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ASSOCIATION VIEWS

Is Cutting State Like Cutting our Throat?

WITH THE ever-growing toll of life-threatening diseases, what would be your reaction to a proposal to reduce government spending on efforts to prevent and cure them? Something roughly similar to this is going on in Washington now, where the secretary of state has just announced a cutback of roughly 10 percent in the size of the American diplomatic work force and further closings of embassies and consulates, at a time when the United States faces widespread challenges to our national interest on dozens of fronts around the world.

Though we are not at war, no one could doubt that the difficulties confronting our nation in the international arena have seldom been greater. From the Middle East to Nicaragua to the Philippines, from the importance of arms control and drug interdiction to the need to reduce the trade imbalance, our national well-being is at stake. As citizens, we in the Foreign Service recognize the need to attack the federal budget deficit, but we must ask if cuts of this magnitude, in this area, at this critical time will really prove to be cost effective. Like the homeowner who scrimps by postponing his house painting, we may find that the true cost of these economies vastly outweighs the temporary savings.

The State Department's operational budget—always among the smallest of any executive department—has already been declining because of the drastic fall in the purchasing value of the dollar in the area where we do business: overseas. What we will get for fiscal '88 is anyone's guess, but Secretary Shultz has announced that even under optimistic assumptions a funding shortfall of about $80 million will result in a cutback of 1,300 positions in a diplomatic corps that only numbers about 16,000 to begin with—spread all over the world. On top of that, we will be closing two more embassies, 13 more consulates, reducing the functions of several other posts, and eliminating some entire bureaus.

It is important to note that the approximately $1.6 billion State is planning on receiving for '88 for its operational expenses is only about one-half of one percent of the $312 billion in budget authority for defense. As a nation, we are spending more on Strategic Defense Initiative research, more on jet fuel than on obviating the need to expend more dollars—not to mention the lives of our young ones—when diplomatic efforts fail. The $80 million shortfall is less money than we are spending on one month's protection for Kuwaiti tankers, less than the Pentagon will spend on printing and xeroxing in fiscal '88. As one State Department management official has said, the United States employs more people as school teachers for dependents of our military personnel in Europe alone than it does to keep the peace through diplomacy.

What we are witnessing is an unprecedented withdrawal of U.S. influence from around the world. When we consider the overall foreign relations budget—adding to the operational expenses listed above the monies needed for our assistance to troubled democratic regimes such as Corazon Aquino's, our support for international organizations, our humanitarian and security aid—we have already cut back our commitment to diplomacy as a percentage of the federal budget by one-fifth in the last two years. As we conclude the budget process for fiscal '88, we need to ask ourselves if we really want to emulate the examples of the great powers of the past by withdrawing to east of Los Angeles. We appreciate that it costs money to maintain a diplomatic presence around the world, but we think Americans are willing to make this relatively small investment in world peace.

Perry Shankle, President

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LETTERS

Who Implements Policy?

There's much wisdom in Philip Raine's discussion of foreign policy formulation [LETTERS, July/August], especially as it pertains to Nicaragua, but he shows some blind spots as well.

"The policy is to help establish democracy in Nicaragua," he writes. Not true, the policy is to topple the Managua government, with which we maintain diplomatic relations. It is this policy, and the means we have adopted to pursue it, that has isolated America in the diplomatic world.

Mr. Raine also writes: "In our system, foreign policy formulation is allotted to the president." The word "allotted" suggests constitutional designation of the president, and that is lacking. The formulator of policy, foreign and otherwise, historically has been designated by the outcome of power politics, as witnessed in the post–Civil War era, when the Congress was supreme in formulating and implementing policy. The designation of the agency to implement foreign policy, which, according to Mr. Raine, "is (or was) the State Department," again, must be earned in the maneuvering game involving Defense, the CIA, the National Security Council, etc.

There's no denying Mr. Raine's conclusion that "it is beyond doubt that attempting to implement policy outside State Department control can be disastrous." But let's not ignore the necessity for public support of that thesis, and that support wanes when the policies lack public approval. Current examples are numerous: Nicaragua, South Africa, the Persian Gulf, etc. Salesmanship—internal propagandizing in an effort to woo public support—won't work if the product is faulty. If the Congress is making headway in assuming more and more direction of foreign policy, could it be that the administration has lost the mandate of heaven?

RICHARD PATRICK WILSON
Foreign Service Information Officer, retired
Mobile, Alabama

UN-known Quantity

Charles Stefan suggests [LETTERS, June] that, since the Soviets are employing their diplomats at the United Nations for espionage purposes, we should kick the UN out of New York. If we accept this type of logic, I wonder why he stops there. The Soviets have other diplomats and non-diplomats in the United States. Why not close their embassy, trade mission, and consulates? And we should not overlook the Eastern Europeans and Soviet sympathizers. Then too, since Mr. Stefan is worried about espionage, should not the Israelis be included? The Pollard affair was as pretty an espionage case as one could find. But if our policy in the Middle East is to be even-handed, we then should close all the Arab embassies too. Perhaps the simplest and most logical step would be to expel all foreigners. But, then, how do we deal with the Walkers and their class of red-blooded Americans?

Mr. Stefan overlooks our legal and moral obligations to try to make the UN work. He dismisses the huge costs of relocation and the fact that the United States, as the principal contributor to the UN budget (25 percent), would have to sustain a large part of such costs. Furthermore, the cost of living in most of Western Europe is now even more expensive than New York. The department's budget would suffer with the need to maintain a large UN mission in Geneva or Vienna. Then, too, there is the advantage to us of ready and inexpensive communications between New York and Washington. Finally, from the pure dollars-and-cents viewpoint, the New York City commissioner for the UN demonstrated that the international body and all the missions pump hundreds of millions of dollars into the U.S. economy—considerably more than we spend in supporting the institution.

It is true that the Austrians would like to be even more the host country to the United Nations than they are now. (The Swiss would be more hesitant, given the difficulty of absorbing such a large additional body of international civil servants and missions.) Ostensibly, this is to reinforce Austria's shaky status as a neutral country (in the Swiss manner). I suspect the real motive is commercial. The UN brings big bucks to the real estate market, the hotels, and to the shops in Vienna. To triple this trade would be a dream for the Viennese. Why should we give it to them?

EDWARD E. KELLER
Foreign Service Officer
Washington, D.C.

The Second Oldest Profession

While there seems to be general agreement on the world's oldest profession, diplomats are sometimes challenged when they claim to represent the world's second oldest.

I recently tracked down a fascinating doctoral dissertation presented to the University of Chicago in 1928 by an Egyptologist named Edith Williams Ware, which offers some powerful support for the antiquity of the diplomatic profession. According to Dr. Ware, the Egyptian pharaohs had officials known as "royal messengers" even before the fifth dynasty (circa 2650 B.C.), some of whose functions resemble those of modern diplomats. While the duties

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of the early "messengers" were not exclusively diplomatic in character, old texts report their escorting "people of rank" (congressional delegations?) and perhaps bringing tribute (a Bible and a cake?). In addition, by 2500 B.C. they benefited from laws requiring the people to give them food and shelter, a hint of diplomatic immunities to come.

By around 2000 B.C., Dr. Ware discovered, the pharaoh also had at least one regular courier route, running between Syria and the Egyptian court. In one inscription, an Egyptian exile in Syria reports that he entertained the official "who went north and south to the court," a usage suggesting a regular service—and a distinguished antecedent for today's couriers.

By the time of the Empire (from 1580 B.C.), Dr. Ware records a wider variety of commissions for the "royal messengers," including such recognizable tasks as delivering sensitive messages, registering complaints about the behavior of other states, and negotiating alliances. One messenger complained that he had "to struggle valiantly with the prevaricating Orientals of Syria," while another had to plead slow communications with his own government in calming a Babylonian king who was unhappy that he had not received a message of sympathy during an illness.

In a final hint at things to come, the pharaohs evidently employed both career and non-career messengers. During both the Middle Kingdom and the Empire, a stint as royal messenger was seen as a source of prestige for Egyptian nobles. As a result, Dr. Ware reports, the pharaohs ended up with two still-familiar kinds of non-career messengers—"the noble out for an adventure" and the "envoy extraordinary [chosen] because of real tact and ability."

Plus ça change.

ANDREW L. STEIGMAN
Foreign Service Officer, retired
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Linebaugh Remembered

Together with the staff of the JOURNAL, for which he wrote many articles and reviews, his many friends in the Foreign Service and in the Arms Control and Disarmament Agency, we will sorely miss David Linebaugh, who died on September 4 after a long illness.

I had the good fortune to know David as an officer in Bonn, as an ACDA official, and as a distinguished free-lance writer on arms control. He was a success in all three fields—perceptive and inquisitive as a reporting officer, insightful and with strong tactical sense as an official, and pragmatic and ingenious in his many published proposals for arms control.

David was profoundly convinced that human reason could find a mutually acceptable way to cut back the U.S.-Soviet nuclear confrontation. Time and time again he would find some concept or approach to put the idea anew, seeking a finite step that would fit changed circumstances and enable both countries to break the logjam.

David put forth complex ideas with lucid economy, which made us journeymen of prose blush. And he did all this despite crushing physical handicaps from a brutal accident which would have silenced a man with less spirit and determination. Through his ideas and what he was, David gave intellectual stimulus, encouragement, and inspiration to those who knew him. Such a significant contribution could not have been made by David alone; it was, as many know, a team effort with his equally outspoken and courageous wife, Ann.

JONATHAN DEAN
Arms Control Adviser
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Books

Reviews

Arab and Jew: Wounded Spirits in a Promised Land. *By David K. Shipler. Times Books, 1986. $22.50.*

For anyone who has lived in Jerusalem, the introduction to David Shipler's book will evoke nostalgic memories. He lovingly describes daybreak there: the religious activity, the opening of shops, the variety of costumes, the babble of languages. Shipler lived in Jerusalem for five years as bureau chief for the *New York Times*, covering *inter alia*, the war in Lebanon and conditions on the West Bank.

Describing himself as "neither Arab nor Jew," he is critical of both. The author offers no solutions to the Arab-Israeli confrontation and finds, in the context of the human dimensions there, that the government of Israel is more at fault than the Palestinians and their Arab supporters. Shipler attacks the official myth of the Arabs' "voluntary" departure in 1948. He describes in graphic, sickening detail the brutality of the "Green Patrol" (in the Negev) and the Shin Bet. He recounts not only the Deir Yassin massacre but also later, lesser-known atrocities. For these (and other) heresies, his book has been vigorously attacked for "lacking balance."

Shipler deals thoughtfully with a number of subjects often overlooked by the facile columnist or politician. In the book's longest chapter, he discusses terrorism by both Arabs and Jews: that of the Palestinians, the Jewish settlers on the West Bank, and the state terrorism of Israel.

He deplores the evolution of an Arab *Untermensch*, asserting that Jewish "ethnocentrism and religious arrogance feed a political mood today." Israeli textbooks, he claims, perpetuate the image of Arabs as "primitive, violent, and craven." (In fairness, he also describes Arab textbooks as portraying stereotypes of Jews.)

Shipler's book is heavily anecdotal, and his verbatim accounts of conversations with a wide range of Israelis and with Israeli and West Bank Arabs ring true. He punctuates the final part of the book with excerpts from a four-day workshop that brings Israeli Jewish and Arab students together in an effort to develop better understanding of each other. The tentative reaching out and pulling back, particularly of the young Arabs, at this workshop strikes a sad note. One wonders whether such efforts will have any meaningful impact on the stereotypes

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that Arabs and Jews have of each other.

If there is any fault to be found with Shipler's book, it is its length. He illustrates Arab and Jewish attitudes by citing jokes, books, and films—but, I suggest, in far too much detail. This is nonetheless a good book, a troubling, discouraging book. Read it.

—JAMES H. BAHTI

African Independence: The First 25 Years. *Edited by Gwendolen M. Carter and Patrick O'Meara. Indiana University Press, 1985.*

Politics and Government in African States. *Edited by Peter Duignan and Robert H. Jackson. Hoover Institution Press, 1986.*

It has been just over a quarter-century since independence came to most African nations. During the intervening years, the newly independent states'economic conditions have ranged from prosperity to famine, and political conditions from stability to near anarchy. Most have not come close to meeting the high hopes with which they emerged from colonial rule, and Africa today contains the majority of the world's poorest countries.

Why hasn't Africa lived up to the apparent promise of 25 years ago? A spate of recent books and articles have addressed this question. Many of the authors in *Politics and Government in African States* assign the principal blame to African leaders and their "statist" policies; many Africans themselves seek culprits external to Africa. But the contributors to *African Independence,* conclude that African complexities defy either of these simplistic answers.

Though these two books cover approximately the same ground in terms of time and geographic reach, they differ in structure as well as in their conclusions. Duignan and Jackson focus primarily on the "political kingdom" (with inevitable excursions into the social and economic factors affecting political events), and the chapters of their book are organized on a country or sub-regional basis. Unfortunately, many of the contributors appear to have been chosen for their ideological orientation, with the result that the overall work is marred by heavy-handed attacks on the follies of socialism and state enterprises, and by a bizarre attempt to make South Africa look good in contrast to the perceived failings of the new states of sub-Saharan Africa.

Politics and Government offers excellent chapters on Zaire and on the Horn of Africa (by Crawford Young and Christopher Clapham, respectively) and good introductory sections on Anglophone East and West Africa. The rest of the book, however, is simply not worth reading. Victor LeVine, a leading scholar of Francophone Africa, has inevitable problems finding common themes among the 10 countries included in his single chapter, while the remaining sections of the book (mostly by Duignan and L.H. Gann) are just bad scholarship. It is hard to take seriously authors who devote only a half-page to apartheid in a 60-page chapter on South Africa; who see "economic promise" in the discredited homelands; who dismiss the African National Congress as "a front for the South African Communist Party"; who discuss the events of 1975–76 in Angola without even mentioning South African intervention; and who downplay the number of arrests and detentions in South Africa by telling us how much worse it was in Uganda under Idi Amin.

African Independence, on the other hand, is worth taking seriously. Editors Carter and O'Meara appear to have chosen most of the contributors for their scholarship rather than for ideological preconceptions, and the book sets a high standard for careful examination of the continent's fundamental dilemmas. The contributors put the problems or shortcomings of the newly independent states in thoughtful perspective, not sing them to demonstrate the evils of "statism" or to gild the South African lily by spurious comparisons. Organized functionally rather than geographically, *African Independence* includes chapters on both political and economic topics, ranging from the continent's "agrarian malaise" to the role of the military in African politics. Some chapters are more relevant than others to the concerns of the policymaker and the practitioner. Nonetheless, every chapter offers fresh ideas about Africa and its difficulties.

—ANDREW STEIGMAN

Foreign Aid: Its Defense and Reform. *By Paul Mosley. University Press of Kentucky, 1987. $25.*

The University of Kentucky has added another excellent volume to its foreign policy series with this well-researched defense of western foreign aid. The author, a professor of development economics at the University of Manchester, responds to the consistently critical viewpoint of people like Lord P.T. Beuer, as well as the overexuberant claims made annually by AID to Congress. Its message is classic and convincing: development aid does some good in some countries and "offers the prospect of doing better in the future. That is all."

Mosley's arguments ring true. He points out that "political aid" has been unsuccessful. "It may be natural to seek political support by buying it, but on the available evidence this is not an easy thing to do." As an instrument of export promotion, the same verdict applies. And, in considering aid as a promoter of growth, Mosley concludes that it is neutral, neither wildly successful, nor the blanket failure that Beuer is fond of assailing. In some countries it helps, in others it doesn't.

