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Foreign Service Journal

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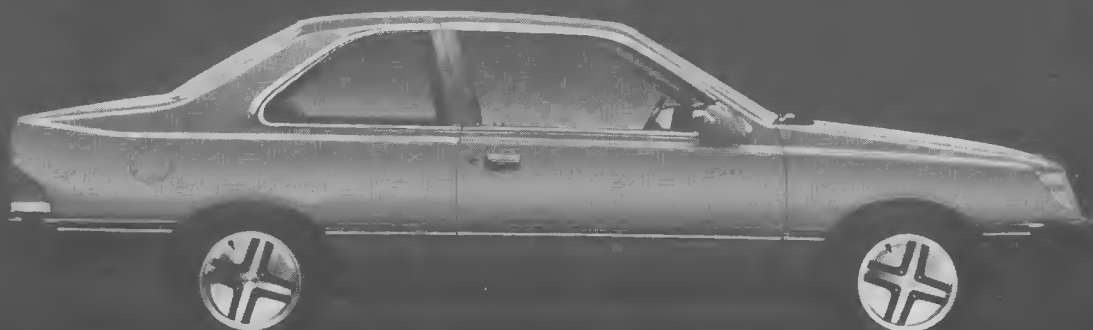
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COVER: Starting on page 26, Jonathan Dean, former head of the U.S. delegation to the MBFR negotiations, offers some observations on Soviet negotiating behavior. When "wrestling with the bear," he contends, only slow and incremental progress can be expected. Mixed media illustration by William Hennessy Jr.

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

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LETTERS

Cover Comments II

We have just received the May issue of the *Journal*, with the cover story on "Secretaries at State." Good, we thought, at last some recognition for an essential, but too often officially faceless, part of the Foreign Service.

When we turned the page to find the name of the secretary so honored by the cover photo, we discovered that Foreign Service secretaries are still anonymous—the honoree is a hired model. Come on, couldn't you have found *one* real secretary to photograph?

JOHN SPILLANE
CAROLYN SPILLANE
Paris, France

The articles on Foreign Service secretaries were excellent.

I've submitted my comments to the Secretarial Task Force and won't repeat them here.

My reason for writing is to ask why a model was used for the front cover? There are many photogenic Foreign Service secretaries who could have been used. Not that I have anything against Ms. Klusman, but why go outside the Service? (Or is it that she moonlights as a model and in the day time is a Foreign Service secretary, a situation made necessary for reasons explained in your articles?)

MARY NEIL HANKS
Tegucigalpa, Honduras

Yesterday I received my copy of the May issue, which has a cover story about "Secretaries at State." I was really disappointed to read the fine print on the table of contents and learn that the *Journal* used a model to pose for the cover picture! Shame! You could have found any number of Foreign Service secretaries to pose for your picture.

JAMES F. PROSSER
Nairobi, Kenya

I have just received the May issue. I am totally appalled. In an issue expressly on "Secretaries at State," you have fallen so

low as to use a professional model for your cover photo!

Then I read the interview with Ms. Pauline Slavik, who really laid it on the line and told it like it is.

With the hundreds of professional secretaries in the Foreign Service, why, oh why, did you have to go "outside" for a model? Aren't our own people good enough to be featured on the cover of our own magazine?

You have certainly served one purpose: to back up just about everything Ms. Slavik said. Our secretaries are recognized as functional office equipment—but not as people!

I just can't get over the fact that our own Foreign Service publication would do such a thing.

ALTON P. GORBETT
Support Communications Officer
Tel Aviv, Israel

The Niameny chapter secretarial staff was shocked and incensed to find that on the cover of the May issue a model was used to pose for the cover picture instead of a Foreign Service secretary. We are wondering why, since there was an interview with Foreign Service secretary Pauline Slavik, her photo was not used? There are Foreign Service secretaries throughout the department who could have been asked to pose for the cover, without hiring a model to portray what we represent.

[SECRETARIAL STAFF]
U.S. Embassy
Niameny, Niger

We had no intention to offend Foreign Service secretaries by not using one of them on the May cover. Rather, we were persuaded by strong considerations that argued for the use of a professional model. These are addressed in the LETTERS section of the June issue.—ED.

Polymorphous

Given the current interest in the proposed use of lie detectors as a device to ensure tighter security among public servants (both of the temporary as well as professional variety), I thought that the readers of the *Journal* might be interested in the following comment on the subject by G.K. Chesterton in one of his Father Brown stories, *The Mistake of the Machine*:

"I've been reading," said Flambeau, "of this new psychometric method they talk about so much, especially in America. You know what I mean; they put a pulsometer on a man's wrist and judge by how his heart goes at the pronunciation of certain words. What do you think of it?"

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"I think it very interesting," replied Father Brown; "it reminds me of that interesting idea in the Dark Ages that blood would flow from a corpse if the murderer touched it."

"Do you really mean," demanded his friend, "that you think the two methods equally valuable?"

"I think them equally valueless," replied Brown. "Blood flows, fast or slow, in dead folk or living, for so many more million reasons than we can ever know. Blood will have to flow very funnily; blood will have to flow up the Matterhorn, before I will take it as a sign that I am to shed it."

"The method," remarked the other, "has been guaranteed by some of the greatest American men of science."

"What sentimentalists men of science are!" exclaimed Father Brown, "and how such more sentimental must American men of science be! Who but a Yankee would think of proving anything from heart-throbs? Why, they must be as sentimental as a man who thinks a woman is in love with him if she blushes. That's a test from the circulation of the blood, discovered by the immortal Harvey; and a jolly rotten test, too."

"But surely," insisted Flambeau, "it might point pretty straight at something or other."

"There's a disadvantage in a stick pointing straight," answered the other. "What is it? Why, the other end of the stick always points the opposite way. It depends whether

you get hold of the stick by the right end. I saw the thing done once and I've never believed in it since."

EDWARD MARKS
Foreign Service Officer
Washington, D.C.

Worse Stereotype

Mr. W. Kenneth Thompson's letter in the *May Journal*, titled "Service Stereotypes," attacks Ambassador Edward Marks's February article about the National War College and says it indicates the author is "a stage Foreign Service officer, a type of P.G. Wodehouse character."

Alas, Mr. Thompson's letter reveals him as a much worse stereotype: the prim and proper, humorless Foreign Service officer who can't see much beyond the book of official protocol, a portrait that, I am afraid, is far more prevalent.

Ambassador Marks discusses the National War College in humane and human terms. He is not above poking a bit of fun. Humanizing this staid institution is not a disservice, but I feel that Mr. Thompson's sensitive overreaction to the article is.

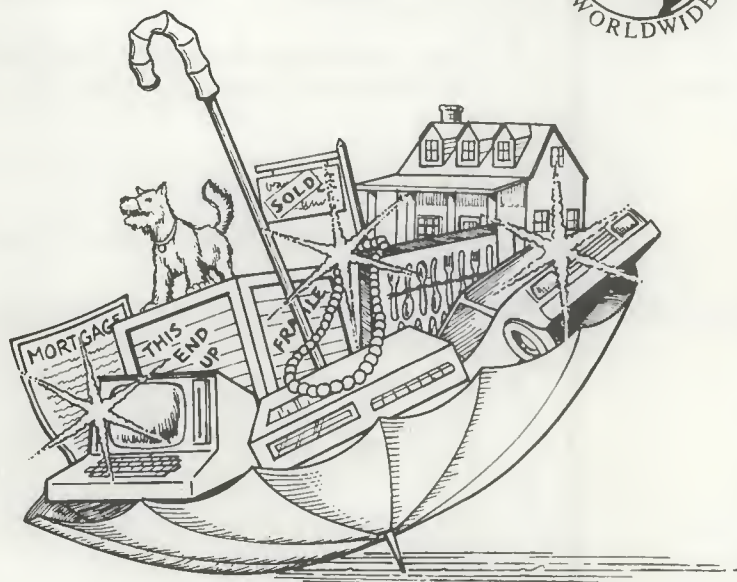
Is Mr. Thompson so thin-skinned that he must mount a defense where none is called for? Is he afraid that a frank and good humored essay about the War College may somehow undermine his sense of self-importance?

After completely misconstruing the article, Mr. Thompson then casts an aspersion on Ambassador Marks as a reporting officer. My only comment on this is that given a choice of who should represent my country in a sensitive foreign environment I would not hesitate to choose Ambassador Marks with his good humor and sense of human values over the very stiff Mr. Thompson.

JAMES H. FELDMAN
Bethesda, Maryland

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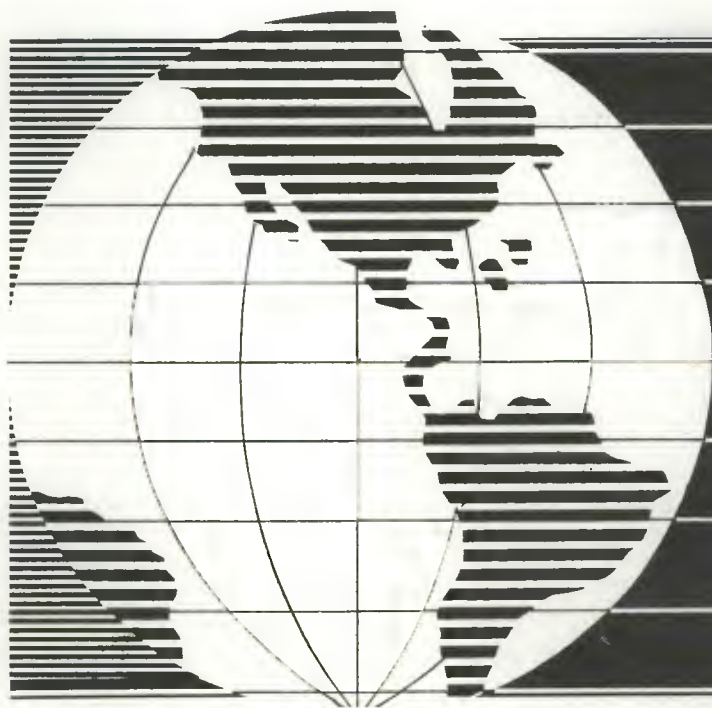


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I read with interest your report, "Agreement Reached on Personal Property Sales," in the *ASSOCIATION NEWS* section of the *May Journal*.

As one who has campaigned against the confiscatory, moralistic, intrusive and prissy regulations governing U.S. government employees' legal sales of their own property overseas, I also applaud the news that these regulations have been rescinded. The era of administrators, or Peoples' Committees, telling us what we can realize from legal sales of our own property in foreign countries is over. We are no longer required to donate our private resources



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I applaud the news. I do not applaud AFSA's part in it. The repeal of these onerous regulations was done entirely at the instigation of the more enlightened of our managers, who husbanded the arguments and overcame the opposition of those within management's own ranks who maintain an unnatural degree of interest in other people's business. By contrast, AFSA refused to contest these regulations when re-

quested to do so by its Turkish chapter in 1979-80, and thereafter ignored the issue until management invited negotiators to discuss it this year.

It is, admittedly, better late than never for AFSA representatives to discover that ingrained blanket suspicion of our motives by our management colleagues—and resulting restrictive and cumbersome regulations—are not what the Association should have tolerated for more than 17 years without a whimper. Let them not, however, imply that they had any part in actually overturning those regulations on sale of personal effects abroad, because they did not. Further, it is poor service to members' interests not to give credit to management on those occasions when—in spite of the odds—they are driven by principle rather than expediency. So, let's hear it for management, AFSA!

BRADLEY G. BARR
Foreign Service Officer, retired
Washington, D.C.

We asked Anthea S. de Rouville, AFSA's vice president and chief negotiator, to respond:

As the member of the AFSA Governing Board who participated in the negotiations on the sale of personal property, I'd like to comment on the points you raise.

AFSA may have refused to contest these regulations in 1979-80. I don't remember

it, but I don't doubt it. There was a different board, different management, we were operating under an executive order, not legislation. We were in the middle of negotiations on the Foreign Service Act of 1980. Whether to take up a given subject at a given time is a judgment call—Do we stand a chance? Do we have the resources? Are we willing to go to court if necessary? How many of our members are affected? etc. I'm not saying that this did happen, only that this decision-making process does go on and, given finite financial and personnel resources, we have to do this.

Management did indeed put forward this proposal, and we were delighted. It was not my intention to hide this in the ASSOCIATION NEWS article. However, in the clearance process, the implementing regulations had picked up so much baggage in the name of preventing abuse, they were, in our opinion, unworkable. I'm afraid the ingrained suspicions of some of management (but not all) are still there and that unnatural interest in our personal affairs still lives. So AFSA can and should share in the credit for producing workable regulations.

But as I write this, we have an unfair labor practice charge against management for going out to the field with a cable telling embassies that they should limit the amount of money changed at the mission and, further, that the "market rate" rather than the "official rate" should be used for the greater part of the proceeds of any sale, thus drastically cutting any possible profit.

In addition, many ambassadors have come in with suggestions of their own on how to limit profits, by setting up cumbersome and authoritarian procedures at post which go far beyond these provided for in the regulations.

Management is not a monolith. For every enlightened manager, there is at least one or two who "don't want anybody to get away with anything." This has been a pet peeve of mine throughout all negotiations on benefits—every regulation is written with potential abuse in mind, thus penalizing the honest majority.

So we try to give credit where it's due, but we also read the fine print and monitor the results to make sure the left hand of management isn't trying to take away what the right hand of management has given.

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BOOK REVIEWS

Cuban Ventures

THE CUBAN THREAT. By Carla Anne Robbins. McGraw-Hill Co., 1983.

Carla Anne Robbins's book *The Cuban Threat* is worthwhile reading for anyone interested in the rich history of Cuba's foreign involvements over the past quarter century, and how they have affected its relations with its powerful northern neighbor. This is no top-of-the-head review of Fidel Castro's assorted ventures in Central and South America and in Africa. More than 500 footnotes attest to a prodigious research effort. Her description of Cuba's complex relationship with the Soviet Union is especially useful.

Unfortunately, occasional factual lapses detract somewhat from Robbins's work, and she is at her weakest in the analytical portions. For example, she describes the Soviet-Cuban relationship as analogous to the one between the United States and Israel. If Israel had 50,000 troops wandering around Africa or Eastern Europe lending themselves to U.S. strategic purposes, only then could the two relationships be considered analogous.

The main point of the book is that the United States has gravely overestimated Cuban mischief-making over the years. She contends that Cuba's revolutionary rhetoric may be tough, but its deeds are cautious. She does not believe the U.S. allegation that Cuba bears a major responsibility for Central America's upheavals, although she does acknowledge that Cuba has not abandoned its commitment to revolution in the region. It is on this last point that her conclusions are most vulnerable to challenge. One would have preferred an unambiguous statement somewhere in the book questioning the propriety of such a commitment—whether passive or active—by the most regimented nation in the hemisphere, one that routinely sends forces to Africa and elsewhere for reasons that have nothing to do with national defense and that sees 55 U.S. military trainers in El Salvador as an intolerable intrusion while supporting the presence of 105,000 Soviet troops in Afghanistan.

