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FOREIGN SERVICE JOURNAL

SEPTEMBER 1992

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New Horizons in Foreign Policy

George F. Kennan, Paul Kreisberg,
Charles Maechling Jr., and John J. Harter

on
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in the Vietnam War
and
Ethiopia's
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AFSA VIEWS

THE FUTURE OF USIA

The movement to strengthen AFSA in USIA took a giant leap forward one year ago with the decision of USIA's AFSA Standing Committee to build an organization strong enough to successfully challenge AFGE Local 1812 and to win exclusive bargaining rights for AFSA in USIA. That decision, wholeheartedly supported by the AFSA Governing Board, launched a wave of activity that today has taken on the dimensions of a veritable movement.

Bread-and-butter issues such as housing regulations are critical in this process and are being pursued aggressively. The movement, however, is much larger than any single issue. What is taking place is a spark of new energy among USIA's Foreign Service generalists and specialists to define the role of public diplomacy in the new world and to insist that the voice of USIA's professionals be heard.

USIA's Standing Committee and working groups, which now consist of over 30 active organizers in Washington and overseas, have gone on record calling for:

- The closing of TV Martí, a noble but failed experiment which is simply wasting funds that should be spent in useful programs.
- A more energetic and effective quest to define USIA's role as a lead agency in supporting democratic initiatives abroad with its own budget to support it. USIA must cease becoming a contract agency to other organizations.
- A total review of housing standards, which are inadequate for Foreign Service needs and indicate management's unwillingness to stand up for the real needs and complexities of Foreign Service life today.
- The reversal of USIA's 10-year trend of cutting field installations and personnel (including FSNs), while the agency's Washington personnel complement continues to grow.
- The reversal of Civil Service and Schedule C encroachment on formerly Foreign Service positions.
- A new look at USIA's specialists' career tracks so specialists know what they can expect in promotions and responsibility.

A most encouraging element of this movement in USIA is that it is cross-generational. Junior officers, mid-careerists, and veterans alike have joined forces to articulate their ideas and to press their concerns. AFSA's membership is up, especially at USIA.

The election of AFSA as exclusive bargaining agent by USIA's Foreign Service personnel will determine whether this movement flourishes—or dies. USIA management will have nothing to do with AFSA in any area, unless it becomes the Agency's exclusive bargaining agent.

Barring arcane legal blocks by AFGE, the election will occur this fall. I encourage AFSA members from all agencies to enlist the support of USIA voters to vote for AFSA and to join the movement to once again give USIA's Foreign Service a leadership role in America's public diplomacy.

—BUD HENSGEN

AFSA Vice President for USIA

Bulletin: Ballots will be mailed on September 15. Vote "Yes" for AFSA and return immediately!



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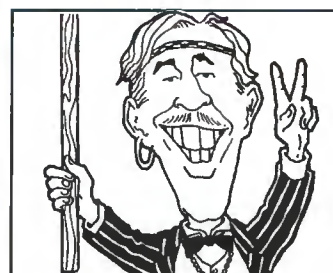
THE COVER:

Illustration by

Michael David Brown



Operation Potemkin 41



Impressing for Success 47

FEATURES

Vietnam: School for Spin Doctors 17

BY JIM ANDERSON

FOCUS: POLICY PLANNING

Introduction: The End of Immunity 23

The First Planning Staff 24

BY GEORGE F. KENNAN

Golden Opportunity: Strategies for a Post-Cold War World 26

BY JOHN J. HARTER

A Pragmatic Approach 29

BY PAUL KREISBERG

Glory Days: The Rise and Fall of Policy Planning 32

BY CHARLES MAECHLING JR.

Political Vignettes from Africa's Back Roads 36

BY ROBERT E. GRIBBIN

Operation Potemkin: Ethiopia at the Polls 41

BY GILBERT D. KULICK

10 Steps to Diplomatic Discourse 47

BY RAY WALSER

DEPARTMENTS

AFSA Views 2

Letters 4

Clippings 8

Fifty Years Ago/Quiz 12

Despatch 14

Books 50

AFSA News pull-out section

Advertising Sections

Real Estate 56

Marketplace 59

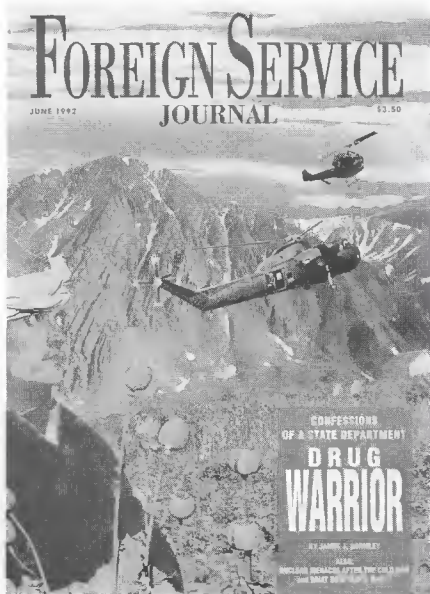
Classifieds pull-out section

THEY STILL DON'T GET IT

TO THE EDITOR:

I was amused to read the articles on the question of "wives" (June *Journal*). Things surely change slowly, some not at all. I am amazed that to this day there is still debate over the inclusion of comment on wives in performance reports.

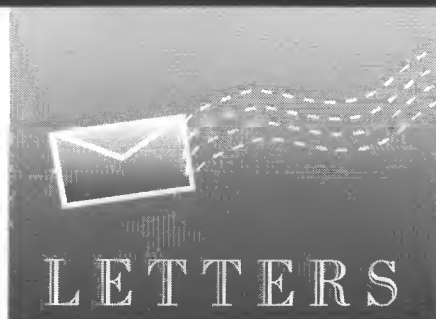
That such comment was ever allowed is a tribute to the imperviousness of the Foreign Service establishment to outside influences (federal statutes, the Constitution, common law, common sense), which call for restraint regarding indentured service. . . . The government has no call on wives' service and, at the same time, wives have no "right" to official status as far as the government is concerned.



The foregoing is the legal case. The traditional one is somewhat different—which is to say that a male officer is a somewhat more marketable quantity if he has a wife who is a whiz-bang hostess/relief worker/cultural dynamo/et al.

It's just that you can't put it down on paper. Any more than you can list other unmentionables like B.O., white socks, horrid children, and the like. But of course these things become known and should be, and that's what corridors are provided for.

I had a modest part in the developments of 1972, having sponsored a resolution before the State Department's



AFGE Local 1534 to do away with comment on wives in efficiency reports. Believe it or not, I had a job to sell the idea even to those radicals.

Somewhere along the line [feminist activist] Alison Palmer mentioned the issue to one of her journalistic friends and he in turn gave a call to [former Deputy Under Secretary William] "Buzzy" Macomber and said that he had an article ready, but he didn't have a headline yet. Would it be, "State Department bureaucrat refuses to end slave practices" or the opposite of that proposition. Thus did Mr. Macomber make his enlightened decision to eliminate comment on wives in efficiency reports and nominally to dismantle the hierarchy of wives at Foreign Service posts.

Harrison B. Sherwood
Stockholm, Sweden

TO THE EDITOR:

Your articles in the June *Journal* regarding the role of the spouse correctly identify much that is lacking in terms of support for Foreign Service spouses but overstate the gains made by those spouses. All too often personnel find themselves at posts where the management has little interest in the well-being of the dependent families. Refusal to appoint a family liaison officer, failure to fill existing part time, intermittent, or temporary positions, and refusal to confront the local government on employment issues or delete the host country from the *de facto* reciprocity list remain all too common.

As with many other issues, the problem is not lack of guidance, it is lack of a viable enforcement mechanism. If the mission's leadership chooses to ignore the guidance in pursuit of "other interests," personnel and their dependents have little recourse, especially with CLO/Washington insisting that it is post management who must initiate reciprocity complaints.

With the changed international environment, U.S. policy is shifting toward the protection of individual and corporate rights; what better place to start than with the members of our own Foreign Service family?

John Gieseke
Port Louis, Mauritius

SERVICE TO COUNTRY . . .

TO THE EDITOR:

We had to wait a long time for so refreshingly sensible and dispassionately analytical a discussion of the wives issue as that by Barbara Frechette in June. I, for one, am grateful to her and the *Journal* for it.

What emerges from her discussion is a recognition that service to country . . . should be considered a worthy motivation for acting as a member of a mission team. A wife goes abroad at our government's expense, with a diplomatic passport in hand, is provided housing and enjoys privileges and immunities that only diplomatic status can confer. All this in return for what? Avoidance of all responsibilities and duties in seeking one's own interests?

What nobler calling could there be than service to one's country, to the cause of international understanding, good will and cooperation, and thus to peace? What greater opportunity to make the world a little better place? Anyone married to a Foreign Service officer and lacking this vision is surely married to the wrong person.

I do think that we should provide greater and more accurately conceptualized recognition of the contributions which wives make to the diplomatic process. That contribution should come from the department itself. The secretary of state's pin for outstanding volunteerism does not strike quite the needed note. What needs recognition is volunteerism that contributes to the achievement of our foreign policy objectives. Perhaps the runners-up of the privately funded Avis Bohlen award could be given that recognition by departmental awards. And why not invite the Association of American Foreign Service Wives to be one of the sponsors of Foreign Service Day?

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... AND COMMUNITY

TO THE EDITOR:

Although I really enjoyed the pre-directive Foreign Service and believed, until told otherwise, that I was being fostered, not oppressed, Mrs. Fenzi is right—we can't go back. We've all changed too much. We need to encourage spouse employment because, dismal as some jobs are, we need trusted people to do the jobs.

In my last post, New Delhi, I found a small resurgence of spouses who viewed the "community" as India, not just the American institutions of club, CLO, and school. They took the skills they had and shared them with strangers in a strange land. They brought honor to our country (in the case of naturalized American spouses, to two countries) and helped the mission by providing a window on the culture that was larger and brighter than the standard shopping-luncheon-reception routine. There was no institutionalized way to reward them except through careful drafting of community service award nominations.

I hope we can keep on discussing this and can institutionalize some system to formally recognize representational as well as community service skills.

*Renny Travers Smith
Washington, D.C.*

TO THE EDITOR:

Jewell Fenzi's article in the June *Journal* was excellent. She presented the truly difficult dilemma that Foreign Service wives face and the difficult position in which the Foreign Service finds itself in today's feminist-conscious world. William Macomber believed, and still does, that his directive was the right thing to do, and yet problems still exist for the many Foreign Service wives abroad whose work and time go unrecognized and unrewarded. I applaud your well-written and informative article.

*Joan R. Challinor
Washington, D.C.*

HONEST VIEWS

TO THE EDITOR:

This USAID retiree was pleasantly surprised to find in the June *Journal* articles by not just one but two former associates—John Patterson and Jim Gormley. Both wrote clearly their views, Patterson on the present state of USAID and Gormley on the treatment of narcotics within the State Department.

Some of the problems mentioned by Patterson are not exactly new. We despaired of congressional micro-managing during all the incarnations of USAID: ECA, TCA, MSA, FOA, and ICA. We also despaired of the constant reorganizations, renamings, policy and procedure revampings and their unfortunate repercussions on recipient governments. . . . We also were faced with declining budgets and low morale. The new problems seem to be the adversarial role of the Inspector General and the modern day phenomenon of two-career families.

I believe everything Jim Gormley wrote in his article. I would like to add, however, that both the embassy and USAID in Bangkok were quite serious about narcotics when I served there in the early 1970s. . . . When the Thais invited the UN Narcotics Commission to assist them in a program, I stayed in the sessions to help them with their deliberations.

*Carl R. Fritz
Chapel Hill, North Carolina*

WAR DISSENT

TO THE EDITOR:

In a review by Henry Mattox of David DiLeo's book on George Ball and Vietnam (July *Journal*), Mattox states that "he (Ball) long tempered his dissent to the war, apparently in the hope that he would be called to serve as secretary of state." This is an unfortunate and inaccurate statement.

As long as Ball remained under secretary of state he publicly supported the president's policy toward Vietnam. I witnessed an example of this in the Bilderberg Group in Europe in the early

1960s. Ball was called upon to discuss U.S. policy in Vietnam and made a much better defense of that policy than most of its strongest supporters. If one did not know George very well one would have had no inkling of his criticism of policy expressed privately, first to President Johnson and then to President Kennedy. He did not in any way temper his "dissent to the war" in his statements to his superiors. Ball did what a responsible government official should do: He argued the case vigorously within the U.S. government and as long as he was an official defended it publicly (or even semi-publicly, as at the Bilderberg meetings).

*John Wills Tutbill
Washington, D.C.*

HISTORICAL PRECISION

TO THE EDITOR:

Knowing how important precision in language is to the successful conduct of diplomacy, I was disappointed to see that the June Foreign Service Quiz identified John Adams, James Monroe, John Quincy Adams, Martin Van Buren, and James Buchanan as U.S. presidents who had served as ambassadors to the United Kingdom.

These presidents had all served in London, to be sure, but not one of them had been an ambassador (that rank was not used by the United States until 1893—and then only sparingly). John Adams and Monroe held the rank of minister plenipotentiary; the last three, the rank of envoy extraordinary and minister plenipotentiary (minister for short).

Furthermore, John Adams' service as minister plenipotentiary to Great Britain ended in 1788, and the United Kingdom (of Great Britain and Ireland) did not come into being until 1800.

*Richardson Dougall
Portland, Oregon*

QUERIES

TO THE EDITOR:

As someone who entered the Foreign Service as a junior officer after the

age of 50, I am interested in learning how my mature colleagues who entered under similar circumstances have fared. I would like to hear from this group in order to conduct a survey, which might be useful to us and to the department. Please send your name, address, and telephone or FAX numbers to Sally L. Lindover, c/o Jacobson, 268 Berkeley Place, Brooklyn, NY 11217.

TO THE EDITOR:

It has been almost 60 years since AFSA unveiled the first memorial plaque honoring Foreign Service employees who lost their lives under heroic or tragic circumstances. The present AAFSW board feels it is time also to honor family members who died as a result of accompanying employees overseas.

We seek information on persons to be considered for inclusion in such a memorial. We are asking all interested persons to help by sending in names and circumstances of such individuals. We are also seeking people who are interested in working on this project. Please send information to AAFSW, Attn: Christine Shurtleff, P.O. Box 70051, Washington, D.C. 20024. ■

The Foreign Service Journal is seeking an unpaid editorial intern to do fact checking and help compile information for columns.

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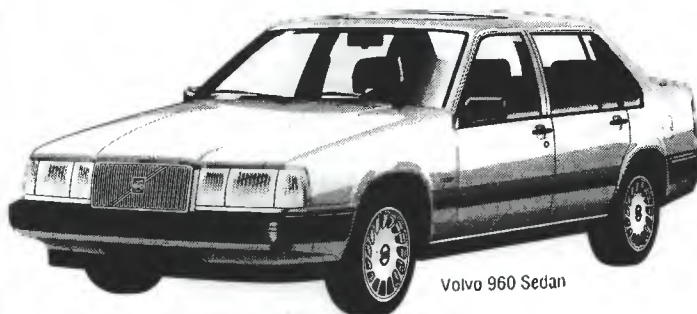


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SIXTH-FLOOR PROBLEM

THE WASHINGTON POST, JULY 7, 1992

BY JOHN M. GOSHKO

The record suggests that [President] Bush, Secretary of State James Baker, and other senior foreign policy advisers were not paying much attention to Iraq and its truculent president, Saddam Hussein, in the period between the conception of [the 1989 directive from Bush calling for pursuit of normal relations with Iraq] and Iraq's August 1990 drive into Kuwait.

Instead, the names that crop up most often in formerly confidential administration documents trickling out of Congress make clear that during the first one and a half years of Bush's

Congressional critics charge that the documents point to an official U.S. permissiveness that ignored Saddam's support of terrorism and helped him build up the war machine used to invade Kuwait. The officials who have been the target of these charges say Congress, by making documents public selectively and out of context, is engaged in a "witch hunt"

presidency, Iraq was handled as what the State Department calls "a sixth-floor problem." . . . The officials involved . . . were people who normally work in behind-the-scenes obscurity. Now they are in the unaccustomed position of seeing their paper trail of memos and recommendations exposed to intense scrutiny and second-guess-



ing by Congress and the media.

Congressional critics charge that the documents point to an official U.S. permissiveness that ignored Saddam's support of terrorism and helped him build up the war machine used to invade Kuwait. The officials who have been the target of these charges say Congress, by making documents public selectively and out of context, is engaged in a "witch hunt" that could make many in the government bureaucracy reluctant to speak candidly or to put anything that smacks of potential controversy on paper. Among those whose foreign policy roles have become the objects of scrutiny are:

John H. Kelly, assistant secretary of state for Near Eastern and South Asian affairs from June 1989 until the end of 1991. . . . Kelly was unable to get the attention of Baker or other top-level officials, even after the department's Mideast experts began expressing alarm in February 1990 about Saddam's increasing bellicosity toward Kuwait and Israel.

Richard N. Haass, special assistant to the president for national security affairs and senior director for Near East and South Asian Affairs for the National Security Council. . . . Like Kelly, Haass visited Iraq early in 1990, and he came away concerned that the U.S. policy of friendliness was not having the desired effect of moving Baghdad toward moderation.

April C. Glaspie, ambassador to Iraq from July 1988 until the outbreak of the Gulf crisis.

Richard A. Clarke, assistant secretary of state for politico-military affairs. . . . He concluded in [a] memo that "no one was paying attention" to blocking Baghdad's purchase of Western equipment for weapons of mass destruction.

IDEAL BUREAUCRAT

THE NEW YORK TIMES, JULY 13, 1992

BY ELAINE SCIOLINO

In his 12 years in government, Frank M. Lemay has always strived to fit the profile of the ideal bureaucrat, working overtime to make his superiors look smart . . . and above all never getting his name in print.

The 35-year-old economist's cocoon of anonymity disappeared when Representative Henry B. Gonzalez, the Texas Democrat, disclosed in a speech on the House floor the contents of a classified memo that Lemay wrote in October 1989. With a bluntness rare in diplomacy, the memo warned of evidence that President Saddam Hussein of Iraq had misused a U.S. farm-loan program to buy nuclear-related equipment. "If smoke indicates fire, we may be facing a four-alarm blaze in the near future," Lemay wrote to his superiors in the office of the under secretary for economic affairs, urging caution in approving new credit guarantees.

It was a caution not taken. . . . The disclosure has thrust Lemay into a maelstrom about the Bush Administration's policy toward Iraq. And under the assault, the mild-mannered Lemay, who once won a State Department award for macroeconomic memo-writing, is toughening up. . . . "I completely stand behind the memo that I wrote. I will take full responsibility for what is said in there."

Lemay has been shunned by his superiors, colleagues say, a result of the chilling effect of charges by some congressional Democrats of administration criminality. . . . None of his superiors offered to review his testimony or wished him luck before his committee appearances. . . . "It was important that it not appear that he was being coached or primed or coerced in whatever testimony he gave," says State Legal Adviser Edwin Williamson, explaining State Department tiptoeing.

Only Lemay's former supervisors have come to his defense publicly. . . . Sam Hoskinson, his immediate supervisor, said, "I have not seen any better than Lemay."

State Department officials play down the significance of Lemay's memo. They

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point out that the allegations he highlighted . . . are still only allegations. . . . Said one official, "Frank Lemay didn't report anything differently from other people. His problem was that he put it in more bombastic language."