The author does find a brighter picture for altruistic objectives, concluding that aid "has achieved a modest but palpable dis-

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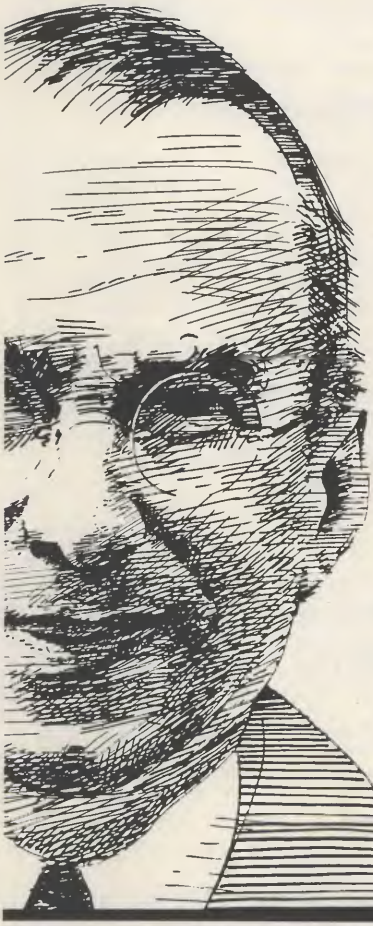
George S. Messersmith, Diplomat of Democracy



by Jesse H. Stiller

George Strausser Messersmith (1883–1960), a courageous and indefatigable man whose remarkable career took him to ten posts on three continents, was described by a Mexican commentator as "the true Diplomat of democracy." Serving as consul general to Germany, minister to Austria, assistant secretary of state, and in succession, ambassador to Cuba, Mexico, and Argentina, Messersmith was a crusader for political and economic democracy both home and abroad. "Jesse Stiller's fine biography explains why this strong-minded and tempestuous diplomat made such a mark on his times. This cogent, judicious and readable account of one of the century's noted diplomatic professionals illuminates the rise of the United States as a world power."—Arthur Schlesinger, Jr., Albert Schweitzer Chair in the Humanities, City University of New York

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tribution of income between countries," though its effect within a particular country is less clear. One reason may be that it still operates in the dark. Evaluation is an undeveloped instrument, with resources allocated more by guess than fact. This is indeed a sorry state of affairs after some 40 years of post-war experience. The author concludes that the shift from bilateral to multilateral aid must be accelerated, and donors must be ready to shift resources from countries where their money is of little help.

One thing missing from Mosley's work is an analysis of Third World debt. But overall, this book is an excellent, succinct study, perhaps the best book written on foreign aid in recent years. —WILLIAM SOMMERS

By Our Readers

Companion to Chinese History. *By Hugh B. O'Neill. Facts on File, New York, 1987. $24.95.* Written by a former State Department interpreter in China, this book is a one-volume compendium of facts, figures, biographies, and definitions of the events, people, and places that have shaped 3,500 years of Chinese history.

East Bank/West Bank: Jordan and the Prospects for Peace. *By Arthur R. Day. Council on Foreign Relations, New York, 1986. $17.50 ($8.95, paper).* Compared with the number of books on Israel and Egypt, the literature on Jordan is relatively sparse. Arthur Day has made a useful addition with *East Bank/West Bank*, drawing on his long experience in United Nations affairs and the Near East Bureau. His book is especially good in discussing Jordan's armed forces, its relationships with the West Bank Palestinians and the Palestinian Liberation Organization, and its role in any moves toward peace in the Middle East.

Escalation and Intervention: Multilateral Security and Its Alternatives. *Edited by Arthur R. Day and Michael W. Doyle. Westview Press, Boulder, Colorado, 1986.* A former deputy assistant secretary of state for Near Eastern and South Asian affairs, the author explores the relationship of local conflict to international security and the influence of multilateral organizations on global security. The book evaluates the diplomatic, political, military, and economic means that influenced the course of six recent disputes.

A Gathering of Gunmen. *By Howard R. Simpson. Published for the Crime Club by Doubleday, New York, 1987. $12.95.* A novel of international intrigue written by a former Foreign Service officer and frequent JOURNAL contributor who is now a consultant on international terrorism.

If you have had a book published recently, send us a copy, including price, publisher, and the date of publication. Write to Book Reviews, Foreign Service Journal, 2101 E Street N.W., Washington, D.C. 20037.

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DIPLOMACY

Diplomacy on a Shoestring

By FAITH RYAN WHITTLESEY

U.S. ambassadors' use of privately donated gift funds—particularly my own use of these funds—has come under intense congressional and media scrutiny in the past year [DESPATCH, November 1986, January, April]. While the Justice Department has concluded that no violations of law took place, the State Department has ruled that, in the future, such private funds may not be used for representational purposes at embassies, with the exception of embassy-sponsored July Fourth celebrations. And so that issue appears to have been settled. Nonetheless, I remain concerned about the deeper policy implications—implications that were not adequately addressed during the recent debate.

If one takes the view that the main function of an embassy, as distinct from that of USIA, is to keep our government well-informed about local events and policy developments, the embassy's role in articulating policy concerns in the host country may well take on only minor importance. In this context, the question of enhancing representational efforts through the use of privately donated funds would not be a consideration.

The broader view, however, holds that it is crucial to engage a wide range of local opinion leaders in substantive exchanges. The evolution of participatory democracy and the communications explosion have brought more players than ever before into the political and economic processes of most societies—open, relatively open, and even closed ones. These people's roles in shaping host-country responses to U.S. policies should not be underestimated.

What brings a dimension of urgency to this broader view is the unpleasant fact that many U.S. policies today are greeted with skepticism, if not outright hostility, abroad. While USIA helps counteract this by sending speakers abroad to explain U.S. perspectives, broadcasting radio and television programs, and dispensing a variety of printed materials, I know of no authoritative official or analyst who suggests that USIA's modest complement of officers and resources is sufficient to deal with the intensity of the international debate over a broad range of U.S. policies. The Soviet Union's spending on comparable activities is about four times the size of USIA's budget.

The purpose of the gift funds, which were donated to individual embassies and administered there by the State Department, was to increase the opportunities for U.S. policies to be articulated on a personal basis. The idea was to create more opportunities for visiting American officials, businessmen, scholars, and—most important—the embassy's own officers to meet with local officials and opinion leaders in relaxed settings. This was the primary purpose of the gift funds, although the terms also allowed for "entertainment of guests of public stature," morale-enhancing expenditures for the embassy staff, and refurbishment of the ambassador's official residence.

The funds available for embassy representational activities are now once again limited to those appropriated by Congress. These amounts have remained relatively static over the years, which is not surprising during a time of budget restraint. With the devalued dollar, however, there has been an actual reduction in funds for most embassies. Our embassy in Switzerland, for example, has been allocated $50,000—or 60,950 Swiss francs—for fiscal 1987; in 1985 it received $41,000, which was the equivalent of 101,300 francs. This year's amount, which must cover our embassy in Bern and our consulates in Zurich and Geneva, permits a monthly total of about three dinner parties (up to 25 guests each), one breakfast (up to 20 guests), and one luncheon (20 guests).

Invitations by U.S. diplomats to receptions, luncheons, and dinners are coveted symbols of the esteem in which we hold our guests, whose understanding—if not agreement—we hope to win. These events remain the coin of the diplomatic realm as well as an aid in cultivating both good will and mutual understanding. They are a means that should not be taken lightly.

Critics say that contributors to a specific gift fund might appear to receive inappropriate benefits from that embassy. It should be noted that similar criticism could be voiced against the practice of accepting tax-deductible donations for embassy-sponsored Fourth of July events or for furnishing embassy residences and the State Department diplomatic reception rooms, donations that continue to be allowed. As it was possible to devise adequate regulatory safeguards to ensure the integrity of these tax-deductible donations, devising adequate regulatory safeguards for representational funds shouldn't be impossible. Another possibility, of course, is to increase congressional appropriations for representational events as suggested by Ronald Spiers, the State Department's undersecretary for management. However, this appears unlikely in the climate of continuing deficits.

Another criticism is that gift funds place career Foreign Service ambassadors at a disadvantage compared with politically appointed ambassadors. It is said that the political appointees are better placed to raise funds and therefore will enjoy more influential and expansive diplomatic styles. There are many ways to ensure that both categories of ambassadors benefit equally. One would be to create a common pool of funds.

I, of course, have adhered to the new State Department ruling on gift funds. I hope, however, that it is not forgotten that it remains critical for the United States to win understanding for its national values and foreign policy goals in an atmosphere and spirit of good will. One of the most important and effective ways to do this is on the personal level. Despite the recent criticism, the privately donated gift funds demonstrated an appreciation of this truth and its broader implications for the advancement of our national interest.

Faith Whittlesey is U.S. ambassador to Switzerland. Reprinted from the Wall Street Journal, *August 14 by permission.*

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CLIPPINGS

Helms's Crusader

"Philip Christenson, 40 years old, is Senator [Jesse] Helms's point man in a crusade against the State Department and, by all accounts, he is the right man for the job. Mr. Christenson seethes with an unabashed contempt for the top brass at the State Department. He believes they mistreated him when he worked there many years ago, and still thinks they look down their noses at him. At the same time he burns with a desire to become an ambassador—a request that he is unlikely to have granted any time soon.

"But with the backing of the dogged Senator Helms, Mr. Christenson is making life miserable for officials at the State Department. As a member of the Republican staff of the Foreign Relations Committee, he is able to wield real power....

"The ability to stall confirmations gives Senator Helms and his staff ideological leverage over administration policies. Mr. Christenson is a free-wheeling operator who forages for facts, drafts speeches, proposes policy changes and, in many subtle and not-so-subtle ways, helps set the logistic agenda.

"At the direction of Mr. Helms, for example, he has helped install a new independent inspector general at the State Department, has held up the appointment of another ambassador, and has worked to block a pet project of George Shultz, construction of an official residence for the secretary of state.

"Mr. Christenson knows his subject well. Indeed, his critics believe he knows it too well. For a brief three years in the early 1970s, he served in the bottom tier of the Foreign Service in Laos and Belgium. He left, he said, after he received a poor performance report and was denied the job he sought in the economics division....

"To this day, Mr. Christenson harbors a thinly veiled disdain for what he calls the 'petty corruption' and 'elitism' of the department and its Foreign Service. With the conviction of a zealot, and with the precision of an accountant, he has compiled a trove of small details that he said can prove his point.

"The determined committee staffer spends much of his day glued to a telephone in his cramped Senate office, plumbing a network of former and current State Department officials to discover damaging tidbits....

" 'He knows where the bodies are buried, and he has a shovel,' Senator Helms added.

'I think he's doing the Lord's work.' "

Jefffrey H. Birnbaum in The Wall Street Journal, September 9

Up and Out

"State Department sources say the U.S. ambassador to Rwanda is being relieved following complaints he allegedly wrote more than $15,000 worth of bad checks abroad, even to the department itself. Before his appointment in 1985, John Upston Jr....was State's 'coordinator for Caribbean affairs,' a post that did not exist earlier and has since been abolished. Career diplomats, not displeased by the episode, resent the use of African countries as a 'turkey farm' for ambassadors selected mainly for their conservatism."

Newsweek, August 3

Up or Out

"A career as a diplomat with the Foreign Service...can no longer be viewed as a lifetime vocation. Hundreds of senior diplomats who in past years could expect to serve until the age of 60 or longer are being forced to retire in their late 40s and early 50s....Officers now have roughly 20 years to advance through the ranks and win promotion into the Senior Foreign Service or, if not, face mandatory retirement—and probably a second career.

"This year, the first year the restriction is fully in effect, 120 career Foreign Service officers did not make the cut....'These are people with successful careers and many productive years left,' said Perry Shankle, president of AFSA....'The rules of the game have changed, and they find themselves on the hit list. These numbers go way beyond dropping some of the weaker players off the table. In [the department's] eagerness to apply a management tool they have lost sight of the skills they are losing.'

" 'It is a slaughter,' said another senior diplomat....'They are an incredible natural resource; they are some of our best people. They speak Urdu and Turkish and Arabic and have 25 years of experience doing substantive work in these exotic fields. Because of the structural problem and budgetary restraints they are killing off every 10th man.'...

"[Edward] Peck [in the Office of Career Transition] concedes the new rules have demoralized the Foreign Service ranks. 'It certainly has had an impact on the morale of people affected and on those who consider themselves potentially affected as they see the train hurtling down the track....Everyone has to leave the Service at some point. The disappointment comes when it comes before you are ready to go.' "

Barbara Gamarekian in The New York Times, August 31

"Even after joining the Foreign Service, being simply a 'very good' officer may not be good enough. This highly competitive

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system and its byproducts are today among the most controversial management issues in the State Department....However, a colleague recently put this issue in a nutshell: 'A competitive system which retained its less competitive members would be wasteful....A rigorous up-or-out philosophy is a practical and workable means of balancing the needs for experience, progression, and employment development.'...

"However, I am deeply concerned about the diminishing percentage of career appointments....We are now at the low point for the past four decades in the proportion of our nation's ambassadors who are career officers. It is wasteful and demoralizing for well-qualified people to climb a 30-year career ladder only to be preempted by someone with substantially lesser qualifications or experience."

Ronald I. Spiers in a speech before the Meridian House–Smithsonian Institution series on diplomacy in transition, August 6

Diplomatic Decadence

"The Soviet's expansionary foreign policy is our major security problem, [Jeane Kirkpatrick points out]. This seemingly unremarkable observation hasn't impressed many in our diplomatic corps. Arthur Hartman, our former ambassador to the Soviet Union, vigorously resisted the move to cut down the number of Soviet citizens working in the embassy even though many of them were known KGB agents....Mr. Hartman also ordered Marine security guards not to search the clothing and tool chests of Soviet construction workers who were building our new bug-riddled embassy complex. He repeatedly opposed 'overt and covert' counterespionage measures, calling them provocative.

"There is a certain decadence in all this....We obviously can employ technical measures to reduce the likelihood that future Clayton Lonetrees will sell out their country....But our embassies won't truly be secure until our diplomats acknowledge the depth of the war of subversion that the Soviets are waging against the United States."

The Washington Times, August 31

Too Many Embassies?

"Between 1980 and 1985 the State Department spent $966 million for new buildings and to upgrade old ones. Last year Congress appropriated $702 million for the same purpose; this year the department is spending another $340 million to protect U.S. facilities....The department argues that these steps are necessary to protect U.S. personnel.

"However, the building program has been a fiscal disaster. The House Appropriations Committee concluded last year, 'The appalling waste and mismanagement that have plagued so many [State Department] construction projects simply must stop.'

"But reform of departmental procedures is not enough. The most basic issue is whether we need the staff who are being housed and protected at such great expense. Why do we need an embassy in any of these countries [Fiji, Guyana, Belize]? They may be very nice places to live, but it is hard to imagine anything of consequence coming out of our official relations with any of them....

"Embassies in even the smallest countries perform a number of functions, of course, like distributing visas to foreigners who want to visit the United States. But this nation is much more restrictive than European countries....We could simply allow anyone to enter. We could simply dispense with such unnecessary travel restrictions.

"Closing down—or at least reducing—foreign missions also would reduce the amount of information sent to the State Department. Retired Foreign Service officer John Krizay figures that the daily volume of embassy reports to the department exceeds by 250 to 300 times the volume of foreign reporting by the *New York Times*....The State Department surely could get by without every one of the half million reporting telegrams that annually pour in from embassies around the world....An awful lot of the work conducted by U.S. diplomats overseas is anything but essential." *Doug Bandow, syndicated columnist, August 18*

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Cutting Red Tape on a Computer

By ROBERT NIELSEN

Till now, Foreign Service employees have thought of the travel headaches that go with their job as, well, work. Enter *Bureaucracy*, a computer game that offers hours of amusement by treating the red tape of an overseas trip as a sporting adventure.

The game is played by typing in responses to situations presented by the computer in text format. It starts innocently enough with you, a new employee of a multinational firm called Happitec, assigned for two weeks of training and recreation in Paris. It is Saturday morning and your flight leaves the same afternoon. Fortunately, you have passport in hand (with a valid French visa), and a letter authorizing you to pick up your airline tickets at a nearby travel agency. A check to cover your expenses is expected in today's mail. When the postman arrives, however, you discover that he has left someone else's mail at your house. An experienced solver of such snafus, you soon realize that your mail must be in one of your neighbors' mailboxes.

And so begins your adventure as bureaucratic nightmares conspire to keep you from meeting your scheduled training session. The retrieval of your mail is complicated by the very odd and eccentric people in your neighborhood. One, a near-deaf, elephant-gun toting lady paranoid about burglars, makes life difficult. Another is a fanatical philatelist who shreds his mail (or in this case perhaps your check) in his zeal to collect stamps.

When finally obtained, the check turns out to be written for a negative amount of money. A good demonstration of one's bureaucratic paper-shuffling skills is needed to turn this amount into a positive figure.

The airport scene should reawaken memories for many Foreign Service members. For one, the signs misdirect the traveler in finding the correct carrier. Departure is further hindered by the fact that the person ahead in line has some complicated business to perform at the counter. Meanwhile, the time moves closer to the moment of departure. Other events at the airport may be more fanciful, but the essential flavor of transit bureaucracy has been accurately captured.