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should be, the book nonetheless does provide useful background on a fascinating and important subject that has generated surprisingly little scholarly research.

—GEORGE GEDDA

The Story of Africa

THE AFRICANS. By David Lamb. Random House, 1982. \$17.95.

This book, according to the author, is "the story of a people who won their freedom on the battlefields and at negotiating tables, only to discover that their white colonial masters were replaced by black neocolonial leaders more concerned with personal power and wealth than national consensus or development." In attempting to develop and support a thesis of this magnitude, Lamb has taken on a vitally important but extremely difficult task.

His work at best represents a mixed bag. He does, to be sure, marshal data in a meticulous manner, but he often fails to draw any valid conclusions from his sources—which, judging from the brief bibliography, seem to consist almost entirely of interviews and various trips around Africa. And, Lamb does have an annoying tendency to switch theses—and countries—abruptly in the middle of a chapter.

The most basic flaw in the book, however, lies in its rather superficial references to the sad state of the African economy. While Lamb does hint at economic growth, he fails to recognize that Africa will probably be dependent on foreign aid for the next fifty years to balance mounting trade deficits, pay the soldiers who not only defend but rule many of the countries, and feed populations numbering over 360 million. Lamb seems unable to recognize that because it is a source of many raw materials and valuable markets, Africa's agony today can—and probably will—have a direct and painful impact on the West. The present suffering has compelled African countries to appeal for a doubling of foreign aid in the next decade; an appeal which—Lamb's comments to the contrary notwithstanding—will be ignored. In fact Lamb seems unable to understand why—given the warmth and graciousness of the African people—western donors are growing increasingly skeptical of Africa's ability to benefit from more aid. As the U.S. experience with aid to Ghana readily attests, money is not necessarily the answer. Nor does Lamb have much to say about food production, which surely has to be the obvious way of averting disaster in Africa. Finally, the pervasive corruption among elites also seems incorrigible.

Lamb should remove the shades from his eyes and recognize that a sub-culture of petty bribery extends from the remote customs shed to many presidential palaces. It is tragic that a journalist with such a wonderful style pays so little attention to these important topics.

Despite its flaws, the book does merit some attention from anyone wanting to get the "feel" of post-independence Africa. Lamb's experience in Africa is widespread and his style makes the book hard to set aside, even though it never really comes to grips with the great problems of contemporary Africa. —ROY A. HARRELL JR.

Soviet Spending

FALSE SCIENCE: Underestimating the Soviet Arms Build-up. By Steven Rosefielde. Trans-actions Books, 1982. \$14.95.

False Science adds to the debate over Soviet military spending in a novel and ambitious way. Rosefielde's approach is to break down the CIA's "direct costing" method of estimating Soviet military expenditures into its component procedures and assumptions, and then apply econometric methods to test their empirical and logical validity.

Rosefielde's main conclusion is that the CIA estimates fall far short of the actual levels of Soviet military spending. In particular, he believes the growth in the Soviet weapons procurement budget during the 1970s was three times greater than the CIA claims. Thus, by 1980 the Soviet Union had outspent the United States by almost three times on intercontinental attack forces, more than four to one on land forces, and two to one on naval forces.

While many of Rosefielde's disagreements with the CIA method of estimating costs are compelling—and therefore his estimates of Soviet military spending may be better—he then makes an inexplicable leap to the conclusion that the Soviets have been producing military hardware in significantly greater quantities and of much greater technological sophistication than the CIA will admit. Since the exercise of estimating Soviet military spending actually involves using observed output (weapons production and force structure) to estimate input (military spending), the latter cannot then be used to revise estimates of the former.

Unfortunately, most of Rosefielde's tests and conclusions rest on logical and mathematical manipulations that are not at all deducible—let alone obvious—to anyone without some familiarity with econometric analysis and price theory.

—STEPHEN M. MEYER

Arab-Israeli Mosaic

ARAB REACH: *The Secret War Against Israel*. By Hoag Levins. Doubleday & Co., 1983. \$17.95.

THE POLITICS OF PRESSURE: *American Arms and Israeli Policy Since the Six Day War*. By David Pollock. Greenwood Press, 1982. \$35.

CONGRESS, THE EXECUTIVE BRANCH AND SPECIAL INTERESTS: *The American Response to the Arab Boycott of Israel*. By Kennan Lee Teslik. Greenwood Press, 1982.

The "big picture" of the Arab-Israeli conflict derives from a multi-faceted mosaic that reaches far around the globe. The attention paid to this conflict in recent years has led writers to examine pieces of the mosaic that may be only peripherally important to the central theme of war or peace but which, properly illumined, can add depth to the perception of the whole. These three books seek, in different ways and with varying success, to do just that.

Hoag Levins's book is what one might expect from a competent inquiring reporter—which is what he is—digging industriously into subjects in which he has limited experience. Relying heavily on computerized media sources, Levins has come up with a mass of material on how Arab petro-dollars have penetrated Western Europe and the United States, giving the Arabs not only economic power but potential political influence in their "secret war against Israel." The most interesting passages relate to the Arabs' quest for a nuclear military capability, especially in Pakistan, to counter Israel's. Levins makes an impressive case, but how much may be speculation rather than fact this reviewer is unable to say. One becomes uneasy over a number of ascertainable errors throughout the book, such as his reference to the "air cover of Israeli Phantom squadrons in [June] 1967" when there was not yet a single combat plane of U.S. origin in the Israeli inventory.

The other two books listed are likely to have greater appeal to serious students of Mideastern affairs, particularly those concerned with the U.S. government's role. David Pollock has come up with a well-researched and well-reasoned study of key U.S. decisions on arms supplies for Israel as they have related to peacemaking efforts since the 1967 war. His principal concern is to determine whether, and to what degree, and with what success, such U.S. decisions have been related to past or forthcoming Israeli political decisions on security issues. Not surprisingly, he concludes that strings have been tied to both positive

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and negative U.S. decisions. He astutely concludes that it is very difficult to devise and carry out an arms supply policy intended to influence Israel, given the various domestic pressures, real concerns over Israel's security, and Soviet and Arab actions; that arms transfers have periodically provided *some* significant leverage for the United States over Israel, particularly when the Israelis were exposed to active military pressure; and that overall, despite the limitations, the United States must continue to seek ways to relate arms transfers judiciously to Israeli policy.

Kennan Lee Teslik's book covers the

narrower field of the U.S. reaction to the Arab boycott, culminating in the June 1977 amendments to the Export Administration Act. The tone is set by Teslik's accurate assessment at the beginning of the book that "the 1977 legislation achieved the principal goals of anti-boycott activists while doing relatively little damage to American economic and diplomatic interests in the Arab world." That was quite an achievement, and the story of the interplay between the administration, Congress, and the special interest groups is told expertly by Teslik. Teslik skillfully recounts the unique negotiations between the lead-

ers of the Business Roundtable, on one hand, and the Anti-Defamation League, American Jewish Congress, and American Jewish Committee, on the other, that led to the compromise formula accepted by both the Carter administration and Congress in the 1977 anti-boycott legislation. The non-government negotiators deserved the credit and the kudos they got for that achievement. It takes nothing away from them to note, however, that Teslik failed to perceive the important role played by the State Department in the two years leading to the legislation.

Secretary Kissinger's closed-minded attitude on anti-boycott legislation foreclosed any effort by the Ford administration to work out an acceptable compromise with congressional activists in 1976. But in the first days of the Carter administration, State assumed a predominant role as leader of an interagency task force set up by the White House to propose an administration position on the anti-boycott issue: the State-drafted proposal of key principles for legislation was accepted by Carter and put on the table by Secretary Cyrus Vance in congressional hearings less than six weeks into Carter's term, thereby moderating the President's harsher campaign promises and setting acceptable limits for the ensuing debate. The department also encouraged the Business Roundtable and the Jewish organizations to resume their discussions at a crucial point when they appeared to have broken down. Finally, State's management of the diplomatic effort, during the congressional hearings and after the legislation was passed, helped explain the anti-boycott measures, avert misunderstandings, and minimize retaliation by our principal Arab trading partners. These additions would have usefully filled out the Teslik book, but in any event it is by far the best on this subject.

—SIDNEY SOBER

Murder Most Diplomatic

A WOMAN OF CONSEQUENCE. By Sondra Gotlieb. St. Martin's Press, 1983. \$12.95.

To what lengths should a Foreign Service wife go to advance her husband's career? The elegant, ambitious Nini Pike had gone very far indeed when her husband was a mere junior officer at Canada's permanent mission to the United Nations in Geneva. Now he has been prime minister in Ottawa for ten years and her past has returned to threaten them both.

In this, her second novel, Sondra Gotlieb, now the wife of the Canadian ambassador to Washington, has used the perks and pitfalls of diplomatic life as the back-

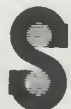


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ground for an ingeniously plotted tale of suspense. First published in Canada in 1981 under the title *First Lady, Last Lady*, the book was a best-seller there. Gotlieb has a gift for the impaling phrase, an ascerbic wit, and an eye for telling detail. (Of course, not a few of her husband's colleagues in Ottawa were tight-lipped on publication—"An External Service of Canada rampant with homosexuals? A failed murderess in Government House? Indeed!") Protagonist Nini, with her seventy pairs of shoes in plastic baggies, her bouts with the tenured kitchen help, her meticulous memos on food and drink and pear soap and Delsey toilet tissue, is a memorable character, while her brilliant husband is—well, just there. This is definitely a book written from the ambassadorial wife's perspective.

Books by Foreign Service women are on the rise. In 1960, American Beatrice Russell broke ground with a lighthearted memoir, *Living in State*; soon after, Tish Baldrige produced a romp about her years as social secretary to the David Bruces in Paris, Clare Boothe Luce in Rome, and Jackie Kennedy at the White House. Susan Mary Alsop launched her writing career by parlaying letters she wrote from Paris when her husband was a Foreign Service Reserve officer there. And, recently, Elizabeth Shannon has published a diary of her years as the wife of Jimmy Carter's ambassador to Ireland. But it is a quantum leap from editing a diary or authoring a memoir to turning out a polished work of fiction. Alone of her peers, Sondra Gotlieb appears to have bridged this gap successfully.

—DOROTHY MARKS

Afghanistan Explained

AFGHANISTAN AND THE SOVIET UNION. By Henry S. Bradsher. *Duke Press Policy Studies*, 1983.

To many in the diplomatic world, Afghanistan is still too often viewed as a bizarre place remote from the central concerns of U.S. foreign policy. Even now, after the events of 1978–79, the mountainous Central Asian state seems to many knowledgeable folk to be an enigma not worth the effort of serious consideration when so many other complex international issues are on the front burner.

Bradsher's book is well worth careful study because it not only relates carefully the sequence of events in Afghanistan since World War II that led to the Saur revolution but, more importantly, offers a detailed analysis of the Soviet links to those events that would do any Kremlinologist proud. Indeed, Bradsher must now be

ranked in the forefront of specialists in Soviet foreign policy study.

The work, with its detailed and careful footnoting, may be somewhat above the level of the lay person. But even the amateur will gain from two aspects of his thesis. First, he makes a strong case to show that the Soviets, far from conspiring to control events in Afghanistan, were most likely as surprised by the overthrow of Daoud in April 1978 as was the West. So much for Muscovite supermen standing nine feet tall! Second, his analysis of the Soviet concept of the "correlation of forces" must be read by all seriously interested in

how the Kremlin's leaders are likely to view world conditions at any specific moment. Bradsher demonstrates clearly that the Soviets consider world events and their role in them in a thoroughly integrated manner.

This admirable study of Afghan events should be perused carefully by anyone claiming to be a serious student of international events who wishes to understand how the Third World can willy-nilly become an arena for Great Power competition. The "Great Game" unfortunately is played out elsewhere and not just in Central Asia.

—VICTOR WOLF

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NATO: Permanent Crisis

THE FUTURE OF EUROPEAN ALLIANCE SYSTEMS: *NATO and the Warsaw Pact*. By Arlene I. Broadhurst. Westview Press, 1983. \$34.

THE ATLANTIC ALLIANCE AND ITS CRITICS. By Robert W. Tucker and Linda Wrigley. Praeger Publishers, 1983. \$26.

The late political scientist Sigmund Neumann wrote a brief history of European politics in the inter-war period which he titled *The Permanent Crisis*. The end of détente and the Reagan administration's increasing attention to global containment of the Soviet Union through military superiority has produced a spate of books on NATO and the Atlantic alliance. Almost all of these books imply that the alliance is in a permanent state of crisis and view its future as uncertain. Nevertheless, it has lasted longer than the European inter-war system, both as a military organization and as a political alliance. It endures not only because of common interests and attitudes between Western Europe and the United States but because it is, despite frequent differences, an arrangement more tolerable than any feasible alternative.

Of the two books under review, Tucker and Wrigley's is superior both in content and format. The chief reason to read the Broadhurst volume is the excellent lead essay by Hedley Bull (who occupies the chair in international relations at Oxford): a cogently argued plea for greater Europeanization of European defense, although, for the present at least, within an Atlantic framework. Otherwise, the Broadhurst collection, based on papers presented at a 1981 conference in Munich sponsored by the U.S. Army and the University of Southern California/Germany, is not worth this over-priced and sloppily edited publication (i.e., *Nachrüstung* is erroneously translated as disarmament, Mitterrand and Sonnenfeldt are misspelled). Broadhurst, a former assistant professor in international relations for the University of Southern California in Germany and one-time "instructor in political theory for USIA - Madrid," contributes a chapter on NATO and the Warsaw Pact which criticizes U.S. dominance and the resulting loss of "foreign policy independence" for the European members. A careful examination of the record, however, would clearly indicate that the United States, dominant as it is, frequently modified its positions in NATO and took into account European desires. Would NATO have adopted the INF decision without Helmut Schmidt's 1977 London speech?

Tucker and Wrigley's book, on the other hand, is well edited and contains six fluent essays by policy-oriented academics of the Atlantic field. Three Americans and three Europeans present differing views of the alliance. Theodore Draper and A.W. De Porte draw on the history of the alliance and, predictably, De Porte finds more promise than threat in current differences while Draper has less faith in the European will to stay the course. Pierre Hassner, the French Brzezinski, continues to hope for East European decoupling from the Soviets while urging more American pressure on the West Germans. Lellouche, too, is critical of our German allies, whom he sees as potentially open to Finlandization. His views are closer to those of the Reagan White House. Simon Serfaty, on the other hand, would like us to be tougher on Mitterrand and tends to underrate the continuity of French foreign policy. The book closes with a provocative essay by Robert Tucker who clearly accentuates the negative and argues that the alliance is "visibly unravelling."

When, two years ago in the pages of the *Journal*, I reviewed a trio of books also on the Atlantic alliance, I wrote:

These books document the fact that over the years NATO created a transatlantic communications network not only among policy-makers but also among scholars. If this network contributes to increased consultation with our allies on major U.S. foreign policy moves, and to American acceptance of Europe's military and political partnership status, there will be less stridency over alliance military tactics. The American desire for an economically and militarily strong Europe must be accompanied by a willingness to accept the natural consequences of that European strength—a more equal sharing of power and the necessity of keeping our own house in order.

