

An abstract painting featuring several faces rendered in a cubist style. The faces are composed of various geometric shapes and colors, including shades of brown, blue, red, and white. The composition is dense and layered, with some faces appearing more prominent than others. The overall mood is somber and contemplative.

FSJ

FOREIGN SERVICE JOURNAL

APRIL 1978

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by Sean Kelly

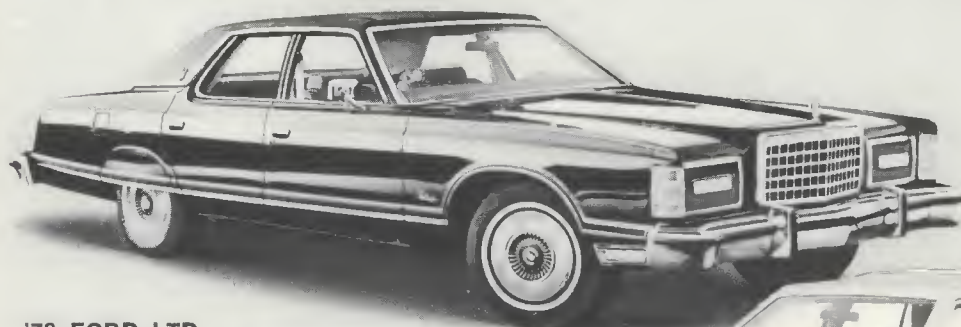
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Foreign Service Fable: Repast

ALAN MICHAELS 4

Dublin School Days

CRAIG FORDNEY 4

South Africa:

Is Race War Inevitable?

DONALD E. NUECHTERLEIN 9

The VOA Correspondent: Journalist or Diplomat?

SEAN KELLY 13

The Return of the

Crown of St. Stephen

IRA WOLF 16

Survivors of Bogota— 30 Years Later

EDWARD A. JAMISON 19

Communication re:

Professionalism and the Foreign Service

SMITH SIMPSON 23

The Gourmet

RALPH HILTON 29

AFSA Editorial:

The Professionalism of Philip Habib 2

Book Essay: The Last of Vietnam

Martin F. Herz 8

The Bookshelf 32

Letters to the Editor 45

AFSA News 47

Cover: Three Faces, by Jeannine V. President



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THE PROFESSIONALISM OF PHILIP HABIB

At the United Nations Concert in the Kennedy Center last fall, Phil Habib was being ushered to a seat of honor in the Presidential box. He had agreed, at the last minute, to speak at one of the events surrounding the Concert, and for that reason his seating assignment had been upgraded. Unfortunately, he arrived at the Concert Hall a little too early for those who were mismanaging the seating arrangements, and no decision had been made on which chairs in the box would go to Phil and his wife.

"Give me back my tickets for downstairs," he immediately insisted. "I don't stand on ceremony. I'm a common man. I can sit with the ordinary people. Give me my tickets."

Eventually the box seating was arranged. Nevertheless, Phil's bluntness of speech and disdain of diplomatic privilege were continuing evidence of a professional style that, while sometimes unorthodox, has proved highly effective over a long Foreign Service career.

The news that Phil Habib is leaving his position as Under Secretary for Political Affairs—the highest ranking career officer position in the Department of State—is distressing if only because he has been in many ways an important model in this business. Many of us have felt that the Foreign Service could well do with a little less fretting about protocol and with fewer internal bureaucratic entanglements, that more diplomatic frankness might do us some good, and that we could all benefit if there were less worry about personal career advancement and more concern for the substance of our foreign policy. Phil Habib has practiced for 29 years exactly that type of profession, and he has done it at a time when too many of our colleagues were honoring those goals only by complaining in the corridors about "the system," or by succumbing to the pressures for conformity, or by dropping out altogether.

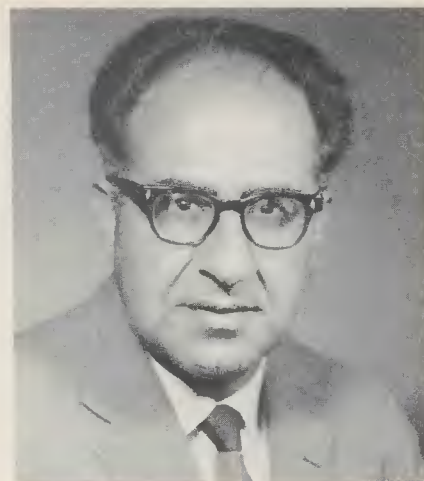
Let it be said that Phil Habib

knows how to get things done, and that if we were to set up a benchmark for current and future FSOs, that would be our measure.

Let it also be said that Phil Habib could scare people to death. Not long ago he called up a relatively new Deputy Assistant Secretary to say in no uncertain terms that the man had put his name on a document that was utterly stupid and that he had better think twice before sending something like it to the Seventh Floor again. He slammed down the phone, smiled, and said to a colleague, "Now I think I've got his attention."

On the other hand, Phil is a prime example of the administrator who values the views of those who toil in vineyards, who wants desk officers and not big bosses present at important discussions, who asks "what does the bureau think?" about a new issue even when he has firmly established views of his own. He doesn't believe the "State Department" is limited to a select few on the Seventh Floor. He has also been one who played issues straightforwardly, with no beating around the bush. Those who have dealt with him—foreign diplomat or Department colleague—always knew where they stood.

Those who may shrink from playing the game this way should note, incidentally, that Phil Habib's style did no noticeable damage to his career. In fact he became Administration "point man" on many a distasteful task—even in relaying to those committed on Vietnam policy the growing view that there was indeed no light at the end of the tunnel. He took on the tough jobs as Senior Advisor to the Paris Peace Talks, as Ambassador to Korea in a turbulent era, as Assistant Secretary for East Asian and Pacific Affairs during the withdrawal of US diplomatic personnel from Cambodia and South Vietnam, and as Under Secretary for Political Affairs, where he has been a major factor in the Arab-Israeli negotiations, among many broiling political issues.



Service such as that has not gone unnoticed. His nomination for the Rockefeller Public Service Award, which he received in 1969, was supported by such names as Averell Harriman, Henry Kissinger, Cyrus Vance, Nicholas Katzenbach and Henry Cabot Lodge. He also received the National Civil Service League Career Service Award in 1970, as well as the Department's Distinguished Honor Award in 1977.

Perhaps more importantly, we should note that Phil was also the President of this Association in 1968-69—back at the beginning of a movement led by what were then called "young Turks" and which now has cast AFSA in the dual role of professional association and employee representative. We prize him among our distinguished alumni.

In the midst of a career full of enormous substantive challenges and achievements, it is laudable that Phil still found considerable time for the interests of the Foreign Service—whether it was on vital personnel policy, where he played a significant role behind the scenes, or in extended talks with junior officers or summer interns. We in AFSA have found him helpful, and constructively critical (as expected), and although we have disagreed on occasion, our relationship with him has been a good one. Actually, under the calculatedly gruff exterior, Phil is a truly nice guy—but he never lets on. We offer Phil our sincere thanks and our best wishes for a continuing rapid restoration of full health. We will miss him.



The American Foreign Service Protective Association

ANNUAL REPORT FOR THE INSURANCE YEAR ENDED FEBRUARY 28, 1978

OPERATIONS

		As of March 1	
		1977	1978
Members carrying Group Life		2815	2751
Group Life in Force		\$52,401,100	\$50,861,950
(exclusive of Reversionary)			
Enrolled in Foreign Service			
Benefit Plan		10,628	11,226
Claims paid during year:			
Group Life,	Number	30	29
	Amount	\$ 442,500	\$ 295,000
Family Coverage,	Number	14	14
	Amount	\$ 40,000	\$ 39,000
Accidental Death,	Number	3	0
	Amount	\$ 60,000	0
Foreign Service Benefit Plan		\$ 7,452,000	\$ 5,200,000

Changes in Plan

The group life coverage has been extended to permit an additional \$10,000, making a possible total of \$30,000 additional to those officers on active service under 60 years of age who hold or take the basic plan. Premium rates have been increased for the first time since 1929 because of increased administrative costs and the termination requirements of the contract have been clarified.

The Foreign Service Benefit Plan now provides benefits in full for covered items if the allowable expenses per family in any calendar year exceed \$10,000 in that year. The Plan also now provides limited benefits for psychiatric social workers and donor benefits for surgical transplants. Other changes in wording as shown in the Civil Service Brochure, BRI 41-61, clarify or extend some benefits.

* * * * *

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REPAST

ALAN MICHAELS

The Room of Ceremonies glittered in the subdued light, its mirrored walls reflecting the images of the imperial elite. Here were the makers of decisions, in their uniforms and evening dress, conversing in measured tones about high politics. Llankwi, the diplomat, turned to General Radkrop.

"Remarkable," said Llankwi, twitching his mandibles, "that the ruler should be deposed so soon."

Radkrop clicked his claws in agreement. "Brdnip II wasn't a bad sort, but he had to pay the penalty for ignoring the military. At least our custom guarantees that he will be of some use to us after leaving office."

"Let us stand," said Llankwi as the door opened, "and honor him."

Into the room came Brdnip II, borne on the shoulders of Kkachnow, State Security Advisor; Hawakth, Information Advisor; Drindl, Protocol Advisor; and Aksid-rung, Foreign Affairs Advisor. The four approached the table to the appreciative clicking and snapping of the guests. Suddenly, Kkachnow tripped over a loose tile, and the serving tray tilted over the diners' heads, spilling the sautéed remains of Brdnip II on the waiting gour-mets.

Radkrop was the first to regain his composure. "There," he said, dabbing disdainfully at his bemedaled carapace, "was a ruler badly served by his advisors."

DUBLIN SCHOOL DAYS

CRAIG FORDNEY

"In my own country I am in a far off land. I am strong but have no force or power . . . at break of day I say goodnight. When I lie down I have a great fear of falling."—Francois Villon

(Quoted from introduction of Hunter Thompson's Hell's Angels, One Size Fits All—title of a Frank Zappa album—and speaking in retrospect.)

There I was, warm, happy, living in Bangkok, Thailand. My father, a member of USIA, and my family had lived there six years, with trips back home to D.C. every two years.

It was warm there—that's what I remember most. School was okay—international—International School, Bangkok—with numerous bad accidents—once a kid fell down a banister opening. Bomb scares—I even heard a rumor once that gunshots were fired at the place.

Well, anyway, it was around Christmas. My old man cruises in and says, hey, we're off to Dublin, Ireland.

It didn't register . . .

Craig W. Fordney is the son of FSIO and Mrs. Ben F. Fordney. In addition to the experiences detailed here, he had a year and a half at St. Lawrence University, Canton, New York. Craig has also lived in Nigeria and Vietnam. His interests are cross-country skiing, cycling, photography, music, painting, writing and "cosmo-inclusive bifurcations."

The workmen came in and packed up all our possessions. My brother and I and friends disposed of our carefully assembled 52 model airplane collection (too fragile to move) by tying strings to them and swinging them into each other at high speed.

On one of the last days the phone rang and I learned I had made the baseball team—"sorry dudes," I said, "previous engagement."

A terrible thing happened to my father at this time—a "samlor," a three-wheeled, hellish, puttering, motorized contraption, ran into him on the main street of the town—cracking a bunch of ribs and tearing him up.

When we arrived in Ireland I was struck by the green—it was so green—thanks to the rain which was usual.

We lived in a flat by the Grand Canal. I had my twelfth birthday just when we got there. Soon we went down to the school to check in. And this is when the long strange trip began . . .

We knew uniforms were required so we showed up in sports coats at the school—a huge, gloomy, crazed Victorian house about four stories high—St. Andrew's College.

We went into the headmaster's office—my brother, my old man, me Mum and myself. There was a huge peat fire roaring in the fireplace behind J. Duke, M.A., the headmaster. The fire was a remarkable contrast to the heating in the classrooms, which consisted of a tiny gas heater which exploded because of a leak whenever lit.

Introductions were made. He told us about a previous American student, Johnny Valentine. He used to carry a flask in his pocket and punched out a professor or two. We were amazed.