Department officials point to his assignment to a key policy-making office [staff economist for the policy planning staff] as proof that he is not being punished for his words. "I'm a soft-spoken economist, hero-pariah," he said of his current status, laughing.

VOA UNDER SIEGE

THE WASHINGTON TIMES, JULY 2, 1992

As revelations on the Bush Administration's tragically misguided policy toward Saddam Hussein's Iraq . . . continue to mount, at least one agency of the U.S. government has emerged with its reputation unscathed. That is the Voice of America.

A VOA editorial broadcast in February 1990, "No More Secret Police," accurately placed Iraq in the company of Libya, North Korea, Cuba, and other countries whose governments rely on an elaborate, vicious state security system to keep their rulers in power. . . . The VOA editorial was a rare instance in which the U.S. government was candid enough to tell the truth about the blood-thirsty regime in power in Iraq.

In the wake of the "secret police" editorial, some officials in the State Department clamored for more control over editorials. The procedure now in place calls for the State Department to "clear" editorials for broadcast within 24 hours. That's not good enough for Stanley Zuckerman [appointed to the new post of coordinator of foreign information policy]. His preferred solution seems to be to do away with editorials altogether. At a May meeting of the international broadcast policy coordinating committee he chairs, many of the participants questioned the effectiveness and utility of editorials and bruted about suggestions for getting rid of them.

President Bush, at a celebration of the 50th anniversary of the VOA in February, cited VOA's "thought-provoking editorials" as helping "to keep millions of people informed." Zuckerman has an important position in the crafting of U.S.

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public diplomacy. He should not be trying to use it to do away with public diplomacy at its most effective.

HARD-NOSED ACTION PLAN

THE WASHINGTON POST, JULY 17, 1992

BY JOHN WAGNER

The head of beleaguered USAID pledged yesterday to implement rapidly 30 short-term recommendations in a new study of the agency's management practices. The recommendations, made by an OMB team, address virtually every aspect of the day-to-day operations of USAID. . . . The report's recommendations, which USAID Administrator Ronald Roskens said he "wholeheartedly" endorsed, target almost everything from the agency's "poor" employee training and evaluation practices to its "inadequate" oversight and auditing of overseas development projects.

According to the report, in fiscal 1991 the agency paid \$2.4 million in performance awards to about 1,700 employees. That same year only five employees were cited for substandard performance.

The review found that during fiscal 1989 and 1990, USAID evaluated the effectiveness of only 125 of its 1,900 active projects. Only 6 percent of these evaluations were "analytically rigorous" and only 5 percent of the evaluation teams included individuals with adequate evaluation skills.

Roskens . . . announced yesterday that the agency would develop an action plan by August 31 to address the report's recommendations. OMB then plans to track the agency's progress in implementing the reforms. According to Frank Hodsoll, [OMB deputy director for management], USAID needs to develop a more "hard-nosed" approach to management problems.

NOT YOUR USUAL DIPLOMAT

NATIONAL JOURNAL, JULY 11, 1992

BY CHRISTOPHER MADISON

While his boss, Secretary of State James Baker, oversees a handful of high-profile crises abroad, [Lawrence] Eagleburger as deputy secretary manages most day-to-day business. "He's running the building," a senior department official said. . . . He's the first career

Foreign Service officer named to the No. 2 spot in Foggy Bottom.

Eagleburger draws praise for his contributions to Washington's foreign policy process. . . . A House supporter offered this distinction. "More than his policy-making role, his role is getting things done, bashing bureaucratic heads, doing what needs to be done."

In foreign policy circles, those skills are considered worthy. Former Ambassador [Samuel] Lewis said Eagleburger is "dedicated to making the Foreign Service produce the analysis and support for the political echelon. This lubricates the relationship between professional career people and the political people."

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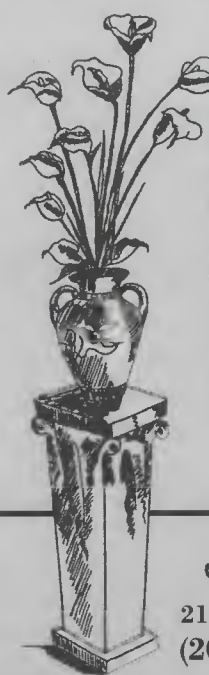
UNCLAS

1. In reviewing reftel's analysis of S&E funding produced for current fiscal year, post was dismayed to find that the

bureau deleted Dols \$3,000 for the lease of a portable toilet. Post hesitates to make a stink over piddling problems, but from where we sit, it's important.

2. Post has repeatedly pointed out . . . that this newly constructed chancery does not have toilet facilities for outside personnel, like guards, and gardeners, and nightwatchmen, and drivers and deliverymen. Previously, such personnel discharged themselves freely and publicly on the chancery grounds. Recognizing our responsibility to halt waste and not wishing to be in bad odor with our neighbors, post rented the portapotty to make up for FBO's design deficiency.

3. We realize the bureau is no longer flush with funds. Upon reflection, post agrees that we may have used the wrong pot and the outhouse should not have to be funded from the S&E account. Since only a modest one-holer is required . . . and should qualify as a "non-residential structure," post believes the Johnny-on-the-spot should be funded under FBO lease funds in lieu of S&E — PASSAGE. ■



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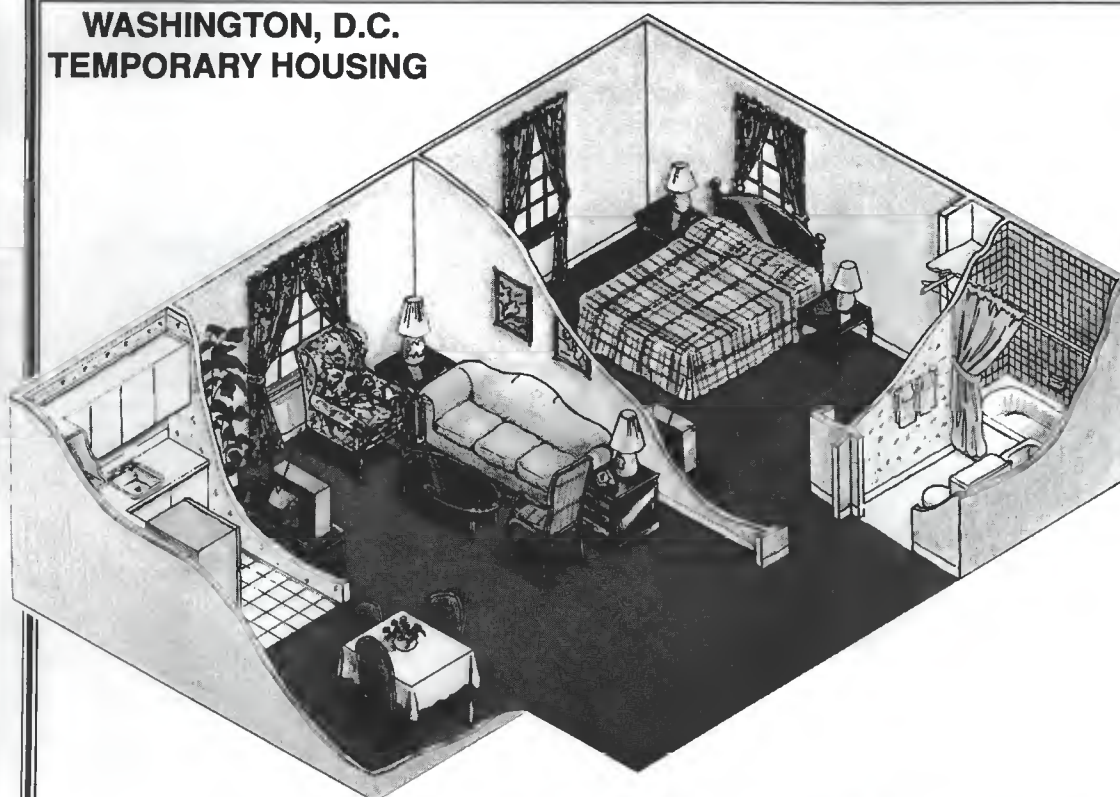


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DESPATCH

By ANNE STEVENSON-YANG

Altruism, for Selfish Reasons

The path through Congress of the president's proposed legislation to aid the former Soviet republics has been fraught with obstacles, chief among them the insistence by Democrats in the House that passage be conditioned on some sort of domestic aid package for the inner cities. Approved by the House before the August recess, the legislation was expected to be passed in the fall, provided the administration makes good on a promise to provide financing for housing, roads, and community development. But the political sensitivity of this rather modest package bodes ill for future aid efforts.

For the most part, the Freedom for Russia and Emerging Eurasian Democracies and Open Markets Support Act would simply gather existing programs into one basket to dish out an ideologically coherent aid diet. The heart of the legislation is \$12 billion in International Monetary Fund authorizations for currency stabilization and balance of payments loans, all over the world, including in the former Soviet Union. The contribution would require no net budgetary outlays. Another nearly \$1.5 billion would be authorized for agricultural and Eximbank credits.

Only \$620 million would come from new appropriations, earmarked for humanitarian and technical assistance through various government agencies, for FY 1992 and 1993. An estimated \$55 million would go to the Department of State and the U.S. Information Agency. With that \$55 million, the legislation proposes to do the following: develop democratic institutions, support the creation of free markets, address emergency humanitarian needs, expand trade and investment relations with the United States, sup-

port cultural exchanges, improve the environment, and demilitarize the economy. Some \$18 million would go to operating expenses at new embassies and \$7 million to USIA operating expenses in the former Soviet Union.

To support the bill, Representatives Dave Nagle (D-IA) and Jim Leach (R-IA) have pulled together a coalition of groups in support from the American Soybean Association and the National Association of Wheat Growers to the Independent Bankers Association of

assistance from Department of Agriculture relief stores and \$45 million in surplus from Desert Storm; \$100 million in a program to use Defense Department money to transport and distribute food and humanitarian relief supplies; \$400 million in Defense funds to eliminate some weapons of mass destruction; \$30 million in USAID funds for medical supplies, and \$120 million in USAID and Commodity Credit Corporation funds for technical assistance.

The Freedom for Russia and Emerging Eurasian Democracies and Open Markets Support Act would simply gather existing programs into one basket to dish out an ideologically coherent aid diet.

America and the National Council of Churches. AFSA, too, has endorsed the legislation as good for both U.S. foreign relations and the Foreign Service. The Senate passed the bill before the July 4 recess, but in August, Democrats in the House held the legislation hostage to what they considered a more pressing need for public works projects that would create jobs domestically. Although he acknowledged the need for prompt action on the aid bill, Majority Whip David Bonior, of Michigan, said that the current administration must understand the problems at home before sending money to foreign shores. The Bush Administration's commitment to public works funding broke the deadlock.

The aid package would not be affected by a proposed freeze on administrative spending at State, Commerce, and Justice, which will eliminate \$85 million in new money for administering the State Department in 1993 if the legislation is approved.

Thus far, the United States has made available about \$860 million in assistance to former Soviet countries. This amount includes \$165 million in food

In late June, Congress also passed a small foreign aid bill—\$13.8 billion, or the lowest total since 1977—that included \$417 million in aid for the countries of the former Soviet Union.

The aid package is a good start, if not the ultimate glue for U.S.-CIS relations. In this case the Democratic insistence on linkage between foreign and domestic aid seems empty; a transfer of funds from foreign to domestic programs is prohibited in any case. And no matter how important direct aid for Los Angeles and other stricken urban areas, shoring up the economies of the former Soviet Union would not only increase international stability, it could ultimately benefit America's crumbling cities by stimulating U.S. exports.

Taking a Walker on the Wild Side

A recent trade delegation to Africa led by Virginia Governor Doug Wilder was marred by acrimony between Wilder and the embassy staff in Nigeria, confirming

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the Foreign Service conviction that you can't win when making arrangements for political delegations.

On his return home, Wilder visited Assistant Secretary for African Affairs Herman Cohen to complain about U.S. Ambassador to Nigeria Lannon Walker's conduct. Walker has since finished a three-year tour of duty in Nigeria as planned and has been replaced by William L. Swing.

Disputes arose over three issues during the Wilder visit. First, a member of Wilder's delegation said that the U.S. Embassy advised Wilder not to visit Nigeria and conveyed a negative attitude about trade prospects there. Next, during a briefing, Ambassador Walker offended members of Wilder's delegation by warning African-Americans not to expect special treatment in trade because they were returning to Africa. He also talked about the prevalence of corruption in Nigeria. Finally, before exiting the country, Wilder complained that the United States in particular and the West in general were embarked on a "conscious plot" to

portray Nigeria as "the criminal of the world" by subjecting Nigerians to searches on suspicion of trafficking in heroin. Wilder called the treatment of Nigerians at foreign airports dehumanizing, exaggerated, and unprecedented.

Wilder also reportedly told Nigerian President Babangida that Walker had described the Nigerian government as being highly corrupt "when he should have been promoting accord." "It's difficult for others to accept that people of color can run their own country and determine their own resources and not be beggars," Wilder continued.

Walker, however, says that Wilder personally never expressed to him anything but satisfaction with the embassy's conduct during the Nigeria visit, even when explicitly asked about a Richmond *Times-Dispatch* story about the disputes. But embassy staff and Wilder's advance team apparently had some disagreements.

Walker subsequently sent a cable to other embassies on Wilder's itinerary warning them to be "very, very careful" of the governor. "Both Wilder and cer-

tain members of his delegation are at best ambivalent toward the State Department and are duplicitous in relations with embassy staff. . . . We went out of our way to help the delegation put together a program in Nigeria, only to be told later to butt out and that 'the governor's schedule is confidential.'" Both Walker and Wilder declined comment on the affair.

The unusually public dispute only exacerbated U.S.-Nigerian tensions over what the *Washington Post* has dubbed the "Three D's": drugs, debt, and democracy. The United States accuses Nigeria of failing to cooperate on eradicating drug traffic, while Nigeria claims the United States treats it like "a banana republic" and has not done enough to curb its own drug consumption. Nigeria also seeks debt relief from the United States, while the U.S. government believes internal economic reforms and greater affirmation of human rights should come first. Walker, who has been openly attacked in the semi-official press, has been outspoken in his promotion of human rights in Nigeria.

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Truth the Only God

Lenin may no longer be for sale, but Soviet Army secrets apparently are. In the ongoing drive to put a profit-making spin on insolvent industries like the military, the Moscow Business Consortium is offering subscriptions to a new semi-monthly, the *Military Courier*, which will offer "everything about the army," "alternative opinions," and "military-industrial complex and military business."

"The new publication will be entirely independent in its views," says the advertising flyer. "Truth is the only god we worship. We offer our reader independent views about everything that in our opinion is going on in the military sphere."

The magazine, which advertises that its contributors include such military prominents as Colonel Victor Alksnis, Georgy Arbatov, Marshal Yevgeny Shaposhnikov, and Colonel Victor Samsonov, costs \$520 per year; payment are requested to a bank account in Dresden. ■

THE SCHOOL FOR SPIN DOCTORS

How Vietnam's
bad news
became bad p.r.

BY JIM ANDERSON



A village elder studies some of the information and educational material distributed by USIA in the town hall

IT WAS 1963 AND THE STATE DEPARTMENT HAD A PROBLEM.

Reporters were claiming that the American-supported leadership in South Vietnam was corrupt, its army was inept, and the war against the Viet Cong was going nowhere.

Cables from the embassy, declassified in 1991, were also saying that the South Vietnamese political leaders were crooked and out of control, their army was feckless, and their government was dealing with insurgent Buddhist monks in exactly the wrong way. The CIA station chief concurred: "Situation here has reached point of no return," he cabled.

So, on July 26, a high-level meeting was convened at the State Department. Subject: "Press Problems in Vietnam."

Robert Manning, assistant secretary of state for public affairs (previously and subsequently a journalist himself), did not dispute the pessimistic assessment of the reporters. But he thought the "problem" could be solved by "getting more of the members of the press corps in . . . touch with the 'horse's mouth,' that is, the ambassador and other top officials."

Manning recommended, according to the minutes of the meeting at the State Department, that the "main aspect in removing the dissatisfaction of some of these correspondents was to take them into our confidence, give them an 'in' feeling, and invite them . . . to small dinners given by the ambassador for Vietnamese officials . . . perhaps one correspondent at a time."

Newly appointed Ambassador Henry Cabot Lodge, attending the State Department meeting, thought that was a splendid idea and he intended to do just that when he got to Saigon.

Manning described the half-dozen American reporters in Saigon as "certainly not the best press corps in the world." That was his assessment of such journalists as David Halberstam of *The New York Times* and Neil Sheehan of United Press International (both later Pulitzer Prize winners for their work on the Vietnam War). Their dispatches suggested that the official reports about the war against the Viet Cong were absurdly out of touch with reality and that the South Vietnamese army, despite some 16,000 American "advisers," was either not fighting or getting licked when it did. They were also writing that savage mistreatment of the local population by government forces was routine. ►

Soon after the meeting, Manning sent a "secret, eyes only" message to President Kennedy on the "Saigon press situation." It should be engraved on brass as a model of how governments seek to manipulate the press, a reminder to reporters that there is no free lunch (or dinners with the ambassador, either).

Those who want to get the full flavor of the U.S. government's rules of seduction can find the whole series of memos in the State Department's *Foreign Relations of the United States, 1961-1963, Vietnam*, Vols. III and IV, released in 1991. Most of the memos relevant to this article appear around page 590 of Vol. IV, but the whole series is well worth reading. These recent volumes, incidentally, are a vast improvement in terms of candor over the caponized histories that had been published in the previous five years. (By the way, there is nothing in the 1,300 pages of newly declassified documents, covering the period just before and after the Kennedy assassination, to support the Oliver Stone *JFK* conspiracy thesis that President

It is no surprise that governments try to manipulate the reporting of a defective policy rather than change the policy

Kennedy was intent on pulling out of the war.)

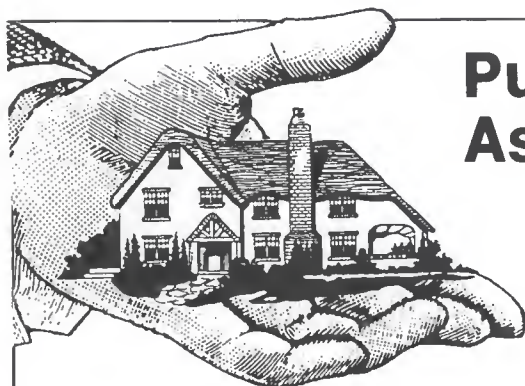
In his 1963 memo to Kennedy, Manning wrote that the main problem is that correspondents had lost all confidence in "what they believe to be the over-optimism" of the U.S. military command. As a result, they were going out into the battlefield and insisting on talking to actual commanders to get "the straight facts."

Manning writes, "However justified these attitudes and allegations . . . *their very existence deserves to be recognized and attacked as a major obstacle to a healthy information situation in Saigon.*"

VANITY FAIR

It is no surprise that governments try to manipulate the reporting of a defective policy rather than change the policy, but the series of newly published 1963 cables is unique as a naked example of how this strategy was deliberately laid out. The Manning messages may be the mother of all press handling, the progenitor of the "healthy information situation" during the Gulf War, where it was regarded as bad form for reporters to leave the press room and actually go out and try to see the war they were writing about.

