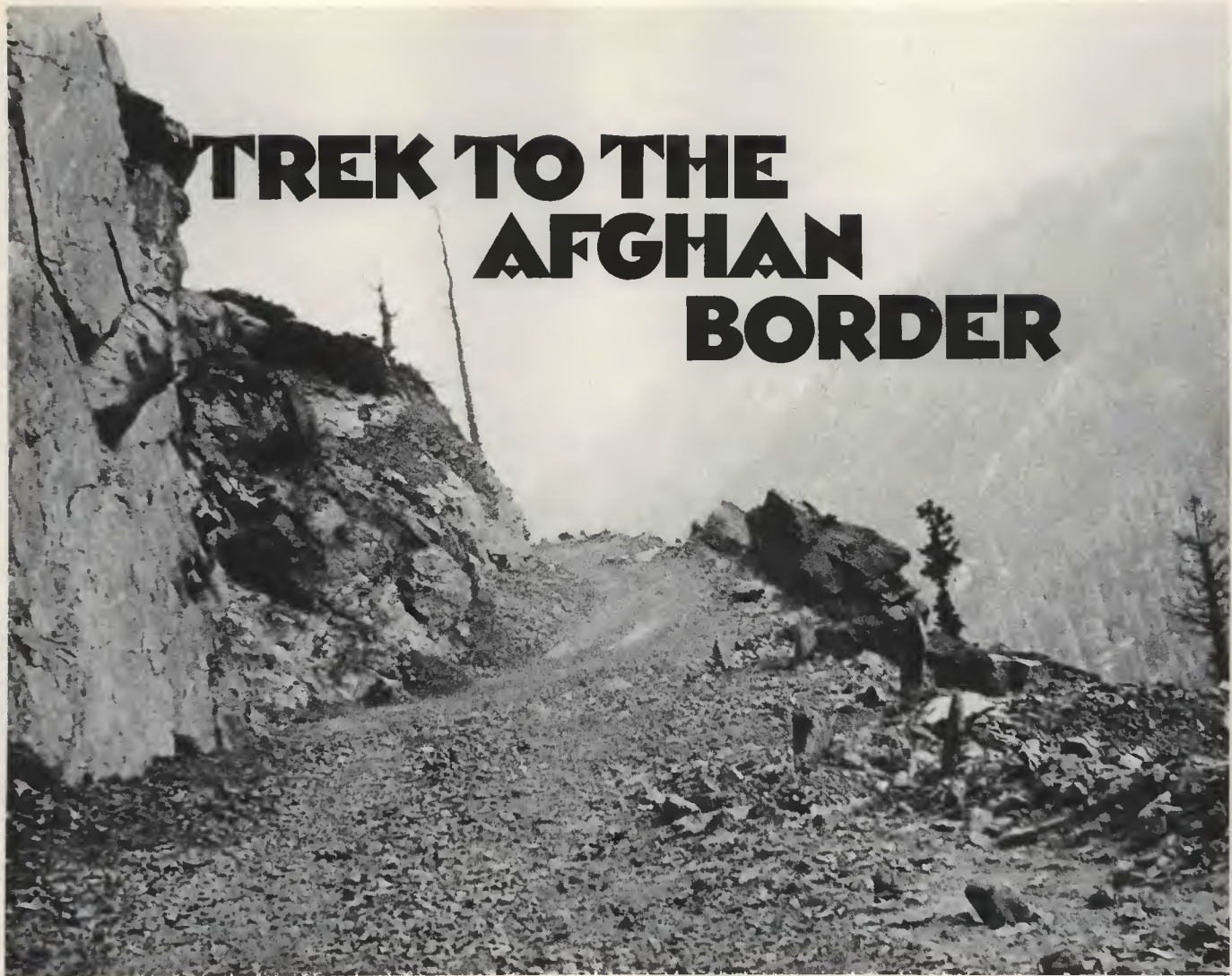
Q. AID/AFSA believes morale has gone up in general and part of the reason is because the work we are involved in is very exciting work. Also AID people, being professionals, do not depend to a great extent on management's largesse for their satisfaction. There is one major area where morale is abysmal—that is among the Staff Corps. We would

hope that management would take the opportunity presented to it in the next congressional session to include certain staff benefits under Obey which would assure rewarding work for our staff during rotation. A position reclassification exercise that we requested over a year ago for our staff would also be useful in confirming the fact that they do a devil of a lot more than appears on the moss-encrusted SPARS which management used during the Hay study. We have really got a problem in staff morale and I hope that management's response will be more than just words.

A. The agency appreciates the very fine work and contributions which our dedicated Foreign Service Staff personnel have made over the years. We are sensitive to the need for increased opportunities of all kinds for our staff personnel, and, accordingly, are undertaking a review of various options within the context of the act.

**Comment from Jon Sperling:** I have appreciated your coming around here and putting your head in the lion's den. We further are gratified by the fact that management has thoughtful and concerned Foreign Service people dealing with concerns of ours and you are certainly one of them. After seven years of bargaining with us, it's heartening to know that all of management doesn't think that AFSA members are Luddites or worse. Let's hope we can step up the responsiveness of both sides.

**Response from Jim Kraus:** Thanks very much, Jon, for your kind remarks and the opportunity of placing myself at peril in your hands. You know, belonging to the Foreign Service is not just a job or a profession—it is a way of life. For AID personnel overseas it is a way of helping improve the lives of others and a way of helping to fashion and implement United States foreign policy abroad. While rewarding and enriching personally, it can also be physically unhealthful and quite dangerous. I personally, as a Foreign Service officer in Washington, try not to view AID from a purely domestic perspective, rather I view AID as a group of dedicated men and women and their families living overseas who are helping, in the name of the United States government, those who are less fortunate than we.



# TREK TO THE AFGHAN BORDER

## ARTHUR LEZIN

*August 4:* The twin-engine Pakistan International Airline (PIA) plane just makes it over the Shera Shing pass and noses down to the landing strip in Chitral—near the Afghan and Chinese border in northern Pakistan. I say noses down because the entire family—my wife, Alice, and Benjie (11), Katya (13), and Nicole (15)—are pressed in the cockpit. We have been invited up by the captain shortly after take-off on the last leg (in Peshawar) to see any of the giants of the Karakoram Range that are visible. The view from the cockpit is

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*For the past seventeen years Arthur Lezin has served in AID missions in Guatemala, Chile, Uruguay, Colombia and Pakistan. While in Islamabad, he and his wife and three teen-age children traveled extensively in northern Pakistan and neighboring countries.*

*All photographs are by the author.*

spectacular, even though K-2 doesn't cooperate.

We had been planning this trip—a hike with porters and guide through some of the most beautiful and isolated parts of the world—for almost a year. You would never know how much effort had gone into the preparation by the number of questions still unresolved as we taxied over to the hut which served as arrival and departure terminal. For one thing, we didn't know if Major Mulk, a retired Pakistan army officer living in the area who had friends in the US embassy, had made the arrangements for our trip, or even knew we were coming. Because of heavy floods in the area disrupting all transport, we had reluctantly decided to postpone the venture until next year. Then we heard from Major Mulk that despite washed-away bridges, slides and other impediments we could hike up to TrichMir

Base Camp—the third highest mountain in Pakistan (25,267 ft.). This sounded good; I wired him we would be arriving on the 4th. He never received the wire and wasn't at the airport.

Another unresolved issue had to do with government of Pakistan regulations that formal permission is required by any foreigners hiking or climbing in the northern areas. For two months I had made daily efforts to push our request through the bureaucracy in the capital, Islamabad, but was unsuccessful. We found out later that the US embassy received a note about the time our plane was landing as follows:

The Ministry of Foreign Affairs presents its compliments to the Embassy of the United States of America and with reference to the correspondence resting with their note No. 562, regarding Mr. Lezin's visit to the northern areas, has the honour to state that the local authori-

ties have informed that in view of the heavy rains and other difficulties in the areas, they do not recommend the visit. The Ministry, therefore, regrets its inability to agree to the proposed visit of Mr. Lezin. The Embassy will appreciate that this has been done to ensure the safety of the visitors.

Finally, there was the question of return reservations: we didn't have any. At this time of year the daily scheduled flight makes it through the clouds into the Chitral Valley about twice a week. We were planning on returning in seven or eight days. Perhaps it would be more accurate to say we *had* to return because of minor obligations like jobs, school, etc. Unless we could find space on a return flight, we might be the authors of a treatise of rather limited appeal, "surviving a winter in snow-bound Chitral."

The Chitral valley is 200 miles long and bounded on the west and south by Afghanistan. To the north, a narrow strip of land, Wakhan, separates the valley from the Soviet Union, and, to the east, the Province of Hunza from China.