While the airport scene has a ring of authenticity to it, experienced travelers will probably find the overseas episode some-

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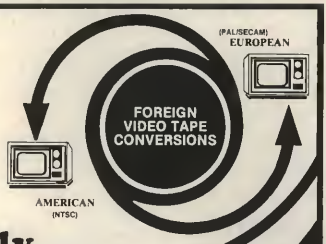

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what wanting. Zalagassa, an imaginary stopover for your trip to Paris, has all the stereotypes of a primitive, underdeveloped country: jungles and cannibalistic natives, for example. At the same time, the natives are avid computer hackers, and Zalagassa is a large computer center that controls events around the world. Imaginative, perhaps, but Zalagassa seems too much the creation of programmers whose knowledge of underdeveloped countries is grounded in Tarzan movies. The game can still be fun, but events here do not have the same realism as some of those in the airport.

The game concludes with an opportunity for the player to destroy the computer that an evil character has been using to make people's lives miserable by creating errors in their bank accounts, scrambling plane and hotel reservations, falsifying computer records, and so on. Players may feel some sense of vindication in ridding the world of this avatar of bureaucracy run amok. Personnel in the Bureau of Administration may feel otherwise.

Bureaucracy is published by InfoCom, famous for its text-adventure games, which differ from the arcade-style games in that they use no graphics. The computer responds to simple English sentences, and develops the story line according to what the player has typed.

For example, the computer has explained: "You are in the front room of a small house. There is a small table in the corner. On the table are a telephone and an answering machine." Should you type in: "Pick up the phone and dial 838-6687," the computer might respond with: "Airport Cab Company. Destination please."

Douglas Adams, the principal author of *Bureaucracy*, is well-known for such best-selling books as *Hitchhiker's Guide to the Galaxy*, which has been converted into a text-adventure game itself. This British author's humor is perhaps best described as zany and bizarre. In his books, for example, one encounters a race of super-intelligent white mice who spend their time doing experiments on human beings wearing lab coats. If you thought that the situation was just the reverse, that is probably just what the mice would have you believe. Such humor seems natural for the game *Bureaucracy*, which bends red tape into fantastic shapes.

It is fair to say that fans of InfoCom's games, or Adams's books, will enjoy *Bureaucracy*. Computer hobbyists, as well, should find the puzzles amusing. Foreign Service personnel who fall into any of the above categories will want to add this program to their collection (unless they are preparing for an imminent move, in which case they may not desire to be reminded of what happens when things go wrong). Potential buyers should be aware, though, that this game is not completed in one sitting: it will take several days to work through all the problems en route to Paris—just like in real life. Given the humor involved, this will be several days of amusement (and some hair pulling).

Versions of *Bureaucracy* are available from InfoCom (P.O. Box 478, Cresskill, N.J. 07626) for the IBM-PC family and compatibles (requires DOS 2.0 or greater and at least 96K), the Apple II series (48K, 16 sector), the Macintosh, the Atari ST, the Amiga, and the Commodore 128. All versions are priced at $39.95 except for the Commodore 128 version, which sells for $34.95.

Robert Nielsen is a Foreign Service spouse who works in the computer field and now refuses to travel past the corner.

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Foreign Service Journal, November 1977: "The House Ways and Means Subcommittee on Social Security approved a surprise proposal to refinance the Social Security Trust Fund by sweeping into it all retirement systems for federal employees, including the Foreign Service retirement system. AFSA immediately wrote the committee strongly opposing such action and asked for an opportunity to testify. We trust that our opposition, in conjunction with that of others...will persuade the full committee to drop merger plans."

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Foreign Service Journal, November 1962: "To get across to our colleges...and the general public, a clearer image of our diplomatic service and the kind of people who can qualify [requires] (1) a clearer and deeper analysis of diplomacy;...(2) a clearer analysis of the competitive factors we are up against;...(3) a more discriminating selection of the Foreign Service officers assigned to present the Service and its requirements to our educational system....As the Wriston Committee said: 'No segment of the Foreign Service machinery stands in more pressing need of modernization than its recruitment of junior officers.' "

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Foreign Service Journal, November 1937: "Tomorrow morning...some 600 ambitious young men will write the examination prerequisite to appointment to the Foreign Service.... Only 36 of the 600 will receive appointment in the Foreign Service....Seventy-five percent of the officers now in the Service are college graduates....All of them knew their ABCs in international, commercial, and maritime law, U.S. history, European history, mathematics, economics, commercial and physical geography, and a choice of French, Spanish, or German....Not only information, but also ingenuity, and ideas are tested in the examinations....Twenty-five years ago the Service had neither adequate salaries nor organization and offered neither a career nor security of tenure. Appointments were based upon political service....But this situation no longer obtains. The Foreign Service now makes sure of the mettle of its men before it admits them."

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THE PERILS OF PERESTROIKA

'Restructuring' and 'new political thinking' are not bluffs, but we have yet to see Gorbachev's full hand

DANIEL N. NELSON

FOLLOWING THE DEATHS of three aged Soviet leaders in three years, the selection of Mikhail Gorbachev as general secretary of the Communist Party was an extraordinarily important event. In Gorbachev, the U.S.S.R. not only has a vigorous leader in his 50s, but an individual of considerable political talent and intellectual acumen. Almost without exception, those who have talked with the new general secretary have found him to be intelligent, well informed, and purposeful. His style of "openness," his criticisms of many Soviet traditions and methods, and his proposed solutions, if implemented, will result in profound changes for Soviet society. Gorbachev has set for himself a surprisingly difficult agenda: reinvigorating economic performance, civic consciousness, and, most broadly, public morality. The outcome of this program, however, is very much in doubt.

In 1982, when the 18-year Brezhnev period ended, the Soviet Union was moribund. Western analysts knew, as did the Soviets, that the centrally planned, command economy and the rigid hierarchy of the party had bred a corrupt elite and a demoralized society. Brezhnev's successor, Yuri Andropov, began a reform process that had some similarities to what Gorbachev would eventually propose. Andropov criticized bureaucratic lethargy and the self-interest of the party's *apparat* (its core of full-time functionaries). His proposed reforms, however, were negated by his own frailty and brief tenure. And they were largely ignored by his successor, Konstantin Chernenko.

By the time Gorbachev took over, however, the need for fundamental reform was painfully evident, with many economic and social indicators showing a dangerous trend (stagnant growth, rising infant mortality rates, high rates of alcoholism and alcohol-related disease, etc.). At the same time, the Communist Party had become the sinecure of aged and ill-equipped bureaucrats, preventing career advancement for younger, better-trained cadres.

Publicly, Mikhail Gorbachev's first year in office was one of style, not substance—a year of prelude. He visited collective farms and factories, greeting people face-to-face who had never seen a major party leader, and appeared in the Soviet media with unprecedented frequency. In that first year the new general secretary created a public persona unrivaled by any leader since Lenin. Within the party, however, his first year was one of major and conflicting personnel changes. Two of the new leader's closest colleagues, Nikolai Ryzhkov and E.K. Ligachev, were added to the Politburo during his first month, and his principal party rival, Grigori Romanov, was ousted from that body in July. There were, however, some changes that were conspicuous by their absence. The Ukrainian Party leader, Vladimir Shcherbitsky, an associate of Brezhnev, remains in the Politburo. Andrei Gromyko, although stepping out of his longstanding role as foreign minister, nonetheless retained a seat, and was given the largely ceremonial position of chairman of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet. Though he was able to place some of his allies in important positions, Gorbachev evidently was unable to make a clean sweep of Brezhnev-era individuals.

Also in that first year, through the first months of 1986, the general secretary formed a new team in foreign policy. To ensure that international relations was under his control, and perhaps to add insights from someone outside the Moscow establishment, he appointed Eduard Shevardnadze as foreign minister. Shevardnadze had little, if any, experience in foreign relations but had served for eight years as first party secretary in the republic of Georgia. He also recalled the experienced Anatoly Dobrynin from his post as ambassador to the United States (where he had served more than two decades) to become the party's principal

Opposite page: At the Communist Party's 27th Congress, Mikhail Gorbachev leveled a fusillade of indictments against Soviet bureaucracy and the party itself.

Daniel N. Nelson, the author of several recent books on the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe, is a professor of political science at the University of Kentucky.

foreign policy adviser.

In this period of prelude, Gorbachev alluded to issues confronting the Soviet Union, but except for efforts to reduce the epidemic of alcoholism, there were few steps to implement policies. The anti-alcohol program, which combined mass mobilization with new laws, reduced production of hard liquor, and expanded production of soft drinks, was a stalking horse. Through this campaign, the Soviet leader initiated a substantive reform affecting all of Soviet society, knowing that it was perhaps the only such endeavor that would garner widespread popular approval and the tolerance of the most orthodox party stalwarts. The alcohol drive concealed much more than it revealed, however. His hidden agenda was a widespread assault on accumulated privileges, waste, corruption, and laziness. The anti-alcohol campaign bought him time, while beginning the kind of sociopolitical regeneration he was seeking.

IN FOREIGN POLICY AS WELL, Gorbachev's first year was devoid of major innovation. There were minor initiatives regarding relations with Asian states, a flurry of arms-control proposals, and the Geneva summit. By March 1986, however, a second stage began. At the party's 27th Congress, the general secretary completed personnel changes in the Soviet leadership by adding five secretaries to the Secretariat (thus enlarging it by more than 50 percent), and one full and two candidate members to the Politburo. He did not seek to remove the last holdovers from the Brezhnev period: rather, he added enough of his associates to make any negative views less likely to carry the day. Parallel changes were made in the Council of Ministers and in the Central Committee, where scores of new people replaced Brezhnev-era personages.

It was also at the 27th Congress that Gorbachev drew the lines of confrontation with opponents of reform and articulated general directions of his policies. In a lengthy, detailed speech, he raised not only issues of economic reform—the need for incentives, heightened worker productivity, and some private enterprise—but also the more deeply embedded malaise of a starkly conservative, bureaucratically entrenched government. It was at this speech that the general secretary introduced his notions of *glasnost* (openness), *novoye myshlenie* (new political thinking), *demokratizatsia* (democratization), and *perestroika* (restructuring), albeit leaving open the precise policy content of such ideas.

A third stage began to unfold early this year.

An idea such as perestroika *only gains substantive content through the actions and decisions of Soviet leaders*

Posters such as this were distributed throughout the Soviet Union in its drive against excessive drinking. Labeled "Price of a Drink," this broadside shows rubles, and certificates for a vacation and a new apartment, sinking into a vodka tumbler.

He had begun, in 1986, to refer to the need for a "revolutionary" transformation of Soviet society and economy, using that term in the context of strengthening the existing order. (President Reagan, of course, had also called for a "new American revolution," by which he certainly did not mean an attack on established institutions). The Supreme Soviet passed new statutes to widen the arena for private enterprise and foreign investment. The KGB chief, Viktor Chebrikov, in an unprecedented move, publicly chastised an errant regional official for exceeding bounds of "socialist legality" in the detention of a Soviet journalist. And scores of religious activists and dissidents, including Andrei Sakharov, were released from prisons or internal exile.

We now know that Mikhail Gorbachev attempted to convene, on at least two occasions last winter, a Central Committee plenum—a meeting of all 300-plus full members of that party body. Why and how his plans were delayed is unclear, but it seems likely that opponents of his ideas were seeking to dissuade him from going ahead. On January 27, however, the general secretary addressed the Central Committee. In what must rank as among the most thoroughly critical expositions any leader has rendered about his own polity, he leveled a fusillade of indictments against Soviet bureaucracy and the party itself. It was an astounding speech.

THAT GORBACHEV CONTINUES to speak of "revolutionary changes" underway in the U.S.S.R. and a "new political thinking" that has caused the Soviet leadership to reassess international and domestic policy, shows the success of his gamble. Events have played into his hands also. Last spring, for instance, when a 19-year-old West German flew a Cessna through hundreds of miles of Soviet airspace to a landing in Red Square, the Soviet leader promptly removed Marshall Georgi Sokolov as defense minister, and fired the chief of air defenses. This rather neatly removed most of the military's resistance to reform. The trial period is not yet over, however; the next few years will remain difficult as *perestroika* continues to be tested.

As with any effort to undertake substantial changes in large nation-states, success is contingent on mass mobilization. In the U.S.S.R., a party that claims to rule in the interests of all working people had lost the ability—and the desire—to mobilize the masses. If anything, seven decades after the Bolshevik Revolution, the party had become the guardian of the status

"Gorbachev's gone too far," says a Soviet official in this American cartoon.

quo. How, then, was Gorbachev to enlist popular participation, including the millions of entirely nominal members, in his efforts to regenerate the party? The answer lies in how he would present the changes to the Soviet people. *Glasnost* and *perestroika*—openness and restructuring—summarize the Soviet leader's approach. These terms, repeated again and again by party spokemen and Western news media, have been fraught with uncertainty, leading pundits to infer that *glasnost* is little more than a "bureaucratic substitute for freedom of speech." But this imprecision is purposeful. Only gradually has Gorbachev given tangible content to such phrases, and only after he had first made the necessary personnel changes. There is, then, a tactical element to these vagaries. Yet, an idea such as *perestroika* only gains substantive content through the actions and decisions of Soviet leaders. Even after more than two years of regular use, Soviet officials will admit candidly that there are major obstacles in filling out such a broad notion with specific policies and programs. To this day, no one really knows how far "openness" or "restructuring" is meant to go.

IT IS CLEAR, however, that within these Russian terms lies the potential renaissance of a powerful nation-state and the metamorphosis of the political organization that has held power for 70 years. Neither word is an empty slogan, a bluff, though we have yet to see the general secretary's full hand. Far beyond the borders of the Soviet Union, the unfolding of *perestroika* and *glasnost* may affect the whole Eastern bloc. On the other hand, if the reforms implicit in these terms are not realized, then both *perestroika* and *glasnost* could be harbingers of political entropy, with egregious consequences for the Soviet people as a weakening superpower senses its own peril.

That the potential of his ideas may not be realized is understood most fully by Gorbachev himself. There have been ample references to unnamed opposition from within the party and state bureaucracy. This opposition is rooted in the institutions of the Soviet system. The "leading role of the party" has been an immutable principle since 1917, meaning that no political alternative is sanctioned, and the party guides and directs all social, economic, and political activity. Unchallenged, the party has grown secure but lethargic. Its own operational codes have been the most conservative imaginable. "Democratic centralism" denies lower levels of the party any right to demur from policy decisions. Party committees control the selection and assignment of members to important posts in all social and economic units and organizations. The party, not surprisingly, has tended to advance people who do not innovate and do not challenge.

Inherent to Gorbachev's notion of restructuring seems to be a weakening of democratic centralism—at least, he has talked often and vigorously about the need for intra-party criticism—and abbreviating of the *nomenklatura*, the roster of party leadership positions. Performance and merit are the watchwords of his

The task of American diplomats will be to help further such . . . reforms as the lessening of censorship, the release of more political prisoners, the broadening of emigration, and the reduction of central programming

In his first year, Gorbachev visited collective farms and factories, meeting people face-to-face. Here he visits with students from the Tallinn Polytechnical College.

implied "revolutionary change," coupled with a much freer hand for economic management in making enterprise-level decisions. Already the legal basis for ending many aspects of central planning has been laid through joint resolutions of the party's Central Committee and Council of Ministers announced last June and July. These decrees, combined with a new "Law on Enterprises" that he proposed, and the new Central Committee endorsed in June, could (if fully implemented) connote a fundamental transformation of the Soviet economy.

FOR THE INSTITUTIONS AFFECTED by the general secretary's pronouncements, *perestroika* and *glasnost* may be an ill wind. Mikhail Gorbachev's words suggest uncomfortable changes to those who had been accustomed for decades to the same procedures of centralized economic planning, personnel selection and assignment, and policy implementation. For the party elites, the threat is to their standard of living as well, if his castigation of privileges and status were to be translated into specific reforms. In the KGB, one can surmise that the previously mentioned public reprimand of an officer and release of dissidents does not add to the morale of the organization. For the military, his stated commitment to construct Soviet international policy "more than ever" on the basis of "domestic policy, [and on the basis of] our interests in concentrating on constructive endeavors to improve our country" must evoke serious concerns about future resources.