Soon I was on my way to a class escorted by the headmaster. We climbed dark steps with busted railings to a classroom with a torn-up door. He knocked briefly and then we entered.

The whole class stood up in a shuffling mass. The "head" exchanged words with the professor.

I sat down.

After the class went on for awhile, the master (as the teachers were called) asked me something. I could not understand his thick brogue so I said "Craig!"

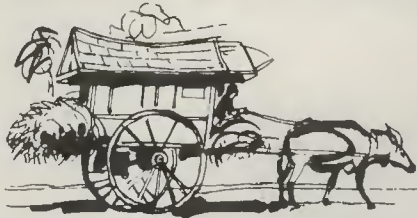
The class broke up in laughter. He had asked me where I lived.

The interior of the building was incredible. In our math room was a huge marble fireplace. Wallpaper hung in large peeling, yellowing sheets. During class changes the stairways got so packed with students, moans of horror, cries of pain and shouts of enthusiasm blasted throughout and the staircases shook and rocked back and forth.

When the math master got mad, he would either bellow in a harrowing bass foghorn which would make the fireplace go piiiing or he would accumulate the energy to get off his stool and walk over to the offending student or students and bonk heads together or slam someone with his math text, causing mildew and chalk to fly out from the pages—a truly mesmerizing occurrence.

This same teacher would lead the school in the morning hymns. Every day, the two hundred members of the institution and the masters would cram into our tiny gymnasium. The doors were closed. The headmaster would walk up to a podium at the front and begin the ceremonies. An upper-class student would read some obscure Bible passage. Often one of the little boys in the school would faint from the odor created by the fairly

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raunchy, collective student body. He was carried out.

Then we sang praises of God. It never ceased to amaze me. The headmaster knew every one of us by name. He would call roll every day, as we left the gym, one through two hundred.

All the masters had nicknames. The Gaelic master was called "Spud," Spud Murphy. He came from County Kerry where there are about ten unsolved murders a year.

My brother told me what took place when a student yelled "Hey Spud!" from a window at the man as he was leaving the schoolyard. Spud spun on his heel, entered the building, bounded up the steps and burst in the door . . .

"Whoever shouted that at me will own up or the class will be here till six o'clock!"

A scrawny undernourished boarder (a boarding student) stood up. Spud slapped and beat him till the kid's face was red and he was stumbling.

I must say I rarely saw an undeserved punishment. I have never witnessed a more savage and rough group of students than my old Irish classmates.

My geography teacher had an aggressive tendency of shooting a very hard wooden cricket ball at an unsuspecting member of the class—it was up to us to catch this projectile. Our classroom was a partially renovated stable—once a flock of hornets came through and started to harass me: I jumped around and caused a disturbance.

"FORDNEY!" shouted "Needler," the master, "Stop jumping around like an American Indian!"

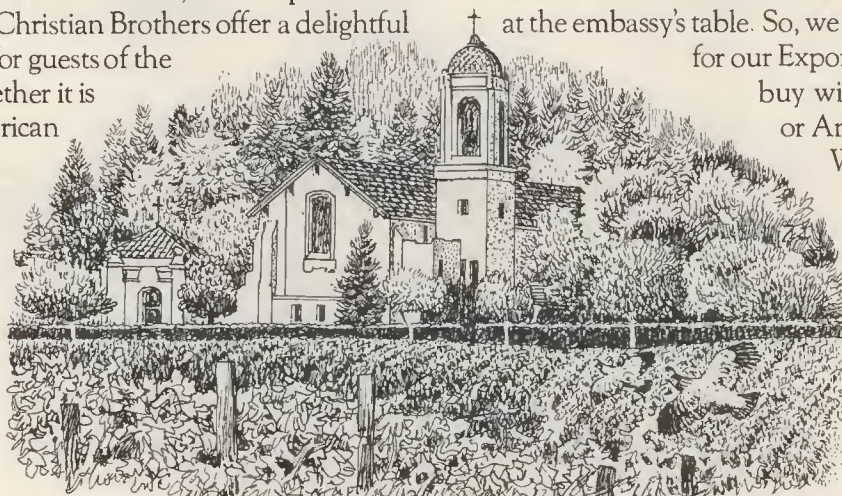
They asked me about "maize" too.



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The English teacher, the "Bog," would announce his presence by reaching for a wooden board he kept near him (with a protruding nail), and, walking over to our pews, smash it down near our fingers. He was a good guy though.

The biology teacher was apparently a drunk. Once in my brother's class he stumbled in, gave them something to read and collapsed at his desk, his head on his arms—a higher education.

I went fishing with some schoolmates. On the way back on the bus they flung the unfortunate perch at unsuspecting passers by—quite a surreal sight. We celebrated the end of a year in art class once with several bottles of wine, with the teacher. Fourteen and fifteen year olds.

At times I had my doubts about the place. I was just getting settled when my father was transferred to Ottawa, Canada. Such are the fortunes of foreign service life.

I sent Spud some Cuban cigars when I left. The Irish system, particularly in geography, math, and sciences, packed me with so much information that when I got to my Canadian high school, I was almost put into eleventh grade at age fourteen—but tenth was decided on. I later graduated when I was sixteen to shoot off into the strata of American college life, in upper New York state—which I have since departed.

Most foreign service kids I've known have been basket cases—really. I'm happy at this point to look back at the merry-go-round. Culture shock, alienation, lack of identity are all mind blowers.

I like the USA. Hello and goodbye.



At The Stars and Stripes Bookshop, Seafront, Manila

We hadn't then the foggiest of expectation or foisted needs to parade a slightly held opinion to every voice that pelted us with words.

In fields with bush proscenium the audience was burdock whose purple buds turned to burrs as critics might or flapped soft smelly leaves on ushered wind: it was enough to be silent or rehearse Don Juan within the soul's own canvas, rewrite Quixote or push Pantagruel upon the stilled attention of wild tobacco as sere backdrop to our extempore. No one came save other kids to swim the mud creek just beyond, chortling at this out-loud beating of the mind: our noise would grind to silence, disciplined by shame. Even books defined a delicate device (or so we thought without a clue to thinking) fragile to the touch, limited by an imperium that shocked us in the after years to find was self imposed.

And wander now amok through fields and shelves heaped with our impatience: Whence the need to publish mea culpas, recite ourselves and map the weedy way we've come? Remonstrations, reminisce will not help us now. The burdock's boiled to *gobo* for the Japanese but silence still escapes, squeezed through this artifact: myself.

WILLIAM A. SOMMERS



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The Last of Vietnam

DISPATCHES, by Michael Herr. Knopf, 260 pp., \$8.95.

55 DAYS, by Alan Dawson. Prentice-Hall, 355 pp., \$12.50.

THE UNMAKING OF A PRESIDENT, by Herbert Y. Schandler. Princeton University Press, 350 pp., \$16.50.

ALL QUIET ON THE EASTERN FRONT, edited by Anthony T. Bouscaren. Devin-Adair, 164 pp., paper, \$5.95.

Haven't we heard enough about the Vietnam war? The verdict seems to be in—that it was a mistake, or a crime, or both. Yet books keep rolling off the presses, and some of them achieve substantial sales. Could it be that some readers wish to reinforce their convictions? If so, perhaps the controversy isn't over after all, it has only taken on a subterranean quality, being fought out inside people's minds: The convinced still seek to be convinced. Doubters remain. And even some iconoclasts remain, stubbornly holding that the war might have been won, if only . . .

Here are four books, each with strengths and weaknesses. The most successful, and certainly the most brilliantly written, is *Dispatches* by Michael Herr. John Le Carré, the novelist, called it "the best book I have ever read on men and war in our time." Irwin Shaw, the novelist, called it "a brilliantly written, tough, compassionate book." This reviewer finds it sheer poetry. That a reporter is capable of such artistry in painting a picture of anguish, death, confusion and hallucinations on a battlefield is impressive. It is also disquieting when one considers that the reporter's job is not, primarily, to appeal to the reader's soul but to his mind.

The irrationality of Herr's book is the source of its beauty and its power. (Tom Wicker rightly called it a "black work of art.") Take, for instance, Herr's description of the battle of Khe Sanh, where American Marines with air power stood off a two-month siege of Communists who lost heavily in the engagements and eventually failed in their objective. To Herr's artistic pen and mind the large realities of the battle situation are far less in-

teresting than the mood, the ambience, the spirit of *Götterdämmerung* that he perceives—and, indeed, may have brought with him to the scene of the action. Here is how he describes the landscape:

"Everything up there was spooky, and it would have been that way even if there had been no war. You were there in a place where you didn't belong, where things were glimpsed for which you would have to pay and where things went unglanced for which you would also have to pay, a place where they didn't play with the mystery but killed you straight off for trespassing. The towns had names that laid a quick, chilly touch on your bones: Kontum, Dak Mat Lop, Dak Roman Peng, Poli Klang, Buon Blech, Pleiku, Pleime, Plei Vi Drin. Just moving through those towns or being based somewhere above them spaced you out, and every time I've had that vision of myself lying dead somewhere, it was always up there, in the Highlands. It was enough to make an American commander sink to his knees and plead, 'O God! Just once, let it be our way. We have the strength, give us the terms.' Not even the Cav, with their style and courage and mobility, were able to penetrate

Continued on page 32

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George Ball warned against unleashing "a resistible force against an immovable body . . . the breakage could be frightful."

South Africa Today:

Is Race War Inevitable?

DONALD E. NUECHTERLEIN

Thirty years ago the South African National Party achieved political power in Pretoria and has won every election since 1948. Its repressive apartheid policies toward non-Whites have brought condemnation on South Africa by the international community and pushed the country close to civil war. Following the prison death of Black leader, Steve Biko, in the autumn of 1977, Prime Minister John Vorster's government moved so blatantly against the Black population and against opposition Whites that the United Nations Security Council voted to ban the sale of all weapons to that country. Nevertheless, in the general elections of November 1977, Vorster's government increased its majority in Parliament and thus strengthened his hand in dealing with both his own population and the international community.

United States policy toward southern Africa in general, and South Africa specifically, during

the last 30 years may be characterized as "benign neglect." Although some experts in the State Department and intelligence community warned that southern Africa might be torn by racial strife when Portugal gave up its colonial possessions there, the prevailing view in Washington was that this was not a high priority area in terms of worldwide US interests—in Europe, Asia and the Middle East. The Soviet Union had not sought to expand its influence in the region, South Africa was increasing its trade and communication with the Black African states, and a strong domestic constituency had not yet developed in the United States demanding a change in the official policy.

All this changed after the Portuguese dictatorship was overthrown in April 1974 and the new government decided to grant independence to Angola and Mozambique. Civil war broke out in Angola, with South Africa giving assistance to one faction and the Soviet Union, with the help of 12,000 Cuban mercenaries and great quantities of war material, aiding the Marxist faction. When Congress refused to permit President Ford to provide any kind of assistance to the non-communist groups in Angola, the outcome of the civil war was inevitable and

Secretary of State Henry Kissinger was obliged to undertake a major reexamination of US policy in southern Africa. In 1976 Kissinger moved toward accommodation with the Black African states and against the White minority governments in Rhodesia and South Africa in a way that had not been necessary before. Meanwhile, the 1976 presidential election campaign in the United States saw the emergence of a domestic constituency which changed the perception of US national interests in southern Africa.

A major shift in US policy occurred after Jimmy Carter became President and enunciated his theme of human rights in foreign policy. This brought on a confrontation between the United States and the Government of South Africa in the spring and summer of 1977. By the end of the year neither side seemed willing to compromise, and race war in South Africa loomed as a strong possibility. The crucial question for John Vorster's government in 1978 is whether South Africa is prepared to take the consequences of a rigid no-compromise stance on its apartheid policies, including a massive race war with possible foreign intervention. The key question for the Carter Administration is how far it can pressure the South African gov-

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ernment to change without precipitating the race war which it seeks to prevent.