Perhaps the crisis is permanent.

—CHARLES R. FOSTER

Impressions of El Salvador

SALVADOR. By Joan Didion. Simon and Schuster, 1983. \$12.95.

Joining the hosts who have swarmed on El Salvador in recent times, Joan Didion recently spent some time in that beleaguered country. Not unexpectedly, the visit produced a book by this writer of distinction, whose work up to now has been mostly in fiction. And the title of this book—the equivalent of naming one about California's largest city simply "Angeles"—does jar on anyone reasonably familiar with Spanish. It is a thin book, intended apparently to convey impressions of what it is

like to be in El Salvador and, perhaps, an idea of who or what is responsible for what is going on there and what might be done about it.

The horror comes out on every page. "Terror is the given of the place," she writes. The simple opening of her handbag, for example, brought "the clicking of metal on metal all up and down the street." Wherever she went, brutality was or had recently been close by. It is no wonder that the author boarded the departure flight "without looking back."

Didion leaves no doubt that she holds the oligarchy and the military responsible for the brutality and has little or no hope that U.S. policy will change the situation. At one point she confesses that, under pleasant surroundings as a luncheon guest at the U.S. embassy, she came close to falling under "the official American delusion, the illusion of plausibility, the sense that the American undertaking in El Salvador might turn out to be . . . just another difficult but possible mission in another troubled but possible country." It did not take her long, however, to recover from that temporary aberration and return to the dismal reality of hopelessness.

—EDWARD A. JAMISON

Crisis Management

MANAGING INTERNATIONAL CRISES. Edited by Daniel Frei. Sage Publications, 1983.

A better title for this book might be "Studies in International Crisis Management," because it is more a collection of views about crisis management than a how-to-do-it piece. The volume is part of Sage's "Advances in Political Science" series and consists of essays by top international scholars on crisis management.

Perhaps the most intriguing are the chapter by two Soviet academics on German crisis thinking and pieces by Finnish and Yugoslav scholars. The chapter most immediately relevant to most Foreign Service officers' work is "Practical Suggestions for Crisis Management: An Inventory," by Taipei professor King-Yuh Chang. He suggests nations should attempt "fractionalizing and diffusing" crises to blunt the potential for disaster, and "treating a dispute as a conflict of interest, not of principal." Chang cautions against issuing ultimatums, threatening the core of the opponent's value system and mixing moral principles with conflict of interest. Both he and the two diplomatic practitioners who add "afternotes" to the book are incrementalists—i.e., it's better to move slowly and carefully than to try to take decisive steps which may backfire.

The most impressive American contribution is Karl Deutsch's analysis of crises from an informational standpoint—the impact of crises in limiting the search for facts, creating information overload, and using selective memory for both facts and analogies. He also suggests that the most worrisome crises of the future "will not be crises of instigation but rather of accumulation." That is, a crisis is more likely to arise from the steady accretion of debt or a double decade of population growth than an explicit military challenge.

For practitioners of the diplomatic profession this book offers some interesting

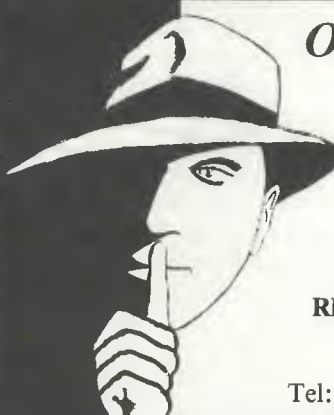
insights and creative ways of looking at crises. Perhaps its most valuable contribution, however, is in illuminating the way scholars from other cultures view the body of knowledge and experience that we call crisis management. —JOHN D. STEMPEL

War in the Desert

CONFLICT IN NORTHWEST AFRICA: *The Western Sahara Dispute*. By John Damis. Hoover Institution Press, 1983.

Damis has written a highly informative account of the origins and evolution of a

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war for control over the area formerly known as the Spanish Sahara. Based on much research, visits to the region, and on the author's experience as an area analyst in the Department of State, it is a model of clarity and balance.

In response to Moroccan political and military pressures, Spain in 1976 transferred to Morocco the administration but not sovereignty of the area now known as the Western Sahara. The territory has little to commend it; it consists chiefly of an almost totally arid desert with few settlements and a population, including those in exile, that may number 120,000. Although the region has vast phosphate resources, the war for control of the Western Sahara is really a struggle between rival nationalist claims. Morocco claims the territory on historical, tribal, cultural, and religious grounds. The organization known as Polisario claims to represent the area's population, which Polisario insists should have the right to determine its future for itself. In this it is supported militarily and politically by Algeria, which views Morocco as a rival for pre-eminence in North Africa. Because of this support, Polisario has been able to keep up a sort of hit-and-run war against the substantial Moroccan forces that have been sent into the area. Polisario's greatest military victory, thanks to Algeria, was over Mauritania, which was forced in 1979 to renounce the claims to the Western Sahara it had advanced in collaboration with Morocco.

Prospects for a settlement of this nasty little struggle are not bright. The attempts by the Organization of African Unity to effect a peaceful settlement have nearly wrecked that body. In the meantime, the United States and the Soviet Union continue to provide military aid to Morocco and Algeria, respectively, some of which has been channeled into the desert conflict. Damis offers some interesting ideas regarding the possible territorial basis for a settlement, but it is difficult to see how any agreement can be reached in view of the intense rivalry between Morocco and Algeria, a rivalry that provides further evidence, if any were needed, of the mythical nature of "the Arab nation."

—JAMES J. BLAKE

Space Wars

THE NEW HIGH GROUND: *Systems and Weapons of Space-Age War.* By Thomas Karas. Simon & Schuster, 1983. \$14.95.

At the end of his televised address on national security on March 24, President Reagan proposed a national effort to begin research into the development in space of a

high-technology system to intercept and destroy ballistic missiles in flight before they could strike either the United States or our allies. The President's proposal may have begun a national debate about space policy, a debate that Thomas Karas argues is urgently needed before we become committed to a new arms race in space.

The New High Ground describes what the U.S. military is already doing in space, looks at military space technology now on the horizon, and evaluates some of the proposals for using space as the combat arena of the future. Its thesis is that although it is indeed time to recognize the usefulness of space technology, we must also understand that space power will not provide us with a military superiority that will solve all our problems any more than did air power before it. An extremely readable book, it draws on interviews with decision-makers in the military and the aerospace industry in describing the new Air Force Space Command, the c-cubed revolution (C³ is military jargon for "command, control, and communications"), surveillance and communications satellite systems, "force multipliers" (navigation and weather satellites), space anti-satellite systems, space lasers, and possible war-in-space scenarios. In an epilogue the author offers his own thoughts to the debate on direction of our space policy. He maintains that, as a result of the shift of resources from civilian to military space activities, not only our space exploration programs but also research and development in communications and earth resources monitoring satellites are suffering.

Karas's book is highly recommended, both for the background it provides on space weapons systems and for its reasoned outline of a viewpoint which will be heard increasingly as the military space policy debate heats up. And it will heat up. The United States will make its first test of an anti-satellite missile this spring. The public-interest Center for Defense Information wants a treaty banning such weapons. The United States and the U.S.S.R. signed a treaty in the 1960s banning "weapons of mass destruction" from space, but this is generally interpreted to mean only nuclear weapons. Last winter a bipartisan resolution was introduced in the Congress calling on the President to start talks with Soviets for a ban on all weapons in space. And the Soviets have proposed a U.N. treaty which would ban any kind of weapon in orbit. U.S. space policy is a hot topic, and the foreign affairs community should be informed on the issues involved in this complex subject. *The New High Ground* makes a valuable contribution to this goal. —FRANCIS X. CUNNINGHAM

FOREIGN SERVICE JOURNAL

Changing the World Bank

BANKING ON THE POOR: *The World Bank and World Poverty*. By Robert L. Ayres. MIT Press, 1983.

The World Bank during the McNamara years, 1968–81, underwent dramatic changes in the scale, scope, and orientation of its operations. From a conservative, traditional, and relatively modest operation, the bank experienced extraordinarily rapid growth in projects, funding, and areas of interest—62 new projects in 1968 to 266 in 1981; \$953 million in new commitments in 1968 to \$12.4 billion in 1981. Of greater significance was the bank's shift from a predominant interest in economic infrastructure—transportation, communications, and power—to projects directly aimed at alleviating poverty—programs in agricultural production, health, education, housing, and population. Addressing the problems of the rural and urban poor in developing countries became the focus of the bank's interest, particularly following McNamara's milestone speech of September 1973.

Ayres has provided an excellent study of this vital period in the World Bank's evolution. He has picked up from where the Mason-Asher book *The World Bank Since Bretton Woods* leaves off and moves the reader with skill and insight through the debates and demands of the staff, and their successes and failures in shifting the bank's focus to the rural and urban poor. He weaves a careful course between the extremes of its rightist and leftist critics. Yet, while maintaining a positive view of the bank's role, he gives a clear picture of the internal clashes of interests and orientations among its staff. Points of weakness in concepts and performance are spelled out along with accomplishments.

Readers not familiar with the World Bank will find *Banking on the Poor* an exceptionally useful introduction to the structure, operations, policy and program of the Bank Group—the World Bank, International Development Association, and the International Finance Corporation. For those already involved in international development, Ayres' book is essential reading on the on-going debate on rural and urban development and the task of alleviating poverty among the poorest countries of the world.

Ayres had a unique opportunity in his access to the staff and internal documents of the World Bank. He has used the opportunity well and constructively in advancing our understanding of the institution and of key issues of international development. —W. HAVEN NORTH

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PLUS ÇA CHANGE . . .

Foreign Service Journal, July 1973:

"One of the more flagrant abuses in government over the years, by Democrats and Republicans alike, has been that of nominating campaign contributors as ambassadors. There are indications that reform is in the wind. Reform is long overdue. The Senate Foreign Relations Committee is attempting to resolve criteria for confirmation of ambassadors which would place more of an accent on career appointments. . . . The emphasis should be on those who make a career of the Foreign Service. But at the same time the door should be open for non-career appointments to a limited degree . . . 15 percent for non-career appointments seems about right. We hope that the committee will come to an agreement on this measure of reform and, having agreed to it, then implement it and enforce it." —*THE ATLANTA JOURNAL*.

Foreign Service Journal, July 1958:

"I had been a code clerk in the State Department in Washington for four months during the First World War before my loyalty was investigated. . . . Mr. Shand called me to his office about a week before I was to sail for France and the Paris Embassy. . . . He wanted to know if all my grandparents had been born in the United States. I said yes, he wished me Godspeed, we shook hands, and I left. . . . I realize now that, as a measure of patriotism, the long existence of my ancestors on American soil makes me more loyal than Virginia Dare or even George Washington, but I didn't give it any thought at the time." —*JAMES THURBER*

Foreign Service Journal, July 1933: [In] a despatch dated April 26, 1880, Consul General O.M. Denny was found complaining that the staff had been reduced notwithstanding the increase in business. "Had it not been for two German convicts confined in this Consulate jail who are good copyists, [I do not know how we] could have possibly got on."

—*SHANGHAI POST REPORT*

PLUS ÇA CHANGE records excerpts from *Journal* issues of 10, 25, and 50 years ago with an eye toward how much things have changed for the *Foreign Service*, or how they have remained the same.

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Beirut Memorial

It is a tragic irony of the human condition that we realize the true extent of our appreciation, our need, and our love for others most clearly when they have been taken from us. As a consequence of a savage crime on April 18, we have all lost colleagues, friends, and persons dear to us. Our need for these persons was never clearer than it is now, when we contemplate the empty places in our offices, in our homes, in our circles of friends and family and, indeed, in our hearts.

Not one of us can count himself a complete survivor of the attack on the embassy. Every one of us lost something. When I think of those no longer here, I realize how much I shall miss their friendship, their wise counsel, their experience, their diligent and conscientious loyalty, and the gracious good humor with which they were so generous.

As grievous as these individual losses are, they are transcended by one that is greater. In these last terrible weeks, I have come to realize more clearly than ever before that we exist more than as individuals. In our work and struggle together here, we have become a kind of collective entity. The variety of our experiences, our cultures, our nationalities, and our confessions did not diminish the quality of this collectivity; on the contrary, it gave it vitality and a formidable ability to cope with the challenges we face. On April 18, there was a calculated and murderous attempt to destroy us—not only as individuals, but also as a collective presence. The attack sought to achieve not only our physical extinction but also the death of our mission of peace and reconciliation in Lebanon.

While the assassins inflicted a terrible personal and individual loss upon us, we have, in our collective consciousness, survived their barbaric act. We have clawed our way out of the rubble. We have begun to heal ourselves. We face the challenges and dangers of the future with calm deliberation. Mourning our fallen comrades, we know that the noblest possible monument to their supreme sacrifices will be the completion of the task we—Lebanese and Americans—have set for themselves: the realization of a secure and independent Lebanon and the peaceful resolution of the tragic differences which have so long troubled this part of the world. We recognize that, only when we have completed this task can we rest, certain that there will be no more tragedies like that of April 18.

Bereaved colleagues and friends—we share a common grief, a common sense of loss and a common awareness of sacrifice. Let us be understanding, generous, and compassionate in our support and comfort for one another. Let us be resolute and courageous, however, as we face the future. In this sacred moment, we are not Lebanese and we are not American. We are not Druze, Christian nor Muslim. We are humanity mourning our loss and sharing our grief, yet determined to build a world in which April 18 is no longer a terror and remains only a sad memory. □

—Remarks by Robert S. Dillon, U.S. ambassador to Lebanon, at a memorial service for Foreign Service nationals killed in the embassy bombing. The service was held May 6 at the American University of Beirut.



The Japanese FSO

*Hierarchy, seniority, and rank rule
the personnel system of
this relatively young Foreign Service*

By HARRISON M. HOLLAND

In Japanese, *amakudari* means to "descend from heaven" and generally refers to bureaucrats about to retire. It symbolizes the respect, if not affection held by the public for Japanese government officials, their high station in society, and the power and prestige they have accumulated over the years in the conduct of government business. The Japanese Foreign Service officer is a beneficiary of this public trust. He belongs to a professional group that dominates the Foreign Ministry (the only non-career officers in the leadership are the foreign minister and the parliamentary vice minister, both politicians or former bureaucrats) and can reasonably expect to reach important positions in the ministry, including ambassador, before he must descend from heaven. (The use of the male pronoun throughout this article is intentional, for it creates the accurate impression of an overwhelmingly male Service.)

The Japanese FSO is an elitist, sure of himself, well satisfied with the tra-

ditions that have shaped the character of the Service over generations, and comfortable in the knowledge that his job is secure until retirement. He is part of a small group of diplomats—there are only about 700 career FSOs in the ministry—and is closely identified with those officers who entered in the same class as he. He is proud of his profession, his class, and his role in managing Japanese diplomacy. He is an exponent of the philosophy that a small, elite corps of professionals is quite capable of steering Japan clear of international shoals. This little group has done just that since the end of World War II.