Manning concedes that the correspondents in Saigon might understandably be viewed with distaste by the embassy in Saigon: "one element in the present hostility between the press and the embassy is a wounded ego on



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the part of the correspondents who have a highly developed sense of importance."

But he suggested, shrewdly, that this could be the Achilles's heel of the press, the way to get to the heart of the journalistic community, give them a "deeper sense of participation . . . appear to make them part of the process." In other words, "give the correspondents a chance to blow off some steam and to voice their own views to a receptive official American audience." An important fringe benefit would be to glean information from the correspondents. "The correspondents have sources and information of their own, more knowledge of which would doubtless be useful to the embassy."

The bottom line, however, was to have articles published by reporters based in Vietnam which "stress the exciting and unique nature of the U.S. involvement in Vietnam."

From my personal experience, I can testify that this technique—giving reporters the impression that they are in

the loop—was later used to great effect by subsequent officials at the State Department, particularly Henry Kissinger. He used to listen intently, frowning with his lower lip stuck out, Mussolini-style, to newsmen who would ingratiatingly explain to him how he could better manipulate them. One television and former wire-service reporter helpfully suggested to Kissinger that he should split his daily announcements aboard his airplane on overseas flights into two pieces, because wire-service reporters have to file for two news cycles every day, for the morning and afternoon newspapers. If he were to divulge all the news in one chunk, the reporters on his plane might use the spare time to plumb their own resources or imaginations for the second report of the day. But that was a later refinement.

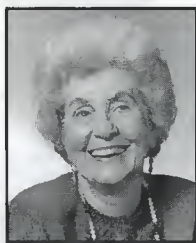
PLAYING BALL

U.S. government officials (who later argued that the nation would be endangered by the disclosure of the Pentagon Papers), were advised in

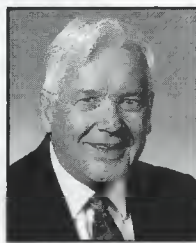
Manning's 1963 memo not to worry about such niggling matters as military secrets when it came to the job of selling the U.S. policy on Vietnam. "Classified information should be made available as necessary to ensure that these articles reflect both the difficulties and the progress which characterize our effort."

Official candor, up to a point, was to be encouraged. "Our progress will become credible only when our failures (which the correspondents know about anyway) are admitted freely."

The correspondents were to be informed—"on a background basis"—that the importance of U.S. press coverage "has been vigorously conveyed to the highest levels of the Vietnamese government, and that we have reasons to believe that American correspondents will be free from harassment and expulsion." That was a subtle and important point in 1963, since several U.S. reporters had been beaten by the U.S.-supported Vietnamese government security forces and others had been summarily expelled and barred from the country for



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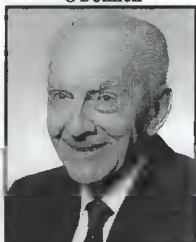
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covering anti-regime demonstrations.

But immunity from expulsion, harassment, and government violence came with a price—playing ball with the Saigon government. The correspondents were to be told that their protection from police attack depended on their reporting “with responsibility and reasonable objectivity and fairness,” which included accepting offers of interviews with high Vietnamese officials.

In another memo in the newly released *Foreign Relations* volumes a U.S. official quotes Counselor Nhu's wife—the infamous Dragon Lady, Madame Nhu—as saying that the American correspondents are “Communists or as bad as Communists.” The South Vietnamese officials were said by Embassy Saigon in cables to have given up on the resident American correspondents as “incorrigible” (which was probably correct) and were speaking “somewhat wistfully of trying to reach over their heads to editors and editorial writers in the United States.”

TRICK OR TREAT?

That South Vietnamese tactic was, in fact, put into action. According to David Halberstam's *The Power and the Glory*, President Kennedy called in the publisher of *The New York Times* in October 1963 to suggest that Halberstam, the Times's man in Saigon, had gotten “too close to the story” and it might be time to transfer him to Paris or Rome. The *Times*, which was still feeling guilty over playing down its advance story about the 1961 Cuban Bay of Pigs operation, rejected the hint, and Halberstam remained in Saigon.

In a memo to Kennedy, Manning suggested that diplomats conceal their distaste for the shortcomings of the correspondents, who were sometimes unwashed and certainly brash. But what if the pushy reporters, once showered and invited into polite diplomatic society, actually tried to intrude on what policy-makers were saying to one another in such sacrosanct surroundings as an embassy dinner?

In another memo in the *Foreign Relations of the United States* series, The Saigon Embassy public affairs officer, John Mecklin, gave more specific guidelines, sort of an official Miss Manners's

guide to dealing with reporters.

"Try to include a responsible correspondent in as many social functions as possible, including high-level dinners (you will do your business anyway in a talk in the corner after dinner when none of the guests can eavesdrop) but never invite all of the press as a group, which

makes it look like charity." The trick was to "treat the newsman as an ally, never as an antagonist."

Mecklin, like Manning, a former *Time* magazine correspondent, gave safe haven in his house to three of the American correspondents, allowing them to sleep there. They were there because they were afraid their own quarters would be raided by South Vietnamese police, who were financed at the time by American money.

LEADERS OF THE PACK

Did the seduction techniques work? Halberstam, in *The Powers That Be*, says they did not, "for extremely basic reasons," chief among which that the information coming from official Americans in Saigon was so often wildly inconsistent with the evidence available to any reporter based in Vietnam.

Halberstam may be missing the point when he says the Manning-Mecklin techniques didn't work with him and his colleagues. More importantly, the advice of Manning and Mecklin seemed to be effective in influencing visiting "Big Foot" senior correspondents, who would parachute in for a few days, interview some high-level officials, and then file rosy stories that would be given prominence over the grimmer dispatches from the locally based junior correspondents, who had their own sources in the field.

The senior correspondents' version of the truth, according to Halberstam, usually prevailed. This led to the next phase of the manipulation, the "Five O'Clock Follies" daily military briefing

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South Vietnam—drowned out the actual battlefield and political accounts by those few maverick, hyperactive reporters who insisted on going into the field or those quixotic correspondents who actually tried to understand Vietnamese politics.

The Manning-Mecklin principles have been recycled, refined, and installed as the basic furniture in the government's relations with the media. What is important about the recently revealed memos is that they explain how officials, including former journalists working in the government, try to explain and fix failing policies in terms of public relations and manipulation. To the extent that they delay remedial surgery, the PR tactics are the equivalent of quack "cures" for cancer.

I would suggest that the basic lesson appears to be that a respectful, arm's-length relationship between government and press is healthiest for all, despite any imagined transitory benefits expected by either party from the snuggling-up between reporters and their official sources.

The main burden is on journalists. There is no substitute for reporting: being on the ground, getting it right, sometimes at the risk of one's safety or of being thought of as uncouth or even unpatriotic.

H.L. Mencken was correct when he said that self-importance is the ruin of more good journalists than booze. ■

Jim Anderson has covered the State Department for more than 20 years.

in Saigon, which spared correspondents the bother of actually visiting the battlefields they were writing about. Those military-press encounters in Saigon, with their emphasis on body counts—statistics that were much easier to put in the headlines than the abstract idea of the breakdown of authority and legitimacy in

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The End of Diplomatic Immunity

VACLAV HAVEL SAID IT BEST: "HISTORY HAS ACCELERATED." BUT WHERE IS HISTORY TAKING US? EVENTS FROM LOS ANGELES TO A PERSISTENT RECESSION FORCE AMERICANS TO GAZE INWARD. EXCEPT FOR A SMALL "BLAME THE FOREIGNER" CROWD, MOST AMERICANS, REGARDLESS OF PARTY, RECOGNIZE THAT SOLUTIONS TO OUR DIFFICULTIES ARE TO BE FOUND AT HOME, THOUGH THERE IS VIGOROUS CONTENTION ABOUT REMEDIES IN THIS ELECTION YEAR.

For well over a year, the *Journal* has carried articles and commentary that examine from different, often clashing perspectives aspects of post-Cold War foreign affairs, among them economic assistance and the function of the Agency for International Development, ethnic conflict in Yugoslavia, the North American Free Trade Agreement, democratization, narcotics, the intelligence function, international broadcasting, the National Security Council, the post-containment Pacific, and the global environment. One thing is clear: the United States can no longer afford to look at international relations in isolation. Foreign policy has domestic content. Supply-side efforts to control narcotics abroad cannot be separated from domestic demand; the continental drift of the world economy toward the Pacific has made states as far east as North Carolina part of the Pacific Basin; and our energy consumption is at once a domestic and a global issue.

Isolationism as we knew it is not possible, simply because of the globalization of the economy. We can end "entangling alliances" and bring our troops home if we so choose, but we cannot cut ourselves off from trade and financial flows nor escape the march of technology across frontiers. Indeed, while we seem secure on our continent from everything except self-made wounds, we can't escape the consequences of foreign disorder, refugees everywhere, mounting UN costs for peacekeeping and relief, and the occasional Saddam Hussein, intent on blood and glory.

During the Cold War the United States enjoyed a kind of diplomatic immunity from the consequences of missteps. The immunity from censure by the American public dissipated in Vietnam but persisted in the structures of alliance. When allies became exasperated with U.S. policy, they were

deterred from divorce by the common threat of the Soviets. Today the threat is gone, and globalization of the economy has reduced our relative power. The most important new lesson from the Gulf War may have been about diplomacy. The swift triumph of superior arms, troops, and generalship would not have occurred without the diplomacy that mustered the UN coalition and financed the war. In dealing with global change, the sinews of diplomacy are crucial. This raises inevitable questions about how best to organize the State Department, the NSC, and the intelligence community. Institutional reform is needed, but what kind?

This fall, the *Foreign Service Journal* will inquire further into post-Cold War policy and institutions, beginning with a focus in these pages upon policy planning at the Department of State, including a special contribution from George F. Kennan drawing lessons from his historical tenure in that task. The idea is not to present a clairvoyant vision, which the *Journal* does not possess, but to sample ideas that either a Bush or a Clinton administration will encounter in charting a course through uncertain waters.

The writings include not only articles but excerpts from the agenda-setting proposals of public-interest groups such as the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, the Heritage Foundation, and the Overseas Development Council. In the best of circumstances, it is likely to take a few years and a bit of trial and error to develop a consensus behind any new agenda. In the meantime, those who work in foreign affairs will have to be more ready than in the past to explain to the American public, upon whose just consent the success of the policy rests, the stake of the average citizen in how we engage with the rest of the world.

The Original Planning Staff

BY GEORGE F. KENNAN

The State Department Policy Planning Staff of Secretary of State George Marshall's time, from 1947 to 1948, was very much a unit of his creation. General Marshall had been accustomed to having a staff of this sort in the War Department, and he felt the need for one in State. I, acting on his orders, set up the staff (under extreme pressure, I may say) in the form in which I thought he wanted to have it, and he seemed to approve of the way in which it was done.

I myself saw the rationale of the staff in the following way. There were at that time in the Department of State only three officials charged with the duty and authority of looking at American foreign policy in its entirety. Every other of the higher officials of the department had a limited geographic or functional responsibility that prescribed the manner in which he was to view the duties of his office and to make recommendations to the secretary and under secretary. The three who had the broader responsibility were, of course, the secretary himself, the under secretary, and (when there was one, depending on the way in which he was used) the counselor of the department.

This, however, placed a heavy burden on these three officials, the first two in particular. The recommendations reaching their offices from the various geographical and functional divisions were sometimes conflicting. Not only that, but the recommendations normally reflected short-term and parochial views of the problems in question, not fitted into any more long-term and comprehensive concepts of

what American policy ought to be. The senior officers of the department were usually too busy to do the spade work in analyzing the conflicts between the views and recommendations of individual subordinate offices. They often needed someone to help them by studying through the matters at hand and suggesting ways in which the conflicts could be resolved. They also needed someone to help them infuse into the work of the individual subordinate offices an understanding of the larger concepts on the basis of which policy was being conducted at the top. And, finally, they needed someone who could examine the day-to-day decisions being taken in the various offices of the department to see how these related to the more long-term interests of the country.

All these things I tried to give to the secretary in the years of my incumbency as director of the staff, and I have the impression that a considerable portion of what we presented to him was helpful to him in one or another of these respects.

The staff had the privilege of direct access to the secretary of state and the under secretary. We did our best to avoid abusing this privilege. In particular, we were concerned at all times not to undercut State's individual geographic and functional offices. We invited them, in every instance that I can recall, to send representatives to join us in the study of each of the questions we took under advisement. Where there were unresolved differences with them, we urged the secretary and the under secretary to hear their views as well as our own. The extent of the pains we took to see that their views were known and respected is evident in the several cases where, in matters of great importance, my own views

were rejected and those of the offices in question were allowed to prevail. I had the only direct access door to the secretary's office and the privilege of using it when I felt it necessary. If I ever did so use it (and I cannot recall any specific instance in which I did), I am sure that I checked with his outer office to make sure that this would meet with his convenience. But none of this obviated the fact that our communications to the two highest officials went directly to them. They did not require the initials or the approval of anyone else in the department before being so submitted. Had this been otherwise, the greater part of the usefulness of the staff would have disappeared.

If the work of that staff should be judged by the extent to which its recommendations were accepted and became governmental policy, the record is spotty. In certain instances the staff was completely successful in this respect, notably in the case of the readjustment of policy toward Japan to meet the needs of the post-occupation period. In other instances we had our effect, but not immediately, sometimes even after our own time (which, for a staff that was supposed to have its eyes on the long term, was not unnatural). In certain instances our betters understood and accepted the rationale of our papers and would have liked to carry the ideas into the realm of policy, but they felt compelled to yield to domestic political pressures. And there were instances, particularly ones relating to the Atlantic Pact and to the long-term future of Europe, in which the contrary views of the Western European Division, supported for the most part by the British and the French, decisively prevailed.

With respect to those issues where strong domestic political pressures were involved, I should point out that I personally steadfastly declined to take those pressures into account in the papers we submitted. Our task, as I conceived it, was to tell the secretary and the president what, in our opinion, with reference to the specific question at issue, was in the national interest. It was their responsibility as political leaders, not ours, to determine how far our recommendations could be reconciled with domestic political realities. Our opinion as to what constituted the national interest was what they wanted from us. If we did not give it, there was no other place where they could get it in the way they wanted it. Without it, they would not be able to make a proper determination of where to draw the line between national interest and political necessity in any specific problem.

Finally, I might mention that we took pains to keep the staff small. We had a table that seated about 10 people at a maximum, and I can recall saying at the time that, if we ever had more members than could sit around that table, our usefulness would be lost, because we would fall victim to the disease of bureaucracy that affected so much of the remainder of the department.

General Marshall's incumbency as secretary of state lasted only until the end of the year 1948, a year and a half after the staff was established. Dean Acheson, who succeeded him,

had entirely different methods of operation and did not, I think, understand the rationale of the staff or feel the need of it in the way that General Marshall had done. When, in 1949, a new under secretary of state, James Webb, decided that the staff should no longer have direct access to himself and the secretary but that its papers would now require clearance throughout the department before being presented to them, I knew that this was the end of the usefulness of the staff for the purposes General Marshall had intended it to serve. I asked permission, which was graciously granted, to withdraw from its directorship at the end of the year, and did so.

In light of these circumstances, I do not regard my entire service as director of the Planning Staff as, on balance, a personal success. In General Marshall's time, yes; thereafter, no. But looking at the staff of that day as an institution in the State Department, I have a different feeling. If we did not always persuade others of the soundness of our views, we stimulated them to a brand of thinking of which there had previously been very little in the department. We provided a useful link, which had not existed before, between the department and outstanding thinkers on problems of foreign policy outside the governmental establishment. (General Marshall had been particularly insistent that we draw them into our deliberations and tap their wisdom before putting our own recommendations before him.) And, while the example did not last very long at that time, we established the precedent, and made clear the importance, of a sharp delineation between the concept of the national interest in what might be called its pure and unadulterated form, and the necessities of domestic politics. These, in my retrospective judgment, were valuable services, at least with relation to the needs of those crucial immediate postwar years.

Finally, our method of operation, along the lines laid down by General Marshall, served to emphasize and illustrate the need for a central concept of American policy, comprehensive, coherent, and consistently pursued, to replace the helter-skelter multiplicity of uncoordinated concepts and impulses, arising from within the Department of State and from other parts of the government, of which America's conduct in foreign affairs is so often the reflection.

I am glad that the experience of the Planning Staff at that time is still being examined and consulted in a different age—an age with quite different but no less grave and fateful problems. ■

In addition to serving as director of the Policy Planning Staff and counselor of the State Department, George F. Kennan was ambassador to the Soviet Union and to Yugoslavia. He is currently with the Institute for Advanced Study in Princeton.

The Great

PLANNING FOR A POST-COLD WAR WORLD

Opp

The rapidly changing world of the 1990s poses entirely new challenges to the United States. The imperatives of "internestic" policy, in which international relations and domestic policy are increasingly fused, require a new approach to foreign policy planning.

For the past 45 years, containment was the undeviating yardstick for assessing U.S. diplomacy. Words and deeds considered likely to restrict the territorial growth or ideological influence of Soviet communism were favored, and those that seemed irrelevant to the balance of power between the two superpowers received little notice. Such foreign policy debate as existed over the past few decades thus centered on tactics, operations, and crises. Now that the "Evil Empire" has disintegrated, the lodestar of U.S. foreign policy has fallen.

The international system as we know it has evolved through a series of mutations that marked the conclusion of major wars. Historical analogies are never precisely parallel, but the end of the Cold War may present opportunities comparable to those that followed earlier great wars in 1648, 1815, 1919-21, and 1945-47.

Unfortunately, the U.S. government failed to develop contingency plans for coping with the world that would remain at the end of the Cold War. The Bush Administration has improvised adroitly in response to the remarkable events of the past three years, but if the administration is guided by

a vision of a better world, the details of that vision have not been articulated.

Key officials at the Department of State responsible for realizing immediate diplomatic objectives are inevitably too enmeshed in overseeing day-to-day operations to consider the basic directions of foreign policy. They necessarily react to the most urgent crises of the day, leaving them little time to ponder the context and possible consequences of their actions. This may be the best argument for a strong Foreign

Policy Advisory Group within the Office of the Secretary of State specifically charged with proposing long-term objectives for U.S. foreign policy. Such a body could provide valuable perspective for the United States as it plans its course in a perilous world.



Winston Lord
Staff Director
1973-77

THE PAST AS PROLOGUE

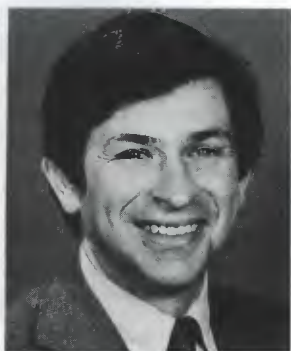
The concept of foreign policy planning as a Department of State function is of recent origin. The isolationism that ruled American diplomacy through the 19th century implicitly limited U.S. relations with other countries. The transportation and communications breakthroughs of the 20th century effectively brought

the American people—and their government—into closer association with the rest of the world. We could no longer remain aloof from major European wars.

