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Foreign Service Journal

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The *Foreign Service Journal* is the magazine of professionals in foreign affairs, published 11 times a year by the American Foreign Service Association, a non-profit organization. Material appearing herein represents the opinions of the writers and does not necessarily represent the official views of the Department of State, the U.S. Information Agency, the Agency for International Development, the United States Government as a whole, or AFSA. While the Editorial Board is responsible for general content, statements concerning the policy and administration of AFSA as employee representative under the Foreign Service Act of 1980 on the editorial page and in the Association News, and all communications relating to these, are the responsibility of the AFSA Governing Board.

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LETTERS

Different View

Sam Cohen, the inventor of the neutron bomb, writes [September]: "NATO's central military problem is that it has opted out of the Nuclear Age." Has Cohen forgotten all about the upcoming deployment of the Pershing and cruise missiles in Central Europe?

Most security analysts agree that both the Warsaw Pact and NATO are pursuing a similar conventional/nuclear flexible response strategy. Sole reliance on a battlefield nuclear strategy, as Cohen argues in his *pro domo* article, is not acceptable to our European allies. The view from Europe is obviously different than that from Southern California.

CHARLES R. FOSTER
*Executive Secretary,
Committee on Atlantic Studies
Washington, D.C.*

Required Reading

Jonathan Dean's perceptive article about the Soviet system and character ["Negotiation by Increment," July/August] should be required reading for anyone dealing with Soviet affairs.

Most particularly, it would be comforting to know that Ambassador Dean's sensible advice was reaching and being carefully considered in the higher echelons in the White House. Do you have many National Security Council subscribers?

ROBERT H. HARLAN
*Foreign Service Officer, retired
Freeport, Illinois*

Correction

With regret and much chagrin, I must correct an error in my recent article "Night Flight to Freedom" [June]. The date of Svetlana's defection in New Delhi was incorrectly stated. The actual date of her defection was March 6, 1967. She entered the United States only a few weeks later in April. The errors are my own, and I offer my apologies to the *Journal's* readers.

ADRIENNE HUEY
Oklahoma City, Oklahoma

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BOOK REVIEWS

Views of the Top

THE MODERN AMBASSADOR: *The Challenge and the Search*. Edited by Martin F. Herz. Institute for the Study of Diplomacy, Georgetown University. 1983. \$7.

This book contains comments by dozens of authors on scores of aspects of the ambassador's role in today's world. With one or two minor exceptions, they all agree: ambassadors are still very relevant in the conduct of international affairs. This theme is sounded with particular clarity at the beginning and at the end of the volume by two especially wise practitioners of the trade, Ellsworth Bunker and Elliot Richardson.

In between, Baron von Staden, former ambassador of the Federal Republic of Germany in Washington, points out that the negotiating function of the ambassa-

dor's role may have diminished but the tasks of presentation and interpretation have grown. John Halstead, Canada's ambassador to Bonn and to NATO, emphasizes the steady expansion of the ambassadorial role in economic, commercial, cultural, and public diplomacy. Kingman Brewster, U.S. envoy to London, wryly notes that one of the most important ambassadorial contributions is "to mitigate the damage that flows from the administrative disarray that is built into our government." And when Charles S. Whitehouse, former ambassador to Laos and Thailand, says, "It may seem odd to compare ambassadors to lion tamers but I have served in embassies in which keeping the big cats on their perches took a bit of doing," one can smell the sawdust in the embassy ring and get a whiff of bureaucratic blood.

A variety of non-American professionals tell more about ambassadorial requirements and qualifications than any U.S. government job description ever has. Karl Gruber, former foreign minister of Austria, graphically describes the importance of the ability to communicate. François de Laboulaye, French ambassador to Brazil, Japan, and the United States dissects (with his coauthor, Jean Leloy) the specialist-generalist argument and comes up with a cogent answer. Egidio Ortona, Italian am-

bassador to the United States and to the United Nations, notes that instructions written at home are often a reflection of domestic political temper and need to be "translated" into something that will yield results in the sometimes tricky foreign environment.

The section on "The View from the Senate" contains a lot of useful historical material and considerable good sense, although only Senator Charles McC. Mathias's (R.-Maryland) explanation of his reasons for sponsoring Senate Bill 1886—which would allow no more than 15 percent of the chiefs of mission by political appointees—is eloquent.

In the sections dealing directly with career versus non-career appointments, all the authors say the right things, but only Malcolm Toon in his unapologetic defense of the Foreign Service and Laurence Silberman in his straightforward attack on it show much vigor and imagination. The late Ambassador Ellis Briggs offers the key sentence: "No single factor is more discouraging to those in the career service than the practice of awarding ambassadorial posts to non-professionals."

Another section of the book reproduces "Some Relevant Official Documentation," including excerpts from the Foreign Service Act of 1980, President Kennedy's 1961 letter to chiefs of mission, and the 1976 precepts for the Career Minister Selection Board. (In the latter two cases, comparisons with later letters from presidents Johnson, Nixon, Ford, Carter, and Reagan, and with more recent selection board precepts would have been interesting.)

The Modern Ambassador is issued by the Institute for the Study of Diplomacy of Georgetown University. The late Martin Herz, David Newsom, Ellsworth Bunker, and Peter Krogh deserve the thanks of all those interested in the subject—and such aficionados will never find a better way to spend a modest seven dollars than by buying this book. —JAMES W. SPAIN

Brown on Defense

THINKING ABOUT NATIONAL SECURITY. By Harold Brown. Westview Press. 1983. \$17.95.

Harold Brown, secretary of defense during the Carter administration, accurately describes this book when he writes in the preface that the views he expresses are largely "those I held in office." At the same time, unfortunately, he kills the curiosity of the reader. Brown believes these views remain valid and that the security interests and policies of the United

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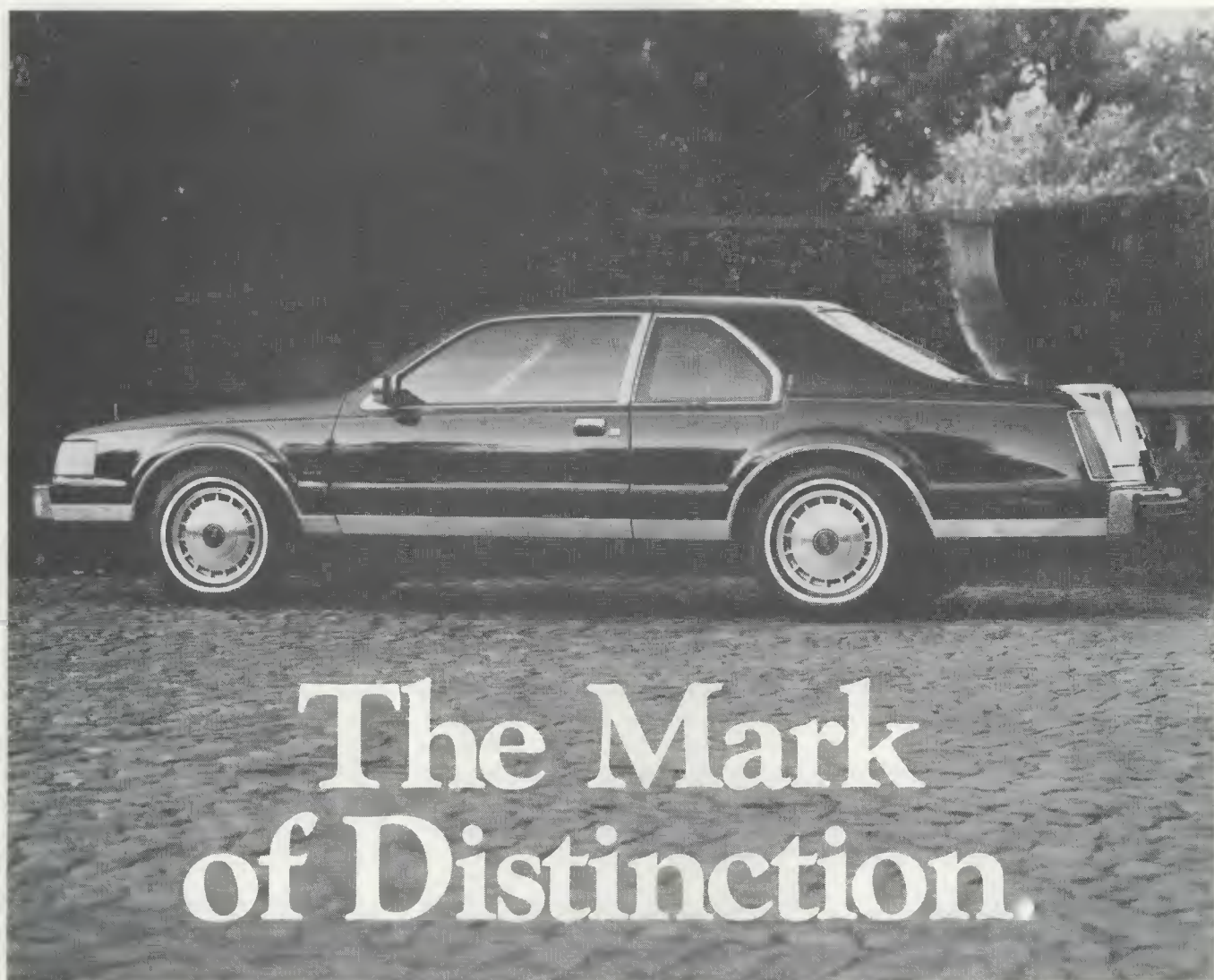


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States do not change from one administration to another. Candidates for the presidency may promise bold innovation but in the "real world," according to Brown, policies are determined by complex and constraining events beyond the control of even a superpower.

Brown's point is, of course, an important one, but unfortunately he does not document his case or deal with the exceptions to this continuity in security interests and policy. The exceptions loom large—for example, the détente policies of Nixon and Kissinger and the containment policies of Reagan and Shultz. Nor does Brown mention the fierce fighting of two of his colleagues in the Carter administration, the national security adviser and the secretary of state, over their sharply conflicting views on policy toward the Soviet Union and national security. The real world does present real choices.

Brown writes that his book should serve as a framework for thinking about national security and not a prescription for the shape of that policy. His approach is orthodox and not alarmist. An initial chapter describes the threat—the Soviet Union—and its worldwide nature. Subsequent chapters are devoted to topics like energy supplies and the strategic balance, and to areas of the world like Europe and Southwest Asia. On these topics Brown is thorough and knowledgeable, but he does not add to the conventional wisdom. Rough parity prevails at the strategic level, but Brown is concerned by the vulnerability of land-based missiles and still advocates multiple basing even though this scheme has virtually no support. He is concerned by our various conventional deficiencies, in Europe and elsewhere, and advocates an annual real increase in the defense budget of 5–7 percent.

Brown acknowledges that the American eagle clasps an olive branch as well as arrows, and he devotes a chapter to arms control. He endorses President Reagan's zero proposal for reducing medium-range missiles in Europe, a proposal now abandoned by its author. Such are the pitfalls of continuity.

—DAVID LINEBAUGH

Salvadoran Extremes

EL SALVADOR: *America's Next Vietnam?* By Steffen Schmidt. Documentary Publications, 1983. \$19.95.

The thesis of the author, a Colombian now living and teaching in the United States, is that present American policy toward El Salvador can lead only to another imbroglio of the Vietnam variety. He bases this judgment largely on the assumption that

the extreme polarization of political forces leaves only a handful of moderates genuinely interested in social and economic reform. Since both the reactionary right and the revolutionary left bitterly oppose U.S.-backed reforms, it follows, Schmidt concludes, that "for all intents and purposes American foreign policy has no supporters in El Salvador!"

The book provides a useful historical introduction to the Salvadoran conflict and often-harrowing descriptions of the terror employed by both sides. The discussions of U.S. assistance efforts, the position of the Catholic Church, and the tactics of the far right contain worthwhile insights. On the other hand, if—as the author claims—there are no moderates in El Salvador, the reader may wonder how the Christian Democrats, led by moderate José Napoleón Duarte, managed to win 41 percent of the 1.3 million votes cast in the 1982 national elections. In fact, the scant recognition given in this book to any genuine yearning for freedom and democracy among the Salvadorans seems to reflect the bias of many American liberals who consider a Marxist solution acceptable in El Salvador, even though it is doubtful they would be eager to live under such a system themselves.

—JOHN J. CROWLEY JR.

Recognizing China

PATTERNS IN THE DUST. By Nancy Bernkopf Tucker. Columbia University Press, 1983. \$35.

The collapse of the Nationalist government in China, and the advent of the communist regime, posed a dilemma for U.S. foreign policy we have seen time and again: What should our recognition policy be toward unfriendly governments? In China, this question was complicated by a variety of historical and cultural factors. Large segments of the United States had strong feelings for the Nationalist government, with all its faults. Furthermore, the Republic of China refused to surrender or collapse, but set about establishing itself in Taiwan.

In *Patterns in the Dust*, Tucker provides an overview of the critical 18 months from January 1949 to June 1950—that is, from the de facto establishment of the People's Republic to the outbreak of the Korean War. She examines U.S. foreign policy formulation and the debates within the White House, the State Department, and others in the foreign policy establishment. Tucker also considers how various non-governmental actors—the missionaries, media, business community, and academic community—felt about transfer-

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ring recognition from the Republic of China to the new People's Republic. And she discusses the policies and actions of the Soviet Union, Great Britain, and Japan.

Despite emotional ties to Nationalist China and a lack of enthusiasm for the Communist regime, this 18-month period saw a slow but steady shift in U.S. policy until, by the summer of 1950, Truman had all but decided to extend recognition to the PRC. But North Korea's invasion of South Korea, and the PRC's subsequent participation in the war, forced the United States not to follow through on this decision. Recognition, instead of being a method of conducting our China policy, became an element of the policy itself, and the decision to recognize the new regime was put off for three decades.

Although the book is well written and very well researched, Tucker presents little new information. Her discussions of the missionary and business communities are interesting because she contends neither group opposed recognizing the People's Republic, despite the antipathy one would expect religious and business groups to feel toward a communist government. Yet as important as these other groups are, they merit attention only insofar as they affect the president. The recognition decision,

after all, does lie with that office, but Tucker does not devote even one of her ten chapters to Truman.

Tucker's greatest weakness, however, is her failure to go far enough in determining responsibility for non-recognition. She concludes that the United States was leaning toward recognition of the PRC and that the Korean War made that impossible. She does not, however, note that the same war led to a Sino-Soviet strategic and political alliance. Nor does she address the question pondered by other historians: Was the North Korean invasion engineered or encouraged by the Soviets to abort a looming Sino-American relationship and to force the PRC into the Soviet camp?

—FRANKLIN L. LAVIN

Development in the '80s

DEVELOPMENT WITHOUT AID: *Growth, Poverty, and Government*. By Melvyn B. Krauss. New Press, McGraw Hill Company, 1983. \$17.95.

During the last thirty years the developing countries have experienced unprecedented economic growth. This was exceptionally rapid during the 1970s, the so-called Second Development Decade. Nevertheless,

this decade is considered by many to have been a failure, undoubtedly because of the many problems that remain unsolved. There are still more than 400 million people worldwide suffering from malnutrition; in 1983, 15 million children under age five will probably die from hunger. There are over 600 million illiterate adults today in the developing world. At the beginning of the 1970s many specialists thought that on-going economic development projects, carefully monitored by various public and private agencies from the developed world in collaboration with Third World governments, would solve all these problems. The fact that such confidence is so rare in 1983 is a telling sign of the changes in attitudes and economic development philosophy.

In *Development Without Aid*, Krauss demonstrates to a minor degree that the biggest obstacle to economic development in the Third World is government—and especially big government. The welfare state approach of the developed world severely damages the Third World, he claims, because it promotes social justice and income distribution rather than encouraging competition and promoting economic growth in the private sector. This is a thesis well-worn by the Reagan administration. What both Krauss and the administration fail to recognize is that many Third World countries lack infrastructure; schools, hospitals, roads, etc., all things needed for development but that private enterprise cannot or will not provide because they bring little or no profit.

Having defined what government should not be doing, Krauss does not really develop a statement of what government should do. The concepts of attaining social justice and meeting basic needs are both important to the people of the Third World. Yet their desires and aspirations, as promulgated by their governments, are either ignored or only briefly treated by Krauss. The key factor missing throughout Krauss's book is that the reconciliation of the twin objectives of economic growth and social justice is possible only if priority is given to increasing the productivity of the poorest people in Third World countries. What Krauss seems to miss is that it is Third World governments, with all their imperfections and inefficiencies, that are best equipped to set priorities so these goals can be attained. There are few if any other organizations capable of meeting the challenge. It should now be clear to all of us—be we associated with development agencies like AID or the World Bank or with private voluntary organizations, that the prime responsibility for the economic and social development of the Third

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World lies with those nations themselves. Krauss's treatment of this important subject comes across as superficial at best. Nor does Krauss, unlike most specialists, seem to realize that the industrialized world can no longer formulate many economic policies, either domestic or international, without reference to Third World countries, any more than the latter can define their development strategies without taking into consideration the situation prevailing in the developed world.

Borrow this book from your library and read it for its novel approach and its articulate examination of the perspective of the Reagan administration vis à vis economic development, but don't bother adding it to your crowded bookshelf.

—ROY A. HARRELL JR.

The Romanian Minority

BESSARABIA AND BUKOVINA: *The Soviet-Romanian Territorial Dispute*. By Nicholas Dima. *East European Monographs*, Columbia University Press, 1982.

THE TRAGIC PLIGHT OF A BORDER AREA: *Bessarabia and Bucovina*. Edited by Maria Manoliu-Manea. *Humboldt State University Press*, 1983.

The Romanian (or "Moldavian") minority in the U.S.S.R. is by far the largest of those for which a national state outside the boundaries of the Soviet Union does exist. This group remains open to influences from maverick Romania. At the same time, the Soviets are using linguistic engineering to separate this minority from those who live in Romania.