Operational Framework

The career personnel system provides a framework for Foreign Ministry operations and is the organization through which the ministry conducts its affairs—recruitment, assignment, promotion, training, performance evaluation, decision-making, and interaction with other institutions both public and private. It is a system in which each member knows his place, what to expect from his career, and how to perform his daily activities. It is this system in which the elitism, seniority, hierarchy, and class identification of the Service flourish. It is a system conscious of its worth to Japan but troubled over the intrusion of modern ideas that are attempting to bend some of these time-honored ways of doing things.

Seniority (*nenkō joretsu*) is a tradition not peculiar to the Foreign Ministry but recognized throughout the gov-

Harrison M. Holland, a former Foreign Service officer, is now a visiting scholar at the Hoover Institution of Stanford University. He has recently completed a book titled Managing Diplomacy: The United States and Japan.

LEFT: The Japanese Foreign Ministry building, like its counterpart in the United States, has eight floors. About 1500 persons work there, including 350 career Foreign Service officers. Construction started in the late 1950s.



ernment as a fundamental principle governing employer-employee relations. For the ministry, seniority plays its customary role—regulating the tempo of assignments and promotions so that juniors will not pass seniors in rank, and seniors will not replace juniors in the assignment process. It is an integral part of the life-time employment system, a stabilizing element in the bureaucracy. It has given direction and congruity to personnel management, has been an article of faith for the government worker and a reliable guide to career development.

Closely related to seniority is the system of hierarchy (*jō-ge kankei*) in the personnel structure. It establishes the ladder of rank-order while seniority provides the ground rules for administering assignments and promotions on it. Each rank places certain responsibilities and obligations on the occupant, and an officer who holds a particular rank is generally there because of seniority.

Rank carries privileges and rewards, along with the injunction to comply with its precepts for order. It allows certain people to enter at certain levels only after they have complied with the requirements. It encourages those with the proper credentials and discourages the unqualified. While not a caste system reminiscent of the Tokugawa period, it nevertheless is an arrangement with numerous and influential adherents in the ministry.

Hierarchy & Obligation

An example of the obligation hierarchy places on an official was the resignation of Foreign Minister Masayoshi Ito in 1981. After the summit meeting between then Prime Minister Zenko Suzuki and President Reagan, the customary joint communiqué was issued but the prime minister was dissatisfied with its contents and timing and criticized the ministry when he returned to Japan. Ito reportedly asked the prime minister to temper his criticisms, but Suzuki persisted. Ito resigned, taking responsibility upon himself for the trouble. There was considerable sympathy and support for him in the career Service. Officers recognized that his action fulfilled the requirements placed upon him by his rank and they

felt a sense of pride that the foreign minister would place respect and loyalty to tradition above personal considerations.

Rank is especially important in the Foreign Ministry's working relationships with other ministries. It is necessary for a deputy division chief in the ministry, for example, to have the same rank or title as his counterpart in another ministry if workable relations are to be established. Career officers often feel demeaned if they have to deal with an officer in their own or another ministry who is inferior to them in rank. It offends their sense of elitism and affects morale.

Hierarchy nurtures pride in rank, provides solace for a bruised ego, sometimes causes bureaucratic logjams where rank problems exist, and stifles initiative and ambition when such motivations threaten to exceed the boundaries of rank. It nevertheless has powerful champions and there is little evidence that its influence is waning.

When a new appointee enters the ministry, he enters as a member of a particular class and from that time onward he is thought of as a member of that class. This is the tradition of class identification, or *dōki ishiki*. His career is intimately linked to the reputation of his class and his own aspirations are often subordinated to its general good. He will stay with that class until he retires. Each member will receive his promotions automatically and will not be promoted ahead of his classmates. The class will begin to develop its own reputation, one that members take great pride in and work hard to enhance. To be a member of a class with a superior reputation is an honor.

It is natural for an FSO to identify with his group. As a youth, he learned through membership in his own family to adapt his interests to those of the family, and as an adult Japanese, he tends to be conformist by repressing individual behavioral instincts. The desired quality is to accommodate to his group or class, not to indulge in overt self-assertion or self-fulfillment. The preferred objective is organizational order and harmony, and in his efficiency report the career FSO is judged on his ability to promote harmony. Even when he reaches the senior

ranks and there is rivalry for desired ambassadorships and bureau director general posts, tradition does not permit overt expression of competitive hostility. Instead, he calmly awaits the decision of his seniors after having done his best, within the bounds of tradition, to prepare himself for such assignments.

Ascent to Ambassador

The Japanese FSO begins his professional career at about age 23. His first assignment is to the Foreign Service Training Institute, where he spends four months. He then proceeds to an on-the-job training position in the ministry, usually to a functional or geographic bureau, and after this assignment is sent abroad for more language and area training for up to two years. Upon completion of training, he either goes to an embassy or back to the ministry. He will spend about seven years as a junior officer before entering mid-career ranks. During this time, he will develop his diplomatic skills, become ever more conscious of his position as a member of his class, and very likely get married and begin his family. He will become wiser in the ways of the bureaucracy as he observes the art of "getting things done" in the traditional way. He will begin to think about and plan for the future, aiming always for that important division chief assignment, a director general position, and ultimately a *prestigious* ambassadorial post. He will be careful, deferential where necessary, cautious in carrying out his responsibilities, persevering in the face of early career frustrations, cooperative in dealing with colleagues, conscious of the importance of harmony in an office, and observant of tradition and custom.

Upon his graduation to mid-career status at about age 30, he will be ready for new challenges and responsibilities. He will spend the next seven years working as a senior member of the general affairs section of a division and eventually as its deputy director. Overseas, he may be a first secretary on political or economic assignments. He will soon have a sense for his future and where he is going. He will know the kind of assignments he will receive if he is being groomed to be an impor-

tant division chief or an ambassador at an influential post. He knows he is not competing for promotions but for assignments to prestigious posts. He recognizes that the main line of foreign ministry leadership is centered in American and European expertise. He has studied the career successes of former and contemporary ministry leaders and understands why they were successful. He knows that hard work, outstanding performance, the right assignments, the right marriage, a good personality, loyalty to the ministry and to his class, and the key support of a top official are all important factors in achieving career success.

By the 10th or 11th year of his career, he can judge his prospects for a senior position with more clarity and precision. He knows the career Service is relatively compact. Because each officer is privy to information about the others, he is able to judge the quality of his competition by the assignments they receive, by the supportive role of their patrons, by the marriage influence, and by "corridor reputations." At times he may worry, therefore, that he will not get to the top; he wonders whether an assignment to Africa or Latin America, for example, is a signal from the system that he has reached the summit of his career, yet he is careful to keep these anxieties to himself lest members of his class think of him as a self-promoter rather than a supporter of the class.

His promotion to the senior ranks occurs at about age 37 and has a special significance: he has been assigned as a division chief (*kachō*) in a geographic bureau. He has passed the critical test, for otherwise he would very likely be destined to years of overseas assignments at mediocre posts, a career disaster for him and a shame for his family. But now he is reasonably certain of obtaining a good ambassadorship—or a major consulate general post prior to such an ambassadorship, or an assignment as a director general of a bureau in the ministry. But he now must also face growing competition for the limited number of top positions.

He can usually expect to be a Class 2 officer for about six years, spend four years in Class 1, and another 15 years in the Designated Class. Future assign-

ments might be to any of the following positions: 108 ambassadorships, 48 consulates general, 64 division chief slots, 10 director generalships, and 14 senior deputy director general and 11 junior deputy director general posts. If he is fluent in English, French, German, or Spanish, he will generally have a better chance of obtaining a choice assignment abroad or in a major geographic bureau. If he has had a successful tour as an important division chief, he will very likely move up to a deputy director general position and then to deputy chief of mission or minister in a major embassy, or consul general in a large consulate general in an important country. Then he may return to Tokyo as director general of a major bureau or as an assistant deputy vice minister in the minister's secretariat. A return to Japan at this stage in his career is especially welcome because he can then provide a Japanese education for his children, can be with family and friends, and can live a reasonably comfortable life with the perquisites accorded his rank. For the senior officer with less ability, however, an ambassadorship to a small country or an appointment as a consul general in a medium-size post is generally expected. These assignments are often an embarrassment because it is a signal that his career has peaked and that he must be satisfied with less prestigious posts.

Descent from Heaven

Retirement approaches at about age 62 or 63. There is no statutory retirement age, but custom mandates the time to leave. (Upon retirement, the Japanese FSO will normally get 80 percent of his salary as a taxable pension.) It is at this stage in his life that the Japanese FSO faces *amakudari*, the traumatic descent. For some, the transition is a heavy burden but most accept the inevitable with good grace. The search for post-retirement employment for former ambassadors is difficult. Lately, however, with Japan's expanding international commerce and trade, companies and banks are finding the advice and counsel of former ambassadors valuable.

This portrait of a Japanese FSO is sketched against the background of a

career service that is in transition. It is having to cope with increasing workloads and shortages in personnel. The essence of the predicament is that there are not enough career officers to handle Japan's expanding role in international affairs, and this results in FSOs' being overworked. Yet management appears reluctant to expand the base of the career corps because of a concern—shared by most FSOs—that it would adversely affect the balance that now exists between career officer intake (from 25 to 27 annually) and the ultimate availability of ambassadorships.

The problem is laden with paradoxes. While FSOs complain about being overworked, they want the career corps to remain small and elite, with every member assured of an ambassadorship. There is also a reluctance to use non-career specialists (*senmon shoku*) in policy roles, as this would encroach on the "turf" of career officers. Strict differentiation between the two groups is a cause of some of the ministry's manpower difficulties. Management has tried to mollify the specialists by giving them an opportunity to integrate with the career Service, but only two or three are taken each year.

Management has endeavored to meet general manpower shortages through the ministry's six-year expansion program (1980–86), which should raise the total ministry complement from the present 3500 to 5000, but there is still uncertainty about how additional personnel will be allocated—whether to the career corps, the specialist corps, or to the administrative and clerical area. New personnel will probably be assigned to all three sectors, with fewer going to the career corps because of FSO career prerogatives.

The Japanese FSO recognizes that the career system is experiencing change, that it is facing new and uncertain challenges that may affect the role of tradition and the more comfortable ways of handling Japan's foreign affairs. But from what I've observed, he is ready to meet these new challenges with customary determination, flexibility, and energy. His track record in the post-war years bodes well for the future management of Japanese foreign policy. □

Educating the Public

American Ignorance of Basic Foreign Policy and Defense Issues Must be Met by a Concerted Public-Affairs Effort

By JULIA A. MOORE

Better public understanding of foreign and national-security matters has never been more important. In a world where a single nuclear warhead can carry almost 700 times the destructive power of the Hiroshima bomb, the United States can ill afford a citizenry ignorant of defense matters, the nature of its adversary the Soviet Union, or how arms control enhances security.

Despite widespread concern about the dangers of nuclear war, however, Americans remain woefully ignorant of the basics of international-security issues. More than half do not realize that this country imports oil. More than half either don't know or aren't sure if the United States or the Soviet Union is the NATO member. Only 15 percent of high school students study foreign languages, and only 60 percent of our 12th graders can locate Egypt on a map.

Even university students are uninformed about the U.S.S.R.—its leadership, ideology, economy, technology, and the nature of the threat it may pose. Only five percent of America's college graduates can speak a foreign language. Few can handle facts about defense doctrines, alliances, and arms-control policies. While steeped in the vocabulary of video war games, they

are ignorant of deterrence, mutual assured destruction, and first-strike.

It may not be easy, but surely a society which can master videogame strategies or football zone defenses can learn to evaluate diplomatic strategies or missile defenses. It isn't necessary to teach 200 million people MX specifications or the physics of the neutron bomb for them to judge if they are needed. The populace must grasp the security problems facing the United States in the 1980s. The public must know what serves our national interest and be able to recognize and support reasonable responses to challenges.

Solution Difficult

Any solution to improved American understanding of the world beyond its borders will be difficult and complex. The patchwork programs and meager resources heretofore devoted to this problem—both by the private and public sectors—have clearly not been adequate. Yet any program must involve both sectors, with the federal government taking the lead in orchestrating a coherent effort involving the media, educational institutions, private groups, and politicians.

Public information on security policy should be seen as a priority by our government officials rather than, as it is now, a distracting sideline to more important duties. Overwhelming interest in a nuclear-weapons freeze, the debate over the MX, and the ever-present fear of the Soviet Union all point to the fact that it would not be difficult for our leaders to dramatize and enlist

public support in their efforts. To do so, they also need to enlist public support in launching a national initiative to build the United States' capacity to comprehend and manage its international role.

A myriad of good policy and program ideas already exist. The 1979 Presidential Commission on Foreign Language and International Studies offers just one model. The commission discovered that our citizens' "scandalous" lack of foreign-language and international-affairs capabilities was having a profoundly negative impact "on the nation's internal and external strength" but that solutions to this problem were "in reach." While its recommendations primarily focused on enhanced, federally funded language programs, the commission also suggested increased international exchange programs, an expanded USIA Educational and Cultural Affairs staff, and greater attention to developing a pool of talent appropriate to U.S. business needs abroad.

Given the national-security nature of these programs and the limited availability of state, local, and private monies, the commission recommended that the federal government take primary responsibility for these programs. Specifically, it suggested that, beginning in fiscal year 1981, federal funding for international-studies, foreign-language, and exchange programs in the Department of Education and USIA be increased from the FY 1979 level of \$70 million to \$245 million. Unfortunately, the money has

Julia A. Moore is deputy director of the Arms Control Association, the country's oldest organization devoted to increased public understanding of arms control. She is on leave from the State Department's European Bureau public affairs office.

not been forthcoming. In fact, the administration requested a zero budget for FY 1984 international and foreign-language studies under Title VI of the Higher Education Act. Its ECA request will make it difficult to achieve Congress's Pell Amendment target of doubling USIA's budget for exchange programs between 1982 and 1986.

The Defense Department and the State Department too have to develop more and better educational and informational programs. State in particular needs more resources to do a good job of explaining basic facts—not just policy—about the world outside our borders. At present, State spends a niggardly \$6 million per year on public affairs—less than the cost of a single ground-launched cruise missile. It has no formal domestic-education programs.

In this age of visual media, it has not produced a film on foreign policy for domestic audiences in seven years. An ungenerous \$125,000 per year is allocated for officials to speak to university audiences and civic groups. State primarily publishes a historical series and reprints official speeches and statements. Except for its "gist" papers, none is a tool for enhancing basic knowledge of international relations.

The Department of Defense—which, with the armed services, spends about \$30 million annually on public affairs—could harness its far more considerable resources in this area. It could be particularly effective in underwriting foreign-language programs and scholarships in the United States, an idea currently under study. More important, however, Defense needs to see its informational role less as selling a budget or a weapons system and more as providing better insights into the complexities of security issues.