As 20th century events enlarged the scope and size of the Department of State, a clear need arose to improve coordination, oversight, and programming of its activities. One can trace U.S. foreign policy planning to a small staff assembled

BY JOHN J. HARTER

portunity



Paul Wolfowitz
Staff Director
1981-82

by Secretary of State Cordell Hull during World War II to consider means of reducing the risk of armed conflict after the war. Hull's team for blueprinting a better world was headed by Leo Pasvolksy, special adviser in charge of post-war planning, who had been inspired by the Wilsonian dream of the League of Nations. Pasvolksy was the prin-

cipal architect of the UN Charter that was ultimately accepted at the San Francisco Conference in 1945. Pasvolksy's group disappeared into the mists of history soon after that. After a hiatus of about one year, Secretary of State George C. Marshall instituted the better-known Policy Planning Staff that was directed by George F. Kennan, whose "containment" doctrine dominated U.S. foreign policy throughout the post-war decades.

Foreign policy planning has had a spotty history since that time. State Department planners have, by and large, been principally engaged in short-term applications of accepted policy with little ability to redirect strategy or redefine objectives. Planners have usually been absorbed with such duties as writing speeches or congressional testimony for the secretary of state and clearing (and sometimes rectifying) briefing memoranda prepared for the department's press liaison officers. Speeches by senior officials and comments by briefing officers may be appropriate channels for announcing new emphases in foreign policy; but they are not the best vehicles through which those new directions are first conceptualized.

Given the military implications of a rigid containment policy, State Department planners have often been less influential, even in tactical matters, than the National Security

Council staff, which has been heavily weighted with military and intelligence community careerists. The NSC was installed—and the CIA was created in 1947—to coordinate the flow of information and advice to the president and to ensure that the United States would be equipped to combat the ideological and military threat posed by a formidable and apparently expanding Soviet regime. Its central role within the Executive Office of the President and its large staff resources have inevitably reduced the president's direct reliance upon the secretary of state and his department.

STONE COLD

The Cold War has, of course, crumbled into dust and ashes, and a foreign policy obsessed with blocking the advance of communism is obsolete. In the 1990s, the real security of the United States will not rest on our nuclear arsenal, covert operations, or black propaganda but on a healthy domestic economy. Strong economic growth requires increased savings and investment in infrastructure, an updated educational system, technological innovation, and deficit reduction. The degree of U.S. dedication to social justice will also be closely observed around the world and may well affect the credibility of U.S. pronouncements in many international fora. The recent riots in Los Angeles, for example, and the reaction of the federal government, inevitably affect international perceptions of the United States, especially in poor countries. Foreign policy in the 1990s will thus be more heavily influenced by domestic concerns than in the recent past.



Dennis Ross
Current Staff Director

Future foreign policy will rest more securely on a bedrock of economic solvency and growth than on a cumbersome and costly military, and the vast resources of the CIA in the future world can offer little insight into the new priorities. With personnel stationed all over the world to analyze political and economic trends and aid Americans abroad, the Department of State is the rightful agency to take a lead role in formulating the new "internestic" policy.

In what will this policy consist? In broad outline, Americans probably agree that future U.S. foreign policy should be geared, *inter alia*, to promoting democracy, human rights, and reliance on the market, ensuring ecological stability, strengthening the United Nations system, supporting the rule of law, fortifying the mechanisms of collective security, and controlling the international flow of narcotics. U.S. economic prosperity also requires opening further the international trading system, improving the efficiency of the international financial structure, and redressing the economic destitution facing poor countries.

But if these general goals are to become workable, policy planners must define and explain their substance and practical implications. They should also delineate the relevance of these aims to U.S. interests, trace their history, and identify the issues and relationships that might be affected. The policy planners should be proactive rather than reactive, forging long-term goals rather than analyzing immediate crises. Instead of micromanaging the work of line officers, policy planners should establish a philosophical framework to facilitate consistent decisionmaking. Their primary task will be to establish a new and internally consistent set of premises to guide those who actually apply policy.

A new planning group in early 1993 would have to devote urgent attention to political/military and "security" issues, including an analysis of circumstances that might require the use of U.S. military forces and the interrelationships among political/military and international economic issues. It would also be called upon to consider the international implications of domestic economic policies and to clarify traditionally ambiguous strands of U.S. policy in many areas.

FUNNEL FOR IDEAS

Once the broad pattern of its new perspectives is discernible, the revitalized Department of State might wish to encourage officers throughout the department to review the effects of traditional policies and strategies in their own areas of interest. Anyone in the department should be free to propose new courses of action for consideration by the policymakers. Recommendations from embassies, for example, will often be compelling. (In fact, career Department of State officers who initiate policy proposals that ultimately lead to new policy should receive commendation to enhance their prospects for promotion.) The policy-planning group, while remaining open to inputs from all sources, would generate its own agenda.

Ultimately, it is, of course, the president's prerogative and duty to determine the most central directions of policy. However, his personal attention will normally be engaged

only when major new policy directions are advanced or when conflicts between the secretary of state and other members of the cabinet cannot be resolved at the cabinet level or below. Some policy proposals approved by the president might be released to the public and forwarded to Congress, which could schedule public hearings regarding major policy matters. (The rationale for overclassification of many documents related to foreign affairs can be abandoned, as the clandestine and military reach of the U.S. government is sharply reduced in the wake of the Cold War.)

Congressional oversight can help to enlighten the public through broad-ranging hearings. The 1966 Fulbright hearings on the war in Vietnam, for example, illustrated the power of this mechanism, especially when projected to a large television audience. Such hearings might be particularly useful when they focus on policy recommendations put forward by the president. In some instances, Congress may choose to promulgate resolutions to attest its own perspectives on the issues at hand.

CHAIN OF COMMAND

In addition to instituting a reliable apparatus to formulate good policy, the Department of State needs more reliable means of ensuring the uniform application by all U.S. government agencies of approved policy. Essentially, policy "oversight" would devolve upon the entire Department of State. Professional diplomats can be trusted to apply and interpret formally approved policy, especially since their colleagues, Congress, and the media may subsequently monitor their acts. When a compelling case can be made that existing policy is ambiguous, it should be referred to the planners through the deputy secretary for clarification, amendment, or extension.

The reforms proposed here would, in fact, be in line with the radical restructuring taking place in many American corporations, as mid-level management has been shrunk or eliminated, and line officers have been given broader authority to convert the "vision" or goals of senior corporate officials into reality.

History shows that foreign policy evolves as circumstances change. Polk's "Manifest Destiny," John Hay's "Open Door" policy, and Wilson's "self-determination," for example, made sense to contemporaries and still affect American public opinion. But catchwords of the past do not necessarily make satisfactory springboards into the future. Without a clear vision of America's future direction, policymakers in the 1990s may often be tempted to pronounce broad judgments on each marginal change in the landscape. The United States will be better served if its government develops a new long-term policy to redefine the pattern of its relationships with the rest of the world. A strong Department of State planning apparatus could help a great deal to meet that need. ■

A retired Foreign Service officer, John J. Harter is AFSA's conference coordinator.

THE
POLICY
PLANNING
STAFF

Keeping it Relevant

BY PAUL KREISBERG



George McGhee
Staff Director
1961



Walt Rostow
Staff Director
1961-66

The Policy Planning Staff (S/P) has never been the locus of all or even most of the planning of policy in the Department of State, nor was it ever envisioned to be. But the staff has often been a source of new ideas, independent judgments, and challenges to old thinking.

The hard core of detailed planning and coordination of foreign policies, which usually occurs in the opening months of a new administration, may not necessarily be centered in the State Department. Different relationships between the president and cabinet members, as well as different policy priorities, lead to varying bureaucratic strengths and weaknesses in each administration. During the Nixon Administration, policy was driven from the National Security Council (NSC). The Carter Administration saw a battle for policy preeminence between State and the NSC, and in the Reagan Administration, defense planning lay at the center of the foreign policy road map, giving the Defense Department a strong voice in the policy process.

Not only the importance but also the agenda of State's policy planners change with the administration. In the 1950s and early 1960s, S/P gave primary attention to political and security issues. In the Nixon and Ford administrations several "global issues" were added to this list, including law of the sea and some environmental issues. During the Carter Administration, human rights, narcotics, terrorism, and an even broader range of environmental issues became important, along with refugees and migration. This trend toward complexity and diversity of policy agendas has continued.

In critical areas of foreign economic policy (other than economic aid and transfers of military technologies), State has usually played a weaker policy role than domestic agencies such as the departments of Commerce and Treasury, and S/P's role has thus been marginal as well. Even in the White House, the National Security Council has had only a limited influence on economic and technological policy issues, which have been jealously guarded by domestic policy departments. Although the State Department's assistant secretaries or under secretaries for economic affairs may have been involved as "sherpas" or advancement men for economic summits, the Treasury Department and special trade representative have had the policy muscle. ►

Policy coordination in this area urgently needs to be redesigned from the top down. A strong case can be made for a national security adviser who is, in a real sense, a "political economist," for making the secretary of state and national security adviser members of the president's domestic policy council, and for strengthening and broad-

**A STRONG CASE CAN BE MADE FOR A NATIONAL SECURITY
ADVISER WHO IS, IN A REAL SENSE, A "POLITICAL ECONOMIST,"
FOR MAKING THE SECRETARY OF STATE AND NATIONAL
SECURITY ADVISER MEMBERS OF THE PRESIDENT'S DOMESTIC
POLICY COUNCIL ...**

ening the links that the best assistant secretaries have usually established on an informal basis with other departments of government that focus on economic and social policy issues. Not least among the things to be done are to ensure that the State Department is represented on and has a strong policy voice in *any* negotiation by U.S. government agencies with foreign authorities. In this kind of environment, an S/P significantly strengthened to deal with cross-cutting domestic/international policy issues can be of great help to the secretary.

WATCHDOG

The framework for any administration's foreign policy is usually set during the political campaign by the group of key political advisers to the president from whom emerge the secretary of state, national security adviser, secretary of defense, and, at a lower level, the director of the policy planning staff. All are generally committed to the broad direction of the incoming administration and have articulated compatible views on foreign policy, as members or staff in Congress, academic writers on policy issues, journalists or editorial writers, or through other outside professional activities.

After the hurly-burly of a new administration's first months, S/P has often turned a major portion of its energies toward helping the secretary and deputy secretary link together all the pieces of foreign policy by monitoring interagency policy-coordination groups and the foreign affairs budget.

Global interdependence has for the last two decades increased the involvement of other U.S. departments and agencies in foreign policy and compelled constant interagency coordination. When the State Department takes the lead on such policy issues, their management usually lies with the State Department bureaus that

specialize in regions of the world or in subject areas. That creates a risk that choices in one policy arena may conflict with others on which the specialized bureaus have not been involved. Under these circumstances, the secretary of state has frequently, and understandably, given S/P shared responsibility for such coordination in order to ensure policy consistency across bureau lines. Bureaus have often resented this, but it is a wise bureaucratic and policy measure that has worked well in practice.

Distribution of resources is inseparable from a definition of policy priorities. Allocating personnel and resources within the department and overseas and distributing scarce assistance funds among plausible but conflicting claimants require a balance of policy interests. In striking this balance, the secretary or deputy secretary can usually benefit from bureaucratically impartial man-

agement at earlier stages. S/P's engagement as a quasi-ombudsman with the bureaus, the administrative under secretary, and USAID has often been helpful in resolving this process. There are, of course, alternative ways of dealing with this, such as the establishment of a special office for personnel and resources under the deputy secretary.

Because of a special relationship with the secretary and his deputy, the director of S/P has often been given responsibility for drafting their speeches and congressional testimony as well as vetting the department's press guidance on significant policy issues, along with other guardians of the secretary's reputation, such as Public Affairs and Congressional Relations. This is particularly true when broad policy guidelines are under consideration or there are major statements of policy to be made on sensitive topics of particular concern to an administration.

This is unwise as a continuing focus of responsibility. It mistakenly channels S/P's responsibilities into a narrow track of policy issues, deflecting the influence the office can have on many other questions, weakening morale among those staff members not directly involved in the issue, and usurping the responsibilities of relevant regional or functional bureaus. Nevertheless, it will almost certainly continue from time to time and underline the reality that each secretary uses S/P in any way he wishes.

KEEPING THE INSIDE TRACK

The State Department's planning staff requires specialists first and foremost on the central issues the secretary wants to address, individuals who are politically attuned to the mood of the administration but adept at tracking bureaucratic infighting, imaginative, and with personal credibility enabling them to work smoothly with the

continued on page 31

afsa news

Packing and shipping changes proposed

by Deborah M. Leahy

Member Services Representative

On November 1, the State Department will begin assigning shipments to packing and storage contractors rather than having individuals contact the companies. This plan, and a pilot program to a limited number of posts establishing the international through government bill of lading (ITGBL) program will be initiated in response to recommendations from the Office of the Inspector General.

The department will assume the responsibility for coordinating the moving and packing. However, if the employee has had a bad experience with a particular moving company, that company will not be assigned to the move. The department notes that the current packing standards will not be lowered in any way.

Employees whose belongings are moved under the ITGBL method will be serviced by two transportation companies instead of one. One of the approved contractors will service the permanent storage and unaccompanied air baggage shipments, and an ITGBL company will service the export-pack shipment. While cost will be a consideration in the choice of contractors, the quality of service will be better controlled, as the original contractor, rather than any subcontractor, will be held liable for damage or poor service. This pilot program will be used for a limited time to a limited number of posts (mostly Western Europe).

AFSA has several concerns about the proposed changes and has made it clear to the department that they must negotiate before implementation

begins. One concern is that employees who are assigned to have their effects moved by the ITGBL method will need to deal with two, or sometimes three different packing companies. Employees often have a difficult time packing out with the limited official time granted for such moves. AFSA has made unsuccessful attempts in the past to get the department to grant more official time for packing out. We will revisit this issue based upon the more complicated needs of these new shipping procedures.

AFSA is also concerned that there appears no set time for the pilot program to run. We will press the department to have a specific time frame so

that employees and AFSA can have a chance to comment on the new system prior to its final implementation. AFSA will be seeking comments from employees whose belongings are shipped during the pilot program.

Good News

USAID has been ordered by the Foreign Service Impasse Disputes Panel to provide a full-time position for AFSA vice president for USAID for a one-year period. Negotiations are under way to implement this position as soon as possible.

Malaria form amended

by Colleen Fallon, Staff Attorney

AFSA recently succeeded in changing the language of the department's proposed acknowledgement form covering new prophylaxis recommendations for areas of malaria infestation.

AFSA had requested an explanation for the decision to replace chloroquine and paludrine with mefloquine as the malaria prophylaxis of choice. We were also disturbed with the "informed decision" forms that employees were asked to sign acknowledging receipt of information about limitations and risks associated with taking mefloquine and the availability of other options for those who chose not to use mefloquine.

The department contended that its decision to use mefloquine was based on a recommendation from the Center for Disease Control. Mefloquine has a higher rate of effectiveness compared to chloroquine and paludrine, but, because mefloquine presents risks to certain groups, such as small children and women who are trying to conceive, the department required that employees sign "informed decision" forms acknowledging receipt of this information.

State assured AFSA that the form was not an attempt to limit the department's liability, but simply a means of ensuring that all employees are aware of the risks before taking mefloquine. AFSA suggested that specific language be inserted in the form itself stating this fact. A revised draft of the amended form was drawn up and cabled worldwide. Curtailment requests for those who choose not to take mefloquine or incur higher risk by using alternative prophylaxis would be viewed sympathetically, according to the department.

Prescriptive relief for untenured

by Colleen Fallon
Staff Attorney

The U.S. Court of Appeals recently reversed the D.C. District Court's decision in *Miller v. Baker*, preserving the FS Grievance Board's power to grant prescriptive relief to nontenured employees. The District Court had held that the board did not have unlimited authority to grant prescriptive relief to nontenured employees.

AFSA's amicus brief, filed in February 1992, argued that the Foreign Service Act provides that the board may grant prescriptive relief where the nontenured employee's grievance is likely to succeed on its merits.

Miller joined the Foreign Service in 1977 as a career candidate under a five-year limited appointment. When her term expired, she was granted an additional five-year appointment. In April 1988, the department notified her that she would not be granted tenure and would be separated from the Foreign Service at the expiration of her limited appointment. Miller then filed a grievance alleging that she had received inaccurate and erroneous EERs that adversely affected her opportunity for tenure.

After the department denied her grievance in January 1989, she appealed to the Grievance Board and requested prescriptive relief, pending resolution of the grievance. The board granted her request, but the department refused to comply. The board ultimately upheld the department's decision to terminate Miller.

Miller did not challenge the board's decision but sought back pay from the department covering the period between her termination and the board's final decision.

The Appeals Court found that previously the District Court had erroneously viewed the issue as a conflict between two statutory provisions in the Foreign Service Act: 1106(8), which gives the board authority to grant prescriptive relief to employees in certain circumstances, and 611, which grants the secretary the author-

ity to terminate limited appointees "at any time," except in cases of misconduct. The Appeals Court reasoned that since the Foreign Service Act grants the board the power to suspend the involuntary separation of the grievant and yet makes no distinction between career candidates and tenured employees nor between terminations under differing sections of the act, the board's action in granting prescriptive relief would be valid under either section of the act.

USIA challenges TV Martí funding

by Lauren Hale
AFSA USIA Representative

AFSA recently participated in a congressional challenge to TV Martí, supporting a House Appropriations bill amendment that would have eliminated funding for TV Martí. The amendment was narrowly defeated in the House on July 30. It first passed 206-194 when members voted in the committee of the whole. Then, when the House of Representatives considered the appropriations bill on final passage, the amendment was called for revote and defeated 215-185. It was the biggest challenge to TV Martí yet, and AFSA played a part.

Earlier in July, the AFSA Board of Governors had approved an AFSA USIA Standing Committee position paper on international broadcasting. Among the recommendations made in the paper was one that the TV Martí experiment end. The paper states: "At a time when USIA is suffering serious budget difficulties, it makes no sense to spend more than \$18 million on a broadcast service that has no audience." (The Appropriations Committee later reduced that to \$12.7 million.)

When AFSA learned of Congressman Bill Alexander's (D-AR) proposed amendment, AFSA President William Kirby wrote to him and other sponsors. He said, "TV Martí, since it cannot be seen by the Cuban populace and since, in fact, it has had the effect of blocking the popular Radio Martí programs from reaching the Cuban public, has proven to be a worthwhile but failed experiment. The situation is

made all the more serious by the possibility that USIA, which has moved boldly to open badly needed posts and programs in the CIS countries, may have to cut programs and personnel in Africa, Latin America, and Asia in order to stay within budget limitations."

Both Alexander and George Miller (D-CA) quoted AFSA. Alexander also cited the U.S. Advisory Commission on Public Diplomacy and other influential groups during debate on the amendment. Ralph Regula (R-OH) questioned spending money for the "ineffective" TV Martí when the House had just voted to reject funding (\$15.2 million) for USIA libraries in industrialized countries.

AFSA agrees that USIA should have money for its many effective programs and will continue to oppose reductions in funding for USIA field presence and Washington program support. The position on TV Martí is one of several that AFSA has taken on U.S. government international broadcasting. The AFSA position paper on this subject, written by Greg Garland:

- opposes the establishment of a Radio Free Asia broadcasting service outside VOA, and instead recommends strengthening VOA's China Service.
- believes USIA should place priority on the support of private U.S. broadcasting's entry into global export markets.
- opposes the transfer of Radio Martí to the Bureau of Broadcasting and recommends that it remain in VOA.
- believes VOA's primary objective should be to maintain a global presence.
- believes there is potential for expanded TV operations by USIA.
- recommends that VOA should remain an integral part of USIA.
- recommends that USIA and State should assign more Foreign Service officers to VOA.

