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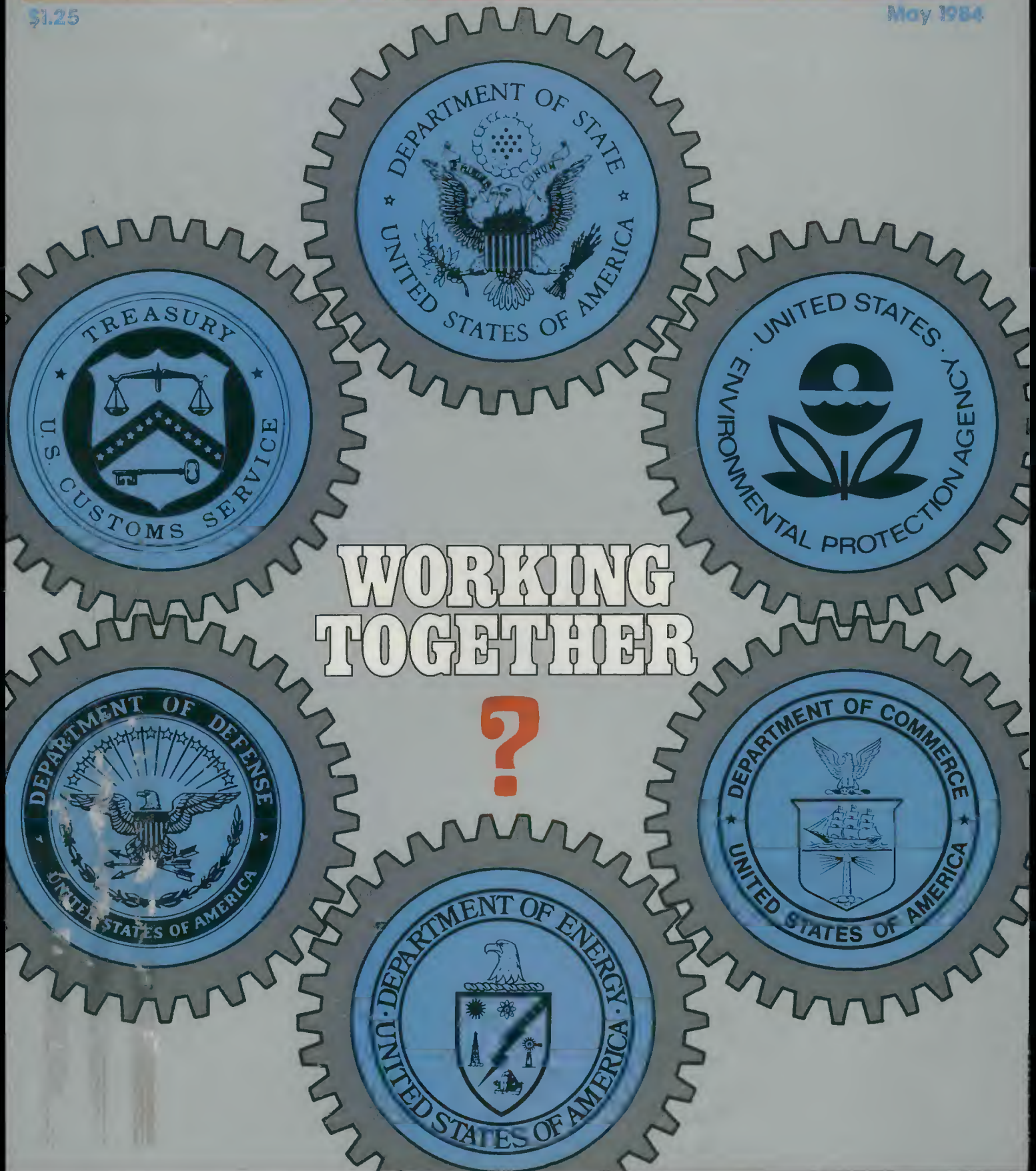
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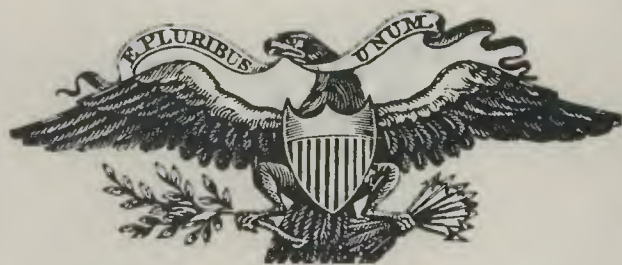
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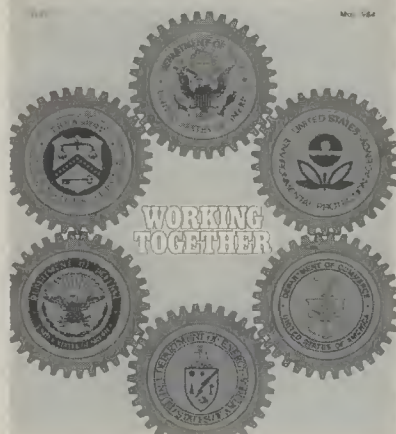
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At some distant, perhaps mythical, time in the past, the State Department supposedly handled all U.S. relations with foreign countries. But as the world became more complex and interdependent, the line between domestic and foreign issues grew less clear. Similarly, State's once dominant role has become cloudy. A wide variety of government departments—not just the foreign affairs agencies, but even such domestic organizations as the Environmental Protection Agency—are active overseas. If U.S. policy is not to be overcome by chaos, the efforts of these many agencies must mesh together like finely tuned gears. This month the JOURNAL features two articles on the difficulties of such collaboration. Fitzhugh Green offers some guidelines for making the necessary coordination fruitful and avoiding some nasty pitfalls. William A. Root discusses State's role in leading the other agencies to a unified and viable position in international negotiations.

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ASSOCIATION VIEWS

Language and the Foreign Service

The public has all too long heard those horror stories about Foreign Service officers who are unable to communicate in the language of their country of assignment. The Congress heard and acted: The Foreign Service Act of 1980 and its legislative history mandate that the foreign affairs agencies address the crucial issue of language competence. At first all the agencies got the message and acted, but now AID is backing away from this important professional concern.

Three years ago, AID made a big noise about strengthening the process of Language Designated Positions and increasing their numbers. Well, sad to report, there are fewer LDPs today than in 1981, when the act went into effect. Furthermore, only French and Spanish have come anywhere near keeping the same numbers of LDPs as before the act. Missions have sharply reduced LDPs in non-worldwide languages. Witness the wholesale slaughter of LDPs in Pakistan, their decline in Indonesia, their virtual non-existence in Arabic-speaking posts. Sure makes manipulating the assignments process and old-buddy network a lot easier for agency managers with special axes to grind!

Despite the rhetoric the agency has not increased the language-training budget since 1981 beyond inflation. It has not changed its reluctance to release staff for training. Post language-training programs are always the first to get the budget chop. One example: the Mideast is our most sensitive area, yet AID regularly discourages Arabic training. Sounds like deliberate policy, myopic as it is.

Recently, AID took two more giant steps backward. New employees no longer must reach the minimum professional competence level in any foreign language to qualify for tenure as a Foreign Service officer. And senior officers now no longer have to be able to speak even a few words in another tongue to qualify for the Senior Foreign Service. AID tried to take a third backward step by sharply reducing the program of financial incentives for learning hard languages, but it has not yet succeeded.

Come on AID! You call for equality with your Foreign Service colleagues abroad: diplomatic passports, commissioning, privileges, immunities. But you don't want to demand of yourself that your employees be equally equipped to work in foreign affairs. And what is more relevant to the Foreign Service than speaking a foreign language—even minimally? AID employees want the chance to learn; a few must be nudged. Why is AID backsliding, and why is AID negating the intent of Congress? It is a disgrace. Congress should act.

—THE AID STANDING COMMITTEE



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LETTERS

Wick Should Resign

It was good to see AFSA, over the signature of its president, commenting on the conduct of the current director of USIA [EDITORIAL, February]. It would have been better, however, had the Association arrived at the obvious conclusion that Mr. Wick has damaged beyond repair his credibility as a spokesman abroad for U.S. foreign policy. Given the bill of particulars cited (by no means complete), surely no one can reasonably conclude, as the editorial does, that there is a possibility his legacy "can still be one of accomplishment."

USIA must depend on the reputation of its head, and that, as the editorial amply demonstrates, is flawed. The task now should be one of rebuilding USIA's image under an administrator whose word can be trusted.

Mr. Wick would do his country, and certainly his agency, a service by resigning. And if he fails to do that, he should be dismissed.

DONALD L. RANARD
Foreign Service Officer, retired
Director, Center for International Policy
Washington, D.C.

USIA Should Change

Interesting questions concerning the present capabilities and future potential of USIA to carry out its functions as a foreign affairs organization are raised by Representative Dante B. Fascell in your January issue and in the recent report of the United States Advisory Commission on Public Diplomacy.

Representative Fascell accurately observes that USIA policy determination on programming and implementation often appears to be made in a vacuum. He further suggests that the agency must spend more time listening to and reporting on the needs and wishes of other countries so that it can better determine the kind of programming and activities that would be more useful. In addition, both Representative Fascell and the advisory commission favor a heightened role for the agency in

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the formulation and conduct of American foreign policy.

These are expectations that require a radical overhaul of USIA policy, functions, and personnel requirements. In my 20 years or so as a Foreign Service information officer in Europe, South America, and Southeast Asia, I have seen programming that reflected more the individual officer's cultural specialties or preferences than a thoughtful assessment of the program's relevance to host-country perceptions of the American lifestyle. Communication is strictly one-way, typical of the Tom Thumb syndrome that affects most USIA operations (See what a good boy am I). Evidence of effectiveness is the number of people attracted, not the number of changed attitudes.

With respect to increased USIA participation in the formulation of foreign policy, most agency officers lack the requisite political and psychological insights. The average officer considers himself free of political purpose other than to present a positive image of the United States, regardless of whether such an image coincides with differing values of host country audiences.

This is not to say that all USIA officers lack sensitivity to political developments in foreign countries. The few who possess such awareness have often encountered rejection within their own ranks and at the ambassadorial level. I particularly recall the experience of one USIA officer who indulged in a rare but wholly professional action to determine grass roots opinion in a host country on the imminence of a coup d'etat. The report was rejected by the ambassador on the basis of an assessment from "the boys in the back room" and his own convictions. The report never reached the Department of State. The coup materialized exactly as predicted and within the time frame projected by the USIA officer, much to State's embarrassment.

This leads to an equally significant question of whether USIA is currently capable of accurately reporting on public moods, trends, and attitudes in host countries in order to influence diplomatic and/or military decision-making that might affect individual country audiences. Professional reporting on public opinion in host countries is currently not one of the agency's strong points. With a methodical on-going policy of reporting, one wonders whether USIA might not have been the source of a much more realistic assessment of public attitudes in Iran prior to the seizure of the American embassy in Teheran and whether it might even have been able to temper British reaction to the American rescue operation in Grenada.

As for the advisory commission's re-

newed recommendation that the director of USIA serve as a statutory adviser to the National Security Council and as principal adviser to the president on foreign public opinion and the conduct of public diplomacy, this becomes a patent absurdity under the present circumstances. Lacking a bank of updated and thoroughly screened information on public attitudes in individual host countries or regions targeted for particular diplomatic or military initiatives, USIA directors would be able only to massage their own egos in the Security Council and in the White House while facing the prospect of ridicule and rejection for lack of foreign affairs expertise.

Inherent in both Representative Fасell's observations and the advisory commission's recommendations are calls for a transformation of USIA that transcends increased budgets and technological innovations. USIA must learn to counteract or place at least in reasonable perspective the countless contradictions and the cultural cacophony prevailing in American society. It must increase its knowledge of public attitudes in the various countries in which it operates and regularly report its observations to policy makers. Its officers abroad and at home must be able to exercise both political and psychological judgment in identifying areas of receptivity or non-receptivity of foreign audiences to particular American messages.

In addition, USIA must gain greater acceptance in the Department of State and the Department of Defense, among others, by increasing the political acumen of its public affairs officers and their staffs. Country programming must be under the intense and continuing scrutiny of desk officers familiar with the language, culture, history, and political inclinations of the host countries involved and thoroughly conversant with American foreign policy objectives in those countries.

Lacking these ingredients, public diplomacy is simply an exercise in semantics.

NICHOLAS RUGGIERI

Foreign Service Information Officer, retired
Potomac, Maryland

Foreign Service Esprit

The insightful article on the Foreign Service by Jack Perry ["A Sense of Institution," March] gives further evidence of the growing awareness among service professionals that their organization is perceptibly dissolving into the general Civil Service. The suggestions Mr. Perry makes to stem the trend are, as he says, mainly symbolic. The tragedy from a wide action service viewpoint, however, is the lack of per-

sistent, top governmental substantive support needed, like that to the Marines, to retain an esprit de corps. One earnestly wishes that an upbeat perspective were possible, but, as outlined in my edited article in the March 1983 JOURNAL, the shift continues of "Diplomat into Bureaucrat."

ROY M. MELBOURNE
Foreign Service Officer, retired
Chapel Hill, North Carolina

Ambassador Jack Perry suggests that the Foreign Service as an institution should make known, and defend, its interests with the press, public, and Congress. I suggest there is another important group that the Foreign Service should cultivate—not kow tow to, but cultivate. That group is the international business community based in the United States, a group that should be a supporter of the Foreign Service as an institution, not a critic.

While individual Foreign Service officers are respected and thought highly of by officers in the international business community, the Foreign Service as an institution is not. This assertion is based on experience. After retiring from the Foreign Service, I worked for 12 years for a large international oil company. One of my tasks was to attend conferences, symposia, seminars, etc., along with officials of other large companies from various fields, during which governmental policies and practices were cussed and discussed.

Many a time I have challenged corporate officials as to the reason why they held the Foreign Service in such low esteem. It often seemed, in discussions, that the principal complaints were against regulatory agencies and the Congress, and that the Foreign Service was being damned because it was a part of the government.

The Foreign Service considers, and rightly so, one of its functions to be to explain and interpret the views of foreign countries. In doing so, Foreign Service officers often seem to be defending, and often do defend, the actions and policies of foreign countries. To the businessman, this defending of policies of foreign governments and taking refuge in the assertion that agreement with such policies is in the "overall interest" of the United States often seem inappropriate and give rise to the feeling that international business needs a voice in a new agency.

It would seem that it would be natural that corporate officers and Foreign Service officers would want to work together more effectively in the interest of the United States. However, there is a tendency to

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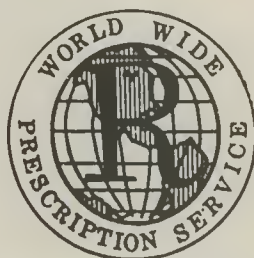
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carry over to foreign operations the traditional adversary relationship between business and government that exists in this country. In addition, business firms do not want to be seen as an arm of the foreign policy of the United States.

In this, business firms are either naive or self-serving, and a change in attitude would be desirable. Other countries already see U.S. companies as an extension of U.S. influence, know that their own companies are subject to governmental influence and control, and see no reason why U.S. companies would be different. In fact, U.S. companies operating overseas are already subject to certain U.S. legal action, and in times of a crunch give way to governmental pressure even when not legally required to do so. Also, business firms are not very hesitant in dumping problems on the government and embassy after these firms have given up on reaching a reasonable solution with the foreign government.

Foreign Service officers, in addition to sometimes feeling culturally and intellectually superior to grubby businessmen, consider that they have their hands full in working with officials of the country to which they are accredited, and that they have little time for the American business community. In fact, one deputy chief of mission in preparing my efficiency report stated that I spent too much time with the American community.

It often seems that corporate officials in this country who have never served overseas but who make flying visits to installations abroad are the most critical of the State Department, and by extension, the Foreign Service. Shortly after beginning to work with the company I accompanied one such official on a three-week trip to eight countries in South America. I suggested that at each place we call on the American embassy. He responded, "What in hell do you want to go to the embassy for?" I told him I thought we could have a good exchange of views with Foreign Service officers who were following events in each country. As it turned out, we did call on each embassy, and he admitted he was agreeably surprised.

In summary, there is a group, the U.S. international business community, that could be, and should be, more supportive of the Foreign Service as an institution. For this to happen, a change of attitude is needed on both sides. Foreign Service officers individually should take the initiative to bring this about.

HOYT PRICE
Foreign Service Officer, retired
Benton, Arkansas

BOOKS

Reviews

Poland. *The Role of the Press in Political Change.* By Madeleine K. Albright. Center for Strategic and International Studies, Georgetown University, Praeger, 1983. \$6.95.

Solidarity. *The Analysis of a Social Movement: Poland 1980-81.* By Alain Touraine, et al. Cambridge University Press, 1983. \$19.95.

Albright's book is based on a careful analysis of the print media and extensive interviews with Polish publishers, editors, and reporters shortly before the imposition of martial law in December 1981. Drawing on quotations from her unnamed (merely numbered) sources, Albright brings out the extent and pace of the Polish press's evolution since the advent of Solidarity in the summer of 1980.

The press, like everything else in Poland, was coming to life, throwing off the constraints imposed by the dead hand of the Communist party. Journalists were not slow to admit their dishonor at having played the regime's game of concealment and outright lying. Many set out to make up for lost time through muckraking. This was one of the reasons for the curious phenomenon that people in a Communist country actually wanted to buy the papers because they were genuinely worth reading. At the same time, the Polish party, shaken and reeling as it was, managed to hang on to some important aspects of media control. It never let Solidarity come close to free access to television, and the party's newspaper, and even more the armed forces' daily, remained orthodox and anti-reform.

The Touraine work is large in scope and ambition. It aims at nothing less than documenting the sociology (and the political psychology) of the Solidarity movement through the findings of six French-Polish research groups that worked in the principal Polish cities from April until the end of November 1981. In each case the researchers worked with a group of Solidarity activists at the factory level. Outsiders, both sympathetic and hostile, were invited to meet with the Solidarity people, who used the results of these discussions to gain a

better understanding of their own initiatives and other's responses. The intensity of this effort must have been prodigious.