It is in the general population, however, that Gorbachev will face his greatest challenge. *Perestroika* and the other notions central to his "new political thinking" will mean the increasing role of competition in Soviet society, where prices of commodities, wages for workers, and

prestige for intellectuals would derive from demand, productivity, and merit. Such competition and incentives will contribute, gradually at first, to social stratification, and perhaps to unemployment. Guarantees to which Soviet citizens have grown accustomed may no longer be ironclad. The general secretary must convince, and keep convincing, the Soviet people that his path is worth the effort and a period of uncomfortable transition. If he cannot keep the masses on his side, his experiment will go nowhere. *Perestroika* has too many natural enemies among Soviet institutions to go it alone.

THE GORBACHEV REVOLUTION is not mere theater. Regardless of the ultimate success or failure of the general secretary's effort to reinvigorate the U.S.S.R., any changes will resonate throughout communist Europe, among Moscow's client states, and wherever Soviet and American interests collide. *Perestroika* accompanied by other watchwords of systemic change will affect the vitality of America's principal adversary and, consequently, the Soviet role in the world.

What we see happening in Moscow, of course, comes at a time when U.S. leadership has, once again, been weakened by scandal. The impairment of the Reagan presidency by the Iran-contra debacle has been documented in various polls. At the same time survey research in many Third World countries shows a positive trend in the image of Soviet leadership. In some countries the American president is viewed as less trustworthy and less peaceful than the Soviet leader. We ought not be sanguine about such unprecedented comparisons. They exacerbate political difficulties of our allies and raise the diplomatic costs of any actions we take to constrain Soviet influence. And, while improvement in others' evaluations of American leadership may be achieved through significant initiatives in foreign policy or by concluding a far-reaching intermediate-range arms accord, there remains the issue of how to handle the image and substance of Mikhail Gorbachev.

There is no reason to fear a Soviet leader who encourages commitments to domestic change, to arms control, or to negotiated settlements of disputes. The general secretary must, after all, now live up to the vision of a "new" Soviet Union. The impression garnered by his first few years will be tested by his actual deeds in those to come. The United States can contribute to the "testing" of *perestroika* and *glasnost* by encouraging them through our own international communications and diplomacy.

The task for American diplomats will be to help further such nascent reforms as the lessening of censorship, the release of more political prisoners, the broadening of emigration, reduction of central planning, and a greater willingness to engage in flexible dialogue regarding arms control and regional conflicts. This is best achieved by reciprocal example. Challenges such as those raised in President Reagan's speech at the Berlin Wall in early 1987 may have been more effective had the "openness" which the president demanded been demonstrated by his own administration. Given the sophisticated world audiences with which both superpowers must communicate, the greater openness of the American system ought to be our forte. The United States has always been an open society and has always exhibited a capacity for systemic change far greater than the Communist Party can undertake. Less reticence about these tangible resources of competitive democracy would enable American policy to handle the image Gorbachev has so successfully projected. Unfortunately, the inherent strengths of our system cannot be utilized when ideology and a penchant for deniability combine to exclude professional diplomats or elected representatives from matters of national security policy.

Conducting American diplomacy in the Soviet Union requires, as a direct consequence of *perestroika*, an enhanced understanding of the Soviet system as a whole. Many people have come and gone from the Kremlin, ministries and bureaus are being reformulated, and procedures and regulations are being rewritten. For the first time in more than a generation, knowing central planners, principal spokesmen, and the composition of the Secretariat and Politburo will not suffice. Now, more than ever, we need to adjust our sights, and strive to view the Soviet system not from its apex, but from its base. Put simply, the changes require knowing more people, knowing the individual republics beyond Russia, and knowing the quality of enterprise managers. Thus, with openness and reform, Gorbachev has made the job of conducting diplomacy in and with the U.S.S.R. far more complex.

It is already clear that Mikhail Gorbachev has engendered a heightened dynamism for the Soviet world role, even as he has spoken of his domestic priorities. The U.S.S.R. remains, as it has been since World War II, principally a military superpower. As the Gorbachev era continues, however, it seems probable that wars of national liberation or vaguely Marxist revolutionary regimes will not receive

Conducting American diplomacy in the Soviet Union requires, as a direct consequence of* perestroika, *an enhanced understanding of the Soviet system as a whole

Soviet largesse as they have in past years (especially in the 1960s and '70s); indeed, he has taken pains to speak relatively little about support for such movements or regimes. The dynamism of the Soviet Union's world role will, instead, come from the "new political thinking" advocated by the new leader, which augurs well for a more perceptive and sophisticated Soviet diplomacy. The U.S.S.R. has already sought assiduously to repair its relations with Asian states and has seized the initiative in arms-control negotiations. Most important, but less noticeable, has been the Soviet leader's rejection of the von Clausewitz formula—formerly adopted by Lenin and Soviet military leaders through Sokolovskii and Ogarkov—that war is a continuation of politics by other means.

Americans can deal effectively with such adaptations in Soviet foreign policy only if we can detach ourselves from expectations developed during 40 years of superpower confrontation. We expect the U.S.S.R. to be intransigent regarding matters of national security. Issues such as on-site inspection were American issues, insofar as we could raise them at will to pin the image of intransigence on the Soviets. As recent initiatives have shown, this has changed. So, too, has the issue shifted with regard to international terrorism. For years the United States could accuse the Soviets of being the principal perpetrator. Now, however, the World Court has judged the United States, in several related decisions concerning Nicaragua, to have violated customary international law and Nicaraguan sovereignty, and to have interrupted peaceful maritime commerce, as well.

Issues that used to clearly distinguish the United States and the Soviet Union, usually to our benefit, have thus become clouded. Particularly since 1985, the United States has had to confront a foe who is no longer the same easily characterized adversary we faced for more than four decades, while American policies have been subjected to many of the same criticisms that the U.S.S.R. earned in prior years.

THE CHANGES INAUGURATED by Mikhail Gorbachev are fundamental, affecting both the Soviet Union and our relations to it. There is much yet to learn about what *perestroika* connotes for the future, and we should retain a healthy uncertainty about prognoses for his success. Yet, in our relations with the U.S.S.R. during this period of transition, the United States must encourage rather than challenge, and expand our knowledge of the Soviet system rather than rely on what we have known. Further, to expect that policies and issues we have employed to contain Soviet influence will remain effective—in the face of "new political thinking" and greater dynamism—would condemn the United States to a foreign policy of reaction rather than reality. □

President Reagan and General Secretary Gorbachev meet at the summit in Geneva (opposite) and Reykjavik (left). The talks opened a dialogue between the two great communicators—but accomplished little else.

THE UPS AND DOWNS OF SUMMITRY

Conventional diplomacy, rather than summitry, has defused most Soviet-American crises in the post-war world

CHARLES G. STEFAN

THE JURY IS STILL OUT on the question of the long-run usefulness of President Reagan's past two summit meetings with General Secretary Gorbachev. The 1985 meeting in Geneva was largely devoted to an informal exchange of views and certainly did not generate any adverse repercussions. At the hastily convened meeting in Reykjavik in 1986, however, the Soviet leadership obviously hoped to stampede President Reagan into major concessions on their current *bete noire*, the Strategic Defense Initiative. While the Kremlin failed to achieve this objective, the president's apparent agreement to eliminate all U.S. and Soviet offensive ballistic missiles at the end of a 10-year period caused serious concerns both within the Congress and among our NATO allies.

But how about summitry in general? While this form of diplomacy attracts great media attention, in the long run summitry has seldom resulted in important changes; moreover, it is fraught with hazards. Summitry almost inevitably tends to obscure the adversarial quality of the Soviet-American relationship, and thus contributes to periodic, extreme, and often unwarranted swings in American attitudes toward its chief global rival. Summitry also injects considerations of internal politics and personal prestige into the complex area of international relations. Last, it certainly does not provide the best environment for the negotiation of highly technical agreements in such areas as arms control. If a president makes a mistake on a substantive issue in the rush and crush of a summit meeting, he cannot easily be disavowed. By its very nature summitry removes the important cushion of higher authority to absorb any asperities or mistakes.

To judge the efficacy of summitry, let's begin

with several pertinent questions:

- Does anyone really remember the fleeting and highly publicized "Spirit of Geneva" that surrounded the first post-war summit meeting in 1955?
- Did the summit in early 1961 between President Kennedy and Premier Khrushchev leave impressions in the latter's mind that contributed to the Soviet decisions to authorize the construction of the Berlin Wall, and later to send offensive nuclear missiles to Cuba?
- Were the U.S.-Soviet summits in the 1970s really a prerequisite for agreements on the arms-control measures signed at those meetings?
- Have any important and lasting results emerged from the other agreements and declarations signed at those summits?
- And, finally, if Soviet leaders seek summits at times when they have important objectives in mind but rebuff such meetings on other occasions, is it prudent for us to place so much emphasis on holding these top-level conclaves?

The answer to all these questions, in my opinion, is no. On the other hand, the mere fact that a summit is scheduled inevitably tends to focus high-level attention in both Washington and Moscow on the various problem areas in U.S.-Soviet relations. It seems clear that the Eisenhower-Khrushchev summit of 1959, for instance, helped defuse the second Berlin crisis initiated by the Soviet leader in late 1958. And a former high ACDA official has said that the SALT II negotiations could not have been completed if President Ford and Leonid Brezhnev had not met face to face at Vladivostok in 1974 "and resolved the central problem that was effectively preventing completion of the treaty. This was the principle of equal ceilings."

IN FACT, apart from the on-again, off-again second Berlin crisis, all of the principal post-war U.S.-Soviet crises were settled not by meetings at the summit, but by a deft combination of actions, including the application of limited force or the threat of force, and old-fashioned secret diplomacy. This combination worked to bring about mutually acceptable compromises in the crisis precipitated by Stalin's imposition of the Berlin blockade in 1948 and by his subsequent approval of the Korean war in 1950, and by Khrushchev's dispatch of offensive nuclear missiles to Cuba in 1962.

It is worthwhile to recall the general restraint exercised by U.S. presidents in each of these major confrontations. When Stalin imposed the Berlin blockade, President Truman did not

go beyond an air lift to the beleaguered capital. In the Cuban missile crisis, Kennedy limited his response to the imposition of a naval quarantine, rejecting proposals to remove the missiles by air strikes. The president promptly deployed American strategic forces and began to mobilize impressive conventional forces in areas near to the island. It is clear that this display of power caused Khrushchev to cave in and seek the best possible exit from his major and risky challenge.

TO LOOK BACK UPON these crises resulting from direct or indirect Soviet actions, it is noteworthy that, in each of them, the United States enjoyed great nuclear superiority over the Soviet Union and nonetheless settled for compromise solutions. Even in the case of the missile crisis, widely regarded as a U.S. "victory," it is often forgotten that in return for the withdrawal of Soviet nuclear missiles and bombers, Kennedy pledged not to invade Cuba. In effect, this guaranteed the presence of a Communist power in the western hemisphere. This record shows how unfounded are the assertions still heard to the effect that ever since the end of World War II, the general United States posture toward the Soviet Union has been overly rigid and too uncompromising. In fact, there have been elements of compromise in every one of our major post-war confrontations with the U.S.S.R. or its communist allies.

It may be appropriate here to consider briefly a suggestion by Walter Mondale and a few other distinguished Americans to make East-West summits routine, perhaps through annual meetings. Routine summits might help maintain a patient and steady approach to our relations with the U.S.S.R. However, while regular summits between allies have merits, they pose serious hazards if applied to adversaries. For example, would a summit scheduled for a week after the invasion of Grenada or Afghanistan, or after the shooting down of KAL-007, have been postponed, cancelled outright, or taken place? Under any of these three options, it is likely that tensions would have been aggravated rather than lessened. And what about summits scheduled just before or after the incapacitation by illness of leaders either in Moscow or in Washington. These obvious hazards may help explain the relatively indifferent reaction so far to the proposals for routine or annual summits.

On balance, after weighing the pros and cons of summitry, perhaps the best approach is that of Dean Rusk, who concluded over twenty years ago: "Summit diplomacy is to be approached with the wariness with which a prudent physician prescribes a habit-forming drug—a technique to be employed rarely and under the most exceptional circumstances, with rigorous safeguards against its becoming a debilitating or dangerous habit."

Charles G. Stefan is a retired Foreign Service officer who is now an instructor at Santa Fe Community College in Gainesville, Florida.

President Eisenhower and Premier Khrushchev near Washington in 1959 (opposite), and President Ford and Leonid Brezhnev at Vladivostok in 1974. The mere fact that a summit was scheduled helped to resolve the Berlin crisis in the first instance and to conclude the SALT talks in the second.

Nitze and the approximately dozen members of the Policy Planning staff pose for a formal portrait. Composed entirely of FSOs, the group was small enough to allow intimate communication and collaboration, yet large enough to include experts on a wide range of subjects.

Policy Planning at Its Pinnacle

George Kennan founded the State Department 'think tank,' but Paul Nitze brought it to its zenith

David Callahan

In late April 1947, Secretary of State George Marshall summoned George Kennan to his office and made a very special request. He asked Kennan—then a popular lecturer at the National War College—to put together a staff devoted to long range foreign policy planning. The details of who would be on this staff and how it would work were left up to the career diplomat. The secretary had only one bit of advice: "Avoid trivia."

For some time, Kennan agonized over the directive. Where were the people for such a staff to come from? Was it to be a blue-ribbon panel, or a group of hardworking scholars? What would be the exact responsibilities of the group? Although Kennan is well known in the history books for his lengthy and painful cogitation, this was one time when he did not let tough questions bedevil him into inaction. By early May 1947, he had succeeded in putting together a group of mid-level Foreign Service officers like himself, who had various areas of expertise. With offices in the department and a mandate from the secretary to study long-range questions, the Policy Planning Staff was ready for action.

And plenty of action there was. With Europe near starvation and the cold war growing more frigid with each passing week, the post-war world was a complex and frightening place. Meeting the challenges of this new and uncertain age demanded more than adroit diplo-

macy; prescience and maturity were essential as well. The job of the Policy Planning Staff was to step back from the fray, look into the future, and, as Kennan put it, to formulate "long-term programs for the achievement of U.S. foreign policy objectives." In that capacity the staff was closely involved in the European Recovery Plan and national security planning, serving as a "kind of collective counselor" to the secretary of state. Kennan's organization remains a legend today because it succeeded in bringing coherence to foreign policy during a period of chaos. Between late 1947 and early 1948, the Policy Planning Staff—S/P—was perhaps the most influential planning group in the government.

The key to the staff's early influence was threefold. First, Kennan himself was a man of considerable influence in Washington. His 1946 Long Telegram on Soviet motives had received a wide reading among national security officials. His subsequent lectures at the National War College, the Naval and Air War Colleges, and elsewhere gave him high visibility. As an eloquent advocate of fashionable views, he had become a celebrity of sorts. And when he took over the Policy Planning Staff he was able to capitalize on that status.

The second factor was the relationship that the group had with the secretary of state. Not only did Kennan work closely with Marshall, but on a procedural level, staff papers went directly to the secretary. In this way, the group functioned in an independent manner, largely free from the interference of other officers in the department.

Finally, its influence lay in the nature of the organization itself. Few groups in the government, and none in the State Department, took the same sweeping approach to the foreign policy problems facing the United States. While assistant secretaries could comment authoritatively on their regions, none was able to offer a truly global view. By providing just such a perspective, S/P filled a critical gap in the policymaking apparatus.

FOR ALMOST TWO YEARS Kennan's Policy Planning Staff wielded substantial influence. But when Dean Acheson became secretary of state in early 1949, things began to change. Within months two critical components of the staff's influence—Kennan's prestige and direct access to the secretary—were severely compromised.

Acheson, it quickly became apparent, did not have much confidence in Kennan. He placed little value on his Foreign Service experience and disagreed sharply with him on critical matters relating to the future of Europe. This lack of rapport soon manifested itself in a loss of access to the secretary. In early September, a new procedure was adopted that required all S/P papers to be circulated through the department for approval before going to the secretary. To Kennan, the implications of this change were clear: "The staff was to be deprived of direct access to the secretary of state in the presentation of its views; from now on, staff papers would be subject to the veto of any of the chiefs of the operational division of the department." In Kennan's mind, this new state of affairs was intolerable. By late September he decided that the time had come for him to leave government. Writing in his diary, he commented that "The whole *raison d' être* of this staff was its ability to render an independent judgment on problems coming before the secretary or under secretary. If the senior officials of the department do not wish such an independent judgment, or do not have confidence in us to prepare one which would be useful, then I question whether the staff should exist at all." In a diary entry a month later, Kennan remarked dejectedly that "my Policy Planning Staff...has simply been a failure."
It is often suggested in the literature on na-

The job of the Policy Planning Staff was to step back from the fray, look into the future, and, as Kennan put it, to formulate "long-term programs for the achievement of U.S. foreign policy objectives"

George Kennan was asked to put together a staff devoted to long range foreign policy planning in 1947. He led the influential group for almost two years.

tional security affairs that the group never did, and never can, regain the influence it had wielded under Kennan's directorship. To many, those days of grandeur were the product of unique historic and bureaucratic circumstances, unlikely to be replicated. However, largely forgotten in this hasty attempt to dismiss all the planning staff's later activities is the tenure of Paul H. Nitze as director from January 1950 until early 1953. A close examination of this period demonstrates that the organization not only functioned as Kennan had envisioned, but was in many ways more influential than ever.