Foreign Service members may request copies of the paper from AFSA, 2101 E Street, N.W., Washington, D.C. 20037.

Promotion review boards to end

by Deborah M. Leaby

Member Services Representative

Management has presented AFSA with proposed changes for Promotion Boards for employees on special assignments. These changes would affect employees who, by virtue of the highly sensitive nature of their work, cannot receive an unclassified EER that adequately describes their duties and responsibilities.

In the past, these employees would have a regular EER completed and a second, classified EER would also be prepared. This second report was not

included in the employee's official performance file. Employees received full consideration from the regular Promotion Board based on their established file and their unclassified EERs. However, any employee who was not promoted by the regular board would be reviewed by a second, special board who would see the employee's classified EERs.

Management's proposal would end the practice of having a second review board. Instead, employees would be given the option of having a non-rate for that assignment and would be given an extension of their TIC.

The department has proposed this change because of an interpretation by the Legal Adviser's Office that the

current procedure violates provisions of the Foreign Service Act of 1980.

AFSA has noted that the AFSA/State agreement in effect was reviewed by the legal office prior to implementation and found to be satisfactory. We have asked for a specific analysis of the perceived legal problems associated with the use of the current procedure. AFSA believes that the current system meets the needs of the service and protects employees. AFSA has requested assurances that Personnel is taking the necessary steps to convene the special board required by our current agreement so that employees will not be disadvantaged during this promotion cycle.

60 years of scholarships

by Michael Dailey

Scholarships Assistant

This year marks the 60th anniversary of the establishment of the AFSA Scholarship Programs. What started in 1932 with two annual scholarships has grown into three programs that with AAFSW and DACOR contributed more than \$115,000 to 120 needy and academically noteworthy Foreign Service young people in 1991.

Although the generosity of many early AFSA members contributed to the success of the scholarship program, it is through the wisdom and foresight of AFSA's 1932 Executive Committee Chairman Homer M. Byington that AFSA's Scholarship Program now enjoys the success it has achieved.

In the minutes taken from the January 14, 1932 Executive Committee meeting:

"Mr. Byington stated that . . . he was very much in favor of something being done to inaugurate the establishing of a fund to provide scholarships for children of Foreign Service officers, perhaps by setting aside for the purpose a portion of the accumulated funds of the Association. Mr. Byington pointed out that if such a fund could be established, even though small at the outset, persons particularly interested in the matter would probably desire to make individual contributions to the end that

the fund develop into one of sufficient size to be of very real service to Foreign Service officers."

With Byington's and the AFSA Board's persistence, the AFSA Scholarship Fund was established in June of that year. What began as a fund of \$5,000 representing one third of AFSA's savings has since grown to a fund of \$1.7 million, which includes 40 perpetual scholarships.

Byington would be extremely pleased, if not stunned, by the success that his wish to establish a scholarship fund of real service to Foreign Service officers has since enjoyed.

Retiree News

Thinking globally, acting locally

by Ward Thompson

Retiree Liaison

Although there are no AFSA alumni chapters, many of our 3,500 retired members belong to locally established Foreign Service retiree associations. These associations help foreign affairs agency alumni stay in touch with former colleagues by holding meetings several times a year.

These local organizations have no formal tie to AFSA, although most are currently led by AFSA members. AFSA offers its cooperation in various ways:

10 associations are currently listed in the *AFSA Directory of Retired Members*. State and regional retiree organizations include two each for Arizona and California, one for New England, one covering Minnesota and Wisconsin, and one each for Florida, New Mexico, Washington State, and Central North Carolina.

AFSA hopes to strengthen cooperation with these associations as the AFSA Speakers Bureau gets under way. We also would welcome support for our mentoring project for minority college interns who are interested in pursuing a Foreign Service career.

AFSA hopes that alumni in areas other than those listed will become interested in working together to provide support. For example, students in this year's intern mentoring program include several from North Carolina and Massachusetts, where there are associations, and from the Washington, D.C. area, where we are working with DACOR to find mentors. But there are also students in Georgia, Mississippi, Missouri, New York, Ohio, and Tennessee for whom we are seeking mentors.

AFSA would appreciate receiving news of any local Foreign Service alumni groups. If you are retired and would be interested in helping form an association or in becoming more involved in AFSA's activities, please let us hear from you.

AFSA: The Extraordinary Choice

There is nothing ordinary about the United States Foreign Service. It is a unique profession with unique professional and human requirements. To meet the extraordinary needs of Foreign Service generalists and specialists worldwide, an ordinary labor union just will not do.

That is why the American Foreign Service Association is the extraordinary choice for USIA Foreign Service personnel.

What is so extraordinary about AFSA?

- 68 years of experience with the Foreign Service
- Expertise that only an organization totally dedicated to active and retired Foreign Service personnel can have
- Chapter representatives at 150 posts worldwide
- Freedom from partisan political or patronage agendas
- A Governing Board composed solely of active and retired Foreign Service specialists and generalists
- USIA representation on the Governing Board and committees

Still, a union and professional association must be measured by its accomplishments. For AFSA, this means providing extraordinary service to members. Here are just a few of the many ways AFSA has served Foreign Service generalists and specialists:

Union Representation

Grievance Representation: AFSA has provided professional grievance representation to more than 300 Foreign Service personnel in the past two years alone, including USIA employees. AFSA maintains an eight-person member services and legal staff to provide expert grievance assistance.

Legal Services: AFSA's legal staff focuses solely on Foreign Service problems, offering counsel to employees abroad and in the United States. We provide representation, interpret regulations, and protect employees' rights through lawsuits and other means.

Negotiations: AFSA bargains hard for Foreign Service employees

on a wide variety of issues such as promotion precepts, smoking policy, and the junior officer program.

Overseas Housing: AFSA has launched an aggressive Overseas Housing Initiative to improve living conditions at post. Supported by cables and petitions we will press management to change housing standards to meet the representational, security, and personal needs of Foreign Service professionals.

Specialists: AFSA negotiated new career paths for Department of State building maintenance officers, couriers, communicators, and systems managers, just in the past year. For each group we won greater access to training and senior positions.

Security Concerns: AFSA also negotiated an agreement that limits polygraph testing in the State Department to fewer than 15 positions worldwide. We were also instrumental in frustrating USAID's effort to expand polygraph testing within that agency. AFSA also succeeded in eliminating vague, invasive, and unconstitutional language from security forms.

Employment Protection: AFSA repeatedly blocked legislation to eliminate prescriptive relief. As a result, an employee facing separation may be kept on the rolls while his grievance is considered.

Audit Representation Letters: AFSA protected USAID employees from unreasonable liability by forcing the agency to change its broad post-audit guarantee form.

Professional Issues

Strength of USIA's Foreign Service: The size and influence of USIA's Foreign Service are diminishing in the face of expanding Civil Service and Schedule C employment. We're fighting this reduction of USIA's effectiveness overseas and in Washington.

Continued USIA Independence: AFSA's Governing Board reaffirmed the association's support for the work, mission, structure, and continued independence of USIA.

Democracy Initiatives: AFSA supports increased U.S. government

support of democracy initiatives abroad and recognizes that USIA should play a lead role with its own budget for that purpose.

Future of International Broadcasting: AFSA supports USIA as the focal point for the U.S. government's international broadcasting, including radio and television. It opposes creation of a surrogate radio station for Asia outside of USIA. It calls for elimination of TV Martí and for use of funds for effective programming.

Professional Activities

Awards: The AFSA awards program sustains Foreign Service traditions of excellence and integrity. USIA employees have won a number of awards over the years, including the 1992 Herter award for senior officers.

Scholarships: The AFSA Scholarship and Merit Award Programs give more than \$100,000 each year to dozens of Foreign Service dependents. A USIA employee sits on the AFSA Education Committee, and this year's Harriman Scholarship winner is the son of a USIA employee.

Speaker Luncheon Program: AFSA speaker lunches bring to the Foreign Service Club such distinguished Americans as Frank Carlucci, Paul Volcker, William Colby, and Thomas Pickering for discussions of vital foreign policy issues.

Speakers Bureau: AFSA has established a Speakers Bureau to match FS expertise with audiences around the country to enhance public understanding of foreign affairs and the contributions of the Foreign Service.

Legislative Affairs

• AFSA represents the Foreign Service on the Hill, meeting regularly with important congressional staffs and with OMB to press for bigger budgets and better personnel policies.

• AFSA participates in FAIR (Fund for Assuring an Independent Retirement), a coalition concerned with retirement benefits and other issues.

• Under statutory authority AFSA reports directly to Congress on labor management problems such as hous-

ing, employee benefits, and unfair labor practices by management.

Membership Benefits

Foreign Service Journal: Our award-winning magazine continues to promote the views of the Foreign Service profession.

Retiree Program: AFSA represents retirees in the area of annuities and health care benefits, supports retiree

associations around the United States, and develops opportunities for Foreign Service alumni to remain involved with foreign affairs.

Specialized Insurance Programs: AFSA offers low-cost, comprehensive packages tailored to the Foreign Service community. AFSA plans cover personal property, accident, disability, long-term health care, and in-hospital income.

Foreign Service Club: Luncheon and special catering are available to members at the Foreign Service Club located near Main State.

Member Services Staff: AFSA maintains a professional member services staff trained to provide assistance in the assignments process, training requests, EER preparation, and much, much more.

from the president

AFSA is the right choice for USIA

by William A. Kirby

Besides the critical USIA and Foreign Service issues that AFSA Vice President for USIA Bud Hensgen puts forward in his editorial (Views, p. 2), there are several other important factors USIA generalists and specialists should consider when deciding between the incumbent union, AFGE, and AFSA. Among these are union independence, commitment to the Foreign Service, how union dues are spent, congressional relations and, of course, the number and proximity of union representatives.

Union Independence. AFSA is not tied to any ponderous national union and is also independent of trade union umbrella groups such as the AFL-CIO. The other union, seen by many as anti-federal service, is encumbered by outside commitments, such as its endorsement of political candidates. AFSA's independence allows the association to remain true to its primary mission: effective representation of Foreign Service generalists and specialists.

Federal Service Commitment. AFSA is entirely focused on the protection and the common good of all Foreign Service personnel. Unlike AFGE, AFSA does not represent Civil Service employees or employees of agencies unrelated to foreign policy. AFGE's parent union is deeply involved in representing employees of such large Civil Service agencies as the Social Security Administration. While Civil Service employees are our pro-

fessional colleagues and undoubtedly need representation, their interests can sometimes conflict with the best interests of Foreign Service personnel. If it comes to a decision to support Foreign Service or Civil Service positions in VOA or in the Wireless File, which side do you believe the Civil Service union would support? AFSA is free from such mixed agendas and can concentrate its energies and resources to benefit Foreign Service personnel.

How Union Dues are Spent. Federal employees cannot be forced to join a union or to pay membership dues. However, it makes sense to vote for a union you might someday want to join. The decision to join should be partially based on where and how members' dues are spent. A major share of AFGE members' dues go to support the parent national union. The national union's non-Foreign Service expenditures include funding issues of the AFL-CIO, such as opposition to the North American Free Trade Agreement, which many Foreign Service personnel may wish to support. The national union is also currently spending huge sums defending its Social Security Administration turf. Expenditures such as these are footed by all of AFGE's members. These types of expenditures may be the reason why **AFGE's dues are double AFSA's.**

AFSA's membership dues stay in the Foreign Service family to support effective grievance and negotiations representation, to promote critical professional issues, to provide you with your subscription to the award-winning *Foreign Service Journal*, to sponsor merit scholarships for Foreign

Service dependents, and much more.

Congressional Relations. Good congressional relations involve more than lobbying for important items like pay raises and working conditions. Budget priorities are also important: in July AFSA made the decision to urge Congress to cut funds for TV Marti in order to avoid cutting people, programs, and posts engaged in more effective programming. In the context of the current federal budget deficit and an increasingly inward-looking nation, congressional relations often means presenting forceful arguments for an active United States foreign policy—justifying why the national interest requires a strong USIA and Foreign Service in the post-Cold War era. Unlike the incumbent union, AFSA is up to the task. AFSA fields an experienced legislative consultant on Capitol Hill and regularly testifies before key congressional committees. Who better than members of the Foreign Service can state the case for a strong USIA?

Representation. One last reason to vote for AFSA in the challenge election is the quality, quantity, and proximity of union representation. AFSA has chapter representatives at 150 posts worldwide. Backed up by skilled headquarters legal and membership service staffs, AFSA post representatives will be where you are to represent or to help you with any problems that might arise. AFSA has also made the commitment, if elected, to staff a separate office at USIA to improve member services for USIA.

Considering all things, there is only one right choice for USIA Foreign Service generalists and specialists: **AFSA.**



At an AFSA coffee for minority interns at State, Ambassador Horace Dawson (center), president of the Association of Black American Ambassadors talks with Shawn Mussington (left) and Russell Jones, an intern sponsored by AFSA

Housing petition drive a success

AFSA's housing petition drive can already be judged a smashing success, with an overwhelmingly favorable response, and signed petitions are still coming in.

AFSA's USIA members have taken the lead on the overseas housing issue. Housing initiative petitions have been mailed to all USIA Foreign Service personnel overseas and circulated by AFSA's volunteers at USIA locations in Washington. The AFSA USIA Standing Committee targeted the housing issue months ago as a concern of Foreign Service employees, developed AFSA's housing positions from member survey data, and staffed the petition drive.

After all the petitions are in, AFSA will present the signed copies to Department of State, notifying management of the high level of support among Foreign Service personnel for housing policy changes.

Targeting R & D for competitive advantage

by John J. Harter
Conference Coordinator

AFSA will host a day-long symposium at the Department of State on October 6 that will stress the pivotal contribution of research and development to technological innovation.

The conference will culminate in a brainstorming session at which panelists will urge specific proposals they believe the president should recommend to Congress and the American people next January, looking toward a stronger R & D contribution to American competitiveness. Frank Press, president of the National Academy of Sciences, will moderate that session.

D. Allan Bromley, director of the White House Office of Science and Technology Policy, as keynote speaker, will discuss "R & D: The Cutting Edge of Competitiveness." The featured luncheon speaker, Congressman George E. Brown Jr. (D-CA), chairman of the Science, Space, and Technology Committee of the House of Representatives, will present a congressional perspective on the probable impact of R & D on U.S. competitiveness in the 1990s.

Michael K. Young, deputy under

secretary of State for Economic and Agricultural Affairs, will host the program, which will be co-sponsored by the National Association of Manufacturers, Martin Marietta, and Merck Research Laboratories.

The symposium will feature expert panels that will discuss questions such as the following:

- What government economic policies are most likely to promote private-sector R & D?
- What trade and investment policies should the United States pursue to improve the competitiveness of American goods and services?
- What can the United States learn by examining the R & D policies of its foreign competitors?
- How can the contribution of American universities and private research laboratories to U.S. competitiveness be enhanced?

The program has been designed to be of particular interest to enterprises concerned about the role of R & D in their own operations, economists concerned about competitiveness issues, and other interested parties, including the media. Interested AFSA members are invited to call or write Conference Affairs at AFSA for further information.

Copies of the Highlights Report on the February 6 AFSA Symposium on Export Promotion are now available from AFSA headquarters.

newsbriefs

Travel voucher problem resolved. AFSA recently succeeded in helping a security engineer resolve a long-standing travel voucher problem. AFSA engaged the State Department bureaucracy until the employee received his check for more than \$700—legitimate reimbursement for official travel vouchers that had been outstanding for over a year. If you have any travel voucher problems, please contact AFSA and we will assist you in any way possible.

TIC extended for Korean language training. After inquiries from the field AFSA urged the department to extend the time-in-class (TIC) for employees in Korean language training. Employees who completed Korean Language training received only a one-year exemption for two years of training, unlike employees in training for languages such as Arabic, Chinese or Japanese, who received a two-year TIC exemption. The department concurred with AFSA's view that the situation was unjust, and it will be revising the regulations to grant a two-year TIC exemption retroactive to those who began Korean Language training in the 1990-91 academic year.

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bureaus. Most demanding of all, the S/P staff should have a generalist's sense of the overall structure of foreign policy so that it can relate details and specifics of policy in one sector to concerns and problems in others.

In order to remain effective, the Policy Planning Staff must have ready access to the S/P director, who should be located, with his staff, on the seventh floor rather than partially isolated in the secretary's immediate vicinity. Staff members must also strive to be accepted as part of the core policy-determining group within the State Department bureaus with which they work. A staff member who is unable to do this will invariably be less effective as a link between the bureaus and the secretary and may ultimately roil policy waters rather than clarify them.

S/P's long-time practice of consultations with planning staffs in many countries has provided an extremely useful opportunity to explore and anticipate new circumstances and policy options for dealing with broad international issues and in a more open-ended, informal way than may be possible in more structured bilateral exchanges. These are most valuable both to the United States and foreign participants when the director of S/P personally participates, bringing a sense of immediate relevance to policy-making at the highest level of the department.

HANDS-ON

Critics of the policy planning function in the State Department have argued that S/P should focus only on long-term policy, letting the bureaus worry about short-term issues. In reality, a sharp distinction between the two is artificial. Even when there is an overarching policy framework, policy is often defined incrementally from numerous individual decisions, particularly in rapidly evolving circumstances. To stand aloof from short-term decisions is to abdicate any relevance for planning policy. A critical responsibility of S/P is to work closely with the bureaus to ensure that, in the press of rushing from one short-term decision to another, they are also constantly seeking new ideas and reevaluating policy in broader terms.

The overwhelming majority of initiatives for new foreign policy options and approaches do emerge from the bureaus. Nevertheless it is not uncommon for officials and bureaucrats at every level to become embedded in policy stances they have strongly advocated and fought

for earlier, in which they have personal and political stakes, and which they are loathe to abandon or even permit to be challenged at higher levels. Officials at very senior levels may themselves be reluctant to reassess policy decisions with which they have been associated or about which there may be intense political conflict with the Congress. Over the life of an administration, this problem usually grows.

New administrations sometimes think they can enter office with brand new "long-term" strategies and objectives. The reality is that new ideas and initiatives must be welded to existing policies and to the perceptions of other nations about U.S. global and regional objectives in

order not to suggest dramatic and arbitrary changes, conflicting with ongoing understandings, commitments, and obligations. When policy direction does change dramatically, as in the last two years in the former Soviet Union, planning is possible only when closely linked to short-term decisions on innumerable constantly changing issues. The role of S/P is to help keep incremental changes throughout the department in perspective for the secretary, looking at both short- and long-term implications.

Within the State Department, S/P also provides an escape valve for genuinely unorthodox ideas. It ensures an opening for such ideas to flow through a channel in which the Secretary has confidence and which he will not see as hostile to the political agenda of the administration. S/P has thus been the locus of such "openness" channels as the Secretary's Open Forum and the Dissent Channel, although these have been of limited effectiveness.

In sum, Policy Planning is ultimately as influential in policy as individual secretaries of state want it to be, as good as its

director and the supporting staff he selects, and as useful in moderating and unifying departmental policies as the good judgment, personal competence, and personality of the S/P staff members permit. It can be one of the secretary or deputy secretary's most effective instruments, or it can be irrelevant. ■

Currently a senior research fellow at the East-West Center in Honolulu, Paul Kreisberg served as senior deputy on the Policy Planning Staff from 1977 to 1981.