Data Misleading

To do so, Defense will have to be more balanced and thoughtful in its educational materials and publications. In its recent booklet *Soviet Military Power*, for instance, its data and argumentation paint a picture of clear-cut Soviet superiority that is often misleading. For example, the booklet downplays the U.S. lead in strategic

bombers by leaving out a bomber warhead count. It draws reader attention away from the United States' roughly 3½-to-1 advantage in submarine-launched ballistic missile warheads by stressing the less significant longer ranges of Soviet SLBMs. The public clearly needs more basic sources that offer straightforward information. As it is now, many private publications, such as the International Institute for Strategic Studies' *Military Balance* and *Strategic Survey*, provide better information and are cited more frequently than official sources.

Today, few would doubt the importance of arms control to national security. It would follow, then, that the Arms Control and Disarmament Agency needs to run a public-affairs program comparable with that of De-

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fense. As Duncan Clarke points out in his book *Politics of Arms Control*, greater attention to ACDA's neglected responsibility is "long overdue." But the agency's public-affairs resources, which have always been too small, are getting smaller—down to \$425,000 in FY 1982 from a high under the Carter administration of about \$800,000. To be fair, ACDA has good reasons to be wary of public attention; Congressional arms-control opponents have kept a vigilant eye on its public-affairs activities, once threatening a GAO inquiry into the inflammatory nature of a red-and-yellow publication cover! Since recent polls have shown that a majority of the public is not even aware that the United States is negotiating with the Soviets on either INF or START, Congress should mandate a

strong agency educational program to inform the public better about the negotiating process, the role arms control plays in our security, verification mechanisms, and the nature of the U.S.-Soviet dialogue.

Access Decreasing

Greater public education and information efforts by government should include helping journalists do a better job by keeping the press informed. Government agencies should keep the media abreast of their activities, the rationale behind their policies, and events abroad. More access—not less—to decision-makers, desk officers, and analysts is required. Recent administration moves to stem the flow of "leaks," however desirable, have had the unwanted effect of exacerbating public distrust of government information born in the years of Watergate and Vietnam. It is no wonder, then, that the Chicago Council on Foreign Relations found the public had more faith in the press's reporting on international issues than in the State Department or foreign policy leaders in Congress.

Some have argued that the sensitive and classified nature of security information precludes open public and press policies. Too often, however, security debates within government rage over information readily available in *Aviation Week* or the *New York Times*. During the early part of the SALT II debate, for example, agencies fought over whether security would be seriously impaired by allowing U.S. officials to admit publicly that we had "spy satellites" to verify Soviet compliance rather than "national technical means." Given the urgent need for better public information about defense, the government should ask itself where the public good is served—with more and better information or with less and more restricted.

The media must do their part too. They must improve the quality and quantity of international and security reporting. To begin with, all media—television, radio, newspapers, magazines—can make a greater investment in building foreign staffs. At present, for example, CBS has only 17 full-time correspondents overseas. As the medi-

um that provides 64 percent of the public with its primary source of news, television needs to do a better job covering security issues than the occasional 90-second piece on the evening news. It should look for the international-security stories that don't make daily headlines. It should provide the public with a better context for evaluating these issues by producing more full-length documentaries. Newspapers, as one of the few places where Americans can find in-depth reporting of important happenings in the world, will have to turn back a trend begun in the early 1970s towards "soft" news. Papers will have to improve defense and foreign affairs commentary, editorials, and reporting, and designate more space to their coverage. A typical newspaper today devotes twice as much space to sports as to international affairs.

Both media may balk at these suggestions. Their executives frequently claim that they are businesses that must cater to their customers. Perhaps they have underestimated American audiences. In his recent book *Press and Public*, Leo Bogart tells of a national survey that shows that 59 percent of those questioned would prefer a newspaper devoted completely to news rather than one that just provided a news summary or consisted mostly of light features. Television executives, such as NBC's Grant Tinker, have also begun to take note of a trend among America's younger, better-educated audiences not to turn on the television set at all. This may indicate that viewers and readers are finally ready for more serious fare than that usually provided by the media.

Education Deficient

Perhaps the most difficult task in cultivating a more informed public opinion is tackling the deficiencies of the educational system. As the recent National Commission on Excellence in Education noted, the overall quality of education in the United States is so poor that if imposed on us by an outside power it would be considered an act of aggression. When it comes to international affairs, the 1979 Presidential Commission on Foreign Language and International Studies report

declared that the schools need to do a better job of improving student competence. The task can be daunting, however. A New York state program to introduce an innovative global-studies curriculum for 9th and 10th graders ran into trouble because many students do not grasp the fundamentals of history, geography, or the social sciences.

The choice, however, need not be between remedial education and a curriculum that prepares students to face the nuclear age. Improved basic education would certainly enhance the younger generation's ability to learn about strategic issues. Nonetheless, there is no substitute for a curriculum that also provides the analytical tools necessary to judge defense and foreign policy issues. Another possibility, as demon-

The money has not been forthcoming; the administration requested a zero budget for FY 1984 international and foreign-language studies

strated by a pilot project conducted by the Arms Control Association, is to integrate modern-conflict studies into existing curriculums by placing an emphasis on what problems led to recent wars and how peace conferences and international organizations help resolve nuclear-era conflicts. The Department of Education, with the cooperation of defense and foreign affairs agencies, should be provided with federal funds to help schools teach courses on international and strategic issues. Monies will also be needed to improve teacher training if new curriculums are to be successfully implemented. An American Council on Education study, for example, reported that only one prospective teacher in 20 takes at

least one course on international affairs or foreign cultures.

Government support for foreign affairs research should also be increased. A 1981 Rockefeller Foundation survey showed that, over the last decade, the income of international research and training centers in the United States did not keep pace with inflation. University-based institutions were particularly hard hit. Federal expenditures for such centers dropped by 58 percent, contributing to a 41-percent shortfall between their average increases in income compared with inflation.

Some Progress

One area that has seen some progress recently, however, is student and faculty international exchanges. The Reagan administration has committed itself to doubling high school exchanges between NATO and Japan. This should not interfere, but, rather, complement additional funding of programs such as the highly successful Fulbright scholarships, which were increased slightly in the early 1980s after severe cutbacks in the 1960s. But the Fulbright program now supports only about 5000 students and scholars, down from about 7600 in 1965. The number of foreign leaders visiting the United States under the International Visitor program is also down, from a high in 1966 of 2400 to 1700. With a recent *Newsweek* poll showing majorities in the Netherlands (53 percent) and West Germany (57 percent) and pluralities in France (43 percent) and Great Britain (45 percent) favoring neutralism in Western Europe, it is clearly important to enhance those programs that foster connections between the United States and its allies.

The private sector has traditionally played a special role in American international and security education. Foreign affairs groups like the Foreign Policy Association and exchange organizations like the Experiment in International Living have greatly added to our understanding and experiences of the larger world. Arms-control advocacy groups such as the Arms Control Association, Center for Defense Information, and Union of Concerned Scientists have had a major impact on de-

fense and arms policies. Likewise, conservative groups such as the Committee on the Present Danger, High Frontier, Heritage Foundation, and the Hoover Institution have participated in the national defense debate.

On balance, our democracy is healthier for the contribution these groups have made to the debate, even if one side may not acknowledge the usefulness of the other's role. These groups play a vital part in attracting public attention to these issues, in presenting new research, ideas, and initiatives, in raising tough questions, and in stimulating more thoughtful and defensible policies.

Perhaps one of the best examples of the impact private groups can have on the national debate is the National Nuclear Weapons Freeze Movement. Through grassroots organization, concentration on a simple objective, and a smart media strategy, this private group was able to convince the House of Representatives to adopt a freeze resolution. At the same time, it engaged the public in a spirited national debate on arms control. Never before had these fundamental issues of the nuclear age been so forcibly brought to universal attention.

Finally, American foundation support for various public-interest and educational institutions has been a crucial factor in enhancing understanding of security issues. For example, arms-control organizations report that 31 percent of their budgets come from private foundations. The Ford Foundation recently announced a special set of grants totaling \$4 million to further new arms-control and security research. And *Foundation News* has reported the growing impact an increasing number of philanthropies are having on this country's security awareness. Foundations have ensured that a wide-range of views is heard. They are likely to continue to do so in the future.

The "Bully Pulpit"

Political leaders too often merely represent the majority consensus of the day—however fleeting, uninformed, or dangerous. Therefore, limited public knowledge and experience in foreign policy and national-security ques-

tions usually translates into poor judgments and regrettable choices by political leaders. But because the public in turn takes inspiration from its elected representatives, this process feeds on itself—often with undesirable results. This is particularly true in the debate over our relations with the Soviet Union. When politicians reduce that relationship to simple cold war platitudes of "Soviet menace" and "evil empire," we all lose. When politicians turn the complexities of problems like the Soviet-Western European gas pipeline, technology transfer, the grain embargo, or nuclear strategy and arms control into simple ideology and simplistic approaches, they have unwittingly endangered American security. Whether the Soviets are characterized as monsters or simple utopians

**At
present, the State
Department
spends a niggardly
\$6 million per year
on public affairs
and it has no
formal domestic-
education programs**

gone awry begs the real issues, distorts our options, and usually ends up with irrelevant or harmful policies. Hence, political leaders can play an immense educational role if they use wisely their capacity for obtaining public and media attention—what Theodore Roosevelt so well described as the "bully pulpit." It is the special power and responsibility of the President and other leaders to speak out about our security challenges and provide clear policy options to the electorate.

The other method for gaining public attention and understanding is debate. When the issues are both complex as well as contentious, no better method exists to resolve them than through a series of national debates

that include not only political leaders but experts as well. Recently, particularly at the time of the Scowcroft commission report, there has been much editorial comment on the need to end debate on national-security issues and return to a foreign policy consensus. However, even that champion of a bipartisan foreign policy Arthur Vandenberg once wrote that "to me, 'bipartisan foreign policy' means a mutual effort under our indispensable two-party system to unite our official voice at the water's edge so that America speaks with maximum authority. . . . It does not involve the remotest surrender of free debate in determining our position. On the contrary, frank cooperation and free debate are indispensable to ultimate unity."

There is no reason why a secretary of defense or ACDA director should not have to contest his policy publicly with expert opposition leaders, such as senators and congressmen, on defense and arms-control issues. This is a function well understood in Britain, where ministers are cross-examined in the House of Commons by other members of Parliament and where the public closely follows and learns from the proceedings. Since cabinet ministers here do not face that direct public challenge, our society would be wise to institute radio or television coverage of policymakers confronting their opponents.

In the end, we need greater transparency in these issues, with the government, our political leaders, educators, the media, and private groups providing the public with clear information. Part of this is already happening because of the increased sense of urgency and fear that the American public has expressed over the dangers of the nuclear arms race. A poll taken by the Chicago Council on Foreign Relations shows that one-quarter of the public now considers either war or the arms race as the biggest foreign policy issue facing the country. This means there is a growing need for more information on U.S. foreign policy and defense issues. This opportunity to educate and enlighten the public about its own security will serve American interests not just now, but in the future. □



Negotiation by Increment

Sudden shifts in Soviet negotiating positions should not be expected, for neither the system nor the officials involved can cope with anything but gradual change

By JONATHAN DEAN

Yuri Andropov has moved swiftly to consolidate his position as the new leader of the Soviet Union and create an image of energy and decisiveness. But will he take any bold initiatives in East-West relations—initiatives significant enough to elicit U.S. countermoves of similar dimensions and bring progress in East-West negotiations now underway, diminishing the increasingly dangerous tension in U.S.-Soviet relations?

Three important East-West arms-control negotiations—the U.S.-Soviet INF talks on intermediate-range nuclear forces, the START talks on reduction of strategic nuclear forces, and the NATO/Warsaw Pact MBFR talks on reduction of conventional forces in Central Europe—are taking place in Geneva and Vienna. We cannot predict the final outcome of any of these conferences. But, given characteristic patterns of Soviet negotiating behavior, we can say with considerable confidence what will not happen soon: dramatic progress as a result of far-reaching Soviet moves. In dealing with the outside world, particularly with western countries, the Soviet Union has had repeated opportunities to make bold proposals that might have led to mutually acceptable solutions or served their own interests. But these Soviet moves have not come.

In the case of the intermediate-range Soviet SS-20 missiles now under negotiation in Geneva, officials of the NATO governments have long braced themselves for a far-reaching Soviet proposal that would capture Western public opinion. Wide segments of Western European opinion already oppose NATO's 1979 decision to begin deploying U.S. intermediate-range missiles in Europe by late 1983 in response to Soviet deployments of SS-20s. The Soviet Union could have galvanized sentiment against the planned Western deployments by announcing

a unilateral freeze on SS-20s in October 1979, when former President Brezhnev, in a speech in East Berlin, appealed to the Western European NATO governments not to accept the Pershing IIs and land-based cruise missiles. Even a year later, after only a hundred SS-20s had been deployed, a freeze would still have had a very strong impact. Such a freeze would have cost the Soviet Union little, but it would probably have prevented the NATO decision and, with some SS-20s already deployed, the Soviets would have been ahead. Indeed, many western leaders, seeking to avoid the need to take the difficult deployment decision, strongly urged the Soviets to freeze. And it is evident from their many public and private statements that Soviet leaders are genuinely concerned over the prospective arrival in Europe of the Pershing IIs and cruises. But far-reaching Soviet moves have not come.

Limited Steps

What has come, characteristically, is a series of limited steps, dribbled out over a lengthy period, which have failed to affect western opinion decisively. First, in October 1979, with the clear aim of influencing the pending NATO decision on accepting new U.S. missiles, Brezhnev announced the unilateral withdrawal from East Germany of one Soviet army division along with some additional personnel—a total of about 20,000 men. The reduction was in fact carried out and was completed by mid-1980. This action had considerable potential for in-

fluencing western public opinion but was wholly eclipsed by the negative impact of the Soviet march into Afghanistan. Even if the invasion of Afghanistan had not occurred, the withdrawal would have had only limited effect, for it did not fit well into the general Soviet arms-control position and had no direct relationship to either deployment of the U.S. missiles or the Warsaw Pact position in the MBFR talks. Furthermore the Soviets failed to invite official western observers to watch the withdrawal, and Soviet efforts at publicity were fragmentary and limited, possibly because of concern about the negative effect it might have on opinion in East Germany, Poland, and Czechoslovakia. In any event, the actual impact of this action in the West was negligible.

Next came repeated announcements of a possible unilateral Soviet freeze of SS-20s. In March 1982, Brezhnev did announce that a freeze would be put into effect forthwith. But this action came some five years after the first deployments had created the strong European concerns that ultimately led to the 1979 NATO decision. It came after more than 300 SS-20s had been deployed in the Soviet Union. And, although no new sites were established in the western U.S.S.R. after the freeze announcement, further missiles were apparently emplaced on existing sites, while site construction in the central and eastern Soviet Union continued.