Dima's book fills an important gap in the Western literature. It is the only recent, comprehensive attempt to analyze ethnodemographic, linguistic, economic, and social changes in the Romanian population of the U.S.S.R. during the last 35 years of Soviet domination. His study brings together a rich collection of insights into why stubborn ethnic awareness in Moldavia and elsewhere remains a headache for the Kremlin despite efforts at modernization and urbanization. The study also examines the impact of recent Soviet-Romanian disagreements over Soviet Moldavia and how former Bessarabia and Bukovina continue to influence present Romanian historians and even political leaders.

Manea-Manoliu's anthology pleads Romania's right to territories lost to the Soviet Union, using a variety of historical, linguistic, statistical, cultural, and legal arguments. These arguments are a luxury Romanians in Bucharest cannot indulge.

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Reversing a lively Romanian campaign in the early 1970s against Moscow in respect to Bessarabian ("Moldavian") history, Romanian President Nicolae Ceausescu stated in 1976: "Romania has no territorial or other problems with the Soviet Union." However, the now muted dispute still affects Romania's uneasy relations with its giant neighbor.

—EDWARD A. MAINLAND

The Third World Revisited

THE INTEMPERATE ZONE. By Richard E. Feinberg. W. W. Norton, 1983. \$17.50.

THE THIRD WORLD: PREMISES OF U.S. POLICY. Edited by W. Scott Thompson. Institute for Contemporary Studies, Transaction Books, 1983. \$22.95.

The trouble with Richard Feinberg's readable new book is that he didn't write it twenty years ago—before Vietnam, before the U.N. General Assembly's Sixth Special Session, and before Iran. It might have helped avoid the resulting sequence of disillusion, loss of confidence, withdrawal, and return to what Feinberg condemns as Reagan's "reassertionism."

The implicit message of Feinberg's study, surprising from an economist and a refreshing departure from the usual study of rich and poor nations, is that the United States should treat them as *real* countries. The United States should practice the classic state relations that are assiduously maintained among developed countries in the Third World as well. By attempting to control and influence events, the United States becomes the author of its own ills. Third World countries, and their business and military elites, make unstable and unpredictable allies, and involvement in regional rivalries is inevitably counterproductive. Indeed, there is no need to practice power politics because Third World nationalism is the best defense against the Soviets.

A smoothly functioning international economy should be the backbone of US diplomacy in the Third World. It avoids the disadvantages of power politics, with its zero-sum game plan and any number can play. Furthermore, the United States and the West dominate the world economy, and the Soviets are relatively impotent, and the Third World is almost wholly dependent on it. The United States can maximize its leverage, therefore, by providing the less developed countries with an economic environment conducive to their growth.

Thompson's volume provides a baker's dozen of sophisticated essays by British

and American scholars on major political, military, social, economic, and international factors in the Third World. S. E. Finer argues that the search for stability and order takes priority over all other considerations, and therefore the military will remain the most effective ordering mechanism for some time to come. Max Beloff describes how indigenous ideologies have never been effectively developed and Third Worlders are beginning to move beyond Marxism and toward western values. Foreign aid is the source of North-South conflict, not the solution, claim Peter T. Bauer and Basil S. Yamey. Private-sector solutions to development problems are on the increase, according to Wilson E. Schmidt. Daniel Pipes views the new international economic order as primarily a political phenomenon, but one that Allen Goodman thinks could lead to a worsening, rather than an improvement, in North-South relations. And Thompson concludes that the Soviet Union, despite its negative influence, is a failure both economically and politically, while ideas nurtured in the West are turning out to have more relevance. The common denominator running through these studies is the perception that the nations of the south are too heterogenous to be classified under the metaphorically convenient term "Third World."

These two books may profitably be read together. Feinberg takes a holistic and prescriptive approach to the subject while the essays in Thompson's book search thoughtfully for "the premises of U.S. policy." Neither agrees wholly with the other. But, together, they provide a refreshingly upbeat, yet realistic, new look which, after a decade of disillusion, suggests grounds for more confidence and progress.

—ROBERT K. OLSON

A Warning Light

THE DYNAMICS OF INTERDEPENDENCE, Andrew M. Scott. University of North Carolina Press, 1982. \$23 (cloth), \$11.50 (paper).

In *The Dynamics of Interdependence*, Andrew M. Scott examines the unanticipated and transmuting consequences of exponentially developing global interrelationships. The world, from every visible sign, is moving ever-faster in change and exchange of ideas, technology, communications, and all other forms of innovation. In doing so, it calls into question the established tenets of liberal, democratic society. Should the flow of ideas and practices be so unimpeded as to threaten indigenous cultures? Should technologies and communications be allowed to do the same?

A proliferation of international organizations has eroded hitherto national monopolies. Many governments, faced with the strictures of the International Monetary Fund, the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade, the International Atomic Energy Agency, among others, view this framework as blatantly discriminatory. So persistent is the idea of nationalism, however, that efforts to cope with the burgeoning scale of global issues—pollution, resources, population, and economic and political inequalities—have been shackled by delays both in recognizing the problem and devising solutions. These delays allow the problems to aggregate and compound, becoming different and more complex from those being addressed. The effects of these mounting and unforeseen results lead the author to conclude that the future "will be both harder to shape and harder to anticipate."

Realistic remedies are extraordinarily elusive, although Dr. Scott proposes three alternative strategies. The option he favors, described in practical terms, is a deliberate slowdown of the spread of interaction and technology to give time for vital global adjustments. Otherwise humanity might be fashioning psychologically unacceptable remedies and contributing to mounting conflicts. This volume, which, like a blinking caution light, outlines the consequences of the world's growing interdependence, provides a distinctive service.

—ROY M. MELBOURNE

MX Myths

SUPERWEAPON: THE MAKING OF THE MX.
By John Edwards. W.W. Norton & Company, 1982.

As the debate on the MX missile continues, a concise, comprehensive history of the missile's research and development could perform a useful educational service for both policymakers and the public. Lessons drawn from the expectations and confusions in the MX process could be invaluable for future debates on new systems and the purpose of a deterrent force. Unfortunately, John Edward's book *Superweapon: The Making of the MX* falls short of that role.

The main failing is the basic premise reflected in the title: MX is "the most terrible weapon ever devised." This narrows the focus and tends to limit analysis of the missile's role in the evolution of strategic doctrine and weapons. The history of the MX unravels as a conspiracy with all important strategic and doctrinal decisions laying a dangerous path for the development of this destabilizing, most terrible

weapon. The underlying assumption is that the past four decades have been ones of relative stability. As the author acknowledges, it is the accuracy of the MX that makes it so threatening. But what is overlooked is that high accuracy is a capability that many present and future missiles have or will have, including the Trident II D-5, the cruise, the Pershing II, the Minuteman II with MARK 12A re-entry vehicles, and the Soviet SS-18. The challenges to a stable U.S.-Soviet relationship are already present and go beyond the issue of the MX's capabilities.

The problem to be addressed when assessing the MX and future R&D processes is how stability can be maintained after both sides have moved their procurement programs toward highly accurate systems. Contrary to what the author suggests, the MX production decisions did not determine whether the United States would cross the line into a destabilizing relationship with the Soviet Union. The line had already been crossed. The question that demands analysis from a historical perspective is how to maintain stability with *de facto* counterforce and systems with short flight times.

The problems the author attempts to address are far more complex than simply deciding for or against the MX. But he simplifies these broader issues by focusing all his concern about instability on this missile and not on the larger national-security problems, including the evolution of nuclear-weapons technology. Although the book does provide an interesting outline of the confused MX procurement debate, the overemphasis on the role of the MX does limit its relevance to the problems of stability between the superpowers.

—LORI ESPOSITO

China Compacted

CHINA WITHOUT MAO. By Immanuel C. Y. Hsu. Oxford University Press, 1982. \$19.95.

Every reviewer should consider the audience for which a particular book is written. After I read *China Without Mao*, the answer was not readily apparent. Stretched to about 200 pages by format, pictures, and an unnecessary appendix, this slim text covers about five years of political developments in the post-Mao period. It also manages to describe the economics of the Four Modernizations and the normalization of China's relations with the United States. It touches on social issues and changes, and ends with a 13-page chapter entitled "Taiwan's 'Economic Miracle' and the Prospect for Reunification." Since such a

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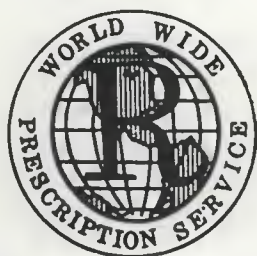


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general exposition could not be intended for the China specialist, perhaps it was written for our old friend—the informed and curious layperson. But the general reader would not only require considerable additional background to fully appreciate Hsu's description of post-Mao China but would also have little need for the pages of footnotes and lists of further reading at the end of each of the six chapters. Who then, was the intended audience?

Quite by accident and with some surprise, I discovered that this book is a verbatim rendition of the last section of Hsu's very scholarly and highly regarded 1983 volume entitled *The Rise of Modern China*. And, as an update, it dovetails perfectly with the earlier edition of Hsu's textbook. A disclosure of this fact in either book, or both, would have been appropriate and helpful.

Despite its elusive audience, the book is not without merit, and one cannot argue with the dust jacket—it does present a "clear and compact account of what happened and why." It is a reasonably balanced presentation (an attribute not to be taken lightly when the subject is recent Chinese politics) and supplemented by some insightful interpretations by the author. In general, Hsu is fairly optimistic. Aware of China's many problems, he believes that the present leadership is doing a good job of recovering from the mistakes of Mao and his followers and that gradually China will manage to evolve into a modern nation—and without losing its "Chineseness." As for the question of reunification, Hsu takes the long perspective of Chinese history. He does not expect any quick or radical changes in the positions of Beijing and Taipei, but "as China becomes more technocratic and less doctrinaire and Taiwan more flexible," the Chinese people on both sides of the straits will find a way. Chances are, however, that few of us will live long enough to know whether his optimism is warranted or misplaced.

—LEO A. ORLEANS

The New Europeans

THE SUCCESSOR GENERATION: *International Perspectives of Postwar Europeans*. Edited by Stephen F. Szabo. Butterworths, 1983. \$40.

Forty years after the end of World War II, a new generation is beginning to assume leadership positions in Europe. This "successor generation" has become the subject of much discussion among U.S. policymakers and media. This attention has been motivated not so much by a real concern for young people and their problems as by growing alarm over various forms of youth

protest. Many of the new political movements—ecology, feminism, anti-nuclear campaigns—are dominated by youthful participants. At the same time, other young people are rejecting any political participation and entering political subcultures.

Stephen Szabo, a professor at the National War College who was previously at the Foreign Service Institute, and six other scholars have attempted to assess the impact of young people's attitudes toward Atlantic relations by relying almost exclusively on public opinion research. The attempt is not entirely successful. The book relies too heavily on the single-cause theory of youth protest, namely the "post-materialist value change" theory propounded by Ronald Inglehart of the University of Michigan. Little attention is paid to the psychological roots of the growing revival of national cultural traits (particularly evident in the current re-Toutonization of German cultural attitudes among all strata of German society) or to the relationships between classes or generations. Only Douglas Wertman's essay on Italy—the best in the book—clearly focuses on a key question: whether the younger generation's attitudes will change as they get older or whether these new values will become a permanent part of the political scene. Nor is there any attempt in the book to examine various youth subcultures. In his chapter on Britain, Peter Fotheringham does not even mention the skinheads, mods, punks, and rockers that are so evident today, nor does he attempt to deal with the important class differences.

As the British example demonstrates, not all youth protest movements are politically based. Nor is the frustration of young Europeans primarily due to economic problems. Instead, young people seem to want to break out and provide their *lebensraum*, especially in cultures, such as the German, that contain both authoritarian and anti-authoritarian elements. This search for a new identity and new lifestyle results in both political protests and political apathy.

After considering the survey data and finding some generational discontinuity, particularly in Germany and Italy, the authors conclude that the trend is toward a Europe less malleable to American influence. This self-evident conclusion may not be worth the \$40 price of this 183-page volume. The book's chief merit is that it provides a framework for a more scholarly discussion of the term "successor generation," a catch phrase that has been used so unsystematically by policymakers, particularly in USIA. —CHARLES R. FOSTER

Books in Brief . . .

ATLAS OF THE ARAB WORLD. By Michael W. Dempsey. *Facts on File Publications*, 1983. Colorful graphics and a wealth of information about such topics as population, livestock, living standards, and military expenditures make this slim volume a useful reference for businesspersons and students as well as for the expert on the Mideast. —BENSON L. GRAYSON

THE FUTURE OF CONFLICT. By William J. Taylor. *The Washington Papers* #94, Center for Strategic and International Studies, Praeger, 1983. In this monograph, a former career military officer suggests that superpower nuclear exchange and war in Central Europe are unlikely in the 1980s. Instead, the Soviet Union will use proxies in minor regional conflicts to threaten U.S. interests.

IN AFGHANISTAN: *An American Odyssey*. By Jere Van Dyk. Coward-McCann, \$18.95. Van Dyk, an international track competitor, spent much of late 1981 in "free" Afghanistan being passed from one *mujahedin* group to another observing these freedom fighters in their struggle against Soviet imperialism. Unfortunately, the author seeks to combine the story of the Afghan struggle with that of his own personal evolution into experienced manhood, but Van Dyk does not bring off the attempt. Certainly it is not the long-awaited epic of central Asians fighting against Soviet Communism that it could have been. The author succeeds most with his description of eastern Afghanistan—its people, landscape, and general atmosphere—but there is only a limited amount of interest in endless recountings of meals eaten and teahouse gatherings.

—VICTOR WOLF JR.

THE NON-NUCLEAR DEFENSE OF CITIES: *The High Frontier Space-Based Defense Against ICBM Attack*. By Daniel O. Graham. *Abt Books*, 1983. \$25. General Graham proposes a layered strategic defense: a spaceborne defense system to destroy Soviet missiles in their initial flight stages; advanced beam weaponry to further reduce the missile attack effectiveness; and a ground-based defense system for our missile silos. His critics will argue that this would abrogate the ABM treaty, that its cost would be unacceptable, and that it would be destabilizing because it would give the United States a first-strike option. But some may see the proposal as an alternative to arms control: why worry about missiles if we can shoot them down?

—FRANCIS X. CUNNINGHAM

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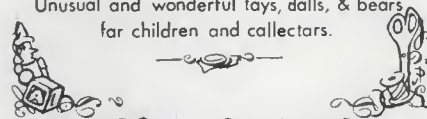
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Foreign Service Journal, November 1973: "If there is to be a new foreign policy consensus, if the foreign affairs professionals are to be engaged in the policy process, if we are to have a new flourishing of creativity and intellectual excitement in foreign affairs, and if we are to bring about a substantial reinvigoration of the foreign affairs agencies, it will be essential to give real meaning to the intent of the executive order under which we and the department are supposed to codetermine the policies and procedures which affect our careers. To do so will require farsighted managers who recognize not only the fairness but the utility of genuinely codetermining personnel policies and procedures, and who recognize that while differences between management and AFSA are unavoidable, that we seek the same goals and should work together to create the best possible Foreign Service." —AFSA EDITORIAL

Foreign Service Journal, November 1958: "By swearing in Joseph C. Sarrerrhwaite as the first assistant secretary of state in the new Bureau of African Affairs, the United States is catching up with the fast-moving times in that vast continent.

"Since World War II, Africa has rocketed into the 20th century with the formation of several new and modern nations. . . . Despite this propulsion of Africa into the arena of world conflict, the State Department, until this year, had continued to relegate African affairs to a department in the Bureau of Near Eastern and Middle East Affairs." —PROVIDENCE JOURNAL

Foreign Service Journal, November 1933: "For some time I have felt the need, and I believe it is general throughout the Service, of some sort of authoritative guidance on the questions of ceremonies, dress, and etiquette as applicable to Foreign Service officers.

"I believe it would be a splendid idea to have made available to all Foreign Service officers a very comprehensive booklet covering the entire subject of social observance. Should the department not feel it incumbent upon itself or in a position to act on this suggestion, perhaps the *Journal* itself would favorably consider issuing such booklet." —FRANCIS C. JORDAN



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Bases of Understanding

Unstable Politics in the Philippines Jeopardizes the Future of Two Vital U.S. Military Installations

By LARRY A. NIKSCH

The assassination in August of Philippine opposition leader Benigno Aquino has plunged the relationship between the United States and the Philippines into a whirl of controversy. Philippine citizens have demonstrated in the streets with sometimes fatal results. In Washington, President Reagan cancelled a visit to Manila planned for November, citing the press of business. But the debate surrounding the trip has continued, moving on to larger questions of U.S.-Philippine relations.

The United States has enjoyed a close relationship with the often-criticized government of President Ferdinand Marcos, and a key ingredient in that relationship has been the memoranda of agreement permitting the continuation of U.S. rights to military bases in the Philippines. The first such memorandum was signed in January 1979. On June 1 of this year, the U.S. and Philippine governments signed the second memorandum after only a month of discussions. But despite the briefness of the negotiations, the earlier precedent of the first memorandum, and the broad perception of the bases' strategic importance, the new memorandum remains controversial, because it helps establish a framework for U.S. policy toward the Phil-

ippines for the remainder of the 1980s.

This memorandum, like its predecessor, covers a five-year period, 1985-89. According to U.S. officials, it will ensure that the United States has "unhampered use" of the military facilities at Subic Bay Naval Base and Clark Air Base, subject to consultations with the Philippine government. No such consultation is required, however, for military operations conducted from the bases in accord with the U.S.-Philippine Mutual Defense Treaty and the Southeast Asia Collective Defense Treaty. Other provisions of the memorandum deal with the powers of the official Filipino base commanders, criminal jurisdiction over U.S. servicemen, conditions for employment of Filipino nationals at the bases, and economic and social improvement of areas surrounding the installations. It also establishes a joint committee for consultations on issues related to the bases.