Chitral itself, at an elevation of 4,980 feet, is on the bank of the Chitral River, which flows into the

Kabul River and then the Indus many miles downstream. The economy is almost exclusively farming, as was the case when Alexander the Great passed through in 327 B.C. Traces of Greek culture are most easily seen in the Bamburet Valley and the Kafir Kalash tribe which lives there, a two-hour drive away.

On our way from the airport to the Chitral Mountain Inn we noticed small terraced plots of wheat and corn, and apple, fig and pear trees. The town consists of a four- or five-block-long street with small shops lining both sides. As we drive by the vendors it is clear that there is no danger of blowing our rupees on the local handicraft. We see sandals made out of tires, kerosene stoves, rice, and sheepskins filled with ghee (vegetable oil) for sale.

We check into the Chitral Mountain Inn. By Pakistan country standards it is not bad—two stories, twelve or so rooms facing a grassy courtyard; 100 rupees or \$10 per night per room. The only other guests are a couple that would have to be described as unusual, even by Chitral standards. He is Jamaican, she Belgian, and they traveled to Chitral from Peshawar, 227 miles

away, on horseback.

We spent the rest of the day conferring with the district commissioner or D.C. (loosely translated: governor of the province), Major Mulk, who is surprised to see us, and Sahib Khan, our Chitrali guide. The D.C. wants to be helpful, but is hampered by the fact that he is responsible for our safety, and he doesn't know what road and trail conditions are like in most of the spots where we want to hike. Several alternatives are jointly considered and rejected. The Trich-Mir Base Camp sounds great but has one minor flaw: we will have to ford the raging Chitral River by forming a human chain. I have visions of one child after another breaking free and thundering downstream. Finally we decide on the Madklasht valley—a four-hour jeep ride to the trail head and a twelve- to fifteen-mile hike to what will serve as our base camp for further forays into the mountains.

*August 5:* By 6:30 A.M. we have finished the Mountain Inn breakfast (ugh!) and loaded the jeeps. Two drivers had attached themselves to us at the airport, the start of what turned out to be, for them, a highly profitable association. There is every



*The kids carry their share*



*Outpatient clinic at our camp*



*Nonchalant school of bridge crossing*

indication the weather will be clear; all the obstacles appear to have been surmounted and euphoria reigns in the Lezin clan. The track follows the river and then heads up into the valley which will be our jumping-off point. An hour or so later the first sign of trouble: we are flagged down by two road workers who explain there is a slide ahead. Sure enough, around the next turn we see that several hundred yards of what had passed for the road no longer exist. A conference: it is about fourteen miles to where we intended to have the jeeps bring us. It is also about 90° and climbing. Should we start our hike now, adding a day to the trek in each direction? Reason prevails. We turn around (with difficulty) and head back to Chitral. Euphoria has turned to gloom.

On the way back Major Mulk, who had joined us for the jeep ride, suggests we stop at the home of his cousin. It is an impressive spread, built on a cliff overlooking the river with marvelous views in every direction. The cousin and other male members of the family are introduced to us. The women are nowhere to be seen. Even in this prosperous and educated household they observe "purdah," the Moslem custom where women are segregated and cannot show their faces to male strangers. Alice and the kids are invited to see their faces and have a great time. They are particularly im-

pressed by the latest in "his" and "her" accoutrements: a lovely, secluded garden for "women only." Meanwhile, I drink tea with cousin, which turns into an elaborate and delicious lunch.

By mid-afternoon we are back in Chitral and another meeting with the D.C. is required. We decide the best bet is to head in a northerly direction, as far as there is a jeepable road, spend the night, and take off on foot the next morning to a valley leading to the border with Afghanistan. The D.C. tells us that this is an area virtually unseen by foreigners. It is not clear, and we don't ask, if this is because they have more sense than we do or because the Pakistan government denies them permission. In any case, we pile back into the jeeps and there is spirited infighting for the few less uncomfortable sitting or sprawling arrangements on top of the baggage. For most of the two and one-half hour trip the road is in sight of the river—a tumultuous, mud-filled torrent. At one point, the track is so narrow—rock wall on one side and a sheer drop of several hundred feet on the other—that the driver has to stop and bend in the rear view mirror so we can get by. By this time we are hardened and experienced riders, and there is hardly a change in pulse.

We arrive at Garm Chashma (Warm Springs) 6100-foot elevation, just before dark and start to set up our

tents. There are just two problems: 1) we seem to be in the middle of some kind of swamp; and 2) the entire population of the village has suddenly materialized, enthralled by our presence. Major Mulk suggests that we spend the night in a nearby rest house, and, to the disappointment of the throng, we spread out our sleeping bags indoors. As Sahib Khan tries to get the optimus stove to function (his major responsibility for the next five days), Nicole screams from the other room: "there's a dead rat in the toilet." A reconnaissance by flashlight (we have light fixtures but no electricity) confirms that she is not exaggerating. This sets the tone for our stay in the Garm Chashma Rest House (\$2.50 per room for anyone interested in making reservations) and is a fitting end to the second day of our adventure.

*August 6:* Another beautiful day. Praise be to Allah. I confidently offer to make pancakes but miscalculate on the amount of water in the batter and, by common consent, am relieved of this particular duty for the balance of the trip. While we are fueling up, heated negotiations are underway with the porters. After a series of threats on both sides to return home, we agree on 40 rupees (\$14.00) each to carry our things to a village called Gohik, twelve miles up the valley. Since the going rate for farm or road labor is \$1.50 per day—when jobs are available—we are responsible for quite a spurt in the local economy. After a price has been agreed upon, the tension is replaced by smiles all around.

A note on communication with the porters and villagers we are to meet in the next few days. Fortunately, Alice is fluent in Urdu, the closest thing to a national language in Pakistan. Unfortunately, most of the people in this part of the country speak only the Chitrali dialect, Khowar. There are enough similarities between the two, however, that Alice is able to communicate; in a pinch we rely on Sahib Khan, a native of Chitral, who has a smattering of English.

Shortly after leaving the village the trail makes the first of several crossings of the river. Normally the bridges are two narrow logs covered with loose, slippery stones, and, of course, no railings of any kind. One slip and your body could be recovered in the Indian Ocean. Because

of vertigo, each crossing is a nerve-racking experience for me. I hand my camera and pack to a porter and follow Alice across, heart thumping. In this male-dominated society, the porters giggle at my display of masculine helplessness.

We start a gradual but constant climb: there are few trees and, where the rocky soil permits, small plots of corn and wheat. As the temperature heads upwards, we make more frequent stops for water. This is not as easy as it sounds. One of the unique problems in hiking in this part of the world is that you can't drink the water from rivers and streams because it is likely to be contaminated. The safest procedure is to boil it; if this is not possible, iodine tablets will help. We brought five gallons on the plane with us—with care it lasts until we set up camp.

In early afternoon, after five hours or so of a fairly steady pace, Sahib Khan tells us Gohik is a mile or two ahead. We begin to look around for a camp site and chose a meadow with several trees, a hundred yards from the river. On the other side of the river there is no level ground; steep hills start at the bank and the first four or five hundred feet are terraced and planted with wheat, corn, mulberry and apricots.

We pay off the porters, hire the most agreeable one to stay with us and watch our things during the next few days, and spend the rest of the time until dark setting up camp, boiling water, and enjoying the view. After a dinner of dehydrated stew, Benjie and I unroll our sleeping bags

on a ground sheet. As if the array of stars isn't spectacular enough, we see a satellite. Before turning in, Sahib Khan suggests we consolidate all of our gear where he can watch it, more or less, during the night. I notice that his sleeping bag barely reaches his navel. He explains the bag was a gift from a Japanese hiker he recently guided through the Karakoram.

*August 7:* A lazy, enjoyable day. The river is so fast and cloudy, fishing prospects are not good. Some of us decide to try anyway—Katya with Sahib Khan, Benjie with me. Alice and Nicole cross the river and hike to an even poorer, more remote settlement a few hours away. An interesting discovery: they find poppies growing within fields of corn where the poppies can't be seen. As if it's the most natural thing in the world, villagers encountered on the trail offer them opium paste. Despite the government's anti-narcotics policy, these places are so isolated that the best intentions in Islamabad are difficult, if not impossible to enforce in Gohik.

Life in this part of the world is short, hard, and cannot have changed much in hundreds of years. We are invited into the home of one of the wealthier villagers in Gohik. After our vision becomes accustomed to the dark, we imagine we have stepped into a Smithsonian exhibit of primitive man. Dirt floor, mud walls, wood or cattle dung fire with a hole in the roof for the smoke. As we talk to the family we find there is little or no understanding of the most basic ideas of hygiene, nutrition, or health.