IT WAS KENNAN who originally recruited Nitze, calling him during his initial and frantic search for qualified members. He wanted a deputy who knew something about economics. A State Department expert on foreign economic policy and former Wall Street investment banker, Nitze was an ideal candidate. But when Kennan went to then Under Secretary of State Acheson, he demurred. "I know Paul Nitze," Acheson said, "and he is not the kind of deep thinker you want. He's a practical operator and that isn't what the Policy Planning Staff needs. It ought to be thinking in broad policy not concrete operations." By the time he became secretary, however, Acheson had changed his mind, and in the spring of 1949, Kennan again called Nitze and offered him the job. Nitze accepted.

While Kennan officially remained director until the beginning of the new year, in reality he began to turn over many of his responsibilities shortly after announcing his intention to resign. In Nitze, Acheson found a man he could relate to. Wall Street experience combined with an insight into military affairs gained as vice chairman of the U.S. Strategic Bombing Survey made him a pragmatic hard liner. Instead of anguishing over the endless subtleties of an international situation as was Kennan's tendency, Nitze worked very much like the investment banker he had once been—amassing the available data, identifying the options, and making the most attractive choice. It was this ability to organize ideas and recommend policies that made Acheson consider Nitze a "joy to work with because of his clear, incisive mind." For the the next three years, the two men would get along famously.

Nitze's first major assignment came at the end of January. President Truman directed the old Atomic Energy Commission to "determine the technical feasibility of a thermonuclear weapon" and ordered the secretaries of state and defense to "undertake a reexamination of our objectives in peace and war and of the effect of these objectives on our strategic plans in light of the probable fission bomb capability and possible thermonuclear bomb capability of the Soviet Union." Perhaps one of the most important presidential directives of the postwar era, Truman's order set into motion a mas-

sive scientific effort that in two years produced the most powerful weapon of war ever created. [See "Truman, Acheson, and the Bomb," June 1983.] Just as important, it led to a sweeping review of national security policy that resulted in the writing of National Security Council memorandum 68.

To carry out Truman's directive, Acheson and Defense Secretary Louis Johnson agreed to the formation of a State-Defense Policy Review Group to reexamine U.S. objectives in peace and war. Chaired by Nitze, the group included some five or six members of the Policy Planning Staff and representatives from the Department of Defense and the Joint Chiefs of Staff. While, officially, State and Defense people contributed equally to the review, in reality it was Nitze and his colleagues who set the tone. They were naturally inclined to consider policy questions in a broader framework than were their counterparts from the Pentagon. Their State Department colleagues, who had long ago determined that major increases in military spending were essential, also supported their views. Hence, policy planning members were not afraid to recommend a substantial increase in the defense effort and an abandonment of the president's $13.5-billion spending ceiling. The Pentagon officials, in contrast, had to contend with Defense Secretary Johnson, who was politically committed to the ceiling and would tolerate no discussion of higher budgets.

BEGINNING IN EARLY FEBRUARY the State-Defense Policy Review Group worked steadily for six weeks. It was, in Nitze words, "a grueling experience," but by the first day of spring the group had completed the bulk of its work. Written largely by Nitze himself, NSC 68 was a highly unusual memorandum. It ran over 50 pages and read more like a manifesto than a government report. In sweeping terms and dramatic language, the document portrayed the United States and the Soviet Union as locked in a mortal battle for control of the world. The conflict, wrote Nitze, was "between the idea of freedom under a government of laws, and the idea of slavery under the grim oligarchy of the Kremlin...." To extend its "slave society," the Kremlin would stop at nothing. With an ever-growing arsenal of nuclear and conventional weapons, NSC 68 stated the Soviets posed an intolerable threat to the survival of the free world. The only prudent course of action, Nitze and his colleagues concluded, was for the United States to increase defense spending drastically.

Above all else, the drafting of this document proved that the Policy Planning Staff was not a failure. During Kennan's final days its influence had been reduced, but with Nitze as director, ties to the secretary of state again became strong. When NSC 68 was being written, Nitze kept Acheson closely informed of what went on through daily briefings. Accordingly, the group's work met with the secretary's full approval when it was completed. Like most of the S/P papers prepared from 1950 to 1953, NSC 68 officially circulated through the department before receiving Acheson's approval, but in reality it reflected the secretary's thinking from the beginning. The handling of the directive underscored a point that would remain true through the remainder of the group's existence: as long as its director had the confidence of the secretary, the Policy Planning Staff could render the kind of independent judgments Kennan had hoped for.

The question of independence aside, NSC 68 demonstrated that S/P could still work well in bringing coherence to the national security policymaking process. Not only was the staff closely involved in the actual drafting, but it also played an instrumental role in coordinating the implementation of the document's recommendations—working precisely as Kennan had envisioned. As Nitze later summarized, "NSC 68 illustrates how our first task is to develop and sell an idea within the Department of State, our second is to work with other departments and agencies in developing and elaborating this idea so that it will represent a coordinated governmental position, and our third task is to participate in the follow-through so that the operational decisions will be taken in light of the nation's long run purposes."

The "follow-through" as Nitze called it, was in many ways a far more demanding task than the actual drafting. When the document was first presented to President Truman he did not sign it, requesting instead that estimates be done on the costs involved. Translating the paper's broad recommendations into specific programs with detailed budgets meant coordinating many different departments and agencies and took a great deal of time and effort. As Nitze commented in 1951, implementing the paper was a project that the "S/P has given the major part of its attention to during my services on the staff."

Without question, the drafting and implementation of NSC 68 was Nitze's greatest accomplishment during his years with S/P. Thirty-seven years later, the group's success with that

In sweeping terms and dramatic language, NSC 68 portrayed the United States and the Soviet Union as locked in a mortal battle for control of the world

Paul Nitze headed the Policy Planning Staff as its independence and influence reached its peak. The group fundamentally altered the U.S. view of the Soviet Union.

document still stands as one of the more remarkable bureaucrat feats of the postwar era. Yet the State-Defense Policy Review was only one of the many projects that Nitze's Policy Planning Staff worked on. The staff was intimately involved in the formulation of national security policy at the highest level for three years. Although mostly concerned with such seminal issues as nuclear weapons and policy toward the Soviet Union, Nitze and his colleagues also worked on everything from managing the Korean war to preparing presidential addresses. Indeed, during Nitze's tenure S/P was one of the most influential groups within the national security establishment. In contrast to later years, the Policy Planning Staff was seldom ignored in the early 1950s. "You weren't off in a corner," recalled former member Charles Burton Marshall, "you really were involved."

IT WAS NOT SOLELY the willingness of the secretary to listen to the planning group that mattered; his own position in the administration counted as well. In Acheson's case, that position was an extremely strong one. Unlike most of the secretaries who succeeded him, Acheson did not have to engage in exhausting guerrilla warfare against the secretary of defense and the president's national security assistant to protect his turf. Truman regarded the secretary as his primary adviser on national security affairs. With Acheson's influence unchallenged, the planning staff's position was secure as well.

Personal relationships in the State Department were also important. Acheson's reliance on Nitze was even greater due to his discomfort with many other members of the department. In particular, Acheson did not have much confidence in his undersecretary of state, James Webb. Picked by Truman, Webb was not Acheson's choice for the job, and the two men never worked very well together. As one former department official recalled, "It wasn't that these men were at each other's throats or wouldn't speak to each other, but there was not close collaboration between them." In addition, there was no particular talent in Jim Webb for dealing with the problems of foreign affairs.

Acheson was no more enamored of his assistant secretaries. Made up almost entirely of Foreign Service officers—a profession for which Acheson had little use—the assistant secretaries tended to concentrate on their own areas, usually emphasizing narrow concerns, often ignoring the larger picture. To shape a coherent national security policy, Acheson felt he needed broader analyses. With their emphasis on long range planning and overall policy, Nitze and the Policy Planning Staff provided precisely the sort of global thinking and sweeping guidance that Acheson found lacking in the rest of the State Department.

Comprising roughly a dozen members—mostly FSOs as had been true under Kennan—

the staff was small enough to allow for intimate communication and collaboration, yet sufficiently large to include experts in a wide range of fields. Like Kennan, Nitze generated a sense of intellectual excitement and sought to create a working environment free of rigid hierarchy and senseless bureaucracy. Charles Burton Marshall remembers that Nitze "had a great capacity for making collaborators out of his subordinates." His conception of the staff was that of a hard-working group of thinkers, striving together to solve complex foreign policy problems. He saw little room for the sort of relationships that often characterize government. He encouraged open debate, feeling that the dialectical process was easily stifled by the pettiness and obsequiousness that hierarchies usually spawned. "He was the sort of fellow," recalled Marshall, "who could lose an argument gracefully."

At the same time, Nitze was determined to accomplish a lot. To insure that plans were translated into action, he had the staff maintain close contacts with the operating officers of State. "The best plan," he observed, "is of little but academic interest until it is acted upon. We have found it is important to participate in this follow-through so that...we don't lose touch with the actual operators and become an ivory-tower organization." Follow-through work was also critical to deal with problems that only surfaced during implementation. "Every plan," said Nitze, "has to be revised in light of these specific and unforeseeable difficulties, and often the work of revision is the most important part of the job."

During the fall of 1950, Nitze, the Policy Planning Staff, and other agencies helped produce four revisions of NSC 68, each draft shorter and more specific than the one preceding it. The final product, approved in December 1950, outlined the specific military steps the United States would take over the next two years. Still concerned that the U.S. was not moving fast enough in its military effort, Truman instructed "the secretary of state and the secretary of defense to undertake immediately a joint review of the politico-military strategy...with a view to increasing and speeding up the programs outlined in NSC 68/3" (a revised draft.)

No action was taken on Truman's directive until June 1951, when S/P and people from Defense began working on a paper (known as NSC 114) warning that the Soviet Union was pulling ahead militarily, because the United States was not fulfilling its rearmament goals. "The strength in being of the United States and its allies," the document stated, "has probably increased in absolute terms less than that of the Soviet system." A "review of the world situation shows that the danger to our security is greater now than it was in April 1950," it concluded. The paper recommended that the government accelerate its efforts to implement the military programs specified in NSC 68/3.

Truman approved the directive without hesitation, indicating the degree to which the government had embraced the basic assumptions of NSC 68. The once sacrosanct defense budget ceiling quickly faded from memory. Abandoned too was Kennan's notion that military force should be a secondary rather than a primary instrument of containment.

THE BREADTH AND SWIFTNESS of these policy changes is nothing short of remarkable. In only a year and a half, NSC 68 had fundamentally altered the U.S. view of the Soviet Union. No longer would intentions and interests be the chief basis for gauging the Soviet threat. Instead, the bare facts of Soviet military force would be the focus of national security planners. The early containment policy had been premised on the idea that direct Soviet military aggression was extremely unlikely, but the logic of NSC 68 dictated that such aggression was inevitable if the defense effort lagged. Thus the policy of containment was transformed from an essentially economic and political effort into a massive military program to prepare for conventional or nuclear attack by the Soviet Union.

For Nitze, the days of directing the Policy Planning Staff came to end shortly after President Eisenhower took office. On January 20, 1953, Secretary of State John Foster Dulles—fresh from the White House inaugural luncheon—officially took command of the State Department. One of the first things he did was to call Nitze into his office and make clear to him the impossibility of continuing to have him directing S/P. "You are Mr. Acheson's principal adviser and we fought this election campaign on the thesis that we are going to have a new foreign policy, a different foreign policy," Dulles told the staff director. Frankly, I don't really differ with him...but I can't afford to have the appearance of just continuing that policy and therefore I can't afford to have you running the Policy Planning Staff for me." Thus, Paul Nitze left the State Department in June 1953. He did not return for three decades. □

With their emphasis on long-range planning and overall policy, Nitze and the Policy Planning Staff provided precisely the sort of global thinking and sweeping guidance that Acheson found lacking in the rest of the State Department

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David Callahan is a writer living in Massachusetts. He is working on a biography of Paul Nitze.

The Dilemma

An American diplomat ponders the pain of leaving the nest

ALBERT CIZAUSKAS

UNCLE BILLY didn't understand why the department was sending him two political advisers. They were definitely not what he needed. He already had two older hands, veterans of the Netherlands Indies before the Japanese occupation. They managed the bread-and-butter business of a consulate general—visas, citizenship matters, shipping documentation, even occasional political reporting. But Uncle Billy jealously kept most of the reporting to himself. And now he was to get two departmental officers, not even Foreign Service types, who no doubt would charge like wild broncos into a situation that called for careful handling. Only someone like himself, who had lived and worked in the Netherlands Indies before the war, could be expected to understand what was happening.

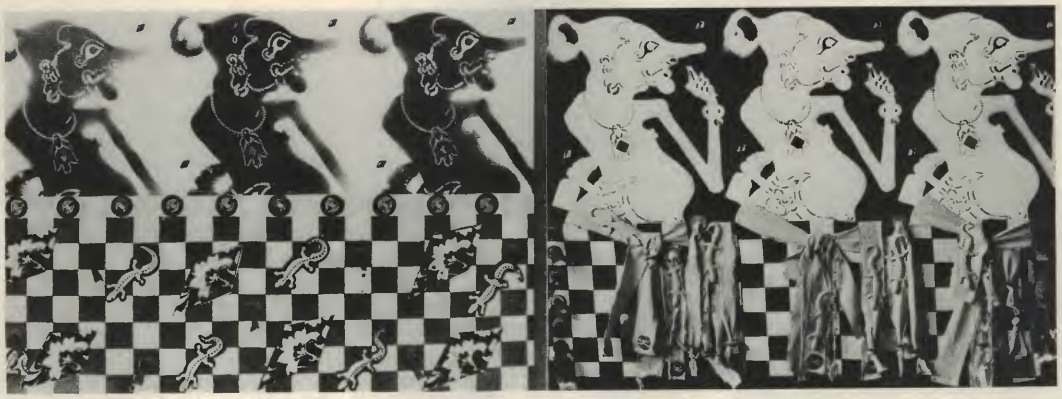
Yes, it was true the work load was increasing rapidly, with the outbreak of open war between the Indonesians and the Dutch. After the British had taken over as interim caretakers from the Japanese in 1945, the rebellion had more or less smoldered. But when they had turned the whole mess back to the Dutch at the end of 1946, no one, neither he nor the department, had expected that it would come to this. Certainly not when he had been sent to re-open the consulate general at Batavia, the capital, in 1945.

Albert Cizauskas, a Foreign Service officer for 26 years and a former employee of the World Bank, is now a free-lance writer.

What he needed was a personal aide, someone not too young, not too old, bright but loyal, who could take over the administrative garbage and leave the substance to him. He could manage the reporting by himself. (No one wrote despatches anymore, the consul general thought ruefully. In the old days, one could allow thoughts to marinate for a while before committing them to paper. But instantaneous communication rather than analysis was the rule now, and the result was a flood of mindless telegraphese—chopped-up and glued-together words that concealed a lack of thought.)

There were other things an aide could do, like seeing to it that everyone assigned to the consulate general kept out of the way. The staff now included three commodity specialists (for rubber, for copra, and for sugar), and a trade expert who reported to Commerce. A naval attaché, a sound-enough professional, seemed better suited to the deck of a warship than to the confines of a consulate general. Worst of all, Uncle Billy had to contend with an intelligence agent. What nonsense! The government was kept fully and adequately informed by his own reporting without needing a spook to go messing about. The consulate general had become just a big, uncoordinated grab-bag of non–Foreign Service specialists, people who knew little about the country to which they were sent, and cared less. And, with the exception of Navy Captain Shields, these hired hands had no conception of the diplomatic niceties that greased the wheels of doing business with foreigners. Brown-nosing the newcomers called it. With their blunt, no-frills approach, they created problems for everyone, including themselves. A personal aide could keep a watch on their activities, and, more to the point, keep a lid on what they shouldn't be doing.