South Africa's National Interests

To understand South Africa's current policies, it is important to appreciate its history, particularly Afrikaner history. The Afrikaners are descendants of Dutch, German and French Huguenot immigrants who came to South Africa 300 years ago, and they presently comprise about 60 percent of the White population of 4.3 million. The National Party which represents them is rural-based, Calvinist in religion and fiercely dedicated to the idea that God gave South Africa to the white man. The remaining 40 percent of the White population are English-speaking and have their cultural roots in the British Isles. Their forefathers arrived after Britain ousted the Dutch as the colonial power in 1806, and they then dominated South Africa's political life until 1948 when the Afrikaners took control. Since then the National Party has pursued the apartheid policy against not only the 18.6 million Blacks, but also against the 2.4 million Coloreds and 750,000 Asians who prior to 1948 had been accorded a special, more privileged status. As greater numbers of tribal Blacks from the north were recruited to work in the mines and to do manual labor in the cities, they were strictly segregated and punished whenever they violated any of the elaborate race laws imposed by the Afrikaner-dominated government. Despite efforts of the opposition parties to persuade the government to liberalize some of its repressive policies, successive National Party prime ministers have consistently refused to do so.

The tough mentality of the Afrikaners is an important aspect of how South Africa sees its national interests today. Those who know the country well are not confident that any significant changes will occur in the near future. John de St. Jarre, writing in the October 1976 issue of *Foreign Affairs*, describes the Afrikaner this way:

Afrikaners retain a revolutionary image of themselves. Unlike the English, French or Portuguese in Africa, they turned their backs on their European origins. In search of land and sol-

itude they swept north in successive migratory waves and clashed with black tribes pushing south. They were not innovators but a practical people who had a talent for modification . . . The Church and Afrikaans remain as pivotal to Afrikaner nationalism today as Judaism and Hebrew do to Zionism, although their racial ideologies are entirely different. They regard themselves in all seriousness as Africa's first freedom fighters—against British imperialism—and although they lost the war they finally won the peace.

The national interests of South Africa are determined today solely by Afrikaners, and to a very large degree by their political leader, John Vorster, who has been Prime Minister since 1966. In the general elections of November 1977 he led his party to a smashing victory by capturing 134 seats out of 165 in Parliament—an increase of 18 over the previous total. Vorster at age 61 clearly will control his party and South African politics for some time into the future, and his view of what South Africa should do to defend its national interests will be accepted by most of the White population—even though liberals fought his racial policies during the election campaign. Vorster earlier had sought to work out a detente with the Black African states after Portugal decided to leave Angola and Mozambique, but this effort failed when the Soviet Union and Cuba intervened and turned the tide in the Angolan civil war. Vorster then tried to strike a bargain with Secretary of State Kissinger: South Africa would give encouragement to an end of White minority rule in Rhodesia and independence to Namibia (which South Africa has administered illegally since 1966 when the United Nations demanded that it relinquish control of this trusteeship); in return, the United States would support South Africa diplomatically and limit US official criticism of Pretoria's apartheid policies. Kissinger was willing to accept Vorster's help on resolving the Rhodesia problem but did not soften official US criticism of South Africa's racial policies.

The turning point in US relations with South Africa occurred in mid-May 1977 when President Carter dispatched Vice President Walter Mondale to meet with Prime Minister Vorster in Vienna. Mondale was very tough on the human

rights issue and gave Vorster no reason to believe that the Carter Administration would accept any compromise on his apartheid policies. In fact, Mondale infuriated the South African government when he stated in a press conference following the meeting that he favored "one man, one vote" as the principle for solving South Africa's racial problem. "Every citizen," the Vice President said, "should have the right to vote, and every vote should be equally weighted." One South African leader called this a prescription for suicide.

Vorster's reaction to US pressure for change in South Africa's system of governing was defiant and self-righteous. In an important speech on August 5, he strongly criticized the Carter Administration for bowing to domestic pressures and shifting US diplomatic support to the side of Black Africa. He appealed to all African nations to be reasonable toward South Africa and to perceive the large danger that threatened all of them—the growth of Marxism on the continent. Urging moderation, the Prime Minister said:

The time has come for Africa to take stock of itself and in doing so it will notice that those states that have made genuine progress are the states that have deemed the interest of their own welfare and prosperity higher than the vendetta against South Africa. And I do not doubt that the voices of those moderate states will in the long run become louder and clearer and finally become the voice of the whole of Africa. I believe that South Africa, the gateway to Africa, has an obligation to fulfill. And I believe that each one of us here tonight is willing and eager to assist, each in his own way, to fulfill that obligation. And I believe that in this process, South Africa is indispensable to the free world. The same free world that, because of its own actions, is busy blocking its own way. I would like to say to the leader of the Western World: 'Do not make it impossible for South Africa to play its role in the free world. If, as a result of your actions, South Africa is destroyed, what will take its place? What can take its place?' The message of my country and my people to the free world is this: 'Why make an enemy of the country in Africa on which you can finally, when crisis arrives, depend?'

The South African Government's crack-down on opposition groups in October 1977 set off a worldwide reaction which ulti-

mately led to a UN Security Council Resolution banning the sale of all arms to that country. Reports from South Africa indicated that the government anticipated this action, as well as economic sanctions, but was determined to insure internal security in the face of what it perceived to be the growing hostility of the United States. In fact, Foreign Minister R. F. Botha was quoted as telling his countrymen that the United States now constituted a greater threat to South Africa than the Soviet Union: "The Carter Administration has decided that the white people of South Africa have to be ploughed under." Botha said US pressure on South Africa was having the effect of encouraging radical militants in southern Africa, and raised the danger that American policy would "cost the lives of many thousands of non-Americans, both black and

year. Vorster boasted: "We can deal with anything that comes out of Africa before breakfast."

Economic well-being. South Africa's high standard of living among the White population cannot be sustained without the millions of Black and Colored workers in the country. It is, therefore, a vital interest to the government to maintain the apartheid policy in order to keep wages low for non-Whites. Vorster warned during his election campaign that majority rule "will affect your standard of living."

World order. Vorster's plea to other African states, in his August 5 address, revealed a deep concern about South Africa's growing isolation. With the Carter Administration strongly criticizing his government, Vorster probably concludes that good relations with other nations must be subordinated to South Africa's defense and eco-

of a UN economic sanction against Rhodesia, a practice which Congress reversed in 1977. While Portugal retained an iron grip on Angola and Mozambique, US policy did nothing to upset this situation because of the key NATO bases in the Azores, which appeared to have far greater strategic importance than southern Africa.

When the Portuguese dictatorship was overthrown in April 1974, the political situation in Africa began to change rapidly and so did American policy. When the Soviet Union boldly intervened with Cuban troops in Angola in 1975, the regional balance of power seemed to be in jeopardy. When Congress refused to permit President Ford to aid the non-communist forces, American policy had to be reevaluated. Kissinger sounded the US ideological interest on August 31, 1976 when he stated

"Kissinger strongly criticized the South African regime's racial policies: . . . 'Racial discrimination is a blight which afflicts many nations of the world. But South Africa is unique in institutionalizing discrimination in an all-pervasive, enforced separation of the races which mocks any definition of human equality.' "

white alike." By the end of 1977, therefore, it was clear that South Africa would not cooperate with the Carter Administration if it meant majority Black rule.

From the foregoing, a summary assessment of South Africa's national interests may be stated as follows, under four basic interests pursued by most nations:*

Defense of homeland. Until Portugal decided to leave its colonial territories in Africa, South Africa saw no real threat to its territory. This situation has now changed, especially after the introduction of Cuban forces into Angola, and the Vorster government now must contend with the possibility that foreign support will be given to dissident elements in its own country. At the moment, however, it seems confident that South Africa can protect itself. In a speech following the UN arms embargo decision last

year, Vorster boasted:

Ideological. Some observers speculated that after Vorster had achieved a large electoral mandate he would be more willing to modify the rigid apartheid system. However, there is no evidence to date that he will compromise this ideological interest. Indeed, a siege mentality seems to prevail in South Africa.

United States Interests in Africa

For most of the post-World War II period, the US posture in Africa was a low profile. Except for the Congo crisis in the early 1960s, Washington did not take an active role in the politics of the continent and seemed content to foster trade and to protect American private investments. When Rhodesia declared its independence from Britain in 1965, the United States joined the British in refusing to grant recognition to the White minority regime of Ian Smith. However, in 1970 it resumed buying Rhodesian chrome in defiance

in a speech in Philadelphia: "The relationship between the United States and Africa is unique. We were never a colonial power, but America's character and destiny have been permanently shaped by our involvement in a tragic aspect of Africa's past. Twenty-three million black citizens testify to this heritage and all the American people have been profoundly affected by it. In this generation the affirmation of equality and black dignity in America has coincided with assertions of black nationhood in Africa. Both represent a great human struggle for freedom; both compel our support if America's principles are to have meaning." In another speech in Boston on August 2, Kissinger strongly criticized the South African regime's racial policies:

"South Africa's internal structure is explosive and incompatible with any concept of human dignity. Racial discrimination is a blight which afflicts many nations of the world. But South Africa is unique in institutionalizing discrimination in an

*For definitions of these terms, see Donald Nuechterlein, "National Interests and Foreign Policy," *Foreign Service Journal*, July 1977.

all-pervasive, enforced separation of the races which mocks any definition of human equality." The Secretary of State had come to the conclusion that American policy must in the future be based on strong support of Black African demands for an end to White minority governments in both South Africa and Rhodesia. It was also good politics in an election year.

Any doubt that may have remained in Mr. Vorster's mind regarding US policy was finally dispelled during his meeting with Vice President Mondale in May. Mondale warned Vorster that South Africa could not count on US diplomatic support anywhere unless he started the process of modifying its rigid racial policies and working toward "full participation" by all elements of South African society. Recalling this meeting, Mondale told a South African journalist in October 1977 that although he had "no road map for South Africa" to follow, he had told Prime Minister Vorster that "it was our judgment that this tide of human history could not be stopped and should not be stopped. I made clear that while we were not trying to tell South Africa what it should do, we were determined for our own part that if such changes did not take place, it would be increasingly difficult for the United States to continue to maintain the good relations with South Africa that had been enjoyed in the past and which we would very much like to continue." This was an unmistakable warning to South Africa.

A comparison of Kissinger's and Mondale's statements about South Africa's racial policies does not show a major change in the US position since 1976. But the Carter Administration was determined to orchestrate its displeasure in a way that had not been attempted previously by the American government. Not only the Vice President, but also the Secretary of State, the US Representative to the United Nations, several Assistant Secretaries of State and many other US officials made strong statements before Congress and in public speeches criticizing South Africa. All this attention was not required to convince Mr. Vorster of the Carter Administration's displeasure with his apartheid policies; but

it was important in terms of furthering President Carter's new emphasis on worldwide human rights—the ideological component of his foreign policy. And herein lies the nub of a foreign policy dilemma in southern Africa: How can US interests be realigned so as to be compatible with those of Black Africa without at the same time triggering a race war in South Africa, and perhaps a larger war involving troops from outside Africa?

This dilemma was clearly articulated by former Under Secretary of State George Ball, who served in the Kennedy and Johnson Administrations. In an article published by *The Atlantic Monthly* in October 1977, entitled "Asking for Trouble in South Africa," Ball took sharp issue with the idea of "one man, one vote" for South Africa because, he said, it raised expectations among Black South Africans which he did not believe the United States was prepared to fulfill. "No special prescience is required," Ball argued, "to foresee that our continued harping on the principle of 'one man, one vote' is bound to encourage the hope and ambition of non-whites and increase their discontent with their current state." Ball asked what help the United States would provide if economic, social and political sanctions did not produce majority rule in South Africa and the country moved into a "desperately unequal guerrilla struggle." He wondered whether the United States would furnish Black insurgents with the weapons to use in killing the White population. "Will we intervene militarily to overthrow the current repressive South African government?" Ball asked. Against the background of the Vietnam experience, he thought this highly unlikely. "Yet," he asked, "if having encouraged insurrection by talk of 'one man, one vote,' we then refuse assistance, how will we justify that to American Blacks? Will not the implication of hypocrisy make us an easy target for the demagogues of the Third World and the propagandists of the Kremlin?"

