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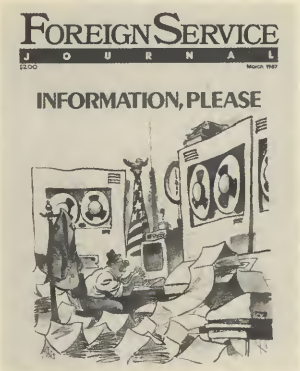


*COVER: As the computer revolution comes to the foreign affairs agencies, it has resulted in greater access to, and control of, information essential to policy making. Our five-part report on the costs and benefits of this technology begins on page 21. Pen, ink, and watercolor by Henry Payne.*

Due to unavoidable production delays this issue was mailed about one month late. Subsequent issues will be accelerated to bring production back on schedule. We regret any inconvenience.

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# ASSOCIATION VIEWS

## *An Injury to the National Interest*

The number of political appointees heading our foreign missions has reached its highest point in a quarter century. This should be a cause of concern for all who value the success of the United States in its international relations.

Today, four of ten ambassadors are from outside the ranks of the career Foreign Service, according to State Department figures, the highest point since the Kennedy administration and a stark contrast to the last year of the Carter administration, when fewer than three of ten ambassadors were political appointees. This last figure is a particularly appropriate comparison, for one expects the ranks of noncareer chiefs of mission to swell in the early years of a presidency, as political debts are paid, and then for the pendulum to swing the other way. Today, just the opposite is happening.

As Under Secretary for Management Ronald Spiers said in an interview published in this magazine last month, this increase means that 22 jobs are no longer available for senior career officers. This causes a seven-fold cascade effect down the ranks. The result over the years is a severe pinch in the career progress of hundreds of highly qualified officers. No other nation that takes its foreign relations seriously allows the spoils system to govern its ambassadorial appointments, and we allow it in no other branch of government. We do not permit political appointees to pilot ships, to lead armies, to conduct criminal investigations.

The Foreign Service is not the sole body vested with expertise in world affairs, and we have always welcomed the Averell Harrimans, the George Bushes, the Ellsworth Bunkers, the David Bruces. As these names reveal, the real issue is not career versus noncareer; it is quality. Too often posts are filled only to pay a political debt or to put in place an administration cheerleader when what is needed is an experienced quarterback. A successful ambassador needs a variety of qualities—political and cultural expertise, familiarity with the bureaucracy and the Congress—and the Foreign Service is a good, albeit not the exclusive, training ground in this area. Too often this carefully nurtured ability is passed over to reward someone whose only recommendation is party loyalty and whose expertise in foreign affairs derives solely from a lifelong interest in philately. The result is more than an injury to the career principle. It is all too often an injury to the national interest.


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# LETTERS

## One of the Best

One day in 1960, while sitting at my desk in the Associated Press booth in the State Department, I got a phone call from an old friend, the desk officer for Czechoslovakia. His story was brief: a young American had been languishing in a Czech prison for 11 years. His parents came to the United States before World War I, became American citizens, but later retired to their native land, keeping their U.S. citizenship. Their son, Jaromir Zastera, was born there, but even the post-1948 Stalinist regime acknowledged he was an American citizen.

Jaromir was arrested on trumped-up charges when he was 19. He was accused of being a spy and sentenced to 18 years in prison. The American embassy made regular representations, and, very rarely, a consular official was permitted to visit him, but that was all.

The problem, the obviously frustrated desk officer explained to me, was that the young man had no relatives in the United States—no constituency claims him; he was, in effect, a "forgotten American." Maybe, he suggested, I could stir up some interest in his case. I did.

Reaction to my story, which went out on the AP wires, was fantastic. I was flooded with letters from all over the country with people asking what they could do. Write your congressman, your senator, I answered.

Some two weeks later at a reception I bumped into the Czech press attaché, who had a less-than-friendly grin on his face. "What are you doing to my ambassador?" he asked. "Well, what am I doing to him? I don't even know him," I replied. The ambassador, it appeared, was inundated with phone calls from Capitol Hill, urging him to do something and see to it that Jaromir be released and returned to the United States. "And my ambassador doesn't even know who this Zastera is," the attaché complained.

Three months later the desk officer called again: Zastera was released and on his way to the United States. Then I got a letter from Zastera: "Upon coming to the United States I started investigating of the article's author and found it was you. I am

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grateful to you for now I am living in freedom," it said.

On December 20, 1986, Ambassador Albert W. Sherer died. He retired from the Foreign Service in 1979 after a splendid career. He was the Czech desk officer who "leaked" the Zastera story to me 26 years ago.

It is, I hope, unnecessary to explain why I consider this "scoop," if you will, one of the greatest of a long life in this profession. I got prizes, kudos for others, but my Zastera story brought freedom to a "forgotten American."

But more important, there is a broader moral: it was a perfect example of the cooperation between an administration official and a reporter. Sherer had no ax to grind, he did not "leak" any secrets but felt frustrated and thought—how right he was—that publicity may achieve something no diplomatic representation could.

In my long career as a newspaperman, covering foreign affairs in Washington and out in the field, I observed at work hundreds of American Foreign Service officers. Many of them were good, some (few) were lousy, and a few, Bud Sherer included, were outstanding.

André Marton
Chevy Chase, Maryland

## Straightening Out

I am writing in response to the letter by Mary Nell Hanks in the July/August issue about my article on Karachi in the April issue ["An Indian Initiation"]. I plead guilty to the misspelling of the word "strait." However, I must decline her imputation to me of editorial responsibility. That is what editors, not writers, are paid for. I was pleased that Ms. Hanks's impressions of Karachi were the same as mine even though I found her straitened attempt at humor somewhat strained.

Albert Cizauskas
*Foreign Service Officer, retired*
Falls Church, Virginia

I appreciate your printing my letter in tribute to Iffie Rogers. I would, however, like to clarify one point. I did not sign myself as a Foreign Service officer. I served proudly as a Foreign Service secretary for 25 years, 10 of those as secretary to Iffie Rogers.

Mary Knell Hanks
*Foreign Service Secretary, retired*
Falls Church, Virginia

*The JOURNAL regrets the errors.—ED.*

## Public Diplomacy

What a nice surprise in your January issue: your "10-25-50" column led off with an ancient quote of mine on then a hot issue in public diplomacy—but far more pleasing—it was coupled with quotes from John Kennedy and Franklin Roosevelt! The former many of us had the privilege to serve, if all too briefly; but the latter was the political mentor of my generation and the reason I—and countless others—chose public service. Would that I deserved such august coupling—but I thank you for this happy inadvertence nonetheless!

As to the subject matter of a unified public diplomacy under USIA, the years have shown that all the arrows should indeed be in one quiver. From American Studies, exchanges, exhibits, and cultural centers to written or verbal policy explication they form an indivisible, mutually supporting whole that alone can provide the necessary credibility to the central mission of public diplomacy as I would define it: the projection of the open society that is America and the foreign policies that flow from it.

As to those who still would not accept this activity as a legitimate dimension of contemporary diplomacy, let them tell us what is ultimately more important to our national security (defined as the survival of our democratic ways and values) than the encouragement and preservation of a pluralistic world that is as open as possible to the exchange of peoples and ideas and as free as possible from ideological and totalitarian blinders of whatever stripe. An element of diplomacy that serves as a leaven toward that end would appear worthwhile.

Gunther Rosinus
*Special Negotiator, Voice of America*
Washington, D.C.

## Author's Query

I am conducting research for a book and assorted articles dealing with U.S. military operations in Laos and possibly Cambodia during the Vietnam war and am looking for people who served there. I hope to produce either a military textbook or something more suitable for the general public. Any prospective contacts or other assistance would be thankfully received. My goal is to let the people who served in Laos and Cambodia tell what it was like to fight there.

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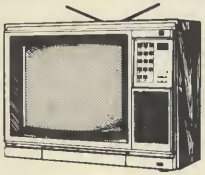

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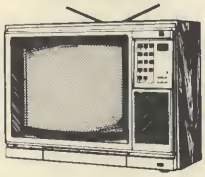

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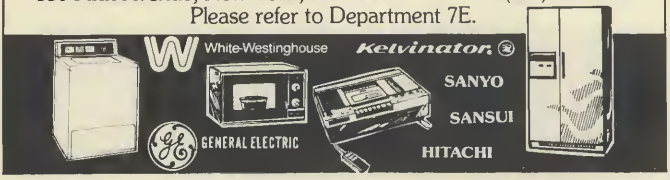


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# Books

## Apartheid Agonistes

*By* Andrew L. Steigman

**The United States and South Africa, 1968-1985.** *By Christopher Coker. Duke University Press, 1986. $49.50.*

**Beggar Your Neighbors: *Apartheid Power in Southern Africa. By Joseph Hanlon. Indiana University Press, 1986.***

**South Africa Without Apartheid.** *By Heribert Adam and Kogila Moodley. University of California Press, 1986. $18.95.*

Since 1984, South Africa and apartheid have become part of the American consciousness to an extent that would have seemed unimaginable just a few years earlier. A series of events, in South Africa and the United States, has taken the issue of U.S. policy toward South Africa out of the realm of the esoteric and made it a national issue. One consequence of the change was a searching look at the policy of "constructive engagement" and, ultimately, its tacit abandonment. A second consequence has been a flood of new books on the subject of South Africa, including the three reviewed here.

This flood of literature includes books for the general reader and for the expert. They have been written by South Africans, Americans, and citizens of a number of other countries. The authors include academicians, journalists, politicians, and victims of apartheid. Collectively, they explore every aspect of the South African society and polity, as well as that country's policies at home and abroad—and add up to an information overload for all but the most dedicated specialist in the field.

These three books cover very different aspects of the South African problem, but share three common characteristics: all are by authors writing from a non-American viewpoint; all are the product of prestigious university presses in the United

*Andrew L. Steigman, a retired Foreign Service officer, was ambassador to Gabon and Sao Tome and Principe, and served as deputy assistant secretary of state for personnel. He is currently a professor at Georgetown University.*

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States; and all are essentially books for the specialist, though that may not have been what their authors intended. Christopher Coker, in *The United States and South Africa*, gives a mixed review to the constructive engagement policy pursued by the Reagan administration and the similar approach attempted by its Republican predecessors; Joseph Hanlon, in *Beggar Your Neighbors*, provides an excellent guide and source book on South Africa's regional policy; and Heribert Adam and Kogila Moodley, who teach in Canada, offer a relatively optimistic blueprint for non-violent evolution in South Africa in their book, *South Africa Without Apartheid*.

Adam and Moodley, in particular, may well be hoping for a wider audience for their work, since they have clearly written not merely to inform but also to persuade. "Wise scholarship and rational choices can affect final outcomes," they contend, and then go on to mix informed analysis of the current internal situation in South Africa with their own suggestions for steps which might be taken to move beyond the current impasse. They hold out hope for an evolutionary transition toward power-sharing between the white minority and the non-white majority. In their view, economic interdependence and shared values (both religious and material) predispose all parties to compromise, and they see as key actors in bringing about needed change both the "ethnic technocrats" who control the South African government and major elements of the business community.

While one *wants* to believe Adam and Moodley, whose optimism is a welcome change from the gloom usually prevailing in writings about South Africa, it unfortunately is hard to do so. Their faith in the overriding influence of economic interests seems to take insufficient account of the political passions that have overwhelmed rational economic calculation among significant elements of the South African population. They also appear to indulge in wishful thinking when they minimize the impact on lower-class whites of a nonracial policy of equality of opportunity. Instead they dismiss any loss of racial privilege that this group might suffer as falling largely "only in the realm of status reduction"—precisely where resistance is likely to be most fierce.

Anyone concerned primarily with the U.S. role will find a more specific focus in Coker's book on the merits and demerits of constructive engagement. Unfortunately, *The United States and South Africa* too has flaws, some of which stem from the fact that it began life as a 1978 Oxford doctoral dissertation and still is not entirely com-

fortable as a policy-oriented book. For example, Coker has retained parts of a theoretical discussion on how states influence one another; this presumably was central to his thesis but is not fully developed here and serves only to interrupt the flow of his policy analysis.

More seriously, Coker has had to play semantic games in order to use his thesis as the underpinning for a book. He has taken "constructive engagement," a term not applied to U.S. policy toward South Africa until it was given currency by now Assistant Secretary for African Affairs Chester Crocker in his seminal 1980 article, and stretched it to cover the policy of Reagan's Republican predecessors. In so doing, he necessarily has applied the label almost exclusively to the effort to bring about change within South Africa, which he identifies as the essential policy focus of earlier Republican administrations. Since the Crocker version of constructive engagement also encompasses a Namibian solution and regional stability, Coker's application of the term to the very different policy dimensions of these two distinct periods is somewhat misleading.

Coker's book reads as though he wants very much to believe that a policy along the lines of constructive engagement will help bring about internal change in South Africa, but is too honest to deny the contrary conclusions to which his analysis inevitably leads. Whether describing the policy followed under Kissinger's aegis in 1968–76 or the more recent policy of the Reagan administration, Coker credits their authors with "seriousness of purpose" and with having formulated "clear strategies and even a plausible tactical plan." He criticizes those whom he feels were responsible for flawed implementation of these policies (including an allegedly reluctant State Department), and implies that opportunities were lost because the intended strategy was not followed. Yet, after having done so, he comes to the seemingly reluctant conclusion that "there is little the West can do... and that external actors only delude themselves about the extent of their political influence." He thus renders moot much of his own argumentation about the potential importance of specific actions that the United States did or did not undertake in the name of constructive engagement.

Maintaining the emphasis of his thesis, Coker devotes only short chapters to regional stability and to Namibia, the other elements of Crocker's constructive engagement policy. Even in his brief treatment of these issues, however, he makes clear that the United States has been no more successful with these aspects of the policy


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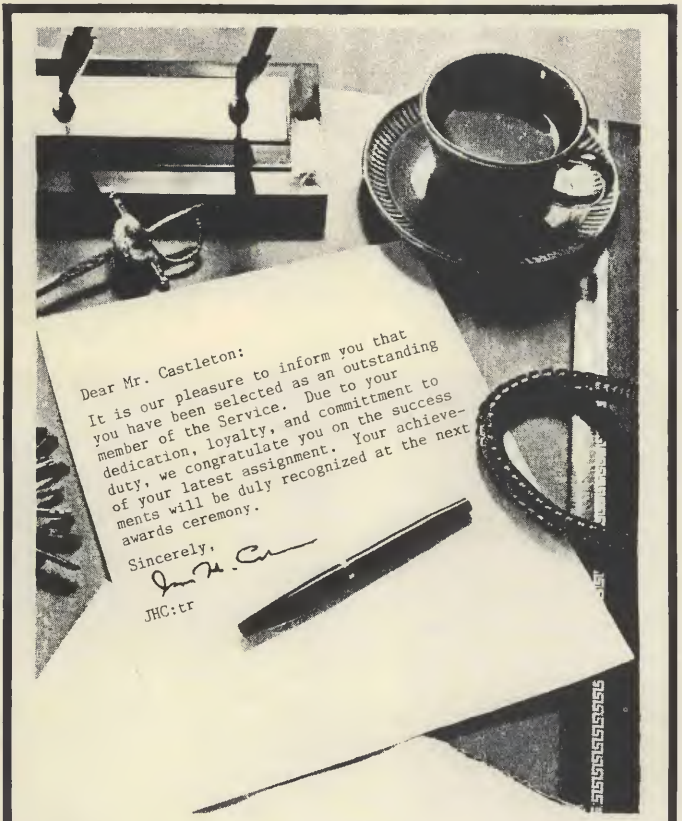


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than with inducing positive change in South Africa. Indeed, Coker is scathing both on South Africa's destabilization policy in southern Africa, made possible by the "Reagan administration's tacit policy of collusion," and on Namibia, where "the United States derived very little from constructive engagement, the South Africans a great deal." As for the ultimate fate of constructive engagement as a policy, Coker notes merely that the campaign orchestrated by the Free South Africa Movement "changed the climate of debate" in the United States, but otherwise has left this story to be written by another author.

In the long term, Joseph Hanlon's *Beggar Your Neighbors* may prove to be the most important of the three books reviewed here, because it contains an excellent compendium of information on the military and economic power that South Africa applies in dealing with its neighbors. Thus, the book will retain its value as a reference work long after the terms of debate have altered. Hanlon includes introductory chapters on South African strategy and tactics as well as on the levers of power that country can turn, followed by individual chapters on the vulnerabilities and responses of eight neighboring countries.

Hanlon concludes with a plea for increased western assistance, not only through economic and security aid to South Africa's beleaguered neighbors but also in the form of political and economic pressure on South Africa to halt its destabilization efforts in the region. Hanlon mentions U.S. policy only in passing, commenting briefly that constructive engagement "is riddled with contradictions" and noting that the election of Ronald Reagan constituted "relief... for the embattled white laager"—essentially the same conclusion drawn by Coker in dealing with the regional aspects of Reagan administration policy.