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Glory Days

THE RISE AND FALL OF THE POLICY PLANNING COUNCIL

BY CHARLES MAECHLING JR.

This three-volume set of the papers of the Policy Planning Staff, 1947-1949, which covers the tenure of the staff's first director, George F. Kennan, was originally published in 1983 but somehow escaped review either in the *Journal* or other foreign affairs publications. The papers, now declassified but originally ranging from Confidential to Top Secret, appear without editing or commentary. Each volume is preceded by a background introduction, however, and there is a brief foreword by Kennan.

The period of the papers was one of striking post-war realignment of global power relationships. The Soviet Union changed from wartime ally to Cold War adversary; Germany and Japan were evolving from wartime enemies to potential allies. The United States was now the unchallenged leader of the western democracies, while Communist China was about to emerge as an Asian power of unpredictable weight and direction. The papers reflect the impact of these transitions on U.S. official thinking and furnish a baseline for comparing the recommendations of the Kennan policy planning office with administration decisions and actual developments.

On a human level, the volumes provide revealing insights into the personality and thought processes of one of the nation's most distinguished historians and public servants: most of the papers were written by Kennan himself and bear

Reviewed in this essay:

***The State Department
Policy Planning Staff
Papers 1947-49,
3 volumes, Introduction
by Anna Kasten Nelson,
Foreword by George F.
Kennan, Garland
Publishing Co., New York
and London, 1983***

his unmistakable stamp. However, a puzzling feature of these volumes is the total absence of credit given by Kennan to the contributions of his colleagues on the staff, not even to listing them by name in an appendix.

CAREFUL STATECRAFT

When Secretary of State George C. Marshall established the policy planning office in May 1947, the State Department not only had no policy planning tradition but was still suffering from its marginal policy role in World War II. Throughout the war, foreign policy was a strictly presidential preserve and politico-military planning was the province of the Joint Chiefs of Staff and their subordinate committees. The handful of civilian advisers who played any role at all in the great wartime conferences of Quebec, Cairo, Teheran, and Yalta were presidential appointees. The State Department and its tiny Foreign Service were busy enough tending to far-flung American interests but, except in the economic area, exercised little influence on policy and would have considered it presumptuous to do so.

The towering stature that General Marshall brought to the department and the confidence that he reposed in Kennan were what enabled Kennan and his tiny staff of four full-time officers to make any impact at all. Kennan himself had not as yet been appointed an ambassador and, although he now had direct access to the secretary (via the under secretary, according to the directive), the new office stood outside the official chain of communication between the department's

principal divisions and the secretary. It is a tribute to Kennan's intellectual powers and standing with his colleagues that he was able to transcend these limitations. But Kennan was also lucky in that his personal field of expertise, Europe in general and the Soviet Union in particular, corresponded exactly to the overriding foreign policy concerns of the day. Kennan's famous "long telegram" of 1946 laying down the outlines of a containment policy had already established his reputation in the highest circles of the Truman Administration, including Secretary of the Navy James Forrestal and Kennan's immediate chief, Under Secretary of State Robert C. Lovett.

HELPING EUROPE HELP ITSELF

At the top of Kennan's agenda when the staff commenced operations was the crisis confronting Europe after the exceptionally severe winter of 1946 to 1947. Twelve of the 17 papers that comprise the 1947 volume are devoted exclusively to Europe. The first, PPS/1 of May 23, is notable in that it lays out the basic structure of the Marshall Plan as announced only a fortnight later in Secretary Marshall's speech at Harvard University. PPS/1 did not actually create the Marshall Plan but united into a coherent whole several plans circulated earlier. The Kennan contribution was that detailed implementation must be European, that the plan should include all of Europe, including Germany, and that the first installments should be concentrated on a few critical areas where they would have direct and immediate impact. The essence of the plan was to release the European capacity for self-help.

Later papers in the 1947 volume include more detailed guidelines for channeling U.S. aid, a crash program for stimulating European coal production, and suggestions for jogging Congress into speeding up the necessary legislation. At this early stage in the confrontation with the Soviet Union, Kennan did not define the problem in the Cold War terminology that crept in later. He did not see Communist activities as the root of the difficulties. He considered the crisis to be a direct result of the devastating effect of the late war on the economic, social and political structure of Europe.

The 1947 volume also contains the first of five policy papers dealing with the situation in Greece and the Eastern Mediterranean. This involved the novel and vexing problem of how deeply the United States should get entangled in another country's civil war. By the time Kennan addressed the matter the Truman Doctrine had been proclaimed and a \$400 million aid program authorized by Congress. The question now was what to do if the situation continued to deteriorate. In the face of an activist stance by Loy Henderson and the Near East division, Kennan flatly rejected U.S. military intervention but did propose an amplified aid program. If the royal government collapsed, Kennan advocated termination of aid and concentration on safeguarding Italy. The papers indicate some lack of coordination with the Pentagon in that they advocate channeling U.S. aid via a

floating U.S. naval command, an arrangement that the Navy Department rejected as impractical. None of the papers addresses why Turkey, against which no hard evidence of a Soviet threat has ever been found, was included in the Truman Doctrine.

PRE-WAR EYES

Kennan also tried to grapple with the future of Japan, then under the viceregal rule of General Douglas MacArthur. Here one cannot help feeling that Kennan was out of his depth. The papers reveal a picture of the Japanese through pre-war eyes. In contrast to General MacArthur's confidence in the durability of the reforms put in place by the American occupation, Kennan took a pessimistic view of Japan's vulnerability to Communist influence. MacArthur was pressing for early negotiation of a peace treaty and normalization of relations; Kennan urged delay and retention of some degree of U.S. control. (In the event, normal negotiating delays led to a middle way.)

Overshadowing these concerns was the growing hostility between the United States and the Soviet Union and the perception that "international communism" would be the principal threat to American security for the foreseeable future. Kennan knew the Soviet system at first hand and regarded it as anathema to western civilization. But throughout his tenure in Policy Planning, Kennan never wavered from the line taken in the 1946 "long telegram": that the real threat was the political advance of communism in Western Europe, including the Mediterranean, and that the danger of war was vastly exaggerated. During the critical months of the Berlin blockade he would go no further than to advocate unspecified "defensive measures" if the Soviets tried to interrupt the airlift (PPS/40 of October 1948). And Kennan's reaction to formation of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) was less than enthusiastic: he stated more than once that such a pact was not the main answer to the Soviet threat and that it fostered preoccupation with military measures to the detriment of economic and political ones. For proponents of military alliances, Kennan somewhat acidly observed: "... the need is primarily a *subjective* one, arising in their own minds as a result of their failure to understand correctly their position" (PPS/43 of November 1948).

At the core of the theory of containment was the future of Germany, and in the end this proved one of the two rocks on which Kennan's two-and-a-half year tenure at Policy Planning had foundered. Throughout 1948 Kennan had been urging normalization of allied relations with Germany on the basis of early abolition of zonal boundaries, phased withdrawal of occupation forces, and establishment of a provisional government for a unified, demilitarized Germany. Kennan recognized that it would be difficult to obtain Soviet consent but believed that with sufficient guarantees the plan would provide a tempting basis for settlement. He passionately opposed any arrangement that would perpetuate the continuing division of Germany and Europe. The

administration regarded Kennan's position as unrealistic. Dean Acheson, who took over as secretary of state from General Marshall early in 1949, favored German unification in principle but gave it far lower priority than early integration of West Germany into a European economic union. On this score Acheson had the West Europeans solidly behind him, and Kennan's persistence in resisting administration policy became an important factor in his resignation from the Policy Planning post.

MORAL COURAGE, FAULTY JUDGMENT

To say that Kennan's views also collided with the Truman Administration's policy on Palestine and the foundation of Israel would be an understatement, but here he had General Marshall, James Forrestal, and a solid block of State Department opinion with him. However, by the time Kennan gave his views, President Truman was all but committed to the establishment of a Jewish state, and continuing U.S. support for it was a foregone conclusion. In November 1947, the UN Security Council, with the support of the United States, had passed a resolution endorsing the partition of Palestine. Kennan's recommendation in the following January that the United States "take no further initiative in implementing or aiding partition" (PPS/19) not only ignored domestic political opinion but ran counter to U.S. sponsorship of the UN resolution. His later prediction that U.S. military aid to the Jewish state and help in enforcing partition "would be construed as a virtual declaration of war against the Arab world" and would be followed by an apocalyptic scenario of dire consequences to U.S. interests (PPS/21) was absurdly overdrawn and disproved by events.

Kennan's views on China displayed great moral courage and integrity in the face of growing pressure by the China lobby and Republican right-wing for all-out aid to Chiang Kai-shek. As early as February 1948, Kennan did not hesitate to write: "We should liquidate as rapidly as possible our unsound commitments in [Nationalist] China" (PPS/23). In May 1948, as the Communist armies swept southward across the Yangtze, Kennan deplored "our dreary load of political, military, and financial responsibility for the National (sic) government;" the United States "cannot rightly gamble with American prestige and resources to support it" (PPS/39).

Kennan contended that "there are operating in China tremendous, deep-flowing, indigenous forces which are beyond our power to control" and that this applied to the Soviet Union as well. After the Nationalist regime was defeated and Chiang Kai-shek had fled to Formosa, Kennan rejected giving him any further assistance and suggested that the United States establish a temporary form of trusteeship over the island with a view to giving it neutral independent status later on (PPS/45 of November 1948). It is a miracle that these documents were never leaked, or Kennan might have shared the fate of the department's "old China hands,"



Paul Nitze
Staff Director
1950-53

purged during the McCarthy era.

THE LUCID TRADITIONALIST

The Kennan papers cover other important issues, including preservation of the U.S. nuclear monopoly, defining U.S. interests in Southeast Asia, the recognition of new states, and the inter-American treaties. In a paper on Yugoslavia, Kennan was one of the first to hold that Tito's break with Moscow was irrevocable. He wrote several wide-ranging overview policy papers notable for their lucidity and eloquence, from which acute insights couched in arresting metaphors often shine forth. A paper on European union contains classic

language on the nature of sovereignty in which he calls it "a sort of hot substance, which cannot really be held by more than one set of hands" and which "must eventually gravitate to one power center or another depending on the cluster of attributes that it collects" (PPS/55 of July 1949). His reply to James Forrestal's complaint that the United States had no policy with respect to China is a classic, though whether it would fly in today's media-driven Washington is another matter: "There is no requirement either in United States diplomatic tradition, or in the general rules which govern intercourse between states, that a government have 'a policy' with respect to internal events in another country. . . . Non-interference in internal affairs is therefore our normal practice . . . [except where] there is sufficiently powerful national interest to justify our departure from a rule of international conduct which has been proven sound by centuries of experience and which we would wish others to observe with respect to ourselves."

Kennan is a traditionalist and there is a lofty, condescending tone to some of these papers that would not be entirely acceptable today. Nowhere is this more apparent than in Kennan's outspoken opinions about the more unwashed parts of the planet, as revealed in an unnumbered memorandum to Secretary Acheson of November 14, 1949, on the membership of the UN General Assembly. Kennan's collective name for the developing countries is "the backward areas." He describes them as "a fortuitous collection of social entities which happen at this stage of human history to enjoy a wide degree of acceptance as independent states." Most of the developing world, Kennan continues, is "composed almost exclusively of states with colored populations" which have governments that "cannot be depended on to experience any lively sense of responsibility for the stability of international society. . . . Their representatives are often the neurotic products of exotic backgrounds and tentative western educational experiences, racially and socially embittered against the West. In some instances their governments are little short of farcical." Nor is Kennan particularly sympathetic to the plight of minorities. His only mention of the ghastly fate of the European Jews is a passing reference to their "mistreatment." He considers the Nazi war crime

trials "an internal German problem" to be put behind as quickly as possible, despite the fact that the millions of slaughtered victims were nearly all from other countries (PPS/23).

ABOVE POLITICS

No discussion of these volumes can end without addressing the theme that permeates Kennan's writings here and elsewhere. He believes that foreign policy planning by professionals such as himself should proceed without taking domestic political factors into account—that, in his words, there should be "a sharp delineation between the concept of the national interest in . . . its pure and unadulterated form, and the necessities of domestic politics" (see page 24). Domestic politics, however, have been influencing American foreign policy since the early days of the republic. Examples are legion: Federalists and Jeffersonian Republicans nearly tore the young nation apart over which side to support in the wars of the French Revolution; regional politics embittered relations with Britain and Spain during the period of westward expansion; ethnic politics were a factor in keeping the United States neutral until late in World War I; domestic politics have always affected trade and tariff policy. In a democracy no far-reaching policy can be put into effect, let alone sustained without public support. For a policy planning chief to pursue the vision of a national interest in its "pure and unadulterated form" and send weighty policy documents that ignore the political climate to the secretary for him to sort out, is a waste of everyone's time.

It was just such a difference that led to Kennan's eventual resignation. Shortly after Dean Acheson succeeded General Marshall as secretary of state, Kennan was notified that henceforth papers emanating from the Policy Planning Staff should be cleared throughout the department before reaching the secretary's office. Kennan considered that this change in procedure terminated his usefulness. Nevertheless, one can see Acheson's point. With an overloaded schedule and constantly on the move to international conferences, the new secretary had neither the time nor the inclination to resolve Kennan's policy differences with the regional bureaus. No doubt he also considered his appreciation of the long-term national interest to be at least the equal of Kennan's, and his responsibility for it much greater.

PROMISE UNFULFILLED

The checkered history of Policy Planning after Kennan's departure raises the question of its present function in today's swollen national security establishment. Two distinguished public servants, Paul Nitze and Robert Bowie, followed Kennan as directors. But on the whole the office never fulfilled the promise that Kennan believed it had. Bowie has confirmed that the office's effectiveness at all times depended on the director's personal relationship with the secretary of state. Under less influential directors there



George F. Kennan, the first director of the Policy Planning Staff 1947-49

was always the risk that, situated as it was outside the mainstream and with rotating personnel, the office would become marginal to policy-making—a dignified retreat for senior FSOs, a speech-writing resource, and a launching pad for trial balloons. This indeed is what happened.

Toward the end of the Eisenhower Administration the office was the principal sponsor of a bizarre strategic deterrent scheme called the Multilateral Force. This idea, which horrified the admirals, was to man overage freighters with multinational NATO crews and set them to roaming the seven seas with nuclear missiles aimed at the Soviet Union. In the Kennedy Administration, the new head of the pretentiously

renamed Policy Planning Council, Professor Walt Rostow, initiated obligatory indoctrination lectures for all department personnel on Third World revolutionary movements and the techniques of counterinsurgency. The lectures were based on the chairman's theories of the stages of economic growth and featured academics with considerably less knowledge of the outside world than the audience.

By 1980, the National Security Council, with a huge staff of its own, had eclipsed Policy Planning in foreign policy influence. Ideology began to infect the whole foreign policy process. Think-tank researchers and congressional staff assistants with skimpy foreign affairs credentials were appointed to senior State and White House policy posts and began applying a conservative litmus test to every articulation of national interest. The views of seasoned professionals were at a discount and policy documents became little more than strident briefs to justify predetermined positions.

If this trend continues, one may well question the need to have a Policy Planning office at all and certainly to commission policy documents that venture beyond narrow, specific issues into generalizations about U.S. policy. Their sweeping language is all too easily convertible into boilerplate-ready application to a multitude of questionable and even illegal purposes. In the process, the political vocabulary is debased: rigged elections, labeled "free," are equated with democracy; "democratic governments" and "free world" are used as covers for oppressive regimes masquerading under constitutional forms; vicious mercenaries are styled "freedom fighters;" and "stability" becomes the code word for the status quo. Once this kind of semantic corruption creeps into policy planning it converts the product into little more than dressed-up propaganda to sanctify the political purposes of the moment. The only alternative is to start out all over again, using the Kennan concept as a model, but purged of its more unrealistic assumptions. ■

An international lawyer, Charles Maechling Jr. spent five years in the State Department as a special assistant to Averell Harriman and then served as staff director of two NSC committees.

POLITICAL VIGNETTES

from Africa's Back Roads

BY ROBERT E. GRIBBIN

The blossoming of democracy in Eastern Europe and the former Soviet Union has reawakened yearnings for similar experimentation in Africa. Yet even as the momentum for change builds, the continent's authoritarian political culture gives ground only grudgingly.

There is a lot of heavy baggage to throw out. Governments are sluggish and stagnant. Tribal violence has devastated Uganda, Zimbabwe, and, to a lesser degree, South Africa. The pall of tribalism has also thwarted Kenya's efforts to progress. Since independence, the region's economies were buffeted by oil embargoes and falling commodity prices. Further, they were savaged by inept leadership and poor economic policies. Now AIDS is decimating the populace. Yet today, there is optimism in eastern and southern Africa, where I traveled in the summer of 1991, following a tour as deputy chief of mission in Uganda. My wife, Corinne, sons Matt, 15, Mark, 12, and I packed the jeep in Kampala and struck out for Cape Town, some 4,700 miles away.

The pulse of the continent taken from her blue highways was strong. The demise of Soviet communism helped collapse political and economic rigidity in Africa. New ideas were afloat. Buoyed by the prospect for change, citizens of the six countries we traversed hoped for a better future.

Uganda

East of Kampala the fertile banana and coffee plots of central Uganda contrast with the once prosperous roadside towns whose semi-abandoned Asian shops provide lingering testimony to Idi Amin's misrule. Most of the Asians got out, but hundreds of thousands of Ugandans died in the tribal cataclysms and paroxysms of the 20 years that followed. Tribal suspicions continue to fuel insurgencies in parts of the nation. Current President Yoweri



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Museveni, whom a grassroots revolution brought to power in 1986, has opted for the politics of inclusion, however, and by 1991 war was waning. I was pleased to note that the "kadogos" (little ones), the boy soldiers who manned the roadblocks, had grown into their uniforms. Somehow, a 15-year-old with an AK-47 was less intimidating than a preteen.

Perhaps the most notable aspect of Uganda's bounce back from political chaos was its search for a new constitution. Firm in his conviction that Uganda's earlier constitutions abetted turmoil because no one understood or abided by them, President Museveni organized a process designed both to consult and to educate the people about government. A semi-independent Constitutional Commission has held hundreds of public meetings in virtually every corner of Uganda. It also received thousands of letters, petitions, and proposals. Early indications were that the people want direct election of the president, improved accountability, and a more strongly decentralized system. Interestingly, despite their history of ethnic cleavage, which has been exacerbated by multiple political parties, the people appear to favor retaining the parties, in opposition to current government thinking. Even though the end is not in sight—a draft constitution has yet to be produced—few Ugandans will be able to claim that their views were not heard. On a continent where regimes consistently ignore the people, that is a step in the right direction.

Kenya

Kisumu, Kenya is located where the shimmering sugar cane of the Nyando Plain meets the gleaming waters of Lake Victoria-Nyanza. The bastion of the Luo people, Kenya's second-largest tribe, Kisumu is the terminus of the British-built Ugandan Railway and a sprawling metropolis of 150,000 whose economy is based on trade, government services, and light industry.

For six months in 1991 the town was transfixed by the slowly unfolding soap opera of an investigation by the Official Commission of Inquiry into the February 13, 1990 death of Foreign Minister Robert Ouku. Ouku's partially burned body had been found near his sugar farm at Koru three days after he was reported missing.