What Ball feared was a backlash against American rhetoric, such as occurred in 1956 when the Hungarian Freedom Fighters learned that the American government was not prepared to back up its words

about "rolling back the Iron Curtain," as Russian troops proceeded to crush their revolution. Would the United States be willing to send forces to help non-White South Africans achieve political "justice" if the latter staged massive demonstrations and then faced annihilation at the hands of the South African military? Ball argues that the United States would not act, but that "the Soviet Union (directly or through surrogates such as the Cubans) or even China, could greatly enhance its standing throughout the Third World by helping the embattled Blacks—which would enormously intensify the Cold War condiment in the already over-spiced South African stew." Ball concluded that American diplomacy should strive for achievable ends rather than stirring the Blacks to insurrection and driving the South Africans into resisting all change. The latter course, he believed, was a prescription for unleashing "a resistible force against an immovable body—and the breakage could be frightful."

How, then does one assess US interests vis à vis South Africa at this time? From the many statements that have been made by American officials, as well as US economic and world order interests there, the following is a reasonable summary of basic US interests in the late 1970s:

Defense of homeland. In terms of proximity to North America, South Africa cannot qualify as much more than a peripheral defense interest of the United States. From the United States Navy's viewpoint, it is a major interest because of its strategic location between the South Atlantic and the Indian Ocean; but for the defense of North America, South Africa must rate lower.

Economic well-being. American private investment in South Africa amounts to about \$1.5 billion, with approximately 350 US firms having direct financial interests there. However, US private investment comprises only 17 percent of the total: Great Britain accounts for a much higher percentage. In addition, South Africa has an abundance of important minerals, which are increasingly needed by US industry, and in 1975 it imported \$1.3 billion in US products. In view of

Continued on page 36

"There is no more valued coin than candor in the international marketplace of ideas."—President Carter

The VOA Correspondent: Journalist or Diplomat?

SEAN KELLY

The Voice of America is mandated by Congress (*Sec. 206 of Public Law 94-350*) to provide listeners abroad with an accurate, objective and comprehensive news service. In recent months, President Carter has emphasized that VOA's news-gathering and reporting functions must be kept independent and objective. And yet, increasingly, these journalistic activities are running into difficulties with the Department of State and its representatives abroad. The current reorganization of USIA—VOA's parent agency—does not offer any clear resolution of this problem, and the question has now been placed before a panel of distinguished outside experts.

The issues involved are worth looking at.

Now in its 36th year of broadcasting, VOA operates on the basic premise that an informed world is far less dangerous than an uninformed one. Thus, its major audiences are to be found in those societies where information is controlled, or denied. For years, particularly during the Cold War period, the primary emphasis of VOA broadcasting was directed to Communist target audiences in Eastern Europe, the Soviet Union, and East Asia. But since the early '60s, this expanded to include Third World nations in Africa, Latin America, and the Middle East.

In carrying out its Congressional mandate, VOA operates its Wash-

ington newsroom 24 hours a day, seven days a week, producing more than 200 newscasts a day in English and 35 other languages. Sources for this news include all the major news services and broadcast networks, as well as foreign radio monitoring reports, and, increasingly, VOA's own staff of correspondents in the US and abroad.

There are currently 14 VOA correspondents staffing bureaus in Washington (White House, State Department, Pentagon and the Congress), New York, Miami, Chicago, Boston and Los Angeles. Each bureau covers a fairly wide geographic area. Overseas, VOA has 15 correspondents supervising regional bureaus in London, Paris, Brussels, Munich, Vienna, Rome, Athens, Jerusalem, Abidjan, Nairobi, New Delhi, Bangkok, Hong Kong, Tokyo, and Panama. They are supported by small local staffs, usually consisting of a secretary-translator and one or two part-time reporters who substitute during the correspondent's frequent absences from the bureau.

The correspondents are in daily contact with the VOA Washington newsroom by telephone, telex, and commercial broadcast circuits. They receive their instructions from a Washington central coverage desk, and they report back through the VOA Operations studio on lines that can be monitored and recorded throughout VOA's complex of studios and office facilities at the HEW North Building.

For the most part, the correspondents file two to three minute reports which cover the top news story from their particular area. These reports, which total overall about 50 per day, give depth and

context to a news development that may actually have already reached the VOA newsroom from another source. Frequently, however, the first word of a breaking news story comes from VOA's own correspondent—especially if he or she is reporting from a Third World nation—or even locally, for that matter, since wire services usually gear their deadlines to morning or evening newspaper cycles. Thus a routine story that broke at 11 a.m. in a Senate hearing might take until the middle of the afternoon before it moves on a commercial wire service. In the meantime, it could have missed several VOA broadcast deadlines. For the smaller language services—those on the air for only two to three hours a day—this could mean not carrying the story at all.

VOA news editors point out that such a loss can become very important in those cases where the information contained in the story is of concern to a specific overseas area. As an example, if the Senate hearing dealt with a new arms agreement involving Turkey, the story would have to be phoned into the news room by 11:15 a.m. or miss the Turkish broadcast cycle for a full 24 hours. Commercial news agencies rarely move that quickly on non-bulletin news, especially if it is of marginal interest to American readers. By the same token, VOA can find itself in the position of rendering a considerable disservice to its listeners when it falls victim to an inaccurate news agency report, and has no correspondent on the scene to provide verification. Credibility also suffers in the absence of a story in a particular newscast, especially when it is being carried by other

Sean Kelly, FSIO, frequently writes for these pages. He is the author of Access Denied: The Politics of Press Censorship which will be published this summer by Sage of Beverly Hills and London. This article was adapted from a study originally published by the Center for Strategic and International Studies, Georgetown University.

news services.

Maintaining the accuracy of the newsfile is the first responsibility of any VOA correspondent, and it is one that is taken seriously, according to Alan Heil, Chief of News and Current Affairs. Correspondents call in at any time of the day or night to update news reports they have monitored on VOA newscasts to their areas. Frequently, these continuing updates take the form of telexed advisories, but if the development warrants immediate treatment, the correspondent will simply pick up a telephone wherever he is and call in a correction to the newsroom in Washington. The result is a continuous international newsfile that VOA considers to be second to none in accuracy and comprehensiveness.

In many parts of the world, international broadcasts are the only reliable source of news available. This places a special burden on VOA, not only for the accuracy of its newscasts, but also for their relevance to an overseas listener. VOA editors feel that it is not enough to report daily on the election of a US President unless the electoral process can be explained in terms that will carry meaning to a listener in Burma, for instance, or the Ukraine. American commercial broadcasting networks will not do this; there is no need for them to. It falls upon VOA to provide this service from its own resources, and here the correspondent has a special role. VOA domestic and overseas bureaus provide backgrounders, sidebars, and feature stories all built around the objective of making a particular development more comprehensible to a listener in another land.

In many cases, there is apparently no substitute for having a VOA correspondent on the spot. As an example, during the human rights debates at the recent Belgrade conference on European Security and Cooperation, there was very little daily wire-service reporting that reached the VOA newsroom in Washington. The continuing developments at Belgrade were also largely unreported in the *New York Times* and the *Washington Post*. VOA editors felt that the story was an important one for listeners in Europe and the Soviet Union, and therefore a corre-

spondent was kept in Belgrade virtually throughout the conference. In many instances, he was the sole source for VOA news coverage. The files at the VOA newsroom are filled with such examples.

Officials at VOA say that international broadcasting takes place in an increasingly competitive environment. More and more nations are taking to the airwaves in what is an already-crowded broadcast band. For VOA to attract listeners and to hold them, it must provide a service that is both accurate and up-to-date—otherwise, it will simply be drowned out. The correspondent's presence at a news event gives VOA an advantage in its news broadcasts that cannot be obtained elsewhere.

This increasing dependence on its own correspondents has developed over the past decade—as VOA expanded both the scope and the content of its news reporting. Prior to 1967-68, virtually all of VOA's news output was drawn from commercial news services. But, according to Harvard's William H. Read—who was Deputy News Director at the time—VOA was also receiving cabled situation reports from various US diplomatic missions abroad. Not infrequently, these official assessments differed substantially from the views reported by journalists on the scene. Lacking its own correspondents, Read says that VOA increasingly found itself caught between the news agency account and the version of events cabled by the American Embassy, or USIS post. To complicate matters even further, the embassy's account was usually accompanied by suggestions on how VOA might play the story for maximum public relations impact.

Read says that it was in an effort to overcome such conflicts that VOA began building a corps of news correspondents of its own. The objective then (and it continues to be) was to get the diplomats out of the news business as much as possible. He adds that the price to be paid for that objective is continued tension between VOA correspondents and US diplomatic posts abroad. But Read is convinced that, if you take the correspondents away, the system (conditioned by a management largely made up of ex-USIS officers) will

revert to a reliance on diplomatic messages as an alternative source for the news. Once that occurs, he says, the newsfile will suffer as a result.

Working Relationships With US Embassies

Under present arrangements, VOA correspondents traveling abroad must serve as Foreign Service Information, or Foreign Service Reserve, Officers under USIA's personnel system. This obliges them to carry Diplomatic or Official Passports, and to be listed as members of the US diplomatic establishment where they reside.

Their personal and professional relationships with the local US Ambassador and the USIS Public Affairs Officer vary from country to country, usually depending on the personalities of the individuals involved. Two specific documents set the working guidelines. These include a letter sent by President Carter on October 25, 1977 to every American Ambassador abroad in which he reaffirmed the Ambassador's "full responsibility for the direction, coordination, and supervision of all United States Government officers and employees" in each Ambassador's area of accreditation, including the authority to review message traffic to and from all personnel under the Ambassador's jurisdiction.

The other document outlines the VOA correspondent's specific responsibility to the USIS Public Affairs Officer (PAO). It is USIA Circular Airgram number CA-800, dated April 20, 1972, and it sets forth general operating procedures for correspondents, including (paragraph four) "Correspondents will continue to seek the post's advice and concurrence on coverage of all locally sensitive subjects." And in paragraph six, "If a VOA correspondent seeks an interview with a head of state or other high-ranking government official, he will first ask approval from the News Division in Washington. If that is granted, he will proceed only after informing the PAO, or in his absence, a ranking Embassy officer and only if the mission interposes no objection."

CA-800 adds: "On coverage of locally sensitive subjects . . . posts are expected to provide guidance and background to VOA corre-

spondents. As PAOs may desire, correspondents will show them or delegated officers items on such subjects prior to transmission to Washington. Should differences of opinion exist, correspondents may file their stories anyway, but they must indicate the post's non-concurrences."

Some Problems

President Carter's letter to Ambassadors and CA-800 give US diplomatic missions a substantial measure of control over VOA correspondents working under their jurisdiction. In the vast majority of cases, this has not proven to be a problem, but there have been some notable recent exceptions. In October 1976, Charles Weiss, the VOA correspondent in Israel, was officially informed by the American Embassy in Tel Aviv that he was to have no further contact with spokesmen of the Palestine Liberation Organization. Weiss had routinely checked out a local story by telephone with the PLO spokesman in Cyprus, a fairly common practice among foreign reporters working in Israel. The embassy's position was that Weiss, as an American official, had to conform to US policy restrictions, including no official contact with the PLO. No exception could be made for VOA's news-gathering function.

This ruling was strenuously opposed by the Chief of VOA News, Bernard Kamenske, who said it undercut the credibility and independence of VOA, adding: "We cannot remain a journalistic force and be regarded as American officials simultaneously." Kamenske pointed out that Weiss was not attempting to conduct diplomacy with the PLO, but was simply trying to verify a news story—his first responsibility as a VOA correspondent.

The State Department's position that contact by a VOA correspondent necessarily confers some measure of diplomatic recognition has meant that there has been little, if any, direct coverage of Rhodesia, or the South African Bantustan territories. Recently, for the first time in more than a decade, a VOA correspondent was permitted by the State Department to visit Rhodesia as part of a group of journalists accompanying the British Foreign

Minister. Repeated efforts since then have been turned down by the Department. Similar rebuffs have met attempts to report from Transkei, whose "independence" is not recognized by the US, and where the State Department has applied the rule that a visit by a VOA correspondent could be interpreted as compromising that position.