In all fairness, services that we take for granted don't exist: electricity, potable water, primary education, and basic health care.

We have been forewarned to take basic medicines with us to treat—as best we could without medical training—the most common ailments: worms, skin infections, and malaria. Word gets around quickly and each afternoon Alice operates an impromptu clinic. To show their appreciation, the "patients" bring us baskets of fresh apricots.

*August 8:* Benjie and Katya decide to fish and relax around camp with Sahib Khan. Alice, Nicole and I pack a lunch and water (not enough) and head off in the direction of the border. Once past Gohik, the countryside is sparsely populated. We meet and talk with two weather-beaten, mostly toothless women who are carrying huge bundles of firewood. One invites us to tea and the other is upset, we think because they can't spare it. We decline the invitation. The women's search for fuel highlights one of the most serious problems in this part of the world. As the trees are destroyed, erosion on the steep hillsides diminishes the meager area suitable for crops. Each monsoon washes more of the precious topsoil to the sea. A crash campaign is needed to plant trees and educate the natives on the critical importance of preserving them. But who is going to carry it out?

*August 9:* Benjie and I head downstream to check out what looked like, on our hike up, resting spots for trout. After an hour's walk we find they aren't as good as they



*Distinguished ailing relative of Major Mulk (on the right)*



*Villager brings us live chickens for "office visit"*



*Gohik girl looks us over*



*Meeting on the trail*

looked. A young man herding goats along the bank tells us we are in a hopeless area to fish and that he can direct us to a great place. We set off downstream only to find, after an hour, his spot resembles Niagara Falls and is unfishable. At one point on our return we have to wade across the river. After drying off and putting socks and boots back on, I look across the stream where we started: Benjie's fishing rod is on the opposite bank. We both laugh. It's that kind of day.

*August 10:* We start breaking camp for the return march at first light and already there are six or eight villagers fascinated with our every move. They are thrilled and grateful for our rejects: an aluminum foil wrapper, plastic fork, film container. We start downstream—with three porters hired in Gohik—and in every respect it's a breeze. For one thing it's cooler, and, there is no doubt about it, going downhill is easier. Even the bridges are manageable. We reach civilization—defined in this part of the world as Garm Chashma—early in the afternoon, are able to find and successfully negotiate a jeep for the trip back to Chitral, and wonders of wonders, we are back in the Mountain Inn before dark.

Now for the delicate negotiations with PIA for our return. The agent says the next morning's flight is full, but I pull out all the stops, including our official US embassy passports, the fate of the free world linked to our return, etc. He reluctantly stamps our tickets and I have the uncomfortable feeling five hapless Chitralis are about to be bumped.

*August 11:* Up at six. No one is interested in the Chitral Inn's breakfast menu since we are convinced we will be sampling the best Peshawar has to offer around eight. We are first at the airport but are soon joined by some Japanese and French hikers/tourists. All of us scan the pass to the south, which has to be clear if the flight makes it to Chitral. At seven the PIA man emerges from the radio room and drops his bombshell: "no flight today; it is canceled because of bad weather in Peshawar." All of the potential passengers make a beeline for the PIA office in the bazaar to firm up seats on the next plane—if there is one. We don't even get by the first hurdle. The arguments which were so persuasive for the August 11 flight carry no weight for August 12. Back at our home away from home—the Chitral Inn—we review our options. It ap-

pears the valley is in for a prolonged period of unstable weather; there is no assurance that this morning's routine, airport by 7, cancellation, dejected return to the inn, would not be repeated for weeks. The only other alternative is euphemistically known as "surface" travel. We are told the road is open (barely as it turned out); six or seven hours to Dir and the same again from Dir to Peshawar. Our driver is willing to try it for 1000 rupees. A family council decides anything is better than spending the winter in Chitral. We have to repack so that with two (plus the driver) in front, three of us (plus helper) can sit, sprawl, or stand in the back of the Jeep.

After about two hours the road leaves the Chitral River and we begin to climb. There is more vegetation, pine trees, distant glaciers. Regrettably our appreciation of the scenic wonders is limited by a death-defying narrow road (the familiar rock face on one side, steep drop on the other) and by acute physical discomfort. One can't relax for a minute: we are bouncing around so much that we have to brace ourselves to keep our vertebrae reasonably intact. Before long we are climbing toward the summit of the Lowari



*Woman collecting firewood*



*Mother and daughter in Gohik*

Pass (10,500 ft.), a series of hairpin turns carved into the rock and about four in the afternoon we pull into Dir. We are thoroughly exhausted, covered with grime and very much aware that we haven't eaten since the night before. We had been told there was a rest house in Dir but find it is full. In other respects this expected oasis doesn't offer more than Gohik. Alice had met a French woman in Islamabad married to the former prince of Dir. She had said, "if you are ever in Dir, look me up." She could make this invitation with assurance that no one would be able to take her up on it.

There is no trouble finding the prince's estate—it reminds me of a run-down Versailles. The guard at the gate takes one look at us and decides, foreigner or no foreigner, we don't meet the minimum standards for guests of the prince. With difficulty we get word to Alice's "friend," and meet the prince and children. Regrettably, they do not insist that we spend the night there. Another conference: camp out near town or push on to Peshawar. An easy four- or five-hour drive, we are told, mostly over paved road. Tired as we are, the lure of a decent bed and meal in Peshawar proves to be

decisive. It is 4:30 p.m. by this time and we try to find the least painful position on top of our gear. Two hours out of Dir we are still waiting expectantly for the metaled road. What we are not looking for is another flat tire, which makes its appearance twenty miles before the next village. We cross our fingers—the spare has seen better days—but it holds out and we make it. Our arrival at the repair shop about seven p.m. coincides with Iftar, the official end of the day. This is the month of Ramadan and Moslems are forbidden to eat or drink anything from sun-up to dark. (Judging by our intake during the day, we could have converted.) There are festive crowds in the street, we and our Jeep are the objects of intense curiosity, and the tire is finally repaired. Three hours to Peshawar, we are told. Suddenly the Jeep skids to a halt, it is pitch dark, and the driver and helper move out in the headlight beam to investigate. The difficulty seems to be that a stream has washed out about twenty yards of the road. Perhaps it's my imagination, but I'm sure I can see whitecaps. The driver thinks we can make it; we're not about to question his judgment at this point and we cast off. Fortu-

nately, we meet no oncoming traffic where the Law of the Sea would determine who has the right of way and reach the other side with water over the floor boards.

No one had told us of another pass on the way but how else to explain that we are gaining altitude. It is pitch black and the sensation is eerie. We start down faster than I think prudent, but I'm overcome by feelings of resignation and fear, in equal amounts. As if this isn't enough, it begins to rain. Those of us unlucky enough to be in the rear of the Jeep huddle under a poncho, but we are unfazed; we can practically smell Peshawar. Sure enough, we see unmistakable signs of urban sprawl and we reach what passes for heaven at that moment in our lives at 11:30 p.m.—the AID Staff House. The employees are asleep, but no matter. A watchman lets us in and we revel in the indescribable delights of showers, cheese sandwiches, and bed. Oh, ecstasy. We made it.

*August 12:* We even find it difficult to sit comfortably on the 45-minute flight to Islamabad and home. But it is not too early to plan next year's vacation. "there is this great trek from Gilgit over the Thui Pass, only 15,000 feet . . ."



## Book Essay

### QUINTESSENCE OF A LIFETIME

The word "statesman" should, like the word "genius," be very sparingly applied especially in our professional fraternity, but it applies to Charles W. Yost who entered the Foreign Service in 1930 and has held many of the highest posts in our country's diplomacy. In addition to being one of our foremost diplomats he is also a man of exceptional culture and intellectual attainments. Throughout his life he has read widely and deeply in history, sociology and philosophy. He has assimilated this knowledge with his far-ranging experience, and when he talks it behooves us to listen.

This latest of his books, his fourth, is a summing-up of his life, part personal memoir, part exposition of the world's and America's problems, and part prescription for the present and the future. *History and Memory* has a high specific gravity, yet it is easy to read. The book, like the man, is in my opinion unique in its combination of practical experience—Yost was an eyewitness and participant in some of the key events of the last two generations of our diplomacy—and philosophical wisdom.

Yost is a liberal. This is immediately apparent from his priorities. His chapter on "Causes of World War II" begins: "Fascism was a consequence of World War I and a cause of World War II, but it was and is much more than that. It is as authentically revolutionary as nationalism and communism, elements of both of which it appropriates and adulterates. *It is by no means obsolete.* Indeed, it may well prove in the long run to be a revolutionary form to which industrialized societies are much more susceptible than communism" [italics supplied]. It is fair to say that this diplomat is more worried about the danger of fascism to our own society than about other dangers to it.