The book's sociological jargon and explicit seriousness of purpose give it a self-consciousness and solemnity that will not appeal to all readers. But this is only a minor objection to what is a major contribution to our understanding of Solidarity—what its members were thinking and saying and how the movement was evolving under the pressure of exogenous events and its own internal dynamics.

It is on this evolutionary aspect that the book breaks new ground, particularly in its insights concerning the period after the Solidarity congress. The supporters of limited action and negotiations with the regime, and those who hardly believed it possible to negotiate and wanted a tougher attitude "which might lead to acts of rupture," grew further apart. At the same time, there is the wholly accurate comment that these developments did not mean Solidarity was splitting completely or that the leaders were being cut off from the base.

If there is a certain dryness or even pedanticism in the Touraine work, it should also be said that it is at times eloquent and even moving: "Humanity remembers the dazzling movements which break through the darkness of oppression. The light of Solidarity shines on us all." That quotation illustrates the depth of commitment of Touraine and his associates to Solidarity. Their research is an enduring tribute to the movement's efforts to lead the Polish people into a more rational and productive, freer and more just, future.

—FRANCIS J. MEEHAN

Perspectives On Terrorism. Edited by Laurence Freedman and Yonah Alexander. Scholarly Resources, Inc., 1983.

This collection of scholarly papers and monographs on the subject of terrorism flows from a series of conferences held over the past two decades under the auspices of the University of Chicago's Institute of Social and Behavioral Pathology. Divided into four main sections (psychological dimensions of terrorism, the terrorist in profile, hostage-taking and its aftermath, and responding to terrorism), it represents a convenient summation of scholarly thought on this subject. It is not for the layman or the idly curious, but is yet another useful reference work for those with policymaking responsibilities.

As in many other books of this type, there is serious and enlightening thought mixed with the semi-comic. For example,

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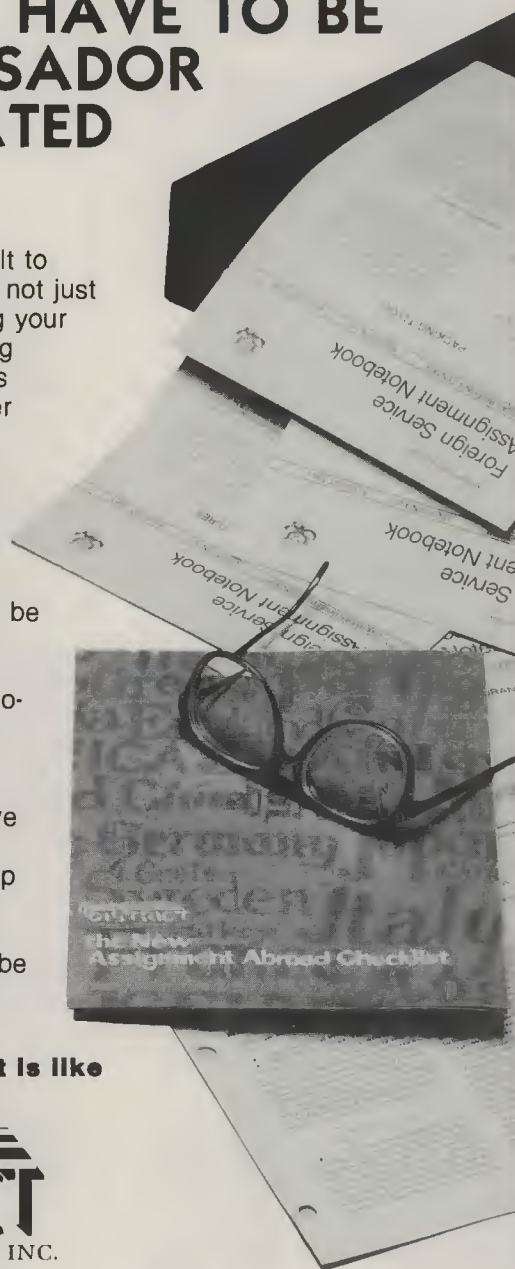
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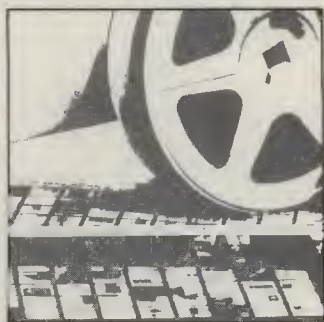
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the pedant's love of arcane language occasionally emerges: Freedman discusses terrorism under the general construct of "polistaraxia." There is the ever present Clive Aston, whose fondness for statistical analysis leads him to attempt to explain terrorism with the help of the bell curve. Not surprisingly, the contribution by Anthony Quainton, former head of State's Office of Combatting Terrorism, is among the most interesting and for the most part is written in English.

While the academic community has indeed contributed to the study and policy-making aspects of terrorism and its cure (or at least its control) one wishes that more people with "hands on" experience in the field were allowed into the inner temple. Until that happy event occurs, the academic contribution to this important and troublesome subject will remain peripheral.

—MICHAEL F. SPEERS

In the Path of God: Islam and Political Power. By Daniel Pipes. Basic Books, 1983. \$22.50.

This study is a major contribution to an area often dominated by rhetoric, wishful thinking, and banalities about "Islamic fatalism" and "Shiite martyr complexes." As Pipes puts it: "Islam calls forth intense reactions. It inspires a powerful loyalty among Muslims that no other faith can rival... At the same time, Islam provokes an unparalleled animosity from non-believers, thanks to its reputation as an aggressive faith."

This book's greatest strength is its clear explanation of how historical circumstances, rather than theology or doctrine, have linked Islam and political power. Islam began as a city-state in Arabia with unified religious, political, legal, financial, and military leadership. Christianity, by contrast, grew up within the existing structure of the Roman Empire, and Judaism, with its long history of living under alien rule, eventually saw the political component of religious law undermined. The Islamic unity between the divine and the mundane has created difficulties for Muslim individuals and communities who live under non-Islamic rule in the *Dar al-Harb*, where, without political control, Muslims cannot practice their faith as God commands. Pipes believes that the Islamic minorities of Africa, Europe, and the Soviet Union are caught in an inevitable contradiction between the political realities of their condition and an intrinsic "Islamic drive for self-rule."

Pipes's scholarship is outstanding, but several points need further explanation.

One wishes he had provided more evidence for his statement that Soviet Muslims will "use religious institutions to organize against the regime and they will look to foreign Muslims for support." His discussion of the Muslim family is flawed by his personal dislike of social patterns in Islamic countries.

Pipes's overly critical attitude strikes the only discordant note in his excellent work. He correctly explains that Muslims' current difficulties are not the result of any inherent irrationality, xenophobia, or fanaticism. Nevertheless, their recent history has convinced many Muslims that something is wrong in their society. Even the new oil wealth, which briefly raised hopes of a political and economic renaissance, has not made Islamic states any more stable or their armies more successful. Instead, oil has brought Muslims only the West's "things" and problems—video recorders, weapons, pollution—without the social organization that built western political and economic power.

This book is a welcome relief from some recent studies that, while masquerading as serious scholarship, are in reality nothing more than State Department briefing papers. Pipes has done a service to both Muslims and non-Muslims by asking his reader to replace caricature with reality and superficial judgments with understanding. He has reminded us that Muslims are above all, like the rest of us, victims of historical circumstances—circumstances that have made some Muslims question the value of their own culture and heritage.

—JOHN LIMBERT

Mr. Madison's War: Politics, Diplomacy, and Warfare in the Early American Republic 1783–1830. By J.C.A. Stagg. Princeton University Press, 1983. \$50(cloth), \$18.50(paper).

James Madison's Phony War. By Joseph Burkholder Smith. Arbor House, 1983. \$16.95.

Devotees of American diplomatic history have a real treat in store in the form of these two new books on the foreign policy of the Madison administration. In *Mr. Madison's War*, Stagg, a senior lecturer in history at the University of Auckland in New Zealand, concentrates on American military strategy during the War of 1812, when the United States attempted repeatedly and unsuccessfully to conquer Canada. The author, who has done a painstaking job in going through all available archival materials, does a good job in proving that the administration's plan was

sound. The loss of Canada—source of masts and other supplies vital for equipping the British Navy—would have obliged Britain to agree to U.S. demands for maritime freedom. The American failure, Stagg points out, lay in the poor performance of the forces invading Canada. Stagg does an excellent job in describing how the Madison administration was fortunate in preserving the fragile U.S. independence from the consequences of its military blunders. The book's jacket carries a comment by one professor of American history predicting that the volume will become the standard study of the Madison administration. This is hardly an exaggeration—the book is well written and researched.

James Madison's Phony War is a very different type of book, but equally worth reading. The author, a long-time officer of the CIA, describes the Madison administration's secret efforts to sponsor an uprising in what was then Spanish-controlled Florida and gain control of that area for the United States. There are frequent comparisons to clandestine U.S. operations during the Vietnam war, some of them perhaps stretched a bit to prove the point that covert operations are as old to U.S. policymakers as is the country itself. Smith, however, packs his book with so many fascinating historical anecdotes that it can serve as well for light reading as for serious history. For example, we see the unfortunate Madison unable to consummate his marriage with Dolley because his young stepson insisted on sharing their bed on the wedding night. Furthermore, Smith suggests that the president may have made policy with his judgment impaired because he used opium to lessen the pain of hemorrhoids. The author's style is informal and the lack of footnotes may lessen its value to scholars, even though the annotated bibliography indicates that it was thoroughly researched. But because it contains a wealth of material, it will be enjoyed by all who are not put off by the author's repeated references to the Vietnam war and his likening of Madison and James Monroe to Richard Nixon and Henry Kissinger. —BENSON L. GRAYSON

No Shortcuts to Progress: African Development Management in Perspective. Gordon Hyden. University of California Press, 1983. \$35 (cloth); \$9.50 (paper).

This attempt to explain the extremely bad development performance of post-independence sub-Saharan African countries relies on three Marxist tenets. First, social and economic progress invariably follows the historical stages of feudalism, capital-

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ism, and socialism. Second, development depends on a strong state that prescribes the rational rules and public morality that assure growth and equity. Third, Africa will not have the strong state it needs until a bourgeois, entrepreneurial class becomes dominant.

Hyden repeatedly mistakes temporally associated factors as being causally related. For example, he presents current small-holder farming practice as the result of a deterioration brought about by African governments, rather than as the inheritance of tribal societies. His solution is the bourgeoisie, but why the new entrepreneurial class should look out for the peasantry is a question that is never asked, much less answered.

The problem of corruption is rightly viewed as a major obstacle to development. Hyden argues that the African economies are "economies of affection," in which loyalty goes to the clan and public office is misused. Consequently, any effort to develop the economy through the clan-ridden state is bound to fail. But there is no persuasive historical or sociological analysis supporting this simplistic equation of corruption and African tribalism. The relative newness of independent African states is a basic reality that is consistently ignored, perhaps because a frank recognition of it would weaken the contention that any attempt to improve African government is doomed to failure.

Hyden is right to assert that a greater role for market forces is needed. But this is a matter of common agreement. And it is dangerously misleading to view government and market operations as if they were crude alternatives. This is the false opposition that is usually set forth by the extreme right and, in this case, by a Marxist who would collapse all problems into an issue of class. The emergence of favorable trends, including increasing entrepreneurship, will depend on sound government policies. What can be done to bring about better policymaking is, therefore, a central issue.

Hyden correctly identifies the imposition by donors of preconceived programs as a weakness in the current policymaking of African governments. Consequently, his dismissal of the need for better data and analysis can be interpreted only as reflecting the Marxist deterministic position that denies a role to science until "scientific socialism" is installed. Apparently, Africans must wait out the long period of capitalist consolidation and its replacement by socialism before they can begin to inquire fruitfully into African problems and goals, constraints and opportunities.

—BRANDON ROBINSON

FOREIGN SERVICE JOURNAL

North Korea in Transition: *From Dictatorship to Dynasty.* By Tai Sung An. Greenwood Press, 1983. \$22.95.

In August 1945, when Soviet forces entered the northern part of the Korean peninsula and wrested control from the Japanese, Kim Il-song was a major in the Soviet army. His return to Korea marked the creation of a communist garrison state enshrouded in mystery.

In a cogent, concise, and illuminating manner, Professor Tai Sung An has opened this half of Korea to Western scrutiny. He carefully incorporates a number of primary Korean and Japanese language sources in examining the naissance of Kim Il-song's rule, his "ideology," and prospects for his son Kim Chong-il's dynastic succession. Each chapter examines the North Korean tyranny for what it is but also includes a balancing section summarizing many of the accomplishments the Korean people have made.

The author's comparison of North Korea's economic versus military development points to several major problems. The north's economy is unlikely to expand in the 1980s without an infusion of investment capital and new production technology. Yet, neither is likely to happen given North Korea's aversion to the West and dedication to large military expenditures.

In foreign affairs, North Koreans long for reunification (if only under their control). Yet, Kim Il-song has used the threat posed by South Korea and the United States to crack down on all political opponents. Consequently, the probable course of inter-Korean relations is that "both sides will continue to pursue mutually incompatible goals: legitimacy at the expense of the other, and reunification on each side's terms."

The author's description of the cult of Kim Il-song is as disconcerting as it is fascinating. The senior Kim's road to complete control was not particularly smooth. Only after numerous purges and strenuous efforts to deny Soviet or Chinese dominance did he inaugurate his incredible "cult" in 1961. By now it has far surpassed those of Stalin and Mao in intensity and scope. Five generations of Kim family are revered, and the government is controlled by members of the Kim clan. Furthermore, this ruling faction revises not only the present but the past.

Even more disturbing is An's portrayal of Kim Chong-il. He hypothesizes that the younger Kim planned the 1976 Panmunjom ax murders of two U.S. servicemen, and consequently was forced to disappear from public view for the next two years. During this period his father retrained him



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to avoid direct confrontations with the United States. The book concludes with a conjectural forecast that the succession could result in an internal battle between orthodox monarchists and reformist technocrats. In the midst of this confrontation, Kim Chong-il might launch an external conflict to remove his domestic opposition and consolidate power.

—GREGORY F.T. WINN

From the Think Tanks

The Challenge of Soviet Shipping. Edited by Curtis Cate. *National Strategy Information Center, Inc.*, 1983. 46pp. \$3.95. Featuring brief essays by a number of retired naval officers and shipping experts, this monograph is intended to draw attention to the recent expansion in Soviet merchant shipping. The contributors argue that Soviet growth is due to a deliberate policy of undercutting western shipping, and urge governments and shipowners to ensure that western merchant marines are not dangerously weakened.

The Greens of West Germany: Origins, Strategies, and Transatlantic Implications. By Robert L. Pfaltzgraff Jr., Kim R. Holmes, Clay Clemens, and Werner Kaltefleiter. *Special Report, Institute for Foreign Policy Analysis, Inc.*, 1983. 105pp. \$7.50. This rather unsympathetic survey of the Green party discusses its roots in the current counter-culture and German tradition and its views of German society and international politics. The authors see the Greens as being exploited by the Soviet Union and joining with other groups in the United States to solidify a network detrimental to the purposes of NATO.

Beyond the Hotline: Controlling a Nuclear Crisis. By William Langer Ury and Richard Smoke. *Report to the U.S. Arms Control and Disarmament Agency, Nuclear Negotiation Project, Harvard Law School*, 1984. 87pp. \$10. "Perhaps the most likely path to nuclear war is through a crisis that escalates out of control because of miscalculation, miscommunication, or accident." Having agreed upon this, the authors go on to recommend a variety of measures intended to prevent or stabilize such a crisis: established crisis procedures, a nuclear crisis control center, nuclear risk reduction talks, and presidential crisis control seminars, among others.

The Atlantic Alliance and U.S. Global Strategy. By Jacquelyn K. Davis, and Robert L. Pfaltzgraff Jr. *Special Report, Institute for Foreign Policy Analysis, Inc.*, 1983. 44pp. \$7.50. This study of NATO argues that the

alliance's security interests can be threatened as much by developments in other areas of the world as by those in Europe. A strategy that provides for forward defense in Europe and also safeguards the rimlands will only be possible if NATO's ability to project power improves through exploitation of new technologies and strategies.

U.S. Intelligence: Evolution and Anatomy. Mark M. Lowenthal. *Washington Papers #105*. Center for Strategic and International Studies, Georgetown University, 1984. 115pp. \$7.95. This is a brief guide to the U.S. intelligence community, its history and its structure. There is also some discussion of the issues facing intelligence today and a plea for more flexibility in organization and toleration for unanswered questions.

The Crisis in Latin America: Strategic, Economic, and Political Dimensions. Edited by Howard J. Wiarda. *American Enterprise Institute*, 1984. 32pp. \$2.95. This brief but diverse set of essays by Wiarda, Mark Falcoff, and Joseph Grunwald stresses the growing influence of the armed forces as an element in foreign policy, the increasing internationalization of Latin American conflicts, and the effects of the current economic situation on U.S. relations with Latin America and on Latin policies toward each other.

Oil Supply Disruptions in the 1980s: An Economic Analysis. By Karim Pakravan. *Hoover International Studies*. Hoover Institution, 1984. 73pp. \$9.95. This study argues that the noncommunist world—including the United States—is extremely vulnerable to disruptions in the supply of Persian Gulf oil. Since the chances are good that such a disruption may occur, the countries that are most at risk should undertake policies—stockpiling, conservation, development of alternative sources—that would reduce the danger. But a real solution will only be achieved if the Persian Gulf countries work together to reduce regional tension and instability.

On the Brink: Defense, Deficits, and Welfare Spending. By James L. Clayton. *National Strategy Information Center, Inc.*, 1984. 153pp. This report examines the controversy between defense and welfare spending in light of rising U.S. budget deficits and concludes that in the short term we need to be more concerned with controlling welfare expenditures. Clayton argues that our defense spending is not large in the face of Soviet spending and that the welfare budget has increased phenomenally since the Korean war.



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PERIODICALS

"Africa, the American Intelligentsia, and the Shadow of Vietnam." By Martin Staniland. *Political Science Quarterly*, Vol. 98, #4, Winter 1983-84.