The reader new to South Africa needs to begin elsewhere than with these three works—with the long chapter in Sanford Ungar's *Africa*, perhaps, or with Joseph Lelyveld's *Move Your Shadow*. But for anyone already deep into the area's intractable problems, these three books will offer fresh insights into the dilemmas faced by policy makers in Washington and other capitals around the world.

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## Reviews

**International Cultural Relations,** *by J.M. Mitchell. Allen & Unwin, 1986. $34.95 cloth, $14.95 paper.*

When some future administration proposes yet another reorganization of our cultural exchange programs, this book will be a helpful reference. Too bad it wasn't written earlier so that we could have benefited from its wisdom in the mid-1970s, when we needed it most.

John Mitchell, a veteran of 35 years with the British Council who retired in 1985 as assistant director general, draws on his experience at home and abroad to provide a worldwide survey of international cultural relations. He focuses on five countries: France, Italy, and West Germany "as long-established practitioners"; the United States "as an inescapable giant"; and Japan, "whose external role is evolving to match her prosperity and riches." Mitchell discusses the full range of the cultural relations of each, including exchanges, book programs, language instruction, the arts, overseas schools, science, universities, literature and writers, foreign broadcasting and the new technologies, as well as the relative merits of bilateral and multilataral approaches. Cultural officers will recognize much that is familiar in Austria, Egypt, Japan, Yugoslavia, Pakistan, and West Germany, and well as the home office in London.

Managers of cultural relations will find this book useful. Mitchell analyzes the role of cultural relations in international affairs, recalls its origins (with special emphasis on France), and reviews its history. He discusses four national reports on cultural relations: Washington's 1975 Stanton report; Paris's 1979 Rigaud report, London's 1977 report by the Central Policy Review Staff, and Bonn's 1975 report by the Bundestag Commission on Inquiry. Appended are Britain's cultural agreements with France and the Soviet Union, a table of weekly broadcast hours of major foreign broadcasting countries, and a table of expenditures on cultural relations by western countries. It also has a useful bibliography of mostly European sources.

Americans who recall the public debate over the merger of USIA with the State Department's Bureau of Educational and Cultural Affairs, and the question of "mutuality" in cultural and information exchanges, will learn how other countries resolved the same issues. Mitchell endorses mutuality, noting that exchanges are a two-way process. He also believes cultural relations should be independent of direct government control. —YALE RICHMOND

**Game Plan.** *By Zbigniew Brzezinski. The Atlantic Monthly Press, 1986. $18.95.*

In the fall of 1985, a NATO ambassador visiting Moscow was unexpectedly invited to visit with Andrei Gromyko in the small, private office where the foreign minister created his grand strategies. "I do nothing but sit here looking at that map and reflecting," he told the diplomat.

Gromyko's method apparently inspired Zbigniew Brzezinski. *Game Plan*, which contains many hand drawn maps, is a powerful outline for the East-West struggle. The style and writing are excellent—but less can be said about the content. The outlook of this former national security adviser and son of a Polish diplomat is most conservative. He mentions only two individuals as sources of ideas, for instance, and one of them is Richard Pipes, the professional anti-communist who was a colleague on the National Security Council for a period during the Carter administration. In addition, Brzezinski fears that arms control will inevitably lead to unilateral disarmament.

*Game Plan* is divided into three sections, one covering the major geographic areas of the world with special attention to Eurasia, another on defense and arms control and, curiously, one that constitutes an executive summary. The summary ends the book on a high note. Witness four of his conclusions:

- The American-Soviet relationship is a classic historical conflict between two major powers. It is not susceptible to a broad and quick resolution;
- Geographical and strategic considerations are critical in determining the focus, the substance, and eventually the outcome of the historical contest between the leading oceanic power and the dominant land power;
- Geographical factors laid the groundwork for a collision between the United States and the Soviet Union following World War II. The fact that each power differed from the other to a greater extent than any previous historical rivals made conflict almost inevitable; and
- By all previous standards, the United States and the Soviet Union should have gone to war against each other on some occasions, but the destructiveness of nuclear weopons has induced an unprecedented measure of restraint.

*Game Plan* contains some interesting ideas, especially in the importance of military balance. However, it does not spell out the political provisions of a comprehensive game plan. It is strong on military issues but not on our political relationship with the Soviet Union. It does not tell us


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**The Diplomacy of Human Rights.** *Edited by David D. Newsom. University Press of America and the Institute for the Study of Diplomacy, 1986. $10.75 (paper).*

The political objective of promoting world-wide adherence to human rights is idealistic, and the foreign policy tools for achieving results are imprecise. Disagreement within the U.S. establishment as to the definition of basic human rights and between the United States and its democratic friends on the merits of pressing foreign governments to stop human rights abuses, makes the task all the more difficult.

Newsom cogently describes the tools and limitations of human rights diplomacy and contributes a chapter on Indonesia in the 1970s. R.J. Vincent writes thoughtfully about Western European and Third World responses to U.S. measures. Several concise chapters are devoted primarily to U.S. diplomatic initiatives toward countries or areas with high-profile human rights problems, such as the Soviet bloc, Iran, and South Africa.

This volume provides basic information on the efforts of recent administrations to affect human rights behavior in both friendly and unfriendly countries. It also discusses the role of non-governmental organizations and the Congress. Because battling human rights abuses has clearly become a central, long-term issue in the conduct of U.S. foreign relations, an easy-to-read volume such as this should be welcome to Foreign Service officers, especially those who are new to the human rights field. —NICHOLAS G. ANDREWS

## From the Think Tanks

**Sitting on Bayonets:** *The Soviet Defense Burden and the Slowdown of Soviet Defense Spending. By Abraham S. Becker. The RAND, UCLA, Center for the Study of Soviet International Behavior, 1985. 37 pp.* This report studies the level and trend of Soviet military outlays. In the past 25 years, military spending as a percent of Soviet GNP has remained roughly stable, but since the GNP has fallen since the mid-1970s, military spending has actually been reduced. This reduction seems to have been a matter of policy brought about by economic necessity. Until the Soviet economy as a whole is healthier, the Soviet government will probably emphasize political and diplomatic means to achieve strategic objectives.

# PERIODICALS

*By* MICHELLE MAYNARD

**"The Impact of Overclassification on Personnel and Information Security."** *By Frederick M. Kaiser. Government Information Quarterly, Vol. 3, No. 3, 1986.* The tendency of the government to classify large quantities of information poses many problems, both for personnel security and for the security of legitimately classified material, writes Kaiser.

There is now an inordinate number of government employees who are required to have security clearances, and there is an excessive amount of restricted material. This overclassification fosters casual attitudes toward safeguarding genuinely sensitive information, makes unauthorized disclosures seem less serious, and discredits the legitimacy of the system in the public's eye. Overclassification may actually undermine national security by concealing policy disputes and government abuses, thus subverting the public's right to know.

Since the mid-1950s, various commissions have reviewed overclassification, but their findings have varied. Executive-branch studies have generally called for fine-tuning the system, while congressional commissions recommend an overhaul of the system.

**"A New Federalism for United States Foreign Policy."** *By John M. Kline. International Journal, Summer 1986, Vol. 41, No. 4.* State governments have become increasingly involved in U.S. foreign policy during the past decade, according to Kline. The impact of global interdependence on the U.S. economy has served as a catalyst for this state involvement, which can be seen in export promotion activities, "buy America" campaigns, and efforts to attract foreign investment.

Although states have been most active in the economic dimension of foreign policy, they have also fostered border-area coordination with Mexico and Canada and occasionally expressed views on more general foreign policy issues. Some problems arise from such state activities. For example, Washington's efforts to negotiate an international agreement on trade in services could be complicated by state regulations on banking and insurance.

Washington has been slow to respond to the states' increasing role. Efforts such as the Pearson program—which places Foreign Service personnel in state offices on temporary assignment—have no counterpart that introduces state officials to the concerns of the national government. Further steps must be taken to institute effective national-state leadership and to create a more informed base of state officials.

**"The Reagan Administration and the U.N.: The Costs of Unilateralism."** *By Robert C. Johansen, World Policy Journal, Fall 1986, Vol. 3, No. 4.* Unilateralism is dangerous, argues Johansen, since real security can only be achieved through the international processes of goal-setting, coordination, and dispute settlement. In many cases, the United States has ignored the U.N. charter and advocated a "go it alone" approach. By operating outside the United Nations, Washington has been better able to dominate negotiations, avoid embarrassing criticism, and exclude the Soviet Union from most international settlements.

The United States should recognize, however, that the world organization's peacekeeping and conflict-resolution machinery are increasingly important to U.S. interests. The United Nations has not always succeeded in maintaining security, but it does have a significant record of accomplishment. The U.S. obsession with determining the course of individual conflicts has obscured the fact that the outcome of a particular situation matters less than the kind of world order the United States encourages by its own actions.

**"Post Internationalist America—Power Without Purpose."** *By Lee H. Hamilton.* **"Beyond Wilson and Rambo."** *By Andre Fontaine.* **"The Limits of Unilateralism."** *By Brian Urquhart. Foreign Policy, Winter, 1986–87, No. 65.* These three authors consider the question of whether traditional internationalism still plays a dominant role in U.S. foreign policy.

Hamilton argues that diplomacy and negotiation are out of fashion among U.S. policymakers and that the United States often prefers to deal with situations unilaterally. This drift away from international cooperation has made Washington ambivalent about international bargaining, and led many policymakers to see negotiations as compromising U.S. interests. Also, the United States has walked away from international agreements and organizations such as the Law of the Sea treaty and UNESCO. Finally, the administration has become preoccupied with dramatic, short-


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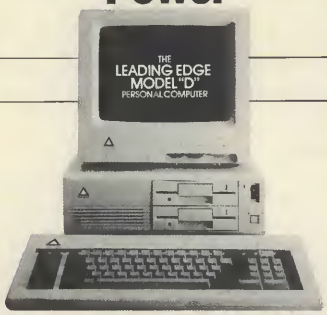


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term actions at the expense of long-term commitments.

According to Fontaine, the United States believes that its own moral code is universally valid. Yet, American hopes of creating a world in its own image have been dashed by the events of the last forty years. Many Americans remain convinced of the virtue of their cause, but their attitude that all actions are justified against adversaries is especially troubling coming from such a powerful country. Nevertheless, Fontaine concludes, because the rules of the international game are well established and generally respected, there is reason to hope that a new internationalism can be established.

Although the United States has skillfully used the international system in the past, the decline of U.S. internationalism could have serious consequences, according to Urquhart. International institutions serve as an important conflict-management mechanism between the nuclear superpowers, and offer a unique forum for exerting leadership on global issues. Washington's withdrawal from the international system will deprive the world of a powerful leader. Uruquart sees the revival of U.S. internationalism as dependent upon the re-establishment of Washington's global leadership role.

**"Human Rights Reporting as a Policy Tool: An Examination of the State Department Country Reports."** *By Judith Innes de Neufville, Human Rights Quarterly, November 1986, Vol. 8, No. 4.* The State Department's annual *Country Reports on Human Rights Practices* have become a widely respected foreign policy tool, according to de Neufville. They have bolstered awareness and support of human rights within the department, and also provided a focus for public discussion. During the Reagan years, the reports have improved in coverage, consistency, and have become somewhat independent of the administration's political stance. The Foreign Service officers who prepare the reports are largely responsible for increasing their credibility and objectivity.

Within the department, the country reports have helped increase the level of expertise and base of knowledge about human rights. They have encouraged the growth of a cadre of human rights proponents and forced the department to pay attention to human rights issues. Finally, they have served as a symbol of the U.S. commitment to human rights.

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*Michelle Maynard is a research associate at the Institute for the Study of Diplomacy, Georgetown University.*

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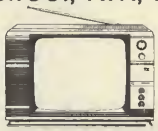

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"The typical State Department official is an intelligent, highly competent, and utterly bloodless paragon, dedicated to bringing about a world in which nobody makes waves. They seek 'agreements' the way a bee seeks nectar, and they are a major part of the reason postwar U.S. foreign policy is largely a chronicle of Soviet betrayals and Soviet triumphs.

"Let President Reagan be on guard."

*William Rusher in the Washington Times, January 22*

"The difficulties arising from the way we elect our presidents and the manner in which they appoint their principal assistants are compounded by the reluctance of recent chief executives to make full use of the professional foreign relations experts at their disposal. Instead, they have relied for the most part on a narrow circle of close associates to help them make policy, and have sanctioned ad hoc procedures for executing that policy.

"In doing so they have not only failed to take advantage of the expertise the professionals can supply, they have short-circuited the safeguards built into the formal foreign policy machinery. No less important, they have sacrificed the foreign policy continuity that can best be provided by institutional memory."

*C. E. Bartch in the Lexington Herald-Leader, January 20*

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*John W. Tuthill in the Washington Post, January 22*

## Prevailing Advice

"We all know that in this town these days, there is a persistent effort to politicize the Foreign Service and to vitiate our role and the role of the State Deparment in the foreign policy process. And let's not kid ourselves. Unless we are able to provide the president and the secretary of state and other government departments with the kind of information, reporting, and analysis and advice that they need on foreign affairs, we won't be able to prevail and maintain this preeminent role we have had in the foreign policy process."

*Ambassador to Tanzania Donald Petterson at his swearing-in ceremony, October 27*

## Language Ability

"What many of us have long suspected has now been confirmed at least in part, with an internal State Department study ordered earlier this year by the secretary of state, George Shultz. The United States suffers tangibly from its indifference toward languages other than English.

"The diplomatic corps is the last place where one would expect this to be a problem. But it is. Proficiency in another language was once a prerequisite for foreign service, but that requirement was dropped—not because it wasn't important, but because too few candidates could meet it."

*Greensboro (North Carolina) News & Record, December 31*

## Downgrading

"One of the extraordinary features of the Iran-contras affair is the way Secretary of State George P. Shultz has emerged unscathed. By pleading ignorance and interpreting his own role as that of a passive bystander, he has managed to capitalize on this foreign policy failure. Now that the White House has disavowed any future arms-for-hostages deal, he has been officially vindicated.

"But Shultz's personal credibility is gravely undermined. Even worse in the long run is the damage that he has done to the office of secretary of state. In his public statements he seems ro downgrade the secretary's function to that of the president's chief foreign policy adviser; there is no mention of the secretary's role as the policy's executant and principal spokesman on whose word other governments rely. In actively selling the administration's anti-terrorist policy when he had reason to know it was being secretly violated, Shultz was a prime participant in the deception."

*Charles Maechling Jr. in the Los Angeles Times, January 14*

## Not a Plus

"Officials in the foreign policy apparatus reacted with dismay today to the election of Jesse Helms, the combative conservative from North Carolina, as ranking Republican on the Senate Foreign Relations Committee.

" 'It is definitely not seen as a plus,' a White House aide said. 'It does complicate matters.' Another official said: 'There are an awful lot of people walking around in shock and horror. Things are going to get bottled up in that committee.'

"Some in the White House and State Department fear that diplomatic appointments may be delayed if Mr. Helms wants to block people he opposes or gain leverage on other matters. Last year, he held up 18 ambassadorial nominations until he won a place for a Virginia conservative, Helen Marie Taylor, on the delegation to the United Nations."

*David K. Shipler in the New York Times, January 22*

"Just what the administration needed: the installation of Senator Jesse Helms as ranking Republican of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee. What else does it need? A poke in the eye with a stick?"

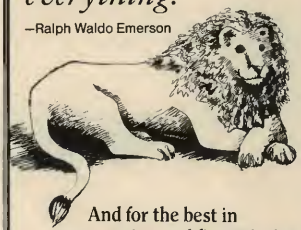
*Editorial in the Washington Post, January 23*

## Gray Matter

"Some of Senator Claiborne deBorda Pell's colleagues say the new Foreign Relations chairman is absent-minded, and he agrees his memory sometimes fails him....They say he lacks dynamism, and he concurs. 'The problem I'll have is I have the uncanny facility for making the most exciting matters gray.' "

*Frederick Kempe in the Wall Street Journal, January 15*


*"There is always a best way to do everything."*
—Ralph Waldo Emerson



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# 10-25-50

*Foreign Service Journal,* March 1977: "President Carter established on February 3 a Presidential Advisory Board on Ambassadorial Appointments to advise him on the suitability of candidates for ambassadorial posts for which non-career candidates are being considered....The actual composition of the board raises questions about its own objectivity as well as its competence to judge ambassadorial qualifications. Most of its members are Carter campaign veterans, some of whom have already submitted the names of their own ambassadorial candidates to the president. We believe too many of them lack the foreign affairs background cited in the board's charter. Out of 20 members, only one had a career in the Foreign Service, and only one has ever actually served as an American ambassador overseas, the job for which the board is asked to make recommendations." *AFSA Editorial*

*Foreign Service Journal,* March 1962: "What is the effect on the career principle of a personnel policy which permits unlimited numbers of lateral entrants into the Service and thereby makes the maintenance of a career Service solely dependent on the administrative determinations of departmental officials?