This is, of course, an anomaly. Most people who devote their lives to diplomacy come to see first of all and most of all the requirements of

their countries in terms of the exigencies of the international situation. Yost, on the other hand, begins with the society he wishes to see develop in his own country, and many of his views about foreign affairs are grounded in a broader public philosophy. Another unusual feature of the man and of his book is that, although his formative years were in the 1920s and 30s, he is quintessentially an exponent of the liberalism of the 1960s and 1970s. He is a member, morally and intellectually, of today's liberal establishment, indeed he is an authentic exponent of the Vietnam generation—and it is no accident that he was among the vocal opponents of that recent war and continues to be a vocal critic of the policies and attitudes of Henry Kissinger.

This reviewer, who is quite a bit younger than Charles Yost, belongs to a generation whose views were formed in the immediate post-World War II period when fear of Russian expansionism was the order of the day. It may be difficult for someone whose viewpoint belongs to a generation "older" than that of the author to do justice to his book, which seems to sweep aside many of the old concerns about containing Soviet expansionist tendencies. Yost has a tendency, for instance, to equate the super-powers and pronounce a plague on both of them: He speaks of the Iron Curtain as due to "reactions by both sides" and sees the Cold War as involving "deeply ingrained national and ideological predispositions on both sides." He sees the current nuclear standoff as involving "irrationality on both sides." He is reluctant to view the Soviet Union as expansionist. He sees the United States as an "oligopoly." He is a passionate expounder of the view that "small is beautiful," that the North has a duty to help in equalizing the disparities of wealth with the South. He opposes nuclear power. The unifying principle of his philosophy of diplomacy is global interdependence rather than the balance of power.

No wonder he doesn't like Henry Kissinger whom he describes as follows: "He is an extraordinary and fascinating personality, a mind of great keenness and perceptivity that moves forward and backward at the speed of light, a wit that never fails except when he is crossed, a colos-

sal vanity and ambition that he has learned to disguise by advertising them, a political animal with an instinct for the jugular and other organs, a man of total unreliability when his personal interests are at stake, but still a patrician by intellect endowed with a sense of history, of great issues and grand designs, of due proportion between the consequential and the trivial, of respect for the destiny of man, though not frequently for individual men."

In terms of concrete issues, aside from Vietnam, he quotes with disapproval a statement by Kissinger that "what seems 'balanced' and 'safe' in a crisis is often the most risky. Gradual escalation tempts the opponent to match every move; what is intended as a show of moderation may be interpreted as irresolution . . . A leader must choose carefully and thoughtfully the issue in which to face confrontation. He should do so only for major objectives. Once he is committed, however, his obligation is to end the confrontation rapidly. For this he must convey implacability. He must be prepared to escalate rapidly and brutally to a point where the opponent can no longer afford to experiment" (end of quotation from Kissinger's *White House Years*).

"The onetime historian," writes Yost, "has apparently in this case forgotten that the scenario he prescribes for confrontation is almost exactly that followed by Count Berchtold, the Austrian Foreign Minister, in July 1914. Berchtold chose the issue carefully—as he perceived it, the preservation of Hapsburg Empire from dissolution by detachment of its Slavic constituents. He escalated rapidly and brutally by moving from his ultimatum to Serbia to a declaration of war against Serbia in five days. He conveyed implacability by refusing to pause . . ." etc., etc. And he ends the rejoinder with the statement, "A sensible man does not play 'chicken' with nuclear weapons." But does Kissinger advocate the rapid use of them?

Yet Yost believes that the quick and determined American reaction to the invasion of South Korea in 1950 was correct, and he recalls expressing the view at that time that Stalin "would feel emboldened by success in Korea to resort to force elsewhere, particularly in Europe." But he regards the present Soviet

leadership—as does his friend, George Kennan, in *The Cloud of Danger*—as basically conservative septuagenarians and sexagenarians who would eschew any major risks. [Is it not wise, however, for the United States to persuade them that the risks are real?] At the same time, he quotes with interest the view expressed by Milovan Djilas that the new generation of Soviet managers admire Stalin, consider Brezhnev weak, and are likely to favor a “strong” leader as his successor. “If true,” he concludes, “this might seem ominous for the West”—adding, however: “. . . except that the successor and his colleagues would not be Communists in any real sense. They would simply be traditional Russian nationalists with whom, if national aims could be mutually accommodated, no ideological pretensions or impediments need bar the ‘peaceful coexistence’ that is in the vital interest of both sides.” [Of course, provided both sides define their vital interests in mutually compatible ways.]

One of the joys of reading *History and Memory* is the wealth of insights that the author has drawn from his eclectic readings of a lifetime. Here one finds Guglielmo Ferrero, Simone Weil, Franz Kafka, Karl Kraus (the Austrian critic and polemicist), Trevelyan, Ambrose Bierce, the physicist Erwin Schrodinger, the theologians Paul Tillich and Reinhold Niebuhr, etc. etc. When it suits him, he can quote from Tennessee Williams and William Styron to make points about our society, or from Czeslaw Milosz or Leszek Kolakowski to make points about the Marxist societies. This reviewer once spent a night at Ambassador Yost’s residence when he was United States representative at the United Nations, presiding over our participation in that ten-ring circus. At breakfast, the conversation turned to what each of us had read recently. Yost spoke casually of about a dozen books that he had read recently, some topical, some inspirational, some historical—as if the pressures of his position did not prevent him from finding solace and stimulation from reading at leisure.

And here we have the results of his having integrated the perspectives and insights of many wise men and women in the course of a lifetime in public affairs. But there are also authentic epigrams by Yost himself.

Two samples: “Happy the nation whose citizens are secure and whose government is not.” “The pursuit of ‘justice’ is the cause of many wars. *One people’s justice is another people’s dishonor.* Justice for the Israelis is injustice to the Palestinians; justice for the Irish Catholics or Greek Cypriots is injustice for Irish Protestants or Turkish Cypriots.” Yost quotes Nixon as having once said that the trouble with Lyndon Johnson had been that he worried excessively about what the intellectuals and the press said about him. “I couldn’t care less what they say,” Nixon is supposed to have added. To which Yost offers the astringent comment: “Perhaps that was the trouble.”

The book contains chapters of personal memoirs; chapters of recent history, chapters entitled “Communism,” “The Democracies,” “The Third World,” “The Scientific Revolution,” “Life-styles, Visions, and Moods,” and a most important final chapter, “*The Next Twenty Years: What Is To Be Done.*” In that chapter he discusses strategy, arms limitation, the role of the United Nations, “The Crisis of the Democracies,” “Modernization of the Democracies,” Communism, International Political Relations, The Third World, The World Economy, and Surveillance of Science and Revival of Education. One does not have to agree with all his diagnoses and prescriptions to find these discussions rich

intellectual fare abounding with insights derived from a lifetime of thinking and active involvement in the affairs of our country by a world citizen who was also an American diplomat.

—MARTIN F. HERZ

*The Journal has carried excerpts from one chapter of History and Memory in its September 1980 issue, under the title “From Pearl Harbor to Potsdam.”*

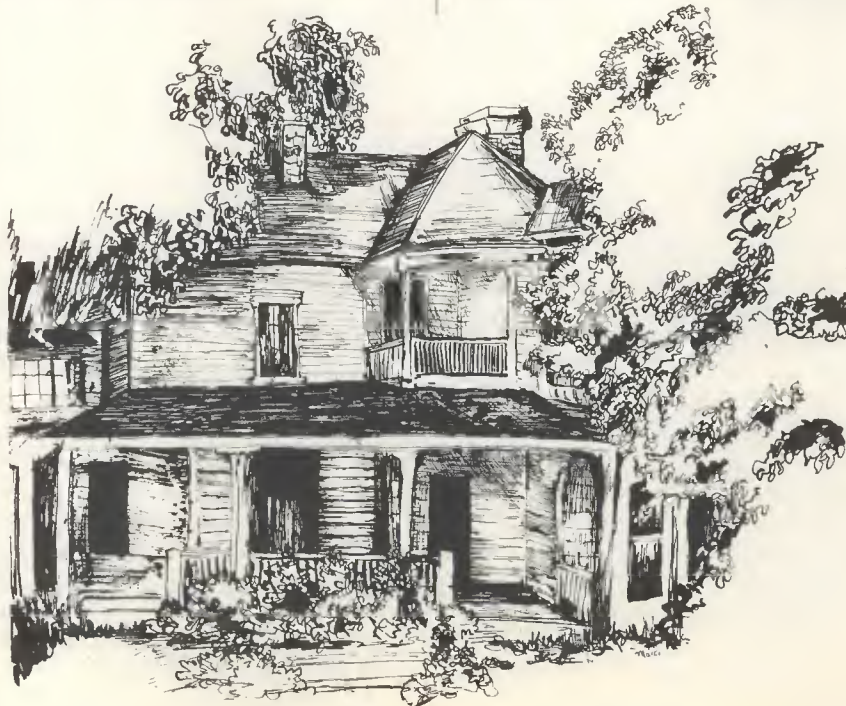
## Bookshelf

### Eretz Yisrael

DECISION ON PALESTINE *How the US Came to Recognize Israel; by Evan M. Wilson. Hoover Institution Press, Stanford University.*

Evan Wilson had a ringside seat in the Department’s Near East Division during the crucial years when the stage was being set for the Arab-Israeli problem as we know it today. Many have written about the rights and wrongs of the establishment of the state of Israel and of its early dealings with its reluctant Arab neighbors. Mr. Wilson has chosen a smaller canvas, and has written instead of how the political processes of the day looked from the department’s vantage point, and how the United States government’s decisions about that situation took shape.