The intellectual climate of a given time is often responsible for creating American perceptions of other parts of the world, and so has a significant impact on U.S. foreign policy. This is particularly true with regard to the less familiar areas of the world, such as sub-Saharan Africa. The American approach to foreign relations and its historical aspects is one of "intellectual arbitrariness," exhibiting a fondness for simplicity and analogies and a reluctance to acknowledge the exotic. These characteristics are particularly marked when a low-priority area forces itself upon the nonspecialist policymaker's attention because of a crisis. During the 1960s and '70s, the analogy that dominated the American view of African events—the 1964 uprising in the Congo, the civil war in Angola, the Shaba invasions of Zaire, and the transfer of power in Rhodesia—was that of Vietnam. Both the left and right used the experience of Southeast Asia to identify their friends and enemies and to guide their responses. The left viewed U.S. involvement as futile at best, imperialist at worst, and guerrilla victory as inevitable. At times the left seemed to support movements that did not enjoy widespread popularity simply because they were opposed by the U.S. government. The right tended to see unrest in Africa as part of the struggle between the superpowers and so ignored the importance of local factors or the interests of others. Not all analogizing is wrong, but it should not be used as a substitute for examining another culture and its worldview. A major weakness of U.S. foreign policy today is its tendency to look for improvements in procedures and technical capabilities and to avoid the scrutiny of other cultures.

"The National Security Council and the Making of American Middle East Policy." By Les Janka. *Armed Forces Journal*, Vol. 121, #8, March 1984.

On issues concerning the Mideast, the Reagan administration has not adhered to the established mechanism for foreign policymaking, claims this former deputy

White House press secretary. This mechanism, designed so that issues are funneled up through interdepartmental groups to the NSC, allows for participation by officials below the Cabinet level. But on matters concerning the Mideast, National Security Adviser Robert McFarlane has been a policymaker, not simply a manager, and has relied on his own staff for substantive matters, rather than the bureaucracy. This procedure has excluded from influence almost all those with significant experience in that area, especially those in State's Bureau of Near East Affairs. Many in the White House seem to believe the State Department is too "intellectually constipated" to produce a creative policy. Along with the poor quality of intelligence information, the influence of people outside the system such as Jeane Kirkpatrick, and the failure to consider congressional concerns, this procedure has limited the quality of the advice provided to the president. That Reagan receives less than the best regional expertise is due not to any shortcoming of the established decision-making structure, but to the personalities and ideologies involved.

"Living Without Marcos." By William H. Sullivan. *Foreign Policy*, #53, Winter 1983-84.

One of the most vexing problems facing the United States today is that of dealing with the fall of authoritarian governments with whom we have had friendly relations. Often these countries are important strategically, so the result of our attempts to cope with such power transitions is significant. The Carter administration left us two examples of how not to react to such radical change—Nicaragua and Iran. In both cases, the United States remained staunchly behind the authoritarian regime until it was doomed; in Nicaragua it then reversed itself so completely that the moderate elements had no chance to organize. Yet the recent experiences of Spain, Greece, and Portugal indicate that the fall of authoritarianism of the right need not result in authoritarianism of the left. There is no need to take a passive or defeatist approach—diplomacy can assist in the peaceful restoration of democracy. A current example of this dilemma is the Marcos

regime in the Philippines. If the United States delays taking action, it will be viewed by both Marcos and his opponents as support for the status quo and will only polarize the situation further. The Reagan administration should instead approach Marcos as a friend and urge him to make way for a democratically elected government. An appeal to his sense of history might help—he will not wish to be regarded by future generations as one who pushed his country into chaos. Because of the United States' former position as a colonial power, Filipinos look to us for assistance with their future development. We should use this opportunity to intervene there.

"Politics Over Promise: Domestic Impediments to Arms Control." By Steven E. Miller. *International Security*, Vol. 8, No. 4. Spring 1984.

Over the past 25 years, the promise of arms control has been stunted as much by domestic factors as by substantive difficulties. When the concept of arms control first emerged, the major obstacles seemed to be questions regarding its contribution to national security, verification of agreement provisions, and the possibility of reaching agreements with the Soviets. But arms control has stumbled instead because of opposition by powerful actors on the domestic scene. Indeed, the process of policy formulation and ratification is fraught with possibilities for derailment. Policymaking can involve interagency consultations that are more complex than negotiations with the Soviets. This often creates difficulties—changes are difficult to make, some participants will only give their support if compensated elsewhere, and losers in the process can go public and sabotage the policy. The military has a particularly influential voice because of its responsibility for national security, but arms control is not consistent with its practice of obtaining security through more, not fewer, weapons. The pressures of the electoral process are also present, engendering paralysis before elections and at least a one-year learning period afterward. These pressures continue into ratification, as the Senate is subject to the whims of public opinion. Because the populace both wants arms control and is suspicious of the U.S.S.R., it is liable to change its opinion rapidly in response to Soviet activities. Any one of these domestic impediments can be enough to stymie the arms control process. It may, however, be possible to avoid some of these problems by pursuing arms control through less visible and formal consultations with the Soviets.

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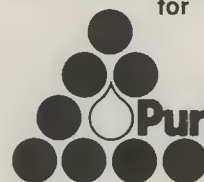
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CLIPPINGS

Diplomats & Terrorism

"Letters sent top Italian news organizations purporting to come from Red Brigades guerrillas today threatened the life of another U.S. diplomat in the aftermath of last week's killing of Leamon R. Hunt....The militarist wing of the Red Brigades claims the assassination of the dirty guarantor American general Leamon R. Hunt....The militarist wing has another American diplomat in its sights.' "

Reuters, February 20

"[U.S. Consul General Robert O. Homme] was shot and wounded yesterday in the city of Strasbourg, and a little known group calling itself the Armed Lebanese Revolutionary Faction claimed responsibility. [He] was described as being in satisfactory condition....The group said Mr. Homme was 'already well known for his activities as a member of the CIA.' "

Baltimore Sun, March 27

"U.S. embassy officials said yesterday that they had run into a dead end in the kidnapping of diplomat William Buckley and now are considering moving the remaining personnel to a Marine-guarded compound. A Western diplomatic source who asked not to be identified said, 'Last night, several American civilian employees did, indeed, move into the compound.'...In Washington, the Reagan administration said it contacted Lebanese officials and Syria for help in finding Buckley, who was abducted at gunpoint Friday morning while leaving his West Beirut apartment. Three gunmen forced Buckley, 55, the first secretary of the embassy's political section, into a car in front of his house, not far from the U.S. embassy, and sped off."

Philadelphia Inquirer, March 18

"Secretary of State Shultz called in a panel of 23 experts and government officials yesterday for a private briefing on a topic that has plagued the recent conduct of U.S. diplomacy: international terrorism."

New York Daily News, March 25

"The U.S. embassy [in Beijing] has received information indicating that Islamic terrorists have targeted the diplomatic

mission here for a bombing attack like those against the American embassy and U.S. Marine billet in Beirut. The bombing of the U.S. embassy in Kuwait December 12 and a recent warning by the mysterious Islamic Jihad organization has prompted tightened security measures at American diplomatic missions all over the world in the last week, including the Beijing embassy, which an American diplomat described as having 'the worst security of any embassy in the world.'...The information indicated terrorists have also targeted the U.S. embassy in Paris....Islamic Jihad...claimed responsibility for the October 23 suicide bombings in Beirut...and for the bombing of the U.S. embassy in Beirut last April, which left 63 people dead....

"One embassy source, noting the British mission here has also taken security measures such as parking a truck around the clock behind the locked gates of their compound, was puzzled why the Americans maintain a truck blockade only at night."

*Jonathan Broder in the Chicago Tribune
January 3*

"Western embassies in East Berlin tightened security yesterday after six East Germans succeeded in leaving the country by staging a weekend sit-in at the U.S. embassy....The U.S. embassy, which normally admits visitors to its library and consular section without identity checks, moved its receptionist into an outer lobby."

*Baltimore Sun
January 24*

"Secretary of State George Shultz said: 'The cruel fact of the matter is that terrorism works. We have to arrange things so that it is a tactic that we are able to frustrate.' "

*Omaha World-Herald
March 13*

"Senior U.S. officials agree that the new anti-terrorism policy should have three basic components: protective measures, such as increased embassy security; better intelligence about terrorist groups and their operations; and more aggressive military and covert-action measures that can deter terrorists from attacking Americans."

*David Ignatius in the Wall Street Journal
March 12*

"It is time for the U.S. government to move decisively to protect its embassy employees in the world's areas of turmoil. Security provisions should be realistically reviewed in these regions. Embassy staffs

should be reasonably pared to those persons who are absolutely necessary. They should live under adequate protection of U.S. armed personnel....

"Even in quiet areas U.S. diplomats and other Americans need to be vigilant...In areas of turmoil, such as Beirut, it is essential not to be foolhardy. After the March 16 kidnaping, American diplomatic personnel living in civilian apartments were moved to a secure area to be guarded by American troops. They ought to have been there all along. As pointed out by Arthur Goldberg..., the State Department argument that protection of U.S. diplomats is the duty of the host government breaks down in areas where there is no effective government."

Christian Science Monitor, March 28

"Some embassies remain vulnerable. Only a 10-foot high iron gate separates the steel-and-glass U.S. embassy in Madrid from the main street—a mere 10 yards from the building. Missions in London, Vienna, and the Hague are similarly vulnerable."

Washington Post, December 13

"In the late 1960s, with the contemporary beginning of diplomatic kidnapping and attempted assassinations, the United States failed to establish a consistent policy for dealing with terrorism. For example, when our ambassador to Brazil, Charles Burke Elbrick, was kidnapped in 1969, the U.S. put pressure on the Brazilian government to accede to the terrorists' demand. The Brazilians complied and the ambassador was released unharmed...In 1973, eight Palestinians of the Black September Organization seized the Saudi Arabian embassy in Khartoum, Sudan, and captured five U.S. citizens including our ambassador. Then President Richard Nixon, in an answer to a press conference question, declared that the United States 'will not pay blackmail.' The immediate result was the slaughter of the hostages."

The Bureaucrat, Winter 1983-84

"According to the information provided by antiterrorist specialists, we may expect stepped-up attacks on American diplomats and diplomatic facilities in the future. Even as the United States takes steps to safeguard its embassies, installing more sophisticated surveillance and communications and tightening perimeter security, terrorism has made a career in the Foreign Service riskier than ever."

John B. Wolf in Worldview

CLIPPINGS records without comment statements appearing in the media on diplomacy and the Foreign Service.

MAY 1984

10-25-50

Foreign Service Journal, May 1974:

"The only non-elected officers of the federal government who are specifically mentioned in the Constitution are ambassadors and ministers. This is not a quaint anachronism, but rather the outgrowth of the founding fathers' awareness of the importance of diplomacy and the need to establish the executive-legislative balance in the field of foreign affairs in part by giving the Senate the power to advise and consent to ambassadorial nominations.

"We have come a long way from the cadenced prose and the political wisdom of the Constitution to Mr. Herbert Kalmbach's recent public admission that he preferred ambassadorships in exchange for political contributions. With press accounts that the going price of a small—but pleasant—Caribbean embassy was \$50,000, and a small European embassy \$100,000, public attention has again been focused on the need for urgent action to ensure that only the best qualified persons are nominated and confirmed to be American ambassadors abroad."

AUSA President Thomas Boyatt

Foreign Service Journal, May 1959:

"Will you be able to afford an ambassadorship? Do you have resources to meet emergencies? Save now. Buy U.S. Savings Bonds."

Public service advertisement

Foreign Service Journal, May 1934:

"The Foreign Service officer is sent abroad by his government, not to act as a representative in the sense of a wax figure, to show what God and the Constitution have produced in the western hemisphere, nor for the purpose of converting the rest of the world to our theories of government, but as a representative in the same sense as the agents of a corporation. They are expected to look after the interests of their principals. Consequently one of the first objects of a representative should be to get on friendly terms with his customers, or in other words the people of the country where he is stationed. It is obvious that this cannot be accomplished if the agent disregards local prejudices, and insists upon obtruding the customs of his own country upon the people with whom he comes into contact."

The editor



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WHAT CONSTITUENT AIDES SAY ABOUT CONSULAR SERVICES

ROBERT E. TYNES

THEY ARE KNOWN by a variety of titles—constituent service aides, chiefs of staff, executive assistants, staff assistants, field representatives, administrative assistants, special assistants, office managers, district representatives and, of course, caseworkers. For those of us who answer congressional inquiries concerning consular work, they represent an important group of people: they draft the letters we receive or, in other cases, transmit information to the State Department contained in telegraphic inquiries to posts.

It would be highly useful for a consular officer to develop an in-depth understanding of how these congressional caseworkers—who generate about 70 percent of the mail the legislative branch sends to the department—operate and think. It would also be useful for congressional caseworkers to gain some insight into the way we consular officers work. Thus, I took advantage of the Una Chapman Cox Sabbatical Leave Program to initiate such a dialogue.

As I visited congressional offices—in total, I traveled to district offices of 59 senators and 63 representatives, speaking to more than 200 congressional assistants—distinct patterns and concerns emerged. Most consular officers consider congressional inquiries irritants at best—an interruption to the normal flow of work, or perhaps even a bid for privileged or special consideration. At worst, the appearance of a congressional letterhead—which often makes the first-tour officer lift from his or her seat—conjures up a scenario of being called on the carpet for mishandling a case or of being attacked by the home-town press of the aggrieved constituent.

None of these views is correct. Rather, perceptions range from pure neutrality—"We don't even attempt to form a value judgment whether a constituent's complaint is valid until we've heard both sides"—to a frank prejudice in the consular officer's favor—"In visa matters, I tend to put more faith in the consul's statement of the facts." I found that the Foreign Service has an excellent reputation among congressional caseworkers, and on numerous occasions the department's replies to inquiries were the subject of praise. Despite this favorable perception, there are some questions that require answers. We need to determine

where our work might improve. And we ought to ask ourselves how inquiries can be used as a vehicle to convey a positive image of consular work to congressional staffers.

The most frequently heard complaint from staffers about consular services overseas was insensitive behavior by Foreign Service National employees. Although some of us may have had the good fortune to have served at several posts where our FSN colleagues have been of the highest caliber—highly motivated and well-trained in every aspect of service to the public—this blessing is by no means universal. On the other hand, patient, understanding, and professional service "at the counter" by FSNs often goes unappreciated by congressional staffers, who only seem to hear about them when a constituent (or his or her alien relative or friend) is not satisfied with the service—or the response. It should be equally clear, however, that junior officers, especially in host countries where visa fraud is prevalent, should investigate allegations that FSNs discourage host-country nationals from entering the consular area. Of greater significance is the allegation of rude behavior to U.S. citizens. To alleviate some of that, our FSNs can be trained to provide, for example, recommendations for quaint local bistros to American visitors who seemingly are using the embassy as a tourist bureau. This will allow the consular officer to deal with protection/welfare cases or other substantive matters which involve the safety of American citizens. The FSN must be trained, however, not to deny access to the consular officer when the visitor insists that only an American official will do.

The other major area within consular work which received some criticism from caseworkers was visa operations. In singling out visa work for comment, caseworkers almost always prefaced their remarks by expressing their appreciation for the overwhelming majority of cases in which the visa office, as well as other areas within the Bureau of Consular Affairs, have been helpful to them. Rather than assess whether individuals might be bona fide non-immigrant visa applicants, consular officers, according to some caseworkers, occasionally had the attitude that the applicant must not qualify for the visa if a congressional office is needed to intercede.

Some caseworkers criticized the defensive posture some consular officers assume in regard to visa inquiries. Most caseworkers exercise considerable thought before making visa inquiries. They realize that every response cannot be favorable and therefore counsel

Robert E. Tynes is a consul in Hamburg, Germany. Research for this article was conducted during a Una Chapman Cox Sabbatical, which provides a year's paid leave for several Foreign Service officers each year.

friends and relatives of aliens that the burden of proof rests on the applicant. Some even decline to inquire on behalf of what appear to be weak or fraudulent cases. Having exercised this judgment, they are troubled by the occasional assumption of an adversary stance by the visa office or a general assumption of ineligibility that appears to be based solely on nationality.

HAVING CONSIDERED the perceptions of consular officers held by congressional caseworkers, we should take a look at how they perceive themselves as well as the thinking that underlies the preparation of the correspondence they send us. In talking with them, the most frequently repeated theme was that congressional inquiries are not made with the expectation that immigration (or other) laws will be broken or bent or that someone should receive something for which they are not entitled. Rather, they are asking for efficient and expeditious processing. In preparing a reply, there is little need on our part for a defensive or adversary posture if all that is really being requested is a status report or "appropriate assistance." As one assistant to a congressman from a midwestern state put it: "Here's the bottom line; this is what the constituent wants. How can we legally help him get it?" Another field representative said, "We know we can't change a consular officer's mind about visa eligibility simply by making an inquiry. We don't attempt to do that nor should we. What I need is someone who can give me the options available to a constituent without the officer's personal biases showing through. If there is nothing further which can be done, we need to know." One of the best summations came from the chief of constituent services of a senator from a southwestern state: "You'd be surprised how many constituents expect the senator to perform magic. They won't believe the answer to their request is negative until they've heard it from our office. Therefore, we're obliged to write to the embassy concerned—and there's certainly no need for any agency to feel threatened if all we're asking for is an exchange of information."

Regarding visa refusals in particular, caseworkers need more than the citation of a section of law—they need a full and thoughtful reply. One said, "We write to get your feedback so that we can tell the constituent that we are assured that a given refusal is justified." Another district manager stated that it was the policy of her office not even to inquire about non-immigrant visa cases unless, based on information available to her, the applicant appeared to have the intention and means to return to his home country following a visit. Finally, one aide expressed a great deal more faith in the judgment of consular officers and the value of personal interviews than caseworkers are often perceived as holding: "We are reluctant to become involved in visa matters."