VOA officials claim that with their heavy commitment of broadcast hours to Africa (90 program hours a week in English, French and Swahili) they need access to the major newsfronts of that conti-

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on the job."

nent. Efforts to establish a VOA bureau in Johannesburg have run into frustration at the State Department. At one point, the Department agreed that a bureau could be established, providing that it maintained no official links to the American Embassy, and then—with the correspondent and his family virtually en route—this decision was reversed. VOA now covers Southern Africa with a part-time "stringer" and periodic visits by regular correspondents based in Abidjan, Nairobi and Rome.

The most recent case of State Department restriction on the movements of VOA correspondents abroad concerned the efforts of Mid-East Bureau Chief Douglas Roberts to do a series of background news reports on the turbulent political situation in the Western Sahara. For this purpose, he intended to visit Algeria, Morocco, and Mauritania to conduct interviews with the principal parties involved in the dispute, including spokesmen for the Polisario guerrilla movement. This was flatly turned down by the State Department, which took the view

that there could be no "official" contact between the US and Polisario. The issue went as far as USIA Director John Reinhardt and Deputy Secretary of State Warren Christopher.

Panel of Outside Experts

As a result of the Polisario incident, Reinhardt and VOA Director Peter Straus decided to appoint a body of outside experts to look into the whole question of VOA correspondents abroad, and whether they should function as journalists or "government officials." The issue, said Straus, "... lies at the crux of the problems that arise when a news organization is also a government agency: can a reporter be independent if he receives a security clearance, carries an official passport, is paid from government funds, and has 'high visibility' in many areas of the world just because he is a VOA correspondent?"

The panel recommended that VOA correspondents should not have access to classified material. In fact, many VOA reporters have made it a rule for years to avoid access to classified information on the theory that knowledge of state secrets is likely to affect their editorial judgment. Besides, the secrets are rarely that newsworthy and the act of having seen them in a classified document makes the correspondent party to a security breach if he publishes the information—even though he may have already obtained it from sources of his own. Security clearances and access to classified information never improved a VOA news story; in fact, they may have had a decidedly negative effect.

The panel also suggested that VOA correspondents should use regular passports, apply for journalists' visas and relinquish such diplomatic perquisites as PX and commissary privileges. Actually, official passports bestow no particular advantage on a traveler, apart from check cashing privileges at an American embassy. In many cases, they prove a hindrance since they require special procedures for obtaining visas. Usually there must be a written request, signed by a State Department consular official, before foreign embassies will issue

Continued on page 39

The Return of the Crown of St. Stephen

IRA WOLF

According to tradition, the Holy Crown of St. Stephen was given to Hungary's first Christian King, Stephen, by Pope Sylvester II, in the year 1001 A.D. Over the centuries the Crown has become the most important symbol of Hungarian nationhood. All Kings of Hungary had to be crowned with St. Stephen's Crown to occupy the throne legitimately.

In the final days of World War II, as opposing armies devastated Budapest, the Crown guard removed the Crown from Hungary and turned it over to advance elements of the United States Army for safekeeping. After several adventures in Europe, the Crown was brought to Fort Knox where it remained for 25 years. President Carter, in the context of an overall review of our policy toward Eastern Europe in the summer of 1977, decided that the time had come to return the Crown to its rightful place in Hungary.

Thus, at five o'clock on the morning of Thursday, January 5, a US delegation along with support staff gathered in the VIP departure lounge at Andrews Air Force Base in suburban Maryland. We were to take off before six in order to arrive in Budapest by 10:00 Thursday night—in time for the Crown's arrival to be carried live on television throughout Europe. We and the Hungarians had hoped for an earlier departure (and a daylight arrival), but during this period of Congressional recess, VIP aircraft were hard to come by. Much to our surprise, the plane waiting for us was one of the President's back-up aircraft—the one that Secretary Vance and the Vice President usually use—complete with Xerox copying machine and electric typewriter.

The delegation included one Senator, three Congressmen, several Executive Branch representa-



Courtesy National Gallery of Art, photo by W. J. Sumits

tives, and a dozen public members—including Professor Albert Szent-Gyorgyi, who won his Nobel Prize in 1937 for the discovery of vitamin C, and a Hungarian-American housewife from Buffalo, New York. Her daughter

had telephoned the Hungarian desk in the State Department to say that her mother supported the President's decision to return the Crown and that if we wanted to include a typical Hungarian-American, her mother would love to participate.

Ira Wolf entered the Foreign Service in 1970 and after serving in Japan, Peru, and the Executive Secretariat, is now Special Assistant to the Counselor.

"I see in this action the reaffirmation of the traditional bonds of friendship between our two peoples."—President Carter

She was selected but turned out not to be a typical anything. In addition to speaking excellent Hungarian, she spoke fluent French and German. She was also a very handsome woman with the poise of a diplomat and the eloquence of a polished and experienced public speaker. The choice could not have been better.

Wheels up at 5:55 A.M. The delegation members had met the evening before at a pre-departure dinner and briefing. Several State Department officials planned to brief the delegation on the Crown itself, the background of the President's decision to return it, and the nature of the ceremonies that would take place in Budapest. The principal American expert on the Crown gave a short slide show with pictures taken several weeks earlier at Fort Knox. But, as it turned out, the briefers were briefed by the delegation, most of whom knew stories about the Crown that the briefers had not heard before. An enthusiasm and camaraderie developed that continued throughout the 60-hour trip.

The Crown and its regalia (orb, scepter, sword and robe) had been brought from Fort Knox to Andrews on Wednesday, the day before we left for Budapest. The operation at Fort Knox involved three helicopters and dozens of armed guards. The Crown, orb, scepter and sword were in a large, specially built trunk. The robe was in a semi-circular box some ten feet in diameter and two inches thick. On our airplane, the Air Force had removed the walls of the private room usually used by Secretary Vance. The two boxes were strapped down there.

About halfway to Budapest, I noticed Professor Szent-Gyorgyi sitting on a bench in front of the two boxes. He was staring intently at them, yet with a far-away expression on his face. His eyes would close momentarily, his thoughts moving back through history as he felt the emotional and historical force of this event. I was

fascinated and watched him for five minutes, privileged to be gaining a deeper understanding of what the Crown's return meant to this great man and to the entire Hungarian nation. Just then, the restroom door opened, someone walked out, and the Professor, who had obviously been waiting his turn, went in.

We landed at Mildenhall Air Force Base in England for a planned 90-minute refueling stop. The Air Force worked fast and finished in an hour, allowing us to reach Budapest by 9:30 as the Hungarians had requested.

Wheels down Budapest at 9:30 P.M. A beautiful night with a brilliantly lit sky. A 30-member reception committee met us with a military band and a large honor guard. After passing through the receiving line, we all went to an area about 250 feet away to watch the removal of the Crown. After a week-long debate over how to remove the Crown from the plane, the decision had been made to use one of the trucks that deliver food to airplanes. The Crown would be put on this truck, which would then be lowered. The Crown would be transferred to another truck, which would drive off with it.

It was about 20° F. with a wind blowing off the runway while we waited a long 20 minutes for the unloading. Later we learned that not only was the second truck a bit too small, requiring extra effort to secure the Crown properly, but its engine had broken down as well, requiring a hasty repair job. During this process, the band played the Rákóczy March 22 times.

When the truck was ready to move, the band struck up the Hungarian national anthem and then the Star Spangled Banner. Even among Americans made cynical by the experiences of Watergate and Vietnam, there are occasions when the flag blowing in the wind or the playing of the national anthem elicits chills of emotion. This was one. The United States was doing something because it was the right thing

to do—and that was the only reason. The moment was moving, and one could feel a love of country and a sense of good, old-fashioned patriotism on both sides.

The Crown was sped off to the Parliament building to be examined by a crew of American and Hungarian technical experts and prepared for the actual return ceremony the following afternoon.

Later we learned that the Hungarians had a protocol dilemma in deciding how to receive the Crown and delegation at the airport. Normally, Chiefs of State are given a reception that includes a review of the troops and a cannon salute. The Crown, and the personal representative of the United States Chief of State, Secretary of State Vance, would be given such a welcome. But the Secretary would not arrive until the following day. So we received full honors—minus the troop review and the cannons.

We sped through the deserted streets of the city to our hotel. (In addition to the cold and the Hungarian habit of going to bed early, an excellent television program that night kept people off the streets). The Hungarians gave a reception for us at the hotel's rooftop restaurant.

At the reception, the Hungarian Ambassador to Washington, who flew with us to Budapest, told me that he could not eat much. He was expected at his mother's house later that evening for a home-cooked meal, and if he did not eat everything she served, she would think that he either no longer liked her food or was ill. If there is a cross-cultural constant, it must be mothers.

The United States formally retained custody of the Crown until the return ceremony at 4:00 on Friday afternoon. Even though the Crown was kept in the Parliament building under the watch of three closed circuit television cameras and many very tall, very tough-looking Parliament guards, an American official had to be present at Parliament with the Crown until

then. The Embassy decided that two Americans were necessary in order to keep each other awake. The Embassy in Budapest, with its rather small staff burdened by the presence of the delegation plus the continuing preparation for the return ceremonies and Secretary Vance's arrival, was a bit short-handed. So I volunteered to take the midnight to 6:00 A.M. shift at Parliament. Before I left the reception at the hotel to take up my midnight duty, the Deputy Foreign Minister, who had heard that I was going to spend the night with the Crown, suggested that I take a bottle of Scotch with me. He thought this would make the six hours pass more pleasantly and, in addition, the Foreign Ministry official who would also be on duty at Parliament would appreciate a little liquid comfort.

I arrived at Parliament a few minutes before midnight. Not knowing who from Washington would wind up taking this duty, the Embassy had given a different name to the Hungarian security office. So, here I was at the entrance to the Hungarian Parliament building at midnight, speaking no Hungarian, using an assumed name, carrying a sack containing a bottle of Scotch, a jar of peanuts, and several glasses borrowed from the hotel, trying to gain entry into probably the most tightly secured building in Hungary, if not in all of Europe, that night. The guards must have thought that no one with evil intentions would try to gain access to the Crown in such a foolish fashion, so they let me enter. I walked through what seemed miles of corridors, each more ornate than the last, until I reached the room with the Crown.

The American and Hungarian experts had just completed their final examination. The Crown and all its regalia had been removed from the boxes, the display stands checked, the items inventoried in detail. All were then put back into the original containers to await the ceremony the following afternoon. Appropriate documents were signed, and food, wine, and champagne were served. The experts plus assorted Hungarians and our motley "security detachment" drank and ate until 1:30 A.M. The Crown was then moved into an anteroom (with closed circuit

cameras and a machine gun-armed guard), and the experts went back to the hotel, leaving behind only an Embassy officer, the American desk officer from the Hungarian Foreign Ministry, many guards, and myself. An area had been set up in the anteroom where we could sit staring at the boxes and the guard with the machine gun. We elected to stay in a nearby room that was far more comfortable and hospitable. We three finished the wine and champagne that were left and then drank my Scotch.

Embassy officers and another Foreign Ministry official relieved us at 6:00 A.M. The American desk officer and I returned to the hotel by trolley and decided that the occasion called for a nightcap as we watched dawn over the Danube. The bar was closed but luckily the hotel had well-stocked refrigerators in each room. We opened a couple of beers, but halfway through my companion fell asleep. I woke him up, sent him on his way, and went to sleep for a few hours.

Friday morning the delegation went in different directions—to meetings, sightseeing, or sleeping late. The return of the Crown was such an important event in Hungary that even our sightseers were followed by a large team of news photographers.

Secretary Vance arrived in Budapest late in the morning, and the Ambassador gave a luncheon for all visitors from Washington and the Embassy staff. After lunch we all went to Parliament for the ceremony. The Crown and regalia had been removed from the boxes and were on display—the Crown, sword, scepter, and orb on one table and the robe, completely spread out, on a second table. The robe, woven from gold thread, was a particularly impressive sight. The weaving was so intricate that an American fabric expert had earlier spent four hours examining a four square inch portion of it. Although the Crown was the focal point of attention, in the large room it appeared small and relatively unadorned.