"Numerous questions have been raised concerning the competence of the Foreign Service to handle well the increasingly complex jobs abroad and in the department. Are we ourselves satisfied that the most effective officers in the Service—and only they—move regularly into the most responsible positions?" *J.A. Armitage*

*Foreign Service Journal,* March 1937: "We were digging ourselves in at our first post....A box of canned things had already been unpacked and arranged on the pantry shelves....Later, beginning to feel the pangs of hunger, I ran into the kitchen to see how the cook and luncheon were progressing. On the stove in a big open kettle—madly boiling—were a half a dozen tennis balls!...The cook thought they looked filling and substantial!"

*Anonymous*

*10-25-50 records excerpts from previous issues of the* JOURNAL.

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# INFORMATION, PLEASE

*Computer technology promises a boon in foreign policy decision-making and implementation—if it is used wisely*

ALAN KOTOK

IN THE FILM *Annie Hall*, Woody Allen tells the story of two ladies who complain about the food during a visit to a Catskills resort. "Oh, the food here is terrible," says one. "Not only that," replies the other, "but they don't give you enough of it." Foreign Service professionals often display similarly contradictory feelings about the role of computer technology in their work. When they discuss this question, often in spirited terms, it is not unusual to find the following contradictory propositions put forward:

- Computer technology has little, if any, role to play in the important policy work of the Foreign Service employee; and
- The potential contribution of computers in foreign affairs work far exceeds their current level of use.

Putting the issue in these terms places the systems managers and information professionals in a no-win situation. Perhaps a more productive way of looking at the use of computer technology in the conduct of foreign affairs may be first to examine how information is actually used and managed. Information management is a fundamental policy and organizational issue, yet too often we get tied down by the seductive subject of the technology itself when these more basic questions need to be addressed.

Analyzing the use of information by a group as diverse as Foreign Service professionals could—and has—filled large volumes at equally large cost. Among these studies, there are some important patterns and some important differences. To start, the Foreign Service employee's primary source of information is usually the personal contact. Perhaps the most important work, in any of the agencies or cones, is conducted by conversations with colleagues, supervisors, subordinate staff, or host-country nationals. And the higher one goes in the Service, the more important this function becomes. The ability to build trusting relationships with all kinds of people is often a key factor in an employee's success. Knowing the right person to contact for fast and accurate answers markedly increases effectiveness.

*Alan Kotok is director of Computer Services at Aurora Associates, a professional-services firm providing systems analysis, design, and management for the State Department and Voice of America. He served for 15 years in USIA, including a tour as chief of planning and development in the agency's Office of Administration and Technology from 1982-84.*

Getting information in written form is also important. Since most FSOs are not required to be technical specialists, they must have quick access to a wide variety of experts both inside and outside their agencies. Also, employees must be able to find written materials produced by their organizations quickly and easily.

Once information is gathered, it often needs to be analyzed. This process comprises a mixed-bag of techniques that transform large amounts of data into meaningful information. Analysis can be as simple as summarizing conversations in a few paragraphs or as complex as multi-variate statistical analysis. Nonetheless, the data collected must be timely, accurate, and in sufficient quantities to draw meaningful conclusions.

Political analysis usually relies on experience and insight—based on a variety of sources and events—to identify trends or other conclusions. The analyst must provide meaningful information—and often recommendations—on difficult and ambiguous subjects. There are few fixed rules for this kind of analysis, and the quality of the final product also depends on the individual's writing ability. The analytical rules are more certain for more quantitative issues, such as economics and development. In these cases, the employee can use models and processes that mathematically arrange the information and test it according to recognized and accepted conventions. Economists, for example, use standard measures to summarize a variety of statistics into meaningful terms—such as the Consumer Price Index or the Index of Leading Indicators. Statistics based on samples of larger populations, such as opinion polls, can be tested against probability models to judge their reliability. The "margin of error" quoted in election surveys is one example of this kind of analysis. Often in the political context, however, analysis deals with matters not of quantity but of quality, which is much harder to handle.

Decision-making is another activity that uses information intensively. Much of the literature on decision-making focuses on the high-level manager, but the process is used by Foreign Service employees at all levels. Decision-making is often complicated by the need to make choices based on incomplete information; employees often cannot afford to wait for all the t's to be crossed. The decision-maker is nonetheless required to draw up options and attempt to answer outstanding questions. The consular officer faces a special challenge, for decisions on individual cases

# Program Decisions in AID: Using Automation for Management

Paul Spishak

With the dramatic changes in information techology, there is growing interest in using computers in making managerial decisions. The extent to which that will work, however, depends on the organization and its mission. As Alan Kotok discusses in his article, computers can play only a limited role in supporting Foreign Service professionals whose most important work involves person-to-person contact. The construction and implementation of foreign policy—the central mission of the Department of State—involves such an array of variables (many of which are not quantifiable) that computer-based systems offer little hope of assistance, at least for now.

By contrast, AID's mission of providing economic assistance through development projects lends itself readily to computer assistance. While projects may be concerned with anything from rural education in Peru to irrigation in the Sahel, they have common characteristics—well-defined goals and products (outputs, in the jargon), resources expressed in terms of budgets (inputs), and a time schedule. All of these are readily quantifiable. The combination of projects plus other kinds of assistance form the AID program for a country or region.

*An AID officer uses a computer to speed disaster assistance.*

Agency Foreign Service professionals are already using computers to determine whether to proceed with a development project, to decide on its form and content, and to track its progress. In Central America, for instance, AID used such a system on a project aimed at improving production and living conditions by providing credit to small farmers and encouraging small-scale industries. The vehicle for providing the credit assistance was AID money that flowed through the country's central bank to intermediate credit institutions. In turn, the institutions made small loans to farmers and businesses. AID constructed a microcomputer-based model to calculate the cash flow of the project over a 30-year period, given such variables as the lending rates of the central bank and the intermediate credit institutions as well as data on defaults. The model provided statistics on the loans at the level of the individual, intermediate credit institution, and the central bank. It estimated the repayments and "relending" of the funds over the 30-year period.

The result was an improved project design, based on a complex financial analysis that would have been impossible to do manually. The manual computation of the cash flow for a single set of assumptions, for instance, would have taken two people three weeks. Using the computer model, which was developed in only 10 days, calculating the cash flow took two hours. With each change in the assumptions requiring only two hours to recalculate, agency officials were able to consider several combinations of variables to arrive at the best possible assistance package.

AID professionals were able to use another microcomputer model that was based on a project designed to aid 2000 subsistence farmers in west Africa. The project's success could be drastically affected by changes in the choice of crops and their mix, costs of seed and fertilizer, estimated yields, and market prices. The model addressed 150 variables linked through 13 interrelated spread-sheets. It

could simultaneously consider the financial advisability of various alternatives for a single farm and for the feasibility of the entire project. The model was able to compute the internal rate of return for each set of assumptions in less than five minutes—as opposed to three weeks for each set when done manually. So successful was this model that it has since been used on two other projects.

Beyond the project level, interest is growing in the use of systems to plan and manage AID's overall program. The agency stresses the need to consider all forms of assistance as a package and to consider the impact of the entire package, as opposed to its individual project components. This requires greater emphasis on overall data about a country or locale and, in turn, a sophisticated method for handling this information. AID's Bureau for Latin America and the Caribbean is implementing a system that will routinely relate the individual projects to overall goals for a country receiving assistance and attempt to relate the impact of the program on broad, measurable economic and social indicators. The bureau recognizes that a system of such breadth cannot contain, let alone distill, all the information needed to manage wide-ranging assistance programs. Nevertheless, bureau management feels such a system will result in better decision-making, even when a few bits of information are not available.

At a different level, AID has been using an automated system to track the progress of its worldwide portfolio of more than 1000 projects. The definition of the data in this "portfolio" was arrived at by a consensus of the major elements in the agency. The system is used by AID managers to help determine where changes should be made in the program and where funds can be reallocated.

The interest in using computer-based tools to facilitate project decisions has been so strong in AID that a large proportion of its Foreign Service employees have bought their own microcomputers—some even acquired before the foreign affairs agencies began installing sizable amounts of equipment at posts. The agency's mission and its well-defined project structure are such that there are excellent opportunities for automation systems to have a positive impact on its job of delivering effective economic assistance. □

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*Paul Spishak is director of AID's Office of Information Resources Management.*

must be made quickly, and repeatedly, in the face of enormous pressure using established regulations and on-the-spot evaluations of the applicant's veracity.

Central to all uses of information in policy decision-making is communication—most importantly, writing. Writing skills are important to most Foreign Service professionals, whether for internal memoranda, performance evaluations, press releases, or sensitive policy documents. Writing, of course, is more than simply putting words to paper; it represents the ability to organize and express ideas. Writing is not only a means of communication but also a record for later retrieval.

Last are the management skills of planning and control, which are becoming more and more important to the work of Foreign Service professionals. The better one plans the work, that is identifies the activities, timetables, and resources in advance, the better one can control it. In an environment where budgets are becoming smaller but workloads are increasing, Foreign Service employees need all the tools they can muster to help plan their resources and keep them under control. Yet planning can be time consuming and difficult, particularly for those activities that call for a quick response. For managers, the question of control is more than academic. The Financial Integrity Act of 1982 requires federal executives to vouch for the ability of internal controls in their programs to prevent waste, fraud, and abuse.

Various methods for project planning and control—i.e., identifying discrete events, ordering those events, and estimating and tracking resources—have come out of the construction and defense industries. They go by various names, such as Planning Evaluation Review Technique or Critical Path Method, but they all enable a manager to track progress of a project according to a plan, calculate resources used against those estimated, and make the needed changes. Many of the larger projects in the foreign affairs community use these tools, but they might also be profitably used in more everyday tasks to plan and control staff time and funds.

ONE CAN LOOK at information processing by Foreign Service professionals without ever once mentioning the word computer, as demonstrated by the foregoing overview. It is easy and fun to talk about the latest whiz-bang technological advance to come out of the laboratory, but the real issue remains how to serve the larger purposes and goals of an organization. Then, and only then, can technical issues be sensibly addressed. Looking at information uses and processes goes by the name of information-resource management. IRM concerns itself with information in any form—spoken or written, paper or electronic. It recognizes the value of information to an organization—and its cost. It then seeks to improve its management, as one would want to improve the management of any important resource.

Like the 55-mph speed limit, IRM is not only a good idea, it's the law. The Paperwork Reduction Act of 1980 requires all federal agencies to perform information-management activities in an efficient and ef-

# Information Systems at USIA: Broad Horizons, Tight Funds

In USIA, an agency whose middle name is "information," data-processing systems need to do more than help make policy and manage operations. They must first help produce and distribute agency products to the posts' audiences. For press and cultural officers, broadcast engineers and writers, librarians and researchers, information systems have become indispensable tools in their work. The agency has moved quickly to modernize in the past few years and has several major accomplishments to its credit. But with budgets shrinking, the days of rapid change may be over.

Perhaps the most spectacular use of information technology at USIA involves the use of broadcast satellites. Worldnet, the agency's teleconferencing program, can bring journalists in 100 cities on six continents into live direct contact with opinion leaders in the United States. The network also has daily programs for Europe and Latin America. Worldnet has carried special meetings and conferences, including one that linked President Reagan and Chancellor Kohl of West Germany with German and American space shuttle astronauts. Voice of America uses satellites as well for program distribution to relay stations, which markedly improves its signal.

Back on earth, USIA began its post automation program with many of the same support and administrative objectives as the State Department. It soon became clear, however, that the posts' office systems, when linked to the agency's central computers, could bring valuable text materials to the posts in a fraction of the time. USIA now produces its daily Wireless File of policy texts and features on computer-generated text editors in Washington, and distributes them through dial-up telephone lines or leased data circuits to more than 110 posts, which capture the text files on office systems or microcomputers. This computer-to-computer process ends the laborious rekeying and painfully slow teletype distribution that these posts had to use before. More important, it helps get important policy texts to the posts while they are still newsworthy.

Post libraries have traditionally been paper-oriented, storing books and magazines, as well as providing a reference service. With prodding from innovative librarians, many libraries have become electronic information centers for their posts. The agency has made its policy text materials available through its new central computer (see below). Posts are beginning to use this system, called Public Diplomacy Query—or PDQ—to get Wireless File pieces, magazine articles, VOA editorials, Current Policy and GIST summaries, and other materials that the agency has indexed and stored for retrieval. Posts are also using public databases directly, tapping into a wealth of American academic, scientific, artistic, and technical information to answer reference questions from their audiences.

Voice of America has begun using computers as well as satellites in its ambitious modernization program, to help it compete more successfully for listening audiences. VOA had to improve both its ability to reach audiences with a clear signal, and to produce a coherent program of news and commentary on its language services. To help achieve a clearer signal, VOA is developing software for determining optimum propagation of the signal for most places on the globe. For production of program scripts, VOA has begun installing a large-scale network of intelligent workstations called System for News and Programs, or SNAP. This system is scheduled to go into all language services and produce clean copy—a must for on-air broadcasters—for even the most exotic alphabets. It will tie together the 42 language services with VOA's central news and editorial offices for faster distribution and control of newsworthy materials and important policy texts. At the hub of SNAP's network are two minicomputers for indexing, storage, and retrieval of scripts and other databases used for program production.

Taking care of the agency's management has not been ignored either. USIA has a new IBM central computer, which replaced an antiquated and underutilized central system last year. More important than the equipment, however, is a more modern computing environment that is able to provide better service to users in Washington and at posts. The new central computer already has the PDQ system, as well as graphics and statistical software for USIA's research analysts. In addition, it has database-management systems and spreadsheet software to meet the many ad hoc management needs that before would have taken months to fulfill.

One of the untold stories of systems development is that the truly hard work comes after installation. Day-to-day maintenance and operation, without the glamor and glory found in systems development, calls for more leadership with probably less resources to do the job. This is the real challenge to USIA's managers that lies ahead. —AK

fective manner. The law requires each agency to name a senior official responsible for IRM, conduct an inventory of its information systems to reduce duplication, and assess the paperwork burden of any new legislation or regulations. Last, it gives enforcement authority to the Office of Management and Budget, which means that federal agencies can ignore the law's requirements only at their peril. One of those enforcement activities is a trienniel review of each agency's IRM activities. The State Department began its first last November, and USIA and AID will be reviewed next fiscal year.

As stated earlier, IRM is also a good idea. It can provide a useful framework for an organization to improve its handling of information. With information such a central commodity in the foreign affairs agencies, IRM may seem an overwhelming task, but it is also an essential one. The following are the kinds of questions you should be asking about information systems:

■*Are policymakers getting the right information, in the right form, at the right time?* This is the bottom line as far as information management is concerned, and it goes well beyond computer technology. It deals with such issues as the openness of policymakers to alternate points of view, responsiveness of subordinate units, and feedback to top management. Because it strikes at such basic organizational and managerial issues, the question is usually asked in more fundamental contexts, but it nonetheless should be one of the key standards by which information systems are judged. State has made a major commitment to make information throughout the organization more accessible to its professional staff through the Foreign Affairs Information System, or FAIS. This undertaking, now in the design stage, concentrates more on connecting isolated office systems and minicomputers in bureaus and posts, rather than creating a whole new system. But clearly, it is attempting to remove at least the technical obstacles to identifying, accessing, and moving information throughout the department. (FAIS is discussed in more detail below.)

■*Are there multiple information systems serving the same purpose, and are these redundant systems necessary?* In some respects, duplication of information is necessary. Anyone who has ever seen hours of work disappear when a power surge wipes out a word processing document can attest to the value of backup files. But duplicative record systems—both electronic and manual—and processing functions do exist in many large organizations; IRM forces managers to examine and justify this duplication. A reason often given for maintaining duplicate record systems in the foreign affairs agencies is the large distances between posts and headquarters, or even branch and country posts. Because central financial reports are generally obsolete, cuff financial records are probably maintained by every administrative officer to keep track of commitments and obligations. Improved technology can theoretically reduce the need for duplication, since the information in the central system on a post's or office's finances can be accessed electronically from a remote location. Also, special reports can be generated more easily with modern database software (see below). The result is less justification for duplicate record systems.

■*Is information being maintained in the current systems really needed? Are an agency's constituents being asked to provide information that is already being collected elsewhere?* These questions are often asked in the context of demands by regulatory agencies. In the foreign affairs community, however, it can be applied to agencies' information requests of the public (e.g., passport or exchange-grant applications), as well as internal data-collection efforts. OMB's Office of Information and Regulatory Affairs, the watchdog on IRM activities, has given high priority to cracking down on burdensome data-collection efforts. Agencies must demonstrate that any information to be collected from 10 or more people is needed for the agency to perform its functions, that it is not being collected elsewhere in the federal establishment, that burdens on citizens are reduced to the absolute minimum, and that plans are being made to make the information available to the public in a meaningful form. Moreover, OMB requires each agency to plan its information-collection activities as part of an overall cycle, showing how that information will be stored, processed, used, and disseminated. These relatively recent policies have made it plain that OMB is dead serious about controlling the burden placed on citizens by federal information-collection activities.