Another element to be considered is the manner in which caseworkers regard the constituents who request congressional assistance. The caseworker's first job is to dispel the notion of legislative omnipotence: "The constituent usually comes to us as a last resort,

and we're happy to help as a liaison between the little man and the State Department—but they have to understand that the State Department issues visas, not the senator. We have to get through to them that the senator's name is not a magic word." The next element is the determination of wherein lies the truth. Several staffers apologized for making inquiries on information that common sense would dictate is not wholly truthful but that, at the initial stage, is all they have on which to base an inquiry. One district office manager said, "We do feel badly about some letters we have to write, but we try to word them so that—we hope—the consul will understand." Several others stressed the care taken not to state a certain set of facts as the truth but rather that a certain series of events was alleged to have occurred. Almost every caseworker cited a case in which "we are almost sure that a response will be a negative but we have to write to satisfy the constituent."

There are two final areas that might contain misconceptions. First, caseworkers don't like the shotgun effect of writing to both senators as well as the representative any more than we do. Several offices said that, before proceeding with a case, they determine if there is other congressional interest. If so, steps are taken to avoid duplication of effort. Other offices, like us, learn to live with the problem. But one caution: be consistent—make sure every congressional office which expresses interest in a case is supplied the same information at the same time, whether the response is favorable or not.

Second, the recent concern because of the delay in passport processing. Problems in the Chicago passport office produced many requests for congressional assistance and consequent casework increases throughout the northern midwestern states. But one factor remained clear: the staff and management of the Chicago passport agency were singled out for praise and "roughing it out." Virtually every office with which I spoke indicated awareness of where the actual problem lay—the closing of the Detroit agency, the introduction of new technology for the production of machine-readable passports, and the unanticipated surge of overseas travel. To this was added an expression of appreciation for the manner in which other offices—Washington, New Orleans, and Philadelphia in particular—stepped in to help.

In general, I found that the perception among congressional staffs is that consular officers have done very well, but some areas need improvement. Caseworkers noted favorably in particular those cases involving unorthodox but successful efforts in protection and welfare. However, efforts of consular officers to assist constituents and their families and friends in *all* types of consular matters are held in high regard by the individuals who prepare congressional inquiries. The most frequently heard comments were: "Our dealings with the State Department have been first-rate"... "We are more often pleasantly surprised than disappointed"... "Your responses address our concerns and the issues are clarified." One caseworker summed it up this way: "I am ecstatic over responses from State because my senator doesn't want to know 'yes or no'—he wants to know 'why.' " It is up to us, the consular officers, to tell them. □

Consuls need to determine where our work might improve. Congressional inquiries can be used to convey a positive image of consular work.

STATE'S TANGLED WEB

As scientific and technical issues intrude into foreign policy, collaboration between the State Department and domestic agencies has become complex but unavoidable

FITZHUGH GREEN

THE SECRET IS OUT: our State Department does not single-handedly conduct U.S. foreign policy. The other foreign affairs agencies have long shared in the task. But so have an increasing number of federal departments that are primarily responsible for agriculture, treasury, labor, and the environment, among others. This growing—and often tangled—web of involvement is evident both in the number of interagency meetings held in Washington and in the legions of people from domestic agencies who either travel or are assigned abroad. In fact, in some embassies, personnel from other agencies outnumber those in the Foreign Service.

The infusion of domestic agencies into foreign policy can lead to pitfalls. The State Department often loses ground in its daily battle to control foreign policy. At last count some 46 agencies were running international programs, and to at least one key U.S. ambassador, every one of them seems to have its own foreign policy agenda. This can—and often does—create an impression of chaos.

Furthermore, these domestic agencies may menace and weaken an ambassador's ability to represent the U.S. government as unified and consistent. One ambassador recalls his own horror story: An assistant secretary of a U.S. agency normally concerned with domestic matters visits the ambassador's capital city. The ambassador introduces the assistant secretary to Minister Fulano, the relevant official in the host country's government. Fulano soon appears in Washington and has lunch with the assistant secretary. A day or two later the assistant secretary's agency calls a press conference and announces a \$50 million grant to Fulano's government. The ambassador sums up his all-too-familiar tale quietly, restraining his ire: "There is no linkage between the decision to help this government and our embassy. I am not consulted or brought into the act at all. The host country notes this, of course, and assumes I am not taken seriously by my own administration. This does not exactly build my influence as ambassador!"

Fitzhugh Green is associate administrator of the Environmental Protection Agency. During a long career as an FSIO, his assignments included positions in Laos, Israel, the Congo (now Zaire), Washington, and at the United Nations. He also served a tour as deputy director for the Far East. He recently completed a manuscript on USIA entitled "Speak Up, America."

Yet the ambassador concedes that the State Department and its embassies cannot go it alone. They must lean on the technical agencies, even those that are rarely thought of as having international concerns. Such connections are not merely useful, they are essential—and they will remain a fact of life for those who attempt to manage and implement U.S. foreign policy. As science and technology intrude themselves ever more deeply into international relations, our diplomats must have experts at their elbow, whether negotiating an arms treaty, a trade pact, or a multilateral environmental convention or simply participating in an ecological conference. As State seeks technical help from other agencies, they in turn require a hand from State with protocol and intercultural understanding so their own programs will run smoothly.

To handle these technical adjuncts to the United States' international interests, our embassies have already added specialists to their staffs. The ambassador still runs the country team, but must also employ a growing array of attaches (many of whom—with bureaucratic inflation—have risen to become counselors), who exercise authority over military, cultural, agricultural, informational, commercial, and scientific affairs. Likewise in Washington, the State Department also relies on such domestic agencies to provide the expertise needed for coping with these new dimensions of foreign policy. State now has operating partnerships with dozens of federal technical agencies, among them the Environmental Protection Agency.

The EPA provides one illustration of a domestic technical agency that finds it must act internationally to fulfill its mandate. A year ago the State-EPA connection fell victim to the public travail surrounding the agency as it was buffeted by criticism in the national press and congressional committees. Since William D. Ruckelshaus returned as administrator, however, the agency is once more collaborating fruitfully with the State Department in international efforts to protect the global environment.

PRESIDENT NIXON ESTABLISHED EPA by executive order in 1970. In an Adam's rib-type operation, 15 environmental programs from federal agencies and departments were scalped out and stitched together: the water pollution control section from the Department of the Interior, air pollution control, radiation protection, pesti-



cides regulation, and more operations from other departments were suddenly thrust under the same roof.

Ruckelshaus (who was the first administrator as well as the current one) immediately recognized the worldwide implications of his fledgling agency. After all, environmental pollution ignores national boundaries—oil spills do not stay in territorial waters, nor does acid rain respect air space. He quickly created a division of international activities charged with relating EPA's statutory assignments in the United States to the needs and opportunities presented by other countries and multinational organizations.

Ruckelshaus was not unique in recognizing the value of the international arena. By the time they arrived at the newly born EPA in 1970, many of the career employees were already personally bound up in the international environmental community. EPA's engineers, lawyers, economists, and scientists enjoy international reputations for their expertise. They receive frequent invitations to lecture, share research, provide counsel, and write papers for foreign or multinational publications. They have been part of an invisible university, an international academic network in their specific scientific or technical discipline. Like fleas on a dog, their foreign contacts and commitments accompanied these employees from their original agencies to their new home.

Indeed, EPA employees were so committed overseas that they caused the agency some difficulty in launching its own program. Once these recruits arrived at EPA, the first step was to find out exactly what they were already doing abroad. Understandably, many were leery of losing the foreign dimension of their careers. They were proud and protective of

their far-flung renown; most liked the perquisites and stimulation of trips and conferences. Their EPA managers found that they resisted divestiture of these activities with the fury of a dog protecting his bone. Nevertheless, the agency had to uncover the details of these foreign connections and analyze their value in terms of EPA's priorities and resources of money and personnel. This information was secured by having all would-be travelers complete a suitable form.

After learning what it had inherited, EPA started forming its own programs. Again, the internationalist nature of the career employees had an impact. Resentment was not an unusual reaction whenever permission for a trip was denied. However, enthusiasm reigned whenever the agency consented to trips and projects in which its employees had already planned to participate or when additional people were selected to go overseas. In fact, since 1970 no EPA employee has refused a foreign assignment!

It soon became clear that both to avoid rankling the troops and, even more important, to fulfill its new duties, the agency would have to take a leading role in international environmental affairs. EPA had to lay out basic goals. Three were quickly set which still provide the guidelines for the agency's international activities today. First, information bases should be established abroad so that EPA can learn of new pollution control technologies, environmental research, and management systems that have been developed elsewhere. Thus the agency will avoid having to reinvent sliced bread while other countries forge ahead of the United States. Second, the progress of the environmental protection movement in the rest of the world should be supported through technical assistance, data exchange, and propaganda. Third, EPA

The author (left) talks with EPA Administrator William D. Ruckelshaus and French Minister for the Environment Huguette Bouchardeau about cooperative agreements between their agencies.

should operate overseas in concert with the State Department and adhere to stated principles of U.S. foreign policy.

None of these goals will be—or can be—totally achieved. But they provide a kind of north star by which the agency's potential for freewheeling abroad can be kept on course. They encourage EPA to be alert for "bargain-rate" learning experiences. For example, when other countries or organizations stage professional meetings on something like acid rain, EPA can piggyback the efforts of others and avoid duplication, or enlist others in bilateral research or consultations on common targets. Or EPA can join with multilateral groups like the European Community, the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development, or even the U.N. Environment Program to harmonize the setting of standards on pollutants, handling exports of hazardous and toxic chemicals, or protecting some specific vital organ of the environment such as the oceans or ozone layer.

With EPA so busy overseas, it should keep in mind the third goal of the agency's international program: that all activities be consistent with U.S. foreign policy. EPA hopes to avoid misunderstandings and working at cross-purposes. Cooperating with State, rather than contesting it, earns EPA a place at the policy-making table whenever ecological subjects are discussed. As Russell E. Train, a former chairman of the Council on Environmental Quality and administrator of EPA, once quipped, the environment is too vital to be left solely in the lap of the State Department.

STATE ALSO HAS A STAKE in fostering collaboration. Without it, the department would be hard put to safeguard both its own position and the coherence of U.S. foreign policy. U.S. diplomats must watch over the sometimes untutored envoys representing scientific and technical agencies to avoid upsetting vital relationships with foreign citizens and governments. State must study and guide the domestic agencies so they can be kept in sync with the dictates of foreign policy. To repeat, State must be able to enlist their support and participation on those matters when their technical expertise is needed.

It is one thing to set cooperation as a goal, and quite another to achieve it. This is particularly so since the lines of authority between the agencies are often rather murky. State is pre-eminent abroad, but at home it lacks the clout to order other agencies to do its bidding. It can only request help and hope for a positive answer. Usually this is forthcoming—after all, State is the senior department of the cabinet. Furthermore, proximity to diplomats carries a certain panache for stay-at-home bureaucrats, and State Department officials do tend to phrase their calls for assistance with a certain finesse.

One road block has been removed: in the past there were several special assistants to the secretary of state with responsibility for a variety of scientific and natural resource programs. Not only was this cumbersome, but the special assistants complained that their very numbers reduced their access to and influence with the secretary. Senator Claiborne Pell (D.-Rhode Island), a former Foreign Service officer, crafted a

remedy which abolished the special assistant slots. In 1973, he drafted and saw passed a bill creating the Bureau of Oceans and International Environmental and Scientific Affairs (OES). The assistant secretary for OES could thus speak for numerous constituencies—like population, health, polar affairs, fisheries, natural resources, and nuclear technology. He or she could even get the ear of the secretary when necessary. An assistant secretary also commands more respect from other government agencies, particularly the large ones.

Now, the deputy assistant secretary for the environment within OES works directly with EPA's Office of International Activities. The State Department's area bureaus also deal with that office, sometimes unilaterally, but clearance of EPA telegrams and other messages to U.S. embassies must always keep OES in the loop.

Often State and EPA overlap so much that more is required than simply checking paperwork. Last August a delegation headed by the assistant secretary for OES negotiated a border environment agreement with Mexico. Officials from EPA and the U.S. Coast Guard participated. Since then, EPA has served as national coordinator to implement the agreement. This has meant interaction with the Mexicans to ameliorate harmful situations such as untreated sewage or air pollution crossing the border. In short, State and EPA were responsible for different aspects of the same project (one for negotiation and one for implementation), and so their close meshing was essential.

Sometimes collaboration requires cohabitation. A domestic agency may open its own offices in U.S. embassies. For example, the National Science Foundation has staff stationed in the Tokyo embassy, and EPA has detailed a man to the U.S. mission to the OECD in Paris. Even in Washington, understanding between State and EPA has been enhanced by detailing personnel back and forth. Despite good humored accusations that these individuals are really moles for their permanent agency, they have been a big plus in teaching each agency about the priorities and procedures of the other. The practice should continue.

Overall the system functions amazingly well. For the most part the domestic agencies have satisfied their need to commingle with their opposite-number experts and organizations abroad, and State has maintained control over international policy. As in any human endeavor, however, a successful partnership between State and EPA (or any other domestic agency) depends on the people involved. Where there is patience, candor, and mutual trust the machinery runs smoothly. When one or more of these elements is missing, mischief can occur and U.S. interests suffer. The day-to-day routine between State and other agencies is not simple. The general modus operandi has developed well, with few glitches, but there are always threats to the necessary cooperative spirit.

THE POSSIBILITIES ARE INFINITE. Think of some specific chicanery and it might actually happen. In fact it may *already* have happened: A joint State-EPA delegation visits a foreign country. They draft a speech and wire it to

Charles Caccia, Canada's minister for the environment, meets with Ruckelshaus to discuss the myriad of environmental issues that cross the international border. U.S.-Canadian concerns include acid rain and agreements on the Great Lakes and hazardous wastes.



Washington for clearance by both agencies. The speech is then altered over the telephone. Unfortunately, someone leaks the original to the press, and the delegation looks bad as it is quoted nationwide with a statement that may be contrary to U.S. aims. The delegation complains righteously that it was tricked, but the damage is done.

A wasteful and all-too-common phenomenon is the oversized delegation. The State's Office of International Conferences tries manfully to trim delegations to sensible limits. The Office of International Activities in EPA, and similar mechanisms in other agencies, are dedicated to paring the fat from travel budgets. Journalists and oversight committees of Congress keep a sharp eye on us, and rightfully so.

Nevertheless, the problem is still very much with us. At the London Dumping Convention last February, State, EPA, the Corps of Engineers, the Department of Energy, the Navy's and Department of Defense's Legal Sections, and the National Oceanic and Atmospheric Administration all showed up in London for the annual meeting. Including congressional observers, the United States fielded nearly a score of federal employees, three or four times the size of other national teams. These constituent agencies should meld their different approaches in Washington and go to London next year with a firm U.S. position agreed upon by all. Then we should be able to keep our delegation to a maximum of six.

Three factors are usually to blame for such mammoth delegations. First, everyone wants to be included in prestigious meetings, such as the famous 1972 Stockholm U.N. Conference on the Human Environment. Dwarfing every other country's group, in some cases by more than 10 to 1, the United States sent 65 representatives—all expenses paid, of course. Second, there is the desire to travel to posh or exotic locations, particularly the great capitals of Europe. Third—and inexcusable—there is the aim of safeguarding the interests of one's own agency by keeping any eye on the activities of those other agencies that might steal a march on yours if not watched.

The appeal of the junket is strong. U.S. specialized agencies are still imbued with the missionary drive of our turn-of-the-century forebears' desire to enlighten the heathen—those, for example, who have not yet discovered the mysteries of environmental stewardship. Travel is broadening, too, and it has a peculiar talent for making home seem even sweeter. But these are not reasons for letting our delegations become so large that they hinder the accomplishment of our objectives. Many hands do not lighten delegation work overseas. They just confuse the issues, policies, and interagency relationships. The result of smaller delegations will be more fruitful orchestration between State and the domestic agencies.

The prospect of a large delegation to an important meeting also can inflame people in both State and other agencies to vie for the chairmanship. This position is one plum in the State-domestic agency arena that sparks the same kind of trouble as the apple in the Garden of Eden. The conflict can become so intense that the struggle may have to be settled by the White House, as it was before the 1972 Stockholm meeting. In principle, State should be free to chair any team it

chooses. It is the senior department in government and presides over all U.S. activities overseas short of war. Sometimes it even presides *during* war, as in Vietnam and Laos.

In practice there are obstacles. OES has too few people to chair every group. Or, the State Department generalist may have trouble mastering the substance of a technical issue. If many scientists and technicians of a domestic agency are engaged, it is better management to have them serve under their own leader.

In some situations, such as in EPA's bilateral agreements with Mexico, the Soviet Union, China, West Germany, and France, the U.S. coordinator needs to be from EPA simply because so much of the work entails year-round, intra-agency decisions and implementation. The design of projects, selection of EPA participants, decisions on monetary and time requirements, these are all matters that must be threshed out by the program administrators. State stays in the picture throughout, communicating with EPA officials, overseeing policy, and monitoring the agreements with regard for overall U.S. relations with the country in question. At present, State and EPA discuss the chairmanship question well in advance of meetings and decide when and how the chair will be assigned. The excellent communications between the two agencies at present enables sound selections to be made unemotionally—a practice not always possible in the past.

There is another, extreme form of knavery not yet mentioned. If the delegates from one U.S. agency disagree with the national policy or fear the delegation's chairperson is failing to protect their interests adequately, they might stoop so low as to connive with the representatives of other countries. They could plant their views with a friendly foreigner who would introduce it as his or her own. This nightmare scenario is (at least to this writer's knowledge) still conjectural, but it might actually surface just as drugs do among our teenagers. The federal overseas establishment should be alert to stamp out such behavior before it happens.

Over the years such guerrilla warfare has been rare. It contaminates the ambience of faith that is essential for intramural cooperation to flourish in our government. Continual vigilance by those employees who participate in cooperative endeavors between the State Department and domestic agencies must protect us from such shenanigans.

The 14-year alliance between State and EPA boasts a fine record of accomplishment. Every month hundreds, perhaps thousands, of useful transactions take place. State and EPA together have forged a strong mechanism for advancing global environmental protection, serving as middleman between the United States and foreign countries. They have put together first-class conferences, joint reports, and a healthy collaboration. The daily stream of telephone calls, memos, letters, cables, and people between the two agencies is the lifeblood of this symbiosis. It is surprising that these complex arrangements work at all. Yet, remarkably, a combination of energy and good humor in both agencies has brought forth results in which toiling bureaucrats can take pride. □



Yurity A. Izrael and Douglas M. Costle, co-chairmen of the Soviet and U.S. delegations to the eighth joint committee meeting under the U.S.-U.S.S.R. environmental agreement. The agreement comprises 42 projects, from pollution control to wildlife conservation.