Increased Aid

In conjunction with the second memorandum, President Reagan sent a letter to Marcos pledging the "best effort" of the executive branch to secure \$900 million in aid for the Philippines during the 1985-89 period. That aid is to consist of \$125 million in Grant Military Assistance (MAP), \$300 million in Foreign Military Sales Credits (FMS), and \$475 million in Economic Support Funds (ESF). This represents a substantial increase from the \$500 million promised under the 1979 memorandum. In particular, ESF

is to be raised from \$200 million and MAP from \$50 million. Moreover, Reagan promised to seek lenient repayment terms for FMS credits.

The 1983 memorandum marks the latest revision of the terms of the 1947 military bases agreement, which gave the United States rights to defense facilities after the Philippines gained independence the year before. That agreement granted the United States a 99-year lease on the installations with practically unlimited jurisdiction. Subsequent accords have modified these provisions to provide for greater Philippine participation. The Philippine government now has the assurance of prior consultation if the bases are used for combat operations, some criminal jurisdiction over U.S. servicemen, a shortening of the lease period to 1991, and the right to designate Filipino commanders for each installation.

The two bases in the Philippines are among the most important of American facilities overseas in terms of size and functions. Subic Bay Naval Base, with over 7000 U.S. military personnel, is the key logistical center for the U.S. Seventh Fleet in the western Pacific. Approximately 65 percent of the fleet's repair work is done at Subic. The base can perform drydocking of all Seventh Fleet ships, except carriers and battleships. In time of crisis, Subic would be the main support base for additional carrier task forces deployed to the western Pacific and the Indian Ocean. Subic's storage capacity for petroleum (110 million gallons), spare

Larry A. Niksch is a specialist in Asian affairs at the Congressional Research Service at the Library of Congress. The views expressed in this article are those of the author and do not necessarily reflect those of the Congressional Research Service.

Subic Bay Naval Base and Clark Air Base provide important staging areas for operations from the western Pacific to the Indian Ocean and Persian Gulf.

parts, and ammunition make it the largest U.S. naval supply depot outside the United States.

Subic has two adjunct facilities: the Naval Communications Station at San Miguel and the Naval Air Station at Cubi Point. The Naval Communications Station is one of the Navy's principal communications sites worldwide and provides tactical communications for Seventh Fleet operations. Cubi Point provides maintenance and repair facilities for aircraft from U.S. carriers. It also supports P-3C anti-submarine patrols over the South China Sea and Indian Ocean.

Important Bases

Clark Air Base, about fifty miles northwest of Manila, is the largest U.S. Air Force-operated installation outside the United States. Its runways and hangar space can accommodate any combat and transport aircraft in the U.S. inventory. Clark has a petroleum storage capacity of 25 million gallons and 200,000 square feet of ammunition storage space. Two tactical fighter squadrons of F-4s are permanently stationed at Clark, and it is the home of the Crow Valley weapons range, where Air Force, Navy, and Marine air units throughout the western Pacific conduct combat exercises up to eight times a year. Clark also serves as a conduit through which supplies, aircraft, and personnel flow to Subic and the Seventh Fleet. The Air Force operates daily flights of C-5 and C-141 transport aircraft through Clark to the U.S. base at Diego Garcia.

The bases' support functions have been made especially important by the vast geographical distances covered by the Seventh Fleet and the many military missions directly assisted from Subic and Clark. The geographical distances are immense: from the western Indian Ocean to the northwest Pacific, including the Southeast Asian coast



and the southwest Pacific. Actual and potential missions supported by the two bases include carrier operations in the Indian Ocean (a feature of U.S. deployments since the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan); logistical support for deployment of the Rapid Deployment Force and land-based aircraft into the Persian Gulf region; air and naval involvement in the defense of Thailand; carrier and tactical aircraft movement to South Korea; and wartime operations in the northwest Pacific against Soviet forces. All have been the focus of U.S. military exercises or crisis management in the last five years.

Despite the bases' importance, they

are surrounded by controversy. Recent hearings before the House Subcommittee on Asian and Pacific Affairs addressed the bases' impact on U.S. policy toward the internal political situation in the Philippines; the composition of the aid package under the new memorandum; and possible alternatives to the bases. Behind these, however, lay what many analysts see as the deterioration of internal conditions in the Philippines—highlighted by the Aquino assassination—and the apparent lack of attention to it by top-level U.S. officials, at least until recently. This assessment leads some to anticipate eventual worst-case scenar-

ios of internal instability or upheaval and ouster of the Americans. Indeed, some view the Philippines as potentially another Iran or Nicaragua.

Economic deterioration is acute. The rate of economic growth declined to 2.4 percent in 1982—a rate equal to that of the population growth. The Philippines are also experiencing depressed business conditions; worsening poverty and malnutrition in the countryside; rising unemployment in the cities; sharp declines in key commodity exports; escalating current-account deficits and foreign debt levels; and double-digit inflation. By most standards the Philippine economic performance over the last five years has been the worst in non-communist East Asia.

The international recession that followed the 1979 oil crisis has struck the Philippines especially hard. For example, the price of the country's major export crop—coconuts—has collapsed on the international market. This has exacerbated the poverty and malnutrition found among the over 15 million Filipinos who depend on the coconut industry for their livelihood.

Economic Decline

But the economic decline has other causes—ones related to the performance of the Marcos regime. The government has been unable to raise sufficient domestic revenues; development programs have been biased toward the Manila area and Luzon; rural credit programs for farmers have been in decline; and the commitment to family planning programs has been uncertain. There has also been the mixed performance of the Ministry of Human Settlements under First Lady Imelda Marcos, which has been criticized by the World Bank and numerous other observers. All of those problems have limited the government's ability to alleviate the impact of the international recession on the economy and people.

The political situation also seems to be deteriorating despite the lifting of martial law by Marcos in 1981. Real power continues to reside with the president, and non-executive institutions remain weak. The accumulation of authority by Imelda Marcos and the armed forces has created uncertainty

over the future, which has been intensified by the tendency of the Philippine political elite to dwell incessantly on the question of succession. No consensus has developed between the government and the moderate opposition on rules for political competition. Indeed, since August 1982 Marcos has cracked down on opposition elements, arresting politicians and journalists and closing an opposition newspaper. Criticism of the government is growing among businessmen, middle-class Filipinos, and Catholic clergymen and has been especially severe since the assassination of Aquino. Finally, the communist insurgency continues to expand slowly but steadily, and has at least 6000 armed guerrillas and a support base of several hundred thousand people.

Aquino's death has already eroded Marcos's base of support substantially but an immediate crisis may be avoided as long as the armed forces remain loyal. The assassination, coming on the heels of the government's crack-down on the opposition, may signal the development of a rightist trend in the government, perhaps encouraged by hardliners at the top of the military, although moderate elements associated with the regime are pressing for flexibility. At the same time it has undoubtedly weakened—perhaps fatally—the moderate, pro-democracy opposition, already aging and divided over strategy and personal rivalries. Aquino was the one figure who might have unified the opposition and broadened its appeal to youth, business groups, and the middle class. He was the one who could have negotiated with the government for a competitive political role for the opposition. Although the moderate opposition has gained much public support in the wake of the assassination, the long term trends are less promising.

His death could bring events to the breaking point quickly, but more likely it will simply accentuate the current political trends: polarization between the Marcos government and the communist-led left as the centrist opposition disintegrates. Farther in the future is the possibility of fragmentation within the ruling elite and more direct involvement by the armed forces. No

one can predict with certainty that by the decade's end the Philippines will develop the symptoms of a South Vietnam or Nicaragua: political instability, military coup attempts, and communist-led movements strong enough to challenge the existing power structure. However, one cannot ignore the similarities between those in their early stages and the Philippines today.

U.S. Interests

The United States has an obvious interest in a reversal of these trends. Future access to the bases and therefore the strength of the U.S. position in the western Pacific could well depend on the existence of a friendly and stable Philippine government. The special relationship between the two countries may even allow events in the Philippines to influence U.S. perceptions of its role in the world.

The United States alone cannot reverse these trends, but its policies will undoubtedly have an impact. Yet the priority given to the bases by Washington may inhibit it from pursuing policies that could influence internal conditions in a manner conducive to long-term U.S. interests. The bases do seem to have limited U.S. initiatives designed to encourage democratization, political competition, and protection of human rights. Even the Carter administration backed away from these issues when it began to negotiate the bases agreement in 1978. The Reagan administration has confined such initiatives to private working-level contacts. According to administration officials, Reagan did not raise these questions when Marcos visited Washington in September 1982. All other aspects of U.S. policy seem to come to a dead end when negotiations ensue. Since the signing of the new memorandum, however, State Department officials have expressed the need for more U.S. contact with the moderate opposition and for the Philippine government to move toward genuine political competition in the 1984 parliamentary elections.

For both the government and the opposition the bases have become a symbol of the relationship between the U.S. and Philippines. Both stress that the U.S. presence at Subic and Clark

Alternative base sights at Guam, Singapore, or western Australia would cost \$2-3 billion and provide inferior facilities.

represents support for the Marcos regime. This symbolism is reinforced every five years when the United States negotiates for renewed base rights.

The bases agreements have solidified the Philippine government's support of U.S. policy in Asia and elsewhere—an important consideration in the unsettled post-Vietnam period of U.S. foreign policy. They have, however, damaged U.S. relations with the moderate elements of the Filipino opposition. Indeed, more and more opposition leaders now call for termination of American base rights. Real opposition views may be mixed, but pro-termination sentiment seems to be spreading.

Support for Marcos

Not only the opposition, but the Philippine government itself has claimed that the aid associated with the bases agreements, especially the military aid, constitutes support for the current regime. This claim may be exaggerated, especially since the high interest rates associated with the FMS assistance have prevented the government from drawing more than one-third of the amount allocated since 1979. Nevertheless, the symbolism is important.

If this aid addressed the problem of Philippine economic deterioration, it might help stabilize the internal situation or perhaps compensate for apparent U.S. support for a regime whose base of support is declining. However, neither the Reagan nor Carter administrations seems to have given a high priority to distributing the assistance widely. The newly negotiated aid package does provide substantially more ESF, but it has been used mainly in areas around the bases. Moreover, the ESF programs are limited in their form and scope.

Aside from the aid package associated with the bases agreement, AID's

development assistance program in the Philippines currently runs at about \$40 million per year. An expansion of this assistance would allow the United States to bolster recently initiated programs in the areas of greatest economic distress, rural poverty, and insurgency—the central Visaya islands (Samar, Leyte, Negros, Cebu, and others) and Mindanao. U.S. assistance in the development of health care, clean water, roads, and technology suitable for small farmers could help the economies of these islands just as it did in Luzon in the 1970s. An expanded AID program could also include more support for the family planning program.

The economic future of the Philippines undoubtedly depends on lowering population growth well below the current rate of 2.4 percent per year (closer to 3 percent in rural areas).

It is, however, unlikely that the AID program will be expanded in the near future. Instead, the Reagan administration is banking heavily on the U.S. economic recovery to pull the Philippines out of the doldrums. Assistant Secretary of State for East Asian and Pacific Affairs Paul Wolfowitz stated in an interview with the *Asian Wall Street Journal*, of February 18-19 that, "The thing we are most looking to is our own economic recovery, for a



recovery in the United States will play a big role in the recovery of the Philippines. My feeling is that the long-term prospects are reasonably good."

A strong and sustained recovery would help, especially in stimulating exports and raising world prices for Philippine commodity and mineral exports like coconuts, sugar, and copper. Nevertheless, this approach carries the risk of the recovery not being strong enough and does not address the structural problems of high population growth, geographical disparities, and agricultural productivity.

Given the uncertain Philippine domestic climate and the lack of U.S. efforts to remedy the situation, some observers have begun to examine the possibility of alternative base sites. Defense Department officials broached the subject in the recent congressional hearings. At the time of the 1979 memorandum, a Congressional Research Service study by Edmund Gannon concluded that there is no other single site that could perform all the functions of Subic and Clark. Any alternative would require a mix of facilities at several locales. The study found that Guam and the northern Marianas, Singapore, and western Australia could serve as possible parts of such a mix. The development of suitable installations at these sites would be expensive: \$2-3 billion according to a Defense Department estimate.

Alternative Bases

Of course, developing alternative facilities would take time. An immediate loss of the bases would present acute difficulties for the United States. It would be unable to sustain a major naval and air presence in the Indian Ocean and Persian Gulf. Its capability to deploy additional carriers and tactical aircraft to the western Pacific and to supply existing forces in an emergency would also be reduced. However, if the base rights were terminated gradually over several years it would be possible to develop alternative facilities and perhaps new arrangements for access to bases run by the Philippines.

The new bases memorandum comes as the Philippines is entering a crucial period. The strength and duration of U.S. economic recovery will do much

to determine the Philippines' economic condition for the remainder of the decade. In politics, some observers believe the Philippines has entered the twilight of the Marcos era, and they predict growing rivalry among possible successors. The 1984 parliamentary elections may well determine whether there will be broadened political competition or polarization between the government and the communists. With Aquino's death, 1984 may be the last chance for the aging democratic opposition. If it does not establish a firm base in the political structure, it is likely to fade from the scene by the decade's end. If that happens, the moderate opposition would consist mainly of regionally based parties. The next five to seven years will also be a decisive time for the communist insurgency, as it seeks to exploit existing conditions by expanding operations and forming new front organizations.

In the U.S. Congress there appears to be some sentiment to adjust the aid mix in favor of more economic aid, but the prospect is that Congress will not tamper with the package. Nor is Congress likely to increase significantly the AID program in view of the commitments to military aid and ESP. The question of developing alternative bases probably will remain on hold. Neither the administration nor Congress seems willing to spend several billion dollars on new sites so long as there is no certainty that the United States will lose the Philippine bases.

Barring an acute crisis in the Philippines or an abrupt shift in U.S. policy, the next round of negotiations on the bases in 1987-88 could prove to be a watershed. Questions of Philippine political stability and succession may be clearer by then. The negotiations will undoubtedly be influenced by the pending termination of the lease agreement scheduled for 1991. Both governments will then have to make fundamental policy decisions on the future of the bases.

In the nearer term, the Reagan administration faces several issues. First, there is a need to formulate a policy that can influence internal conditions in the Philippines and to give this policy a high priority. The United

States has lacked such a policy, but the heightened official awareness of the problem since the assassination may provide the climate for developing one.

Second, the United States needs to consider the approach it will take toward the parliamentary elections in the spring of 1984. One objective should be to influence the government and the opposition to begin negotiations very soon on the conditions under which the opposition could participate in the elections. A movement in this direction could be essential in softening Philippine public opposition to a rescheduled trip by Reagan early next spring.

U.S. Policies

Third, the United States needs to define its relationship with the moderate elements in the Philippine government, especially regarding the extent of U.S. support for these elements in their apparently growing disagreement with hard-line groups over internal political policy.

Fourth, should the administration try to reshape ESF to substitute for development assistance in the Visayas and Mindanao? Under the 1979 memorandum, some ESF funds did go into projects in the Visayas and areas of Luzon distant from the bases, so a precedent does exist.

Finally, can the administration manage military aid programs in a way that would emphasize joint U.S.-Philippine defense interests? Funds could be channeled into a U.S.-Philippine air defense system to protect the bases. Air defenses are minimal, and the Soviet introduction of Backfire bombers into the Far East produces a degree of vulnerability. Also, the Philippine air force is relatively non-political and less controversial than other elements of the armed forces.

The 1983 Philippine bases memorandum opens new issues for the United States. Since the bases are likely to remain the keystone of the U.S. military presence in the western Pacific and the Indian Ocean in the near term, during the next 5 to 7 years they will become more and more dependent on the U.S. approach to Philippine internal conditions. □



Up on the Farm

*Heightened Soviet emphasis on forging
more plowshares could be an opening
for U.S. foreign policy moves*

By ANTON F. MALISH

If the Soviet Food Program represented no more than a propaganda effort to paper over discontent in the U.S.S.R., it probably would have died with General Secretary Leonid Brezhnev. Instead, Yuri Andropov cited the program in a speech celebrating the 60th anniversary of the Soviet Union, and today it remains a major element of Soviet domestic policy. Its implications reach deep into the entire structure of the Soviet economy; indeed, it may represent a challenge to the basic tenets that up to now have governed the allocation of resources in the U.S.S.R. If so, the program may provide an opening for U.S. foreign policy initiatives quite beyond the scope of normal agricultural affairs.



Moving Overseas: the New Assignment Abroad Checklist

Reminders, suggestions and helpful hints for our Foreign Service clients to ensure that your next overseas move is the easiest and smoothest one yet.

Developed in collaboration with District Moving and Storage, Inc.'s Foreign Service Advisory Committee.

Dear Foreign Service Families,

We are honored and pleased that so many of you in the Foreign Service have awarded us your business over the years. We pride ourselves on taking personalized care to insure that your household effects are packed carefully and safely and that the articles you entrust to our storage facilities are maintained well and securely.

Now, as an added service to you, we have developed The New Assignment Abroad Checklist that is full of reminders, suggestions, and helpful hints which should assist you in making your packing, shipping and moving experience less stressful and more satisfying. In preparing this check-list, we not only drew on our own broad institutional experience but consulted as well with the members of our Foreign Service Advisory Committee, which is made up of retired Foreign Service officers and a Foreign Service wife.

We realize that you have already received official instructions and guidance on your move from the Department, and that you have consulted your Post Report, and such excellent publications as the Department of State's Foreign Service Assignment Notebook (Section III: Packing to Go).

We believe that if you add this handy checklist to your agenda of documents to read and follow, your move will be a happier, easier move. If you would like further information or advise on any subject relating to your move please call us at (301) 420-3300, a local call in the Washington area.