■*Is critical information receiving the proper level of protection?* Safeguarding information is not a new concern for Foreign Service professionals; the need to keep national-security information out of the hands of people who would do harm to U.S. interests is basic. With the computer, however, security of information takes on new dimensions and urgency. The computer collects in one place a great deal of information that once was kept physically separate. Without restricting access, anyone using a post's word processor could likely see and perhaps change financial and medical records of post staff members or families, and even more vital documents. Performance evaluations and other personnel records are often done on office systems. None of these records are considered sensitive in terms of national security, yet who feels comfortable having them readily available for all who work in a post or office to see?

Computer communications has increased dramatically over the past few years. A simple device called a modem, when attached to a computer with communications software, allows the machine to transmit or receive information over normal telephone lines. USIA transmits its Wireless File this way to more than 110 posts with word processors, for instance. Yet we often forget that the minute we use the public telephone network, our systems become accessible to anyone with a similar computer and modem. In addition, computer keyboards emanate signals that can be detected and deciphered by sensitive listening devices, usually within 300 meters. As a result, one cannot use ordinary word processors for writing classified documents. To counteract this potential security leak, devices must meet the National Security Agency's "Tempest" standards, designed to contain the emanations, before being used for producing classified material. An alternative is to build special rooms for the equipment. Sometimes, however, the only

# Secretarial Personnel: The Human Cost of Automation

Frances G. Burwell

For many in the Foreign Service, computers will eventually become useful and important tools. But for Foreign Service secretaries, computers represent a challenge to the very nature of their profession. No one has suggested that secretaries are becoming irrelevant, but there is clearly much confusion, both on the individual and agency level, regarding their future role.

A few years ago, the vast bulk of a secretary's time was spent typing; indeed, this is still true at those posts that have yet to join the automated age. But in Washington and at a growing number of overseas missions, the secretary at the typewriter is becoming a less common scene than that of officers squabbling over time on the office word processor. As a result, secretaries are now searching for new activities and duties. That has not proven an easy task, and only recently have the foreign affairs agencies begun to address this problem in a systematic way.

The first response was to begin training secretaries in word processing. Such training is now an established part of the secretarial curriculum at the three major foreign affairs agencies. In State, new secretaries receive two days of basic Wang training before going out to their first post. Those already in the Service can take specific word processing courses offered by the Foreign Service Institute. Training is also available on a self-taught basis, so that secretaries on home leave, or with a few hours after language courses, can improve their skills.

In AID, most training is done on a self-selected basis; that is, the secretaries request enrollment in particular classes, either while serving in Washington or while there between assignments. Both word processing and microcomputer training are available, including lessons on spreadsheet programs. AID is now attempting to set up some self-instruction modules similar to those used at FSI.

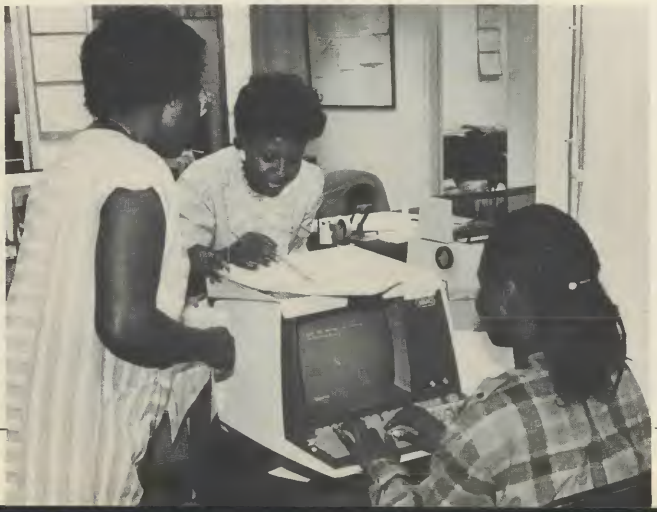
In USIA, all new secretaries receive a few days of word processing instruction during their four-week orientation course. Secretaries may also take any of the general three-day word-processing courses offered by USIA's training division. In addition, an administration management workshop includes lessons on using spreadsheets, and a five-day office automation seminar offers less of a "hands-on" experience than a chance to discuss the possibilities presented by computers.

But while training may be readily available in Washington, it is less so overseas. AID does occasionally run regional workshops, and many individuals simply learn from colleagues or through trial-and-error. Formal training, however, can be difficult to get. For example, someone going from a Third World post with no computers to a highly automated post such as Bonn would not ordinarily return to Washington for training unless called back for other reasons or passing through on home-leave. There is, however, a conscious effort not to disadvantage those whose assignments have precluded automation training. According to a career development officer in State's Bureau of Personnel, "In the future, we hope that everyone will be Wang proficient, and more and more people are becoming so. But some people, especially from small posts, have not had the opportunity for Wang training, and we cannot disadvantage them in the assignments process."

Training, however, is not the real issue. Most secretaries seem to want more opportunities to learn word processing and other computer-related skills, and this would undoubtedly be useful. But more and more of the new recruits already have these abilities when they enter the Service, and the foreign affairs agencies are gradually providing training to the others, within the constraints of the budget and the assignment system. The real problem is determining the future role of Foreign Service secretaries; after all, training in word processing will not resolve this dilemma if the officers continue to write their memos and cables directly into the computer.

In AID and USIA, at least some secretaries have assumed a more administrative role (as seen by their need for spreadsheet programs). This has not necessarily come about as a result of automation, but because the programmatic nature of those agencies often involves secretaries in more administrative activities, and sometimes in the supervision of local employees. Neither agency, however, has plans to do a comprehensive study of the

*Word processors are changing the nature of the secretary's job.*



effects of automation on secretarial personnel.

In State, however, typing has been the bulk of the secretarial workload. As the need for this is lessening, concern has grown—both among management and the secretaries—about the identification of new duties and responsibilities. In an interview with *State* magazine last November, Margaret Velarde, a secretarial career counselor (and herself a Foreign Service secretary), pointed out that automation could be used for a variety of new tasks: keeping a log of cables, recording dietary restrictions of the ambassador's guests, etc. Such activities are undeniably useful, but can only be developed on an individual basis.

Defining a new role for secretaries as a group has proven more difficult, although both management and secretaries acknowledge the need for a study along those lines. In 1985, the Secretarial Task Force recommended that State's Bureau of Personnel "document more specifically the effects of automation on the work and job structure of the department" and "identify the skill, knowledge, abilities, and personal characteristics needed for secretaries to perform effectively in a computer-based work environment."

Although the management council did adopt some of the task force's other recommendations, no action was taken on these two until early January of this year. At that time, management assigned the office of secretarial career counseling to conduct such a study. According to Mary Fay Tretola, chief of the secretarial career development and assignments, that office has recommended that an ad hoc group be established and private firms be consulted to see how they have coped with the effects of automation on secretarial personnel. The membership of this group and the timeframe for the study are still under discussion.

Whatever the study eventually concludes, one thing is clear: the foreign affairs agencies are only at the beginning of the automation age. Computers will continue to spread to more posts and have a greater effect on the amount and type of work done by all Foreign Service personnel. Automation could result in the further dislocation of secretaries—especially those in State—or it could lead to the development of new responsibilities and activities. □

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*Frances G. Burwell is senior editor of the* JOURNAL.

protection for information is its destruction, particularly when a post is under attack. Electronic information may be vulnerable to inadvertent loss, but it excels in the ease with which it may deliberately be destroyed. Recreating sensitive information, on the other hand, may be difficult or impossible if copies are not accessible, perhaps at another post or in Washington. This is already being done with non-electronic records. The department has a program that microfilms sensitive documents in a post's archive and keeps the record copies in Washington, while the post keeps the microfiche. The pages can be viewed or copied with a simple reader-printer, like those found in most libraries. Should the post be attacked, the microfiche can be destroyed in seconds with a special chemical. When the post returns to normal, new copies are sent from Washington.

The computer may increase access to information, but it is also more prone to breakdowns than the typewriter and file cabinet, particularly in places where electric power is not reliable. This raises a crucial area of information protection that is more likely to be important to a particular post or office than the need to deliberately destroy files because of an attack. After seeing fluctuating electric power or an erroneous keyboard command wipe out large amounts of laboriously collected information, many computer managers—this writer included—have become certifiably manic about enforcing backup and control procedures. Being able to recover from power surges, keying errors, system crashes, or a flooded computer room (Why do so many organizations put their computers in basements, which are the first places to flood?) is as much a concern of information security as the KGB agent or hacker trying to break into your system.

PERHAPS THE MOST productive contribution of IRM is its ability to provide a meaningful context for discussions of information systems and computer technology. Rather than dismissing the computer ("The food is terrible") or bemoaning the relative backwardness of current systems ("They don't give us enough of it"), Foreign Service employees need to concentrate instead on how that technology can benefit their work and the effectiveness of the agencies they serve. With these guidelines in mind, we can look at information systems being planned for the next five years in the foreign affairs agencies and how current technologies can affect the work being done in them.

The Paperwork Reduction Act requires agencies to submit their five-year information-system plans to OMB. According to these plans, the foreign affairs agencies are continuing their maintenance of central administrative systems and, within tight resource constraints, trying to improve the technology available for professionals. These improvements are found in four principal areas: central systems, minicomputers, microcomputers, and telecommunications. The major new central system planned for State is the Foreign Affairs Information System. A requirements study has been completed for the system and design is underway. FAIS would make information needed for

# Playing Op Center on a Personal Computer

Ralph J. Begleiter

A COPY OF the SecState cable from embassy Moscow lands on your desk, confirming the news you'd already seen flashing across the television screen in the State Department's Operations Center. The Kremlin has decided to sharply escalate its military aid to Nicaragua's Sandinista government. You know that when the senior diplomats arrive in their offices around the corner on the seventh floor, they will expect an immediate recommendation on how to respond.

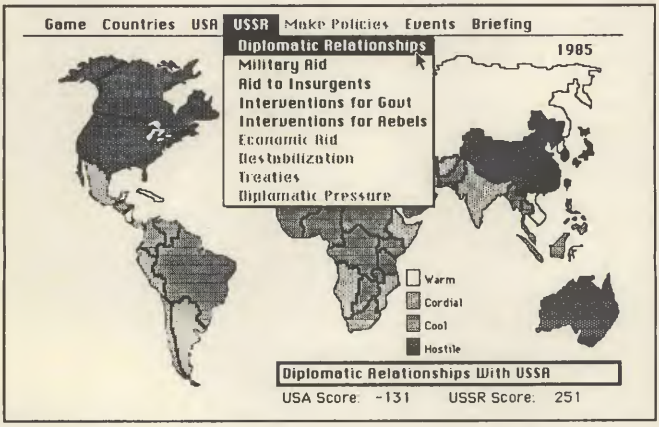
On the small computer screen in front of you, you enter the new piece of information, estimating the dollar value of the aid the Soviets are likely to send to Managua over the next six months. The computer makes some quick calculations and responds the way it believes the United States will. The U.S. has been exercising intense diplomatic pressure on Nicaragua recently, hoping to force the Sandinistas out of power. But Washington has always been careful to make its actions clear to the Kremlin, so major intervention in the Western Hemisphere doesn't become an international imperative for Moscow.

News reports continue to pour into the Op Center. One TV network has already recorded comments from the vice president arriving at the White House. He says the Soviets will be forced to pay for their escalation. You can read the minds of administration officials even without waiting for the Interagency Group meeting scheduled for later this morning.

The scenario is not reality. But it's close. And there's no danger of Soviet-American conflict. But it's possible. You are playing a game called *Balance of Power*, a computer simulation of "geopolitics in the nuclear age." The small screen before you is the screen of a home computer—the program will run on any Apple computer, IBM PC compatible, the Amiga, and the Atari ST—and the news reports, the aid issues, and the relationships among the superpowers and their client states are as real as a simulation can make them.

If you think that computer games are always the shoot-'em-up style found in video arcades, you're missing a revolution underway. With the arrival of personal computers, software developers have begun to write an intriguing new genre of electronic simulation accessible previously only to governments and corporations with large, expensive, and sophisticated computers. Now, such simulations are becoming available to almost everyone. The breakthrough involves the microcomputer's ability to process large amounts of information—and to do so inexpensively. In addition, even complex programs are now easily understood and managed by novices. The new power of these machines has also made them capable of producing on-screen images far more interesting and detailed than before. No longer do you face hard-to-read and boring screen displays such as the ones on the word processing machines found in many government offices, particularly those at State.

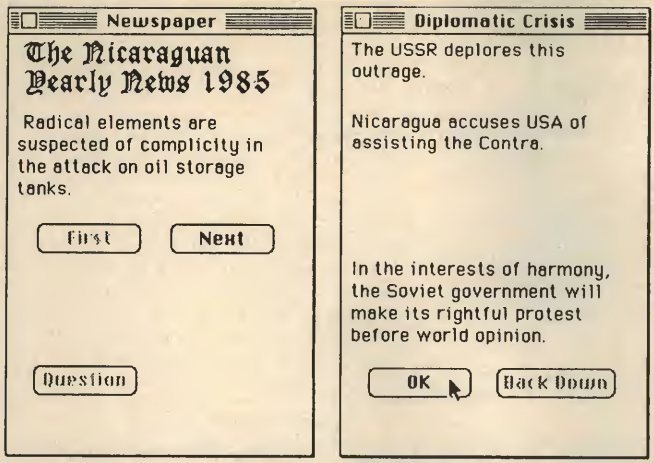
*Balance of Power* literally puts the world at your fingertips. The computer




*Balance of Power's world map shows U.S. international relations. More facts are available from the menu.*

the conduct of State Department business more readily available to overseas posts and Washington offices. This would be accomplished by integrating data processing, word processing, and telecommunications worldwide. In addition, the system will standardize search-and-retrieval operations, reduce creation and flow of paper documents, link office systems to allow for messages and document transfers, and provide office-automation capabilities (such as microcomputing) to more professional staff. FAIS plans to encompass information in text, image, and data form, and later include voice as well. The department expects to spend between $18 and $21 million a year for the next five years on the system. To the extent possible, it will integrate existing systems, rather than build an entire new one. It will be phased in over the next several years.

The advent of FAIS will require current databases, such as the Central Foreign Policy Files, to be converted, and new distribution and indexing systems will have to be designed, built, and installed. Several posts and bureaus will likely take part in a prototype system before large-scale implementation takes place. For the employee in the field or in Washington, FAIS




*Menus provide access to news bulletins and crisis information.*

displays a global map, and by simply pointing the cursor at a particular country the player has access to a raft of relevant historical, economic, and political information. Opening the information files for various countries allows players to inspect and change the relationships among the superpowers and the rest of the world. You can choose to play as president of the United States or general secretary of the Soviet Union.

There is an impressive amount of research that went into the development of this game, created by Chris Crawford for a software company called Mindscape, Inc. Each country has its own background of economic, military, and political history. Take Nicaragua, for instance. Managua is considered within the Soviet sphere of influence, but it faces an insurgency supported by the United States. News events are chronicled in the *Nicaragua Yearly Times*, and historical charts reveal the deteriorating economy. Military spending is high, as is the size of its armed force. Casualties in the war against the insurgency affect the country's policies and the Soviet response. Consumer disenchantment with Sandinista economic policies encourages resistance. A coup d'etat is possible. Stakes are high for the United States, so Soviet actions are often "challenged" in the game, and the Soviets are occasionally forced diplomatically to back down.

*Balance of Power* is not as sophisticated as a true State Department simulation might be. The creators of the game discovered in testing that players found a multi-polar view of geopolitics too difficult to understand. Subtle relationships and indirect conflicts among countries were eliminated in favor of a more blunt Soviet-American context. Some important aspects of international relations are completely absent from the game because it is intended for a wide audience, not solely for diplomatic experts, and others are overemphasized. The program avoids trade altogether, for instance, while insurgencies are emphasized because they fit the bipolar conflict mold of the game. The author decided that it was prudent to amalgamate dozens of African countries that are virtual clones in terms of the superpower relationship. Many other countries were eliminated altogether because, in the context of this game, they don't make much difference—Lesotho and Andorra, for instance.

Also simplified are the important countries and their relationships. Israel, for instance, is so small that it is represented on the map only as a small box. Its Arab adversaries are grouped broadly into two camps: radical and moderate. Lebanon doesn't exist at all. El Salvador doesn't appear either; Central America is simplified by focusing largely on Nicaragua. Although gross national product and military strength data are real, some information about individual countries is admittedly fabricated ("political philosophy" and "resistance to insurgency" are common-sense estimates made by Crawford).

The author's contention is that despite these deficiencies, the broad themes of geopolitics in the nuclear age are fairly represented: "There is no way to recognize the soft pastels and subtle shifting shades of reality with the simple hard numbers and relatively limited capacity of a program that can run on a personal computer. A painting does not capture reality in its entirety, and neither does a program." But, Crawford asks, Does this game capture the feel of reality? The answer is, Yes. For only $49.95, *Balance of Power* illustrates compellingly the value and fun of a new generation of computer games able to teach and stimulate thinking about the real world in ways which only a few years ago were unthinkable for millions of non-computer users. Diplomats should find it a refreshing—and challenging—pastime. □

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*Ralph J. Begleiter is the foreign affairs correspondent for Cable News Network. He writes a regular column for the journal of the Washington area Apple Computer users group.*

has the potential at least to provide access to a wider base of information than is otherwise now available and move it much more quickly. Under the current plan, post and bureau records in official decentralized files would need to be indexed for retrieval by other authorized users in the department. Records or documents in the central databases could be found by document numbers, by specific citations, or by matching specific text in the desired document. New financial-management, consular, and intelligence systems are also planned, as well as travel-document issuance and FSN personnel and payroll systems. Finally, equipment in the department's central data system and the Regional Administrative Management Centers will need to be replaced over the next five years.