One that almost got away: a VAX 11/782 computer system destined for the Soviet Union was seized by West German officials in Hamburg (right). A U.S. customs agent and a computer expert look over the computer's high-technology components whose export to the East is controlled (above).



STATE'S UNWELCOME ROLE

Even though its mandate is clear, the department has been reluctant to challenge Defense in interagency negotiations over export controls

WILLIAM A. ROOT

FOR MORE THAN THREE DECADES the United States has sought to control exports to the Warsaw Pact countries of equipment and technology having strategic uses. In particular, the U.S. government has attempted to gain the cooperation of its allies in limiting such exports. Responsibility for coordinating this effort lies with the State Department, which must seek agreement from all the relevant agencies on an effective U.S. policy and then secure cooperation from our allies. This has not been a simple task, involving as it has the need to reconcile conflicting views in the formulation of U.S. legislation on regulations, and in the negotiation of multinational agreements.

Even given the difficulties, however, State has not been as effective as it could be. While interagency cooperation is always characterized by some degree of give and take, in this instance State has allowed the other departments to assume they had the leading role. The result has too often been stalemate, both within the U.S. government and within the multilateral forum. Meanwhile, exports are governed by outdated regulations that do not effectively control new, militarily significant technologies and products.

William A. Root was director of the State Department's Office of East-West Trade for seven years and has participated in U.S. delegations to COCOM since 1964. Last September, he resigned from the department, believing that, because of a lack of support from Defense, State could not fulfill its statutory responsibility to negotiate with our allies on controls on strategic exports to the East.

State's failure to lead the other departments in constructing a viable U.S. policy cannot be blamed on legitimate confusion over which agency is in charge. In this case, it is not even necessary for State to rely on its general authority concerning foreign policy, because the relevant legislation explicitly assigns to State the task of overseeing multilateral export controls. The Mutual Defense Assistance Control Act of 1951, known as the Battle Act, called for withholding aid from countries that refused to cooperate with the United States in controlling strategic exports. Initially, the Battle Act administrator was located in a separate agency. But after a few years, his functions were assigned to the State Department, where they were delegated to the assistant secretary for economic affairs (later economic and business affairs). The Office of East-West Trade in that bureau became the principal staff for coordinating interagency activities concerned with multilateral export controls. The Battle Act was repealed in 1979, but the Export Administration Act of that year retained the still relevant portions of the Battle Act by assigning State the responsibility for negotiating with other countries to obtain their cooperation in administering strategic export controls. Thus, except for a brief initial period, the multilateral export-control function was clearly in State's purview.

Although its leadership has thus been expressly authorized, the department has not moved to take hold of the issue aggressively. This is reflected in the general attitude that handling the export-control function is not a desirable assignment for the best and most ambitious officers. Indeed, some believe that

export controls have been the kiss of death for several high officials, including in recent years Secretary Haig, Under Secretary Myer Rashish, and Assistant Secretary Robert Hormats. For whatever reason, very few State personnel have actively sought export-control assignments. Those who were assigned to EWT have usually been advised by the Office of Personnel to move on after two or three years "to get back into the mainstream." Such advice was prevalent even during the last six years, when sanctions related to the Shcharansky trial, the invasion of Afghanistan, and martial law in Poland, along with high-level attention to technology transfers, put export controls at the core of both East-West and U.S.-Allied relations.

Despite this attitude, the personnel serving in State's export-control positions have been well qualified. Over the years a few Civil Service and Foreign Service officers have been dedicated to and enthusiastic about doing their best in this area. For the first three postwar decades, there was a remarkable degree of continuity in the staffing of these positions. For the past ten years, though, the work has suffered from rapid turnover, but probably no more rapidly than for other State functions. Thus, it is fair to say that inter-agency problems have arisen despite having qualified and motivated people in State. There have been a few personality conflicts but, for the most part, good interagency personal relationships have been maintained even when interagency substantive differences have been marked.

The cause of State's failure to secure a consensus among U.S. agencies is not some shortcoming of the persons directly involved in the issue. The lack of enthusiasm for export-control assignments is merely a symptom of the department's reluctance to welcome its central role with open arms. We must look instead for more fundamental, structural causes.

THE MANNER IN WHICH State has carried out its statutory strategic export-control function is largely the story of U.S. representation in the Coordinating Committee. COCOM, as it is usually known, was established in 1949 and includes Japan and the NATO countries, minus Iceland and Spain. It has served as the principal structure for multilateral export-control negotiations between these countries.

The State Department remains primarily responsible for fulfilling the various staffing needs resulting from participation in COCOM, but this is not indicative of any predominance over policymaking on State's part. For example, the United States maintains a permanent delegation at the Paris headquarters of COCOM. This delegation is staffed by State Department Foreign Service personnel. Occasionally other agencies have considered assigning their own people; indeed, Defense may be considering such assignments now. However, State's role in staffing the delegation has, at least up until now, never been seriously questioned. This is largely because most decisions affecting COCOM are made by interagency groups in Washington or by teams of experts visiting Paris to attend COCOM sessions.

The United States also maintains several Economic

Defense officers attached to U.S. embassies in COCOM-member countries. EDO functions are usually part-time responsibilities of State Foreign Service personnel, although some Foreign Commercial Service officers now perform them. EDOs support our COCOM efforts by checking on the end-use of specific exported items as a way of deterring their diversion to unauthorized countries or purposes.

Occasionally EDOs are asked to investigate alleged diversions. There are now two other agencies vying for this task. Customs attaches have conducted export-control investigations overseas from time to time. Commerce's Office of Export Enforcement also occasionally sends investigators overseas and is considering assigning personnel abroad on a permanent basis. The Senate recently approved a bill that would give Customs exclusive jurisdiction over such investigations, but a House bill would give Commerce enhanced enforcement authority and restrict Customs' authority. Host governments, however, generally insist that U.S. investigations of activities in their country which are suspected of being contrary to U.S. laws and regulations not be pursued except through communications between U.S. embassies and foreign ministries. Other governments are extremely sensitive about the extraterritorial reach of U.S. export controls. For this reason, State has informed Customs, Commerce, and Congress of the need for State's primacy in overseas export-control investigations. However, State has been so low-key in making this point that most observers still view the issue as strictly a Customs-Commerce turf battle.

In Washington, State's Office of East-West Trade has been the staff primarily responsible for representing the United States at COCOM. EWT has had to depend on other agencies for judgments on military significance, intelligence on Soviet capabilities, and information on the administration of unilateral U.S. controls. And, on the matter of advanced technology, no agency has sufficient expertise to backstop COCOM negotiations; indeed, even the total resources of all government agencies are inadequate. Accordingly, the United States, like other COCOM members, obtains technical advice from industry. Commerce is, reasonably enough, the principal channel for obtaining this advice, although Defense and Energy maintain connections with U.S. industry, too. State also requires some close industry liaison so that it can evaluate conflicting advice received from other agencies. For a few years out of the 35 that we have been participating in COCOM, a technically qualified officer from State's science office assisted EWT in carrying on such liaison. But this has been a hit or miss arrangement—unfortunately more miss than hit.

This brief survey of State's staffing in Paris, in embassies in COCOM member countries, and in Washington indicates that the department has been reasonably well organized to meet its responsibilities under COCOM. This organizational structure could have been a bit stronger if State had assigned technically qualified officers to the task on a more consistent basis and had been more vocal on the need for a paramount State role for overseas investigations of violations. But these are relatively marginal, especially when compared with State's lack of action in insisting on viable

U.S. positions for COCOM negotiations on export controls.

State has often deferred to other agencies on the conduct and content of COCOM negotiations. In the 1950s and early 1960s, a Commerce official was the de facto delegation leader at COCOM list-review negotiations. At that time, Defense made certain that its views were faithfully presented, but did not dominate the negotiations. Since then, Defense officials have been more active in Paris, and that department has often insisted that its views prevail in the formulation of the U.S. position.

WHERE HAS STATE BEEN all this time? In the 1950s State played a leading role in bringing about a realization in the U.S. government that after the Korean armistice our allies would not accept the same broad controls that had been in effect during the hostilities. After the Commerce official who served as de facto delegation leader was reassigned in the early 1960s, State did attempt to step into the vacuum. For a few years, EWT personnel assumed a more active role, as did the delegation to Paris. In the 1970s and 1980s, State has been at least nominally in charge at the negotiating table. But it has often been frustrated by other agencies' demands that the United States adopt such rigid positions that they would be unacceptable to the other COCOM members.

During the past six years, State has been particularly ineffective in leading negotiations on the most important item on the COCOM agenda: the updating of computer controls. The U.S. position has simply been the Defense Department's position. State accepted Defense's recommendations as policy, even though Commerce did not concur and it was evident that our allies would not accept the Pentagon's views.

Defense does have sound reasons for its position. The types of computers for which it advocated controls do have militarily significant uses and incorporate technologies which the Soviets have had difficulty developing themselves. Thus the Defense view has been consistent with the COCOM criteria for control. On the other hand, our allies and the Commerce Department were also on sound ground in resisting the imposition of control over computers that are so widely available in the West that effective restraints would be impossible. Defense accepted this point in theory, but nevertheless urged the adoption of more restrictive measures than others thought were administratively workable. This is just the sort of situation in which State should exercise strong leadership and steer negotiations towards responsible, but effective, controls. This has not happened.

In 1978 and 1979, the staffs of concerned U.S. agencies were making slow but steady progress in narrowing both the interagency and international gaps in proposals for the COCOM computer item. But in early 1980, as part of the reaction to the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan, Defense insisted on a more restrictive position than the United States had proposed in 1978. This abruptly ended prospects for any COCOM agreement in 1980. At the time, this was a tolerable outcome because Defense advised that the

existing definition was preferable to any that could realistically be negotiated.

In 1982 and 1983, history in large part repeated itself. A Defense position was submitted to COCOM as the U.S. proposal in 1982. The gap was gradually narrowed throughout 1982 and early 1983. In September 1983, Defense insisted on a U.S. position as restrictive as the one the United States proposed in 1982. This abruptly ended prospects for COCOM agreement in 1983. Unlike 1980, this was not a tolerable outcome in 1983. All agencies had come to the realization that the existing definition needed to be strengthened. There were too many weaknesses in vital areas such as signal processing, fault tolerance, microprogrammability, software, and telephone circuit switching. Nevertheless, we are still stuck with a COCOM definition for computers based on proposals submitted ten years ago.

Why is State so reluctant to take charge? Why does it not assert its authority to revise the U.S. proposal so that it will be administratively viable and negotiable within COCOM? The department has had a difficult time trying to coordinate interagency efforts. The reasons can be found not only in this particular issue itself, but also in State's general approach to dealing with new responsibilities.

First, State traditionally suffers from a strong aversion to organizational detail. More than once it has shown itself unwilling to assume responsibility for new programs, and so has lost those programs and the accompanying influence to other agencies. During the postwar era, State missed many leadership opportunities because of this reluctance to become involved in the operational nitty-gritty. The assignment of Marshall Plan responsibilities to a separate aid agency set the tone. It was clear that this aid program would be a centerpiece of our foreign policy in the late 1940s and early 1950s, but State's desire to avoid becoming enmeshed in administrative details resulted in the creation of a separate bureaucracy, which had added influence, not only on administrative detail, but also on policy. This, therefore, presented a challenge to State's regional bureaus and to its ambassadors. The erosion of the department's role as the principal agency for providing foreign policy advice to the president has continued over the ensuing decades. Many other federal agencies now have international programs and personnel assigned overseas. Former State Department responsibilities, such as information, exchanges, agriculture, and commerce, have been transferred to new agencies or rival Cabinet departments. The export-control function has not been the only victim of State's antipathy to administering a program.

Second, State has found it difficult to achieve a coherent U.S. policy because the issue has been so intractable. Export controls have been genuinely difficult to deal with; they are not only technically complex, but politically contentious. On this matter, however, State has proceeded whenever possible on the basis of interagency consensus. If difficulties can be resolved and changes agreed upon quietly at the interagency working level, all is well. Unfortunately, this has not been the case often enough with export controls. Feelings are strong and differences are often voiced at the highest level.

AT THOSE TIMES when interagency differences have escalated above the working level, difficulties have invariably arisen. Senior officers in State have been most reluctant to take on such issues and use their influence to push for the department's position. This is partly because the issues turn on technical details that are difficult for laypersons to understand. But more fundamentally, it is because of the overall organization of the executive branch.

If senior State officials seek to change the Defense position, the National Security Council staff usually becomes involved. That staff also has difficulty coping with the technical content of the subject matter. Moreover, it is not as close to the negotiating realities in COCOM as is State and so tends to side with Defense. Export controls, like many other issues, have suffered from the inherent lack of clarity, introduced by the National Security Act of 1947, as to whether the national security adviser or the secretary of state is the principal adviser to the president on foreign policy.

Third, the Defense Department's effective dominance of this issue has hindered State's attempts to exercise its mandated authority to conduct U.S. foreign policy. Whenever interagency working groups have been unable to agree, State has invariably picked the more conservative position, namely, that of Defense. This is largely because Defense has been best qualified to identify technologies of military significance that should be controlled. Moreover, if Defense believes that its prerogative to determine military criticality is being questioned, it digs in. But State's reluctance to overrule Defense is also due to the knowledge that such a challenge virtually never prevails.

What makes Defense's position so impregnable on export controls is the Jackson amendment to the Export Administration Act. Under that amendment, Commerce cannot overrule Defense on a security export-control case without presidential support, and even the president cannot overrule Defense without reporting that fact to Congress. The Jackson amendment does not literally apply to U.S. representation in COCOM, since it concerns only unilateral U.S., not multilateral, export-control cases. But interagency relations in the entire export-control field are conditioned by the Jackson amendment. There have been recent cases where the working level has had the impression that the president preferred State or Commerce recommendations but nevertheless refrained from overruling Defense to avoid having to report to Congress. Such a report would have conveyed the impression that the commander-in-chief was not master in his own house.

Working-level Defense officials, therefore, perceive that their views will prevail even over those of the president if they hang tough long enough. Since they are persuaded that hanging tough is in the nation's security interest, they often do just that. And, because the law of the land ultimately makes their views of more significance than the president's, it is perhaps understandable that they do not pay much heed to the views of other agencies or other governments.

One might conclude that we should be satisfied with Defense having its way, because this is the outcome of our democratic process. After all, the Jackson amendment was enacted by representatives of the people. However, the irony is that Defense is not having its way either—its objective of enforcing stronger controls is not being attained. Unilateral controls are ineffective and multilateral controls depend upon successful negotiations. In the case of the all-pervasive computer question, U.S. efforts to negotiate a new definition in COCOM while rigidly adhering to Defense's views have not been successful. And without a successful conclusion to those consultations, exports of some militarily critical computer hardware and software will remain unregulated internationally. And, our allies in COCOM will become increasingly frustrated by U.S. intransigence.

WE CANNOT SIMPLY SIT BY while the West's ability to regulate critical exports deteriorates and tensions with our negotiating partners increase.

There must therefore be substantial improvements in interagency relations in the area of multilateral security export controls. To that end, the most significant action would be to repeal the Jackson amendment. The president should be free to overrule Defense without having to report to Congress. In particular, he should be free to do so if that would make it possible to further Defense's own objective of strengthening controls. If the president had that option, he would probably not even have to use it, for Defense would have reason to be more conciliatory at working-level interagency meetings.

Repeal of the Jackson amendment does not seem likely in the near future, however. Indeed, a bill currently pending before the Senate would broaden its applicability to those cases where potentially strategic items and technology are exported, not only to the East, but to other western countries as well. By pursuing this trend, Congress has, in effect, concluded that allowing the State Department to make the concessions needed to reach a multilateral agreement on export controls jeopardizes the security of the American people. In fact, the opposite is true: those concessions could bring about the agreement needed to restrict the export of militarily critical technologies to the Soviet Union.

If the congressional belief becomes prevalent, our relations with Western Europe and Japan will deteriorate even further. Our allies will not follow us blindly—they will not restrict their own exports to the East if we hold them to outdated and unrealistic standards. The State Department must soon gain agreement within the U.S. government for a viable position on computer negotiations in COCOM. Existing, outdated controls are becoming more and more irrelevant to today's technologies. But State's efforts are likely to be for naught so long as the Jackson amendment puts Defense in the predominant position. If the American people are to overcome this roadblock on the path to greater national security, a debate on repeal of this amendment should be joined without delay. □

OPINION AND FOREIGN POLICY

The American public is cautious about foreign involvement: it believes strongly in the value of talk and opposes the use of military force

WILLIAM C. ADAMS

STEREOTYPES ABOUND when it comes to how the world views the American people. Depending on who sketches the caricature, Americans are all jingoistic adventurers eager to assert power, or ethnocentric know-nothings with no capacity for subtle diplomacy, or cowardly isolationists who have lost the will to defend Western interests. In addition, there is the odd impression that the American public treats each foreign policy issue in an ad hoc manner, as if based solely on the information in the last newspaper or newscast. Generalizations, of course, are often wrong—markedly so in this case. American public opinion on foreign policy can be broken into several broad orientations, but it does not fit crude categories such as isolationist, militarist, or internationalist.

A series of underlying attitudes forms the basis from which most Americans interpret international news. The fundamental orientations toward world affairs have been remarkably consistent for the better part of this century. Seven major patterns can be supported by decades of opinion polling. New polls offer only an occasional twist. (Unless otherwise noted, polls by the Gallup organization are cited in this essay.)

Universal human decency. Americans assume people everywhere are basically good and decent—not perfect in some utopian way, but still good despite an inevitable assortment of human shortcomings. On the other hand, Americans are not reluctant to label governments as bad or even monstrous. This fact may seem trivial at first but it is significant. It means, for example, that Americans can be sincerely concerned about the fate of the Palestinian people and at the same time hostile toward the Palestine Liberation Organization.