Sincerely,



John H. Bartko, Jr.
President



Members of District's Foreign Service Advisory Committee, from left to right, John A. Collins, Betty Coxson Dols and Andrew I. Kilgore meet with District's President John H. Bartko and Vice President Roland Kates (standing) to finish work on District's New Assignment

Abroad Checklist. Mr. Collins and former Ambassador Kilgore are retired from the Foreign Service. Mrs. Dols is a Foreign Service wife who has been stationed in five overseas posts.

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Moving Overseas: the New Assignment Abroad Checklist

The District Moving and Storage New Assignment Abroad check-list will serve to highlight and remind you of some of the more critical elements of your move and presents practical, "hands on" suggestions derived from the wide and varied collective experiences of our own Foreign Service Advisory Committee members.

Overseas Move: Checklist

I. Before the Packers Arrive

- | | |
|--|---|
| <ul style="list-style-type: none">☐ Confirm with Post Management Officer whether full or limited shipment is authorized. Determine applicable shipment and storage weight allowances.☐ Prepare complete inventory of goods to be shipped and stored for your own record.☐ Choose packing dates carefully. Try to set a moving date as many weeks in advance as possible. Make sure that date is convenient for you and free of conflict with other pre-departure obligations (e.g. medical exams, language tests, etc.)☐ Schedule your departure to allow enough time after last packing day to arrange any necessary re-allocation between goods to be shipped and stored, should weight allowances be exceeded.☐ Study and read Post Report carefully. Check also with Post Management Officer to determine any restrictions or proscriptions on goods to be shipped to new post. | <ul style="list-style-type: none">☐ During pre-packing survey, make sure to bring to estimators attention all material to be shipped and stored. Don't forget articles in garage, cellar, attic or goods temporarily stored in homes of friends or relatives. Also include articles newly purchased but not yet delivered; for these latter items, mesh delivery dates with packer's schedule.☐ Secure adequate insurance on all articles to be shipped and stored. The USG does not insure HHE, and the 1964 Claims Act has a number of limitations and has set maximum payable amounts.☐ Arrange with utility companies (phone, gas, water, electric, etc.) to maintain service until date when all packing and moving is completed.☐ Arrange for a friend or neighbor or relative to be with you during packing phase. Extra sets of legs, eyes and hands are extremely helpful to you and the packer during this period. |
|--|---|

- ☐ Before the packer arrives, segregate and identify materials according to their ultimate disposition, i.e. (1) Unaccompanied Air Baggage ("air freight"), (2) HHE to be shipped to Post, (3) Effects and articles to be stored, and (4) Articles and items to accompany you in your own travel ("accompanied baggage"). District Moving and Storage will provide you, as a customer, with labels for separating and identifying materials.
- ☐ Separate articles and items of special or unique value (e.g. heirlooms) and other valuables not to be taken to post and not to be stored in regular storage facilities because of their special value. Arrange for safe-keeping in safe-deposit boxes or vault. You may wish to include in this category family photo albums or slide collections — especially if your post is one of potential unrest where evacuation may occur.
- ☐ Don't overbuy foodstuffs in period just prior to packing and moving. Arrange to give away to friends, neighbors or relatives — or a church or social service agency — those quantities of food and beverages which are left over.
- ☐ Take apart and disassemble those articles of furniture and equipment which cannot be moved in assembled condition, and which you have particular care or concern about. You know your own articles best (with all their quirks and peculiarities in handling); it's better then, for you to do it, rather than a packer who may not understand it's special characteristics.
- ☐ Disconnect washers and dryers in preparation for packing and moving. However, one caveat: allow enough time for that final wash of sheets, pillow cases and last minute laundry. Be sure to coordinate with packers on these matters.
- ☐ In allocating articles for air freight and accompanied luggage, don't assume that major HHE shipment will arrive in timely fashion. Similarly, don't assume that Air Freight will be waiting for you upon your arrival at post. Be generous in what you pack to accompany you, including transitional type clothing, should air freight shipment be unduly delayed. NOTE: See Sections III and IV of Check List for hints on packing Accompanied Baggage and Air Freight.

II. During Packing Phase

- ☐ Keep card or notebook with you during packing which lists key phone numbers of officials in the Department concerned with your move, e.g. post management officer, personnel in transportation office, etc. Call these officials as needed should questions arise during packing phase.
- ☐ Insure that UAB ("air freight") is weighed at your residence. Also, if weight of UAB is less than your allowance, the difference may be applied to HHE shipment. In this latter case, inform the Transportation Operations office (OPR/STP/T/TO) of the fact.
- ☐ Identify for packers all articles/items that require special care in handling and packing.
- ☐ Maintain your own notebook in which you identify contents of each carton that is packed, identifying it with number placed on it by packer. Inventory list of contents prepared by packer will be rather general (e.g. one carton kitchenware) and will not provide specificity you need in identifying unpacking priorities when you first arrive at new home.
- ☐ Do not have babies, small children, pets around your residence during packing if at all possible. Arrange for relatives, friends or neighbors to care for them. This will avoid significant distractions.
- ☐ Place numbered signs on bedroom doors and on other upstairs rooms (studies, etc.) for your ease in directing the packers, e.g. "pack articles in room #1 first, then #4; leave #3 to the last."
- ☐ During packing phase, do not leave important papers connected with your move on table or desk tops, or inside dresser or desk drawers, etc. There have been instances where passports, tickets, immunization certificates, school records, medical reports, etc. have been packed up and crated for shipment. Keep these documents and papers in your office, at a neighbors or in a locked closet or wall safe.
- ☐ Don't pack matches, lighter fluid, other flammable materials, ammunition, etc.
- ☐ When packers are preparing valuable articles for shipment and/or storage, e.g. silver service, be present and attentive. Note carefully the packer's inventory number placed on that carton.
- ☐ You may prefer to pack for yourself any small items of particular value, e.g. jewelry, watches, cameras, binoculars, etc., and include them as items for your accompanied baggage.

District customers are invited to call us for packing material if you decide you want to pack certain valuables yourself. (301) 420-3300.

- ☐ Clearly mark and label all keys for desk drawers, cabinets, chests, storage containers, etc., and assemble them on one key ring, or place them in one wallet, pouch, purse or case — which you should then carry with you to post in your accompanied baggage. Do not tape or attach keys to base of drawers or furniture; they can be easily dislodged, torn off, and lost.
- ☐ For electrical equipment with moving parts, place small label identifying their current "cycles," so you can judge if adjustments must be made at next or subsequent posts.
- ☐ Keep first-aid kit available and handy during packing. Accidents can occur and scratches, cuts and bruises are common.
- ☐ In identifying articles to be packed/shipped/stored, don't forget light fixtures, andirons, drapes, curtains, carpets and rugs. Remember, packers and movers do not take up wall to wall carpeting.
- ☐ Provide original cartons/boxes (if you have kept them) for packing of special items you have purchased during current tour in Department, e.g. stereo equipment, TVs, kitchen centers, exercise equipment, etc. Such custom-built cartons will provide better, safer and tighter fit than those of packers.
- ☐ Provide yourself with paper or plastic plates, cups, glasses, knives, forks, spoons, etc. for your meals/snacks during the packing day. Your own china and silverware will have been packed in most instances. Leave out an old pot you can spare in which you can boil water for coffee, tea, bouillion, etc. Leave out a small amount of cream and sugar for your beverages.
- ☐ It is a thoughtful (and welcomed) gesture to have cold, non-alcoholic beverages available to offer the packers during their work-day. Packers will be most appreciative.
- ☐ Arrange to borrow broom, mop, vacuum, etc. after movers leave so that you can tidy up the house or apartment before you leave. Remember to also provide yourself with cleanser, deodorizer, etc. and allow enough time to clean refrigerator.

III. Air Freight: Some Suggested Inclusions

- ☐ Adequate clothing for all family members, allowing for significant delay in receipt of major HHE shipment. Don't forget transitional clothing, when you move at change of season. Also, don't forget opposite season clothing (e.g. take plenty of winter clothing if you leave Washington in July and are headed for New Zealand). Don't skimp on clothing; err on the side generosity.
- ☐ Linens, toweling, shower curtains, dish cloths, placemats, napkins, table cloths.
- ☐ Tool kit
- ☐ Flash lights
- ☐ Silverware and basic cooking utensils
- ☐ Plastic bags; shopping bags
- ☐ Sponges, potholders, cookbooks, rubber gloves, flat sink stopper
- ☐ Extension cords; two and three-way plugs, and converter plugs
- ☐ Plastic ice cube trays; salt and pepper shakers
- ☐ Small electric appliances (coffee pot, toaster)
- ☐ Non-breakable dishes, cups, glasses, etc.
- ☐ Coat hangers, clothesline, clothes pins
- ☐ Toys, games, books, dolls, puzzles for children to tide them over until major HHE shipment arrives.

IV. Accompanied Baggage: Some Suggested Inclusions

- ☐ Flash light
- ☐ Screwdriver, pliers, small hammer
- ☐ Alarm clock
- ☐ Calling cards
- ☐ Extra, small B/W photos for ID cards, licenses, permits, etc.; useful upon first arrival at post
- ☐ International Drivers License
- ☐ Plastic shopping bags
- ☐ Plastic clothesline for hanging clothes over hotel bathtubs

District will provide you,
as a customer, labels reading "Air Freight," "Sea Freight," "Hold for Storage",
and "Do Not Move" for items to be left behind or for your accompanied baggage.
Just call District at (301) 420-3300 and we will send you labels promptly.

- ☐ Sewing materials (needles, thread, buttons, scissors, etc.)
- ☐ Bottle/can opener; safety pins
- ☐ Plastic cups, glasses
- ☐ Umbrellas
- ☐ Soap, washcloths and toilet paper
- ☐ Instant coffee, tea bags/packets of cocoa
- ☐ School and health records for children
- ☐ Small dictionary or Berlitz glossary for immediate use at new post or at intervening stops in journey
- ☐ Extra pair of eyeglasses; eyeglass prescriptions and other medical Rx
- ☐ Plastic knives, forks, spoons; small paring knife
- ☐ Keys for air freight trunks; notation of combinations for combination locks
- ☐ Limited amounts of foreign exchange for cabs, buses, phone calls, tips for use on arrival at post or at intervening stops

V. Miscellaneous Items

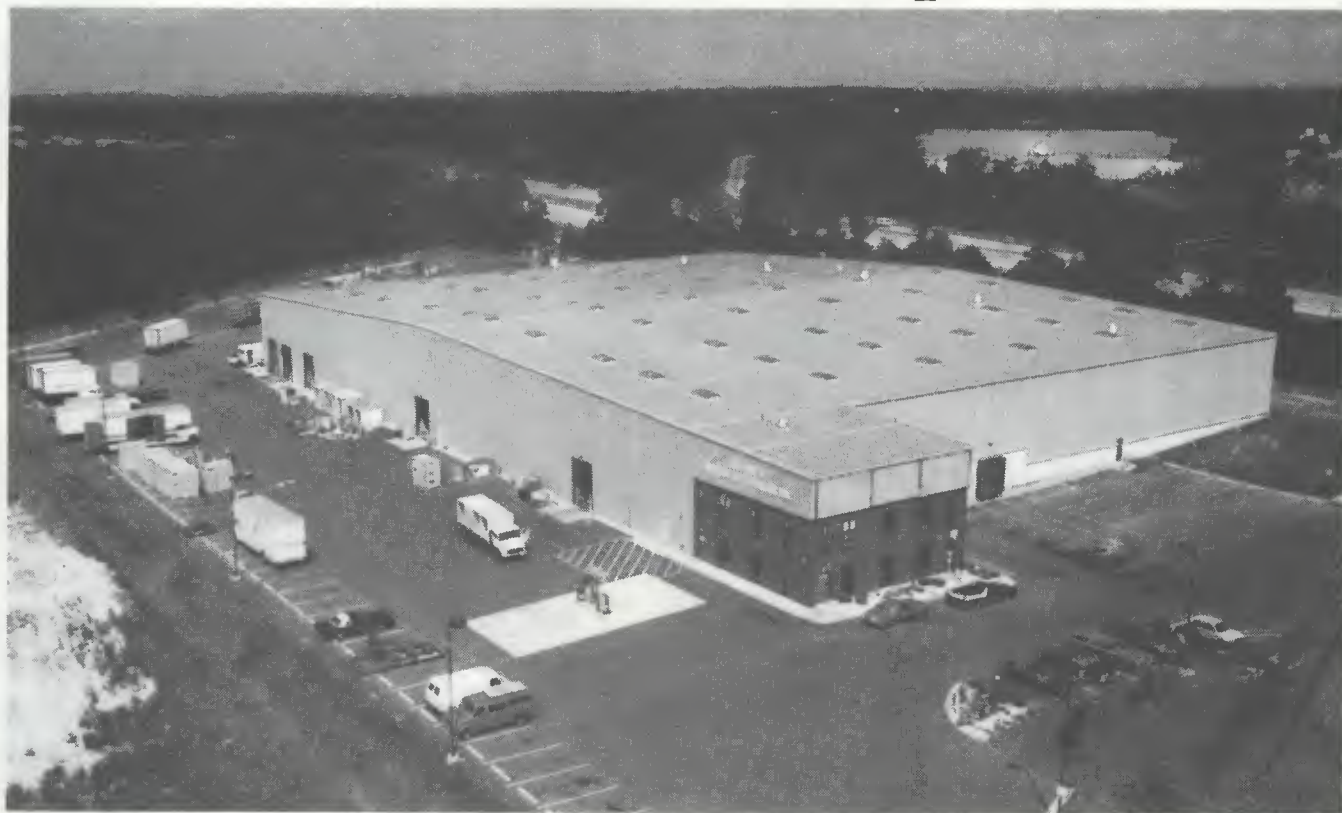
- ☐ Carry out final check-out procedures in the Department with officials concerned with your move.
- ☐ Advise Transportation Office in Department of your travel plans and phone numbers/addresses where you can be reached while in transit to post.
- ☐ Make sure that packer provides you with a complete and detailed inventory showing all items shipped and stored.
- ☐ Double check and insure that you have all your travel papers, travel orders, tickets, passports, visas, school records, medical records, etc. before packers make final departure.

We hope that this checklist has proven helpful to you. We thank you for your patronage and the opportunity to serve you as you proceed on your official mission. To schedule your move call District at (301) 420-3300.

VI. Notes/Phone Numbers/Last Minute Things to Do

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tion burglar alarm system, and a dry sprinkler system. Our people know how to keep your possessions clean, safe and dry, and how to forward them to any place on earth.

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CRETE

A private Soviet plot near Moscow. Limited to just over an acre, such small farms provide a disproportionate share of high-quality food.

March 1965, and these same themes returned when he announced the food program in his agricultural valedictory.

Unhealthy Diet

Although U.S.S.R. statistics would indicate that its citizens are among the world's best-fed people when total calories are counted, the high-quality food products that contribute to a healthful diet have often been lacking. Shortages of meats, dairy products, and fruits and vegetables have been an increasing cause of consumer discontent. By 1981 this situation seems to have become so prevalent even Brezhnev admitted that "the problem of food is, on the economic and political level, the central problem of the whole [1981-85] five-year plan." Under Andropov this emphasis remains, as the Food Program is given first priority in raising the standard of living of the Soviet people. Even if the Food Program succeeds, however, supplies of meat, dairy products, and fruit in 1990 would still fall short of the consumption norms established by the Soviet Institute of Nutrition.

Touted as a radical solution to the Soviet Union's food problem, the Food Program involves the creation of an integrated agro-industrial complex to coordinate the planning, financing, and management of the farm sector, those industries serving it, and the downstream production and marketing facilities. Some evidence suggests the Soviets may be borrowing certain management techniques from their more successful sectors. At the Council of Ministers level, for example, they have created a Commission for the Agro-Industrial Complex, an organization that seems at least superficially similar to the Military Industrial Commission that coordinates the defense and civilian sectors responsible for fulfillment of the U.S.S.R.'s defense

plans. At lower levels, the Soviets have created agro-industrial associations to overcome the bureaucratic barriers that currently compartmentalize agricultural management. Some 3000 similar associations, called RAPOS in the Russian acronym, have been created at the rayon (i.e., county) level. This structure could allow for continued central control, while the scope for local initiative and involvement would be expanded at administrative centers closer to production.

Down on the state and collective farms themselves, the Soviets are establishing "collective contracting teams"—groups of workers assigned tracts of land, equipment, and other agricultural necessities and whose wages are paid in the form of an advance against the harvest. Previously, workers were paid on a "piece-rate" basis—a tractor operator on the basis of area plowed, for example—so that few individuals had any financial interest in the final outcome. Recently, *Moscow News* reported that contract teams routinely obtain 20-30 percent more produce per hectare than do workers paid in the traditional way.

As other Soviet programs have done in the past when food supplies became short, the Food Program looks to the private plots and subsidiary holdings of enterprises as a quick means of increasing production. Although private plots represent only 1.4 percent of all Soviet farming lands, they produce about 30 percent of the meat, milk, and eggs, 60 percent of the potatoes, and more than 50 percent of the fruits

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In May 1982, the Central Committee of the Communist party approved a Food Program that will be in effect until 1990. This represents the latest step in a 65-year effort to raise Soviet agricultural production. The program is intended to increase significantly per capita consumption of most high-quality food products.

Food and other problems related to agriculture have been the focus of attention by the Soviet government in varying degrees since 1965. Insufficient returns on investment, neglect of agricultural technology, problems of management, and inappropriate price policies for agricultural commodities were addressed in Brezhnev's first major policy speech on agriculture, in



Tomatoes outside a Central Asian cannery. Difficulties in transport and storage can result in unwarranted shortages.

and berries. In the past individuals risked stiff penalties for keeping excess livestock, but under a decree issued in January 1981, all limitations have been removed on the number of livestock private-plot holders can own, so long as the animals are raised under contract with state and collective farms. These farms, in turn, can sell this privately produced output to the state procurement agencies and count it against their own plan fulfillment goals.