This is a wise choice. The insider’s view is one Wilson is uniquely qualified to convey, in contrast to the general history of the problem



*Home of Thomas Wolfe, Asheville, N.C.*

which is open to analysis by any scholar. This approach, and Wilson's desire to pay his colleagues in the Near East division the tribute he believes they deserve, have the unfortunate side effect of focusing parts of the book more on State Department bureaucrats than I personally would have liked.

*Decision on Palestine* is nonetheless a useful supplement to the existing literature of the Middle East and a valuable addition to the libraries of other "insiders." Its vignettes of the personalities who shaped our policies make entertaining reading. It tells the inside story of an important US decision and its tale of bureaucratic frustration will sound familiar to latter-day Near East hands as well.

—TERESITA C. SCHAFFER

### Not a Tea Party

THE PEOPLE'S EMPEROR: *A Biography of Mao Tse-tung by Dick Wilson. Doubleday & Company.*

Through heavy but judicious use of the scant body of sources that afford intimate glimpses into the personality of Mao, Dick Wilson has succeeded in giving a very personal dimension to what inevitably must be primarily a political biography. Wilson draws upon the published assessments of Mao's character by those who were his friends or had contact with him at different periods of his life, but more frequently, and with much greater effect, he allows Mao to speak for himself. For the most part lacking the more formal and better known statements of Mao (such as those found in his *Selected Works*), Wilson's book is instead replete with quotations of some of Mao's less familiar statements, which give the reader a vivid picture of the man expressing the ideas. Some coverage of Mao's relationships with his family, his early friendships, and his marriages and children add to the personal dimension.

The focus of the books is upon Mao battling against the Nationalist Chinese, the Japanese, and the series of figures within the Chinese Communist Party with whom he locked horns. Except for some mention of Mao's eventual hatred of the Soviet Union and the influence it had on the Sino-Soviet dispute, the book gives almost no attention to Mao's role in Chinese foreign policy.

For the most part, Wilson confines his own analysis of Mao's

character and role in Chinese history to the final chapter, which is disappointing in its brevity and the lack of originality of some of his conclusions. In general, he agrees with the current Chinese leadership that Mao had both strengths and weaknesses and that he did China both good and harm. He identifies the bringing of the peasantry into Marxist revolutionary theory and practice as Mao's greatest contribution, and his inability to work with other strong and capable leaders as his major flaw. On balance, Wilson seems to minimize the long-range adverse consequences which China may suffer because of some of Mao's unorthodox policies.

While it is true that a revolution is not a tea party, as Mao said, the book still tends to overlook too readily the human costs of Mao's attempts to remold China. Wilson seems to have shut his eyes to those costs in part because of an affection for Mao. It is this affection that is reflected in the somewhat inapt characterization of Mao as "the people's emperor," and even more clearly in the astonishing statement that it was "because his party would not support him" that Mao failed to achieve certain admirable objectives that were proclaimed for the Hundred Flowers Campaign, the Great Leap Forward, and the Cultural Revolution.

Fortunately, the real value of *The People's Emperor* is unaffected by the author's personal bias. The book provides a narrative account of the whole span of Mao's life that includes abundant materials from which the reader can draw his own conclusions about Mao the man and the revolutionary leader.

—KATHRYN A. HAUN  
*Legal Research Analyst  
Far Eastern Law Division  
Library of Congress*

### Inside the Agency

FACING REALITY: *From World Federalism to the CIA, by Cord Meyer. Harper & Row, \$15.95.*

Cleared for publication by the CIA, this memorial to a thirty-year career of distinction in the agency, accompanied by much personal tribulation, is remarkable for its detailed coverage of some of the most traumatic episodes in recent CIA history, as well as for its penetrating assessment of Soviet intelligence ca-

pabilities. Part autobiography and part political analysis, selected episodes from the author's life and from recent history are used to illuminate in stark and uncompromising terms his ominous forebodings about the future.

The book defines in detail Soviet geopolitical designs and assesses CIA effectiveness to counter them. Its comments on the effects of Watergate and Vietnam are of particular interest. Mr. Meyer thinks that CIA directors Schlesinger and Colby went overboard to appease public criticism, especially through the "collective confession of past sins" known as "the family jewels." (The mail opening program long antedated the witchhunt against anti-war dissidents to which it was misapplied: CIA domestic surveillance of anti-war groups was conducted for a short while only by three specially recruited agents—hardly "the massive illegal domestic intelligence operation" headlined by the Church committee.) Without underestimating "the seriousness of this brief and unauthorized adventure into spying on the domestic political activity of American citizens," Mr. Meyer points out the difficulty in practice of disentangling the CIA's mandate to counter foreign operations aimed at the United States, from information gathering on domestic activities that may be linked to such operations.

CIA involvement in plots to assassinate foreign leaders in particular meet with Meyer's unqualified disapproval; he says he was never aware of them and that the only proper response to instructions of this sort from higher authority should be a flat refusal, in confidence that fear of exposure would end the matter without adverse consequences for anyone concerned.

The book gives a balanced account of the Chile affair. Meyer assigns full responsibility to President Nixon for his "aberrational and hysterical decision" to interfere in the Chilean elections. As regards the initial meddling, "The indirect effect of Nixon's wild scheme to subvert the democratic process of Chile was to solidify military support for Allende's election." Without denying that CIA efforts prepared the climate for the murder (so stated) of Allende, he insists that the CIA had no links with the conspirators or advance knowledge of the timing. With respect to Angola, Meyer of-

fers evidence that Soviet support for the MPLA long preceded the South African incursion that ostensibly led to the introduction of Cuban troops, and contends that timely assistance to Savimbi's hard-pressed UNITA forces might have turned the tide.

Written with force and literary grace, this book contains material never before published on the organization and effectiveness of both CIA and KGB, collection techniques and counter-intelligence. Meyer lays much of the blame for recent failures of US intelligence on the "family jewels" and other post-Watergate phenomena that have dried up sources and impaired relations with friendly intelligence organizations. As regards Iran, however, he suggests that the optimistic intelligence appraisals of the shah's prospects may have been an indirect consequence of the CIA's unwillingness to jeopardize the status of NSA monitoring stations by developing independent contacts with dissident groups. However, he offers no convincing explanation for such earlier lapses in advance warning as the 1968 Soviet occupation of Czechoslovakia and

the 1973 Arab-Israeli War.

In two respects the author's approach will raise questions. The virtually exclusive focus on Soviet geopolitical designs has the effect of relegating Third World violence and anarchy, not to mention the impact of OPEC price increases and Islamic fundamentalism, to mere instruments of Soviet exploitation instead of threats to the West in their own right. Secondly, there is scarcely any mention of the role of other parts of the foreign affairs establishment, particularly State and Defense, in the subject areas covered. Except for Kissinger, the book largely ignores the foreign affairs leaders of recent years together with their policies. Secretaries Dulles, Rusk and McNamara are given passing reference only once; of the many sub-cabinet officials and colleagues in other departments and the NSC that Mr. Meyer must have dealt with in a long career, scarcely any are cited at all. It is almost as if the formal instrumentalities of government were irrelevant to the Miltonian struggle for men's souls raging at clandestine levels.

—CHARLES MAECHLING, JR.

**"See the Pyramids. . ."**

CAIRO, by Malise Ruthven and the Editors of Time Life Books, photographs by Robert Azzi. Time Life Books.