The development of the Soviet negotiating position on the substance of the INF talks has been similarly fitful. First, Andropov stated that the Soviet Union was willing to withdraw "some tens" of SS-20s. Last December he stated that the Soviets were willing to reduce the number of SS-20s in the western U.S.S.R. to the level of the U.K. and French nuclear-delivery systems—162—a reduction of perhaps 80 SS-20s from the approximately 240

already deployed there. After western critics had pointed out that each SS-20 had three warheads but most U.K. and French missiles had only one, Andropov said the Soviet Union would reduce the number of its warheads to that of Britain and France. It would appear from Andropov's remarks to a West German editor that the total number of warheads he had in mind in making this proposal was about 430. This would reduce the level of the SS-20s to about 140 in the western U.S.S.R.; not much change from the earlier proposal of 162. Some Soviet experts nonetheless insist that the Soviets have made a considerable move and are now ready to reduce the SS-20s in the western U.S.S.R. to fewer than 100. But if this is so, the move is muted and indistinct.

Limited Effect

Soviet moves on this entire subject have been gradual and piecemeal. The effect on western public opinion—though considerable in West Germany and other northern European countries—was far more limited than it would have been if the freeze or reduction proposals had come earlier in a single action. The entire situation was so opportune for decisive Soviet steps that their absence has been somewhat mystifying to many in the West.

True, the moves the Soviets actually undertook did contribute to mobilizing considerable public opposition to deployment, as was intended. Some observers believe that the campaign for public opinion in Western Europe has, from the Soviet viewpoint, done very well with a modest investment of actual Soviet concessions. This is so, but by moving in a less grudging, less incremental way, the Soviet Union might well have succeeded in definitively blocking the U.S. deployment. Now, it will in all probability go ahead.

The more general issue of German

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reunification provides another example of Soviet caution. For more than thirty years, those interested in East-West relations have speculated about whether the Soviet Union, hoping to play on the West German desire for reunification, might make a far-reaching proposal for German unity, involving some radical change in East Germany, on the condition that a united Germany be militarily neutral. Although this would loosen the Soviet hold over East Germany, it might also cause the practical dissolution of NATO, and so shift the balance of power in Europe decisively in the U.S.S.R.'s favor. With recent frictions between West Germany and the United States, speculation of this kind is once again being heard.

Yet, nothing of this kind has happened or is likely to as long as the Soviet political system remains what it is. No Soviet leader will relinquish the security gains of World War II—gains paid for with the deaths of millions. There have been periodic rumors over the past thirty years that the Soviet Union would soon move boldly on the German question. For example, there were reports that Laurenti P. Beria, former head of the secret services and minister of the interior, was about to propose something radical on the subject and that Khrushchev's son-in-law was coming to Bonn to make such a proposal. But Beria was shot and Khrushchev, who did try some far-reaching moves in other fields, was deposed—for that very reason—and nothing happened. Indeed, rumors inside the Soviet Union justified the action against Khrushchev by citing his apparent interest in some bold ideas concerning Germany. But, mere gestures, unaccompanied by real moves toward relaxing Soviet control over East Germany and other countries of Eastern Europe, will not impress West German political leaders, who have their own reasons for caution.

On another issue of great current significance, there has been mounting concern in the West that the Soviet leadership might someday reverse course and, through important concessions, seek real improvement in its fractious relationship with Peking. In 1982, Brezhnev made public the Sovi-

et Union's desire to improve this relationship, and Andropov has since expressed similar desires. The Chinese have responded with pointed requests for deeds, not mere words. Yet, characteristically, the Soviet announcements were not accompanied by the actual actions that could have given them real impact in Peking. Several rounds of Soviet-Chinese talks have been held, but without specific result. Some gradual improvement in Sino-Soviet relations will come in time, but the change will be slow and undramatic. The Soviet Union is holding back even though relations with China are of such deep concern that nearly every Soviet official refers to them even in casual conversation with chance acquaintances.

Decisive Responses

Of course, in the past the Soviet Union has moved decisively in some situations of extreme international tension. It did so in ending the Berlin blockade, in acting to end the Korean war, and in withdrawing its missiles from Cuba. These actions were not Soviet initiatives, however. They were responses to extremely dangerous situations that risked war between the superpowers. These conditions cannot be replicated intentionally merely to pressure the Soviet government into acting. In more normal times, Soviet initiatives have not matched the expectations either of those who have feared dangerous new Soviet propaganda moves or those who hoped for some definite evidence of Soviet peaceful intentions.

Soviet officials concerned with foreign affairs are not ignorant of outside opinion nor do they fail to recommend actions that will take it into account. One of the most interesting developments in Soviet foreign policy over the past decade has been the appearance of a younger group of highly articulate Soviet officials who are far more effective than their predecessors in presenting Soviet policy to the West. These men know what should be done. They have recommended certain actions, but the actions do not come.

The bold Soviet move does not occur in these and similar cases because it cannot—the Soviet system in its

present form cannot produce it. The consistent absence of far-reaching Soviet negotiating moves that could really affect western opinion or make real progress in resolving East-West issues is due to the nature of the Soviet political system and the basic personal values of the Soviet leadership group.

The most important of these factors is the pluralism of the narrow Soviet leadership group. Throughout the Brezhnev era, the Soviet leadership had striven to achieve consensus within the top ranks of party officials and avoid the unilateral decisions for which Stalin was feared and for which Khrushchev was criticized and deposed. Today, the Soviet ruler balances himself in the midst of a web of conflicting groups and personal interests, among them the conservative interests of the armed forces, the Communist party establishment, the secret police, and the managers of the economy. This aspect of the Soviet system—and it is an important one—makes for cautious, fairly limited, and carefully calculated acts in both domestic and foreign policy. A possible Soviet move that westerners might view as being highly effective in terms of potential impact on western public opinion is far from having the necessary appeal for the Soviet general staff or party secretariat. This collegial style of decision-making is continuing as Andropov cautiously tries to consolidate his position and build a new coalition of supporters. Even if the collegial system breaks down to some extent and clearly defined rival factions emerge, the style of cautious, limited moves in foreign policy is likely to continue. Whatever happens regarding future development of the Soviet system, there will be some rough sharing of power at the top and continued difficulty in making radical moves.

The Soviet government's very large size also limits possible initiatives, for many officials play some kind of role in every decision. As in the U.S. system, most do not have the authority to agree to new steps but do have the authority to disagree with them. And, as in the United States, the prospect of making any move regarding the rival superpower has the effect of eliciting even

more caution and worry from the capacious Soviet reservoir of these qualities. In the Soviet view, concessions to a powerful antagonist are considered signs of weakness, rather than moves toward a desired negotiating outcome. Tough negotiation is also motivated by the desire to get the best possible bargain for the Soviet Union. And the nature of the Soviet political system imposes narrow limits on negotiating flexibility. But beyond this are deep-seated cultural reasons for Soviet caution.

Sooner or later, older Soviet officials reveal a deep personal feeling of impermanence, of living on the outer margin of one's resources without a cushion of reserves to fall back on. This insecurity is always close to the surface, and it can be triggered in the most unexpected ways. Again and again, after western negotiators have made suggestions or recommendations meant to be constructive—for example, that the Soviet Union should counter doubts about its genuine interest in an outcome to the MBFR talks by presenting further data on its forces in Central Europe—they have been confronted with sharp retorts from their Soviet counterparts that this proposal is an ultimatum of the kind made to defeated countries, or that the Soviet Union wants an agreement but can live without it and will never permit itself to be placed in a position where it is being dictated to, as from the stronger to the weaker. This acute sensitivity to signs, real or imagined, of treatment as an inferior seems to occur precisely because the implication is read into the offender's remarks that the Soviet system has not yet really established itself permanently. When the western intention to apply pressure is evident rather than merely imputed, the Soviet reaction usually becomes more controlled but also still more stubborn and intense.

Looking at the powerful Soviet Union of today, it is easy to forget that its top officials are men who had direct experience of the traumas of enforced collectivization, of purges of the upper ranks of the military forces and party structure, of repeated shortages, and of the widespread destruction of World War II. Such people have a feeling of impermanence and danger which is at

the opposite pole from, say, the self-confidence of the stable British leadership group of the nineteenth century. One should imagine the effects of the American depression on those who experienced it, and multiply by ten to get some impression of what their own experience means to senior Soviet officials. Their underlying feeling of insecurity reveals itself in many ways, including frequent criticisms of the younger generation for lacking pioneering values and willingness to make sacrifices, and related expressions of concern about the future of the Soviet system. This sense of instability is strikingly absent from the personalities of Soviet officials under 50 who reached maturity in the relatively stable conditions after World War II. But although some of these men have improved the articulation of Soviet policy once a decision has already been made, they have not noticeably affected the Soviet style of decision-making. The leadership of the Soviet Union continues to belong to the older group, and probably will for some time to come.

The Encirclement Syndrome

This complex of insecure attitudes in older Soviet officials is sometimes referred to as the "encirclement syndrome." But it is more deeply rooted, more personal, and more pervasive than the listing of external threats faced by the U.S.S.R.—the long history of earlier invasion attempts from the West, the present danger of U.S. bases around the periphery of the country, German revanchists, and overly numerous Chinese—that is frequently cited by Soviet officials, sometimes in a heartfelt way, but sometimes deliberately to impress the Western listener. This underlying attitude of insecurity directly affects the Soviet style of negotiation with the West and imposes general caution in all dealings with the outside world. One who feels obliged to husband scarce negotiating resources does not pitch them away like a prodigal.

Distinct from, but reinforcing, this attitude of impermanence and insecurity, is a particular concept of human nature. Many Soviet officials have a perspective apparently shaped by the practical experience of life in the Com-

munist system that is at odds with the optimistic view of Marxism-Leninism on the perfectability of human nature. It is one of deep pessimism about human nature and motives, and one that sees little point in gestures of good will to others. Often, this attitude has a direct and practical foundation: A Soviet official once argued that, if he urged Moscow to reveal certain information about Soviet armed forces and subsequently there was a worsening of relations with the West, he would have to answer to a summary commission of inquiry. The wariness resulting from such expectations is engrained. It is reinforced by a view—based partly on an intellectual refusal to accept that public opinion, domestic politics, and elections play a genuine and important role in western political systems—that western leaders are crafty, dissimulating, and given to irrational and erratic moves. This view is reinforced by the often incomprehensible leaks of sensitive information and negotiating positions in the western media.

There are nearly as many views of the Soviet negotiating style as there are western officials who have dealt with the Soviet Union, and this description of some factors underlying that style is far from complete. But it is undeniable that the Soviet style in practice is a cautious one, expressed in limited, careful moves. Moves initiated by the Soviets and their responses to western moves are, by and large, limited and reactive. When they finally do take a step, Soviet negotiators regularly insist on an equivalent one from their western partners, even if it is not significant. This practice serves to justify even the limited expenditures of scarce Soviet negotiating capital. After a wearisome and difficult process of policy formulation and decision-making, involving many bureaucracies and groups, "Moscow" has finally been convinced of the need to take the move, and its grudging approval must be validated. Once a move is made, Soviet negotiators stay with this position and are slow to change, even if the circumstances that led to the position in the first place change. In all cases, they insist on the rule of pay as you go, step by step, with no credit given.

(Continued on page 34.)

A Bug

The story of how a well-meaning secretary of state unwittingly transported a fatal organism from Africa to Washington

J. WILY STRAWBERRY

There was a bug in the FRUIT SALAD. The base station of the network was in the Marine security guard's office at the chancery. There were 14 individual call signs, from that of the ambassador, who was BANANA (as in "top"), to the back-up communicator, who was WATERMELON (as in "seedy"). Every Monday morning at seven, they would all call into the base station to test the system. For a month now, a 15th voice had joined the weekly chorus. It called itself RHUBARB. While the others reported simply that they could hear base "loud and clear," RHUBARB talked about such things as what ORANGE had said to LEMON about his Employee Evaluation Report and in whose bed MANGO (the general services officer, whose wife was in the States) had spent the previous night. It all had one advantage: no one missed the Monday morning test any more.

More broadly, the situation was fraught with peril and annoyance. ORANGE (the junior political officer) was no longer talking to LEMON (the senior political officer). No woman on the post would under any circumstances be seen alone with MANGO. The deputy chief of mission (GRAPE) had taken to trying to override RHUBARB's broad-

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casts by shouting obscenities into his microphone—which disrupted the efforts of KIWI (the security officer) to get a fix on the bandit transmitter. The CIA station chief (FIG) was convinced that RHUBARB was a Soviet intelligence agent and that the whole FRUIT SALAD network had been compromised. He refused to participate in it any more and was prevented from informing his headquarters of the penetration only by the ambassador's threats to send him home if he did. (BANANA took pride in being able to run his embassy by himself.)

No one could agree whether RHUBARB's voice was that of a man or a woman. One wife, annoyed by the Marine NCO's joining her and her husband in their bedroom in the morning to monitor a broadcast, implausibly pronounced RHUBARB to be "some goddam hermaphrodite Marine." Four members of the network were convinced that RHUBARB had an African accent. Three held out for Brooklyn. Two suggested "Babu" (Asian). And one (FIG) insisted on Ukrainian. Security, which was the purpose of the network, went out the window as curiosity took over and everybody started using their sets at odd hours to try to cajole, taunt, or intimidate RHUBARB into coming on the air at times other than the weekly check-in.

Peach Jam

The first to succeed were WATERMELON and PEACH, the latter a gorgeous, recently arrived secretary who, like her predecessors, had given the back-up communicator a first and only date the week of her arrival. WATERMELON and PEACH had had a few drinks at the local nightclub, and at about one a.m. she was trying to distract him when they returned to her apartment at the staff house.

"You're acting just crazy-lonely," she remonstrated. "I wouldn't be sur-

prised if you turned out to be this RHUBARB that everyone is talking about."

WATERMELON denied the charge vehemently.

"Well, I don't know," countered PEACH. "Whoever it is, they're plain crazy-lonely. They need to know that someone loves them."

"Come on," she said, eager to get WATERMELON's hands engaged in the electronic rather than the manual mode, "turn on the radio and we'll tell poor RHUBARB so."

"RHUBARB, RHUBARB . . . this is PEACH . . . come in please. I love you. I love you."

WATERMELON followed suit: "RHUBARB, RHUBARB, we love you. We love you."

To their surprise, a familiar voice responded: "This is RHUBARB. This is RHUBARB. Doing a lot of loving over there, aren't you, kids? What are you up to? Trying to organize an orgy?"

PEACH was shocked but wanted to tell "the poor soul" to come over anyway. WATERMELON groped for the "talk" button to tell the pervert what to do with himself—where he was! While they deliberated, the marine security guard at the base station cut in excitedly: "There it is! There it is! Get that man's . . . er . . . that thing's name!"