The ceremony consisted of both countries' national anthems, a speech by Secretary Vance returning the Crown to Hungary, a speech by the President of the National Assembly accepting the

Crown on behalf of the Hungarian people, and finally the "Declaration," a former Hungarian national anthem not played since Hungary became a socialist country.

After the ceremony, champagne and hors d'oeuvres were served. The Secretary met with the Prime Minister and then the entire delegation met with the President of the National Assembly.

After a brief rest back at the hotel, we returned to Parliament for the state dinner. At the foot of the huge staircase leading to the dining room, I was told to distribute cards showing each American his position at the massive dinner table. (One table, 100 feet long, seating 90.) I found everyone except our Nobel Prize winner; he was nowhere to be found. I knew he had walked from the hotel rather than ride in the motorcade, and I was a bit concerned, wondering what terrible disasters had occurred. Finally, I spotted him standing with his longtime friend, the President of the Hungarian Academy of Science, in the middle of the Hungarian receiving line, shaking the hands of all the American delegates, and somehow it seemed appropriate that he be there.

Dinner was sumptuous from the goulash soup to the goose liver (geese are force-fed in Hungary) and stuffed cabbage through the cheese strudel, unlike any strudel any of us had ever tasted. We were finished at 11:00 and returned to the hotel—some going to bed, some going for a walk, and others going to a cafe to hear gypsy music until 2:00 A.M.

Up at 8:00 A.M. Saturday for baggage call, Secretary Vance's press conference at 10:15, motorcade at 11:15, and wheels up at 11:50. Three hours to Shannon Airport for refueling, a meeting with Irish officials (and shopping—very disappointing—limited selection and surprisingly high prices) and wheels down Andrews at 5:15 Saturday afternoon. Wheels up Andrews to wheels down Andrews in 59 hours and 20 minutes. A very short period of time when you consider that we spent 21 hours flying and (at least some of us) slept two nights. But much history was pressed into these 60 hours, and it will be remembered in Hungary for centuries.



April 9, 1948 got under way in the Colombian capital of Bogotá as normally as might have been expected for a city that was host to the Ninth International Conference of American States. That conference, convened to give a constitutional basis to the Organization of American States, was attended by delegations of high ranking officials of the 21 American Republics. The United States delegation, for example, included Secretary of State George C. Marshall, Secretary of Commerce W. Averell Harriman, Chairman of the Export-Import Bank William McClesney Martin, Lt. General Matthew B. Ridgway, a number of highest ranking and experienced ambassadors, and representatives of almost every agency of the United States government. The delegations of most of the Latin American governments were headed by Foreign Ministers, supported by their most capable diplomats and other officials. Together with those from what we now call "the media" and representatives of special interest groups, student organizations and the like, Bogotá had several hundred special visitors on its hands. Nevertheless the city of a half million or so inhabitants seemed to be going on its way about as usual, with little attention to the conference after having given a colorful welcome to the delegations in the plaza in front of the capitol building—*El Capitolio*.

To one with only brief experience in Latin American affairs, and that in Washington, on this first trip to Latin America the atmosphere did not seem particularly tense. I knew that the Colombian political climate had been troubled because a split in the Liberal Party caused by populist leader Jorge Eliécer Gaitán had resulted in the election of Conservative President Mario Ospina Perez. There had also been

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Members of the US delegation being evacuated from delegation headquarters on April 10.

Paul C. Daniels, then Director of ARA, and Jack Kuhn of the Secretariat carry slightly injured US staff member.

Courtesy of John M. Vebber



Violence in Colombia in April, 1948—The Bogotazo

Survivors of Bogota-30 Years Later

EDWARD A. JAMISON

reason to believe that the communists or others would attempt to disrupt the conference, but the first ten days of the gathering had produced nothing of which I was aware to substantiate that concern. For the United States delegation, of which I was one of the least experienced members, there seemed nothing more troubling than the electricity failures said to be normal in almost any Latin American city and the complete unpredictability of the showers that came down between bursts of sunshine throughout the day. Secretary Marshall, who might have been presumed to be the potential object of any communist hostility, felt no constraint and pleased the Colombians by walking the three or four blocks from the US Chancery to the *Capitolio* where the conference sessions were held. Nor had there been any unusual verbal fireworks during the sessions, although the Latin Americans had full opportunity there to make known their growing unhappiness that no "Marshall Plan" for Latin America seemed likely to emerge.

Shortly after the end of the morning conference session on April

9 I was walking along a downtown Bogotá street on my first venture to satisfy the urge that comes over every member of an international conference delegation—to do some shopping. I had broken away that day from other "working level" delegation members who often went for lunch to the one eating place we had found in the city that offered those North American necessities, hamburgers and milkshakes. (That group, it turned out, had an eye-witness spot from which to observe the dramatic events that were even then taking place.) As I window-shopped, trying to convert advertised prices to dollars, an ambulance came screaming down the one-way street the wrong way. That seemed a bit strange, but nothing further happened in that vicinity to cause alarm so I went on my way. After a few minutes I developed enough courage to try out my "Beginning Spanish" and entered a store to buy some postcards. The man behind the counter seemed preoccupied with announcements coming over the radio to which I paid no attention and would probably not have understood anyway. As he took the money for the cards I



After the riots—one view of the destruction. Courtesy of Simon Wilson

had selected, he almost pushed me out the door and emerged himself to lower the steel grating over the store front muttering: "*Gaitán se murió*"—"Gaitán is dead." Innocent as I was of any real understanding of the Colombian political scene I knew *that* could only mean trouble.

I walked down the street to return with all deliberate speed to the delegation offices located a few blocks away on the top two floors of an uncompleted and otherwise unoccupied office building—the *Edificio Americano*—directly opposite the US Chancery. As I walked sounds of mounting commotion could be heard not far away, a background roar more ominous than street sounds normally to be heard. (My good friend, renowned poet and fellow delegation member, the late Muna Lee, later insisted that the sound one could hear at that stage was of *machetes* being sharpened on the curbstones, but my ears were not that closely attuned to such things.) In any event, it was clear that the tranquillity of Bogotá was being shattered.

Safely—or so I thought—back in the delegation headquarters, I learned that Gaitán had, in fact, been shot on one of Bogotá's busiest street corners by a then un-

known assailant and had subsequently died in a hospital. (It is not unlikely that he was being taken to the hospital in the ambulance I had seen.) The people in our usual luncheon group had been sitting near a restaurant window from which the attack could be seen and they watched while an angry mob beat the murderer to death and dragged his body down the street toward the Presidential Palace.

As suggested above, Jorge Eliécer Gaitán was a prominent Liberal political leader whose appeal was primarily to the underprivileged masses, of whom there were more than enough in Colombia. He had been mayor of Bogotá and, more recently, candidate of the radical wing of the Liberal Party for the presidency in a contest in which a split between radical and moderate Liberals resulted in the election of a Conservative. He had been denied a place of honor as a member of the Colombian delegation to the conference. The position of Foreign Minister, which carried with it presidency of the conference, had been given to one of the most hated Conservatives, Laureano Gomez. The accumulation of resentments was such that an explosion of unforeseeable consequences seemed certain. It was a good time for North American del-

egation members to be off the streets.

There were three principal places of refuge: the Chancery, the delegation offices immediately across the street from the Chancery, and a recently completed apartment building—the *Carrera Rojas*—which was being used as a hotel for the delegation and was located perhaps half a mile away from the Chancery. (The list does not include a private home in which Secretary Marshall and his highest level aides were living or, of course, the Ambassador's residence and the residences of other North Americans stationed in Bogotá.) All but a few delegation members or helpers who were isolated elsewhere made their way to one of these spots and remained there for at least the next 24 hours. A few of those in the delegation who had remained in the *Capitolio* during the mid-day break were able to reach the delegation headquarters, but one of the secretaries was injured slightly in the scramble which occurred when the *Capitolio* was invaded by one of the first of the mobs that formed after Gaitán's assassination.

Willard L. Beaulac, who was Ambassador to Colombia at the time, has included an excellent account of the principal aspects of the *Bogotazo* and his experiences during that hectic period in his book, *Career Ambassador*. Cecil Lyon, aide to Ambassador Norman Armour during the conference and later Ambassador to Chile and Sri Lanka, also wrote an article on it that appeared in the *Foreign Service Journal* in 1948. My version differs from theirs to the extent that we were in different places during much of the early turbulence, at least, and they saw things through the eyes of experienced officers—since 1921 in the case of Ambassador Beaulac—while my observations were those of a neophyte. Nor have I attempted to analyze very deeply the underlying causes and overall significance of the events. My effort is largely to set down some impressions to mark the 30th anniversary of what the Colombian newspapers kept referring to as "*los sucesos*," events that affected me deeply and had important consequences for Latin America.

It turned out that the delegation offices—in the top two floors of a fairly tall office building in the center of the city—provided an unusually advantageous place from which to observe the dramatic, and sickening, events that soon began to occur. What we saw for almost 24 hours was a major Latin American city subjected to wanton acts of looting, burning, destruction and death. There was a disintegration of the structure of law and order of a magnitude seldom seen, a catastrophe much worse in the loss of life alone than the rioting with which we in the United States were confronted a few years later. The National Police, said to be highly favorable to the Gaitán wing of the Liberal Party, not only made little effort to control the situation but in some cases actually handed out weapons to the rioters. Army elements, some of which were on maneuvers several miles out of the city, had to be assembled and this often meant bringing inadequately clothed recruits from the warmer zones below Bogotá. We were not aware until later how close the country as a whole was to a full-scale revolution, one which was avoided by the heroism of the Presidential Guard and some effective political maneuvering by Liberal politicians and the Conservative President.

But the 30 or 40 North Americans in the delegation headquarters knew little of those critical activities. To the extent that any of us could understand the frenzied radio commentary it appeared that the radicals were taking over. Gathered before the picture windows of the top floor of the *Edificio Americano*, we watched as rioting, looting, destruction and arson gained momentum during the rest of April 9. Although an explosive thrown against the front of the building about mid-afternoon jarred it and its occupants somewhat, the edifice was of masonry construction and seemed reasonably solid and fireproof. We were also told that the son of its owner, who had served with United States forces in World War II, had quickly organized his own private security force to ward off sabotage efforts against his father's building.

The senior officer in our unit was Ambassador Paul C. Daniels, then

Director of the Office of American Republics Affairs. Contact with the outside was maintained by telephone, which miraculously functioned well—better than usual in fact—during the rioting. Not inappropriately the person in charge of that communications contact was the now deceased, veteran spokesman for the State Department, Michael J. McDermott. Another highly respected member of the Foreign Service, Ambassador Norman Armour, then Assistant Secretary of State for Political Affairs—there was only one in those days—was senior official at the Chancery, since Ambassador Beaulac had been unable to return there after lunch. Beaulac and Richard R. Rubottom, later Ambassador and Assistant Secretary of State, then political officer of the Embassy, had been forced to abandon their efforts to get back to the Chancery from their homes in the suburbs when they found themselves facing a frenzied mob in downtown Bogotá. They were able to make their way to the *Carrera Rojas* where other delegation members were assembled, however.

From the front of our building we could see, late in the afternoon, that an Avianca office located on the ground floor of the building that housed the Chancery had been broken into. Wisps of smoke indicated that it had also been set on fire. (Happily the arsonists appeared to have ignored a highly inflammable paint store next to the Avianca office.) The fire set there smoldered for some time and, as we were to discover later, heated up the floor of the Chancery which occupied the third to sixth levels of the Building. From the front windows overlooking the street we could also observe the results of looting that had already begun on a grand scale—men, women and children loaded down with clothing, furniture, radios and every other kind of article they could carry or drag along the street. As darkness came and the first evidences of military efforts to get things under control could be seen, rifle fire that had picked up in intensity during the afternoon began to take its toll in the streets below.