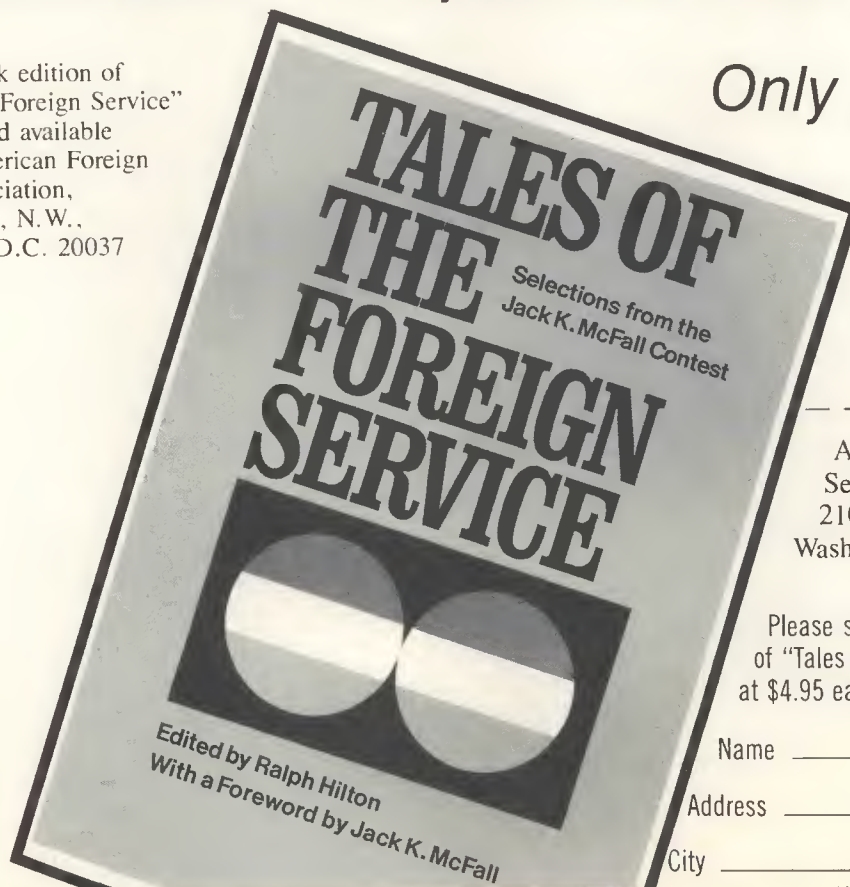
The newest in the Time Life series on Great Cities is a portrait of Cairo, largest city in the Middle East and certainly one of the most exotic, with as rich a history as any in the world. The author, Malise Ruthven, has been fascinated with Cairo since his early childhood in England, when his grandfather and his parents spent time there during two wars. His own acquaintance seems to be based on a fairly short visit, rather than on long time residency, but nonetheless, he has captured remarkably well the feeling and power of the great city.

Although the cover is a photograph of a pyramid, the book focuses on modern Cairo, touching but not dwelling upon its ancient history. Ruthven's descriptions of the sections of the city, seen mostly on foot, are good. He also writes about the more elusive qualities, the elements which give Cairo its unique

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character; the variety of its people, the influence of Islam, the influx of the rural population and, of course, its long and turbulent history.

Some of his impressions seem superficial and inaccurate. Such generalizations as, "All classes spend their money on conviviality rather than on possessions," "on the street very few women are to be seen and of those virtually none alone" and the claim that women are not accepted professionally simply are not accurate in modern Cairo. He has also left out whole important segments of the city's life, such as the arts, education and trade.

And yet he has caught the sights and sounds, the hideous traffic, the diversity and warmth of the people who comprise Cairo's population of over nine million. Actually written a few years ago, the book is already outdated in some areas, especially in regard to the general deterioration the author noted with sadness. This state has changed dramatically since the peace treaty with Israel.

Robert Azzi has illustrated the book with over 100 photographs. Many of them are excellent, in particular the portraits of some of the

city's most engaging inhabitants. Others, however, seem to suffer from weak composition or bad reproduction, especially in comparison with other recent books on Egypt.

The book will be a nice addition to any library on Egypt or the Middle East. The portrait is an affectionate one, but nonetheless objective and fair. The author has caught the spirit and the hum of the huge city, its splendors and its weaknesses. He makes Cairo easily recognizable to anyone who has lived there recently.

—NANCY MATTHEWS

### Up Allen's Alley

EXPLAINING CHINA. by Steve Allen. Crown, \$14.95.

"Before you study history, first study the historian," advised the British diplomat-scholar, E. H. Carr. So, it seems appropriate to note Steve Allen's background. Creator of the "Tonight Show" and the "Steve Allen Show," he is celebrated as a comedian, author (21 books), songwriter (more than 4,000 songs), singer, composer, conductor and political activist. He has long followed

and studied events in China—in part because his wife, actress-comedienne Jayne Meadows, was born in China of Episcopalian missionary parents.

Steve's reportage on China reflects informed interest and unique, versatile perspective and insight. Disclaiming any presumption to "explain China," he does aspire to increase "our knowledge of China, literally a matter of life and death."

With his wife and teen-age son, he visits China's major cities, communes, universities, factories, military bases, historic sites and structures, a film studio, a ballet school, a public bathhouse, almost everything, everywhere. He talks to everyone, officials and commoners (*lao pai hsing*) and draws his own conclusions, favorable and unfavorable.

This is no ordinary travelogue. In his personal travel narrative, Steve incorporates most helpfully well-chosen excerpts from the works of eminent authorities on China and the Chinese. In the tradition of "one seeing is worth more than one hundred hearings," he features 150 black-and-white photographs. His much-appreciated wit adds much, too.

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Steve's "tell-and-show" report would be fine preparation for those getting ready to visit the "Middle Kingdom"—be they tyros, "Old China Hands," or Sinologists. And for those not going on pilgrimage, Steve's entertaining, informative memoir seems the next best thing.

—ROBERT W. RINDEN

### Hurley-Burly

UNCERTAIN YEARS: *Chinese-America Relations, 1947-1950*, edited by Dorothy Borg & Waldo Heinrichs. Columbia University Press, \$17.50.

Under auspices of Columbia University East Asian Institute, about thirty university authorities on US and China foreign policy met in June 1978 to discuss the origins of the enmity between America and China that lasted for almost a quarter century. Their discussions centered on "the crucial years, beginning with the Chinese Communists' victorious drive to power in 1947 and ending with the outbreak of the Korean War in 1950."

This volume sets forth in detail why the US and the Chinese Communists did not reach an accommo-

dation in the 1947-1950 period but instead embarked upon an historic enmity that was to last for some twenty years—often with disastrous consequences. Most of the studies focus on US policy, Chinese Nationalist policy and Chinese Communist policy in the years 1947 through 1950.

Given the wide-ranging nature of these scholarly essays, it is not feasible to give even the gist of them. However, a sample may be given below in a summarized excerpt from "Mao Tse-tung and the Issue of Accommodation with the United States, 1948-1950."

With the end of WWII in sight, Mao grew interested in an accommodation with the United States in view of its decisive power in the Far East. "From August 1944 to January 1945, Mao took steps to realize this hope. Yen-an opened its doors (caves) to American reporters and officials and lavished attention on them. . . ." Mao tried hard to take seriously FDR's emissary, "Pat" Hurley, whom the Chinese soon called *Ta Feng* (Big Wind). The effort culminated in January 1945 with a request from Mao and Chou En-lai to visit Wash-

ington as "leaders of a primary Chinese party."

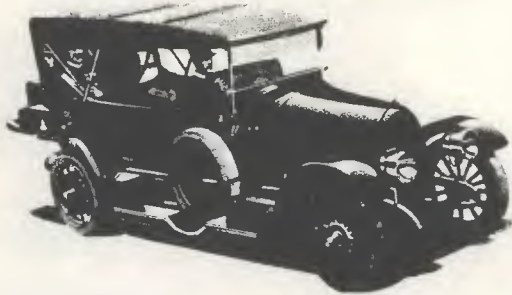
But Washington, notably Truman, turned aside this request for talks. Hurley traduced and had "purged" Chinese specialists in the United States Foreign Service. Seeing the trend in US China policy, Mao excoriated the Truman administration as "a reactionary capitalist clique." "High hopes ended with mistrust deeper than ever before."

The depth and lucidity of these studies make this book a very valuable addition to the library of the serious student of Sino-American relations.

—ROBERT W. RINDEN



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It is not simply in politics that the frontier scorn of diplomacy has manifested itself. It pervades our entire society, including our academic cloisters. From these has come a veritable cascade of literature on military and economic factors in foreign affairs and on Washington decision-making, with only the slightest possible drip on diplomacy. Until the last few years, diplomacy was ignored as a fit subject of instruction in our institutions of higher learning (I refer not to diplomatic history but to diplomacy *per se*, i.e., as a political process). These institutions have thus intimated that diplomacy cannot rank with astronomy and poetry—which are represented on the president's commission—as “critical public policy challenges.” Naturally, when their presidents and professors are appointed to national commissions on peace, conflict resolution and a national agenda it does not occur to them that if no seasoned diplomat is on the commissions there should at least be some on their staffs.