RHUBARB turned off, but he called PEACH and WATERMELON (in their respective apartments) the next night again at one a.m. Pretty soon others were in regular contact, too. The DCM finally inspired a response by shouting, "RHUBARB, RHUBARB, this is GRAPE. RHUBARB, you stink! Tell me that you don't stink!" RHUBARB wouldn't do that but he did tell the DCM some other things. The security officer (KIWI) hooked RHUBARB with a plea: "RHUBARB, there is nothing to worry about, you're just sick, you need help." RHUBARB admitted that this was true and described his symptoms

in the Salad



in detail—but without agreeing to come in for a counseling session. In his new dialogues, RHUBARB turned even more personal, baiting each individual with his failings and sniping at his weakest points—about which RHUBARB seemed to be incredibly well-informed. Naturally, all parties listened to all conversations on the open net.

The country team, when it met to debate how to cut off RHUBARB, was to a person strained and red-eyed. No sure answer appeared, and the ambas-

sador, ready to sacrifice security for morale, proposed simply to abolish the whole FRUIT SALAD network. He was persuaded to allow it to continue a little longer with the suggestion that as a last resort he could use it to make a personal appeal to RHUBARB. Besides, it was pointed out, as RHUBARB became more active, he was limiting his new contacts to one a week and was already beginning to rely on circular material for much of his regular broadcasting.

The official community's value as a source of titillating news was also tapering off. Everybody wanted to be seen by and with somebody else when RHUBARB was broadcasting—a practice encouraged by KIWI, who was reduced to promising that "we'll all be sitting together listening someday and suddenly we'll just look at each other and we'll know who it is."

This possibility might have sustained the situation indefinitely if it had not been for a sudden announcement of a visit by the secretary of state (ironically reported by RHUBARB in one of his circulars before anyone other than the ambassador was officially informed). "Nya, nya, you dumb bastards, your boss is coming. Now you'll catch it!" was the way RHUBARB put it.

Fruit Cake

The secretary's advance party, including the all-important security contingent, was due to arrive at post on a Tuesday, a week before the visit. At a special Saturday morning meeting, the ambassador bit the bullet: "RHUBARB must be one of us, and he/she/it must be crazy," he pronounced. "We can't take a chance. I'll tell the head SY guy all about it Wednesday morning. I'll tell him. Get it? No one else is to say anything."

Usually particularly active on weekends, RHUBARB was suddenly off the air. He missed his one a.m. rendezvous with PEACH and WATERMELON. He was silent all through Sunday and Sunday night. During the Monday morning test, after WATERMELON, 14th in the line-up, had reported that base was coming through to him loud and clear, everybody waited. Nothing.

By Tuesday afternoon, there was still nothing, despite GRAPE's best efforts to raise a pulse: "RHUBARB, you stink!" he intoned. "You really stink!" he shouted. "You hear that, RHUBARB? You're rotten, RHUBARB. Everybody

knows that you're rotten!" Nothing broke the ringing in the ears of attentive listeners.

The ambassador reversed himself: "We'll tell the security fellows nothing," he decided. "Why have them worrying. It seems to be over. RHUBARB is probably not on their want-list anyway."

In the week of meetings with the secretary's advance party, every step of his movements between government offices and every morsel of every course of his every meal was planned. The radio network was mentioned only once: the security people wanted a call sign for the secretary. They rejected the suggestion of CHERRY, explaining that they preferred three syllables. COCONUT was discussed and deemed inappropriate. They finally settled on SAUERKRAUT. The call sign, they said, would not be used except in an emergency. No one was to know about it except the ambassador, the marine security guard at base station, and themselves. When it was pointed out that SAUERKRAUT was not a fruit, they said that that was all right. Everybody knew that the secretary was different.

No more was heard of the matter until the secretary was on his way in from the airport in the car with the ambassador.

"Base, this is BANANA. Departing airport," said the ambassador.

"Roger, BANANA. Read you loud and clear," replied base.

"Hey, SAUERKRAUT. Hey, SAUERKRAUT. This is RHUBARB. Why don't you stay home and mind the store once in a while?" The next transmission into the car was certainly loud and clear.

KIWI, who was driving, almost ran off the road. The visiting security man next to him in the front seat flipped open an attaché case which contained both a tape recorder and a machine pistol. He pushed switches on both and peered around nervously. The ambassador fiddled unsuccessfully with the AM radio in the back seat to try to find some music that might drown out RHUBARB.

"Vat is dat?" said the secretary.

"Pay no attention, sir. It's just a local nut," explained the ambassador. "He shows up on our air once in a while."

"A local nut on our air?" asked the secretary. "Unt he is very frank. Whose nut is he?"

"Well, we're not exactly sure," explained the ambassador. "He kind of belongs to all of us, you might say."

"To you, too, SAUERKRAUT," the radio blared. "I've been waiting for you. Keep tuned in tonight when you go to bed. You other guys stay off. This is between RHUBARB and SAUERKRAUT. It doesn't have anything to do with the rest of you FRUIT SALADS."

"I tink ve vill do vat he says, ambassador," the secretary announced. "He may vant to gif me some privileged information, eh?"

"You bet your bluchers, I do, SAUERKRAUT. Over and out," replied RHUBARB.

When the calls on the foreign minister, the prime minister, and the dinner with the president were completed, the ambassador tucked in the secretary in his hotel suite. He looked uneasily at the portable radio the security officer placed on the bedside table.

The next morning, when he came by to take the secretary to the airport, he gave the radio another quizzical

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glance. Neither the radio nor the secretary said anything.

Halfway to the airport, the ambassador edged up to the subject. "Have a good night, Mr. Secretary?" he inquired. "Sleep well?"

"Oh, yes," said the secretary. "A good night but a short one. RHUBARB talked to me most of the time."

The ambassador winced. "What did he say?" he asked.

"That I should not travel so much and stay home and do my work," said the secretary. Ticking topics off on his fingers as though he were dictating a

diplomatic minute, the secretary added: "That I should stop being mean to the White House staff, that I should show more respect for the President, that I should not pretend to know anything about American politics, that I should not rewrite history, that he has had enough of the FRUIT SALAD network and is switching over today to the frequency on my airplane."

The ambassador considered. "I'm really sorry about that last, sir," he said. "You're a busy man and shouldn't have to be bothered."

"No need to worry," the secretary

consoled him. "I am happy to take him off your hands. It's only for a little while. RHUBARB said he was just hitching a ride to Washington with me. It seems he has a new job waiting there and that he is going to join a local net."

The secretary paused. "He says he's going to start life all over again, even going to change his name. Going to call himself after one of those dirty movies, I tink. 'Loud Mouth,' was that it? No, wait a minute . . . it wasn't that. 'Deep Throat!' that's what he said." □

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Negotiation

(Continued from page 29.)

This cautious negotiating style exists even in those East-West negotiations where it is clear beyond doubt that Soviet leaders want to reach an agreement. For example, many believe that in deciding to conclude the Austrian State Treaty, Khrushchev was motivated by his desire to have a summit meeting with western leaders which would validate his accession to power. But even then, the Soviet leaders negotiated to the last for a tight bargain, including large reparation payments from the Austrians. There was no display of generosity, no broad concessions.

In the 1970-71 Four Power negotiations on Berlin, it was clear that Soviet leaders very much wanted the West German Bundestag to ratify the already concluded German treaties with Poland and the U.S.S.R., and wanted the Federal Republic and other NATO countries to agree to the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe (which subsequently took place at Helsinki). But the western governments refused to do either until an agreement defusing the Berlin situation had been concluded. Given the West's negotiating leverage in these circumstances, some officials expected it might be possible to obtain broad Soviet concessions on Berlin, or expected at least some public opinion gesture that would show that the Soviet Union had changed from the country responsible for so many past crises over the city. But the Soviets did not relinquish their caution. To the end they refused to agree to even use the word "Berlin" as such in the text of the agreement, lest it prejudice their position that the only part of Berlin under Four Power responsibility was the western sectors of the city, and not East Berlin. They gave nothing away. There was no bold gesture. In a word, they were niggardly, even stingy with their negotiating resources.

The typical arms control position of the Soviet Union reflects this caution. As advanced in START, the INF talks, and in the MBFR negotiations, it is to take the status quo, usually stated to be one of an approximate balance, and propose that it be reduced by a limited

percentage, say, of 15 to 25 percent. This approach often does not conform to the interests of U.S. negotiators in achieving agreements designed to increase nuclear stability, but it is undeniably cautious and incremental.

Given this style in relations and negotiations with western countries, what is the prospect for the current negotiations—INF, START, and MBFR—and for western policy as a whole toward the U.S.S.R.?

One point is immediately evident: it would not be realistic for western governments or peoples to expect the Soviet Union to make some broad moves in those negotiations, important as they are for the Soviet Union too. Any Soviet steps will be slow and cautious, if they occur at all. They will be as late and as little as possible. It would not be realistic for western countries to make broad concessions of their own while negotiating in the hope that these moves will be reciprocated in kind by the Soviet leadership.

Realistic Expectations

Nor would it be realistic, while the Soviet Union continues to survive as a reasonably stable political system, with powerful internal interest groups like the armed forces and the cadre personnel of the Communist party, to expect the Soviet leadership to make broad gestures as part of their general foreign policy which could be interpreted by this narrow public opinion at home as surrender or unjustified concessions. That is the road to exclusion from the Soviet leadership, either peacefully or otherwise. There will be no Soviet *deus ex machina*, either to resolve East-West problems, as liberals sometimes hope, or to paralyze public opinion in the West, as conservatives often fear.

Nor is it likely that the Soviet Union will solve our problems by going through major internal changes, at least for the foreseeable future. Someday this may be different, but social change in the Soviet system comes at a snail's pace. There is not much prospect of a major change in the U.S.-Soviet military balance that could permit one side to dictate to the other. Attainment by the Soviet Union, after a generation of effort, of strategic nuclear equality

with the United States is strong evidence that the Soviets will continue to keep up with U.S. technical innovations. And the superior strength of the U.S. economy and technological resources means that the U.S.S.R. cannot achieve enduring superiority.

Residual faith in the common sense of leaders on both sides justifies the hope that, despite the acute dangers of our time, our problems with the Soviet Union seem unlikely to end in catastrophe. If these assumptions can be accepted, the unavoidable conclusion is that these East-West problems will go on, just as the two systems will go on: We will just have to keep on living indefinitely with much the same Soviet Union, often clashing, sometimes negotiating, occasionally cooperating, but still inhabiting the same nuclear-enthralled planet.

Yet if we want actual results in our dealings with the Soviets, their negotiating style has to be taken into account. The cautious Soviet approach to dealings with the West is a strong argument for well thought out, carefully articulated positions placed within a widely accepted long-term policy towards the U.S.S.R., something which the countries of the West still lack. We should advance moderate positions with firmness and patience, without expectation of far-reaching Soviet responses. We should aim instead for the kind of gradual, limited Soviet moves toward western positions which brought forward movement in the Berlin talks and in nearly a score of East-West arms control agreements which have been concluded during the last twenty years. And we cannot expect Soviet moves without making some of our own.

In effect, the way of dealing with the Soviet Union that has brought the most concrete results thus far has been the same kind of approach of cautious, limited steps as the Soviets use with the West. We should stick to it. In relations between two mutually suspicious world powers, both hobbled by their own widely differing systems of conflicting domestic interests, only an incremental approach is likely to work, and only limited outcomes seem possible. This is much better than nothing. □

FOREIGN SERVICE PEOPLE

1982 Merit Award Prize Essay

As one of the many requirements in the competition to receive AFSA/AAFSW Merit Award scholarships—the 1983 winners of which were announced in the June *Journal*—candidates are required to write a personal essay. Along with the rest of their applications, the essays are reviewed by volunteer panels composed of representatives of all the foreign affairs agencies. In a process patterned on the Foreign Service selection boards', Merit Award winners are chosen and the panel chairmen recommend a group of essays for dissemination. We take pride in presenting one of the best below.

In my elementary years being a Foreign Service child drastically affected my life. I learned to say "goodbye" to old friends and "hi, my name is Kristin, what's yours?" to potential new ones. I learned to accept other cultures, grew closer to my family, developed an interest in world affairs, and became quite proficient in geography. But for the past eight years I have lived in the United States. The only times the Foreign Service interrupted my world were when assignments were made. Then, the entire family would pore over literature on different posts, make our choices, and invariably remain in Washington. So I continued to live as an ordinary American teenager, untouched by my ties to the State Department. Until this year, that is. For the past seven months my father has been in Uruguay while the rest of my family stayed here so I could finish my final year of high school.

My senior year has differed greatly from other ones because of my father's absence. I have had to accept more responsibility around the house and to the family. In his absence I shovel snow, change tires, and fix the toilet. I drive my younger brother to the dentist, soccer games, and swim practice—jobs my father once did. Each week I find time to write letters, and when his come in the mail I can't help thinking that although there is an emptiness here, I have my mother and brother, but my father has nobody.

Dad's absence manifests itself in other ways. When my math is beyond comprehension I now re-read the chapter or call a friend. His excellent eye for details is too far away to proofread term papers or college applications. I have made an effort to spend more time with my mother, who feels acutely the loneliness of separation.

My father's absence has made me more independent. I am experiencing the pain of family separation now and I anticipate an easier time next year when I am in college and my parents and brother are in Montevideo. I no longer take my father for granted. His absence has made me appreciate the thousand favors he used to do, the steady presence he brought, and the warm love he radiated. When I hear friends describe how eager they are to leave home, I cannot comprehend fully, because half my home has left me.

In the future, when I look back upon my Foreign Service life, I will remember the travel, the excitement, the new experiences, and the long winter of 1983. Along with recollections of riding on elephants under the Asian sun will be visions of phone calls to my father in Uruguay, who could barely distinguish my voice over the static. I will recall rocket festivals and magnificent temples, but there are also photos of a tearful farewell at National Airport. Just as I will never forget the years abroad learning to understand others, I will also never forget the year at home when I began to understand myself.

—KRISTIN L. HOGANSON



KRISTIN L. HOGANSON, writer of the 1983 Merit Award Prize essay presented on this page, is the daughter of Jerome Linden and Barbara F. Hoganson of the State Department. A prospective American studies/political science major at Yale University, she has lived in Mexico, Laos, and the Philippines, and will be spending the summer as an exchange student in Germany.

Deaths

RICHARD DUNCAN GATEWOOD JR., retired Foreign Service officer, died February 20 in his home in San Diego, California. He was 72 years old.

A graduate of Choate and Yale University with a master's from Columbia University, Gatewood entered the Foreign Service in 1935. He served in Zurich, Rio de Janeiro, Tegucigalpa, Port-of-Spain, Colombo, New Delhi, Lahore, Addis Ababa, Athens, and Saigon. He was U.S. counselor for U.N. Palestinian refugee affairs in Beirut before retiring in 1963.

In his retirement years, Gatewood was a consultant to the National Council of Churches and worked in the international department of a Wall Street firm and for the New York State Department of Labor. His first wife, Ida Elizabeth, died in 1967. A year later he married Julia de Marti Lopez, who survives him.

BARTLEY PATRICK GORDON died of a heart attack on April 14 at the Manatee Memorial Hospital, Bradenton, Florida. He was 77.