The Food Program also includes revisions in the state procurement prices. Previously, bonuses were paid for sales above those specified in the plan, but under price reforms undertaken in 1981, they will now be paid when sales exceed the average annual level obtained in the 1976-80 plan. This way, bonuses will correspond to increased output and will not simply flow to those who negotiate an easily reached target for sales. Finally, procurement prices were raised last Janu-

ary for cattle, pigs, sheep, milk, grain, sugar beets, potatoes, vegetables and some other products. Low-profit farms will receive additional payments, and some farm debts will be forgiven or rescheduled, all in hopes of making agriculture more profitable and therefore more productive.

Inadequate Incentive

A number of shortcomings are already apparent to Western observers of the food program. First, and perhaps most important, increased wages may not provide an adequate incentive for boosting production, since consumer goods have been so lacking in the Soviet economy that higher incomes do not necessarily mean a better life. Second, so long as retail food prices remain stable—and the state-store price of meat has not been changed since 1962—the procurement price reforms will increase the state budget burden. These subsidies will amount to as much as 50 billion rubles (\$70 billion, based on

official exchange rates) in 1983. The Soviet consumer, therefore, ends up paying for his or her groceries not at the store but through the wage and ownership structure. The private-plot initiative may be helpful, but the Soviet Union, like most countries, faces a strong wave of migration from rural to urban areas. The changes in lifestyle accompanying such a move are not easily countered by the opportunity to invest more of one's free time in animal husbandry.

Perhaps the most puzzling aspect of the Food Program is that agricultural investment policy seems to run counter to these institutional changes. Based on information that pre-dates the formal adoption of the Food Program, investment in the entire agro-industrial complex during the current five-year plan (1981-85) was to total 233 billion rubles (\$326 billion), a slight decrease from that made in the 1976-80 period. Even more puzzling is the apparent *major* reduction in investment in those industries serving agriculture, from 71 billion rubles (\$99 billion) in 1976-80 to 43 billion (\$60 billion). If the program is intended to increase productivity, one would expect investment in such areas as fertilizer production, farm machinery facilities, and food processing and packaging industries to increase. It may be, of course, that the economy is so thinly stretched that it is impossible to devote additional funds to the agro-industrial complex. Or, it may be that previous investment, coupled with four years of poor harvests, has left significant existing capacity that is not being used. In August 1982, *Sovetskaya Rossiya* reported that unusual attention was being directed at the Russian Republic's Council of Ministers Presidium to underuse of existing capacity, especially at chemical, mineral fertilizer, and textile factories. Despite these uncertainties, the Food Program

is receiving such extended domestic coverage in the Soviet Union that it is hard to believe the leadership has not made the adjustments in resource allocation needed to ensure its success. This is especially so if the Soviet leadership views its food-related consumer discontent and unplanned reliance on imported grain for animal feed as a weakness with strategic implications. Although the Soviets probably overcame the worst effects the United States hoped to achieve by its 1980 embargo, the Western press did report work stoppages at Soviet motor vehicle plants that were apparently triggered by shortages of meat and dairy products. The few reported incidents may have been part of a broader problem that, in light of the contemporary rise of Poland's Solidarity union, may have been too much to ignore.

A Priority Task

Some evidence exists that the industries supporting agriculture will receive more support. For example, although the amount of capital investment scheduled for industries serving agriculture declined from the previous five-year plan to the 1981-85 plan, 1983 saw a planned increase of 22 percent (to 9.3 billion rubles) over the first two years of the current plan. If achieved, this would bring investment nearly to the level expected during the first three years of the plan. However, the mid-year plan fulfillment report indicates that only 35 percent of the 1983 amount has been spent.

A series of decrees about the Food Program almost certainly are of greater significance. A Council of Ministers' decree reported in *Pravda* last April addressed the well-worn complaints about the poor reliability and short service life of Soviet agricultural machinery. It directed those ministries that, because of their overlap with the military, typically enjoy the highest

claims on Soviet resources to ensure that better-quality materials and sub-assemblies are delivered to the Ministry of Tractor and Agricultural Machine Building during 1984-90. The decree calls the re-equipping of agriculture a "priority task of great economic and political significance." A second decree in May announced a planned increase in output of consumer goods in 1983-85. For 1983 alone this increase was apparently 2.8 billion rubles. The Soviet press linked the increase with the Food Program, calling the two "the pivot of the social program" ratified by the 26th party congress. Most recently, in July, *Pravda* published still another decree that specifically establishes the actual increase in agricultural production on state and collective farms as one of the main indicators of performance for enterprises and organizations serving agriculture. Failure to fulfill contracts between the production ministries, the service enterprises, and the state and collective farms will result in various financial penalties and fines.

These decrees, revised investment plans, and other, more subtle directives may signal a change in priorities; perhaps a transfer of resources from other sectors into agriculture. Some Western writers are now suggesting that the Soviet economy is so tightly stretched that the leadership is faced with a trade-off of guns for butter. John Hardt, in the Joint Economic Committee's compendium of papers entitled the *Soviet Economy in the 1980s: Problems and Prospects*, reports that if the arms race continues into the 1980s, it may generate such tremendous costs for the Soviets that they will face a real debate on defense matters. Hardt writes: "To the extent that increased incentives for improved consumption and increased investment are necessary for meeting economic plans, then some diminution in the rate of

increase in defense outlays may be necessary." Similarly, Paul Cocks, writing in the same volume, sees the same kind of trade-off, although he thinks that the eventual losers will be lower-priority civilian projects. Still, if some of these industries are also third- or fourth-order suppliers to the military, some defense programs could be adversely affected.

Silent Press

If the Food Program is to bring about some restructuring between agriculture and consumer goods on one hand, and the military-industrial complex on the other, why wouldn't the Soviet press be filled with such announcements? Such a transfer would seem eminently popular at home and abroad, few images could be more favorable for the Soviet Union than that of SS-18s being reforged into plowshares. Yet, one is hard pressed to find more than fleeting glimpses. Of course, the Soviets may be giving scant attention to this transfer of priorities simply because no such transfer is really occurring. The investment allocations and priorities originally set out in the current five-year plan may still be in place, the Food Program will focus on quick fixes or institutional changes that do not require major new investment, the military-industrial sector will retain its premier position regardless of the cost, and the Soviets will continue to muddle through, hoping for a spate of good weather to correct their agricultural problems.

It is unlikely, however, that the Soviets would have devoted so much fanfare to a program so directly linked to people's perception of their own welfare without good expectations of success. They probably are taking those steps they believe are necessary to ensure its continuation. Nevertheless, they may have decided that, whatever the benefits of publicizing a change in



Collective farm market in Kiev. Quality is much higher than in state stores, but so is the price.

priorities, the risks of disclosure are too great.

One danger for the Soviets is that publicizing a shift could signal a vulnerability to trade disruptions. While many analysts have belittled the impact of the 1980 embargo, the Department of Agriculture's own research suggests that the effect on the U.S.S.R. was more than trivial. The Soviets searched the world for additional grain, paid higher prices for it, negotiated long-term agreements with alternative suppliers, reduced feed use in the latter half of 1980, and drew down stocks. While understandably reluctant to reveal the difficulties the embargo caused, Brezhnev was quite frank in portraying the Food Program as a necessary countermeasure to efforts by "some countries" to pressure Soviet foreign policy through grain sales. Further, at the June Central Committee plenum, Andropov noted that the Food Program's objective was to secure the population with quality foodstuffs

"without any interruptions" and with the "greatest possible self-sufficiency."

Importing Grain

This drive for self-sufficiency does not mean that the recent U.S.-Soviet long-term grain agreement is unimportant to the Soviets or that they agreed to it simply as a means of demonstrating their desire to cooperate with the United States. Agriculture Department research suggests that the U.S.S.R. will, over the next five years, require gradually diminishing grain imports averaging perhaps 30 million tons per year. The new agreement commits the Soviets to buying 8 million tons of grain and either another million tons of grain or 500,000 tons of soybeans or soybean meal annually for the next five years. By 1986-90, a fully successful Food Program should generate annual averages of Soviet grain production of 250-255 million tons, amounts virtually identical to Agriculture's assessment of Soviet

needs. Thus, even if the Soviets renegotiate all their existing international grain import agreements—which commit them to import about 20 million tons annually—these agreements can be seen as a small insurance policy should the Food Program fall short of its goals.

The Soviets might also be vulnerable in other areas, especially if Western countries took common action. For example, according to the Defense Department, the United States, other Western allies, and Japan have been the source of about one-quarter of total Soviet machinery imports since the mid-1970s, this quarter representing the most advanced machinery that the Soviets have been able to acquire. Also, the Soviet hard-currency export concentration in a very few commodities—oil, raw materials, and gold—gives them a worrisome exposure to price fluctuations. The Soviets may well be leery of doing anything that attracts attention to their international trade vulnerability before they can take corrective measures.

The Soviets may also fear that publicizing a shift in resources could indicate more serious internal troubles than they are willing to admit. The decline in Soviet economic performance, and the disincentive provided by a system that has not for most people transferred income received into better living, are all well documented. However, as Marshall Goldman described in *U.S.S.R. in Crisis*, solutions would require reforms in the basic economic structure; reforms—first, for more and better food, then for more consumer goods, then for less central planning, then for more individual freedom—that could ultimately lead to a direct challenge to the leadership of the Communist party and the ruling elite. The Soviets, therefore, can only tinker on the periphery of the economy. They steadfastly refuse to adopt a more ra-

tional price system for food even though the subsidies now make it cheaper for individuals to buy bread and feed it to animals than it is to buy livestock feed. Another call for order and discipline is apparently more politically acceptable than price reforms. A change as sensitive as a transfer of resources from the military-industrial complex to agricultural and consumer programs could, if well known, unleash the Russian predilection for apocalyptic reform.

The Soviets may also fear alarming those groups that would oppose even a small transfer of resources. Soviet and Western estimates of military spending by the U.S.S.R. do not agree, but whatever the true amount, and whatever its relationship to agricultural expenditures, Soviet military leaders would probably consider even a modest transfer to be a sign of weakness. The implication that domestic economic constraints could influence Soviet military preparedness might well be unacceptable, especially since it is primarily the military sector that gives the U.S.S.R. its superpower status.

Cutting Budgets

Moreover, the Soviet military budgeting system might not have the flexibility to respond adequately. A significant budget reduction may take the form of across-the-board cuts, since dropping a major project could cause realignments among suppliers, the possibility of unemployment in closed plants, and other untidy developments. But such an across-the-board cut might call into question assumptions that led to the initial budget requests. Soviet budgeteers, subject to the normal limitations of human nature, are probably not anxious to invite a wholesale reexamination of their priorities and assumptions.

Finally, the Soviets probably realize that publicizing a transfer of resources

could weaken their international negotiating posture. Nothing is more cherished by negotiators than to be paid internationally for a course of action that domestic pressures require in any case. Most Western economists agree that Soviet military expenditures are placing a considerable strain on the entire economy, and some believe that matching the U.S. military build-up planned for the 1980s will simply be an unacceptable burden. A few economists expect that if the Soviets are to reverse the downward trend in economic performance—and most acknowledge that a well-functioning economy is essential to sustaining a military base over long periods of time—they will ultimately be forced to no longer give first priority to the military-industrial complex. But if the Soviets are facing a transfer of resources from the military sector to other sectors of the economy, they will undoubtedly try to get as much diplomatic leverage out of it as possible. Therefore, it comes as no surprise that the communiqué of the June Moscow summit meeting of Soviet bloc leaders called for direct talks with NATO to *freeze military spending* as of January 1, 1984, and to discuss measures for the mutual reduction of military spending "so that the resources thus released can be used for the needs of economic and social development. . . ." One would expect the Soviets to be anxious to negotiate now on arms reductions or nuclear freeze proposals, so that they can perhaps retain their position relative to the United States, while knowing that whatever course we choose, they may ultimately have to reorder their defense expenditures unilaterally.

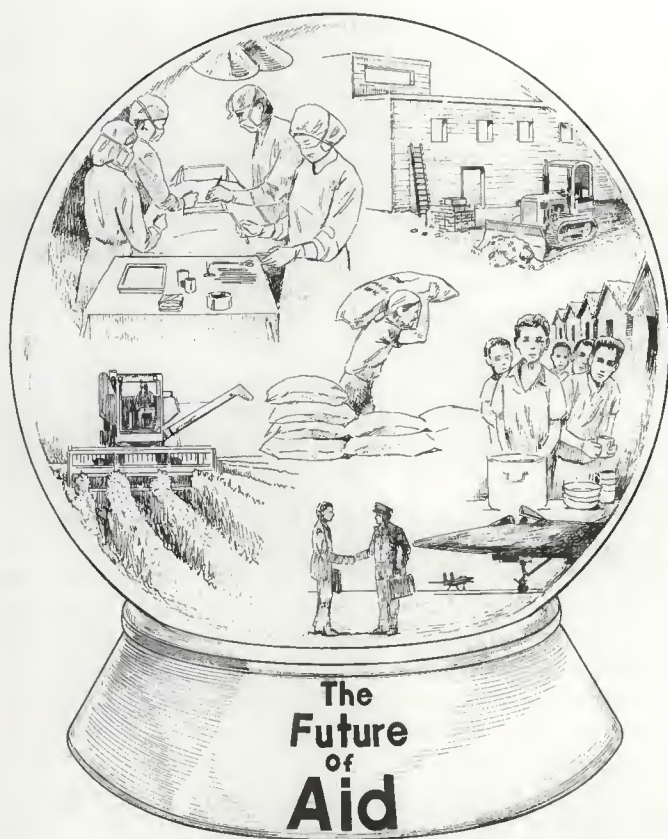
The Food Program should not be ignored by U.S. policymakers. The efforts to decentralize some of the day-to-day aspects of agricultural management, the extra incentive provided by the collective contract teams, price

changes, and the creation of commissions and associations that demonstrate leadership attention to agricultural problems cannot be dismissed as mere propaganda. If 1983 is primarily a year of putting the new system in place, then it would not be unreasonable to see a response in production beginning in 1984. Even this year, the output of meat and dairy products seem headed to record production, although like most agricultural events it is all but impossible to separate the influence of weather from other elements.

Changing Imports

If the less-costly management changes begin to show results, investment may then be increased in the agro-industrial complex, particularly in the marketing and distribution areas, and in providing agriculture with more and better inputs. The content of agricultural imports is likely to shift away from basic feedgrains and toward machinery, pesticides, and herbicides—including both techniques and materials needed for manufacturing such items—and other products like high-protein feeds, hybrids, and breeding stock. Further, major infrastructure development will be required, with improvement of rural roads, on-farm storage facilities, transport, packaged goods, and others.

The impact of the Food Program on these projects will become apparent in the twelfth five-year plan, which is not expected to be announced before 1985. Whether or how much other sectors of the economy might have to sacrifice to support this growth is still uncertain, but in the meantime, it is tantalizing to find the Soviet defense minister opening a major speech on the army and navy's role in fulfilling the tasks set out in the June plenum by noting the positive results of the Food Program. □



Grasping Nettles

The Carlucci commission on the future of foreign assistance is rethinking our aid policies and programs

By JOHN K. WILHELM

This month should see the final meeting of the Commission on Security and Economic Assistance, a panel formed by Secretary of State George P. Schultz at the behest of AID Director M. Peter McPherson and others to develop a new consensus on this country's multifarious aid programs and policies. At first, there were fears that merely opening up the subject could entail real risks for foreign assistance programs. But the fact that we have been able to get an aid bill both authorized and appropriated in only one year out of the last five—and that in the first year of the Reagan administration, when the president got almost anything he wanted—convinced skeptics that something had to be done.

The commission may endorse a proposal by its Task Force on Process that would finally bring together under one roof all of the United States' disparate assistance programs and place responsibility for policy formation in a single administrator. Noting the fragmented nature of our programs and the need for greater consultation with Congress, it recommended the formation of a new agency that would be responsible for overall foreign assistance policy, budgets, and resource allocation. It would absorb AID, the functions of the undersecretary of state for security assistance, and responsibility for those international organizations involved in foreign assistance. It would relate to the State Department as the FBI does to Justice, and its chief would report to

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the secretary of state but retain substantial independence.

This proposal goes far beyond any recent attempt to reform U.S. foreign assistance programs, including the formation of the International Development Cooperation Administration, which embraces only development programs and is a coordinating agency, not an operating one. This proposal reflects the need to deal with all forms of foreign assistance in a unified manner, building programs and determining their level, mix, and concessionality on the basis of both recipient-country needs and U.S. objectives. The director of this agency, tentatively named the Mutual Development and Security Agency, would for the first time provide a single executive branch assistance director who would act as spokesperson and would enter into comprehensive advance consultations with Congress.

Commission Processes

Established last February, the Commission on Security and Economic Assistance has since become known by the name of its chairman as the Carlucci commission. Since from the beginning it was generally agreed that the process of the commission itself would be at least as important as its ultimate report, the involvement of Congress has been viewed as central to success. There are eight congressmen and senators chosen from the relevant committees and subcommittees serving as full members of the commission. In addition, there are 18 congressmen and senators who are *ex officio* members because of their chairmanship or position as ranking minority member of the authorizing, budget, appropriations, agriculture, and House banking committees and subcommittees. To bring in a wide spectrum of non-government help, there are 15 public members.

Chairman Frank Carlucci, president of Sears World Trade, was a career Foreign Service officer who served as ambassador to Portugal and has been deputy secretary of defense and held high offices at the CIA, Office of Management and Budget, and Office of Economic Opportunity. The three co-chairmen add further diversity of background: Lane Kirkland, president of the AFL-CIO; Laurence Silberman, a former ambassador to Yugoslavia now in private law practice in Washington; and Clifton R. Wharton Jr., chancellor of the State University of New York.