Even after World War II, Americans favored generous and benevolent treatment of the citizens of Germany and Japan. This attitude was possible because of the distinction between peoples and governments, and faith in the usual goodness of most people. With their wartime rulers swept away, the Germans and Japanese were able to be seen as friends and allies

within a short time after the end of a brutal war.

One remarkable Gallup poll in 1947 asked Americans: "At the present time, do you feel friendly or unfriendly toward the people of Germany as a whole?" Only 28 percent answered "unfriendly." By 1953, only 15 percent felt so. While other nations may have sustained centuries-old animosities of the Polish-Russian variety, Americans have no experience in steady hostility toward any people. A powerful consequence of this is that Americans are likely to assume that, if it were not for the men in the Kremlin and their government by gulag, there would be friendship not dispute with the Soviets.

Hope in communication is an outgrowth of this underlying optimism toward other peoples. Americans invariably favor communication with other countries, adversaries and allies alike. Believing that other people are basically decent, despite cultural variation, Americans are eager for people-to-people exchanges as well as diplomatic exchanges—without much regard to the politics of the foreign regimes. Thus, there is an abiding hope that discussions can resolve strife. When Anwar Sadat went to Jerusalem and joined in direct talks with Menachem Begin, Americans were ecstatic. Sadat received an outpouring of sympathy and support simply because he showed himself willing to break Arab barriers to talking with Israel. By 1979, in fact, Sadat's popularity ratings were higher than those of President Carter.

Americans believe that a willingness to discuss differences is an essential part of civilized behavior. Leaders, American as well as others, who refuse to talk to their opponents are usually considered intemperate if not extremist. Presumably, anyone genuinely interested in peace is always prepared to talk with the other side.

For these reasons, two of President Nixon's most popular moves, both with the press and with the people, were to travel to Moscow and to Beijing—the first time an American president had gone to either country. Even Americans who were most cynical about the motives and trustworthiness of Soviet and Chinese rulers still wanted to see the president make every effort to talk away tensions. Though a few people may laugh when they hear a presidential candidate say he will settle the nuclear arms race by personally sitting down with Soviet leaders, without a formal agenda, what the candidate knows is that most Americans will see his proposal as worthwhile and will see no harm in his trying.

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America's fundamental orientation toward world affairs has been remarkably consistent for the better part of this century

THESE ATTITUDES DO NOT REPRESENT some sort of recent shift. In 1938, for example, when asked if the United States should "refuse to take part in the 1940 Olympic games if they are held in Japan," 61 percent said that the country ought to participate. Likewise, the initial reaction (prior to President Carter's policy) of two-thirds of the public in 1980 was that, despite Afghanistan, the United States should still go to the Moscow Olympics.

The American eagerness to try to settle disputes through negotiation is also long-standing. In 1937, some 66 percent favored a "world disarmament conference," and 79 percent wanted mutual reductions in "spending for armaments." The next year 59 percent favored the Munich agreement and agreed that "England and France did the best thing in giving in to Germany instead of going to war." In 1939, about 69 percent wanted a "conference of leading nations of the world to try to end the present war and settle Europe's problems."

It is entirely consistent, therefore, that Americans would sympathize with an international organization that facilitates communication and negotiation. Just after the war, 81 percent favored the United States'

"joining a world organization with police power to maintain world peace." And two years later 85 percent said they supported the United Nations. Little has changed. In 1983, despite the fact that 51 percent thought the United Nations was doing a poor job, 79 percent still wanted to continue U.S. membership and participation.

Human rights. Empathy for other peoples and a commitment to freedom produces American concern with human rights violations. When Alexander Solzhenitsyn portrays the incalculable injury inflicted by the heirs of Marx, Americans grieve—as they do when they hear Jacobo Timerman tell of torture in Argentina. Images of the good people in other countries suffering at the hands of despots are painful ones.

Policymakers in Washington may debate whether Soviet-aligned states or certain "Western" dictatorships ought to be the chief target of U.S. government efforts to promote human rights violations, but Americans will endorse condemnations of any government understood to be abusing its citizens. Attempts to rationalize nasty behavior by allies are doomed to failure, no matter how much worse the potential alternatives might be.

This perspective makes it difficult to generate

The public believes that a willingness to discuss differences is an essential part of civilized behavior; leaders who refuse to talk are considered intemperate if not extremist

much enthusiasm for the defense of illiberal allies. Some people will claim that if U.S. support is to be confined to the Switzerland of the world—that is, to tranquil islands of democracy and plenty—then most of Asia, Africa, and Latin America will be future Afghanistans, Cambodias, and Nicaraguas. Nevertheless, the American revulsion toward human rights violations undercuts sympathy for autocratic allies. As much as Americans may deplore the trampling of freedom abroad, their approved approaches for responding to such problems are severely circumscribed. American concern about human rights is held in check by an even more intense and long-standing American attitude—fear of foreign combat.

Opposition to foreign combat. Contrary to the cliché, wars are not popular—at least not in the United States. The most popular politicians have been those who promised to do everything possible to keep American boys out of war. For as long as national public opinion polling has been conducted, results have shown widespread opposition to fighting overseas—as long as the United States is not directly attacked.

Americans overwhelmingly wanted to stay out of World War II. Gallup polls in 1939 showed that 96 percent of those surveyed opposed “joining the European war” and declaring war on Germany. When asked if they wanted the United States to keep out of the war even if it would mean Germany would conquer England and France, 77 percent still said “stay out.” To help ensure this, 69 percent favored “stricter neutrality laws” and 73 percent liked the idea of requiring the government to call a “national referendum” before a war could be declared. In 1940, on the general question of entry into the war, 86 percent were in opposition. And, as late as July 1941, an overwhelming 79 percent still opposed American involvement.

This antiwar orientation is so strong that even after U.S. victories there remained a sizable contingent of Americans who were unconvinced of the necessity of involvement. In 1939, two-thirds of those polled said U.S. participation in World War I had been a mistake. Even immediately after the victory in World War II—often called the most unified war experience in American history—one-quarter of those surveyed said that the United States should have stayed out.

One still encounters the view that the Vietnam experience somehow created an antiwar constituency where none had been before. As early as December 1950, a plurality said the United States had made a “mistake in going into the war in Korea.” Four years later, 72 percent disapproved of U.S. soldiers joining with the French in the Indochina fighting. The Korean conflict was no more popular than Vietnam. Americans recognized the horror of war long before the Tet offensive.

Consequences of this antiwar tradition are considerable. It means that Americans resist, under almost all circumstances, the need to send soldiers to fight on distant shores. Students of this tradition are hardly shocked to find that 8 of 10 Americans reject any plan to send soldiers to fight in El Salvador. Nor is it any wonder Americans never endorsed the military engagement in Lebanon.

WHAT IS AT FIRST glance surprising is that Americans did indeed support, after the fact, the intervention in Grenada. Grenada and Lebanon, however, offer ideal examples of the types of military enterprises Americans will approve or reject. Although few people would have given a pre-invasion endorsement of the move, Americans did support the *fait accompli* in Grenada because it was successful, quick, rescued Americans, had a limited number of casualties, and had clear and achievable objectives. The antithesis is Lebanon, where the involvement was prolonged, American lives were not as clearly on the line, casualties were high, and objectives were unclear and ultimately unattainable. In the public's eye, it held few prospects for success while the Marines became targets for snipers and terrorists.

Such views are not a new wave of post-Vietnam isolationism. They are part of enduring American attitudes that were not moved by storm troopers marching across Europe forty years ago any more than they have been by the adversaries of the 1980s.

Unoffensive defense. Avoidance of combat converges with another belief: Americans want a strong national defense, largely because it is understood to be protection against actual combat. In 1938, despite their strong resistance to participation in the war in Europe, Americans overwhelmingly favored President Roosevelt's strengthening of U.S. military forces. When asked if the proposed larger navy would “more likely get us into war or keep us out of war,” 73 percent said such defensive strength would help keep us out.

Americans immediately get upset with leaders who appear either too weak or too belligerent, either quality seeming to invite war for opposite reasons. Teddy Roosevelt's famous phrase has always found favor with the American public. Since the instant it was spoken, “speak softly but carry a big stick” has been a perfect expression of a key American instinct: do not be loud and warlike, but be sufficiently armed to discourage attack. In recent years, of course, conservatives have gone for the big stick while neglecting to speak softly. Liberals have mastered whispering but tried to whittle down the size of the stick. Invariably, Americans turn their back on the politicians who come to represent either extreme.

This is not to claim that Americans are incapable of shifts toward hawkish views. Perceptions of a weak Carter presidency coupled with explosive news from Iran, Afghanistan, Poland, and elsewhere produced 1980's remarkable but brief surge in support for increased defense spending and for a slightly tougher (though still cautious) posture. That is because Americans do not want to be threatened, intimidated, or pushed around on the international scene. Such inclinations are severely restrained, however, by the public's deep dread of the legendary bloody foreign swamp.

Outrage over an event like the Soviet attack on the Korean Airlines jet typically subsides rather quickly as people revert to their wish to minimize tensions and pursue peace. Such inclinations are due neither to the fall of Saigon nor to manipulation by liberal journalists. For the general public, these basic orienta-

tions have shown considerable stability for much of the century.

Economic self-interest. Economic conditions are outstanding predictors of whether incumbent presidents will be reelected, and election analysts have long noted that Americans vote their pocketbook. A neglected but comparable point is that economics forms an important part of the public's view of foreign policy. Americans see the pursuit of national self-interest and its concomitant use of diplomacy in economic terms.

Americans overwhelmingly believe foreign policy has an enormous effect on the U.S. economy. Two years ago 72 percent said U.S. foreign policy has a "major impact" on "our overall economy at home"; 81 percent said it has a "major impact" on gasoline prices; and 66 percent said it has a "major impact" on unemployment. Consequently, the public ranks issues of economic self-interest as goals that ought to be the top priorities of U.S. foreign policy. When presented with a variety of possible goals, the top three were all economic: "protecting jobs of American workers" was picked as a "very important goal" by 77 percent; "keeping up the value of the dollar" was very important to 71 percent; and "securing adequate supplies of energy" was very important to 70 percent. In fact, even though big business is never especially popular, 44 percent said that "protecting interests of American business abroad" ought to be a very important goal of U.S. foreign policy.

Presidential leadership. Traditionally, Americans support the president in times of crisis. They are also inclined to support the president even without a crisis. This reaction has not disappeared in recent years, although support is not now, nor has it ever been, a *carte blanche*. But within certain limits—set largely by the preceding six factors—the president can draw on a huge reservoir of public support.

This context for presidential support is crucial because, to reiterate the thesis of this essay, conventional American attitudes toward foreign affairs are fundamentally grounded in faith in the decency of humanity, fear of foreign combat, faith in communication and compromise, revulsion toward oppressive regimes whether of the left or the right, belief in the shield of a strong military, and concern with economic self-interest. Respect for the leadership of the president is the factor that ties the other six together.

IMPLICATIONS FOR POLICYMAKERS are clear. Administrations that are perceived to violate these tenets regularly—by being seen as either too bellicose or too weak—rapidly lose public support. If the general foreign policy reputation of an administration is solidly in this mainstream, on the other hand, it can get away with an occasional transgression. Most people will at least listen to a president's attempt to justify policies that they might initially have rejected. But it is not easy to make a convincing case when it appears to contradict this national ethos. Central America offers a classic example.

Consider the appeals made to justify current U.S. involvement in the region: "True the government of

El Salvador is not ideal (and may have a few trigger-happy people on the payroll), but please understand things are improving. Besides, it would be much worse if the leftist guerrillas were in power." Or, "We should not hand over any power to the guerrillas because they would abuse that power and they could not win power in fair elections. So there is no point in negotiations." Even, "Honest, we won't get American troops involved in combat. We only want to send some supplies and a few advisers."

These arguments clearly have to work against the grain of popular inclination. They verge on sounding like an apology for pro-U.S. authoritarianism, a pretext for introducing American soldiers, and an excuse to avoid serious peace talks. The arguments sound defensive because, in fact, they are attempts to appease several generations of conventional American attitudes on foreign policy.

Throughout 1983 solid majorities of those surveyed told ABC pollsters that "the situation in Central America is a threat to the United States," and majorities also said they thought Cuba and Nicaragua were interfering in El Salvador. Nonetheless, every poll conducted on the subject found overwhelming opposition to sending U.S. soldiers into the area—whether as advisers or combatants. In May, ABC found 80 percent opposed—and only 14 percent in support—to sending U.S. troops to fight in El Salvador. That poll found 55 percent saying that "becoming too entangled in Central American problems" is a greater danger than "the spread of Communism in Central America."

A 1982 Gallup poll reveals the extent to which Americans share these general orientations. At remarkable levels of between 85 to 94 percent, the public agreed that the following were "important" goals of U.S. foreign policy:

- protecting jobs of American workers (94%);
- keeping up the value of the dollar (93%);
- securing adequate supplies of energy (93%);
- worldwide arms control (89%);
- containing communism (86%);
- combating world hunger (91%);
- defending our allies' security (89%);
- matching Soviet military power (83%);
- protecting interests of American business abroad (87%);
- promoting and defending human rights in other countries (85%);
- helping to improve the standard of living in less-developed countries (85%);
- and protecting weaker nations against foreign aggression (84%);
- strengthening the United Nations (80%).

This series of foreign policy goals nicely summarizes the public's desire simultaneously to reduce tensions, maintain a defensive military shield, promote American economic self-interest, and help the hungry and oppressed of the world. Most Americans do not expect to critique the details and tactics used by the president and foreign policy professionals. Their performance will be judged by the product—by the extent to which they can successfully turn such goals into foreign policy achievements. □

Americans do not expect to critique the details and tactics used by the president and foreign policy professionals; their performance will be judged by the product

A Matter

The search for my father involved a lengthy hunt for all the pieces of the puzzle

JEAN ZARUBA CARRION

FOR 47 YEARS I dreamed I would meet the father I had never known. Most of those years I thought he was no longer alive. Still, my respect and love for him flourished. With a fervent desire to possess something of him—and with the aid of the wife of a diplomat at the American embassy—I began the search into my past.

I grew up in Manila, where my playmates were either Spanish or Filipino, and when I was allowed to play with them, I would often end up near tears because of their constant teasing about my American features. Shortly after I was born, my parents separated. I guess the pressure of a young marriage was too much at the time. I was sent to live with my grandmother. She would tell me bits of information about my father. His name was Austin Zaruba, his birthday was on Valentine's Day, his mother's first name was Helenka, he was an American, and he had left Manila in late November 1941, just before the Japanese invasion. My grandmother continued to keep alive the memory of my father and would tell me whatever remembrances she had. "Jean, someday all of what I am telling you will be very important," she said. "Try to remember all the details."

I continued to be teased in school by my playmates, but it was not until the Japanese occupation in 1942 that my life really changed. I was eight years old

when Pearl Harbor was attacked. The following day, the summer capital of Baguio was bombed. After three weeks of aerial attacks, the Japanese entered Manila. During their occupation any child found with American or European features was killed. I actually saw many children being thrown in the air and bayoneted by the soldiers. Needless to say, I was not found.

I was 12 years old when the Philippines were liberated, and my mother took me to the embassy to validate my claim for American citizenship. But my only proof was verbal, and a thorough check revealed that as far as they were concerned Austin Zaruba did not exist. After my grandmother passed away in 1947, my hope of becoming an American citizen died with the memories she had kept alive of my father.

Several years later I was wed to Joaquin Carrion. Shortly after my marriage I started dreaming again of my dad. One day my mother stopped me while we were walking. "Do you see that man over there? Well, he was the best man in our wedding. Maybe he has heard from your father." The man told us that a friend had written that my dad had died of a heart attack a few years earlier. Now all my years of anticipation and hope that I would someday meet the father I had never known were lost. From that day on, my assumption that we would meet face to face was gone.

FOR THE NEXT TWENTY YEARS my mind was free of questioning or thoughts of my past. My life revolved around my husband and my four children, and we became even closer after my mother died in 1973. Then, five years ago I met June Riesz, whose husband, John, was the counselor for agricultural affairs at the U.S. embassy in Manila. One day, while sitting on the patio of June's home discussing our various backgrounds, I told her that my father was an American, but I was never able to prove it and this left doubts in my mind about my roots. We thereupon decided to try to find the necessary proof for a citizenship claim.

The only clue we had was a marriage contract that I had found after my mother died. It stated that my parents had been married in Quiapo Church and that my father was an American from "Wilkes-Barre, Pa." June said that it had to be Wilkes-Barre, Pennsylvania. We asked at the embassy whether I had a right to citizenship based on this document. They said I might have a valid claim but needed positive verification and additional documents: my father's birth certificate, my birth certificate, the marriage certificate (not just the contract) of my parents, and my own marriage certificate.