Gordon was graduated from George Washington University in 1931 and served in the Naval Reserves 1925–29, the Department of State 1924–30, and the Department of Commerce 1930–34. He then entered the Foreign Service and served in Moscow, Budapest, Montreal, Rotterdam, London, Frankfurt, Rome, Athens, Patras, and Sao Paulo. He retired in 1961 with the rank of counsellor of embassy. His first wife, Mabel Money Gordon, died in 1958.

He was a member of the Washington Round Table, DACOR, and AFSA. He is survived by his wife, Rose G.M. Gordon, 4005 Chinaberry Road, Box 100, River Isles, Bradenton, Florida 33508; two daughters, Barbara Jean Harbeck of Frankfurt, Germany, and Mary Ann Roberts of Fort Hood, Texas; and two brothers, Johnny of Holbrook, Massachusetts, and Dudley of Cambridge, Maryland. He was buried in the DACOR Section of Rock Creek Cemetery in Washington, D.C.

The family suggests that if anyone wishes, contributions in his memory may be made to DACOR or to heart research.

Retirement

W. NEAL GOODSON retired from the Foreign Service in January. His career in AID began in 1961, when he was assigned to Jamaica. Other overseas assignments included Argentina, Kenya, and Jamaica again. In 1982 the agency granted him its Superior Honor Award.

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Association News

Hays Tells ABC-TV, 'Beirut Affects Us All'



ABC-TV Nightline reporter Jack Smith interviews AFSA President Dennis K. Hays (right) in the aftermath of the Beirut tragedy last spring. Exposure to terrorism is a constant concern for Foreign Service employees, Hays said.

State Surrenders Envoy Competency Reports to AFSA

Shortly after the Association filed suit in U.S. District Court seeking release of competency reports prepared by the State Department on nominees for chief of mission, the department capitulated and released copies of the documents. Preparation of the reports for the Senate is required under the Foreign Service Act, and AFSA had sought their release through a Freedom of Information Act request filed with the department last September. When State denied the request and ignored the Association's appeal, AFSA filed the court suit.

"Having gone through all this, we feel the competency statements have proven to be of little value," said AFSA President Dennis K. Hays. "Far from detailing the specific talents which might jus-

tify the appointment of a non-career ambassador, the reports read like a cross between a *Who's Who* entry and an uninspired EER." The following is a representative sample of the type of information provided:

Mr. _____ has demonstrated a commitment to public service, having been involved with the . . . Public Library Foundation, the Boy Scouts of America, Rotary Club, United Fund, and his local Chamber of Commerce. . . . Mr. _____'s professional achievements and civil leadership abilities have prepared him well for the position of U.S. ambassador to _____. With skills as an excellent communicator and tactful motivator, in addition to his experience and expertise in business, he will serve the United States well as our ambassador in _____.

The court ordered the lawsuit dismissed without prejudice to allow AFSA to file again if the department refuses to provide the reports in the future.

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Court Finds Limited Annuity Entitlement for Current Workers

In a case affecting retirement benefits of all federal employees, including the Foreign Service, the U.S. Court of Appeals for the District of Columbia Circuit upheld a change in methods for calculating Civil Service retirement benefits of certain postal workers that would have substantially reduced the expected annuities of numerous future retirees. In doing so, the court found no protected property interest on the part of current employees in the method of calculating their retirement benefits. The effect of the ruling is to allow the federal government to make substantial changes in annuity computations without legal challenge.

The case had been brought by the American Postal Workers Union, which claimed, among other things, that the action of the Office of Personnel Management and the Postal Service violated employee due process rights. The court held that the rights would be violated only if the employees had applied for retirement benefits by the effective date of the change. Since none of the plaintiffs had, none had a protected property interest in benefits calculated using the previous method.

The court emphasized that potential retirees have no protected property interest in any particular level of retirement benefits. Retired employees, however, do have such an interest. In effect the court found that actual and proposed administration retirement changes would not be a breach of contract, since no contract exists between the government and its employees. Private-sector retirement systems, on the other hand, are generally protected by contract and cannot be altered at the whim of the employer. The court noted that the employees did not claim to have been deprived of benefits derived from their own contributions to the retirement fund. The decision makes legislative action to protect the Foreign Service retirement system all the more necessary.

Hill Committees Warn Administration on FS Retirement

Both the Senate Foreign Relations and the House Foreign Affairs committees have registered serious reservations over the impact on the Foreign Service of the administration's proposed changes in the federal retirement system. The committees' concerns were expressed in their respective reports on the Foreign Relations Authorizations Act for fiscal years 1984 and 1985.

The Senate committee notes that "the President has proposed far-reaching changes in the federal retirement system, including changes in the Foreign Service retirement system. This committee, which has jurisdiction over Foreign Service personnel, believes that any proposals to alter the Foreign Service retirement system must take into account the unique, difficult, and often dangerous conditions under which Foreign Service officers serve."

Referring to the number of Foreign Service victims of recent terrorist action, the report points out that "these difficult conditions and the 'up-or-out' mandatory features of the Foreign Service personnel system are the primary reasons for the existing early voluntary retirement age—age 50 with 20 years of service. If the Foreign Service retirement system is changed to prevent or penalize early retirement, such as the President has proposed with the imposition of a five-percent of annuity penalty for each year an individual retires under age 60, it may damage the personnel system."

Court Holds Foreign Service Subject to Equal Pay Act

The U.S. Court of Appeals for the District of Columbia Circuit ruled that the Equal Pay Act is applicable to the Foreign Service despite management arguments that a rank-in-person system ruled out compliance. The case, which may have far-ranging consequences for the Foreign Service personnel system, was brought by USIA Foreign Service Reserve Officer Margaret Ososky and was won on an appeal from a lower court.

The Equal Pay Act codifies the principle of equal pay for equal work and pro-

In conclusion, the committee states its belief that "any review of the federal retirement system must include a separate review of the Foreign Service retirement system. Since oversight of the Foreign Service and its retirement system is within the jurisdiction of this committee, we expect the administration to submit any proposed changes in the Foreign Service retirement system to this committee in advance for our approval or, alternatively, for the preparation of legislation to maintain the unique features of the Foreign Service retirement system."

The House Foreign Affairs committee is even more emphatic in its opposition to the President's retirement proposals. Noting that the administration's budget request was \$15 million short of the needs of the Foreign Service retirement fund as required in the Foreign Service Act (thus reflecting an assumption that retirement costs would be reduced) the committee indicated its intention that the retirement fund be fully funded. The report points out that the committee, "which has jurisdiction over the Foreign Service retirement system and Foreign Service personnel generally, has been given no opportunity to review these [retirement] proposals which are, in any case, controversial. Given these facts, the committee does not intend to give the impression, by failing to authorize sufficient resources to meet the retirement fund's obligations, that it agrees even in small part with such proposals."

After underscoring the uniqueness of the requirements and the hazards of a Foreign Service career, the committee says that "the failure to ensure a steady flow of personnel into and out of the Foreign Service rapidly and radically affects

promotion and assignment opportunities throughout the Service. Any significant alteration in the retirement system would alter career patterns in the Service and would effectively destroy the structure envisioned by the Foreign Service Act."

The report goes on to state that "the changes which are reportedly under consideration by the executive branch for the Civil Service retirement would, if extended to the Foreign Service retirement system, result in just such a dismantling of the Foreign Service structure. . . . Not only would such changes upset career patterns but they would also cause the most productive senior members of the Foreign Service to retire early to avoid the effects of the changes. Taken together, these changes would create a management nightmare and a severe decline in morale."

Coming from two such powerful and prestigious congressional committees, these expressions of support will offer a measure of encouragement to the many members of the Foreign Service who have voiced their dismay and resentment over the President's retirement proposals. The committees' views also lend important momentum to AFSA's efforts to publicize the extraordinary hardships and risks which are part and parcel of a career in today's Foreign Service. In recognition of this fact, Congress has seen fit, in the Foreign Service Act of 1980, to reaffirm the Foreign Service as having its own personnel and retirement system separate and distinct from other elements in the federal government.

AFSA will remain steadfast in defense of this principle in the face of assaults on the federal retirement system.

hibits sex-based wage differentials. USIA had argued that the Foreign Service's rank-in-person structure cannot be held to such a standard, contending it would preclude the Service's ability to pay employees at their personal level when service is required in a geographic area where there are no suitably high-ranking positions. The agency argued further that Congress could not have intended that each time the Service transfers a female employee it make sure that she is being paid commensurably with equally qualified and equally senior male employees doing equivalent work. The court countered that that was exactly Congress's intent and that the Service indeed makes some attempt to tie pay to work by viewing positions as graded.

In the future, a successful equal pay challenge might be based on the claim that the Service assigned different grades to identical jobs and staffed the lower-ranking positions with women.

The case came on appeal from a judgment by the U.S. District Court for the District of Columbia, which dismissed Ososky's claim because she failed to exhaust administrative remedies in the Foreign Service grievance system. The district court also expressed doubt that the act applies to the Service. The appeals court, in addition to saying the act does apply, held that there is no requirement to exhaust grievance or other remedies before filing suit and remanded the case to the district court for further proceedings.

Legislative Fund Nears \$25,000 After Three Months

Less than 90 days after it was announced, AFSA's Legislative Action Fund stood at \$24,614.50 from 498 donors, some of which have been pools. The fund is designed to help defray the Association's expenses that are connected with its efforts on Capitol Hill to oppose administration proposals which, in the Association's belief, would ultimately dismantle the present Foreign Service Retirement and Disability System. These proposals may only represent the first round in an upcoming barrage of recommendations that could drastically overhaul the entire federal personnel system. The administration has had some success recently in advancing proposals that would postpone employees' annual cost-of-living adjustment this year and that would eliminate automatic step increases for some Civil Service grades.

Persons who wish to assist in AFSA's Legislative efforts are urged to give to the fund. Monies collected are being used exclusively to defray the costs of seeking to preserve the present structure of the Foreign Service personnel system by actively opposing legislation that would undermine or compromise its basic com-

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ponents. Several IRS examiners have indicated that contributions to the fund are tax deductible. We are awaiting a formal ruling on the issue.

Contributions will be acknowledged in this space unless the donor wishes to

remain anonymous. Donations from May 3 to June 6 are listed here.

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Managing Your Money

The Public Real Estate Partnership

By MARGARET WINKLER, *Financial Planner*

Investment winners in the 1980s will be those who recognize current reality rather than relying on the rules of the past. Acknowledging that, Public Real Estate Limited Partnership investing may be for you. This article will acquaint you with the concept and some of its distinct advantages.

While most readers are already owners of real estate (their principal residences and, in many cases, investment property), these investments are almost invariably single-family properties, bought with the expectation of annual appreciation of around 10 percent. Tax benefits and asset growth have added to the investment value of home ownership, particularly during the 1970s. As I've said in previous articles, quoting published statistics, this rate of appreciation can no longer be taken for granted. That fact, the steeper financing costs in today's marketplace, plus the slowdown in resales, have rendered single family *investment* real estate less attractive. Yet additional real estate can and probably should still be a part of everyone's diversified investment portfolio.

The limited partnership should be considered primarily because of its commendable performance record, next for its tax advantages. There is nothing esoteric about the way it works, or about how to identify desirable programs, partners, and sponsors. What can you realistically expect as a return on a Public Real Estate Limited Partnership investment? Rather than make generalizations, I will give you several case histories. These are composites, or averages, and are not guaranteed to be exactly duplicated in the future.

One large corporate real estate syndicator has structured partnerships since the early 1970s. Since the average life of these partnerships has been six years, many of them have liquidated, as they have sold all of the properties (typically 10 to 15) which they bought to upgrade, manage, and resell. The property mix usually comprises apartment complexes, perhaps a shopping center, maybe an office building. Assuming a combination of tax benefit and "cash-on-cash" (what

you actually get for your money), the worst case out of the terminated partnerships returned 2 to 1, or a 20-percent after-tax return, on an annualized basis. The best case, 6 to 1, translated to a 64-percent annualized return. The average: 34 percent. Another syndicator presents statistics to show that the average annualized simple return for all liquidated partnerships has been 30 percent. Of course, there have been individual cases that have not been so fortuitous, but also some better.

Tax aspects are complex and can only be covered here in the most simplistic form. Tax benefits come in two main ways: front-end tax deductions (the unlimited negative number which can go on Line 18 of your Form 1040, representing a paper loss rather than actual dollars lost, and which reduces your taxable income) and the conversion of ordinary income to long-term capital gain. Real estate partnerships accomplish both.

One of the major tax advantages comes from the use of leverage (borrowed money). Homeowners are familiar with the mortgage-interest deduction. Investors in syndicated real estate translate the interest costs along with other costs of partnership organization into a deduction amounting to anywhere between 15 to 40 percent or more of the actual dollars invested. The deductions often equal 100 percent of the investment over the partnership life. This deduction provides true current return—the value of dollars otherwise gone to the tax collector. Another key benefit lies in the taxes paid when the properties are sold: long-term capital gains are taxed at a maximum rate of 20 percent.

As with any good investment, the primary objective should be to find a sound economic venture. Carefully selected partnerships enhance this possibility, for a number of valid reasons.

Large, publicly offered syndications typically raise \$50 million and up from thousands of individual investors, who can participate with a minimum of \$5000 and increments of \$1000 thereafter. There is no other way the small investor can get into direct real estate

ownership. Institutional, or partnership, real estate operators can take advantage of demographic, economic, and political considerations in diversifying the component properties in a partnership.

Major syndicators use acquisition and management talent with a blend of analytical, negotiating, and entrepreneurial skills. They borrow at favorable interest rates, acquire prime properties in top locations, attract select tenants, buy carpeting by the mile, and maintain high occupancy levels. Eventually, they are able to time their property sales because they have the cash flow and other requirements to weather the inevitable problems individual properties may encounter.

A major advantage to the investor is the total lack of management responsibility. This is delegated to the general partner, the syndicator, who should have his or her own cash in the deal and profit both dependent upon the success of the investment and subordinated to the return of cash to the limited partners. It is clearly the investor's substantial responsibility to choose very carefully and with considerable information.

For whom is this investment suitable? For virtually every investor with a net worth of about \$50,000, but only for those who can afford to part with cash for the 5–12 years of the partnership's life. (The prospectus clearly states expected time of turnaround.) This is a totally illiquid investment. Cash flow is minimal, typically one to four percent, but tax sheltered. The objective, pure and simple, is capital appreciation with coordinated tax advantage. The investment benefit derives from the nature of the investment itself and from the fact that the limited amount of cash required allows the investor to participate in a mix of real estate, financial, and other kinds of investments.

Real estate partnership programs are generally available through financial planners and investment brokers, who receive a commission from the syndicator. This charge is added to management and organization fees. All charges are explicit in the sales literature and relatively standard among the major and most respected syndicators. They have been taken into account, of course, in the investment return calculations.

An excellent resource for further investigation of this subject: *Craig Hall's Book of Real Estate Investing*, published in 1982 by Holt, Rinehart and Winston in New York.

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