Georgetown University's Center for Strategic and International Studies provides both substantive and administrative support for the 45 or so professionals, research assistants, and administrative personnel on the committee staff. Detailees from AID and the Departments of State, Treasury, Agriculture, and Defense have participated in the project along with scholars from CSIS and outside experts. Liaison with the executive branch is maintained through an interagency task force consisting of representatives of AID, State, Treasury, Agriculture, Defense, the National Security Council, OMB, Commerce, and the Peace Corps.

The 42 commissioners brought with them the full spectrum of American political persuasion as well as the interests of various specific constituencies. The task facing them was formidable, for there had not been a comprehensive review of U.S. foreign assistance since the Peterson commission tabled its report early in 1970. In the meantime, there have been substantial changes in the world, the role played by the United States, its assistance programs and their underlying philosophies, and the attitudes and expectations of all concerned, particularly the American people. The constitu-

ency for foreign assistance—always fragile—has changed from a coalition of disparate interests including labor, industry, security, and humanitarian groups into a looser structure with each group more oriented toward its own special issues and less inclined toward coalition or compromise.

Differing Priorities

A poll ordered by the Chicago Council on Foreign Relations last November revealed the crux of the problem facing U.S. assistance efforts. The poll very usefully divides the population into an elite and the public at large. The elite consists of those who have a continuing personal or professional relationship with foreign affairs and the Third World. Unsurprisingly, they support foreign assistance. Not so with the public at large. When asked what they considered to be the two or three most important issues in foreign affairs, the public put *reducing* foreign aid ahead of avoiding nuclear warfare, maintaining the world economy, and all other issues except achieving peace in the Mideast. Members of Congress were not surprised.

There does not, however, appear to be great passion behind these feelings by the public. On the contrary, it is widely agreed that nobody has either been elected to Congress or turned out of office for voting for or against foreign assistance. Congressional votes are therefore somewhat optional—they are the result of the members' judgments and convictions as well as a sign of willingness to take a certain amount of non-lethal heat in the event that he or she votes for aid.

Thus, since the commission has found that foreign assistance is necessary for the proper conduct of U.S. foreign affairs, its task now is to articulate the goals and objectives of U.S. assistance and to recommend programs designed to achieve those objectives in

The new agency would absorb AID, the functions of the undersecretary of state for security assistance, and responsibility for those international organizations involved in foreign assistance.

a manner that will allow an expanded bipartisan coalition to develop. In attempting to do so, the commission departs considerably from the approaches usually taken in assessing foreign aid. These normally focus very heavily, if not exclusively, on the impact upon the recipient country. While not ignoring that dimension, the Carlucci commission has expanded its horizon to view the *mutuality* of benefit and the need for greater attention to program impact at home. Underscoring that emphasis, the commission report speaks not of aid—with its possible connotation of benefits flowing in only one direction—but of mutual assistance and mutual cooperation. This concept implies obligations for the recipient as well as benefits for the donor.

The world in which this commission's recommendations must be implemented is considerably different from that facing the Peterson commission in 1970 or its predecessors. U.S. foreign assistance resources in real terms have declined from a yearly average in the period 1968–72 of \$16.5 billion to \$13.5 billion in 1983. (Constant 1982 dollars are used throughout this article.) The decline occurred in both the economic account (which includes the Economic Support Fund) and the military account (which includes grants and non-concessional loans). In the same period, economic assistance dropped from \$8.6 billion in 1968–72 to \$8.2 in 1983. Military assistance slipped from \$7.9 billion in 1968–72 to \$5.3 billion in 1983.

Declining Assistance

The United States also declined in its relative share of worldwide Official Development Assistance (that is, concessional assistance as defined by the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development). In 1971 it accounted for 36.8 percent of ODA

but in 1982 just 22.2 percent. Although this should be seen as a success of U.S. foreign policy in that others now carry a greater share of the development burden, a necessary byproduct has been an accompanying reduction in relative U.S. influence. It is doubtful, however, that expectations have been similarly scaled down.

The United States has diluted its influence even further by shifting a significant portion of its ODA to multilateral banks and agencies. In 1956, some 4 percent of U.S. economic assistance was multilateral. In 1970, it had grown to 15.9 percent. In response to the Peterson commission recommendations, the multilateral share of U.S. ODA rose to 33 percent in 1978–82. At the same time, bilateral development assistance and the PL 480 food assistance program were reduced. The conclusion that this trend has gone about as far as is desirable is not a negative judgment on the multilateral aid institutions but a recognition that the bilateral accounts need more attention.

The quality and direction of U.S. assistance has also changed substantially. But conclusions about these shifts are heavily influenced by the definitions used. Two are particularly important. The Economic Support Fund is shown in the U.S. budget as "security assistance" to distinguish it from the "development assistance" account. The funds in the latter are subject to significant restrictions as to where and how they can be used, the intent being to focus them on long-term development. ESF funds are not so restricted and can take any form from cash grants to highly detailed projects. There is a lively and inconclusive debate over whether or not ESF is "developmental." In the commission papers, ESF has been treated as it is by the Development Assistance Council, which counts it as economic.

Equally lively and inconclusive is the debate over whether non-concessional foreign military sales credits (i.e., at the same interest rates charged by the Export-Import Bank's cost of money to the Treasury) are in fact "aid." Some argue that it is not logical to count FMSCR as aid and not do so for the Ex-Im Bank or the Commodity Credit Corporation. Others argue that military credits are *sui generis* and therefore must be counted as aid.

The differences in conclusions flowing from various definitions are not trivial. If we count ESF as security and include FMSCR in military aid, we find that economic aid has fallen from 44 percent of total assistance in 1968-72 to 40 percent in 1983, with military aid rising from 56 percent to 60 percent in the same time span. But if ESF is counted as economic assistance, as DAC does, and we include under military assistance only the concessional aid, then an entirely different picture emerges. Economic assistance rises from 53 percent of the total in 1968-70 to 84 percent in 1983, while military aid shrinks from 47 percent to 16 percent of the total. Obviously, the definitions chosen substantially affect the judgment as to whether or not U.S. assistance is being militarized.

How the data for Egypt and Israel and the base-rights countries—Turkey, Greece, Spain, Portugal, and the Philippines [see related article]—are handled is equally important. U.S. domestic support for a Mideast peace is widespread and deeply rooted. Those commitments have a rationale separate from that for either foreign economic or military assistance. There are those who therefore argue for removing these payments from consideration if a true picture of our assistance activities is to emerge. (It should be mentioned, however, that there is no sentiment for moving either item out of the foreign assistance accounts).

Those who charge that aid has become "militarized" point to the growth in ESF and foreign military sales credits. ESF has more than doubled in real terms, from \$1.2 billion in 1970 to \$2.7 billion in the 1984 budget request. Yet, when we remove Egypt and Israel and the base-rights countries, we find that the residual for the rest of the world dropped from \$1.2 billion in 1970 to \$826 million in 1976 and a low of \$330 million in 1981. The residual is still not fully restored to 1970 levels in the 1984 request of \$1.1 billion. A similar but less pronounced phenomenon occurs in the foreign military sales credits. Clearly, U.S. bilateral concessional assistance has decreased substantially in both real and relative terms, particularly when the special cases which are not a subject of debate are removed.

Increasing Demands

This has occurred in a Third World context that is ever more complex and demanding. On the positive side of the ledger, there have been some genuine economic successes, particularly in Asia and Latin America. Moreover, as noted above, other countries now share a larger part of the burden. Offsetting this is the global debt problem, which will remain pervasive for at least the next few years. Many of the poorest countries, particularly in Africa, have not participated in economic growth and in fact have suffered a persistent decline in per-capita output for more than a decade. Further complicating the problem has been the continued expansion of the activities of the Soviet Union and its surrogates in the Third World. Finally, there has been a rise in regional conflicts whose origins are outside the East/West context but which eventually have political and strategic implications for both sides. Even the successes bring problems. The newly industrialized countries

compete successfully in many of our markets, causing some in labor and industry to fear that our assistance simply creates competition that eventually displaces U.S. businesses and labor. Although the commission has not dealt with the trade issues, they are persistent and growing and in need of careful attention. The Third World accounted for 40 percent of our 1981 exports, more than the European Economic Community. Our dependence on it for raw materials and minerals continues to deepen. Eighty percent of all new manufacturing jobs in the late 1970s were linked to exports. Yet our instruments for dealing with the problems of the Third World have shrunk and become less flexible.

On the issue of evaluating our foreign assistance programs and policies, partisan juices flow freely and there are demands for evidence of successes and failures from all sides. Efforts to be responsible quickly come to grief. In foreign assistance, success or failure is very much like beauty—it is in the eye of the beholder. While some would argue, for instance, that Korea is an unambiguous success, others respond that it is a failure because it continues to have human rights problems.

The problem obviously lies in how one measures success or failure. While it is possible to get agreement on the overall goals and objectives of U.S. foreign assistance, the relative value assigned to each in any particular instance is very subjective. Equally subjective is the judgment of the effectiveness of one type of assistance versus another. While limited agreement can be achieved on rather narrowly defined technical measures of success, the broader and ultimately more important questions are subjective and therefore subject to dispute. It is possible to identify whether a target group of people experiences an increase in its wel-

(Continued on page 38.)

The Chinese

*It was forbidden, that
dank, dark place with
its gritty confections
and tepid water*

By C. ANN OTT

The air inside the embassy station wagon parked in Niki's driveway was oven-hot, but Niki had decided to go downtown and ordered me to go with her.

"Mom's going to the tailor's," Niki said as we waited for her mother, Marline, to get her purse. She yanked on her faded shorts and scooted forward so the vinyl seat wouldn't burn her legs. "So we can have the car," she added, the sun catching her braces as she flashed me a wild, glittery smile.

I rolled the window down and fanned myself with a piece of scrap paper I found on the floor. "What do you mean?" I asked. Niki and I had always used begjas, our long legs folded awkwardly into the footrests of the pedal-powered vehicles that looked like rickshaws.

"Mom said, we can have Naman take us wherever we want to go. As long as we get back to the tailor's in an hour or so." Naman sat stone-like behind the steering wheel. It made me uneasy to talk about him as if he wasn't there, or as if he were part of the car. Niki leaned over and whispered, "We can go to the Chinese ice cream parlor."

Ah. That forbidden place she'd mentioned where the ice cream was

made from cows that weren't checked for T.B. She'd told me she would take me there someday, the night we'd played junior hostesses at Marline's cocktail party, wearing batik aprons and serving hors d'oeuvres to the embassy staff. It was the same night she'd informed me that George Meredith was a CIA agent, something I didn't want to know.

Since I came to Indonesia, where my dad had a one-year appointment as an educational consultant, Niki had dragged me in and out of a food riot at the bazaar, had taken me horseback riding where I'd been kicked in the thigh, and had made me witness the harassing of Russians, something she did with finesse. Niki was a year younger than I, but because her dad was in the Foreign Service, she'd lived overseas most of her life. It scared and fascinated me that she knew that Iranian beggars broke their kids' legs and poked their eyes out, and that the meat we ate came from water buffalo. She knew how many rupiahs the dollar would get on the black market, and she told me the little lizards called cheechuks ate mosquitoes and usually didn't fall off the walls during the night. She said India stank, Iran stank, and Indonesia stank, too. Believing her was no comfort.

Hot and Strange

I thought of the world as flat, and coming to Indonesia as falling off the edge into blackness and monsters. Everything about the city of Jakarta was hot and strange—the food, our cook, Siti, who had a goiter, the stores that were like the stores in nightmares. When I thought of friends, I thought of people at home in Indiana. I read all the time. And I thought of the year ahead as a year of waiting; I had put myself on hold.

There was a crunch of gravel beside the car door, then Marline yanked it

open and got in, signaling Naman to get started. "Now, Niki. Remember what I said. No ice cream."

"Oh, Ma."

"I'm serious. I'll give you each 100 rupiahs, and you can shop for some material or go to the market. Lucy's never been down there." Marline handed us each some bills over the seat as Naman alternately floored the accelerator and pressed in the clutch to coast through the narrow streets of suburban Kebajoran, pitching us forward during fits of nervous braking and backwards when he sped up.

"Thanks, Mrs. Jones," I said, tucking the money in my pocket.

At the tailor's shop in downtown Jakarta, a young boy was working at a sewing machine under the awning. Naman turned off the motor and coasted into a parking space. "The dumb-dumb thinks he's saving gas," Niki had explained to me on earlier outings.

The boy greeted Marline as she stepped out of the car and together they disappeared through the doorway. She came back out in an instant to remind us of the time. "One o'clock, Niki. No later." She pointed at her wrist watch.

"Yes, ma'am," said Niki sarcastically.

Marline frowned and turned back into the store.

"It'll take her longer than that. She's got ten things to try on and the way they fit won't suit her, so she'll make him rip out all the seams and darts and pin them back. It just drives me batty to watch her. Naman, the Chinese ice cream parlor."

"But, Noni, Mrs. say . . ." and he turned slightly, dull-eyed, to recite Marline's instructions.

"Never mind what Mrs. say. THE CHINESE ICE CREAM PARLOR. PLEASE!" With Niki's explosion, Naman shrugged, his mouth grim, and started the motor, wrapping his large, square

C. Ann Ott, an instructor in composition at Northern Essex Community College in Massachusetts, lived in Indonesia during the early 1960s.

Ice Cream Parlor

Magda French



fingers over the edge of the steering wheel as he backed out into the street.

I had pictured a place something like the cavernous Chinese restaurants at Tandjung Priok, but the ice cream parlor was a smaller yellow building with a red verandah near the waterfront. It reminded me of something I couldn't finish remembering.

Inside, business was as slow as the ceiling fan. A few flies circled the empty tables in a lazy rhythm. A Chinese woman and her two young children sat at one of the round tables near the wall. Her little boy, about three, had dripped chocolate ice cream down the front of his carefully ironed white shirt. The other wore one of those bras

that made her breasts very pointy, and her blouse and skirt were tight. She spoke to the children, especially the boy, in a high pitched staccato after every move he made—lifting the spoon to his mouth, shifting in the hard metal chair. His sister had already finished and sat placidly staring out the window. She turned her round moon eyes to us. I could see that the ice cream was grainy and melted quickly. I wished there were more customers to inspect.

Niki sat down at the table near the door and tapped her foot nervously, drawing with water from little round puddles on the shiny chipped surface. She drew sun rays bursting from the

centers of the puddles that drew up into lines of blobs. Then she tried to write her name and when that didn't work, she smeared the water over the entire surface of the table. "Damn it," she said, wiping her forearm on her shorts. The waiter glanced at the table when he came to take our order.

"What do you want—chocolate?" Niki asked me.

"What kinds are there?"

"Just chocolate and vanilla," Niki spat the words out and clawed her hair back away from her face after ordering.

I couldn't decide.

"Get chocolate," Niki said.

But I didn't like her telling me what to order. "Vanilla," I said, then looking at the liquid that had been the little girl's vanilla, quickly blurted out, "No—chocolate!"

Watery and Sweet

I didn't want the ice cream very much and Niki could tell. It took a very long time for the waiter to bring it, and it had already started to melt. It was sharp like coarse sand, and tasted strange—watery and too sweet. Niki kept tapping her foot.

"Good, huh?" she asked, eating hers quickly, her eyes darting to the other customers and following people going by on the street outside.

"Yeah," I lied, deciding I wouldn't eat all of it. I was thinking of the millions of foreign bodies I was inviting into my system and that maybe if I only ate part of it, I'd only get partly sick. I was thirsty, but ordering a soda, if they had any, would take the rest of our money. How did they run this place when it was crowded, I wondered. Was this a Chinese holiday?

"I come down here a lot," said Niki. "Once with Jordy and Bud until Fred Pierson said that stuff about the cows. You don't get T.B. just smack right away, anyhow. It's like leprosy—it sort of builds up. Who do you know

that ever even had T.B.?" she asked me, eyes wide, daring me to name someone. "We got shots or took something against it anyway."

At the words "smack right away" my heart turned like a fish in my chest.

The waiter set two glasses of water on our table. Niki was staring over my shoulder at something outside, half rising in her chair. She quivered with excitement. "It's George Meredith. This time I'm going to follow him and really see what he's up to."

I turned halfway around in my chair to look out the window. George was listening to an Indonesian who had just come out of a building across the street. The man wore sunglasses and his lips curled as he talked. A truck drove by blocking our view and when it passed, the Indonesian was gone, and George was striding on.

Niki'd told me she'd seen George rifling through the kites in the Majestic Bazaar, even though he didn't have any children. He'd probably thrown away one of his reports by mistake, she said, and the trash picker had sold it to the kite maker who'd made a kite out of it. His reports were dull, about rice crops and birth rates—the part he probably liked best was putting them in code, he probably thought it was creative. Pooh, she laughed.

"This is my chance. He'll never think of me being down here. Come on!" She pleaded with me, her eyes like two blue cat's-eye marbles that were a little too close together.

I reached for the water glass with a tight feeling in my stomach and throat thinking of Naman waiting at a place we already shouldn't be in. "We can't do that," I said. If Niki left and Naman drove back to the tailor's, how would I get home? I had no idea where I was, I didn't speak Bahasa very well, and I spoke no Chinese at all.

"Eat your stinking ice cream, I don't care." Niki got up and paid the

waiter while I sat paralyzed. I gripped the glass and took a big drink. Niki was halfway out the door before I could move to follow her.

She ran off the main street down the narrow path leading between the high cement sides of the ice cream parlor and a store that sold material. The walls formed a gateway that tapered down to the unpainted backs, supporting two irregular rows of lean-tos, sheds and things that were not quite buildings. People lay sleeping or murmuring in the shadows as we hurried past. Here and there a ragged banana thrust its leaves skyward, like a woman with outstretched arms ready to scream. I stumbled around enamel pans and over gnarled humps of packed dirt, trying to keep up.