The department already has had some success in implementing an integrated system, albeit at a much smaller level. The State Economic Information Management System, which came on line late last year after an investment of $200,000, provides data on topics as diverse as foreign manufacturing trends, currency exchange rates, and overseas trade. SEIMS provides access to reams of unclassified eco-

nomic statistics from the United States and other countries for officials in Washington and several embassies tied into the network. Secretary Shultz, who suggested the system, made use of several graphs drawn by the system when he met with NATO allies in Brussels in December, and was also used to prepare briefing materials for his January trip to Africa. The Defense Department and CIA are reported to be so impressed with the system that they are seeking to emulate it.

A large part of USIA's information-system resources over the next five years will go into upgrading VOA engineering and programming technology. The agency already uses computers for producing and distributing its information products, as well as for internal management [see related story]. According to projections, VOA's System for News and Programs will provide text production and database capabilities for all of its language services. USIA also plans to continue its computerized support for press and publications, continue office-system and microcomputer upgrades overseas and in Washington, and replace its central computer with a more modern system. The new central system will offer the ability to store central databases—both program and administrative—online for access by posts and offices.

AID, which acquired a central IBM data-management system in 1985, plans to improve its automated support for professional staff through use of microcomputers (at a ratio of one system per four staff members) and centralize certain databases in an information center that professionals can access. The agency also plans to continue minicomputer installations at overseas posts, as well as upgrade its central system in 1991. [See related story.]

GRACE HOPPER, the Navy's computer pioneer, says that information systems are currently at the technological level of the Model T. If that is true, then predictions of future developments need to be more than normally circumspect. Nonetheless, some developments already underway appear to have a great deal of promise for Foreign Service professionals. My firm, Aurora Associates, has done technology forecasts for the National Bureau of Standards on which the following projections are based.

Foreign Service work will increasingly involve computer technology, but the important developments will likely involve advanced software to aid in decision-making and the creation of appropriate data bases. The microcomputer, particularly the IBM-PC and its latest progeny, has already become an industry standard, and it will become much more numerous throughout the foreign affairs agencies. The need to share information among microcomputers and office systems, however, will increase the demand for networks to link them together. These networks will use either the telephone system or separate cabling. VOA now uses a Xerox Corporation network called Ethernet that links individual workstations to Digital Equipment Corporation minicomputers. Wang also has a networking scheme that can integrate video and voice as well as data communications. These advances in microcomputers can provide the employee with a great many more tools.

Many Foreign Service professionals have already become proficient at word processing, which has improved office productivity markedly. Word processing software, however, has been around for years and has become almost routine. The next step involves a relatively recent development called outline or idea processing. These programs use brain-storming to capture ideas in a rough outline, then allow the user to build sentences or paragraphs based on those ideas. One can manipulate the outline or build in new ideas much more quickly and easily than when working strictly with a text processor. More power and lower cost per workstation also enables employees to use microcomputer software for planning and control, which before may have been difficult. Project-management software, which can be quickly learned and implemented (and costs $200-500 for versions that run on personal computers), allows for identification of milestones or steps needed to accomplish the project objectives, estimation of time and costs, and calculation of timelines and budgets to meet the goals. With the plans established, one can track progress against the milestones and take corrective action if needed. For more quantitative analyses, such as those performed by economics officers or AID specialists, the decreasing cost and increasing power of the microcomputer will make statistical packages more accessible and useable. While some statistical software packages have been available for microcomputers for a few years, they require a good deal of memory and storage space. The new generation of microcomputers will help make statistical programs operate much more efficiently.

Computer databases will advance on two fronts. First, the use of software called database management systems will increase. DBMSs enable users to maintain and organize information in a computer much more easily. They provide both a structure to organize information and English-like commands to retrieve it. All of the foreign affairs agencies either now have or plan to acquire DBMSs for their central systems. For microcomputers, scaled-down DBMSs are available for a few hundred dollars. When properly planned and implemented, DBMSs can capture and organize data in isolated files and records, and make the generation of ad hoc reports much easier than before. For example, separate housing and equipment inventories, if kept manually or on word processors, can be difficult to keep current. A central inventory system, using a common database and processing, can be maintained by one person and easily kept up to date, which makes it more useful to control a post's property.

Second, public databases will continue to expand. News services, publications, index files, and financial information are now available online through dial-up databases, making retrieval of public information contingent only on owning a terminal or microcomputer and modem. Costs for these services will also come down as competition expands (although access from overseas will continue to be more expensive, in some cases a great deal more expensive, because of government communications monopolies). Data Re-

sources, Inc., for example, publishes databases useful to economics and related officers. DRI's Developing Countries database provides economic profiles of countries in Africa, Asia, Latin America, and the Middle East, including national income accounts, product accounts, balance of payments, prices and wages, foreign trade, population, finance, industrial production, and labor force. The Detailed Monthly Trade Monitor, also published by DRI, provides commercial information from the United States, Belgium, Canada, West Germany, France, Italy, Japan, the Netherlands, and the United Kingdom. It documents the latest trends in trade between these countries and 205 trading partners.

To store all these data, the main new development is the compact disk. Already familiar as the medium used for digitally recorded music, compact optical disks are now beginning to be used with microcomputers, although for data rather than music. CDs provide the ability to store many times more information than even the largest magnetic microcomputer disks, but they cannot yet be erased and recorded over. CD memories can, however, provide a way to store large amounts of more static information, such as archived text files, that can help reduce retrieval times and expensive paper storage costs. Used with appropriate software, they can make research quicker and more efficient.

Lasers are used to make compact disks, and they are also used in a new generation of printers that are finding wide acceptance in the foreign affairs agencies. Laser printers work faster, quieter, and in a wider variety of print styles than either the dot-matrix or daisy-wheel printer. They also can prepare camera-ready copy, which can help reduce the time and trouble needed for production of printed materials. For USIS staffs producing large amounts of printed materials for distribution to press and cultural leaders, laser printers can provide higher-quality output at greater speeds than traditional computer printers. However, their cost will need to come down a little more before they replace letter-quality printers in all contexts.

A little further in the future is the possibility of using artificial intelligence in foreign affairs work. One class of applications in artificial intelligence is the expert system, where the computer can make inferences and suggest remedies to problems. Expert systems employ models containing the rules and conventions of the work. At this time, expert systems have been used in medicine, engineering, and oil exploration, among other fields. Despite the advances in this technology, development of expert systems is still very much of an art. Establishing analytical rules for model building is a painstaking process. Breaking down the often thousands of little decisions that go into making an inference still does not guarantee an iron-clad result. Even the proponents of expert systems suggest that they be used for recommendations rather than decisions. Even within these limitations, however, expert systems do offer some interesting possibilities for the foreign affairs community. One suggested application is for reviewing visa applications. Analysis of text files, used for political or intelligence reporting (e.g., searching a foreign leader's speeches for certain references and drawing conclusions about intentions), might also be performed by an expert system.

A second class of artificial intelligence is natural language, which allows for the use of plain English to retrieve information from a computer. Even with most advanced DBMSs today, one still needs to follow precise retrieval rules, using syntax that may be "English-like" but is definitely not English. Natural language will allow the computer to make inferences about the data the user wants to retrieve. Lotus Development Corporation, the people who make the popular spreadsheet software *1-2-3*, have come out with a package called *HAL*, for Human Access Language. (Yes, that was also the name of the computer in the film *2001*.) *HAL* lets users perform Lotus *1-2-3* functions by entering plain English phrases. While spreadsheets have been popular with microcomputer devotees, their arcane commands can be difficult for anyone lacking extensive training. HAL turns English phrases into strings of commands called macros. It is one of the first natural-language packages for microcomputers on the market. The promise of natural language is that it will break down one of the last barriers to the use of computers by many professionals and managers, namely the lack of time or ability to learn a complicated language. While languages have advanced considerably in utility over the years, they still require a certain amount of practice and discipline to use effectively.

THE PROBLEM with discussing the glorious world of the future is that one always must return to the rather mundane present, and the beliefs about computer technology that are now widely held. It is true that computers will likely play only a support role in the policy work of Foreign Service professionals. And that is how it should be. As long as they need to look their host-country counterparts in the eye and make judgments based on their knowledge of the history and culture of the region, the role of computer technology will remain secondary. But a support role does not mean an unimportant one. Information is central to decision-making, and the computer excels at organizing and evaluating data. After the policy decisions are made, they still need to be carried out. Almost any enterprise requiring planning, organization, budgeting, feedback, direction, and control can be improved with effective information systems. Employees who understand the capabilities of planning and control systems, and use them effectively, will have an advantage over those who cannot.

Those of us who have promoted the use of technology in the foreign affairs agencies have stressed the need for most professionals to manage the technology, not necessarily to operate it. Perhaps the need, however, is for these individuals to manage *information* rather than technology. For systems to be useful, they must process information in a way that increases the effectiveness or productivity of the organization. Foreign Service professionals should begin asking those hard questions well ahead of finding the computer's on/off switch. □

*A Soviet visitor queries an exhibit guide (right) about a U.S.-made tractor. An audio-visual display accompanying the machine shows its everyday use on the American farm.*

# On the Road Again

*On the eve of the resumption of U.S.-Soviet cultural exchanges, a look at the staging of a major USIA traveling display*

David Mel Paul

In Kishniev, the hecklers have gone back to shoveling fresh manure out of the dairy barns of the *kolkhoz*, and in Tselinograd the thousand-square-meter concrete pad we installed as a base for our geodesic dome has proven to be just the thing to keep the Sunday market dry underfoot. There's a sweet irony in our having built the foundation for the market where people sell the produce grown on private plots. It proves every week the point of our itinerant exhibit "Agriculture USA": Just give people a chance to plant their own piece of ground and they will grow on it the fruit of their own sweat. I suppose it's too much to expect that the babushkas tending the market stalls would remember who paid for their nice concrete floor, but I have no doubt they still gossip about those two months in the summer of 1978 when all those crazy Americans brought their strange talk, a salutary local inflation, and the thousands of Coca-Cola cans to this remote hinterland.

The official guardians of Soviet ideological purity also have good reasons to remember the last cultural-exchange display, when scores of energetic young Americans, every one fluent in Russian, fanned out into the farthest reaches of collectivity during the interval between the month-long runs, while the show was being packed and freighted to its next location. But for many of the millions of Soviets who have visited American exhibitions in the U.S.S.R. since 1959, there may be pleasant anticipation. "Information USA," a new traveling exhibition, is being readied for a nine-city, 19-month tour of the Soviet Union, starting in Moscow this June. A byproduct of the first Reagan-Gorbachev summit, it will bring 24 Russian-speaking guides, 10 staff members, 15,000 square feet of exhibits, and one vitally important idea to the Soviet Union: the microchip and all its myriad applications are unlocking a revolution in farm and factory, supermarket and school, home and office—if a society has free access to information.

Though the least successful of our previous exhibits drew nearly one million Soviet visitors, surprisingly

*David Mel Paul is a producer of traveling cultural-exchange exhibits in USIA. Since joining the program in 1966, his many exhibits have included "Education USA" and "Agriculture USA," and he is in charge of arrangements for videoconferencing on the forthcoming "Information USA."*

few Americans outside of the foreign affairs community have heard of them. Even a majority in the Foreign Service are probably unfamiliar with their rationale. The exhibits last came to public attention in 1979, when President Carter canceled all exchanges after the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan. "Agriculture USA" had just completed a highly successful tour of six cities in the U.S.S.R. The show was the 16th in a series of American exhibits that began in 1959 with the American National Exhibition in Moscow, the scene of Vice President Richard Nixon's famed "kitchen debate" with Premier Nikita Khrushchev. American communications and transportation, medicine, technical books, education, graphic arts, architecture, the technological gimmickry of the American home, industrial design and hand tools, outdoor recreation and photography, and research and development were themes of these other shows. They were the largest exhibitions the United States had put on the road anywhere. Travel they did, shuttling every two months among Alma Ata, Baku, Donetsk, Dushanbe, Irkutsk, Kazan, Kharkov, Kiev, Kishniev, Leningrad, Minsk, Moscow, Novosibirsk, Odessa, Rostov, Tashkent, Tbilisi, Tselinograd, Ufa, Volgograd, Yerevan, and Zaporoziye. Some 17 million Soviet citizens in Kazakhstan, Azerbaijan, the Ukraine, Siberia, Tatar, Moldavia, Byelorussia, Uzbekistan, Georgia, Bashkir, and Armenia, as well as the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic itself, have spent as much as an hour and a half considering the American experience from America's point of view.

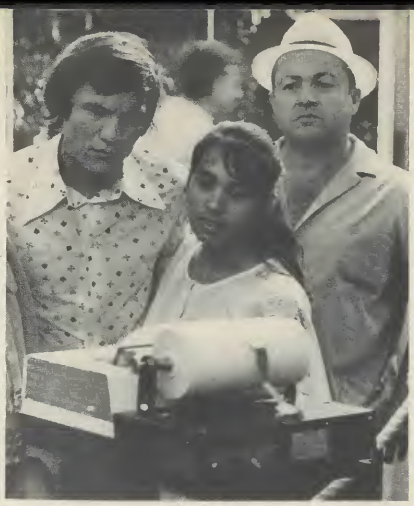
All of us have been to exhibitions, from science fairs to world's fairs, from trade shows to garden shows. Cultural-exchange exhibits use elements of these, to be sure, but they are more. A successful cultural exhibit is an idea that you walk inside, an argument that you follow with your feet. As with all diplomacy, of course, the argument must be advanced with great tact and sensitivity. If argument degenerates into altercation, the exhibit may well get thrown out.

HERE HE COMES, our visitor. Communicating specific ideas to him is our exhibit's only justification. He steps inside. He is giving us a little of his time, but we cannot be sure of his attention.

He probably doesn't speak our language. Every word he reads will have been translated and, as a result, unavoidably dimmed and cooled. This is one reason why the words in our exhibit call to their assistance every form of picture, both still and moving; many recorded sounds; and all manner of objects, from the familiar to the exotic, from the necessary to the desirable. Then there are the guides, who speak both languages. The human voice, the human face, the human color and proportion, all are part of the design.

We are going to tell him, in a multitude of ways, that American farmers are the world's most successful because they have choices he is not allowed, and that these are choices that Americans consider a birthright. Whereby he will judge, we hope, the success of our society. Such a result will of course be no accident; it has been as carefully orchestrated as an opera. Over many months and by many people, the overture, the first and second and third acts, the finale, have been rehearsed over and over, first in the mind of the producer who is the "composer," then in the words that make up an outline of ideas and effects, then in the sketches that are the designer's initial plan of struc-

*Guide Larry Sherwin (right), standing before a whimsical stuffed pig, explains the financing options available to American swine farmers.*



*An Extel teleprinter displays Russian-language market bulletins to give an idea of the American commodities market.*

tures and forms and images, and finally in the construction drawings and specifications that are very much like an operatic score—mere marks on paper until the exhibit is built, installed, and staffed and the audience comes to take its place.

Like opera, exhibition is a medium that is always being accused of being expensive and out-of-date, a dinosaur that is continually at risk from some new competitor. But, like opera, it always survives, because it is really not a single medium at all but the marriage of many. When new technologies come along, rather than supplant the medium of exhibition they are simply added to its many methods.

In "Agriculture USA," for example, the farm machinery did not just sit on the exhibit floor, but each machine told the story of its use in America by means of a big-screen color TV: videotapes of the farmlands being tilled and planted, hayed and harvested, by tractors from White and International and combines from Deere and Massey-Ferguson. Our visitor has already seen impressive displays of farm machinery and other agricultural accomplishments touted by his own government; he has learned to be skeptical. Thus the exhibit must show that the impressive device before his eyes is not merely a prototype but a fact of farm life. Yet ultimately, the photographs and the videotapes are not as impressive as the device itself. Exhibits are unique among all media in inviting the visitor to look through his own eyes at this red haybaler, walk all the way around it, even touch it if he likes. In allowing the visitor to draw his own conclusions, exhibits are more believable.

Our visitor to "Agriculture USA" has first stepped into a silo where, almost magically, he is surrounded by America. All the way around him and 10 feet tall, his whole field of vision is taken up by one burgeoning vista of small farms in a corn-folded and barley-striped valley in Maryland. The circle of lighted transparencies says two opposite things to him: Here you are, at home in humanity's longing dream of fruitful seclusion. But also: Here you are, far from home, in another country where the land and its creatures pass from father to son, mother to daughter, as in biblical times.