But let us remind ourselves that we in the diplomatic community have not escaped the virus. We have not only indulged but reinforced this curious mental aberration. We have never made a serious, sustained effort to professionalize the conduct of diplomacy and thus to dignify it. The military establishment has professionalized the conduct of war and we, in abstaining, have ourselves suggested that diplomacy is neither as exacting nor as important as military power in the promotion of our national security. By failing to push for the establishment of a professional academy for our entire foreign affairs establishment, we have implied that diplomacy, unlike all the other fields

represented on the president's commission, is not something to be studied and analyzed but only practiced, like carpentry or plumbing.

By failing to emulate the civilian professions, we have clearly conveyed the message that *we*—not just the public and our political leaders—view diplomacy as an activity as easy as falling off the proverbial frontier log. We have thus continued at the same stage as that of the law when Patrick Henry wanted to practice it and realized his ambition by a little reading in a law office, mainly Blackstone, observing a few trials and drawing up a few documents under supervision, acquiring the rest on the job. It has remained so with us, except that we have never produced a Blackstone, agreeably settling for a Harold Nicolson, who viewed diplomacy as a polite, gentlemen's calling rather than (as the Soviets are insisting upon instructing us) a dynamic, sometimes disagreeable, political process of vital concern to the national interest and indeed to national survival.

Nor is this all. The frontier misconception dominates our operations. Our selection process requires of candidates no knowledge of diplomacy. Neither written nor oral examinations demand this and candidates from ethnic groups do not even have to take the written examination. No instruction in diplomacy remotely suggesting a professional concern is offered in the basic officers course. Once entered upon duty, officers are worked to the bone so that they can do little or no reading on their own and the department seems not a bit concerned about this. Its attitude is: who needs to read? No course (correspondence or other) is provided by the Foreign Service Institute on diplomacy as a professional subject, although some aspects

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of it are the subjects of scattered instruction. We rotate officers like some frontier square dance, as though any-body of common sense—as the frontier maintained—can do anything satisfactorily anywhere, in defiance of the political, economic, cultural, psychological, religious, tribal and family intricacies of overseas societies. We are letting career officers serve one tour as ambassadors and then pushing them out, at the very time of their maximum effectiveness. The whole criterion of excellence has flickered and sputtered with the inconclusiveness of a poorly made frontier candle. It has nearly met the fate of the Alamo defenders.

Other manifestations of this downgrading of diplomacy abound in our organization. We have a policy planning but no diplomacy planning staff, to relate policies to diplomatic resources and vice versa. We do not appoint a board of inquiry when our diplomacy fails so as to readily crank lessons of failure into our operations. We do not dignify diplomacy and its role in our national survival by insisting upon a continuing general manager of the State Department to provide consistency and continuity in our strategies and tactics. On the contrary, people are appointed to the post of under secretary for management with little or no diplomatic experience. Diplomacy, we are saying, is not an important qualification for this position.

When NATO was established, General Gruenther promptly insisted upon the creation of a NATO Defense College to begin at once developing senior military officers in the ways of working together and nurturing comparative professional thinking. It never occurred to us to form a comparable NATO Diplomatic College. Unlike the mili-

tary, we do not think professionally.

All of this, I suggest, forms a pattern and the pattern explains why we have two national commissions, the members of one picked by three political leaders of our first rank, from three different regions of the country, to look into peace and conflict resolution and the members of the other picked by the president, to examine the critical problems facing the nation in the decade ahead but without one seasoned diplomat being named to either, although diplomacy is our basic means of getting from here to there and our bungling at it creates one of the most critical of those problems. What these two commissions are saying loud and clear is what the frontier has been saying in our nation since Andrew Jackson's time—diplomacy is a frill, an unimportant sideshow, which, when you come right down to it, isn't worth a hoot. To modify slightly Jack Garner's phraseology: diplomacy isn't worth a spittoon of warm expectoration. It has no visible connection with our national security, no visible connection with the achievement of our national objectives, no visible connection with the solution of our national and international problems.

It is hard to make coherent sense of this, as of medieval diplomacy, unless one distinguishes the underlying source of the values which all of this expresses. But we must not be content to identify the source. We must ourselves get off our frontier duff and dignify diplomacy as a vital ingredient of our national security and insist that our political leaders and the general public accord it at least as much importance as military power. This is a professional task that goes to the heart of our national survival. It is also a many-dimensional task. We had better get to it. 

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## INFORMATION PROCESSING

from page 12

seas operations. If not, its voice in the foreign affairs community will continue to fade, drowned out by those shepherding their information resources with modern management tools.

A number of actions should be taken quickly. The secretary must articulate the department's commitment to the technology, making its implementation a key goal for managers and substantive officers alike. This commitment should be followed by the undersecretary for management outlining specific goals including:

- a reorganization amalgamating all systems activities, including telecommunications engineering, in a single office.
- an instruction to the director general ordering him to develop a crash program to encourage FSOs to attend graduate programs in systems analysis and information processing and mandating a "fast-track" promotion path for officers who demonstrate skills as technical managers.
- establishing information sys-

tems manager positions at major embassies.

- development of a five-year plan to include all Foreign Service posts in a distributed processing network. This plan would identify the resources, money and personnel needed for its implementation, earmark them as highest priority in the department's budget submissions and insulate them from cuts.

- mandatory attendance at an intensive management awareness seminar about the overseas automation program for chiefs of mission, deputy chiefs of mission and administrative counselors.


- as "homework" from this seminar, development of a mission-wide plan to introduce automation at each post.

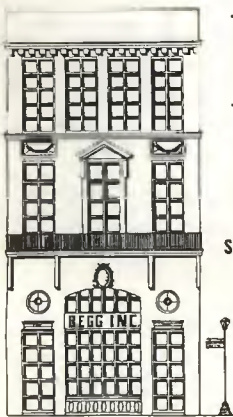
- a monitoring mechanism to ensure that each mission follows its plan, holding chiefs of mission explicitly responsible for the success of the program at post.

- development of comprehensive, easy-to-use information retrieval and statistical packages for post mini-computers.

- acknowledgement by OMB of

the department's role as the exclusive provider of information processing services at overseas posts, accompanied by an effort by the department to include other agencies' information systems needs with its own.

The short-term implications of the program outlined above would, unquestionably, strain the department's already fragile management structure. Priorities would be revised drastically, important projects denied resources, personnel recruiting and assignment efforts redirected and reluctant managers pushed to embrace unfamiliar methods. Over the long term, the successful introduction of sophisticated information processing technology would redefine how the Foreign Service does its job. Without this new technology, the Foreign Service cannot hope to play a major role in formulating and executing foreign policy. With this technology, analysts and managers will have the tools they need to concentrate on truly substantive work, be it political, economic, administrative or consular; leaving the tedious to the computer. 



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## THE POLISH MESSAGE

from page 14

helped sustain Soviet imperialism.

### The Soviet Establishment Fears a War

Moscow realizes that the oppressed nations are not willing to live under Russian imperialism and less willing to die for the glory of Russia. Furthermore, a war for the Soviet leadership entails a great personal risk, in that a war could easily lead to an upheaval of the nationalities under Soviet oppression, including those within the borders of the USSR. This may not be obvious in the West, but the Soviet Politburo knows it only too well. There are members who see the great personal danger of war to the very existence of those closely connected with the Soviet political establishment.

### The Answer

The United States government should tell the Poles that responsibility for the disastrous economic situation in Poland and other Warsaw Pact countries lies in the fact

that they have been forced to integrate their economy into the Soviet economic and military system. Consequently, no credits for deliveries of any technology should be given to Poland or, for that matter, any of the Warsaw Pact countries. As far as food for Poland is concerned, deliveries should be given, but only as long as the trade unions remain independent.

What might be the Soviets' response? They would, no doubt, complain of interference in internal affairs and argue that this is a policy of blackmail. Actually, those freedoms which the Polish workers have asked for are more than an internal affair. The Helsinki Accord made those freedoms an international commitment. In fact, we should maintain that it is the Soviets, the Brezhnev doctrine, the military outposts of Moscow in Poland, and the permanent threat of Soviet military occupation that interfere with the internal affairs of Poland.

The independent trade unions must be seen as contributing to peace. Furthermore, it is just and fair that the deliveries of food must be based

on the guarantee that the latter will be used for the Polish people. The independent trade unions are the only guarantee that these deliveries, in contrast to the past, will not be misused by the Soviet "patron."