Under pressure from a skeptical populace over an initial government inquest suggesting suicide, Kenya invited a Scotland Yard investigation, which, in turn, led to the public inquiry. There were several theories—suicide, murder arising from a domestic or family dispute, a Luo political dispute, or a national political feud.

Witnessed by Ouku's family (except for Ouku's brother Mbarrack Mbajah, who feared he would be the scapegoat

and had fled to the United States), the commission met each morning to hear hundreds of witnesses give sometimes conflicting or perjured testimony, though more often tedious and non-germane details. The bizarre circumstances of the case and the implication of high-level intrigue combined to make the proceedings fascinating.

Despite the facade of responsiveness, most viewed the proceedings as a government cover-up, and thus the inquiry only aggravated the resentment of the Luo people against an increasingly unrestrained central government. Whether intended or not, Ouku's death and its aftermath conveyed a strong political message: "Conform, or else!" But the message back from the people was equally important: "Enough! There must be effective limits on government."

Skeptics were right. The inquiry bumbled to a close in November 1991 without resolving anything. Yet the process raised public consciousness, skepticism, and agitation for political reform.

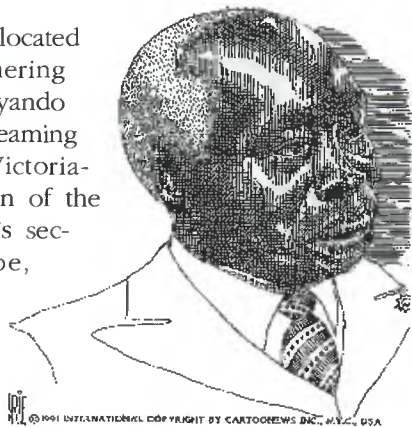
Tanzania

Hundreds of miles to the south, half way down the dusty spine of Tanzania, beyond herds of goats and villages of flat-roofed mud houses draped with drying millet and gourds, was Dodoma, Tanzania's intended capital. Its half-finished, spacious boulevards and new government buildings stood in great contrast to the timelessness of rural Africa. Centrally located and designated the capital some years ago, Dodoma remains virtually empty, and only the ruling political party has moved there, making it an apt symbol of Tanzania's partially realized political goals.

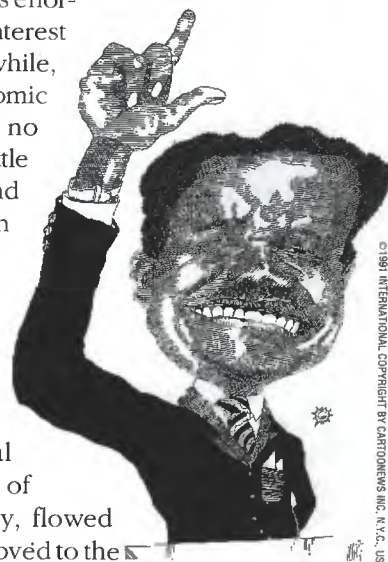
Founding father Julius Nyerere's Africa socialism captured the imagination of outsiders and Tanzanians alike. Under his leadership, Tanzania did forge itself into a national polity, but at great developmental cost. "Ujamaa" socialism quickly turned into too much big government allocating resources inefficiently and hamstringing the economy. Under current President Hasan Mwinyi, Tanzania is now talking multiple parties and free markets, but the *ujamaa* bureaucracy has enormous inertia and a vested interest in the status quo. Meanwhile, striking evidence of economic failure was Dodoma itself: no beer, unreliable electricity, little commerce, vacant lots, and only the thrice-weekly train for entertainment.

Zambia

Bank operations in Mpika, a small town in northeastern Zambia, came to an abrupt halt as several hundred T-shirted partisans of UNIP, Zambia's ruling party, flowed down the dusty street. All moved to the



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doorway or porch to watch, but it was a non-event. The marchers passed in review and danced off down the street, leaving in their wake cautious commentary on the political winds sweeping across Zambia. Most of the bank staff, apparently not from the area, appeared to support opposition candidate Fredrick Chiluba. Additionally, there appeared to have been scattered violence associated with all parties and demonstrations. The entire electoral process merited caution.

When President Kenneth Kaunda opened the system to multiple parties and even a presidential challenge, the people questioned whether he would then wreak revenge by cracking down on those who aligned against him. Surprisingly, he did not, and on October 31, 1991 Kenneth Kaunda became the first president in contemporary Africa to lose a re-election bid.

Zimbabwe

Although only a bridge away, the hustle and bustle of Victoria Falls, Zimbabwe contrasted with the lethargy of Livingston, Zambia to the north. But prosperity was an illusion induced by the crowds of South African tourists at the resorts and game parks around the falls; elsewhere, political

uncertainties and economic doldrums combined to convey malaise and distrust. My search for tire sealant in Bulawayo met snorts of derision. "Why import? Who can tell what will happen?" Strides toward social harmony had foundered on the emotional question of land. The majority government of Robert Mugabe was planning in mid-1991 a forced buyout of white-owned farms for resale to African small holders. President Mugabe was also bucking the global trend toward multiple parties with his program to institute a one-party state. Of all the nations on our safari, only Zimbabwe struck a note of pessimism.



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South Africa

Across the muddy waters of the Limpopo River was the "new South Africa," a term that was in favorable usage just about everywhere. After years of stagnation it seemed that all South Africans, white, black, and brown alike, were eagerly anticipating the end to international isolation. The move toward equality was evident in many little ways: a housing project advertised that it was "now open to all," readmittance to international sports bodies was the lead-

ing topic of conversation, and the winner of the Miss South Africa pageant was going to the Miss Universe contest for the first time in a decade.

On Sunday we went to church in Soweto, the immense residential area on the outskirts of Johannesburg. Christianity is vibrant and alive in South Africa. Most Protestant and a growing number of Catholic clergy are Africans. Thousands of new converts flock to services each Sunday. In addition to offering spiritual solace, churches sponsor social activities and economic development. Political action, or at least outspokenness, has gotten several clerics in trouble. Bishop Tutu is a world figure, but other clerics throughout southern and eastern Africa also function as consciences for their governments.

In Soweto there were a few upscale residences for the wealthy or powerful, like Nelson Mandela, set among tens of thousands of dwellings of lesser standard, ranging down to barracks and tin shanties. Trash blew about everywhere. In this crowded sub-standard area, it was easier to understand how tensions flourished: not only frustrations with apartheid but also the destructive tribal anger that pits Africans against Africans.

Still, compared with its northern neighbors, South Africa is already a promised land. Most of Africa struggles to roof schools, dig wells, or stock aspirin at rural health clinics; economies have foundered, leaving political elites to battle for ever larger slices of a shrinking pie, but South Africa should be beyond that. The comparative economic base from which South Africa starts to realize democracy provides grounds for optimism that it will succeed.

During this safari I found democracy budding across the southern half of the continent. Ugandans were putting sectarianism behind them. Kenyans were seeking accountability from government. Tanzanians recognized that new ideas were needed. Zambians were preparing to make real decisions at the ballot box. Zimbabwe later shucked off the one-party idea, and South Africans were girding themselves for democracy. Obviously, the dynamism of post-Cold War Europe resonates in Africa, where it also ushers in a whole new, more agreeable setting for U.S. policies. ■



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Robert E. Gribbin, a senior Foreign Service officer, is ambassador designate to the Central African Republic.



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ETHIOPIA'S HOLLOW ELECTION

Observing the Forms

BY GILBERT D. KULICK



Voter registration under way in village of Agarfa.

When Ferdinand Marcos reluctantly assented in 1986 to holding national elections under the scrutiny of an international team of American and other dignitaries, he unwittingly launched a worldwide trend.

The precedent was confirmed after 1990, when the Sandinistas, to their eternal regret, invited Jimmy Carter and a full-fledged United Nations observer team to witness what turned out to be their defenestration. Although election monitoring has a tradition going back to the 1940s in Latin America, only in the last decade or so have countries begun to perceive a link between the appearance of fairness at their elections and continued good relations with other nations. Moreover, the at least tacit validation of elections by outside observers has come to be seen as a virtual prerequisite to receiving serious amounts of foreign aid. From Chile to Bulgaria to Bangladesh, the monitoring and observation of elections in would-be democracies has turned into an international-cottage industry.

In June 1991 Ethiopia's Marxist dictatorship succumbed to the international sweep of democratization. After 30 years of insurrection in Eritrea

and 15 years of widespread civil war, a peasant army led by ex-students from Tigray and calling itself the Ethiopian People's Revolutionary Democratic Front (EPRDF) drove the erstwhile Soviet-backed leader Mengistu Haile-Mariam from Addis Ababa.

Within weeks, a national convention, convoked by the EPRDF and attended by dozens of disparate political and ethnic groups, produced a Transitional Charter ambitiously pledging rapid movement toward democracy and self-determination for Ethiopia's peoples. Despite the absence of any modern democratic tradition, a shattered infrastructure, and continuing political instability, the charter called for local, regional, and eventually national elections to be held over the next two years.

Teaming up

For me, it looked like a long-awaited opportunity to return to Ethiopia, where I had served as a junior political officer in the early 1970s. As soon as I learned that Ethiopia had asked the State Department to organize a team of observers for regional elections in the spring, I volunteered to go.

Under contract with the U.S. Agency for International Development (USAID), the African-American Institute in less than a month pulled together a delegation of 70 former Peace Corps volunteers, scholars, anthropologists, missionaries, and other professionals, most of whom had lived and worked in Ethiopia and knew the country well. But, like me, most had not been in Ethiopia for years and were apprehensive about what they would find after decades of famine and fratricide.

There were, however, grounds for optimism. First, the Transitional Charter brimmed with language about "freedom, equal rights, and self-determination of all the peoples." It envisioned a state in which "the rights and interests of all deprived citizens [are] safeguarded by a democratic government elected by and accountable to the people."

Second, after the catastrophic failure of efforts by Mengistu and his imperial predecessors to hold the country together by force, the Transitional Government of Ethiopia had accepted the inevitability of Eritrea's secession. The country's new leaders seemed genuinely—if perhaps naively—committed to preserving the rest of the country as a voluntary association of ethnically defined regions.

The new government found itself in uncharted and heretical waters. Since the earliest days of African political awakening, ethnic particularism—"tribalism"—has been seen as the continent's curse, carrying the seeds of political chaos and thwarting the building of modern nation-states. African



Spontaneous roadside meeting in Goro, Bale

governments have gone to the greatest lengths to suppress it. The EPRDF, which came to power as an ethnically based mass movement, believed, by contrast, that what remains of Ethiopia could be held together without coercion only by satisfying the desires of ethnic groups to control their own affairs.

As if to prove their point, the transitional government had encouraged political activity, leading to a be-

wildering proliferation of near 100 political groups: ethnically based parties, leagues, unions, movements, liberation fronts, and "people's democratic organizations."

An elaborate election code, running 34 pages, had been published and widely disseminated, laying out in exquisite detail procedures for establishing politically neutral electoral machinery at every administrative level.

But the most encouraging sign of all was that our group had been invited to come to Ethiopia at all. To be sure, we were there as "observers," meaning that we had no mandate to intervene in the electoral process. In the words of the National Election Commission's Code of Conduct, the observers were there "as neutral witnesses" "to establish an impartial international presence . . . in hopes of raising confidence in the electoral process, deterring gross abuse, and thereby raising prospects that this critical phase in Ethiopia's democratic transition will be credible." It was an outcome we all fervently hoped to see.

Revolutionary hotbed

In early June, the 50 or so Americans who formed the core of the Joint International Observer Group converged on Addis Ababa, to be joined over the next two weeks by nearly 200 more observers from the United States, Europe, and Africa. As soon as we arrived, every observer was issued a letter of credentials, in English and three Ethiopian languages, admonishing all who read it to "provide the bearer access to any part of the electoral process. The presence and mission of the observer group had been publicized for days on radio, its logo was displayed nightly on television news broadcasts, and the public was urged to welcome and cooperate with the observers.

The biggest contingent of observers went to the region of the Oromos, Ethiopia's largest ethnic group, who make up about 40 percent of the population. It was in "Oromia," where the embers of the revolution that overthrew Mengistu still smoldered, that the most electoral trouble was expected.

Only three months before, the EPRDF had concluded an armistice with its former ally in the anti-Mengistu struggle, the

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Oromo Liberation Front (OLF). The agreement provided for the OLF's 15,000 soldiers to be disarmed and confined to eight military camps under neutral Eritrean observation. Government troops were also to be encamped except where they were needed to maintain "law and order" in the absence of a local police force—a loophole that would prove highly subversive to the agreement. The OLF was free to organize politically and was vigorously marshaling electoral support throughout the region. It had announced plans to field some 40,000 candidates, not only in Oromia, but in 11 of the country's 14 administrative regions.

My partner had lived three years in Ethiopia and, like me, several years in neighboring Somalia. Together with our interpreter and our driver, we set out for Bale, a verdant 9,000-foot-high plateau in southeastern Ethiopia.

In our 10 days in Bale we covered nearly 2,000 kilometers over rough, dusty gravel roads. In towns, villages, marketplaces, and remote farmsteads we met with government and political-party officials, election committees, elders, street kids, and peasants. In a society renowned for its secretiveness, our credentials were rarely, if ever, demanded; everyone seemed to know who we were and why we were there and was anxious to make us feel welcome. Officials stopped whatever they were doing to sit with us, sometimes for hours, and answer dozens of detailed questions about how election preparations were proceeding. No effort was made, that we could detect, to restrict our movements in any way. For a country still under martial law, the military presence was surprisingly light and inconspicuous.

To my astonishment, even a request to visit the Goba jail to interview inmates alleged by the OLF to be political prisoners was granted without a moment's hesitation. Though I can't say what might have happened to them after we left, the prisoners' forthright assertions to us that they were being held solely on political grounds drew only a *pro forma* rebuttal from the local governor. Too soon, however, we began to see the other side of the election process.

Baleful signs

Late one afternoon, passing through the village of Meliyyu, we were flagged down and asked to come to a brief meeting. Following the local elders to the muddy village square, we found a makeshift table and three rickety chairs set up in front of a crowd of several hundred people who had been waiting patiently for us for most of the afternoon. For over an hour they held forth with their hopes for peace, their desire to run their own affairs, their anger over broken promises, and their willingness to fight if necessary for their rights, which



Meeting in the market place at Melka Buta

they understood well.

Illustrating with passionate personal accounts, they told us that the entire election process was a fraud, perpetrated on the Oromo by "colonialists" from the central highlands and their local collaborators. As they saw it, this was just the latest cycle of an Ethiopian history throughout which the Muslim and animist people of the South had been exploited by Abyssinian (Semitic) Christians from the North. For the last hundred years, from emperors Menelik and Haile-Selassie to Lieutenant Colonel Mengistu, the "oppressors" were Amharas. For now, the Tigrayans were on top. But the Oromo, they told us, were still on the bottom.

We heard again and again that the right to self-determination for all of Ethiopia's 60-plus ethnic

groups—a solemn pledge of the EPRDF—was being systematically thwarted. To counter the profusion of regionally based ethnic parties spawned by Mengistu's overthrow, the EPRDF had created a series of "people's democratic organizations," which pledged to "preserve the unity of Ethiopia." In Bale and the rest of the Oromo region, the ruling-party proxy was the Oromo People's Democratic Organization (OPDO).

The OPDO was, to all appearances, a puppet organization cobbled together from POW's from Mengistu's army, social outcasts (aka "lumpens" in post-Marxist Ethiopian jargon), and opportunists of various stripes. The local OPDO chief was almost invariably from somewhere else, usually not even from Bale.

The entire process was several weeks behind the detailed timetable laid down in the election code. Bipartisan election committees were just being established. In their absence, the registration process had been controlled by the government. Registration cards were in short supply and, to no one's surprise, OPDO supporters seemed to have a much easier time obtaining them than the far more numerous partisans of the Oromo Liberation Front. Although most voters, eager to participate in the election, managed to register despite the manipulation, the election process had been abysmally retarded.

The worst abuse, by far, came in the form of massive intimidation of voters and harassment of opposition activists by the EPRDF and OPDO. We heard countless stories of OPDO cadres' invading homes and villages late at night, pointing guns, and threatening residents with dire consequences if they voted for the OLF. While complaining bitterly, many of our interlocutors refused to be intimidated and defiantly declared their intention to vote OLF.

In the event, they never got the chance. Three days before

the election, the OLF leadership announced in Addis Ababa that, in the face of the EPRDF's clear determination to prevent them from competing on equal terms, the OLF was withdrawing completely from the elections.

The single-party elections took place in Bale on June 21, as scheduled, but no one was there to observe the voting. The OLF forces had by then abandoned their camps, and the observers in southeastern Ethiopia were evacuated by air on election day because of fear of unrest and violence.

The horror stories we heard as we traveled around seemed, at first, not to jibe with our cordial, open reception by the local authorities and the ease with which we were permitted to circulate. So impressed was I by the unprecedented freedom of expression in Addis and the EPRDF's oft-repeated commitment to national reconciliation that my first impulse was to attribute the reported abuses either to rogue elements out of touch with Addis Ababa and its democratic program or to OLF disinformation—and probably some of each. And many of the shortcomings of the registration process were undeniably products of an unrealistically compressed timetable, a vastly overburdened bureaucracy, and a decrepit infrastructure.

But the pattern was much too consistent and too pervasive to be dismissed so lightly. After 10 days on the ground my conclusion was inescapable: At best, the transitional government made no serious effort to instruct its officials in the norms of free elections. At worst, the manipulation, intimidation, and coercion were condoned, if not prescribed.

And this sorry tale was not limited to Bale. In a long post mortem session in Addis Ababa, observers from all over the country—even from areas where the opposition was far less vigorous—reported substantially the same pattern of conduct, varying mostly in the amount of coercion applied.

Lost opportunity

In the final analysis, Ethiopia's leaders blew a golden opportunity to set their country on a new course. After centuries of autocracy, the promise of a chance to choose their own leaders and manage their own affairs had aroused great popular excitement for this thing called democracy. Millions of Ethiopians registered to vote, often despite huge obstacles, because they believed that this time it was going to be different. What they got was more of the same: broken promises, betrayed hopes, and yet another permutation of age-old imperial intrigue.

Currently, peace talks between the EPRDF and OLF have resumed, though sporadic clashes are occurring in parts of Oromia. I fear that little short of a forthright admission of bad faith and a willingness to restage the election in the Oromo region is likely to avert another round of bloodshed, in which the Oromo themselves will surely be the big losers. But having placed their faith in the electoral process once, it will be difficult under the best of circumstances to convince them to try again without a much more active international monitoring presence.

One great mystery remains. Why did the transitional government, contrary to all intuition, invite a large, experienced international group to witness a fraud, which, at a

minimum, the government did nothing to prevent? Perhaps they really believed, as the observers' code of conduct suggested, that our mere presence would "rais[e] confidence in the electoral process . . . and rais[e] prospects that [the elections] will be credible" no matter how they were conducted. Or perhaps they thought the western democracies were so grateful to see Mengistu go that they would bless whatever his successors did just so they could justify resuming development assistance. Whatever their reasoning, it was certainly naive.

Despite the failure to produce free and fair elections, did our being there make any positive difference? I think it did, in several ways. I believe that our presence helped reduce the abuse. Many times we were told that previously unavailable registration cards had suddenly materialized or that election committees had hastily been formed when we showed up in the area.