Even more dramatic was the view from the picture window that

extended across the entire back of our building. Rather early in the afternoon it became evident that an attempt was under way to attack the headquarters of the arch conservative newspaper, *El Siglo*, an edifice we could see clearly some blocks away. The newspaper was certain to be an object of attack for the *Gaitanistas* particularly because its owner, Laureano Gomez, was detested with special fury. (There was no evidence at the time and none was ever developed to indicate that the murder of Gaitán was in any way politically motivated, but such considerations were meaningless to a mass of people to whom the Liberal leader had already become a martyr.) The *El Siglo* building was soon set afire and flames obviously aided by gasoline began to consume it. As a solitary engine from Bogotá's meager fire fighting equipment approached to undertake to control the flames, it was rendered inoperable by the crowds of demonstrators that swarmed over it. While we watched through the evening the building was entirely destroyed.

Of more immediate concern, however, were the several arsonist-ignited fires closer to the building in which we had taken refuge. With darkness closing in the flames from a number of these seemed brighter and closer. We saw two or three individuals laboring furiously to get flames started in the stair well of an adjacent office building constructed as solidly as ours, and were gratified with their lack of success. Other smaller buildings in the neighborhood, some occupied as residences by the *gente decente* of the city, were set on fire. Our sympathies went out to brave people who took great risks in their struggle to control the flames, often to no avail. For several hours we could see the shapes of two or three persons carrying buckets of water along the narrow ridge of one house as they tried to put out the fire next door.

It must have been about midnight when one of the very close fires flamed with such intensity that the heat could be felt through our picture window. As the roof of that blazing building caved in, creating

an unusually high burst of roaring flame, one of our morale builders cried out: "Well, *now* everything seems to be brightening up." We then began to talk more seriously of the advisability that our group move across the street to the Chancery building. When Mike McDermott conveyed that thought to Ambassador Armour, the response was that they had been considering exactly the same thing, in reverse, since the heat through the floor from the fire in their building was getting worse. I recall discussing quite seriously with Mike the least hazardous way one might proceed from building to building to make our way back to the *Carrera Rojas*. Another of Muna Lee's favorite anecdotes was that it was precisely at such a critical moment that a message was received from the Department which said: "Act as if in emergency; spare no expense—signed, Lovett." (Robert Lovett was Acting Secretary.)

Fortunately the causes of possible risk both to us and to those in the Chancery began to recede at about that time and thoughts could be turned to more mundane things, such as where and how 40 hungry Americans could find something to eat in a burned-out city. We also speculated on how long it might take for enough order to be restored for us to move or try to make it on our own. Some even tried to get some sleep; others organized a choral group. The worst seemed to be over.

It was not until mid-day on April 10, however, that the people in our building and those who did not remain on duty in the Chancery filed out to the street below to take places in Colombian Army buses that conveyed us under convoy to the *Carrera Rojas*, stopping along the way to drop off one or two newspaper reporters and representatives of private organizations where they were living. I was at first comforted, on the bus, when I found myself seated next to a Colombian soldier with a weapon pointed out the bus window. Unfortunately, however, the lad was dressed in a very light uniform without even a poncho; he was shivering so hard, from the Bogotá cold or for some other reason that there was no telling where the

weapon might have been discharged had it gone off. As we proceeded slowly down *Avenida Septima*, one of Bogotá's principal commercial streets, the extent of destructive madness of the rioting could be seen on all sides. One of the newspaper reporters with us who had filed stories from Europe during World War II said that the havoc he saw that day in the central portion of Bogotá was more devastating and complete than any he

"Sniping, and use of an ingenious device to simulate it, continued for several days, but reasonable order was gradually restored to the mutilated city. Army units were stationed to guard the various delegations and the Boy Scouts were soon handling traffic control like veterans."

had seen in Europe, at least in an area of comparable size.

The extent of sheer destruction was in many ways the most impressive aspect of the city. While looting had obviously been one objective of the rioters who roamed the streets, especially those from the slums who lived constantly on the edge of abject poverty, much of the fury seemed to have been aimed at a kind of symbolic destructiveness. One delegation member told later of having seen a young man carry a valuable office machine from the new Ministry of Communications building and, placing it carefully on the street, beat it to pieces with a club.

We could hear some sniping on the way back to the hotel, once a bit closer than seemed comfortable, but the caravan made its way safely back to the *Carrera Rojas* by early afternoon. There the hundred or so North Americans had nothing to do while waiting to see if the conference would be continued but

try to keep warm when Bogotá's mountain temperature sank at night and hope that enough food would reach the dining room. The climate remained a problem but the resourcefulness of the residence management was adequate to see to it that sufficient, but not exactly gourmet, food was available. Because the hotel was not far from one of the city's large cemeteries we were also soon able to observe the constant stream of funeral processions carrying victims of the tragedy on their final journeys. It was estimated that perhaps 1000 Colombians lost their lives during that period.

A decision was soon made by the chiefs of the 21 delegations that, despite the uncertainties of the situation, the conference should continue. That decision stemmed in no small part from the view held by many that the Gaitán assassination had somehow been brought about by the communists in order to create conditions that would make it impossible for the meeting of the hemisphere's leaders to continue. Since it was not my intention in this recollection to try to set forth a detailed history of those eventful days, I shall merely note that Colombian President Ospina and the Liberals produced a coalition government that declared itself ready to assure continuance of the meeting, the gymnasium of a school located some distance from the center of the city was found in which to hold the sessions, and the Ninth International Conference of American States produced, by May 2, the Charter of the OAS, a Treaty of Pacific Settlement of Disputes, an Economic Agreement, Conventions on Civil and Political Rights of Women, and no less than 46 other separate resolutions.

Sniping, and use of an ingenious device to simulate it, continued for several days, but reasonable order was gradually restored to the mutilated city. Army units were stationed to guard the various delegations and the Boy Scouts were soon handling traffic control like veterans. The political bitterness that erupted in the *Bogotazo* remained to wound the nation for many years, however, and what came to be known as *La Violencia*,

Continued on page 42

PROFESSIONALISM AND THE FOREIGN SERVICE

SMITH SIMPSON

The designation of a committee on professional affairs by our Association's board of directors is a healthy step long deferred. One hopes that all officers—active and retired alike—will give it full support. Some of us have keenly felt that the Association's collective bargaining responsibilities have consumed disproportionate attention to the detriment of professional interests and values. The committee's appointment will provide all of us an opportunity to substitute cooperation for criticism in this respect.

I have one or two suggestions for the committee's consideration. One relates to sources on which the Committee should draw in making its study of problems to which a code of ethics should be addressed. It is important that the broadest range of experience be tapped. The committee obviously recognizes this need in addressing an appeal to officers to assist in its efforts, but it is important that it not restrict the reservoir of experience on which it draws to that which may be volunteered. Little, in fact, may be forthcoming. Active officers are generally too busy to sit down, reflect, distill, draft and communicate their experiences unless they have been particularly bitter. Retired officers are much inclined to view their careers and the problems encountered as "water over the dam"; and in many instances are now engrossed with other careers or interests. But even if voluntary contributions should come in unexpected quantity, it would be well

for the committee to consider other ways of ensuring a broad and representative reservoir from which to draw its conclusions and recommendations. Foreign Service officers are well known for their proclivity to judge the Service and its needs by no broader criteria than their personal experience and observation, interpreting the Service as they would a Rorschach inkblot, not professionally or studiously but in response to individual stimuli. Until the Foreign Service Institute itself takes a professional attitude toward the "orientation" of incoming officers in its basic officers' course and requires of the novitiates a professional familiarity with the growing literature on the Foreign Service, State Department and the entire foreign affairs community—of the Federal Government—not to add on diplomacy itself, this is not likely to change. One hopes that the committee will address itself to this basic weakness in our whole professionalization effort.

Perhaps one technique by which this problem of a representative reservoir of experience might be tackled may be elicited from the past. In 1975-76, when called back to the Department for full-time consultation in connection with the reform effort then underway, I did a series of case studies of drop-outs from the Foreign Service to identify in a scientific manner those problems which officers deemed so overwhelming as to disillusion them to the point of resignation. Among the problems thus revealed

were ethical as well as others not essentially ethical but with ethical nuances. In all cases the operating cause of resignation was professional dissatisfaction.

Perhaps a similar series of case studies could be undertaken of drop-outs in recent years to produce a broad, representative assembly of the ethical and professional problems which officers, once so full of hope and enthusiasm, are currently finding intolerable. If the new Deputy Under Secretary for Management and Director General of the Foreign Service were approached on this, perhaps either a joint Department-AFSA study could be undertaken or, if this should not be feasible, a study by the Director General and his staff. The important thing is that such a study be made not as a routine, bureaucratic or statistical exercise but with great professional insight and compassion. It should therefore be undertaken by a person or persons with a long and broad background in the diplomatic business, for it is that which sensitizes the researcher and analyst to many ingredients of problems which otherwise might pass unremarked or whose professional significance might not be fully appreciated. In 1965-66, we considered this technique likely to produce a systematic and at the same time understanding analysis of professional problems and we were not disappointed in this respect. To contract such a study and analysis to an outside party would produce results of minimal value.

In addition, the memoirs of our diplomats—and of other countries' diplomats—could profitably be combed. They contain many references to professional problems and a memoir like Post Wheeler's is a veritable *Gone With the Wind* exegesis of unethical treatment in our diplomatic establishment. The tapping of the experience of foreign diplomats through memoirs and other materials would have the two-fold benefit of reminding us that diplomacy is not an American but an international phenomenon, thereby broadening the perspective of the committee's reflections. It would also ensure that the ethical problems with which a diplomatic or consular officer is confronted in dealing with other members of the diplomatic or consular corps at his post receive treatment, which would, incidentally, bring out a distinction between the Foreign and Civil Services.

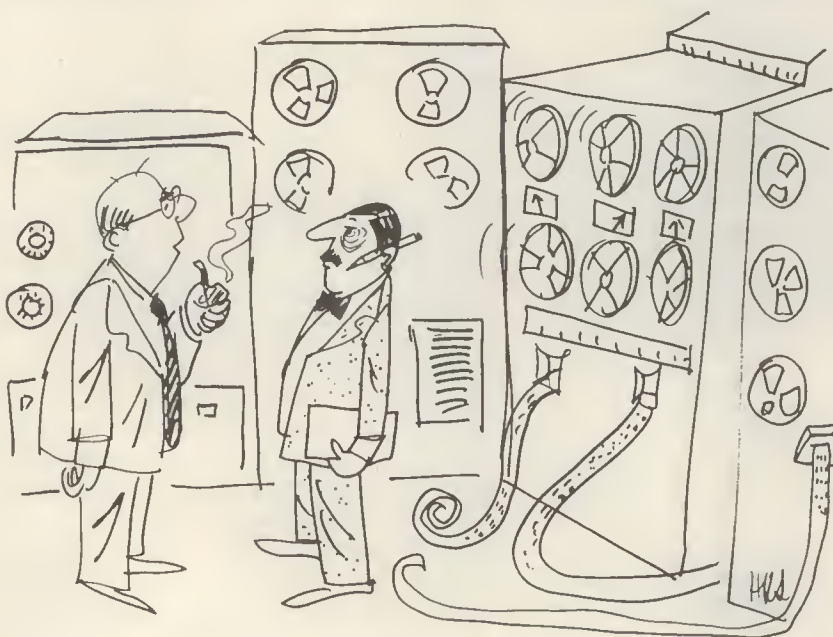
A final observation is that I think the basic question may not be what makes a career in the Foreign Service unique or what distinctions are to be drawn between it and the Civil Service. These seem to me to be results which stem from more basic ones, viz. (1) what is the essential nature of what we do, (2) does what we do constitute a calling, an art, a craft or a profession and (3) what, in broad historical perspective, is our contribution to human concerns? If we focus too narrowly on a code of ethics based upon our own contemporary experience, the issue of whether we are simply an overseas projection of the Civil Service and the like, we will surely miss the fundamental significance of diplomacy, its role and what our corresponding ethical responsibilities are. If this is so, we should start with a definition of what we do, not in terms of "jobs," tasks or assignments but in basic diplomatic terms. There is no satisfactory definition extant. The academicians certainly have not produced one, although some have come closer than others. Those which I have collected from our Department's periodicals and the writings of our colleagues are widely variant and no more satisfactory. I have been compelled to conclude that perhaps, basically speaking, we may not really perceive what we do. Perhaps that is the place for a Committee on Pro-

fessional Affairs to start.