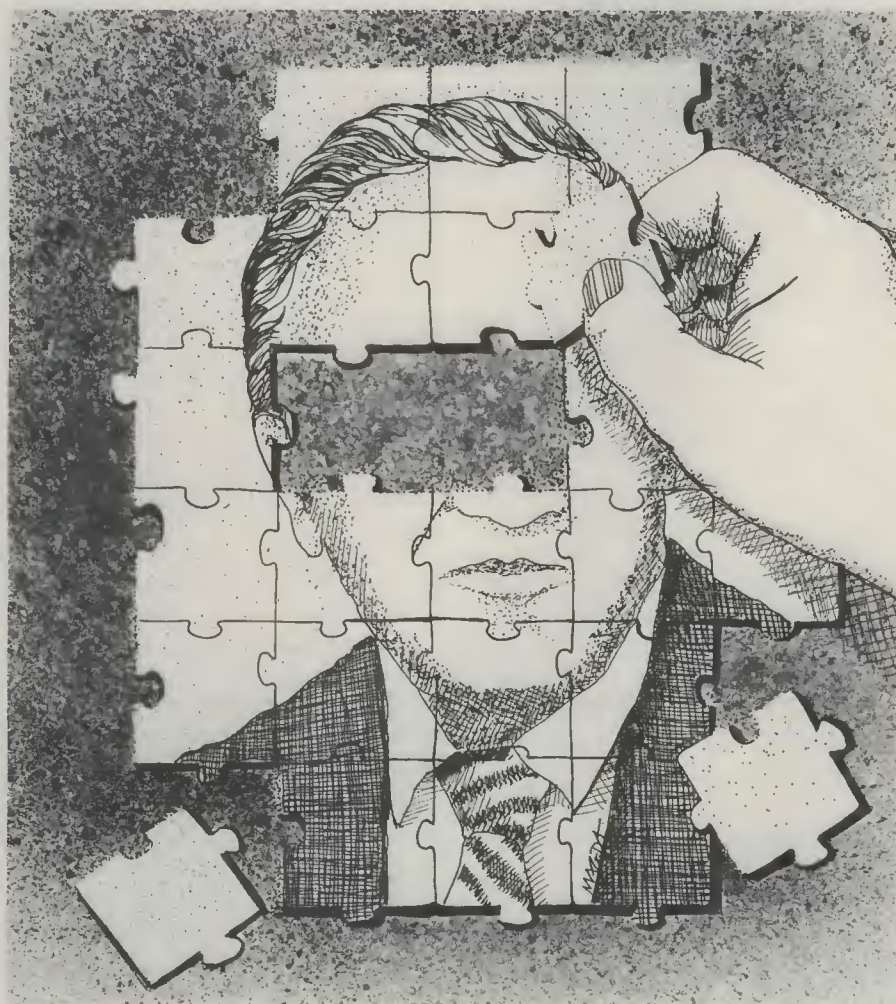
Our first thought was to see if we could find anyone who knew my father or knew where he could have gone to school in the late 1920s or early '30s. We assumed that he had gone to Central School, which had been reserved for American students. Examining lists of graduates in old yearbooks proved fruitless, but we were able to find names of some other graduates who were still living in Manila. They all agreed that my father would have had to have attended Central School, but no one seemed to know him. Our next step was the Philippine Ministry of Education, but all their records had been destroyed in the war.

June decided to check in the embassy library for references to Central School and old Manila phone books. In the 1939-42 directory she found a listing for Austin Zaruba. He had been manager-instructor of the Royal Ballroom Dance Studios. Then an embassy office worker overheard June asking for information about Central School and said that he knew of someone visiting Manila who was a former student.

June was able to contact the man, who—to her surprise—said he knew Austin Zaruba. He had played basketball with my father on the 1932-33 American-European YMCA team. When I came to pick up June later in the day for a tennis game, she was so excited she could hardly speak. I couldn't believe that we had actually found someone who verified the existence of my father. After meeting Jock a few days later, he confirmed that my father had attended Cen-

This article is condensed from material that appeared in the Bulletin of the American Historical Collection in Manila, the Philippines. It was written with the assistance of June Riesz.

of Time



MAGDA FRENCH

ral School for a number of years. I tried to learn everything I could from him about my dad. He said that he remembered him singing a song, "Roses of Picardy," on the street corners of Manila as a small child with his mother, Helenka, urging him on. Jock mentioned that a reunion of Central School was to be held in August 1980, and a roster of former alumni was available. A quick glance revealed no listing for Zaruba. However, he offered to mail letters to alumni in the United States if June and I would write and address them. Many responses were received with wishes of success, but only one person could remember Austin Zaruba, and he had last seen him on the docks in San Francisco in 1945. That news heartened us, however, for we now

knew that my father had made it to the mainland. Jock later sent me a photograph of the basketball team that he still had.

In April 1980 we sent letters to state agencies in Wilkes-Barre, as well as the Luzerne Historical Society, in the hope that the name of Zaruba would surface. All replies were negative. We then tried to find out which shipping companies served Manila in the late 1930s and '40s to see if passenger manifests were still available. Through research in the libraries, we found that American President Lines was the major shipping company in those days, although at that time it was called the Dollar Steamship Line. Their last ship left Manila on November 30, 1941. We wrote to the main office

in Oakland, California, but they replied that passenger manifests dating back to the 1940s were no longer in existence.

In June, we wrote to the U.S. National Archives for information on my father's mother, Helenka Zaruba, who had immigrated to the United States around the turn of the century from Czechoslovakia. But when we received forms to request a search, we did not have sufficient information to pursue the matter. Later that month I requested a birth certificate from the Department of Vital Statistics in New Castle, Pennsylvania. After many months the department replied that no one was registered under Zaruba. I cried when I read that letter and thought briefly that no such individual had existed.

We then wrote to the Bureau of the Census, as we had read that they were able to offer assistance in the way of a proof of citizenship in lieu of a birth certificate. However, because we had no prior street addresses or business locations for my father, they could not help us either. Since I had never had a birth certificate, June and I went to Manila City Hall. On a torn page of an old record book, the clerk saw my name listed. We were told to return in two days to receive a copy. The excitement of wondering what was on the document was unbearable. The clerk told us that we were very fortunate because eighty percent of City Hall had been bombed during the war and most documents for that period had been destroyed. Two days later my son, Ramon, picked up a certificate stating that I was born on August 2, 1933, nationality American, and that my father was an American from Wilkes-Barre, Pennsylvania. June and I laughed and cried together, as this was the only legal document I had which mentioned my nationality as an American. At the same time we discovered at St. John the Baptist Parish in Quiapo a baptismal certificate and a marriage certificate, proving that I was the legitimate daughter. With these documents in hand, we decided to send another request to the Department of Vital Statistics in Pennsylvania.

We also tried the Veterans Administration, which agreed to inquire whether my father had received any benefits. However, this also came back with no information. The Social Security Administration made a similar inquiry for us, first on Austin Zaruba with a birthdate on February 14, 1913, and then later for one of February 14, 1914. We were informed several months later that no such person existed.

ABOUT TO GIVE UP HOPE that we would ever obtain a birth certificate for my father, in July we attempted to get my past school records. We visited St. Joseph's School (now St. Joseph's College), where I had attended grades one to three prior to the outbreak of the war. After searching ourselves, we found reference to the fact that my father was responsible for my education at that time; the registration forms indicated that his name was Austin Zaruba.

In August 1980 we decided to write the Catholic churches in and around the Wilkes-Barre area in the hope that a baptismal record might be uncovered substantiating proof that my dad was born as an American and, perhaps, baptized there. These letters also came back negative, but with blessings and prayers for success. I began to break down in tears and to lose hope, and if it were not for June's constant urging and efforts not to give up I would have faltered.

We searched through phone books of major cities in the embassy's commercial library looking for the family name of Zaruba. We sent many letters to Zaruba families all over the United States. Many replied, some giving encouragement, es-

pecially those saying they had originally immigrated from Czechoslovakia. However, no one knew of a person named Austin Zaruba. We also checked with the local YMCA, but this too proved negative as all the records were burned by the Japanese. We located a player on the 1932 basketball team still living in Manila, but he could not substantiate any of the information that we needed. We were able, though, to corroborate the basketball story by searching through microfilms and old newspapers in local libraries, in one of which we found reference to my father as a player on the 1932 YMCA team.

As the year 1980 drew to a close, all my hopes for becoming an American were vanishing. I kept hoping that God would hear my prayers and give me additional hope. June urged me to send one last request to the Department of Vital Statistics in Pennsylvania. In our previous letters we had stated that my father was born in 1913, but after checking all of our present documents, June now felt that the year of birth had to be 1914. This time we included copies of all documents in our possession mentioning Austin Zaruba, my name, and his mother's name of Helenka. I must admit that by

now I had lost all hope. Since we had pushed ahead this far, June said, "Come on, we have never given up before. We are not quitters. Let's give it this last attempt." So I decided to try for the third and last time, although I felt we had already gone through a lot of work for nothing.

One day in March, I found an envelope lying on my desk. My husband, Joaquin, had scribbled a note. It said, "Jean, your name is not Zaruba after all. It's Kuryloski!" I could hardly open the letter because of my anxiety and fear. Inside was the original birth certificate of my father listing all the information I had been looking for. I knew now that I had finally come to the end of my search—at least for proof of my citizenship. June and I both jumped around the room embracing each other. "We got it. We got it."

We tried to picture in our minds how someone had come up with the birth certificate with the name Kuryloski when all my requests for identification had always been for Zaruba. All we could imagine was that someone had taken all the accompanying documents we had forwarded and cross-checked the information with their records. This time our re-

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quest had had sufficient information to authenticate my claim that my father's birthdate (Valentine's Day 1914), and my grandmother's name (Helenka Zaruba) were real. We still didn't know why my dad's name was Kuryloski or why he had used his mother's maiden name in Manila. June and I were so happy that our efforts had finally paid off—at least in part. I felt that God had given me this friend as an instrument, and that my childhood dream of finding my father was going to come true.

We took the birth certificate to the consular officer at the embassy who, after making sure it was an original and asking me a few questions, told me that my documentation was now complete and that I was entitled to a passport because of my father's birth. The following morning, I was the holder of a U.S. passport and a bonafide citizen.

My joy was tremendous. I could hardly wait to reach home to call my husband and my children. Now I could tell them that all the efforts that June and I had gone through had been fulfilled. I felt that even though my father had not cared for me, he had given me something of himself that I could pass on to my children. I now belonged. I had something related to him. It was not just a piece of paper that formed the bond between us.

Before we left the embassy, we decided to check with the Social Security Administration one last time. We thought that perhaps a record could be found as to where my father had lived before he died, and maybe this could give me a lead on any living relatives. One month later, I received a phone call at June's house. My father was *alive*! This information floored me, and I immediately wanted to know where he was, to call him, to talk to him. They could not divulge his whereabouts because of the privacy act, but if I wrote a letter it would be forwarded to my father, who then had the choice of whether to contact me.

I went straight home and locked myself in the bedroom. I began writing. I prayed that the right words would come to me. "I don't know now you feel about me or how you will interpret this letter. In fact as I am writing you, my heart is beating so fast, but at the same time I am praying that you will accept me. I know you are alive when all these past years I thought you were dead, but I don't know where you are. I hope you are in good health and that you will write me, too." I didn't want to hurt him or his family if he had married again, but I had to let him know that I loved him no matter what. I hoped that in a small corner of his heart he would remember and show he cared for the

daughter he had left behind 47 years ago.

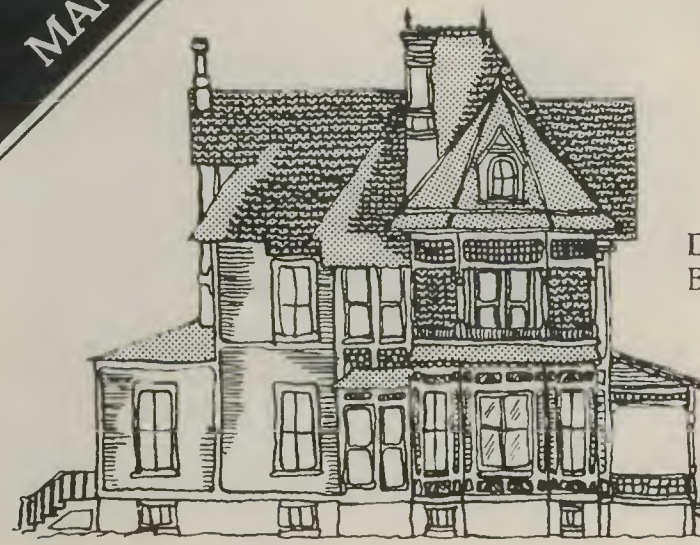
I began the long wait. How many hours I worried and worried. What would be his reaction to my letter? How would he feel, knowing that his daughter was still alive? All kinds of thoughts poured through my head. I kept asking June what would happen, but she too was at a loss. She did say, however, that if my dad was going to react to the letter, he would do it on Mother's Day.

ON MOTHER'S DAY 1980, around nine in the evening, the telephone rang. I answered and heard these words: "Jean, this is your father. I love you." I couldn't believe it. My first thought was that someone was trying to fool me. At the same time my heart started to beat fast and my voice got high with excitement. I could feel the tension building in the room as my husband and children looked at me in silence. They could never completely understand how I felt, how I was filled with happiness having just heard my dad's voice after nearly half a century.

The conversation was short. We were both choked for words. He told me he was married, living in Frankfort, Kentucky, and a letter would follow shortly

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explaining his past. After I hung up the phone, I embraced my family and cried. I then called June and told her. "Thank God, I am so happy for you," she said. She felt by my dad's calling, he had shown at last that he cared.

There was not much news of his past when the letter finally arrived, but a picture of his new family was included. He told me that he was recuperating from a recent heart attack and wanted to know when I could come and visit him. I had waited all these years to meet the father I never knew, and I realized I had to see my dad before God took him away from me again.

I was desperate to see him. June and her family were leaving for a vacation in Tennessee in June, and we agreed to coordinate plans so that we could continue together for the final chapter. Both our husbands were reluctant to let us go, feeling we would be disappointed. We convinced them how important it was to see my father face to face regardless of the outcome. My life would not have been complete if I didn't go through with this final step in my search. Hearing the answers to my questions in my dad's own words was very important to me. I wanted to see his facial expressions

and have peace of mind with his answers.

Traveling on my U.S. passport, I arrived in the United States and stayed overnight in Tennessee with June's family. That evening after we had gone to bed, I lay listening to the crickets and the sound of raindrops on the window. My mind kept wondering what kind of reception I would receive. Would my dad come forward and embrace me the way I wanted him to, or would he be cold and simply extend his hand? I prayed he would put his arms around me, as I wanted to prove to the world—and myself—that he wasn't the kind of father who never really cared. All my life I had only heard criticism of him. My anxiety kept building up inside, and I could not sleep.

At dawn, June's husband drove us to the airport in Knoxville to catch a flight to Louisville. During the last 15 minutes I started to tremble and shake. Even though I tried to hide it from her, June sensed my emotions. She took my hand. God had guided me this far, she said, and He would continue to bless me until the end of my journey.

At the Louisville airport, my father, Austin T. Kuryloski, approached me. He called me Angelina Jean. With tears

in our eyes, we embraced and kissed. I had waited 47 years for this moment and now I felt a love pouring forth that I had missed for all that time. I felt like a little girl. It was truly a gift from God, an answer to all my dreams. Not only had I become an American, but I had met the father I had never known.

As we drove to my dad's home, our questions never ceased. My father had traveled around the world as a child singer in the manner of Jackie Coogan and had settled in Manila around the age of nine. His mother, Helenka Zaruba, used to urge him to sing song after song on the street corners in and around Manila. She would sit in her convertible with her long red hair flying as she urged him in his melodies. The song that stuck in Jock Netzorg's head and which he recalled when I met him was "Roses of Picardy." My dad sang and taped it for me while I was there. He had gone to Central School up to the eighth grade, and had then taken employment and joined the YMCA basketball team before he married my mother. He had retained the Zaruba name as his parents had divorced when he was very young. Then he received word from his mother, who had settled in California

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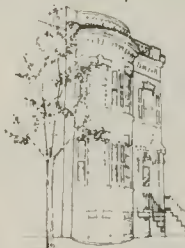
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after leaving Manila in the late 1930s, to come to the United States immediately due to the approaching war. He left behind his business, the Royal Ballroom Dance Studio, with the hope of returning later.

He departed Manila on the last sailing of the Dollar Steamship Line prior to the war, November 30, 1941. Upon arriving in San Francisco he was greeted by his mother, Helenka, and then began to search for employment. During the war

he worked for Kaiser Shipyards and then Arthur Murray Dance Studios. At that time it was necessary for him to obtain his original birth certificate from Wilkes-Barre, and then he became known as Austin T. Kuryloski. Once his life settled, he then tried to find out what had happened to his own father, Stanley Kuryloski, who had been a judge, but he was unsuccessful in his search. After the war, at age 32, he wanted to return to Manila. His mother

convinced him that there was nothing left for him in there, including his daughter, Angelina Jean, since most of the city had been devastated.

We left my father's home two days later. As I walked toward the plane, the last words my dad spoke to June were, "I have a beautiful daughter." My childhood dream had come together, piece by piece like a puzzle. Now the picture was complete. It had only been a matter of time. □

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PEOPLE

Deaths

PAUL RUSSELL HUGHES, a retired Foreign Service officer, died of cancer on March 6 at Georgetown University Hospital. He was 65.

A graduate of San Jose State College, Hughes earned a master's in public administration at Harvard University. In World War II, he served in the Army in the Mediterranean theater and with Army counterintelligence until 1948, when he entered the Foreign Service. He remained in the Army reserves until 1953, when he retired with the rank of major. His decorations included the Combat Infantryman's Badge and the Bronze Star.

During his Foreign Service career, Hughes served at posts including Frankfurt, Oslo, Seoul, Amman, London, and Cape Town. His assignments included tours in the Bureau of Intelligence and Research from 1959-63 and as deputy director of the office of Scandinavian affairs from 1966-70. Hughes last assignment was to Helsinki as economic counselor, from which he retired in 1976. In 1980-82 he lived in Prague with his wife, Patricia, also a Foreign Service officer.

Survivors include his wife and two children, Paul Jr. and Alice Hughes, both of Washington, D.C. In lieu of flowers, expressions of sympathy may be made to St. Albans School, the National Cathedral School, or the Washington Cathedral.

ROBERT P. JOYCE, a retired Foreign Service officer who had been a member of the State Department Policy Planning Staff, died of a stroke in London on February 8. He was 81.

Joyce was a graduate of Yale University. His first Foreign Service assignment was to Shanghai in 1928, where he served as vice consul. Further assignments took him to Bolivia, Panama, Yugoslavia, and Cuba. He resigned from his post in Havana as consul in 1943 and was with government agencies until 1946.

On his return to the Foreign Service in 1947, Joyce was assigned to Trieste, Italy, as consul general. Returning to Washington in 1948, he served on the Policy Planning Staff until 1952, when he was appointed counselor in Paris. He subse-

quently served in the same capacity in Rio de Janeiro beginning in 1956.

In 1957, Joyce was appointed special assistant to the director of the Bureau of Intelligence and Research, and he became acting director in 1958. Joyce's last post was Genoa, where he served as consul general from 1959 until his retirement in 1962.

He is survived by his wife, Jane Chase Joyce, and two sisters, Frances Roberts of London and Mary Dunbaugh of Carmel, California.