The transitional government was further sobered by a moderately critical public statement by the African-American Institute shortly after election day, since they apparently expected any negative observations to be conveyed in private. Although their public reaction was highly defensive, they did offer to rerun elections in areas where abuses could be proved.

The real test of the observers' impact, however, will come when a full assessment of the elections, expected in late summer, is issued by the National Democratic Institute for



Interviewing the local election committee in Dello Menna

International Affairs. I will be watching to see if the report affects State Department and USAID decisions on resumption of development assistance to Ethiopia.

If it does, the new rulers of Ethiopia may learn that there is a price to be paid for staging phony elections and that opening aid spigots takes more than simply holding elections and inviting observers. Perhaps then they will try harder to ensure that the national elections to be held next year are truly free and fair. If they do, our efforts will not have been wasted. ■

A retired Foreign Service officer, Gilbert D. Kulick is currently AFSA outreach coordinator.



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10 Steps to Diplomatic Discourse

BY RAY WALSER

Publications advertise tapes that will teach you how to "Speak French (or Spanish or Urdu) like a diplomat." Today's diplomats need more than tapes to master the finer linguistic points that will initiate them into the mysteries of that miasmatic area known as Foggy Bottom. Following are 10 rules will enable you to speak like a State Department official.

1 ESCHEW THE CONCRETE, EMBRACE AN ABSTRACT. Turn to words like democratization, privatization, globalization, and liberalization. So what if such words provoke some quibbling over definition? It is far better to speak of support for "spreading democratization" or "strengthening democratic institutions" than to insist, as President Wilson naively once did, on trying to "teach others how to elect good men."



2 OUT WITH THE "ISMS." Remember that communism is down the tubes; totalitarianism is history. Although capitalism is on top of the heap, out of politeness, speak only of "a market-based economy." Don't boast: it smacks of "dollar diplomacy."

3 MAKE SLOGANS, NOT POLICY. State Department diplomats, like the rest of America, are influenced by Hollywood, Madison Avenue, and CNN. They know that nine out of 10 Americans prefer a slogan to a policy. Slogans are easy to remember. They don't require an inter-agency meeting, nor do you have "to shepherd" a slogan along to "implementation." Keep a few of the following handy: "a world safe for democracy," "trade, not aid," "private sector involvement," and "growing international interdependence."



ILLUSTRATIONS BY SHELLEY FISCHMAN



4 USE ADJECTIVES AND ADVERBS. When "raising serious concerns" or expressing "strong views," adjectives and adverbs are natural allies. We condemn not just "tyranny" but "brutal tyranny." The officials we applaud are not just "elected" but "democratically elected." People do not "react," they "react positively."

5 AVOID AID-SPEAK. AID-speak has an air of dogoodism and mission. It contains large quantities of undigested phraseology and bureau-babble. Enshrined in AID-speak is everything from hearty old New-Frontierisms to trendy "save the rainforests" environmentalisms.

Agency language moguls cleverly conceal meanings. In AID-speak prostitutes become "commercial sex workers" and condoms are given out for "AIDS prevention activities." Don't endorse a "give-away program," rather make sure of "participation in the economy by the disadvantaged." Watch

your COBs and OBEs. An AID speaker will out-acronym a diplomat by a margin of three to one.

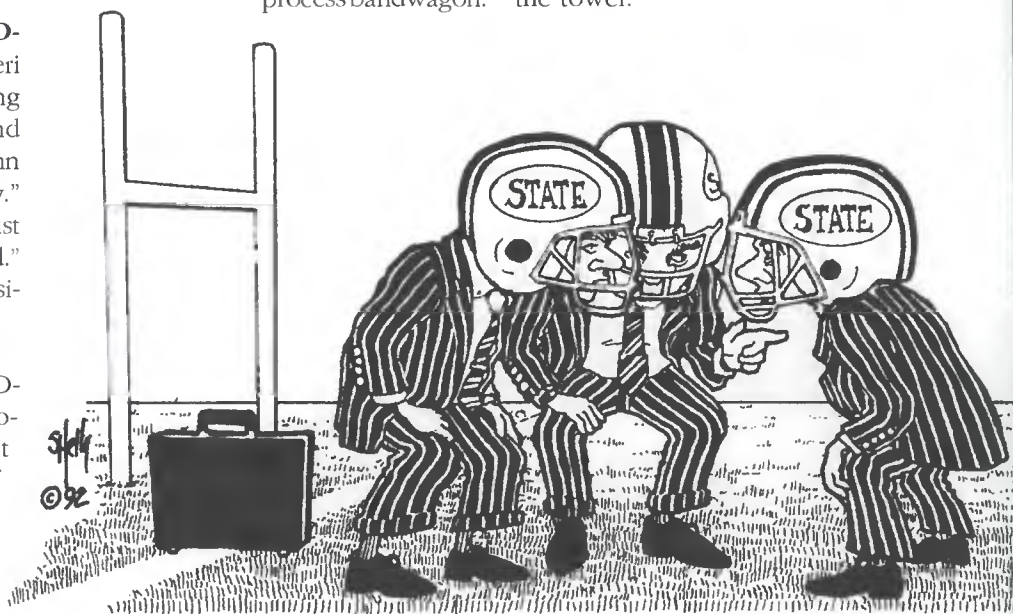
6 WIELD A POWER PREFIX. In the 1980s narco-words flourished. Narco-words, like narco-terrorism, narco-dollars, narco-trade, and narco-diplomats helped many DCMs find additional "assets" and develop new "capabilities." Diplomatic watchers predict a new harvest of mega-prefixes in the 1990s. There are eco-words: eco-conflict and eco-catastrophe and techno-words: techno-nationalism and techno-globalism.

7 PROCESS IS OUR MOST IMPORTANT PRODUCT. Once upon a time diplomacy was an art or maybe a science. Today it is process. This started back when Henry Kissinger launched the "Middle East peace process." Since those days everyone has hopped on the process bandwagon.

the boss about an event he was too busy or too bored to attend. Read-outs are perks of power like a parking space in the department's basement.

9 SAY IT WITH BULLETS AND TICS. Prosy paragraphs are no longer diplomatically *de rigueur*. Brevity is now the soul of diplomacy. Look for timely tics and fast moving bullets to catch the eye of the seventh floor.

10 LEVEL THE PLAYING FIELD. The use of sporty phrases lends a healthy, outdoorsy quality to the speech of indoorish, State-wimps. Remember the importance of "kicking off" a high-level conversation. "Huddle" with a "country team" to "problem-solve" and "brainstorm." Let the world (particularly Congress) know that State plays "hardball." Above all never "throw in the towel."



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8 READ-OUT, NOT IN. Forget about reading. It's passé. Reading is only for mid-levelers. Read-outs are the thing for "principals." Read-outs are for briefing

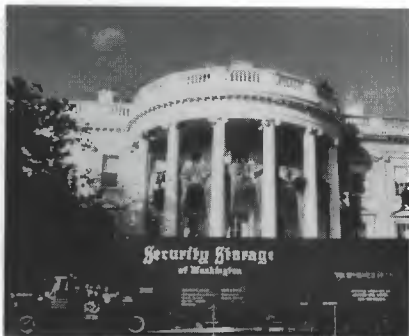
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Ray Walser is a Foreign Service officer.

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BOOKS

Mr. Fixit

THE CHAIRMAN: JOHN J. MCCLOY: THE MAKING OF THE AMERICAN ESTABLISHMENT

By Kai Bird, Simon and Schuster, 1992, \$30 hardcover

Reviewed by John R. Mapother

Citizens unfamiliar with the engine room of American foreign policy from 1940 through the Watergate quake will benefit from this extensive account of what one of the chief engineers, John J. McCloy, was doing then. Diplomats who need a quick course on the period when the United States clambered onto the world stage can find it in a perusal of this book. A trusted adviser of presidents, McCloy served them all, except for Richard Nixon, and was respected for his non-partisan political skills.

The merit of this book is that McCloy's political history has not been drawn together before. McCloy was one of the "Wise Men"—a group of business and civic leaders to whom President Truman turned for advice in constructing a post-war order. He was only intermittently a public figure, since his most effective diplomacy was often done privately, and the influence he exerted on U.S. foreign policy, while extensive, was often indirect. Part of McCloy's service, being linked to the statesman's private business, posed a question of conflict of interest. Such was McCloy's reputation for probity that this appears to have gone largely unremarked.

Like other post-Vietnam writers, the author believes that McCloy's generation of political lions was obsessed with national security. Yet the seas through which the Wise Men had to navigate were turbulent, and the nation seemed at greater risk in their time. It is clear from the book that McCloy and his Eurocentric associates also resisted, more than did the politicians, the toxic anti-

communism exemplified by Joseph McCarthy, whose spirit vulgarized U.S. foreign policy in the 1950s. The lions defended the military engagement in Vietnam once made, but they did not select that field.

The author sketches McCloy's youth, education, experience in World War I, and career as a Wall Street lawyer. His involvement during the 1930s in the Black Tom case, an attempt to recover damages for German sabotage in the United States during the war, gave McCloy a practical education in international relations during the early decades of the century. Whether Black Tom was also a less-than-American instruction in the need for security services, as the author may believe, can be decided by the reader.

McCloy's government service began in 1940, when he went to Washington to assist Secretary of War Henry Stimson. Before long, the assistant secretary, who showed practical judgment, responsibility, and a sympathetic personality, was resolving disputes and managing wartime programs all over town.

The other main position in McCloy's public career was as high commissioner for Germany between 1949 and 1952, but the good citizen never really ceased to play a role in U.S. foreign policy. Like the mythical figure Kilroy, McCloy got his nose into everything of importance that occurred between World War II and President Carter's hostage crisis with Iran. John F. Kennedy called McCloy during the Cuban Missile Crisis, initially to ride herd on the righteously infuriated UN Ambassador Adlai Stevenson. (McCloy said Stevenson was tougher than he was.) The Wall Street lawyer worked out final terms of the crisis settlement with the Soviet diplomat Vasily Kuznetsov. At the same time, McCloy was already a fundamental force in the development of arms control policy.

Two important events during

McCloy's wartime service for Stimson, resettlement of Japanese-Americans from the West Coast and failure to bomb the Nazi extermination camp at Auschwitz, are examined critically in several chapters. The account of the resettlement, focused on its unconstitutionality, is unexceptionable but fails to give due attention to the aroused beast of popular sentiment in wartime. On the issue of whether to bomb Auschwitz, the evidence offered is illuminating and the discussion of American anti-Semitism in that period, although not clearly relevant, seems accurate. Neither chapter effectively challenges or satisfactorily explains these wartime actions that engaged McCloy.

The chapter on McCloy and U.S. intelligence operations in Germany is weak, to an extent because revisionist fictions are hidden in the sources employed. Intelligence advisers of the high commissioner rightly receive lumps for ineptness in the Klaus Barbie scandal. But serious readers will be startled to discover that Reinhard Gehlen, Wehrmacht intelligence officer of the eastern front who surrendered to the Americans and later became chief of West German foreign intelligence, was a Nazi, "as guilty a war criminal as many of the men tried at Nuremberg." The author evidently discounted Gehlen's memoirs, though they are listed in the bibliography. This chapter includes muck both raked and imagined.

A critique of McCloy's service in Germany centers on clemency decisions he made to reduce penalties imposed in the early postwar on war criminals of the Third Reich. Perhaps the high commissioner was too lenient, although this is not easily provable. Mercy resists precise measurement; the reviewer would prefer not to judge. The phenomenon of post-Vietnam writers who insist they are more anti-Nazi than the generation that met Hitler's armies is visible here.

Although extensively footnoted, the narrative of Kai Bird can be recommended more for its reportorial than its historical qualities. There are many well-told stories in this book: for instance, McCloy's role in the security trial of J. Robert Oppenheimer; his letters to Dwight Eisenhower and John Foster Dulles urging them to resist the McCarthy vandals; the lawyer's rejection of the request, presented by Dulles personally, that he go to Taiwan and ask Chiang Kai-shek to abandon the islands of Quemoy and Matsu.

The historical focus is not firm, however. The phrase "Hitler's *Abwehr*" refers to a German intelligence service that, in fact, was a center of resistance to the Reich. The editors, it would seem, did not have time enough to excise this sentence: "One did not need a military expert to conclude that the purpose of rearming West Germany was to keep the country divided." Likewise, the European political dimensions are not precise. As a result, the book deals extensively with U.S. and European exertions to counter the policy of Moscow without clearly noting, or attempting to assess, the central theme of that policy, namely, military intervention.

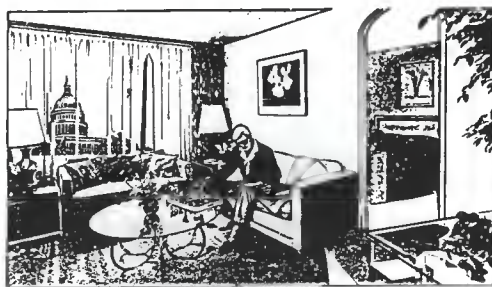
Summing up, the author makes clear his admiration for McCloy, stressing the man's human qualities and noting he possessed "the ability to admit he was wrong, a rare quality in men of his stature and power." This is a sound judgment, yet readers who consider what went before might infer that McCloy's associates who also gained stature and held power, the other Wise Men, were more arrogant and stubborn. In truth some were, but the general quality of the policy lions active and prominent when the United States emerged as a world power was surprisingly high.

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BOOKS

not imperial in the sense that they favored expansion of U.S. power for its own sake. The Eurocentrics, of whom McCloy was typical, did not advocate *Amerika uber alles*. When World War II ended, most had looked forward to peacetime. There were some, James Forrestal for example, who feared unduly the imperial claims of the Soviet government. After a brief pause, Joseph Stalin set about to prove them right. His central goal, internationally, was control of Germany.

McCloy's assignment in Germany, essentially, was to contest that policy of Stalin's. If McCloy held a world view that "ultimately set the stage for America's disastrous intervention in the Vietnam civil war," as the author states, it was not apparent to others in Germany then. Nor does this book explain how McCloy might have developed such an outlook. On the contrary, it portrays him as respectful of foreign cultures and not infected by crusading anti-communism. Another book would need to be written to make the author's point.

A former Foreign Service and, subsequently, CIA officer, John R. Mapother served in the Munich consulate when McCloy was high commissioner. Other posts included Vienna, Berlin, and Bonn.

Defining the Future

SEA CHANGES: AMERICAN FOREIGN POLICY IN A WORLD TRANSFORMED

Edited by Nicholas X. Rizopoulos, Council on Foreign Relations Press, 1990, \$14.95 softcover

Reviewed by Jerrold Keilson

With the end of the Cold War, scholars, government officials, and journalists are hard at work identifying and defining the new world order and the role to be played in it by the United States. *Sea Changes* is a collection of short essays by respected academics that suggests new approaches to understanding international relations.

The editor, Nicholas Rizopoulos of the Council on Foreign Relations, has provocatively expanded the scope of problems in the foreign policy debate to

include the environment, trade and economics, science and technology, and immigration. These pieces state that foreign policy issues should be viewed as regional or global concerns. This model promotes new and creative solutions to the serious problems of the environment, development, population movements, trade, and technological developments. It means that diplomats will have to be more knowledgeable about scientific and economic issues.

The growing integration of policy concerns is a challenge for officials charged with shaping foreign policy. It requires the ability to understand relationships among a variety of issues included within the foreign policy rubric. For example, many developing countries are damaging the environment in their efforts to develop their economies and provide for their citizens. Diplomats have to balance the need to protect the environment against the need to foster economic development. They must understand their country's true interests so they can cut through the complex knot of competing interests to craft an effective policy.

The last four articles in *Sea Changes*, by William O'Neill, Robert Tucker, Susan Strange, and Stanley Hoffman, are the most interesting and challenging. O'Neill's article is particularly valuable for the historical understanding and perspective he brings to the changes and continuities he sees in U.S. foreign policy. These articles are the most relevant for Foreign Service professionals seeking new ways of understanding their jobs in a changing world.

A former Foreign Service officer, Jerrold Keilson works with Delphi International, an international consulting firm based in Washington, D.C.

Ambassador

SAFIR

By John Steeves, Triangle Press (Harrisburg, PA), 1991, \$20 hardcover

Reviewed by Andrew L. Steigman

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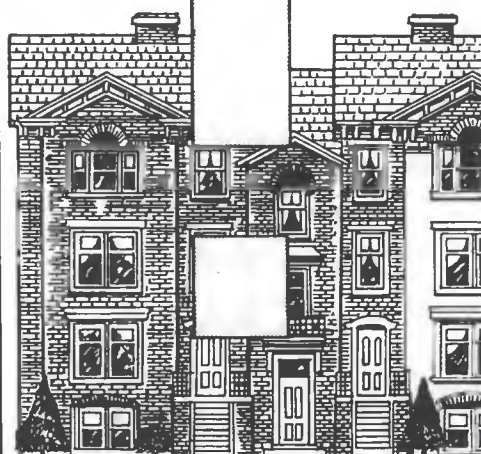
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BOOKS

memories in this pleasant personal memoir, which traces its author's life both in and out of the Foreign Service.

Despite its title, *Safir*, which means "ambassador" in Afghanistan as well as in the Arabic-speaking world, devotes only about half its pages to the author's Foreign Service career, and even there focuses on personal recollections rather than issues of policy or diplomatic practice. Nonetheless, it offers a good portrait of Steeves, another member of that generation of officers, shaped by the experience of World War II, who helped formulate and implement American policy in the early years of the Cold War.

John Steeves was in many ways typical of that generation. He gave up a 17-year missionary career immediately after Pearl Harbor in order to serve his country and believed strongly in the importance of American leadership in world affairs. While he offers

only occasional glimpses of his views on specific issues—an expression of regret that President Kennedy did not take his advice to apply force in Laos, for example, and negative comments on Averell Harriman's alleged penchant for compromise—he makes clear that he is still comfortable with the broad lines of America's containment policy in the postwar era.

Readers are likely to wish for more detail at a number of points in the book, but this reviewer found two lacunae especially frustrating. Steeves, who spent his last three years before retirement as director general of the Foreign Service, limits himself in the brief chapter on this period to generalizations about the personnel system, cautionary notes on White House interference and the excess of non-career chiefs of mission, and low-key complaints about affirmative action and the alleged breakdown of service

discipline. Since he is the first ex-director general to write about his experience in the post, specific examples might have been particularly instructive.

The other gap is a more personal one. Given the generosity of spirit that informs Steeves's gracious comments on nearly all the friends and colleagues named in *Safir*, it must have taken enormous provocation to inspire his only unreservedly negative observation. What, one wonders, constituted the "nonsense" he attributes to Mrs. Loy Henderson, and what were the ways by which she "sought to annoy everybody else" when her husband was Steeves's ambassador in India? Steeves is too discreet to offer particulars, so we may never know. ■

Andrew L. Steigman is assistant dean of the Georgetown University School of Foreign Service.



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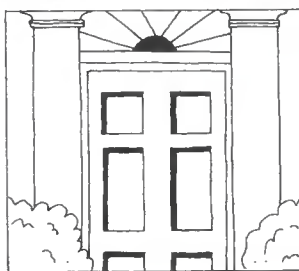
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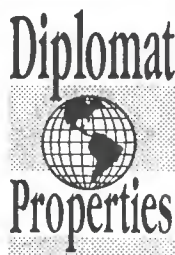
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