But, instead, what was he getting? More staff who would need looking after. Well, he couldn't complain again to the department. Last time around, his complaining got him an inexperienced, non-career vice consul, one of those 90-day wonders who didn't have to take the Foreign Service exams to get an appointment, so badly had the war depleted the Service. Uncle Billy gave him the consular junk—certifying invoices that had to accompany commercial shipments to the States and working the telegraphic codes. He chuckled to himself as he thought of the dank and dark room where the cryptographic equipment was kept. Before the war the room had been a bathroom in the combined office and residence. When he repossessed the building, he converted the bathroom into a code room, not realizing until later that the change had really been inspired, the ideal place for the



messages from the department.

Well, he saw that he had no choice and asked one of his assistants, Jack Ketcher, to meet the new members of the staff. They would arrive tomorrow at Batavia's harbor, Tandjong Priok, on the Dutch passenger liner, the *Oranje*. Uncle Billy glanced at the large, old-fashioned wall clock that had ticked its way through the Japanese occupation. That's how things used to be made, to outlast adversity. He saw that the clock's hands were evenly spread, six o'clock—time for a mint julep. He stepped into the one representational car supplied by the department, a stripped-down Chevy, and drove to his hotel—living quarters were no longer available in the consulate general due to the staff's expansion.

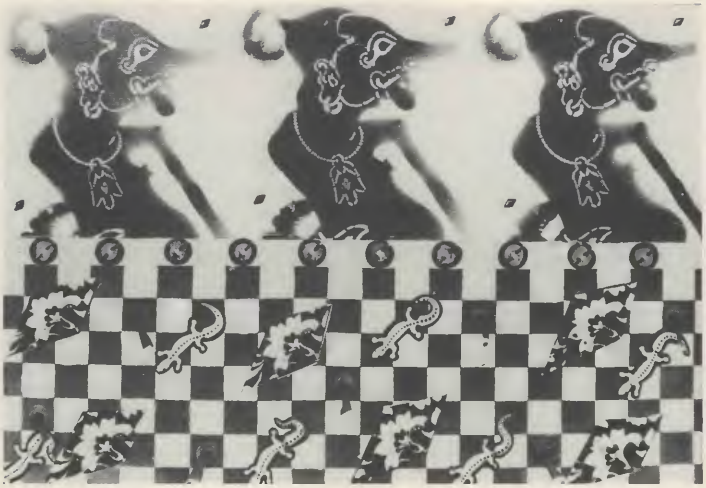
Uncle Billy felt a surge of pride when he saw the walls along the way painted over with the phrases from the Constitution and the Gettysburg Address, even if occasionally misspelled. "Life, Liberty and the Persuit of Hapiness," "All Man are Crated Equal." He sympathized with the Indonesians, but he believed, along with the Dutch, that they just weren't ready for independence. Of course, he admitted to himself, this was the fault of the Dutch, but give them time, give them time.

His attention, as always, was soon distracted by the traffic. His faithful, turbaned Indonesian driver from prewar days, Amat, skillfully dodged his way along the potholed streets clogged with jeeps, run-down relics with their doors held together by baling wire, *betjaks* (bicycle-powered rickshaws), rickety buses crammed with people spilling out the sides, and even an occasional oxcart, which had the right of way on the wrong side of the road due to an ancient custom. Uncle Billy pondered on this anomaly. He wondered why the Dutch, otherwise a sober people, drove on the left in Batavia while they drove on the right back in Holland. He knew it had something to do with another British occupation of the islands a long time ago, but he was still puzzled.

Amat guided the Chevy along a wide, cement-sided canal that split the city, flowing to the harbor miles away. The canal had once been a sparkling waterway, carrying goods to and from the port. Uncle Billy shook his head sadly at what was now little better than a cesspool, the watery home of Indonesians uprooted by the war and subsequent hostilities. They washed clothes, bathed, cleaned their teeth, frolicked, and defecated in it. Occasionally, the bloated remains of a body floated by, a grim reminder of guerrilla warfare. Uncle Billy smiled as he thought of the wife of an American businessman who was so horrified by the canal and its contents that she shut herself up in her hotel and didn't emerge until she left the country. Batavia in 1947 had the appearance of a once-elegant dowager, scarred and dowdy after an illness that was not yet over. Still, neglect had not obscured the beauty of the countryside that had so captivated him when he first arrived in the 1920s. The Dutch were right in calling the archipelago the "Islands of the Gods." When guerrilla activity slackened, Uncle Billy liked to get out of town. Seeing the countryside once again restored an inner equilibrium that the constant Indonesian-Dutch wrangling denied him.

He never tired of looking at the Javanese land, sloping down the sides of cloud-capped volcanoes, watered by terraced ponds, green with growing rice shoots--and everywhere, palms spiraling into the sky. It all had the appearance of a gigantic botanical garden, but one inhabited and worked by humans, and, today, Uncle Billy regretted, fought over. Further inland, plantations of rubber, tea, coffee, quinine, sugar, tobacco, and oil-palm, rundown as they now were, still gave evidence of the rich estate culture he remembered from pre-war days.

AMAT DROVE PAST THE entrance of the Hotel des Indes, the one large hostelry that had survived the war. Uncle Billy waved as usual to the portly Dutch manager standing outside the complex. Stretching beyond the entrance were avenues of bungalows, interspersed with palm trees and flowering tropical bushes. Uncle Billy sighed contentedly as Amat guided the car to one of the larger bungalows toward the back, in a secluded corner. Exiting the car, he went directly to his small refrigerator to mix the julep and then sat down on the veranda, sipping and listening to the soft gongs of a distant gamelan orchestra, the haunting sound of the



islands. The drink and the music massaged his tired mind, but suddenly a familiar voice intruded into his reverie. "Michael, this is the fabulous Uncle Billy I've been telling you about, the chap who goes about Batavia with his Texas cowboy hat. His name is really Walter Ambrose Brooke, but he wants everyone to call him 'Uncle Billy.'" John Ward, the British consul general, smiled as he introduced the two.

"Pleased to meet you, son. Welcome to our Alamo, otherwise known as Batavia. As I've told John, in Texas a man always wears a hat when outdoors, but I wouldn't be seen dead wearing the pimples that pass for hats nowadays. May I offer you a mint julep?"

"Michael, you better say yes quickly. Uncle Billy's mint julep is what keeps us going in this city. He serves them every Sunday morning at his notorious open house. No one stays away, not even the minister—after the services, of course. Uncle Billy's bash is one of the few traditions left over from the good old days. We all linger in an alcoholic daze until well in the afternoon, when we stagger off to a monumental dinner of *rijstafel*. I won't even attempt to describe it. Just take my word for it, if you survive Uncle Billy's juleps and the spiced rice dishes, you'll become a welcome member of our Sunday Club."

The talk soon shifted to an all-absorbing topic: the recent police action in which the Dutch broke out of the narrow perimeters around the cities of Java and Sumatra and recovered much of the estate country. But guerrilla warfare marred the operation, making it a costly one and preventing a genuine rehabilitation of the estates. "What does your department think about all this?" inquired the British consul general. "Whitehall seem to be in a bloody fog, one day condemning the action, the next seeing it as the only solution."

Uncle Billy's response was blunt. "The department," he began with some heat, "doesn't know its ass from its elbow. All it does is ask for information, information, information. But does it ever give me any clue as to what policy it intends to follow? Sure, we're giving Holland millions of dollars in post-war aid, but the Dutch here are still afraid that the department is going to pull the rug out from under them. And that's all I know and that's the goddamned truth."

Ward changed the subject. He inquired about Arturo Crawford, whom everyone knew to be an American intelligence agent. "Has Arturo been able to locate Surabaya Sue? Our intelligence chappies think that she's smuggling rubber to Singapore to make money for the Indonesians."

Uncle Billy frowned. He had detested this woman from the very first time he heard of her clandestine broadcasts from Surabaya, Java's second largest city. A fiery supporter of independence, she inflamed the Indonesians against the British, and they promptly dubbed her "Surabaya Sue." They regarded her as a traitorous madwoman. Worst of all, Uncle Billy thought, she had become an American citizen. His red-rimmed eyes betrayed stress when something unpleasant came up. A mild stutter then interrupted his Texas drawl, as it now did. "Arturo has a lot of fish to fry, and I haven't had a good chat with him for a while. I'll remember to ask if he knows what that Jezebel's up to these days."

THE NEXT MORNING, Uncle Billy fidgeted as he awaited the arrival of the department's water boys, as he thought of them. Finally, Jack ushered them into the office. "Uncle Billy," Jack said, "this is Mike Flanigan and Ted Smith." Looking at them, he thought there wasn't much difference between the two. Both looked like the scrubbed, seersucker, pipe-smoking, Ivy-League types who followed the secretary around with yellow pads and copied down the policy droppings the great man left behind.

After some chit-chat, Ted, who seemed to be the senior of the two, gave Uncle Billy a letter from the assistant secretary for far eastern affairs. He said, "The department appreciates what a great job you are doing here under difficult, and, I may say, even dangerous conditions. And your thoughtful telegrams have been superb."

Uncle Billy could tell from where the wind was blowing, and he didn't like the smell. When he was finally alone, he opened the official-looking letter and read:

"All of us in the department are grateful for the splendid job you have done under the most adverse conditions." —Uncle Billy was sure Ted must have drafted the letter— "With the situation worsening, I can sympathize with your concerns for an amicable and just resolution to the present crisis.

"I know and appreciate the logic of what you have consistently outlined to the department: which is that the Dutch, who had such an outstanding

record before the war, deserve the opportunity to correct their one major failing, a failure to educate the Indonesians to assume their rightful role as an independent people.

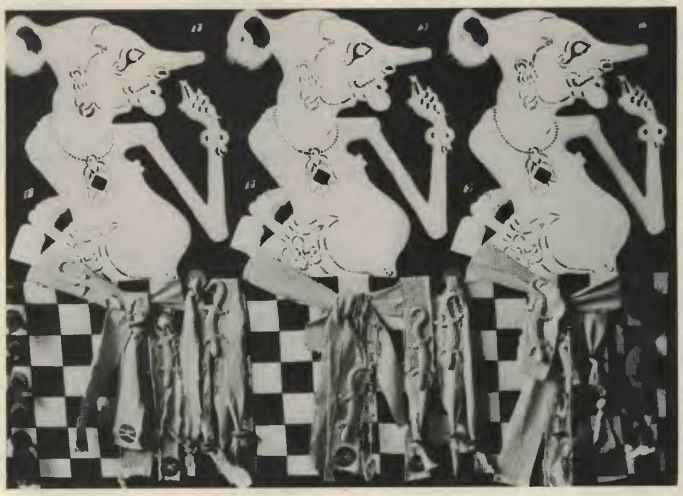
"Although you may be right that the Indonesians need a period of education, it's clear that they are not going to wait. They want freedom now and are willing to fight for it.

"So the dilemma before us is what course the United States should follow. After much careful deliberation, we have decided we must support a forthcoming UN initiative. We will therefore vote for an immediate cease-fire and the start of serious negotiations under UN auspices, with the aim of working out an acceptable formula for Indonesian independence.

"I can well understand that, under these circumstances, you may wish to leave Batavia. We have an important assignment for you here, as special assistant to the deputy assistant secretary, where your invaluable experience and expert knowledge of the area may be put to effective use."

Uncle Billy put on his jacket. A tall man, he looked impressive in the white linen suits that he favored. With his ten-gallon hat, he was a familiar and endearing sight in town, even a reassuring one to the Dutch, who were well aware of his sympathies. He asked Amat to drive him earlier than usual to his bungalow. Fixing himself a light scotch and soda, he tried to sort out some thoughts.

DRINKING SLOWLY, Uncle Billy let his mind drift back to 20 years ago when he was still in his early 40s. He recalled once again the sensuous pleasure that overwhelmed him the first time he saw the beauty of the Javanese landscape, the land so carefully cultivated it looked as if it were manicured. And the Indonesians impressed him as a handsome race, friendly and lively, at peace with themselves and with others. He was even more stricken with the magic spell of these islands when, at a dinner party, he met the beautiful, 20-year-old daughter of a high Dutch official. She was a Eurasian, as was her mother. Uncle Billy



felt immediately drawn to the raven-haired beauty and she, despite the disparity in their ages, was fascinated by the tall, handsome stranger from the fabled state vof Texas.

Soovn, they were seen everywhere, at the Harmonie Social Club, the Hotel des Indes Saturday night dances, consular representational functions, and cocktail parties, as well as sailing, playing tennis, and riding. At first, her parents felt mildly flattered that a member of the American diplomatic service should pay their daughter such marked attention. And they liked him, so open, friendly, and spirited. But as the relationship became more ardent, the parents began to worry. Leila was to marry a law student just as soon as he completed his studies in the Netherlands and returned to the Indies to practice. There was no question in their minds of what was right for Leila. Settling down in Batavia with an ambitious young Dutch professional was so much better than leading a gypsy life in the American diplomatic service, living everywhere and belonging nowhere. This foolishness on Leila's part had to stop.

Leila and Walter were by now passionately in love. But Leila's parents were adamant. They thought it best to send her back to Holland, where she would regain her perspective in the company of her betrothed. But a week before she was to sail, Walter got word that Leila had killed herself. The parents blamed him, and worst of all, he blamed himself.

Yes, her parents thought they knew what was best for her and tried to compel her to act in her own best interest. Of course, Uncle Billy thought, they were right. Undoubtedly, she would have been better off with the law student than with him.

Funny how he remembered everything about their relationship yet sometimes he could forget what happened only yesterday. The words kept repeating themselves. Her parents had been right, but still she would be alive today if they hadn't insisted on it.

A teasing parallel with the Indonesian situation began to insinuate itself into his mind. Perhaps the department might have a point, after all. He didn't think the Indonesians were ready for independence, but better let them, like Leila, have their way. Let them make their own mistakes.

Uncle Billy slowly made up his mind. Thinking about Leila's death, he had come upon the answer to the dilemma. Still, it was hard to accept; he had to tell himself over and over, that it was time for new actors and a new script.

And so Uncle Billy left Batavia and the land he loved. The consulate general in time became an embassy, and Batavia became Jakarta, the capital of an independent country. □

Artwork: Mixed media canvas by Sally Ehrlich Hoffman

PEOPLE

1988–89 AFSA/AAFSW Scholarships for Foreign Service Students

Applications for the AFSA Scholarship Programs are now available for dependent students of career American Foreign Service personnel who have been or are currently stationed abroad. The *AFSA/AAFSW Merit Awards* are for graduating high school students and are based on academic excellence. Twenty-two awards of $500 each are usually given every May. The *Financial Aid Scholarships* are for full-time undergraduate study in the United States and are based solely on need as established by the College Scholarship Service, Princeton/Berkeley. Grants range from $200 to $2000 for individuals, with a $300 limit for families. Write for applications and information now from the AFSA Scholarship Programs Administrator, 2101 E Street, N.W., Washington, D.C. 20037. The deadline for completion and return of applications is February 15.

Other Scholarships Available to Foreign Service Students

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

Secondary Schools

The American School in Switzerland, (TASIS), TASIS England: $1000 tuition reductions are offered at the TASIS Schools in Switzerland and Great Britain to all sons and daughters in grades 7-12 of State Department personnel stationed overseas. Additional financial aid may be offered on the basis of need. 250 boarders in Switzerland and 150 in England represent 40 different nationalities. For more information, contact: Caroline Cox, TASIS U.S. Admissions Office, 326 East 69th Street, New York, New York 10021. Telephone: (212)570-1066. Telex: 971912.

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

Dana Hall School: The Congdon Prize Scholarship is awarded on a competitive basis to two entering sophomore resident students. In addition to the $2500 prize, each winner is eligible for financial aid up to full tuition when warranted by need. Financial aid for all grades is also available based on need. Applications must be completed by February 1. Inquiries should be addressed to: Sarah C. Kirby, Dana Hall School, Wellesley, Massachusetts 02181.

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

Miss Hall's School: A $2500 reduction is available for the daughters of Foreign Service personnel. Miss Hall's enrolls 200 students from grades 9 through 12. This reduction is offered in recognition of higher travel costs and represents 20 percent of the total tuition cost for 1987-88. For further information, contact Diederik van Renesse, Director for Admissions, Miss Hall's School, Pittsfield, Massachusetts 01201.