Yet, simultaneously, the picture also tells the agricultural engineer about a small tractor, the agronomist about the pattern of our corn planting, and the simple farmer about our forage-keeping structures. All these messages come across in a moment, and yet the picture has no caption. This wordless vista is unique in the exhibit. Words are the indispensable sinews of the exhibit, the ligaments that bind together the hard artifacts and the soft images. People do not come to an exhibition to read, but read they do. Such is the beguiling power of well-chosen words arranged with thought—such is the natural curiosity of literate human beings, once intrigued by an unfamiliar object or image that they seek a verbal context. Thus, by the time he leaves the hall, our visitor will have read a substantial essay about America.

Now our visitor has moved through noted photographer Ernst Haas's mural of Maryland farmland, and browsed through Archie Lieberman's chronicle of an Illinois family farm, *Farm Boy*. He has seen a triple-screen slide show about agrarian life across the continent, and about how farm children get their schooling. Now images of American harvest fairs surround him. Under striped tents strung with lights and pennants, he looks at home-canned foods and prize ears of corn, watches animated mockups of a cornplanter, a center-pivot irrigation sprinkler, and a drip-irrigation grid. He sees milk coursing through the transparent pipes of a complete milking parlor. Some sturdy pig-raising equipment (inhabited by whimsical stuffed pigs) introduces him to the choices a farmer has in financing a new pighouse. A pickup truck, a garden tractor, a huge field tractor, and the wing of a cropdusting plane all tell their story of American mechanization. This story is dramatized by noisy gyrations of a hydrostatic loader that can grapple hay, scoop manure, or auger fence-post holes. With a Russian voice translating in his earphones, he listens to radio farm news from Nebraska. He reads Russian-language market bulletins on a teletype. He requests country-music selections, guided in many cases by a familiarity drawn from long hours listening to the Voice of America. Finally, he steps into a darkened theater to see a specially produced movie that follows the crop through wholesale depots into supermarkets, fancy restaurants, and comfortable home kitchens. This final point completes the message: a society that plants a seed by trusting its farmers to choose freely reaps a harvest of abundance.

At the exit, a guide hands a brightly colored brochure to our visitor. It will carry the color and story and meaning of the exhibit to many who could not come. And every visitor gets a gaily colored button to pin on a lapel or cap. That button is one of our star adaptations to Soviet reality. Advertising is difficult in the Marxist utopia. We were prevented from using the traditional media, and even the posters we printed were seldom hung. But then some unsung Foreign Service officer exploited the special role of *znachki*. No matter where Soviets travel, be it only to the local rest-and-culture spa, they seek a pin to commemorate the visit—and to do a little boasting in a society where travel is rigorously controlled. We began to give every visitor a button with an unmistakably

*A huge White Field Boss tractor, with its enclosed cabin, attracts a constant crowd of Soviet exhibitgoers.*

American logo. Soon after each exhibit opened, the streets twinkled with tiny red-white-and-blue announcements.

AN EXHIBIT is the only medium that is conrinually adaptable to the locale where it is used. Can a pamphlet or a film speak Ukrainian in Kiev, but switch to Tadzhik in Dushanbe and Moldavian in Kishinev? The addition of guides who speak the local language brings our message home. Changes can also be made in the exhibit content itself. Thus, in the Ukraine, American dairy experrs and wheat breeders served as the exhibit specialists, while in Dushanbe we featured cotton experts, and in Tselinograd, authoriries on dry-land farming.

Stubbornly ethnic, the Soviet exhibit visitor nevertheless has certain consistent traits that are hard to attribute to a single culture, but instead seem to have been inculcated by life under utilitarian bureaucracy. There was, for example, a Soviet visitor who strolled through an earlier culrural-exchange exhibir called "Industrial Design, USA." He passed its texts about the wide choice afforded the American consumer, about the practical uses of advertising in informing rhe consumer's choice, and about rhe innumerable options of sryle, cut, and color that American mass marketing makes possible. He paused suddenly before a display case conraining three IBM Selectric typewriters, one gray, one pink, and one blue. A guide who stood nearby noticed his bemused concentration.

"These are the most popular American office typewriters," she said in Russian.

"Ah," he responded, but his brow remained wrinkled.

"I worked as a typist one summer," she continued. "This is the machine I used."

"Oh."

"Have you noticed that it doesn't have any moving carriage?" she inquired. "All the letters are on that quickly moving ball. The paper stays still, the letters move."

"I see," the visitor responded. "But tell me—what is the significance of the three colors? Is the gray typewriter the cheapest?"

"On no," she shrugged. "It's just styling."

"Perhaps department heads get blue, assistants get pink...?"

"No, no, anybody can order any color. Americans like to have a choice."

A longer pause, and the visitor grappled with this revelation. The tone of his last question indicated that he had just about given up ferreting out the straight story. "Perhaps you do not really know?"

"Really," the guide responded, her patience beginning to fray, "the colors have no significance. They're just for fun." The visitor sniffed. Now at last he was willing to believe her.

"How wasteful," he said.

The paradox is that Soviet visitors are both suspicious of every appliance or gadget that arouses their envy, and contemptuous of it—at least outwardly. Confronting an American refrigerator that not only cools on one side and freezes on the other, but also defrosts itself automatically and dispenses ice cubes, Soviets will in one breath insist that what they are seeing must only be a prototype made for display, and in the next breath declare: *"U nas luchshe,"* We have better.

Yet one can also encounter Soviets who evidence a startling faith that wharever they see in the exhibit *is* really in America. There was one citizen of Leningrad who paused in her progress through "Technology of the American Home, USA" to ask a single, unforgettable question. The exhibit included room settings, three-sided spaces furnished not only with chairs and tables, rugs and drapes, but also ashtrays, vases, knicknacks, magazines, and, in the case of the dining rooms, place settings, silver, and crystal. The designer had pleaded to display these high-style habitats, and we had let ourselves be won over, though we knew very well that the shuffling feet of exhibit visitors always seem to create an intense field of static electricity that makes dust cling to everything. It was in this context that we heard the lady demand to know, as she beckoned toward our crystal goblets, "Why is it so dusty in America?" □

THE JOURNAL

# A Moving Target

*One eye on diplomacy and the other on his shadow—this was Ambassador Caffery's Cuba*

PHILIP F. DUR

FOR MONTHS AFTER the inauguration of Carlos Mendieta as provisional president in January 1934, social unrest and terrorist violence continued to agitate Cuba. A semblance of stability did not return to the island until the effects of economic recovery began to be felt in late 1935. In the interval, Army Chief of Staff Colonel Fulgencio Batista ruled from behind the veil of the Mendieta regime. As this dictatorship emerged, the social reforms initiated by the deposed provisional president, Ramon Grau San Martin, were preserved and extended, while civil rights were intermittently suspended and restored. The army served principally to repress strikes.

As a convert to President Roosevelt's New Deal, the U.S. ambassador to Cuba, Jefferson Caffery, had no difficulty in accepting the reforms. Being an agent of the Good Neighbor policy, he was also prepared to approve a friendly government which could be seen as independent of the United States and committed to the eventual establishment of constitutional democracy, even if it did rule by martial law and presidential decree.

The triangular relationship between the American ambassador and the Cuban leaders was a delicate balancing act. "I have been endeavoring to let President Mendieta run his own government except when I felt absolutely impelled to intervene," Caffery wrote Assistant Secretary of State Sumner Welles in a personal letter in October 1934. Although the president was open to suggestion, the ambassador could not exercise a "guiding influence" over him "without having the public know all about it" from the press. The embassy would then figure as an " 'Imperialist' institution," and "our government would be criticized from the Canadian border to Magellan's famous straits." The argument was plausible and familiar enough to Welles. Secretary of State Cordell Hull had used the same reasoning to justify his refusal to invoke the Platt Amendment—which would give the United States the right to intervene to preserve independence and a stable government in Cuba—at Welles's request in September 1933.

As minister to Colombia four years earlier, Caffery had not taken any great pains to hide his influence over its president, Enriqué Olaya. But the Good Neighbor policy evidently required that he now take more care for the appearance of independence in Latin America. The most compelling reason for restraint in Cuba, however, was the fear of provoking another military coup. As Caffery wrote to Welles, "On the other side of the fence, of course, is Batista, who can overthrow the government any day merely by removing the palace guard." For the sake of preserving civilian rule, therefore, Mendieta had to be allowed to make his own mistakes despite his willingness to "follow a course dictated by the embassy."

Although described by *Time* as "vigorous and broad-shouldered," Mendieta had proven to be indecisive as president. By trying to please everyone, he had succeeded in pleasing almost no one. He had had the support of all elements of Grau's orthodox opposition on taking office. But a year later, he had the allegiance of only part of his own party, the Union Nacional, and part of the old Liberal party which was "trying to live down its Machado connection," a reference to the previous president who was deposed by a popular uprising in 1933. To make matters worse, the Union Nacional had dwindled since its leader had become president. In the meanwhile, Grau's followers, who had never reconciled themselves to the ouster of their leader, had regrouped under the name of Partido Revolucionario Cubano, commonly known as *Autenticos*, meaning genuine revolutionaries. Like the communists who controlled the National Confederation of Cuban Workers, CNOC, the *Autenticos* specialized in "inciting labor elements to make trouble for the government," Caffery reported in March 1934. Strikes, threats of coups, and terroristic outbreaks kept Cuba in a state of disruption that the *Miami Herald* termed "normal" in December, and Welles characterized as "almost inevitable" three months later.

In the midst of this turbulence, the embassy had to keep informed of terrorist plots, if only in self-defense. Until World War II, when the FBI stationed its "legal attaches" at American diplomatic missions in Latin America, the Foreign Service gathered its own intelligence. Caffery went about the task with more zest than the average diplomat. He dealt with the "killers" in person, instead of relying on intermediaries. One such intermediary was Mario Lazo, an American-educated Cuban lawyer. Lazo liked to boast that he had been in "almost daily contact" with Welles, and subsequently became a "good friend" of Lyman Kirkpatrick, executive director of the CIA. Lazo later admitted, however, that he was not close to Caffery and may have

*Philip F. Dur is the Jefferson Caffery professor emeritus of political science at the University of Southwestern Louisiana. He is writing a book on Ambassador Caffery from which this article is excerpted.*

Illustration by Frank Bozzonetti/HBH Communications, Inc.

resented his exclusion from the embassy's inner circle. Caffery indirectly noted in his memoirs why Lazo's services were not needed: "I had occasion for receiving visits from well-known Cuban 'killers,' and they were amazingly cheerful and frank about it all. And some of these same killers had been out to kill me, too. One amiable young scoundrel came often to the embassy, brought us useful information, until he forged the name of my first secretary on a number of papers and we found it out."

In his reminiscences, Lazo tells of a "notorious Cuban rascal, smart, witty, and completely unscrupulous" who acted as Caffery's intermediary with Mendieta and "shook down" American clients of Lazo's law firm, with the connivance of embassy personnel. The "notorious rascal" and the "amiable killer" may well be the same person. Caffery had been less than prudent in permitting a thug to set up a connection with the embassy, but it is doubtful that Caffery used the unsavory character as a go-between with Mendieta, or that members of the ambassador's staff took part in "shakedowns."

Nor is it likely that embassy officers participated in extortion. A scandal of that kind could hardly have been hidden from the Cuban and American press. Moreover, one of the American victims of the "notorious rascal" would probably have complained to a consular officer in Havana or a congressman in Washington. The mere complaint would have been a blot on Caffery's record and a set-

back to his career. None of this happened, and, in the absence of corroborating evidence, it seems advisable to discount Lazo's broader allegations of wrong-doing. The facts confirmed by Caffery and H. Freeman Matthews, the first secretary in question, were that an "amiable killer" at one time frequented the embassy and took advantage of his association with the staff to try to obtain money from a local merchant.

In his memoirs, Caffery wrote, "I thoroughly enjoyed my three-year and a half stay in Havana, although the thrills attendant upon fighting, and strikes, and lootings, and killings, and so on, continued during the first year and a half thereof." The climax of violence for Caffery came on Sunday, May 27, 1934, the eve of the abrogation of the Platt Amendment and the conclusion of the new Treaty of Relations. "I was in the habit of leaving the house shortly before ten for church. On this particular Sunday, I forgot something; I went back to my room to get it; and when I came downstairs again, I found a car with a submachine gun had passed just at the time I usually rode out and shot one of my guards." After attending mass, the ambassador visited the wounded man in the army infirmary at Camp Columbia and then spent the afternoon at the Yacht Club. Later in the day, he received callers—Mendieta, members of the cabinet, and fellow diplomats—expressing both regrets and congratulations. Batista issued a statement as a Cuban "and as chief of the constitutional army," deploring the incident "and the fatal consequences it might have meant for us." The guard died the next day.

The "fatal consequences" were, of course, armed intervention by the United States. Caffery had been careful to give reassurances on this score. "I am sorry for the soldier. I don't believe there was a plot against my life, but the recent rumors might have put ideas in somebody's head," the ambassador was quoted by the *New York Times*. There had been rumors of other unsuccessful attacks on Caffery. The *Diario de la Marina* gave an even stronger version of Caffery's denial of the attempt on his life. According to the Havana newspaper, the ambassador believed that the bullets had not been aimed at him, but at the soldier guarding him, for reasons unknown. Caffery was obviously intent on avoiding an incident, and prepared to bend the truth for that purpose. His statements about the attack, however, were not entirely consistent or convincing. The chief of the national police and Batista's second in command, Lieutenant Colonel Jose Pedraza, announced the day before the shooting that the guard at the American ambassador's residence was being increased "owing to continued city-wide reports of projected attacks." Embassy personnel were discreet enough to deny it, but the *New York Times* correspondent reported on May 26, citing "radical sources" that Caffery's car had been fired on a few days earlier; the ambassador fortunately was not in it. Following the May 27 incident, Caffery and his staff were less reticent. The ambassador then revealed that his residence had been shot at three weeks before. "A rifle bullet mark remains on the veranda," the *New York Times* reported. On May 28, Matthews's chauffeur was stopped by gunmen in the street. They smashed the windshield of the car and warned the driver to leave Cuba within two weeks. "And that goes for Mr. Matthews also," they added.

In recent years, this kind of incident has become common enough, but in 1934, it was extraordinary. Since the motivation for the attacks was clearly political, various factions came under suspicion. A former director-general of the Pan-American Union promptly denounced "anti-U.S. anarchistic elements in Cuba and Latin America" for these acts of terrorism. A right-wing group in Chicago accused the Cuban Communist Party. Pedraza arrested the Spanish editor of the Cuban daily *Ahora* on charges of being involved in the shootings. The editor was also accused of having published "insidious articles detracting from the Army's prestige." In later years, Matthews was inclined to believe that *Autenticos* intent on bringing down Batista by provoking a landing of Marines had been responsible for the violence. This interpretation is very likely true, but recent historians have not been willing to inculpate anyone, following the example set by Caffery.

As a consequence of the attack on Caffery, the Cuban government decreed emergency measures to deal with terrorism, but they were apparently never enforced. Legislation was not, in itself, a sufficient remedy. Mendieta's life, too, was threatened in June. Caffery later observed that judges were "so intimidated by threats of personal violence that the majority of terrorists have almost immediately been set free." The ambassador estimated the number of "well-known terrorists" at no more than 200. If they were rounded up and thrown into jail, in his opinion, law and order could be promptly restored. Unfortunately, as Caffery described it, the "civil government's lack of the virtue of courage was only too well known." The climate was indeed congenial to gunmen at that time. Alvin Karpis, for instance, labeled Public Enemy No. 1 by the FBI, took a vacation that November at Varadero Beach near Havana, where he laundered his money.

In the prevailing atmosphere of violence, the ambassador continued to be a moving target. Attacks came from all directions. In July, the police uncovered a new conspiracy among former army officers to assassinate Caffery. In September, 26 men affiliated with the CNOC were arrested on charges of plotting against the ambassador's life. And in October, four youths, identified as belonging to the terrorist organization ABC Radical, were arrested for planning to ambush Caffery on his way home from the embassy.

As time went on, both terrorists and anti-terrorists became better organized. In October 1935, a "master plot" to assassinate Caffery was thwarted by "intelligence operatives of the Cuban army," according to the *Washington Post*. Some 29 killers had conspired to intercept and gun down the ambassador in his car. Their leader, Cesar Vilar, the secretary of the CNOC, was arrested on the eve of its execution and the plot was foiled. Welles, disquieted by this news, asked Caffery to furnish him with the names and addresses of any "individuals connected with this plot who may still be in the United States," in order to alert the Justice Department. Vilar, however, also had his defenders in Washington. On November 11, Representative Vito Marcantonio (R-N.Y.) wrote the State Department demanding that Caffery either confirm or deny the report of Vilar's involvement in the affair. This, of course, Caffery could not do while the case was still under investigation.

The incident was soon forgotten; it was the last of its kind. Improvements in Cuba's economy and the consolidation of Batista's power in 1935 mellowed the climate for terrorism. The prospect of impending elections provided a new outlet for political discontent. From the day of his arrival in Havana, Caffery had displayed little concern in the face of terrorism. This attitude, of course, could not have been maintained if the American community as a whole had been under attack. Fortunately, at the time, only U.S. diplomats were targeted, and they kept their cool. □

# PEOPLE

## Deaths

ROBERT MARVEL ALLEN, a retired Foreign Service officer, died January 18. He had suffered a stroke several months earlier. He was 68.