Dreams and Shadows

It was like one of those dreams in which you have to hurry to get to a place you know nothing about, and the way to the place is dark and full of open manholes or strangers who will chase you if you wake them up.

Twisting in and out of view ahead of us, George seemed to know where he was going, his blue jacket a patch of artificial sky. Niki almost knocked down two babies learning to walk. A woman reached out and grabbed them, calling something in Javanese. "*Sele-mat pagi*," Niki yelled over her shoulder. The babies were screaming as if they had seen a snake, and the mother hollered after us.

"Slow down," I called to her.

"Can't." Niki hurried on, then stopped short. We had come to the edge of an alley and there was no sign of George. There was a quiet *bok bok bok* of chickens, then a shriek and white blur of wings and feathers as a cat sprang by us in sharp crooked moves, tail flicking. The shadows were deep and blue—navy, royal blue, bright as ribbons at the edges.

I saw another patch of blue, light blue, in a dark doorway. Squinting, I made out an Indonesian standing in the shade. He was overweight and his batik shirt strained over his stomach. I squeezed my eyes tighter to see if I could make out his face, but his head was lost in shadow. I saw, though, that he was completely engrossed in counting a big stack of rupiahs.

"Man, do you see . . ." Niki began, turning to me as the bamboo rustled lightly and we were grabbed from behind. A sky blue-sleeved arm gripped my right forearm and Niki's left.

"What the hell are you doing here?" George's words were sharp. I twisted around to see his face. It was pink and his wispy hair gleamed like silver wire in the sun. I looked at Niki, who was shriveling under his grip.

"Well, what were you doing?" I heard myself echo faintly. I winced when he didn't answer and hoped he hadn't heard me.

I felt as if I had swallowed lead and was sinking to the bottom of an ocean—a long, floating, drifting sinking—that the summer was an ocean and now at last I was reaching the thick bottom hundreds of feet from light and air. I looked at some flies hovering around a piece of indefinable garbage inches from George's left foot and felt my body humming, felt every square inch of skin vibrating, as if this moment had become eternal, George's foot for all time, its scuffed wing tip implanted in the weeds.

He steered us back up the alley. "I thought we were friends, Niki, but I'm going to have to speak to your parents about this. What the hell's eating you these days? Do you have any idea what can happen to you if you continue prowling the back streets of Jakarta?"

For a second I wondered if Niki was wrong. What if George Meredith was nothing but what he seemed to be, the



person who processed visas in the narrow cold office at the embassy. And what did it matter. This was bad, very bad. He could have been buying dollars back with rupiahs through the black market, purchasing a national treasure to smuggle home, or buying rice for Naman and the other drivers at the embassy. But what did it matter. This was bad.

We filed back by the woman and the babies and the bananas. Niki was sobbing. "You can't go on playing these games with adults," George was saying. "Following people all over town. What in God's name do you think you'll find out?" he bent to ask her, his face inches from hers. I concentrated on where my feet were stepping, glad I wasn't Niki.

He led us out onto the pavement in front of the stores, and told us not to move while he searched for Naman. I knew Niki was humiliated. She had been trying all summer to impress me, and all that had happened was that she managed to enrage an adult she really liked.

At supper the food smelled off to me and by bedtime I was sick, measuring the tiles on my journeys down the long, high tunnel of the hallway, lit by a weak, greenish light that throbbed like my head. Studying them kept me from thinking about how I felt. "Lucy?" Mom brushed the hair away from my face, questioning.

At one point I thought Niki was in the hall with me, whispering, "Don't tell them what we saw," while I tried

not to lose my place, concentrating on the square, flat coolness of the floor.

I knew she was talking about the money. I don't remember seeing her face, but I saw again the fat man in a tight shirt, counting money as beautiful as road maps, multi-colored money, the cream borders flashing in the shadow of the doorway as he licked his thumb. Something was wrong with the money, and I had swallowed the wrongness, and now it was multiplying in me, weighing me down.

Secrets and Pain

"Don't say anything!" Niki whispered urgently. I was hopelessly dull, held underwater in a sea of pain. "Are you listening, Lucy?" and her face surfaced near mine, compressed with worry, water gathering again in her eyes. I couldn't summon the energy to answer her.

I fingered the wrinkles in the damp sheet while people talked in the dining room. "We always boil the water," Mother was crying. "Irene," Marline said, "I think you should know that George . . . Tell her, Niki." "We went to the Chinese ice cream parlor," Niki said quietly. "Such a disappointment. I specifically *told* her. . ." Marline's voice was high-pitched but dropped quickly into hushed tones.

The air pressed against me like a wet sponge. I kept wiping my upper lip as if that would solve it, and thrashed in the bed as slowly as possible. If I lay on my side, less of me was touching the hot scratchy sheets, but my legs became hot springs of sweat. Finally it no longer mattered to me. I had slipped into a cave of silence, and lay inert, watching my parents from below, their faces small and worried at the rim while I traced it with my eyes, hot as marbles left out in the sun, searing the edges of my eyelids in tiny flashes as they rolled in my head, as if I could do nothing but hurt myself and sink fur-

ther into the shadow, panting like a cheechuk.

I lay in my underpants and could not understand why Mother was covering my chest with a hot dry towel. It was so heavy and I puzzled over it, hearing voices and footsteps and trying to lift it away, thinking of lifting it away, frowning with the effort, when George Meredith appeared in the doorway in his neat gray suit and was falling, falling into the room: slow motion; his pity and my embarrassment. "... see how you were," he mumbled, in slow motion, his head careening down the backdrop of the wall as he understood it was too hot to wear a towel that weighed twenty pounds on my chest, and falling into the room, quickly dipped out, his shoes echoing on the tiles.

A ride in a car. I lay in the back seat and watched the sky pivot on its clouds, the brightness and emptiness was blinding—no buildings, no people, just a wild steady blue. No one could explain how I had gotten outside or why, and they were asking me to stand, but this was impossible—didn't they know this—and I couldn't even answer them. I wanted more sky pivoting on its clouds. Lying down. But outside! Outside was too strong; the wind, for one thing, was making a sail out of my nightgown. "You take her other arm," Mother said to Doris Pierson. Walking. Pebbles like boulders and sun like hot glass on my head and shoulders. Too bright to see. Then a room dark red—had I fainted or was it only dark in there? Filled with people speaking Javanese, babies whimpering, the close air of body odor and all their eyes. I could not understand why they wanted me to do this. Had to lie down, no place. Held me standing up while she put white powder in tiny envelopes. Lie down on the floor, even, but no room. Very sick. "Fred, you carry her," and laid me again in the back seat. Thank goodness.

A Glass Boat

Then Niki was there reading to me in the halo of the lamp on the dresser.

"Niki?" I asked, feeling as if I were awakening from a long sleep.

"Yeah? Oh, Lucy!"

"What are you doing?"

Niki slapped the pages with her open hand. She sniffed a little and wiped her nose with the back of her hand. "Boy, am I glad you're O.K."

There was something very fragile in the room with us, as if we were in a glass boat. I wanted to be careful about what I said so I sat up slowly and looked at the damp pink wrinkles of the sheets as if I were still puzzling my way out of the fever. I leaned my head against the window screen, inhaling the rusty smell. "What day is this?" I asked.

"Tuesday. Are you hungry? Do you want a Coke or something?" Her face was pinched with grief.

"What I really want is a Dairy Queen. A whole store." Niki had smeared a strand of mucus across her upper lip. "Get some toilet paper and blow your nose," I told her.

She was grinning. "Can't," she said, "you used it all up."

I moaned.

"They had to drive you all over Jakarta in your nightgown in Mr. Promoto's old Chevrolet to find a doctor. You got cholera!"

"I got —"

"Lucy—you know better than to drink the damn water!" she smacked the book for emphasis, but looked relieved.

"George was here," I told her.

"He was?"

I nodded. "Guess he was worried. About me, I mean."

"George is a good egg," she said, sitting up and running her index finger back and forth across the braces on her upper front teeth.

"Yeah," I said, still wondering if I had dreamed her telling me not to say anything. Then Niki explained that George told her he sometimes had to pay government officials to get visas for certain people—*Time* correspondents or people who offended the government, even people who just wanted to buy and sell things—batiks or cars. People had trouble, sometimes, getting in the country. Worse than that, they had trouble getting out. George knew the officials, knew what to say. Niki was not supposed to know that.

Her face was set in that curious way she had of hiding what she was thinking. It bothered me that things

couldn't be squirreled away into easy categories; that there could be undercover agents that wore corny-looking sports jackets and liked kids. It meant life was sort of messy and uncertain, and a lot of hard work to figure out.

To the Porch

I sat up on the edge of the bed and let my bare feet dangle over the cool tiles. I was a little dizzy but my head had stopped aching. Looking at Niki sitting there in the dresser chair, her mouth pressed closed like Marline's often was, made me think what it would be like if I were her, if I could never go home. My throat started to swell and I got a kind of suffocated feeling in my chest, but I decided the last thing she would want me to do was cry.

"Hey," I said, my voice clogged, "you know what?"

"What?"

"I'm real sick of this bed."

"Should be," she said, "you've been in it three whole days."

"Let's go out on the porch," I said, testing my legs.

With Niki's help, I inched my way out through the living room, feeling as if my legs were stilts, my belly an empty cave. I had to lean over because it hurt too much to straighten up. Niki said if I stayed that way I could probably get a part in a hunchback movie.

It was nice to smell the air on the porch. From the wicker chairs we could see up and down Daksa Street. The sun was setting and the air glowed a kind of green like it did at home in the spring: the shadows soft brown, and the sunlight copper on the glass of windows. Nobody at home could imagine what this place was like, I thought.

But I wasn't home, I was here. I wasn't sure what that meant, but I decided that as soon as I felt better, I'd ask Niki if she wanted to go swimming. We could go to the embassy and check out some library books, have a couple of water buffalo burgers at the snack bar, and say hello to George. Or maybe we could scrounge up some bikes and ask Jordy and Bud to go with us down to the waterfront to look at the boats, or to watch the woodcarvers work. Or just play hearts. □

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The commission report speaks not of aid—with its possible connotation of benefits flowing in only one direction—but of mutual assistance and mutual cooperation.

Grasping Nettles

(Continued from page 31.)

fare associated with an AID development project. But did it promote overall economic growth or contribute to political evolution or greater security? How does one measure the value of a war that did not happen because a country had a credible defense capability which benefited from U.S. military assistance? Even if that could be measured, what is the portion to be ascribed to U.S. assistance, which, after all, is only a small part of a country's total defense effort? There is no rigorous and objective way to measure and allocate the full impact of foreign assistance, particularly if long-term consequences are included—which indeed they must be. In the end, each must render judgments and grind his or her own axe.

Project Evaluation

The commission did not perform its own evaluations of projects or programs, a task which would be far beyond its resources and which in any event would not resolve the philosophical disputes which underlie debates on foreign assistance. It did not, however, throw up its hands in total despair on the issue of evaluation. It emphasized that each of the foreign assistance programs affected more than one of the four major categories of U.S. objectives: political, economic, security, and human well-being. It broadened the discussion of each program beyond primary objectives to include secondary effects. Sound economic development contributes to domestic stability and the ability to provide security, for instance. Military assistance can provide a secure context wherein investment, trade, and democratic institutions can prosper. Neither economic growth nor military security has long-term promise if human well-being is not an integral element of the growth process. The panel recognized that a humanitarian project such as a PL 480 Title II program to feed refugee children in a country like Mozambique or Ethiopia has very important political implications that must be included in any valid evaluation.

Because we currently have no systematic means of assessing the full im-

pact of our programs and their relationships to one another in a given country, the commission concluded that such a capability should be developed. Current evaluation techniques are too narrowly defined and lack an overreaching system to integrate the activities and assess them as a whole. A related recommendation is that the recipient country serve as the context for determining the mix of U.S. economic, food, and military aid programs as well as for the determination of our policies toward multilateral development projects. Terms of concessionality should also be decided on a case-by-case basis, particularly with military credits. The commission has been consistent in underscoring the interdependence and interrelationship of both programs and objectives. In doing so, it has resisted the tendency to simplify and thereby give weight to single-issue interests at the expense of the whole.

Because the commission has yet to finish its work, one can only speculate about its ultimate product—a hazardous act in view of the size and diversity of the group. But, by looking at the work of the commission's five task force reports some conclusions and consensuses can be seen. In doing so, however, one should keep in mind that surely there will be some members who will disagree with parts of these preliminary conclusions.

The task forces generally agree that foreign assistance, in all its interrelated components, is a necessary and integral part of the foreign policy of the United States. The task forces have endorsed development assistance and reaffirmed the mandate to address basic human needs, as well as the distinction between DA and ESF in terms of both time and justification. But they urge greater flexibility of administration, including a departure from "projectizing" DA activities where appropriate. They emphasize overall economic growth and efficiency while trying to ensure the broadest practical participation in that growth. The Task Force on Development Assistance concludes that "if greater flexibility is not achieved, there is serious risk that administrations will turn increasingly to ESF to provide economic assistance to

the detriment of long-term development objectives."

The task forces support increased participant training (as well as military training) as being particularly cost effective. They endorse a modest "middle income country" program with emphasis on scientific, technological, and management exchanges. They note the special plight of Africa. They urge increased utilization of PL 480 and greater emphasis on its developmental uses. The task forces strongly emphasize the need for a recipient-country policy environment that is conducive to the success of a growth-oriented development policy. They cite favorably the development banks, particularly the World Bank, for their efforts for policy reform and urge them to increase these efforts. Finally, the panels emphasize development of the indigenous private sector while noting the poor record in this regard of both private and official efforts.

The ESF Task Force was particularly concerned with maintaining the flexibility of the account while encouraging greater developmental use and support of U.S. exports, provided those objectives are secondary and are not mandated by specific goals or requirements. Because earmarking reduces flexibility, it endorses the present policy of limiting earmarking to only a few countries. A recommendation for a program of mixed credits (blending of low-interest aid funds with Ex-Im or commercial bank credits) has varied support, in part because it would increase the flow of development resources to the Third World, in part because it would provide a defense for U.S. exporters against the mixed-credit programs of other countries. There is also some opposition based on the belief that it is inconsistent with the U.S. policy of free trade. There is widespread agreement that such a program should be separately funded and not draw on DA or ESF funds.

The Task Force on Process notes the fragmented nature of our assistance and calls for the formation of the new agency to house the multifarious programs. The model for the Mutual Development and Security Agency goes back to the 1950s, before AID was formed, when comprehensive respon-

sibility for foreign assistance was lodged in the Mutual Security Agency. Having a single administrator for all forms of aid would again allow comprehensive advance consultations with Congress.

The issue of Third World debt influenced the deliberations throughout. There was discussion of debt forgiveness, but support for this action appears weak because of the need for new appropriations, and, with a couple of exceptions, forgiveness of U.S. official debt would not have a great effect on the overall debt of beneficiaries. And, if new money is appropriated, there is widespread preference in the government that it be for new programs.

Military Aid

There appears to be considerable support for increasing concessionality for military credits, which, for the most part, are now at interest rates at "cost of money to the Treasury." This recognizes the severity of the debt problem in certain countries and the incongruity of charging high interest on needed military equipment and services while giving grant or concessional economic assistance to relieve balance-of-payment problems. The degree of concessionality is to be determined on the basis of the individual country's needs rather than global considerations. In this regard, the commission notes that when military credits were put on a non-concessional "cost of money" basis, some had believed the resultant high interest rates would curb less-developed countries' appetites for arms. That does not appear to have happened. There also is support for altering the practice of charging less-developed countries "full cost" on military equipment and training, including overhead and development costs. Japan, NATO, and the ANZUS allies are charged only the incremental costs incurred by their purchases. The commission proposes to put poor countries on the same footing as the wealthy.

Finally, the task forces address the issue of the American public's inclusion in debating policies concerning foreign assistance. They recommend the establishment of a nationwide citizens' network. This would meet the

need to find a mechanism whereby communities could remain informed on the issues, programs, and problems associated with U.S. mutual-assistance programs. How this would be funded remains a matter of considerable debate. Further, they have urged the president to invite the bipartisan leadership of both houses to join him in a public statement endorsing their conclusion that foreign assistance is an integral part of the conduct of the foreign policy of the United States. This is in the belief that lawmakers will find it helpful when voting for foreign assistance. In the words of one, "I voted for a reduction in food stamps, a reduction in school lunches, and in favor of foreign aid. That is hard to explain. I could use some cover."

The commission has grasped several nettles. There is general—though not unanimous—agreement that the resources currently devoted to foreign assistance are inadequate to meet the needs which flow from our goals and objectives. There is agreement that new programs will require new money, i.e., concessional military credits, forgiven debt, or mixed credits. How this will be squared with the administration's strong desire to avoid recommendations on budget increases in general remains to be determined.

Throughout these six months of deliberations there has been a keen awareness that a more broadly based constituency for mutual cooperation programs is essential and that a demonstration and strengthening of their relevance to U.S. interests is a necessary part of the process. In that regard, the active participation of several of the commission's well-known politically conservative members, along with traditional supporters of foreign aid, has underscored the bipartisan nature of the commission and augers well for ultimate acceptance of its recommendations. The commission can be credited with seeking the opinions of all interested parties and with developing a consensus from its broadly based membership. How the commission's recommendations will fare is nonetheless a subject of some debate, but it is generally agreed that, from here on in, successful implementation will depend heavily upon presidential support. □

FOREIGN SERVICE PEOPLE

1984-1985 AFSA/AAFSW Scholarships for Foreign Service Students

Applications are now available for dependent students of Foreign Service personnel, who have been or are currently stationed abroad, for the American Foreign Service Association Scholarship Programs. The AFSA/AAFSW MERIT AWARDS are for graduating high school students only, and are based on academic excellence. These awards are \$500 to each winner, usually 22 per year. The FINANCIAL AID SCHOLARSHIPS are for undergraduate educational study and are based solely on need as established by the College Scholarship Service, Princeton/Berkeley. Grants range from \$200 to \$2000 for individuals, with a \$3000 limit for families. Write for applications and information now from the Scholarship Programs Administrator, AFSA, 2101 E St. NW, Washington, D.C. 20037. The deadline for completion of applications is February 15, 1984.