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

The New Hampton School: A $1000 abatement on tuition to Foreign Service boys and girls. The school enrolls approximately 300 students in grades 9 through postgraduate. For information write to Admissions Office, the New Hampton School, New Hampton, New Hampshire 03256.

Northfield-Mount Hermon School: A $1000 reduction in tuition is offered all sons and daughters of State Department personnel stationed overseas, grades 9 through 12. This reduction is afforded in recognition of higher travel cost. Additional financial aid is available on the basis of need. At present, students from 45 states and 63 countries are enrolled. For further information contact Virginia deVeer, Director of Admissions, Northfield Mount Hermon School, Northfield, Massachusetts 01360.

Phillips Academy, Andover, Massachusetts: The Charles and Jane Stelle Memorial Scholarship is awarded to the son or daughter of a Foreign Service person. The award is based on financial need. For more information, and to apply for this scholarship, write to Jeannie F. Dissette, Dean of Admissions/Clement Morell, Director of Financial Aid, Phillips Academy, Andover, Massachusetts 01810.

St. Andrew's School, Middletown, Delaware: The Norris S. Haselton Scholarships are awarded to sons and daughters of Foreign Service families where scholarship assistance is indicated. The school enrolls 245 stu-

AFSA/AAFSW Scholarship Programs 1988–89

Who? For dependent students of Foreign Service personnel who are serving or have served abroad for foreign affairs agencies covered by the Foreign Service Act.

What? *Merit Awards* for graduating high school students in 1988 only, based on academic merit. *Financial Aid Grants* to full-time undergraduate students in the United States, based on need.

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When? IMMEDIATELY. All applications must be completed and materials returned to AFSA before February 15, 1988.

Children of Foreign Service personnel in the lower grades are especially encouraged to apply.

dents in grades 9 through 12. At present, students from 26 states and 12 foreign countries attend. For further information write the Director of Admissions, St. Andrews School, Middletown, Delaware 19709.

Vermont Academy: An Edward R. Cheney Memorial Scholarship is being awarded to the son or daughter of a Foreign Service person. The academy enrolls 250 students in grades 9 through 12. For information write to the Director of Admissions, Vermont Academy, Saxtons River, Vermont 05154.

Wykeham Rise: A boarding school in Washington, Connecticut with an international student body of 85 girls, grades nine through post-graduate year, has announced a $2000 tuition reduction available to daughters of Foreign Service employees stationed abroad. Wykeham provides a warm supportive environment in a low-pressured, carefully structured setting. The school offers a strong program in music, dance, theatre, and the visual arts to complement its college preparatory curriculum. For more information, write Ruth Boerger, Dir. Admissions, Wykeham Rise, Washington, Connecticut 06793.

Colleges

Dartmouth College: S. Pinkney Tuck Scholarship. For students at Dartmouth College who are the children or grandchildren of Foreign Service officers of the United States and who are in need of financial assistance. Address inquiry to the Director of Financial Aid, Dartmouth College, Hanover, New Hampshire 03755.

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

Yale University: Children of American Foreign Service officers will be considered for a need-based scholarship made possible by the gift of Gilbert H. Kinney (B.A. 1953, M.A. 1954) and Mrs. Kinney. If no child of an American Foreign Service officer qualifies, children of members of the U.S. military services or of employees of the federal government will be considered. Recipients must demonstrate financial need according to Yale's criteria and must, therefore, complete the regular financial aid application process. Contact: Director of Financial Aid, Box 2170 Yale Station, New Haven, Connecticut 06520.

Deaths

C. WALTER HOWE, a former Foreign Service officer and professor emeritus of political science at Frostburg State University, died of cardiac arrest on August 23 in Cumberland, Maryland. He was 64.

Mr. Howe, who lived in Frostburg, Maryland, was born in Hot Springs, Arkansas. He was graduated from Dartmouth College and served in the Army during World War II. He returned to Dartmouth to earn a master's degree in political science.

He joined the State Department in 1946 and was posted to Washington. His overseas assignments included Indonesia, Iran, and Luxembourg. Mr. Howe left the Foreign Service in 1954 to continue his studies at Boston University, where he earned his doctorate in 1961. He then worked for the American Council on Education in Washington, and in the late '60s became a professor at Frostburg State. He retired as professor emeritus in 1979.

He is survived by four children, one sister, and five grandchildren.

JOHN DAVID LINEBAUGH, former deputy assistant director of the Arms Control and Disarmament Agency and retired Foreign Service officer, died of a heart attack September 4 in Washington, D.C. He was 69.

Mr. Linebaugh was born in Muskogee, Oklahoma, and was graduated from Oklahoma University. He later received a master's degree in international relations from Tufts University.

After working for five years in the old Budget Bureau, he joined the Foreign Service in 1946, serving in London, Bonn, and Karachi. He then joined ACDA, working closely with Paul C. Warnke, its director at the time. Mr. Linebaugh retired in 1976.

A founding member of the Committee for National Security, Mr. Linebaugh has contributed articles on arms control issues to the *Christian Science Monitor*, the *New York Times*, the *Washington Post*, and the JOURNAL.

He is survived by his wife, Ann; three sons, Peter and Andrew, both of Boston, and Nicholas, of Washington; and four grandchildren.

NORMAN J. PETTIPAW, retired officer with the Foreign Agricultural Service, died of a heart ailment August 29 in Washington, D.C. He was 62.

Mr. Pettipaw was born in Brookline, Massachusetts, and was graduated from the University of Massachusetts, where he also earned a master's degree in agricultural economics.

He joined the Agriculture Department in 1954, and served as agricultural attaché in Indonesia, Italy, Israel, Jakarta, Taiwan, and Stockholm. Mr. Pettipaw was European area officer when he retired in 1984.

He is survived by his wife, Mildred; two sons, Erik, of Silver Spring, Maryland, and Douglas, of Bethesda, Maryland; two daughters, Colraine Hunley, of Doylestown, Pennsylvania, and Lynn, of Bethesda; and one brother, Robert, of Boston.

EDGAR L. PIRET, a former Foreign Service officer and chemical engineer, died September 24 in Massachusetts. He was 77.

Mr. Piret was born in Winnipeg, Manitoba, and emigrated to the United States in 1922. He was graduated from the University of Minnesota in 1932 and later received doctorates in biochemistry and chemical engineering from the University of Lyon, France, and the University of Minnesota, respectively. He then became a professor, and worked as a consultant to 3M Corporation. Through his research, Mr. Piret was credited with several scientific breakthroughs that led to products like the Scotchlite Bead technology used for highway signs, K-rations, and a method for testing toxic pollutants in the atmosphere.

Mr. Piret joined the Foreign Service after his involvement as a Fulbright professor in France. In 1959, he became science attaché at the embassy in Paris. He then acted as physical science officer there in 1966, and later rose to counselor for scientific affairs.

For his contributions to the field of chemical engineering, Mr. Piret was awarded the Walker Award. He was also named to the Légion d'Honneur and received numerous other awards. He was also a board member of several science-related organizations.

Survivors include his wife, Alice, of Lexington, Massachusetts; his brother, Paul, of Snyder, New York; and his children, Mary Louise, Jacqueline, John, James, and Marguerite, all of Massachusetts, and Robert, of Paris.

PHILIP A. WOLCOTT, JR., retired Foreign Service officer with USIA, died of cancer and an embolism on September 13 in Bend, Oregon. He was 62.

A native of Ashland, Oregon, Mr. Wolcott was graduated from the University of Oregon, where he also earned a master's degree in journalism. A former newspaper photographer and writer, he was a recipient of an Associated Press grand prize for photographs of an airlift at a Korean orphanage in 1962, and earned the agency's career achievement award.

His overseas assignments included press office positions in Stockholm, Beirut, Belgrade, and Abu Dhabi. He was chief of political and social processes at USIA's bureau of programs in Washington when he retired in 1985.

He is survived by his wife, Betty, and two sons, Steven Kelly, of La Selva Beach, California, and Philip, of Alexandria, Virginia.

Births

ANTHONY MICHAEL DUNCAN, was born to AFSA's Membership Coordinator Myriam Duncan and her husband, Tony, on September 4.

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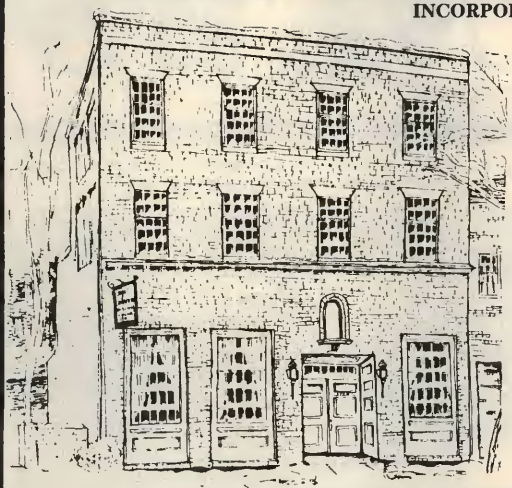

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AFSA NEWS

Several hundred employees came to the Dean Acheson Auditorium on October 2 to help AFSA officers put together a game plan to combat planned cuts in the State Department. The cuts could eliminate as many as 1300 jobs and result in several post closings.

State Department cutbacks could result in 10% staff reduction

Calling it "the most serious threat to the well-being and integrity of the Foreign Service in 30 years," AFSA severely criticized a plan announced by Secretary Shultz on September 18 to reorganize the State Department and reduce its staffing levels both in Washington and overseas to meet a budget shortfall of $84 million. Two embassies and 13 consulates will be closed, and as many as 1300 Civil Service and Foreign Service positions could be eliminated.

"AFSA is dismayed at the prospect of reduced diplomatic capability during a critical time in international relations," AFSA said in a statement released to the press shortly after the secretary's announcement. "It is also our belief that the announced cutbacks will adversely affect a staff that has already been pared to the bone, while offering no real savings to the taxpayer."

AFSA also noted that "less than one percent of the federal budget is devoted to the arm of the government designed to obviate the need for force....Do we really value diplomacy so little? Do we really want to reduce America's ability to avoid war? The cost of diplomacy is a small price to pay for eliminating confrontation and the consequent lives lost and dollars spent."

In a speech to Foreign Service personnel officers the following week, AFSA Vice President Evangeline Monroe stated that "the magnitude of the [State Department personnel] problem is larger than at any time since the McCarthy period." She criticized management for not fully exploring "all possibilities to meet the [budget] shortfall. We understand that the department is not exempt from budget cuts, and that we must economize drastically. But we have to question the judgment of management to take most of the cuts out of the hides of the employees." She pointed out that the department is likely to have a computerized budget, fiscal, and information system and an expanded security service but will have fewer Foreign Service employees to pay or to guard.

Some of the changes follow:

- Cut 500 positions by reorganizing and consolidating offices and bureaus, and cut the bureaus of politico-military affairs, economics, and public affairs by 25 percent;
- Cut bureau executive director offices;
- Move regional bureau budget and fiscal functions to the comptroller's office;
- Eliminate 25 deputy assistant secretaryships;
- Eliminate the 10-percent post differential; and
- Cut senior awards, language incentives, diplomat-in-residence and Pearson programs, and Sunday pay at Arab posts.

The secretary declared that there will be no reduction in force, but if the force-reduction goals are not met through attrition, AFSA fears, a RIF will be authorized by Congress.

Retirement transfer deadline is midnight, December 31

Here is an important, 11th-hour reminder to all Foreign Service personnel now covered under the Foreign Service Retirement and Disability System.

December 31 marks the end of the six-month period during which employees covered under the FSRDS may elect to transfer their retirement coverage to the new Foreign Service Pension System. Both AFSA and the State Department have issued numerous notices, publications, cables, and other advisories comparing the provisions of both systems, while continually emphasizing that this one-time opportunity to transfer will terminate at the end of this year. Even so, inquiries are still being received from individual employees indicating that there are a number of personnel who either have been too busy or too preoccupied to take the time to consider whether a crossover to FSPS might be to their advantage.

Not every employee would necessarily benefit from making the change. At the very least, however, everyone currently covered under the FSRDS should carefully evaluate that option and then make the decision either to stay or to transfer to FSPS.

Months ago, the department made software available to overseas embassies and consulates as well as to the component elements within the department itself to provide individual employees with computer printouts comparing estimated post-retirement income. Anyone still covered under FSRDS who has not already done so should take advantage of this service without delay.

Don't let December 31 pass by without your having evaluated the retirement benefits available under both systems.

Time is running out!

State Standing Committee

Labor Union or Professional Organization?

By Evangeline Monroe, State Vice President

When Perry Shankle and I were making courtesy calls on senior State Department management officials, most of them felt impelled to tell us how long they had been members. With one exception, all the career officials we called on were members. Looked at in that light, is AFSA a true labor union?

AFSA competed for and won the right of exclusive representation of Foreign Service employees in State and AID more than 10 years ago. The membership voted to become a labor union, and AFSA is justly proud of the capability it has developed in employee-management relations. We intend to strengthen our labor-union role.

But traditionally, AFSA had been—and still is—a professional association, and our bylaws identify us as such. Members of the Foreign Service have never ceased to regard it as a professional association. Many of the more senior officers in management justify their continued membership on that fact. The Foreign Service Act permits all Foreign Service personnel, regardless of rank or position, to be members and to vote in elections. The act even permits officials holding management positions to be represented by AFSA as long as there is no conflict of interest, but it does not permit them to serve as AFSA officials. Once these officials leave their management positions, they resume the right to hold office.

This dichotomy between union and professional association exists because of the nature of the institution we represent. The Foreign Service is not a factory, nor is it a collection of know-nothing munchkins, though our harshest critics would like to reduce us to that. In addition, it is not always easy to tell where labor stops and management begins. Our drive as individuals to reach management-level positions, for instance, contributes to our sense of profession and commitment to the Service.

Through the years, emphasis on AFSA as a union or as a professional organization has changed. In the 1970s a group of "young Turks" argued that AFSA had to emphasize bread and butter issues. Today, the voices we hear say that AFSA must be more active professionally.

There are advantages to both approaches. AFSA as a labor union has bargaining rights, but they are restricted by rights reserved to management. As a professional organization, AFSA has no bargaining rights, but it has no restrictions either.

In exercising our role as a professional organization, we must examine the characteristics that make the Foreign Service a profession and look for ways to make us more effective practitioners. We must define ourselves and our role and help others understand the Foreign Service better. (Some, of course, might say that unions fulfill similar functions.)

It is in this spirit of seeking greater understanding and support for the Foreign Service that we have launched a congressional outreach program. To that end, Perry and I have already met many of the key committee members on the Hill. In doing so we do not seek a confrontational role with management; indeed, the department would stand to benefit if our efforts to develop a constituency succeed. State's leadership told us they agree that AFSA is not only a union but has a legitimate role to play as a professional organization. We meant what we said in this regard. Time will tell if management did.

Change in fiscal year

AFSA is changing its fiscal year, Treasurer Sam Mok has announced.

Until recently, the fiscal year ran from July to June. This created difficulties for incoming boards, which take office at the same time. When fiscal year 1987 ended last June, the board decided to bring the fiscal year into conformity with the calendar year.

Hence, fiscal year 1988 will begin on January 1. During the intervening months, the board will be making an extensive review of AFSA's fiscal affairs.

AID Standing

An Agenda for 1988

By Hank Merrill, AID Vice President

With the election behind us and the dust reasonably well settled, AFSA's AID Standing Committee is in the process of developing an agenda of labor-management issues to address over the next year, a process in which we solicit active and on-going input from agency members. Among the topics that have surfaced to date are:

- Negotiation of a new agreement covering the agency facilities to be provided to AFSA (e.g., communications, office space, etc.);
- Establishment of a full-time AID position for AFSA's agency vice president. At present, two State employees can serve full time on the AFSA board, the president (if a member of State) and the state vice president, but no AID employee does. There are, fortunately, several precedents that support our position;
- Negotiation of a new labor-management relations agreement (the current agreement pre-dates the 1980 act);
- Review of AID's open assignments system;
- Review of the agency's Executive Personnel Assignment System;
- Review of the out-of-cycle bids situation;
- Review of progress under AID's affirmative action program;
- Exploration of periodic consultation on issues among the AID Standing Committee, the Women's Action Organization, and the Thursday Luncheon Group (an organization of black employees);
- Review of AID's compliance with the spirit and letter of the Obey amendment regarding classification of Foreign Service versus GS positions;
- Review the quality of diplomatic pouch service for personal mail; and
- Investigation of the legality and feasibility of the committee's providing consultation services and support for AID Foreign Service contract personnel.