ROBERT W. RINDEN, a retired Foreign Service officer, died in his home town of Okaloosa, Iowa, on February 5.

Rinden received an M.B.A. at Harvard Business School and entered the Foreign Service in 1938. His first assignment sent him to Montreal. With experience primarily in East Asia and China (where he became a language officer), Rinden was in Hong Kong at the outbreak of the war with Japan.

After his retirement Rinden received a Ph.D. in Chinese area studies at the University of California, Berkeley, and later taught at William Penn College.

Rinden was a frequent contributor to the JOURNAL as a reviewer of books on China. He was also the originator of the magazine's popular series LIFE AND LOVE IN THE FOREIGN SERVICE.

HOWARD E. CHAILLE, a retired Foreign Service officer, died of heart failure at his home in Waimanalo, Oahu, Hawaii on March 9. He was 67.

A graduate of Indiana University, Chaille was an officer in the Navy during World War II. After entering the Foreign Service, he served in Taiwan and Korea, and as counselor of embassy for administration in Laos. He also was appointed a special assistant to Secretary of State George Marshall and served in that capacity in many parts of the world.

Upon his retirement from the Foreign Service in 1969, Chaille became vice president for administration for the Makai Corporation and the Oceanic Institute in Hawaii. He also developed a working banana plantation, lectured to Fatm Bureau tourists, and was president of the Hawaii Banana Industry for one term.

He is survived by his wife, Naomi Hardwick Chaille of Waimanalo; two daughters, Angela of Waimanalo and Claudia of Reston, Virginia; and two sisters, Maxine Patrick of Philadelphia, and Eve Mae Phelps of Indianapolis.

STEPHEN VAN CORTLANDT MORRIS, a retired Foreign Service officer, died on February

24 at Georgetown University Hospital after surgery for stomach ulcers. He was 74.

Morris was a graduate of Yale University and joined the State Department in 1935 as secretary to the ambassador to Italy. He served in several positions from 1948 to 1955 before becoming cultural affairs officer in Paris. He went on to serve as cultural affairs attache in Brussels for three years before retiring in 1965.

Morris was a veteran of World War II, serving with the Navy in Panama and attaining the rank of lieutenant commander. He served on the boards of the National Trust for Historic Preservation, Historic Georgetown, Dumbarton Oaks, and Alliance Française.

Survivors include his wife, Persis W., of Washington, D.C.; a daughter, Helen S. Morris, of New York City; and two sons, Christopher W., of Los Angeles, and James M., of Ithaca, New York.

HOWARD R. COTTAM, a retired Foreign Service officer and ambassador to Kuwait, died of cancer April 2 at the National Institutes of Health. He was 73.

Cottam earned his undergraduate degree at Brigham Young University and master's and doctoral degrees in rural sociology, economics, psychology, and statistics at the University of Wisconsin. During World War II, he worked for the War Food Administration and in 1944 went to Paris as an agricultural economist and then to Rome as an agricultural attache. He joined the Foreign Service in 1947 and remained in Rome until 1952. Other foreign assignments included duty in The Hague and Rio de Janeiro, where he was counselor of embassy and head of the AID mission.

From 1960-63, Cottam served as deputy assistant secretary of state for Near Eastern and South Asian affairs. In 1963, he was appointed ambassador to Kuwait and served there until his retirement in 1969.

Upon his retirement he became North American representative to the U.N. Food and Agricultural Organization. In 1974 he became a visiting professor in the School of International Service at American University. He retired from this position in 1983.

Cottam was a member of the Washington Institute of Foreign Affairs and the U.N. Association. He was also a member of the boards of the American-Near East Relief Agency and DACOR.

Survivors include his wife, Katherine of Washington; a daughter, Meredith Cottam Williams of Yonkers, New York; a sister, Mrs. J. Martell Bird of Salt Lake City; and two grandchildren.

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Association News

IRS memo on home leave tax treatment

AFSA recently received a copy of an October 1983 memorandum from the Internal Revenue Service's Foreign Operations District, addressed to all Revenue Service Representatives, that reads:

"Home Leave expenses: In the Rome RSR meeting, the treatment of home leave expenses was questioned. This memorandum is sent to clarify the tax treatment of these expenses.

"The attached Revenue Ruling 82-2 represents the IRS position with respect to the deductibility of substantiated home leave expenses. Please note that the home leave must be mandatory leave as required by the Foreign Service Act of 1980. If the foreign service officer is adhering to the mandatory requirements of that act, we do not view as relevant whether the foreign service officer returns to the same foreign country or transfers to another foreign country."

The Director of IRS/Foreign Operations further advises that the memo conveys an informal and non-binding decision and that a formal ruling may be

requested through the Associate Chief Counsel, IRS/Foreign Operations District, Tax Treaty and Technical Services Division, 1325 K Street NW, Washington, D.C. 20225, (202) 566-5023.

A copy of the memo may be requested from AFSA. It should be of interest to all those employees who took or are going to take home leave and transfer to a new post. We had informed our readers previously that under a 1979 decision (*Bell v. United States*) the tax court had disallowed the deduction because a transferring employee on home leave was not "away from home," because he or she had no residence from which to be away.

Notice to widows and widowers of retired employees

Widows and widowers of retired career members of the Foreign Service who are active associate members of AFSA and who wish to be listed under their spouse's name in our next directory of retired members should contact the Association. Please write the membership secretary at 2101 E Street NW, Washington, D.C. 20037.

AFSA objects to State's handling of SY arrest authority

The Association has objected to State Department management about the manner in which its Legal Office has handled correspondence with the Justice Department about arrest authority of security officers. "While the Legal Office has sought to delay, obfuscate, and even ignore this question," AFSA said in a letter, "employees continue to be asked to act without clear authority and to put themselves at considerable personal risk." At issue was a reneged management promise to allow the Association to comment on the correspondence in draft.

The Association observed that, in contrast to State, security officers in other departments have express statutory arrest authority. In writing to Justice to obtain an opinion on the matter, however, the Legal Office failed to mention this, as well as the investigative functions security officers are asked to perform, such as detention, that would involve arrest authority. AFSA cited several other omissions from the correspondence and the fact that it was not addressed to the proper office, the attorney general.

"Last summer the Association was told time and again by the then director general and other management officials that we would be given an opportunity to work with the Legal Office to ensure that the proper questions were asked and that the proper office at Justice was contacted," said AFSA. "Despite this and apparently against the wishes of the director general, the office went ahead and sent the letter without our knowledge or input. It was only after considerable effort and much delay that we were provided a copy of the letter (but not the attachments), and we have yet to see the response from Justice or any subsequent correspondence."

The Legal Office "attempts to force the issue by putting an obvious self-serving slant on the entire letter," AFSA charged. "The results of the Legal Office's efforts are no less disappointing for their predictability—additional delays to an already too-lengthy process."

New logo symbolizes global constituency



Pictured here is AFSA's new logo, which will begin to appear on Association stationery, Redtops, etc. The format, designed by graphic artist Ed Miliano, is meant to symbolize AFSA's worldwide constituency and to present an up-to-date image in its 60th anniversary year.

AFSA responds to Heritage Foundation report

The Association has forcefully responded to a Heritage Foundation report issued earlier this year that claims that "careerists" in the State Department have wrested control of foreign policy away from the president. The report suggests that to counter this trend the Foreign Service be placed under the jurisdiction of the Office of Personnel Management and that more political appointees fill senior positions in the department. It goes on to directly attack AFSA, saying its role as employee representative translates into too much influence over foreign policy.

The author of *How the White House Can Regain Control of Foreign Policy*, James T. Hackert, is a former Foreign Service officer and administrator in USIA, yet "he understands neither the purpose for which the Foreign Service exists nor the role it actually plays," AFSA's president countered in a press release. "The White House has never lost control of foreign policy. However, the president does not operate in a vacuum; he needs expert and professional assistance to analyze, interpret, choose, and implement his foreign policy. This is the role of the Foreign Service."

The author would have political loyalty replace professionalism in the senior ranks and would give non-career appointees more control over bonuses and promotions, the press release noted. He claims that "the Foreign Service today is

a separate, self-governing career service—a creation unique in government" and that, since most of the government works under the oversight of OPM, so should the Foreign Service. "The author has forgotten that the Army, the Navy, the Air Force, the FBI, etc., are separate, self-governing career services," responded AFSA, and "serving in Beirut, Moscow, or Conakry is different from working in downtown Washington," with Foreign Service employees exposed to "dangers and disruptions to which most federal employees are not subject."

The report claims that the Senior Foreign Service blocks all political appointments to State except "on those few occasions when the administration has forced" them, but, AFSA noted, that overlooks the secretary, the deputy secretary, two under secretaries, the counselor, nearly a dozen assistant secretaries, and more than 40 percent of ambassadors. He chides the Foreign Service for considering it "a high duty to maintain the continuity of American foreign policy around the globe," neglecting to note that "civil wars, vast migrations of refugees, trade imbalances, and treaty obligations" do not revolve solely around U.S. elections, AFSA observed.

Hackert believes that "the 148 ambassadors serving as chiefs of mission represent the largest single group of prestigious appointments available to the president." He laments that "when USIA management began exercising some modest oversight on assignments in 1981, Foreign Service members...question[ed] these procedures," referring to criticism about appointments of children

and friends of high administration officials to USIA posts. Hackert himself was involved in the so-called Kiddiegate scandal, which led to pressure from Congress to stop the practice said to violate the spirit if not the letter of anti-nepotism laws.

The report calls on Congress to eliminate the "bizarre situation" in which members of the SFS can be AFSA members, ignoring the statement by the Senate in the Foreign Service Act that "the concept of a single agencywide bargaining unit reflects the fact that the most essential features of the Foreign Service...are applicable to all employees regardless of rank or occupation."

"AFSA welcomes and encourages responsible debate on the foreign policy making process," the Association said, yet the Heritage report "is so seriously flawed by factual errors and disingenuous observations as to do an actual disservice." The report "ends with a proposal to solve this supposed problem by a return to the spoils system. The author makes such extraordinary recommendations as to disregard competence, continuity, and experience in choosing senior officials in favor of an undefined test of political loyalty."

Legislative Action Fund donations near \$32,000

Donations to AFSA's Legislative Action Fund stood at \$31,802.57 from 684 donors on March 29. The money will be used to help defray the costs of the Association's legislative efforts as the administration gears up for a renewed assault on the federal workforce.

Donations are tax-deductible and are acknowledged in this space unless the donor wishes to remain anonymous. Donations may be sent to:

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AFSA retreats to plan advancement



Members of the Governing Board and several AFSA staff members participated in a day-long retreat to plan Association goals for the next decade. The board plans to hold future retreats on a regular basis.

How to apply for D.C.-domicile income tax exemption

As we have advised our readers over the years, Foreign Service personnel serving under a presidential commission (with the advice and consent of the Senate) who reside in the District of Columbia are exempt from paying D.C. income tax as long as they maintain a domicile elsewhere in the United States. The exemption applies to tenured State and USIA employees and, as of March 19, to commissioned AID employees.

To apply for the exemption, a certificate of Non-Domiciliary Residence in the District must be filed. The form (D-4A) may be obtained from your career counselor. The D.C. government will subsequently send a form letter requesting details of the statutory basis for the exemption. The appropriate citation is as follows: 22 USC 3942.

Habib to lecture

Philip Habib, former AFSA president and recent special Mideast envoy, will be the second speaker in the AFSA 60th anniversary luncheon lecture series at the Foreign Service Club from noon till 2:15 on May 25. For reservations, call AFSA at (202) 338-4045.

AFSA obtains protections for AID evaluations

Because of AID intervention in the 1983 performance evaluation report process in Cairo, AFSA's AID Standing Committee has negotiated a settlement agreement with agency management to afford employee protections.

The agreement starts by noting that ratings should be based on merit "without regard to any pre-conceived rating quotas, curves, distributions, or other such targets." To accomplish these precepts, AID will include in each PER file a list of agency-wide adjectival rating tendencies (boxes) for use by Selection Boards. Ratings from overseas posts will be disaggregated by bureau and mission, while Washington components will be disaggregated by bureau and independent office. Missions with more than 40 PERs will be divided between staff and line functions.

The agreement covers rating periods 1981-82 and 1982-83. The standing committee advises employees who feel they were treated unfairly by raters who over-applied the administrator's guidelines in those years to be "fulsome and complete" in addressing their disagreements in the employee-comments section of the PER form.

Statement from AFSA Committee on Elections

About the time AFSA members receive this issue, they will also be receiving in the mail a brochure containing the campaign statements of the candidates standing for election. In the past the campaign statements have appeared in a special section of the JOURNAL.

Members will also receive their ballots in May. In addition to voting for AFSA officers and retired constituency representatives, members will vote on two amendments to the AFSA Bylaws. The first is related to the system of having biennial elections rather than annual, and the second concerns the preferential voting system. If the amendments are approved they will not apply to the 1984 election.

The members are reminded that the campaign period is for not less than 30 days. Election procedures provide that voted ballots must be received at the address on the envelope accompanying the ballot not later than 5 p.m. Wednesday, June 30, 1984.

JOHN C. RUSSELL
Chairman
Elections Committee

Life and Love in the Foreign Service



"A political officer displaying the tools of the trade"
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Managing Your Money

How Hard Is Your Money Working?

By Margaret Winkler, *Financial Planner*

The most persistent question I receive from readers and from audiences I address concerns the proper mix of financial and real assets. My answer is always, "That depends..."

Before we even discuss general guidelines on mixing assets, let's make sure that we are using the same vocabulary. Start with the definition of the word "money." Too many people think that those little green pieces of paper—rather than their purchasing power—must be conserved. Learn to think about money as what it will buy. For those below the age of 60, learn to project your thinking out into the future, when inflation will have eroded the value of those little pieces of paper safely deposited and covered by insurance.

Inflation, of course, is the reason why age and stage in your earning career so vitally affect what you should be doing with your money right now. Make sure you really understand the potential of inflation. For example, if the average annual rate of inflation were held to six percent, a \$10,000 purchase made today would cost \$17,908 in 10 years and \$32,071 in 20.

Aside from spending it, of course, there are essentially only two things you can do with your money: lend or deposit it for a fixed rate of return, or invest it for a piece of the action. These two treatments are as different as IRS and IRA.

If you are considering lending funds, you might ask, What does it pay? or what return should you expect on your funds. You might hear the comforting words "fixed rate; guaranteed; insured." Probably everybody should have a foundation of funds in this position, but keep in mind that you will not be warned at any depository institution that these funds face no real growth—deposited funds are not investments.

On the other hand, you can invest your money in an equity position, taking a chance for a potentially greater reward. With this potential comes risk; returns on invested funds vary, all the way from substantial to none at all. Risk, however, can be managed, and undue risk can be avoided.

Let's talk for a moment about risk. Most people take far too narrow a view of this hazard. One kind is market risk, and it comes from putting money into an unsuccessful venture either because of bad advice, bad timing, or greed. Dollars exposed to market risk can disappear entirely. Another risk is inflation. The dollars that will buy a family automobile in 1984 could be good for only the tires and hubcaps in 2004. A third variety is interest-rate risk, which devalues the principal of any fixed-rate instruments (note, I did not say investments), particularly bonds and unit trusts. (Nevertheless, these can still be an advisable use of money for the right person at the right time—generally the retiree with a comfortable asset base.) Last, a risk to which we are all vulnerable, but which can be controlled, is tax risk. There is no return whatsoever on the dollars sent to the Internal Revenue Service.

There are four states of tax liability, ranging from least to most desirable. Least is ordinary tax treatment, where the return on the dollar is taxed at one's marginal tax bracket (For a taxable income of \$35,200 in 1983, filing jointly, the marginal tax bracket is 35 percent. The marginal tax designation is at the right of the basic tax column in the tax tables.) Deferred tax liability is greatly preferable (the situation with IRAs and a number of other vehicles) because a dollar not subject to current taxation will do better than twice as well as the dollar whose interest is being taxed each year. The value of tax deferral assumes a lower tax bracket in later years at the end of primary employment.

Another favorable tax status is long-term capital gain, because the law currently allows 60 percent of profit from the sale of any capital asset (including, as we know, real estate) to escape taxation. Thus, the maximum long-term capital-gains tax liability, if your tax bracket is 50 percent, is 20 percent. (You exclude 60 percent of profit from sale, so 50 percent of the remaining 40 percent equals 20 percent. In the 35-percent bracket, the long-term capital-gains rate is 14 percent: $35 \times .40$.) The most desirable

tax treatment is none: tax exemption. This can usually be obtained only with municipal bonds of the jurisdiction in which you reside and pay taxes. The ideal strategy achieves the most favorable tax treatment as often as possible, in harmony with growth and income objectives.

To arrive at the most comfortable and prudent asset mix for yourself, decide whether your situation and temperament lead you to be conservative, moderate, or aggressive. The asset ratios can range from 60 percent debt-based/40 percent equity-based for the conservative stance, to the reverse for the more moderate position, to 20 percent debt-based/80 percent equity-based for the aggressive investor.

Factors that strongly affect and determine your asset mix include:

1. Age and stage in earning life;
2. Size of asset base (could income alone achieve your retirement goals?);
3. Tax considerations;
4. The desire or need to transfer property to heirs.

Each possible use of funds should be screened, therefore, to determine whether it fits your requirements for income or stability or growth, whether or not you can avoid tax or convert tax liability from ordinary to long-term capital gain, and a careful scrutiny of whether or not the proposition makes sound economic sense.

In a subsequent article I will discuss which uses of assets fit into the respective categories for tax purposes and for growth, income, and stability. I will also address where some of the funds might be found, such as in home equity.

Questions on Taxes? Write AFSA for Answers

Got a question on taxes? Write AFSA's Members' Interest Counselor at 2101 E Street NW, Washington, D.C. 20037. Here's one that came in the mailbag last month:

Question: Is insurance bought by the employee to cover stored household effects deductible as a storage expense?

AFSA's Answer: Yes. The storage expense deduction includes reasonable expenses for moving household goods and personal effects to and from storage and actual storage expenses arising from the taxpayer's overseas employment.

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