Born in Oregon, Mr. Allen was graduated from the University of Oregon and was in the Army before joining the Foreign Service in 1949. He served at several posts in Germany in the early 1950s and was director of America House in Tokyo. Mr. Allen worked as an educational and cultural exchange officer in the State Department. He later returned to Germany, where he worked as an information officer at Frankfort and Nuremberg until his retirement in 1978.

He is survived by his wife, Elisabeth, a daughter, Christina Maria, and a sister, Helen Schneider.

DONALD DOUGLAS DALEY, a former chief of internal security for the State Department, died of septicemia January 19. He was 68.

Mr. Daley was born in Belleville, Illinois and served in the Navy and the Office of Strategic Services during World War II. In 1945, he became a State Department security investigator in Washington. He subsequently served in Chicago, Omaha, Dallas, and Seattle. He returned to Washington in 1957, where he served until his retirement.

Survivors include his wife, Betty, of Fairfax, Virginia; two children, Edward A. Daley and Donna McClure of Virginia; a sister, Betty Vogel of Freeburg, Illinois; and four grandchildren.

C. ARNOLD FRESHMAN, a retired Foreign Service officer, died of emphysema January 24 at his home in Naples, Florida. He was 72.

Mr. Freshman, who was born in Cambridge, Massachusetts, moved to Washington in the 1930s and attended George Washington and American Universities. He served in the Navy during World War II. He joined the International Cooperative Administration in 1950 and transferred to the State Department later that year as an economics specialist. Mr. Freshman served at posts in Europe and Afghanistan including Berlin, Bonn, Naples, Copenhagen, and Kabul. He retired from the Service in 1974.

He is survived by his wife, the former Lucille Brett, a son, two daughters, and five grandchildren.

JOHN L. HEDGES, who was USIA's international coordinator for the bicentennial of the Constitution, died of cancer January 23 in Washington. He was 59.

Born in Chicago, Mr. Hedges moved to the Washington area in the early 1950s. He was graduated from Harvard and earned a master's degree in international relations from George Washington University. Before joining USIA in 1954, he had served in the Navy and worked for the Marshall Plan program. With USIA, he traveled in Africa, the Near East, and the Middle East. At the time of his death, he held the rank of career minister.

Survivors include his wife, Margaret, of Chevy Chase, Maryland; two sons, Jeffrey and John; his mother, Ethel Hedges; and two grandchildren.

ALVIN KAPUSTA, a retired Foreign Service officer who in 1983 became the founding editor of the State Department's quarterly *Soviet Nationalities Survey*, died of cadiac arrest January 25 in Bethesda, Maryland. He was 57.

Mr. Kapusta was a graduate of Minot State College in his native North Dakota and earned a master's degree in Slavic languages and literature at the University of California at Berkeley. At the time of his death, he was pursuing a master's degree in library science at the University of Maryland.

Before joining the State Department, he served in the Army in Korea. He began his Foreign Service career in 1968 and held posts in Luxembourg, Burma, and Afghanistan, where he was first secretary.

In Washington, Mr. Kapusta served as first special assistant for Soviet nationalities at the department's office for analyses of the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe. He retired from State in 1985. He was also vice president for public relations of the Washington Group, an organization of Ukrainian-American professionals.

His first wife, Alexa, died in 1971. Survivors include his wife, Carolyn Jean, of Silver Spring; two adopted sons, Victor and Paul; two sisters, and two brothers.

ANNA MINNIGERODE, wife of the late Gordon Minnigerode, a former Foreign Service officer, died August 26 from injuries sustained in a car accident in Knoxville, Tennessee.

Ms. Minnigerode accompanied her husband throughout his career to such posts as Amsterdam, Karachi, Dar es Salaam, Port Elizabeth, and Cape Town.

JOHN N. PLAKIAS, a retired Foreign Service officer who had been economic counselor at the U.S. embassy in the Hague, died of a stroke April 8 at his home in Washington. He was 78.

Born in Brookline, Massachusetts, Mr. Plakias was graduated from the University of Pennsylvania and earned a master's degree from New York University. He was an investment banker before joining the Foreign Service in 1941. His assignments included France, Pakistan, and Ceylon. He served at the Hague before retiring in 1962.

For nine years after his retirement, Mr. Plakias worked for the international division of the Radio Corporation of America as the Washington representative for international finance and marketing. He retired in 1971.

Survivors include his wife, Jane, of Washington; a son by his first marriage, Nick Plakias, of Greenfield, Massachusetts; and a sister, Despina q Messinesi, of New York.

RASEM RUSHDI, a retired Foreign Service officer and the author of novels and historical works in English and Arabic, died of cancer September 27 at his home in Leesburg, Virginia. He was 69.

Born in Palestine, Mr. Rushdi attended Scotts College there and began his career with the U.S. government in the Middle East in 1953. He was a magazine editor with State Department information organizations in Libya and Lebanon before coming to this country in 1959. Mr. Rushdi became an American citizen and entered the Foreign Service at the Voice of America. He retired from the VOA in 1979.

His wife, the former Grace Korth, died in 1967. Survivors include four sons, a daughter, three brothers, three sisters, and seven grandchildren.

AIDA REID SCHOENFELD, widow of the late H.F. Arthur Schoenfeld, a former minister to the Dominican Republic, Finland, and Hungary, died of respiratory failure January 16, in Rockville, Maryland. She was 90.

Mrs. Schoenfeld was born in Montevideo, Uruguay, of Scottish parents. She was married in 1915 and accompanied her husband to numerous posts, including Mexico City, Rio de Janeiro, and Vienna.

Her fluency in Spanish and friendly manner contributed to the success of her

husband's diplomatic career. Mr. Schoenfeld died in 1952. Mrs. Schoenfeld is survived by six children, 16 grandchildren, and 11 great-grandchildren.

WALTER J. STOESSEL JR., a former ambassador who was deputy secretary of state when he retired in 1982 , died of leukemia December 9. He was 66.

Born in Kansas, Mr. Stoessel was graduated from Stanford University in 1941 and began his Foreign Service career a year later. He was assigned to Caracas as a political officer. He left the State Department in 1944 to serve in the Navy, but returned to the department in 1947. He was assigned to Moscow and studied for a year at the Russian Institute of Columbia University. Mr. Stoessel later became director for Soviet affairs and was detailed to the White House as special assistant to the president's foreign policy adviser.

In 1956, he was assigned to Paris and later became a political adviser to the supreme allied commander in Europe. He returned to Moscow to serve as DCM. Mr. Stoessel served as assistant secretary for European affairs and was ambassador to Poland, Moscow, and Bonn. In 1981, he became under secretary for political affairs. One of the few career officers ever to rise so high in the department, he was considered by many to be the ideal diplomat.

He is survived by his wife, three daughters, a brother, a sister, and three grandchildren.

ALICE M. WOOLF, wife of retired Foreign Service officer, Donald L. Woolf, died


# FOREIGN

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GRIEVANCE COUNSELING: Retired Senior Foreign Service officer attorney who served on Grievance Board staff will assist grievance presentation. Richard Greene, 161 Laurel Road, Princeton, NJ 08540. (609)924-3077.

January 21 at her home in Sun City, Arizona.

She was born in Canada and received a degree in nursing. She later became a U.S. citizen and served as a flight nurse with the U.S. Army Air Corps during World War II in the North African theater. While in Africa she met her husband and accompanied him to posts that included New Zealand, Paris, Haiti, Japan, Ethiopia, Morocco, and Zaire.

She is survived by her husband and their two daughters, Donna and Susan.

## Births

PATRICIA and DEAN HINTON announce the birth of their son, Deane Patrick Akbar George, in Wiesbaden, Germany on October 10, 1986.

## Announcement

The National War College Alumni Association will sponsor an all-day conference on contemporary national security issues at the Naval Amphibious Base, San Diego, California on Thursday, May 14, 1987. Experts will speak on several timely subjects at morning and afternoon lectures and there will be a guest speaker at the luncheon as well.

Active and retired FSOs are invited. For information and registration forms contact the secretary-treasurer, NWC Alumni Association, The National War College, Fort Lesley J. McNair, Washington, D.C. 20319. Call the commercial phone number: (202)475-1844. Autovon: 335-1844.

# EXCHANGE

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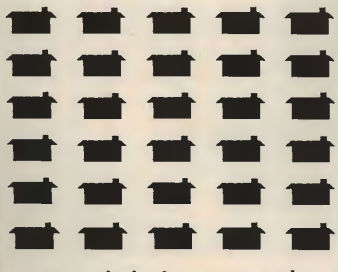

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# ASSOCIATION NEWS

## AFSA, department share stage at retirement system seminar

For all employees except those hired since 1983, the main question about the new retirement system is to join or not to join. Starting in July, thousands of Foreign Service employees and other government workers will begin a six-month period during which they can elect to switch to the new retirement system passed by the 99th Congress, or to remain in the old one. The decision is a complex one.

On January 20, AFSA sponsored a seminar for all department personnel on the new federal retirement system which became operational for all post-1983 personnel on January 1. Several hundred employees attended the session, which was chaired by AFSA President Gerald Lamberty. The State Department was represented by Director General George S. Vest, legislative specialist Torrey Whitman, and Retirement Division head Gertrude Wieckoski.

Lamberty and Vest each spoke briefly in support of the new Foreign Service Pension System, stating that both AFSA and the department had played a role in its development. Both pointed out that the Foreign Service retirement system retains its status separate from the Civil Service system. The administration of the program remains within the department while it continues to be financed through the Foreign Service retirement and disability trust fund.

Robert Beers, AFSA's congressional liaison officer, summarized the legislative history of the FSPS, citing figures that demonstrated the skyrocketing cost of the federal retirement system during the 1970s, due principally to the great increase in the number of retirees coupled with a period of double-digit inflation. These factors were in part responsible for extending Social Security coverage to the post-1983 federal workforce which in turn led to the development of a new retirement system to supplement the Social Security coverage.

Whitman described the structure of FSPS, following which he and Wieckoski answered questions from the audience. For the most part, the questions were posed by pre-1984 employees covered under the old Foreign Service Retirement and Disability System interested in considering transferring their retirement coverage over to FSPS. The law provides that such transfers may be made between July 1 and December 31, 1987.

Whitman and Wieckoski enumerated the factors that should be taken into account by employees evaluating the advisability of switching over to the new system. They stated that the department was preparing the materials necessary to assist all employees in deciding whether the change would be to their advantage, and that expert guidance will be available by early spring to both overseas and departmental personnel in ample time for anyone to elect a transfer to FSPS within the specified time period.

AFSA is forwarding to all AFSA representatives at overseas posts copies of the materials distributed at the seminar which will provide an ample summary of the points covered at this meeting. Please see your post representative if you are overseas, or call or write our Washington office.

## AFSA submits brief on drug testing

The Association has filed an amicus curiae ("friend of the court") brief with the Federal Labor Relations Authority arguing that implementation of any drug-testing procedures in the Foreign Service should be subject to negotiation. Drug testing for most federal employees was established by an executive order last September that requires each agency to develop its own regulations.

AFSA argued that drug testing procedures are often unreliable and that testing without reasonable suspicion violates employees' constitutional rights. The Association also claimed that proposals to negotiate drug-testing procedures do not excessively interfere with management rights, and that legal precedents in other settings support the negotiability of this matter.

The executive order is already under legal challenge in a U.S. district court in New Orleans, but it is possible that the Foreign Service could be exempted from any decision overturning the order because of the sensitive nature of its work. Statements by the Office of Personnel Management have indicated that agencies could be allowed to fire personnel after one confirmed positive test without an opportunity for rehabilitation. In his speech announcing the drug-testing program last summer, President Reagan had promised that "there should be no threat of losing their job or any punishment."

## Association lobbies for equity in how states treat FS retirees

AFSA continues to make progress in its effort to remedy tax law inequities affecting certain Foreign Service retirees. There are currently four states (Alabama, Iowa, Kansas, and North Dakota) which tax Foreign Service annuities while exempting those of the Civil Service. AFSA has been in contact with officials in each of these states, lobbying for legislation that will redress this unequal treatment.

Corrective legislation was introduced last year in Alabama, but it did not make it out of committee before the end of the 1986 session. A similar bill is scheduled to be introduced in Alabama this spring. AFSA has secured the support of several key legislators in anticipation of this event. A remedial bill has also been drafted in North Dakota for introduction during the 1987 session of the state legislature.

Foreign Service retirees in affected states can facilitate the passage of these bills by contacting state officials and writing to AFSA.

## Senate urged to reestablish credibility on hostages

AFSA President Gerald Lamberty urged the Senate Committee on Foreign Relations "to reestablish the credibility of our government's policy that hostages should not be ransomed." Lamberty quoted a cable from one unnamed post that the current perceptions of the administration policy on ransoming hostages constitute an "open invitation to kidnap."

Lamberty said that "it is crucial to the national interest that we be able to perform our role in the most dangerous places, where we already are subject to attacks by terrorists who seek to publicize their causes by bombing our embassies and shooting our diplomats. The last thing we need is to create the perception that it is profitable to take official Americans hostage." If this perception continues, Lamberty concluded, "not only will our lives be endangered but our ability to perform our vital mission will be seriously undercut."

Lamberty cited the experience of American businesses that routinely ransom kidnaped employees as support for his argument. The ransoming has led to more kidnapings and, thus, to a reduction in personnel in dangerous locales. He went on to say that if this happened to diplomatic personnel, it would "seriously impair the ability of the United States to conduct its foreign affairs."

Lamberty expressed sympathy for the families of kidnap victims but concluded that paying ransoms "will only increase the number of such families." He said that the Association supports all efforts to combat terrorism, "from negotiations (not ransoming) to the judicious use of military force."

Committee Chairman Claiborne Pell (D.-Rhode Island) solidly supported AFSA's position. Senators Frank Murkowski (R.-Alaska) and Larry Pressler (R.-South Dakota) asked for suggestions to improve the situation. Lamberty responded that the most important step woud be to move quickly to convince the world that the United States will not ransom hostages.

He added that Vice President Bush's speech of January 20 was a good first step.

The panel also asked Lamberty about political ambassadors. He responded that the reaction of the Service to most political appointees is the same as if a person was appointed as an FBI office direction for political reasons.

Pressler asked whether the Foreign Service Act needs to be revised to avoid the damage to the Foreign Service he had been reading about in the press. Lamberty responded that "our suffering results more from masochism, as our current leadership misguidedly seeks to improve the Service by actions permitted but not required by the act, which are inflicting much pain and producing very dysfunctional results."

## Membership at record level

The Association's membership roll achieved a record level at the end of 1986, with 8919 on the roll, Membership Coordinator Myriam Duncan reported. The increase was a result of a direct-mail campaign in the State Department constituency. Membership drives in the other agencies and among Foreign Service retirees will be underway shortly.

More than 300 State employees responded to the mailing, and as of this writing over 200 of them had completed their applications. The membership total in the State Department constituency was 4300 at the end of the year.

The next drive will be in AID, which had 1225 members as of December. There are 2675 retired members, 216 members in USIA, 46 in the Commerce Department, and 14 in Agriculture. The remainder are associates and honorary members.

## New bank lock box instituted

AFSA has arranged with Riggs National Bank to establish a lock box for all payments to the Association. A lock box is a service provided by a bank to allow checks to be sent directly to the financial institution and processed immediately.

Henceforth, all payments to AFSA should be sent to:
American Foreign Service Association
Department 0061
Washington, D.C. 20073-0061

## How to find a tax expert to prepare your 1986 return

What kind of tax experts should Foreign Service members contact to assist with their annual tax returns? This is a question we hear often, and we hope that the following guidelines will assist you in making informed decisions.

Tax professionals range from preparers to CPAs, from financial planners to tax attorneys. Each expert's qualifications may be different, as are the fees they charge. Fees should not necessarily be the determinator, but rather the complexity of your financial situation. On the other hand, keep in mind that tax-preparation expenses are no longer deductible under the new law.

**Tax Preparers:** There are a number of tax-preparation chains. The largest and best known is, of course, H&R Block. Preparers generally do not provide tax-planning services. Qualifications are a 10-14-day course, topped by an annual refresher seminar. Preparers complete tax forms on the basis of figures you provide. For simple returns, a tax preparer may well be the answer. Forms are generally completed within a day or two. Fees range from $50 and up.

**Enrolled Tax Agents** undergo considerable training and a tough examination by the IRS on current tax laws. In addition, they must meet continuing-education requirements. ETAs charge from $100 to $200, and are qualified to represent individuals in tax court. Many will evaluate investment strategies and make limited suggestions.

**Accountants:** There are many excellent accountants and accounting firms, who complete relatively simple returns for a fee of $100 to $200, and who provide advice on investment and tax planning. However, licensing is not required by the federal government; thus, it is advisable to check out credentials and areas of specialization.