Other Scholarships Available to Foreign Service Students

The Association has been informed that the following scholarships are available to dependent students of Foreign Service personnel. Applicants should write for complete information directly to the schools, colleges, and universities indicated.

Secondary Schools

The American School in Switzerland, TASIS England, TASIS Hellenic: \$1000 tuition reductions are offered at all three TASIS schools in Switzerland, England, and Greece to the sons or daughters of State Department personnel on the basis of academic merit. Additional financial aid may be offered on the basis of need. Boarding students enroll in grades 7 through postgraduate. For further information contact: Caroline Cox, TASIS U.S. Admissions Office, 326 East 69th Street, New York, NY 10021. Telephone: (212) 570-1066.

Castilleja School, Palo Alto, California: Scholarships are available to daughters of personnel in the Foreign Service agencies or of U.S. military personnel serving overseas who are registered at Castilleja School for admission to grades 7 to 12 inclusive. For complete information write to the Headmaster, Castilleja School, 1310 Bryant St., Palo Alto, California 94301.

Dana Hall School: The Congdon Merit Scholarship is awarded on a competitive basis to an entering sophomore resident student. In addition to the \$1000 prize, the winner is eligible for financial aid up to full tuition when warranted. Applications must be completed by February 1, 1984. Inquiries should be addressed to: The Congdon Prize Scholarship, Dana Hall School, Wellesley, Massachusetts 02181.

Grier School: A \$1000 reduction in tuition is available to the daughters of Foreign Service personnel. Additionally, girls may compete for scholarship support on the basis of demonstrated financial need and all-around abilities. For information please contact: Admissions Director, The Grier School, Tyrone, Pennsylvania 16686.

Miss Hall's School: For the daughters of Foreign Service personnel, a \$2200 tuition reduction is available. Miss Hall's enrolls 200 students from grades 9 through 12. This reduction is offered in recognition of higher travel costs and represents 25 percent of the total tuition cost for 1984-85. For further information, contact Mr. Diederik van Renesse, Director of Admissions, Miss Hall's School, Pittsfield, Massachusetts 01201.

Middlesex School: Scholarship offered on the basis of proven financial need for grades 9 through 12 to the son or daughter of a Foreign Service family. For complete information write to the Director of Admissions, Middlesex School, Concord, Massachusetts 01742.

The New Hampton School: A \$1000 abatement on tuition to Foreign Service boys and girls. The school enrolls approximately 300 students in grades 9 through post-

graduate. For further information write to Admissions Office, The New Hampton School, New Hampton, N.H. 03256.

Northfield-Mount Hermon School: A \$1000 reduction in tuition is offered all sons and daughters of State Department personnel stationed overseas, grades 9 through 12. This reduction is afforded in recognition of the higher travel cost experienced by such personnel. Additional financial aid is available on the basis of need. At present students from 40 states and 47 countries are enrolled. For further information contact Adrienne Carr, Northfield-Mount Hermon School, Northfield, Massachusetts 01360.

Phillips Academy, Andover, Massachusetts: The Charles and Jane Stelle Memorial Scholarship is awarded to the son or daughter of a Foreign Service person. The award is based on financial need. For further information, and to apply for this scholarship, write to Joshua L. Miner, Dean of Admissions/Mr. John McClement, Director of Financial Aid, Phillips Academy, Andover, Massachusetts 01810.

St. Andrew's School, Middletown, Delaware: The Norris S. Haselton Scholarships are awarded to sons and daughters of Foreign Service families where need is indicated. For complete information write John M. Niles, Director of Admissions, St. Andrew's School, Middletown, Delaware 19709.

Vermont Academy: An Edward R. Cheney Memorial Scholarship is being awarded to the son or daughter of a Foreign Service person. Those interested should write to the Director of Admissions, Vermont Academy, Saxtons River, Vermont 05154. The academy enrolls approximately 220 students in grades nine through postgraduate; coed since 1981.

Colleges

Dartmouth College: S. Pinkey Tuck Scholarship. For students at Dartmouth College who are the children or grandchildren of Foreign Service officers of the Unit-

ed States and who are in need of financial assistance. Address inquiry to the Director of Financial Aid, Dartmouth College, Hanover, New Hampshire 03755.

Vassar College: The Polly Richardson Lukens Memorial Scholarship is awarded at Vassar to children of Foreign Service personnel. Another scholarship, awarded by an anonymous donor, is granted at Vassar to the child of an American Foreign Service officer. If no such applicant qualifies, the scholarship may be awarded to the child of an employee of the federal government or of a state government. Both awards are based on financial need. Apply to Director of Financial Aid, Vassar College, Poughkeepsie, New York 12601.

Yale University: Scholarship given by an anonymous donor is awarded each year to the son or daughter of an American Foreign Service officer who demonstrates financial need according to the university's criteria. If no such applicant qualifies, the scholarship may be awarded to the son of a member of the United States military services, or of an employee of the federal government. Complete information is obtainable from the Director of Financial Aid, Box 2170 Yale Station, New Haven, Connecticut 06520.

Deaths

ARTHUR M. GIESE, a Foreign Service officer assigned to the Office of Central American Affairs, died of a heart attack on April 13 in Washington, D.C. He was 45 years old.

Giese was graduated from the U.S. Military Academy at West Point and served in the Army until he joined the Foreign Service in 1963. As a Foreign Service officer, he was vice consul and third secretary in Teheran, consular officer in Nicosia, politico-military affairs officer in Ankara, and first secretary and political officer in Brasilia. Other tours of duty included the Operations Center in Washington and the Department of Defense.

He is survived by his wife, two sons, and his mother. The family suggests contributions may be made to the AFSA Scholarship Fund.

KENNETH SCOTT LEVICK, a retired Foreign Service officer, died of cancer on August 5 in Gainesville, Florida. He was 61.

Levick, who retired from his AID position as acting deputy administrator of the Technical Assistance Bureau in 1976, was educated at the University of California at Berkeley and obtained his master's degree in political science from Columbia Univer-

sity. He also studied at the London School of Economics and the Sorbonne.

In 1950 Levick joined the Marshall Plan in Paris. Tours of duty with AID included Norway, India, and Egypt. In 1972-73 he was selected to attend the Senior Seminar.

After retirement in 1976, Levick spent seven years touring aboard his sailboat before settling in Inverness, Florida.

Survivors include his wife, Mary, of Inverness; two daughters, Linda Levick de Iberri and Bona Faye Jones, both of Inverness; a son, Michael Scott Levick, of Tuba City, Arizona; a step-daughter, Cecile Cabeen, of Los Angeles, California; a stepson, Peter Grimm, of Seattle, Washington; and his mother, Agnes Scott Levick, of Lubbock, Texas.

ROBERT N. MAGILL, retired executive director of the State Department's policy planning office and a Foreign Service officer, died of cancer August 3 at his Charlottesville, Virginia, home. He was 66.

Born in China, Magill graduated from the University of North Carolina and also studied at Harvard. He joined the State Department in 1941, serving in the Office of Strategic Services during World War II. Magill held posts in Norway, Thailand, Germany, and France, and was assigned to the policy planning office in 1965.

Marriages to the former Faith Ackerman and the former Anne Langdon ended in divorce. Magill is survived by three children from his first marriage, Ellen G. Hale of Riverside, California, William L. of Santa Rosa, California, and Robert N. Jr. of Washington; two sisters; three brothers; and three grandchildren.

CLARKE W. SLADE, a psychiatric social worker with the State Department who served AFSA for many years as an educational counselor and a consultant to the AFSA Committee on Education, died September 29 at Montgomery General Hospital after a heart attack. He was 81.

Slade, a resident of Sandy Spring, Maryland, moved to the area in 1931, when he founded the Slade School, a private elementary institution in Bethesda. The school moved to Sandy Spring seven years later and operated until it was closed in 1948. At the time, he was its headmaster.

Following the closing, Slade was an educational counselor and a psychiatric social worker with the Baltimore school system, the Episcopal Home in Washington, and since 1971 with the State Department medical division.

A native of Whitesville, New York, Slade was graduated by Union College and earned a master's in social work at Columbia University. Before he came to this area,

he was a teacher and headmaster at several schools in Pennsylvania and Florida.

Hundreds of Foreign Service families knew Slade personally from his many years of educational guidance and counselling at AFSA. An expert on school systems and locations of private schools with special training to meet individual needs of the students, he was an invaluable resource for Foreign Service families both at home and abroad. He was the educational counselor and guiding spirit to the AFSA Committee on Education since 1958 and served as special consultant to the committee at the time of his death, while still employed in the medical division.

During the Iranian hostage crisis, Slade and his staff visited all the families of the hostages throughout the United States, and he was with the first small group to greet the released prisoners in Germany with news of their families from personal interviews.

Survivors include his wife, the former Camille Irvine, of Sandy Spring; two sons, Clarke W. Jr. of Wilmington, Delaware, and William M.I. Slade of Silver Spring, and five grandchildren.

JAMES STROMAYER, a Foreign Service officer who served as the U.S. coordinator for the United Nations Conference on New and Renewable Energy Resources at Nairobi, died of cancer August 2 at the Hospice of Northern Virginia. He was 51.

Stromayer was born in Chicago, completing his undergraduate studies at Northwestern University before earning a master's degree at Johns Hopkins University. He also studied and taught at the National War College and served in the Army in Germany in 1954 and 1955. Stromayer entered the Foreign Service in 1958, serving in Sweden, Italy, and France. He moved to the Washington area in 1965 and was promoted to the rank of ambassador in 1981.

Stromayer was a past president of the wildlife conservation group Friends of Dyke Marsh.

He is survived by his wife, Sarah Jane, and two sons, Eric W. and Karl A., all of Alexandria; his parents, John and Helen, of Chicago; and two brothers, John F. of Chicago, and William, of Evanston.

Marriage

PAMELA ROXANNE AULTON, a Foreign Service secretary with AID, was married to Sgt. George C. Rowland on September 17. The bride just completed her second tour in Zaire. The groom has served as a security guard in Kinshasa and in Lisbon. He is currently stationed in California.

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TAX PROBLEMS, returns and representation. T. R. McCartney (ex-FS) Enrolled Agent, and staff. Returns now completely computerized. Business Data Corp., P.O. Box 57256, Washington, DC 20037-0256. (703) 671-1040. INVESTMENT GUIDANCE.

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Association News

Hays Cites Progress on Membership, Finances at Association's Annual Meeting



AFSA President Dennis K. Hays (standing) addresses members at the annual meeting held in Washington in September. He announced that the Association finished the year with a record number of members and that overall finances had also improved. The annual report will appear in the December Journal.

Legislative Action Fund Approaches \$30,000 After Seven Months

Contributions continue to arrive for the Legislative Action Fund, which totaled \$29,572.57 as of September 30, with donations received from 594 members. The fund is designed to help defray AFSA's expenses connected with its efforts on Capitol Hill to oppose administration proposals that would, in the Association's belief, ultimately dismantle the present Foreign Service Retirement and Disability System. As this month's article on retirement issues indicates, the Legislative Action Fund has been put to good use, but much still remains to be done.

Persons who wish to assist in AFSA's legislative efforts are urged to give to the fund. Monies collected are being used exclusively to defray the costs of seeking

to preserve the present structure of the Foreign Service personnel system by actively opposing legislation that would undermine its basic components. Contributions should be tax deductible.

Contributions will be acknowledged in this space unless the donor wishes to remain anonymous. Donations from September 12-30 are listed here.

LEGISLATIVE ACTION FUND *or*
AFSA Room 3644
2101 E Street NW Department
Washington, D.C. 20037 of State

Gerald G. Graf
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AFSA Charges State With Attempt to Decrease SFS Pay

AFSA filed an unfair labor practice charge against the State Department for issuing without consultation an inter-agency regulation which would allow selection boards to decrease salary levels of Senior Foreign Service employees. Though the department issued the regulations without informing AFSA, it did notify AFGE, which agreed to the provision permitting pay decreases.

AFSA was the force behind a 1982 amendment to the Foreign Service Act which allowed the department to increase SFS pay levels. Previously, there had been no means of increasing the pay of an SFS employee who remains in a given class for an extended period of time. Unlike other employees, members of the SFS do not receive step increases.

As soon as the amendment was enacted, the Association formally proposed that State and AID include as a function of Selection Boards the recommendation of increases in SFS basic rates of pay. Both agencies responded that agreement on the issue had to await multi-agency negotiations.

When AFSA learned that the department had issued regulations allowing a decrease in pay, it demanded that they be withdrawn, particularly because the law was intended only to allow for increases in salary levels. AFSA stated, however, that it was anxious to negotiate immediately on provisions for increasing SFS salary levels.

The department refused to withdraw the pay-downgrade regulations, and AFSA filed the charge with the Foreign Service Labor Relations Board.



FSOs Cited for Aiding Public Education

Director General Joan Clark presents the Henderson-Satterthwaite Citation to FSOs David L'Heureux (left) and Stephen Eisenbraun in the Foreign Service Club last spring. The award is given annually to those who aid the international relations seminars for continuing education students run by retired FSO Robert Donihi with the cooperation of AFSA and other organizations.

Retirement Score: Halftime Break, But Game To Go On

At this stage of the game, it seems unlikely that there will be any serious effort in the 98th Congress to press for enactment of the retirement changes proposed in President Reagan's 1984 budget that generated such alarm throughout the federal workforce last winter and spring. This result has to be due in large measure to the vigorous lobbying efforts of federal-employee organizations, in which AFSA played a significant role, and congressional reluctance to tangle with such a controversial issue with an election year coming up. Nonetheless, reducing federal retirement costs remains a high priority budget item with the present administration, so it is reasonable to assume that renewed efforts to cut back on benefits and increase employee contributions will be launched anew when the timing is more propitious.

Foremost on the agenda at the moment is what to do about new employees entering the federal workforce—including of course the Foreign Service—after January 1. Under the provisions of the new Social Security Reform Act, these persons will be subject to Social Security coverage, which entails a seven-percent salary deduction. In addition, new employees will still be liable for the seven-percent of salary for federal retirement, for a total salary bite of 14 percent.

There is no disagreement over the need to come up with a modified retirement program to supplement the Social Security coverage required for new employees nor is there any disagreement over the estimate that it will take at least two years before such a program will be enacted. The controversy centers over what to do in the meantime.

It clearly would be unfair to require new employees to contribute a greater percentage of their pay toward retirement than their fellow workers who happen to be already on the job. Various proposals which address this problem have been advanced, but all have foundered on a central issue: will the non-Social Security retirement program for new employees be financed through the present federal retirement trust funds, or will a separate system be established for them?

Reportedly, the administration is opposed to bringing new people in under the present system, while certain influ-

ential members of Congress are in favor of doing so, as are the federal employee organizations, including AFSA. Pressure is mounting to resolve this issue before the present session of the 98th Congress adjourns.

Another matter which remains up in the air as we go to press is the timing of the next cost-of-living adjustment for federal retirees. In September 1982 the Congress mandated changes in the COLA procedures through FY 1985 in the Omnibus Budget Reconciliation Act of 1982. This bill moved back the COLA one month in each of three years: from March 1 in 1982 to April 1 in 1983, to May 1 in 1984, and to June 1 in 1985. It also provided that retirees who had not yet reached age 62 by the effective date of the COLA would be limited to one-half the "assumed increase in the price index" which, in the legislation, was estimated at 6.6 percent for FY 1983, 7.2 percent for FY 1984, and 6.6 percent for FY 1985. (If the actual increase in the price index exceeded these estimates, retirees under 62 would also receive the full amount of the difference.)

Retirees under age 62 have registered strong resentment over this provision, especially those who for one reason or another retired involuntarily, and AFSA has initiated efforts to have this discriminatory clause removed from the law.

If there is no change in the present schedule, the next COLA could have an ironic twist. Through August of this year the consumer price index had risen 2.6 percent above December 1982. If the decelerating trend in the CPI continues for the balance of this year (as we all hope that it will), retirees under age 62 could receive approximately the same—or possibly even a fractionally larger—COLA next May than retirees over 62. The reason: as the law now stands, the under-62 group will receive a minimum of 3.3 percent (half of the "assumed increase" mentioned above), whereas those over 62 would receive the actual increase which could fall short of 3.3 percent.

It is nevertheless doubtful that the present COLA provisions will remain in force. The first concurrent budget resolution passed in June calls for a further postponement of the next COLA, following which the House Post Office and Civil Service Committee recommended a delay from May to December 1984. The Senate Governmental Affairs Committee is expected to follow but as yet has not taken formal action. While the chances are that the next COLA will not be reflected in retiree checks until January 1985, amending legislation must be enacted before there can be any change in the present schedule. When and if this will occur is still not clear.

Life and Love in the Foreign Service



"Mr. Ambassador: On behalf of my government, welcome to Fantasy Island!!"

—BOB FOCHE, Washington

HONORABLE MENTION: "Senator Snort and his senior aides from the Subcommittee on Waste, Fraud, Mismanagement, and other Executive Branch Abuses arrive at AmEmbassy Dyspepsia."

—ALBERT E. FAIRCHILD, Washington

COMPETITION #5

All readers are invited to enter Competition #5. Winners receive a certificate for lunch for two at the Foreign Service Club. Mail entries to:

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AFSA
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The contest deadline is December 15.



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