To link food deliveries to the fulfillment of the promises that the Polish party and government have given to the Polish workers means only that the United States will not augment, with credits and food deliveries, the striking power of its mortal enemy.

Finally, the West must replace shortsighted and faint-hearted appeasement with a policy based upon a sound evaluation of the economic and political problems of its enemy. The West cannot be neutral toward the struggle of a starving nation deprived of its human rights, and cannot share the same interests with the oppressor responsible for its plight. The West and, most of all, the United States, must openly declare its solidarity with the freedom-loving Poles. If this would "unduly alarm" the Soviet imperialists, it is for the better. They would, at least, know where we stand.



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## BOOKFAIR '80

BOOKFAIR '80 with an international flair, ably chaired by Jane Griffin and assisted by her deputy Pat Barbis, grossed the highest amount in twenty years and was extraordinarily successful in attracting record crowds of area bibliophiles and collectors. An estimated 200 volunteers, smoothly organized by volunteer chairperson Joan Pogue, sold nearly 100,000 books and artifacts to thousands of satisfied customers in the 23rd Street lobby area of the State Department from September 26 through October 2, 1980.

Family Night opened Friday, September 26, under the supervision of Harriet Galbraith who arranged not only to have movies for the youngsters, but also two magicians—Leon Picon, the perennial Master Magician, along with Mr. Jonathan (Steigman), the Boy Wonder Magician, plus two hilarious clowns who visited with all the children throughout the two-level BOOKFAIR. A special Children's Corner, chaired by Hélène Bullen, drew excited small fry. BOOKFAIR generated more than \$8,000 on Family Night alone.

The Art Corner, chaired extremely competently by Dolly Barger for the second year, displayed treasures from around the world contributed by members of our missions and by local foreign embassies. There were fantastic batiks, African carvings, posters, baskets, sculpture and original paintings.

Naomi Brown, the faithful and knowledgeable expert in Collector's Corner, ably directed her area to a \$14,000 income. Rika Schmidt's Stamp Corner was an ever-popular area that sold out early grossing over \$1,800, with many one-cent sales. Remember next year's Stamp Corner by saving all your stamps from Christmas mail and contribute them to BOOKFAIR '81. Betty Haselton's corps of cashiers took in the thousands of dollars that were counted by our energetic treasurer, Marlen Neumann, and her committee. This money will go to the Scholarship Fund and community projects in the District of Columbia which are aided by AAFSW. Carol Thoms, newly employed Bookroom supervisor, had over 100 categories of books in thousands of boxes under her control and managed to keep the shelves stocked as eager customers quickly

depleted them. Opening Day grossed over \$21,000 indicating that the extensive publicity superbly organized by Pat Barbis, Margaret Palmer, Liz Allen and Adele Porter brought in hordes of customers. They achieved wide press coverage in the local newspapers, on television channels 4 and 9 and an appearance by Lesley Dorman, AAFSW President, on a WTOP talk show. The Foreign Language Section, chaired by Jacqueline Floyd, sold out early.

The BOOKFAIR '80 Committee especially thanks all those in the Department who helped with the myriad tasks—General Services, Visual Services, and Security, whose personnel provided essential services without which we could not have produced a successful BOOKFAIR '80. Theirs were the professionally-

designed signs and posters, the strong backs for setting up and dismantling shelves, and the courteous guards.

BOOKFAIR '81 is already on the drafting board and new materials are being sought—most wanted books include those on children, art, science fiction, political science and history including areas such as the Middle East, the Orient, the Soviet Union, plus records and stamps. All contributions are tax deductible. BOOKFAIR '81 is starting early to ask posts to plan ways and means for providing local exotica and handicrafts for the Art Corner, since it is a major draw for Washington audiences. Donations may be addressed to BOOKFAIR '81, Room 8326, Department of State, Washington, D.C. 20520.



*Lesley Dorman, president, AAFSW, and Jane Griffin, Bookfair '80 chairperson, smiling over the huge success of the Bookfair.*

## BAD NAUHEIM INTERNEES PLAN REUNION

Ambassador George F. Kennan will be the honorary chairman of a reunion of internees held by the Nazis in Bad Nauheim, Germany for five months during World War II.

Preliminary plans call for a reception and dinner in the Department of State's diplomatic area on February 20, 1981.

The internee group—husbands, wives, children and even dogs—was rounded up by Gestapo agents one night shortly after the attack on Pearl Harbor. Most of the group of some 130 persons were foreign service personnel or families.

Chargé (later ambassador) Leland Morris was the senior Foreign Service officer present and George Kennan was second.

Many of the group will not have

seen each other for 40 years: navy lieutenants of then are retired admirals of today; vice-consuls of then are now retired ambassadors.

Little Dickie Smyser, who built a snow fort in the internment hotel yard, is probably the only serving officer of the group, and is no longer Dickie, but well known as Richard Smyser, FSO.

Those who were in the group, or associated with it through family held in Bad Nauheim, and interested in a reunion, should make contact with Frank Matthews, Director of the Office of Public Affairs of the Department of State.

The informal reunion organizing committee has been headed by Glen Stadler of 28376 Zarza, Mission Viejo, Ca. 92692.

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DON'T MISS ex-FSO Lucien Agniel's widely acclaimed **THE SOUTH IN THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION**, now in a 4th printing, 162 pp with battle maps, \$9 from Lucien Agniel, P.O. Box 1762, Elkins, WV 26241.

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### HOLIDAY BALL

The Annual Holiday Ball for Foreign Service and diplomatic young people will be held Tuesday, December 30, 1980 under the sponsorship of the Association of American Foreign Service Women, The Hospitality and Information Service (THIS) and the World Bank.

As in years past, the ball will take place in the Thomas Jefferson Room at the Department of State and will start at 9:00 p.m., lasting until midnight. All children of AAFSW members from 15 to 22 will be sent invitations again this year. If they choose, they can be included in dinner parties to be organized before the ball. Invitations should be received by the young people before Thanksgiving and a prompt response *before December 15* is requested. For further information call Linda Jacobsen at 362-2239 after 6 p.m.

## Foreign Service People

### Marriages

**Hincewicz-Fulton.** Irene Hincewicz, former AFSA staff member, was married to Robert Lee Fulton, AID, on October 18 in Arlington.

**Spofford-Kretzman.** Dorothy E. Spofford, USIA retired, was married to Edwin M.J. Kretzman, FSO-retired, on October 18 in Little Compton, Rhode Island. Mr. and Mrs. Kretzman live at 20 Creston Way, Providence, Rhode Island 02906.

### Deaths

**Barcroft.** Frederick J. Barcroft, FSS-retired, died on October 12 in

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Ft. Lauderdale. Mr. Barcroft joined the Foreign Service in 1945 after serving in the Coast Guard in World War II. He served in Lima, Buenos Aires, Bogota, Trinidad, Guatemala and in the Inspection Corps in the Near East and Far East. After retirement in 1970, he became director of development for the University of Miami School of Medicine. He is survived by his wife, Grace, of 2512 Aqua Vista Blvd., Ft. Lauderdale, Fla. 33301.

**Hanney.** Andrew E. Hanney, FSO-retired, died on March 10 in Groton, Massachusetts. Mr. Hanney joined the Foreign Service after World War II and served at Hamburg, Stuttgart, Berlin, Frankfurt and as consul at Montreal and Curacao before his retirement in 1958. He is survived by his wife, Helen, of Boston Road, Groton, Massachusetts 01450 and his daughter, Renate Sands of Woodbridge, Virginia.

**Knox.** Clinton Everett Knox, retired ambassador, died on October 16 in Silver Spring. Ambassador Knox entered on duty with the State Department in 1945 and served at Paris, Tegucigalpa and as ambassador to Dahomey and Port-au-Prince before his retirement in 1973. He was held hostage for 23 hours by Haitian gunmen who were demanding the release of political prisoners in 1973. He and the American consul were released unharmed when the Haitian government agreed to pay \$70,000 in ransom and to fly the terrorists and 12 political prisoners to Mexico. In 1966, Ambassador Knox received the Superior Honor Award from the Department. He is survived by his wife, the former Clementine Murphy, of 8201 16th St., Apt. 1118, Silver Spring, Maryland 20910, a daughter, Karen, and a son, William E., of Philadelphia, a brother and a sister.

**McClure.** Russell Schee McClure, FSR-retired, died on October 8 in Olympia, Washington. Mr. McClure joined the State Department in 1942, then left to serve in the Navy from 1943-1946. On his return to the Service, he served in Strasbourg, Paris and Geneva before joining ECA in 1949, with service in Amman, Kabul and Kinshasa before his retirement in 1975. He is survived by his wife, Mary H. P. McClure, of 630 77th Ave., N.E., Olympia, Washington 98506.

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