We would appreciate some feedback from our members on this agenda. Please tell us the order of priority the above items should have, and make suggestions for additions, deletions, or other changes. As always, be specific and supply appropriate details to aid us in presenting our positions to management. Also, we strongly encourage members to keep in touch with AID Standing Committee members and periodically advise us of your concerns. We will need a steady dialogue with the membership.

The AID Standing Committee members are as follows:

- Hank Merrill (Chairman), AFR/DP/PAB, Rm. 3917, 647-2983.
- Dave Garms, ANE/SA, Rm. 3310A, 647-4516.
- Mike Zak, PPC/CDIE, Rm. 3659, 235-8727.
- Paul Bisek, FVC/PVC, SA-8 Rm. 244, 235-8420.
- Charles Uphaus, ANE/TR/ARD, Rm. 4440-26, 647-7061.

Managing Your Money

Selecting a Competent Property Manager

By Nicholas Kuhn, MBA, Realtor

After the excitement of a new assignment has died down, those of you who own your own homes must employ someone to manage your property while you are posted overseas. Finding a competent property manager is a job you should tackle early in your relocation process. The sooner you select someone you feel confident in, the less possibility you will have of moving and leaving behind an unrented property.

Property managers and management companies vary almost as much as the different types of properties they manage. The person you select could range from a friend who has agreed to "watch over" things for you, to a manager with an account of over one thousand properties. The choice is yours, of course, but so is the job of finding the appropriate person.

You should personally interview several different managers as well as solicit recommendations from your friends and coworkers. Remember, your home is most likely your biggest asset; you are entrusting this investment to the person you select. For this reason I would not recommend using a friend who is not a professional property manager. Certainly, these people can keep a close eye on the property and deposit your rent check into your account, but will they be prepared to take time off from their job to go to court and file for an unlawful detainer and eviction when your tenant stops paying the rent? You certainly cannot fly home for a court appearance. In addition, professional managers have access to proven repairers and other tradespeople when an emergency arises.

Based on my experience and observation, I would recommend selecting one of the following types of management professionals. (There is no preference implied.)

A one-person, independent operation can provide you with the personal attention and responsiveness that you would provide yourself. When selecting someone like this, be sure he or she knows the ropes. Select a manager who has had years of experience, personally owns investment property, and comes to you highly recommended. Additionally, it is a good idea to visit several properties that this person manages to assess how well they appear to be maintained. Frequently, these individual managers may have worked for larger firms in the past. I often find retired military or Foreign Service members operating a management company. They are likely to be very familiar with the specific needs and idiosyncrasies of a Foreign Service landlord.

Established individual property managers frequently develop a networking system among their tenants, with old tenants referring friends who are in need of housing to their landlord. As a result, your property may not even have to be advertised, with the attendant parade of hundreds of "lookers" tracking through your home. The best individual managers, unfortunately, may be solidly booked.

The selection instead of a large property management organization that is normally a division of a major real estate firm is also a wise choice. These organizations have large, experienced staffs to attend to a variety of tenant/landlord needs. The large firm won't be able to provide you with the individual attention that you may desire, but it avoids the prospect of an unattended property should your individual manager become ill or be out of town.

There are a number of professional services that you should demand from any manager, whether individual or a member of a firm. These include: counseling you on current rental prices; thoroughly investigating a prospective tenant's credit and past rental history; and processing and negotiating the lease agreement. Other, optional services include: maintaining the appliances and dealing with any damage as a result of wind, fire, water, tenant neglect; and paying the mortgage, condo fees, homeowner's association dues, and insurance policies. Obviously, the rent receipts need to cover the costs of these payments, otherwise you will have to fund an account to supplement the difference.

Clearly, these services cost money. The fee for securing a tenant is normally separate from the actual property management fee, which is assessed monthly as a percentage of the rent. Fees for obtaining a tenant typically range between one-half and one full month's rent. Management fees themselves vary considerably but are in the range of 8-12 percent of the monthly rent. Furnished properties would be assessed a higher management fee. Normally, these fees are assessed even when the property is vacant.

No matter how you choose to have your property managed, there are several guidelines that should be followed. Always insist on a credit check and at least one month's rent as a security deposit, which should be kept in an interest-bearing account. (By the way, this security deposit is often incorrectly assumed to be the last month's rent; this is not its purpose. If the tenant uses it as such and the property is found to be damaged, the owner may be unable to collect for repairs.) The tenant should never be permitted to move into the property until the application has been properly processed and both the security deposit check and first month's rent check have cleared the bank.

If the property is a condominium or cooperative, the unit owner's association often has its own lease or specific language that should be included in a lease. It is important to follow these restrictions to avoid problems. In fact, some cooperative associations may also have to approve your tenant or may prohibit leasing of your unit. Local jurisdictions have varying landlord/tenant rules, and your property manager should advise you of these restrictions prior to leasing. All leases should contain a "diplomatic" clause to ensure you can reoccupy your house if you are unexpectedly transferred back home.

Once you have left the country, more than likely you will have given your manager power of attorney to negotiate leases, and approve repairs up to a specified dollar amount in your absence. Normally the owner establishes an account containing several hundred dollars to cover minor repairs. Any repair in excess of the agreed on amount must then be approved by the owner.

Insurance is another important matter to resolve prior to leasing your property. Landlords need a policy that protects them against liability suits, acts of nature, improvements which have been added to the home such as wallpaper, etc. This coverage is especially necessary in condominiums, since the condo association provides coverage on the basic unit but not on improvements. Insurance against lost rent if the property is not habitable is also crucial. The owner should consult the manager to assure that there is sufficient coverage.

It is not advisable to leave any personal property on the premises while you are gone. Don't expect your tenant to preserve grandma's antique clock or water your house plants. Remember, tenants have no real incentive to pamper your home. If you have an especially attractive lawn and expensive landscaping, for instance, it may be wise to provide for professional care. This will cost extra but in the long run will usually be worth it. This is one cost that could be passed along to the tenant, who will benefit from not having to care for the grounds. Yearly service contracts on major appliances would also ensure that this equipment is maintained properly.

Pets are at the landlord's discretion, but an extra deposit should be collected for carpet damage and the tenant should be responsible for defleaing the property at the end of the lease.

Be sure to take photographs of both the interior and exterior of

your property before you leave so that you have a record of its exact condition. Not only will this help if you need to take legal action, it will also aid in any restoration projects. Be sure to leave a set with your manager.

The choice of the tenant is yours. Try not to select someone who just barely qualifies. The normal rule of thumb is that multiplying the monthly rent by 50 should equal the tenant's annual income. Thus, a person or family should earn $50,000 to qualify for a $1000 rental.

Most Foreign Service owners add an "owner return clause" to the lease to permit them to give the tenant notice to vacate prior to the end of the lease if the landlord is reassigned to the area. Of course if tours coincide in duration, a fellow Foreign Service employee would be the ideal tenant; this often works out quite well. If you should be fortunate enough to lease your property for longer than a 12-month period, be sure to have an escalation provision to raise the rent after each year, so that you can cover rising costs of ownership and maintenance.

Selecting a competent property manager is the key to a worry-free assignment overseas. With the above information, you should be in a position to make a knowledgeable choice. One final word of advice is to be responsive to your tenants. A good landlord normally enjoys good tenants.

Nicholas Kuhn, MBA, is a realtor with Town and Country Real Estate, Inc., in Alexandria, Virginia.

Social security requirements for children

Under the new tax law, you will have to list a social security number for any child age five or over whom you claim as an exemption. This means that if your child does not have a social security number now, you must get one before the April 15 tax deadline.

If you are in the United States, the easiest way to get a social security card is to go to your local social security office and complete form SS-5. Take along the following original documents: The child's birth certificate, plus one other piece of identification with the child's name on it, such as a passport, vaccination certificate, report card, etc. The parent making the application must also produce identification, such as a driver's license or passport. It is not necessary that the child accompany you. All identification papers will be returned on the spot, and the child's social security card will be mailed to you within a month.

You may also apply by mail. Call your local social security office for form SS-5, and send the completed form along with the original pieces of documentation. These will be returned promptly.

Foreign Service employees serving abroad should request form SS-5 from the Consular Section and send the completed application to the Social Security Administration, Baltimore, Maryland 21235. Take your original documents to the Consular Section and have photo copies certified for forwarding to the Social Security Administration.

Awards nominations deadline is December 15

Members are reminded that the deadline for AFSA Award nominations is December 15. Applications were mailed to all members with the October issue; additional applications may be obtained by calling or writing AFSA.

Three awards are presented to officers (one each for senior, mid-level, and junior)who show courage, initiative, and "creative dissent." Another award goes to a member of a Foreign Service family who does the most to advance American interests at a diplomatic post. The last category of awards goes to exceptional students of difficult languages taught at the Foreign Service Institute..

Each award comes with a prize, ranging from $1000 to $2500.

Pouch problems addressed in probe

Problems with the diplomatic pouch system continue to cause frustration and low morale among Foreign Service personnel. AFSA recently questioned two principal State Department officials about this matter and insisted on timely action.

One recurring problem is pouch delays, which generally occur at two main points in the system. At European transfer points, namely London, Paris, and Frankfurt, pouches are unloaded from one plane and transferred to another bound either for post or for the other major problem spot, Washington Dulles Airport. When a connecting flight from Europe to Dulles or vice versa is fully booked with passengers and baggage, pouch deliveries must wait until the next available flight.

According to pouch officials, the problem of available space for pouches has worsened with deregulation. Competition forces carriers to fly more passengers with baggage per flight in order to make a profit, thus allowing less space for pouch deliveries. Pouch deliveries rank third in priority on commercial flights behind passengers and first-class mail.

At Dulles, pouch delays primarily occur for one or more of the following reasons: a flight arrives late in the day after courier pick-up; a flight arrives late in the week with pouches not processed until the following Monday; and a courier fails to make pick-ups at all appropriate airlines.

Another nagging problem involves the refusal of the U.S. Postal Service to insure pouch packages bound for overseas posts. USPS claims no liability for mail not directly delivered point-to-point by its carriers.

One remedy the department is exploring is setting up a caged area within its mailroom with special handlers who would accept mail from the post office, register it internally, and monitor its processing through to the addressee. According to the department, additional funds for salaries, equipment, and operating expenses for covering claims for lost or stolen items will be hard to come by during the current budget crunch. AFSA doesn't agree and has pointed out that the additional expense is justified to improve employee morale at hardship posts that have serious pouch problems.

Pouch officials have recently completed a report on the service, and we have requested a copy. Upon review we will decide on how best to approach this issue since we agree that improvements are long overdue.

In a related matter, it should be noted by all posts that peak mail season is approaching and that early mailing is advised to ensure that parcels arrive in time for holidays or at least in time to be replaced if merchandise is lost, stolen, or damaged.

Riley named law clerk in State office

Joseph A. Riley has been appointed law clerk in AFSA's labor-management relations office in the State Department, General Counsel Susan Z. Holik has announced. He replaces Richard Price, who left to broaden his experience with a public-interest law firm.

Riley comes to AFSA from the Boston firm of Murphy and Beane, where he worked on employee health matters. He also was a legal intern for the office of the Massachusetts attorney general. Currently a student at Georgetown University Law Center, he is a 1985 graduate of Dartmouth College.

President's Comments

A Call to Arms

By Perry Shankle

The Foreign Sérvice is under the most severe institutional challenge in our time. This is no exaggeration.

We understand the reason for budget cuts. But we are critical of our political leaders' failure to convince the White House and Congress that a healthy Foreign Service is in the national interest—and worth paying for.

Our concern rests on two levels. The first is institutional. If we reduce the Foreign Service by the approximately 10 percent proposed by management—in effect gutting the Service—we must fear for the very survival of the profession. The positions identified for cutting as we go to press are the core functions of our mission. Other agencies that are cutting programs, rather than personnel, will continue to absorb our duties. Our intake at the bottom will be choked off, profoundly affecting the long-term health of the Service. The removal of our senior officers and FS-1s will likely increase, affecting our ability to manage ourselves. Some of the other cutbacks will also have a profound effect.

Our second concern is that of our ability to do our jobs—represent American interests with the highest possible standards of expertise and professionalism. Further, what will be the effect of cuts in language incentives to our ability to work overseas? What will happen to the vital dialogue between the department and Congress if the Pearson program is severely reduced? To what extent will the national interest suffer if the bureaus of Politico-military Affairs and Economic and Business Affairs are cut in half, if we close consulates and embassies? We run the risk of being put out of business; it is as bad as that.

The time for action is now. We are pressing management to come up with better, more responsible solutions to the budget problems. We are talking to interested congressmen and senators, we are speaking to the press and to the public about the cost-effectiveness of a healthy first line of defense. But we need your help: to contribute to our legislative action fund (an appeal and a return envelope are enclosed with your issue). To write to your congressman and senators. And to get your colleagues to join AFSA so that we can speak with a common voice. This is one battle we simply must win.

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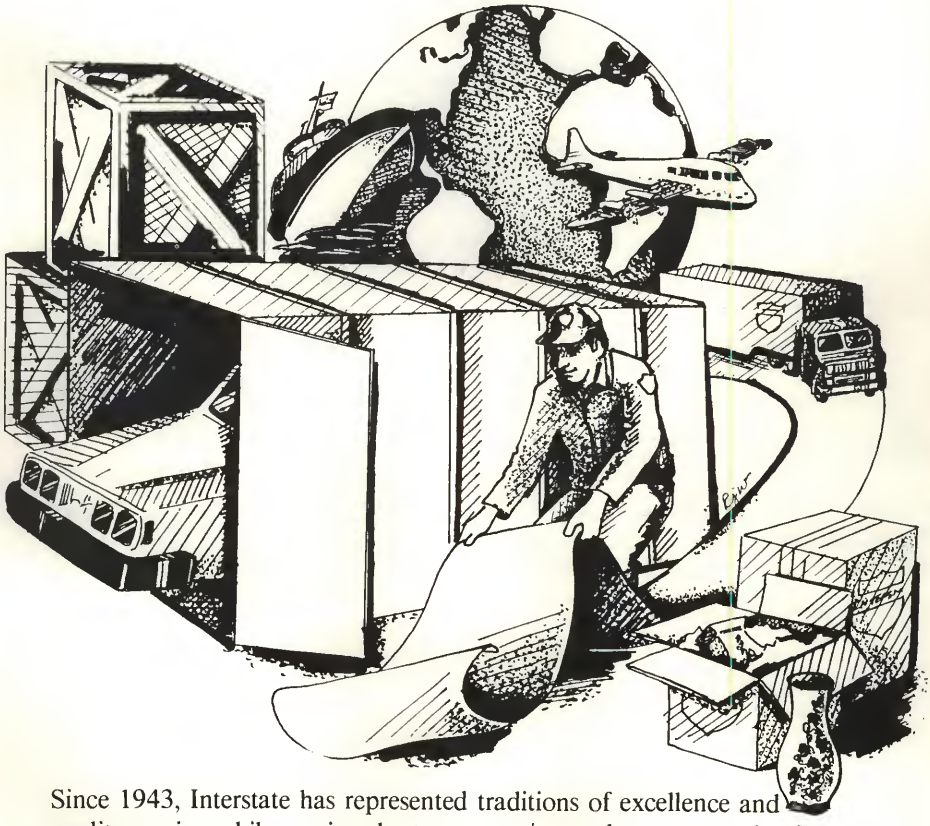

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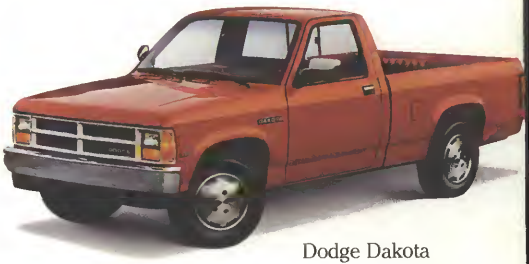

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For full details on these and the rest of the Chrysler line, Foreign Service Personnel in the U.S. should contact: **Diplomatic Sales Office, Chrysler Corporation, P.O. Box 1688, Detroit, MI 48288. Those stationed overseas: Telex 845-942543-OMSC-CH. Attn: Diplomatic sales.** Or both can simply mail the postage-paid reply card in this magazine.

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