**Certified Public Accountants** must pass rigorous professional examinations in auditing, law, and accounting practices—all of which can involve tax matters. In addition, some CPAs have passed a special exam and thus may represent you in tax court. This does not automatically mean that he or she is specialized in tax matters, a point that should be clarified. CPAs generally charge between $75 to $150 an hour and are well qualified to evaluate investments and suggest strategies to reduce your tax liabilities.

**Tax Attorneys:** If your estate is complicated or if you are in serious trouble with tax authorities, retaining a tax attorney may be your best bet. They are, of course, qualified to represent you before the tax court and are highly skilled in complex tax laws. Their expertise is not cheap; hourly rates are between $75 to $275.

**Financial Planners:** Qualifications and specialization should be reviewed, since just about anyone can hang out a shingle as a financial planner. A certified financial planner, however, has completed a two-year course and a complex examination. The elite in this profession are chartered financial planners, who take an average of four years to earn their degree and must pass numerous examinations before being qualified. Fees vary but are generally in the range of $100 per hour.

## 1400 give to legislative fund; total nears $60,000

Nearly one member in six has made a donation to AFSA's Legislative Action Fund, which totalled nearly $60,000 at the end of January. The fund is used to deploy the Association's two lobbyists on Capitol Hill to work on a wide variety of issues concerning the Foreign Service and its retirees.

There is still time to make your contribution to the fund. Join your colleagues listed in the space below (unless you wish to remain anonymous). Send your contributions to:

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## A few points on mortgage points

Last May, the IRS announced that points charged by a lender would only be deductible in the year incurred if a new home was purchased or the proceeds were used for home improvements. Thus, points paid on refinancing an existing loan to cut monthly payments must be prorated over the life of the mortgage. This decision shocked the thousands of home owners who had refinanced their properties when interest rates fell.

Don't blame Congress and the new tax law on this one. The IRS bases its position on the last major tax revision, which took place in 1976. That law specifically permits deductibility of points on new mortgages and home improvement loans in the year paid, but is silent on the issue of refinancing an existing loan. Therefore, the IRS has now reasoned that Congress must have intended that points on refinancing would have to be written off over the course of the mortgage.

The IRS calls its action a "clarification" of an existing rule rather than the creation of a new one. Refinancing did not become attractive until 1986, when interest rates began to drop dramatically, and homeowners were able to exchange loans as high as 18 percent for mortgages under 10 percent, saving hundreds of dollars in monthly interest charges.

Prepaid expenses—or points, as they are more commonly called—are fees charged by lenders. Each point is worth one percent of a loan. On a $100,000 loan, for example, one point is worth $1000. The typical borrower paid between 2.5 to 3 points in 1986 and was counting on the extra bonus of a hefty tax break at filing time. Under the new regulation, if a homeowner refinanced and took out a new 30-year loan, he or she can no longer deduct the entire amount at once, but must prorate it, which adds up to an $83 deduction each year.

To make certain that taxpayers don't "cheat," the IRS changed Schedule A of the 1986 tax forms and included instructions for reporting points separately from interest paid on mortgage loans. In the case of refinancing to make home improvements, only the points for the loan amount used for construction or alteration are deductible. That amount which was used to pay off the existing mortgage must be prorated over the life of the loan.

Congress did not agree with this restrictive interpretation of the 1976 law and introduced several bills last year to block the IRS's controversial move. The legislation expired with the 99th Congress, but it is being reintroduced in both the House and the Senate at this writing. Unfortunately, no one is optimistic that the legislation can be passed before the April 15 filing deadline. Efforts to pressure the IRS to reverse its restrictive policy in light of congressional intent are also underway. At present, the only safe course is to abide by the IRS rule and file an amended return when and if Congress comes through.

## AFSA representation wins grievant retroactive pay

AFSA recently won retroactive standby pay for a communicator who was denied the benefit for almost his entire two-year tour at a hardship post despite strong embassy support that he receive the pay.

The communicator arrived at post in 1984. Repeated attempts by the post to provide backup relief proved unsuccessful. When it became clear in December 1985 that the requested back-up person would not materialize, the post formally requested standby-duty pay.

The embassy noted that the lone communicator had no relief, and that the post's mountainous location made radio contact nearly impossible, restricting the employee to the vicinity immediately surrounding his house when not on duty. Oral and written follow-ups to the request were made over the next eight months, without success. During that time, the employee's only absence from his 24-hour-a-day, 7-days-a-week duties was for a short R & R with his wife for the birth of their first child.

In July the communicator and AFSA post representative filed a formal grievance with the State Department requesting standby pay retroactive to the December 1985 request. In August, less than a month before his transfer date, the communicator finally was authorized the pay for the remainder of his tour. The Association continued to press for retroactive pay, emphasizing that the criteria for compensation had existed during the entire tour. The department ultimately concurred, agreeing with AFSA's contention that "the objective conditions of the job and assignment were no different than had prevailed during the time between the post's request to authorize standby pay and the date of authorization." The department decision went on to award 25-percent pay retroactive to December 12, 1985.

# Bylaws of the American Foreign Service Association as amended July 1985

### Article I, Purposes and Objectives

1. To further the interests and well being of the Members of the Association;
2. To represent the Members of the Foreign Service in labor-management relations and grievances;
3. To work closely with the foreign affairs agencies, other interested institutions, and individuals to strengthen the ability of the foreign affairs community to contribute to effective foreign policies;
4. To accept and receive gifts, grants, devises, bequests, and funds from such other voluntary associations as may be created by Foreign Service personnel or to accept and receive gifts, grants, devises, bequests, and funds as otherwise donated to this Association by any person or persons, group or groups, and to utilize or dispose of the same for the purposes of this Association, or, as directed by said other associations or said other donors;
5. To publish the FOREIGN SERVICE JOURNAL and ASSOCIATION NEWS as the official organs of the Association;
6. To maintain and operate a scholarship fund or funds or such other funds as are commensurate with the purposes and objectives of this Association;
7. To carry on such other activities as the Association may deem practicable in order to serve the interests of the Association and its Members.

### Article II, Membership

1. American citizens who are or were Members of the Foreign Service as defined by Section 103, paragraphs (1) through (5), of the Foreign Service Act of 1980, or predecessor or successor legislation, are eligible to become Members of the Association.
2. Any person eligible for Membership may be so admitted upon application and payment of dues, and shall be permitted to maintain Membership so long as he or she remains eligible and maintains current dues payment; only Members shall have voting and other rights regarding the conduct of the affairs of the Association.
3. The board shall establish terms and conditions for affiliation with the Association, other than Membership, for persons not eligible for Membership. Individuals closely associated with or interested in the foreign affairs of the United States may become associates upon the acceptance of their applications by the board and the payment of dues.
4. The board may invite to become honorary Members for specified periods such representative American citizens as they deem proper. Honorary Members shall be exempt from the payment of dues.
5. The rates of dues shall be set by the board provided that the dues shall not be increased, or an assessment levied, except after appoval by a majority of those Members voting in a secret ballot referendum.
6. Members may be expelled or otherwise disciplined by the Association for engaging in conduct which discredits or brings into disrepute the Association or the Foreign Service, or taking court or administrative agency action against the Association without exhausting all reasonable internal administrative procedures which the board shall establish. However, no member may be disciplined by the Association unless such member has been served with written specific charges, given a reasonable time to prepare a defense, and afforded a full and fair hearing. The board shall establish procedures for such disciplinary actions.

### Article III, Rights of Members

Every member shall have equal rights and privileges within the Association, freedom of speech and assembly, and all other rights guaranteed by law, executive order, and regulation.

### Article IV, The Governing Board

1. The property and affairs of this Association shall be managed by a Governing Board composed of officers and representatives who shall be elected biennially for terms of two years in the manner prescribed in Article VI from among the Association's Members. Each board member shall have one vote.
2. Vacancies occurring during the term of the board shall be filled by the board by appointment from the Membership, provided that constituency vice presidents and representatives shall be chosen from the constituency of the vacancy as defined in Article IV(4).
3. The officers shall be a president, constituency vice presidents, a secretary, and a treasurer, elected by and from the entire Membership. They shall have the power and duties specifically conferred on them by applicable law and regulation, these bylaws, and the Governing Board.
4. The constituency vice presidents and representatives shall be elected by and from constituencies composed of the Members of the Foreign Service in each of the departments or agencies to which Chapter 10 of the Foreign Service Act of 1980 applies, pursuant to Sec. 1003(a); provided that chiefs of mission and ambassadors at large shall be Members of the Department of State constituency, and all former Members of the Service shall be Members of the retired constituency. Representatives shall be elected by the appropriate constituency Members. Each constituency, with the exception of the retired constituency, having a minimum of 100 Members as of the last working day of the calendar year before the election shall be entitled to a constituency vice president. Each constituency shall be entitled to one representative for each 1000 Members or fraction thereof as of the last working day of the calendar year before the election year, provided that any constituency which for three consecutive months has a Membership which would on the above date have entitled it to an additional representative shall have an additional representative, who shall be appointed by the Governing Board. If subsequently during that board's term that constituency has for three consecutive months a Membership which no longer would entitle it to an additional representative, that constitutency will lose such additional representative, who shall be the representative most recently appointed by the board.
5. The Membership has the right to recall any officer, and the Membership of any constituency has the right to recall any representative, in whom said Membership has no confidence. Two-thirds of the Governing Board Members or five percent of the Membership concerned may recommend such recall by written request and supporting statement to the Standing Committee on Electons. The committee shall submit the recall proposal, accompanied by such supporting statement and by statements, if any, submitted in favor of the the board member in question, to the Membership concerned for secret ballot election.
6. The Governing Board shall, to the extent practicable, keep the Membership currently informed, seek its advice before making decisions, and inform the Membership of its decisions on important matters affecting the Membership, the Foreign Service, and the Association. The board shall report to the Membership annually on its management of the Association affairs and the Association's financial position, and its plans and budget for the succeeding year. The board shall also facilitate communication from any member(s) to the Membership, or any practicable portion thereof, on Association business, at the expense of the member(s) initiating the communication.
7. The board shall meet at least once each month. The board shall also meet to consider a particular subject or subjects upon the written request of the president, one-third of the Members of the board, or chapter, or 25 Members, submitted at least five days prior to the date of the proposed meeting. Meetings shall be announced and open to Members and associates; provided that the board may

adopt regulations to preserve good order, and may go into executive session. Minutes, except of executive sessions, shall be available to Members and associates.

8. The board shall assure that persons affiliated with communist or other totalitarian movements, and persons indentified with corrupt influences, are excluded from any position of authority at any level of the Association.

9. The board shall assure that persons in any position of authority at any level of the Association are prohibited from business or financial interests or activities which conflict with their duties to the Association and its Members.

10. The board shall maintain fiscal integrity in the conduct of the affairs of the Association, including provisions for accounting and financial controls, and regular financial reports or summaries to Members.

### Article V, Internal Organization

1. There shall be a Standing Committee on Elections which shall have full power within the Association, subject to applicable law and regulation, these bylaws, and the Association budget, to conduct regular elections for Governing Board Members, any election for the recall of a Governing Board member, any referendum, and any vote on amendments to these bylaws. The committee shall establish regulations for these procedures and interpret relevant sections of the bylaws, resolve disputes, and determine and declare results. The committee shall be composed of at least five Members, including a chairperson and including at least one member from each constituency. The Governing Board shall appoint the chairperson and Members of the committee for two-year terms beginning July 15 of each even-numbered year, and shall fill vacancies occurring during such term, but may not remove committee Members except on recommendation of the committee, or in accordance with disciplinary procedures. Committee Members shall be impartial in the performance of their duties. While serving on the committee, and for six months thereafter, they shall not be board Members, or candidates or nominators thereof, or accept appointment to the chair of any other committee.

2. Standing committees for each of the constituencies shall have primary responsibilty, subject to the overall direction of the Governing Board, for the interests of Members of said constituencies. The chairperson and Members of each such committee shall be appointed by the Governing Board from among the Members within each such constituency.

3. The Governing Board shall appoint the chairman and Members of the JOURNAL Editorial Board, who shall serve at the pleasure of the board, and who, under the general direction of the board, shall be specifically responsible for the publication of the FOREIGN SERVICE JOURNAL. The yearly dues shall include a payment of at least $5.00 for a subscription to the FOREIGN SERVICE JOURNAL.

4. The Washington Membership shall consist of all Members resident in or assigned to the Washington area (the District of Columbia, Maryland, Virginia, and West Virginia). The Governing Board shall call a meeting of the Washington Membership at least once annually; and must call such a meeting to deal with a specified agenda at the written request of one-fourth of the board, or 100 Washington Members. Such a meeting may make recommendations to the board on any matter within the board's authority.

5. Members may organize chapters, subject to regulations to be issued by the board, to carry out the purposes of the Association. Chapters shall adopt bylaws, subject to the approval of the board. The board shall delegate such authority to such chapters as it deems necessary.

### Article VI, Elections

1. The Standing Committee on Elections shall issue an election call to all Members in the February FOREIGN SERVICE JOURNAL and/or ASSOCIATION NEWS, prescribing the terms and conditions of the election and soliciting candidacies.

2. Candidates may make known their candidacies or Members may nominate candidates in writing to the Standing Committee on Elections not later than 30 days following the date of the election call for officer or representative positions. Candidacies may be filed for individually or in slates. Candidacies must be accompanied by evidence of eligibility as of June 30 of the year of the election.

3. The Standing Committee on Elections shall verify the eligiblity of candidates for each position, and announce publicly the names of the candidates on or about April 1.

4. Pursuant to such regulations as it shall prescribe, the committee shall receive campaign statements from candidates and/or slates and distribute them to the concerned Membership at Association expense, and shall, during a campaign period of not less than 30 days, facilitate the distribution of additional material related to the election which candidates and/or slates and/or other Members wish to distribute at their own expense. Those initiating such material shall assume full legal responsibility for its contents.

5. The official ballot bearing the names of all qualified candidates, slate identifications when applicable, and voting instructions shall be mailed to each member on or about May 15.

6. Each member may cast one vote for each officer position and, in addition, each member may cast one vote for each representative position available in the member's constituency. Members may vote for candidates as individuals or as a slate, or may write in the name(s) of any member(s) who fulfills the eligiblity requirements as of June 30 of the election year.

7. The secrecy of each member's vote shall be guaranteed.

8. The Standing Committee on Elections shall count on or about July 1 all ballots received at the Association as of the close of business the last working day of June. Candidates or their representatives may be present at the counting and challenge the validity of any vote or the eligibility of any voter.

9. The Standing Committee on Elections shall decide all questions of eligibility and declare elected the candidates receiving the greatest number of votes for each position.

10. The new officers and representatives shall take office on July 15.

### Article VII, Referendum

The Membership may, by majority vote in a referendum, determine the Association's policy on any matter within the board's authority. One-third of the board, 10 chapters, or 100 Members may initiate a referendum by submitting a specific proposal to the Standing Committee on Elections. If the committee determines that the proposal is within the authority of the board, it shall submit the proposal, accompanied by statements, if any, from the proponents and opponents of such proposal, to the Membership in a referendum.

### Article VIII, Amendments

1. One hundred Members or the board may propose an amendment to these bylaws by submission to the Standing Committee on Elections. Each such proposal shall be accompanied by a short statement of explanation.

2. The committee shall promptly circulate to the Membership each such proposed amendment and statement in explanation by pubication in the FOREIGN SERVICE JOURNAL or ASSOCIATION NEWS. For 45 days following the date of publication of the proposal the committee shall accept statements of appropriate length submitted in opposition thereto, provided each statement is signed by not less than 10 Members, and no two statements shall be signed by the same member. Further, the committee shall commence within 90 days following the date of publication of the proposal, and shall conclude within 45 days thereafter, polling the Membership on the proposal. The committee shall provide to the Membership, together with the ballots, the statements in oppposition accepted by it in accordance with this article, as well as statements to be furnished by the proponents.

3. Should Members wish to distribute, at their own expense, additional statements regarding a proposed amendment, the Association shall make available to them on request the Membership list or address labels. In such case, Members will reimburse the Association for all related expenses.

4. The adoption of a proposed amendment will require the affirmative votes of not less than two-thirds of the valid votes received.

### Article IX, Parliamentary Authority

The Association's parliamentary authority shall be the most recent edition of Robert's Rules of Order Newly Revised; except as otherwise provided by applicable law and regulation, these bylaws, and the Governing Board.

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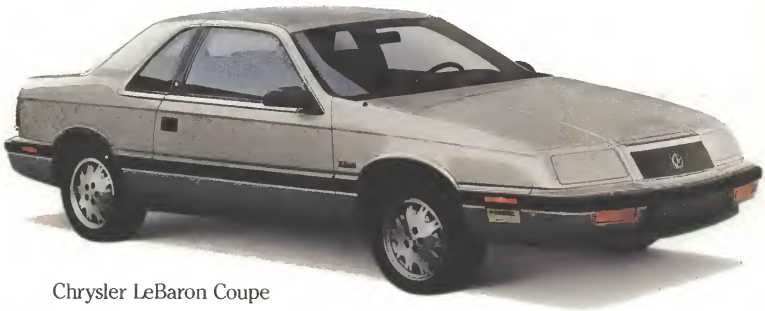

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