A part of the problem confronting the committee is that the Foreign Service responsibilities are three: contributing to the foreign policy making process (not only of our own but of other governments), providing the diplomatic and consular resources for the implementation and shaping of American foreign policies, and contributing to the international processes of fact-finding and reason, and thus to the evolution of international comity, law and peace. In all three the Foreign Service officer is engaged in a political process. In the development of foreign policy, the political process is part domestic

of the staff members of Congressmen and Congressional committees whose careers last as long as those of Foreign Service officers? Are they also professionals? If the point is made that neither have the legislative security which Foreign Service officers possess, then one approaches the Civil Service problem. Are Civil Servants involved in foreign affairs also professionals, especially those who acquire Reserve Officer commissions and spend time abroad in embassies or consular posts?

I cannot end without a reference to the membership of the Committee. There are no women on it. This may be due rather to the fail-



"Remember, Wembly, it's the human factor that tips the balance."

and part international; in the case of diplomacy, the officer is engaged in an intricate international—and therefore intercultural—political process. So the professional question inevitably arises: what political process has ever been deemed a professional process? If experience is considered the professional element, what of the Congressmen who last twenty or more years on Capitol Hill? Does that make them professionals? If so, professional what? Politicians? If their service has been with a Committee on Foreign Affairs, does this make them foreign affairs professionals or professionals in some special aspects of foreign affairs? And what

ure of women officers to come forward in a way to enlist the interest of the Board, but my impression has been that many of their concerns, including equal treatment, have presented both ethical and professional issues. Both active and retired women officers should be viewed as a reservoir for the Board to tap. People like Gladys Rogers have given a great deal of thought to the role of women in the Foreign Service, the Frances Willises have devoted a lifetime to diplomacy and the formulation of foreign policy and the Pat Woodrings are doing so currently. No doubt the Committee will reach out to bring them in.



"One man's meat is another man's *poisson*." Anon.

When I tell you this story of events which unfolded in all of their odious detail scarcely a dozen years ago, you will likely want to know where they happened and to whom, but it is better not to say. One of the principals was and still is, for all I know, a powerful congressman who, though not a committee chairman, can influence profoundly the amount of funds appropriated for the Foreign Service. A screen of anonymity for persons and places is therefore politic.

These things which I shall relate occurred far away in a hot climate. As you try to guess where, you will of course come to think of Paraguay and its remote, unforgettable capital of Asunción and nearby Lake Ypacarai. It so happens, curiously enough, that the American Embassy of which I write was located in a city about the size of Asunción, with a blue lake much like Ypacarai stretching away to rolling misty hills. Accordingly, if it will help you to visualize the story as you read on, then you may think of Asunción, one thousand miles upriver from Buenos Aires.

One midmorning in the summertime, according to my daily custom, I entered the Ambassador's office in my official capacity as Counselor of Embassy for a discussion of Mission affairs, on this day mostly routine. The Ambassador was a large man, bald in a distinguished way, clothed in a white linen suit, and as usual he sat

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Readers who've enjoyed this story will welcome the news that it and 17 others will be published by the University of South Carolina Press. The list price will be \$9.95, but until May 19 the publisher is accepting paid orders at \$8.95. Along with the ship-to address, mail your check (payable to USC Press) or Visa/Master Charge information (account number and expiration date) to the USC Press, Columbia, SC 29208. All royalties from sales of the book go to the educational funds of AFSA and DACOR.

The Gourmet

RALPH HILTON

rumpled but unruffled at his desk. A paddle-bladed electric fan revolved haphazardly overhead. A giant leaf from a banana tree outside a window projected into the room and dropped six feet above the Ambassador's polished vertex, like a canopy over an exalted personage. The raucous cry of a *papagayo* ripped the silence of the garden beyond the peeling walls as I slid into a misshapen leather chair. Flies came and went through great holes in the screens.

Our conversation ambled over familiar paths for an unhurried half hour, being at last disrupted by the sudden entrance of the Administrative Officer and the first secretary. The Ambassador, to whom interruptions were welcome office diversions, greeted them warmly. The Administrative Officer was apologetic.

"You ought to see this telegram right away," he said, holding out a small paper. And thus did news of the congressman's impending visit first reach us in our isolated and peaceful chancery. The Ambassador, his face grave, read the telegram aloud. The congressman would arrive a week hence, a change in the itinerary of his annual world jaunt unexpectedly giving him the opportunity for a two-day stopover for a first-hand look at the embassy's operation. A briefing to cover the high spots of the local

political situation and a tour of AID projects in the nearby countryside were suggested by the Department of State.

The Ambassador laid the message down respectfully. Controlled dismay overspread and muted the trio of ambassadorial advisors.

"I know this guy is supposed to be an SOB as far as the Foreign Service is concerned," the Ambassador remarked. "But we've got a pretty good embassy here and we're not wasting any of the taxpayer's money. Don't try to hide anything, give him the facts, and don't worry about his reputation for vilifying the Foreign Service."

The First Secretary cleared his throat.

"At my last post we had a visit from the congressman," his voice, I recall, held a mild shudder. "It went off very well after we found out that he was a gourmet . . ."

The Ambassador looked at him hopefully.

"He collected recipes," explained the First Secretary. "In all the out-of-way eating places we took him to. He had us interpreting for him with chefs in half of the restaurants in the country. He said he won an international amateur cooks' prize once—third or fourth category as I remember. After he left he sent a letter of appreciation for all our trouble, and next fiscal

year our representation allowance wasn't trimmed a nickel."

The Ambassador looked at me. "I doubt there's much in the cooking line to interest him here. But see if you can come up with any ideas."

And early the next morning I did come up with an idea. I remembered that out on the shores of the wide blue lake twenty kilometers from the city lived Sarpedon Saturnino Miguel de Saavedra, a friendly, high-spirited cosmopolite, whom the diplomatic colony referred to as "the Count." A giant, six feet six, mustachioed, hearty-voiced and reasonably at home in half-a-dozen languages, he enjoyed life as a big landowner, cattle breeder, and a former consul general of his country's Foreign Service. On one of his vague European assignments he had married somewhere a woman reputed to be a countess, but she had disappeared through the doors of a divorce court years ago. Periodically he prepared dishes which had caught his fancy abroad and played host to selected friends among the capital's diplomats at memorable luncheons and dinners at his Roman villa habitation beside the lake.

After the siesta period that afternoon I traveled out to the Count's villa. I went in the finest style the embassy could display in order to create an atmosphere conducive to the granting of the favor I was about to ask. The Ambassador had lent me the eight-year-old ambassadorial limousine, complete with Maximino, the rotund, eternally smiling official chauffeur of the embassy. Maximino once told me that he became a self-taught driver at the age of fifty, and I had never had reason to doubt his lack of professional instruction. But his good humor was unfailing, as was his reliability.

The Count received me hospitably on the Carrara marble of his terrace overlooking the lake. Looking beyond the seven busts atop the stone balustrade—they included the imagined likenesses of a half-dozen assorted Caesars and one General Antonio Motilonés, a regional military adventurer and forebear of the Count—we could see fishing boats filing past far out on the rippled surface of the water.

I worked my way carefully

through a period of relaxed conversation and two cups of maté to the point of my visit. I divulged that a great man, a congressman, was coming from Washington, a man who enjoyed an international reputation as a gourmet, and we at the embassy wanted to offer a dinner to be distinguished by one of the finest and rarest of all the nation's great dishes. Would the Count honor us with a suggestion and recipe? The Count's face lit up. He would be delighted to be of assistance. There were several possibilities. For example, sautéed

**"And if the campesino
be devoured by a
company such as this
from many nations, the
courage of his heart,
the patience of his eyes
and the truth of his
peasant tongue will
accrete like calories to
those who have
partaken of this flesh
and all are in truth
brothers. . ."**

grouse with sour cream, or breast of veal stuffed with breadfruit and quina berries. But no, an even better idea. Why not fricassee a python? He could impart the recipe to the embassy chef. Wait, a better idea yet! The Count rose from his chair exuberantly. A dish was not enough—an entire dinner was demanded. And he, the Count, would cook the dinner himself, and we were all invited to his villa for a repast that none would ever forget, especially the Great Man from Washington. Which was exactly what I had hoped the Count would offer to do.

With protestations of deep gratitude I made my departure as soon as I could do so without offense. The Count accompanied me to the limousine. Maximino stood beside the right door, beaming in his tight uniform.

The Count gave a loud good-natured laugh. "Maximino is getting very fat," he observed. "If we were all members of the Cuyabo

Indian tribe not fifty miles from here we would have no problem choosing an entree for our fine dinner. They used to fatten prisoners of war and dine on exotic dishes of unusual steaks and stews—and that was not much more than a generation ago." He looked thoughtfully at Maximino whose smile faded. I got into the limousine and looked back to wave as we drove away. The Count was staring at us, I noticed, in a deeply reflective mood.

Things started going wrong the day before the congressman arrived. The Ambassador was called to the United States because of the critical illness of his mother, and he was keenly missed the next morning when I met our visitor at the airport. The Ambassador had once been a congressman himself and had a gift of gab I envied.

A vexing thing had happened only an hour before I went to the airport. The chauffeur Maximino, I was informed, had disappeared. Not once in twenty years, according to an office tenet, had Maximino failed an assignment, and much questioning was in order. Was he ill, injured, or dead? A hurried investigation produced no evidence whatever of his whereabouts. He had not been home since the previous evening when he had used an embassy jeep, found the next morning on a street a block away from the chancery, to deliver a packet of Liederkranz from the embassy kitchen which the Count had requested to fortify the preparations for his "little banquet," as he referred to the congressman's dinner. But nowhere was there any sign of the amiable, conscientious Maximino, and I had been forced to go to the airport with a substitute chauffeur.

The day was unusually hot, I recall, and the congressman was as cool as a cucumber. He was a small knot of a man and I didn't see him sweat even a microscopic drop all day. We established him in the Ambassador's residence, took him to the chancery for briefings and drove him here and there about town to buy souvenirs. His remarks about embassy affairs were acidly critical and when we informed him that we had arranged to show him some AID projects out in the country the following day, he replied that it usually made him ill

to see how the money of US taxpayers was being poured into such operations.

He didn't brighten up until mid-afternoon when he started looking forward to the evening and dinner at the Count's and began to realize that it was indeed to be a very special affair featuring native dishes, and all prepared especially in his honor.

We traveled out to the lake in the cool twilight, the congressman riding in the ambassadorial limousine with my wife and me. I looked dispiritedly at the substitute chauffeur, who normally drove the jeep of the USIS Cine Section, competently piloting us around the pot-holes in the narrow asphalted trail. What had happened to Maximino? The question raised sinister implications, despite my mind's resistance, and distracted me. Still fresh in my mind was the scene in the embassy only an hour or so earlier with his quietly weeping wife who insisted over and over again that Maximino must of a certainty be dead for he had never absented himself before from his wife and family.

In the automobile following us came the First Secretary of the embassy and his wife, the Second Secretary in charge of economic affairs, and the presiding officer of the National House of Representatives with his impressive wife, a charming woman in her middle years who, as a renowned poetess in all of the countries in that part of the world, had her ample bosom dazzlingly bedecked with medals, many of them solid gold.

We spent a pleasant hour before dinner on the Count's terrace during which time our host, in deference to the custom of his North American guests, served cocktails, accompanied by smoking cubes of barbecued bull's heart. An occasional small movement in a candlelit recess betrayed the malevolent presence of Demóstenes, the Count's naked parrot which regrettably had lost all of his feathers permanently after falling into a pot of hot soup and had not spoken a word in the two years since.

The congressman, who had enjoyed three cocktails on the terrace, began his dinner in a relaxed frame of mind. First came a cold

soup something like *gazpacho de Andaluz*, but with its own flavoring of native herbs which gave it a faint taste of turmeric. There followed a spurt of conversation, and an excellent filet of *dorado* enriched with a bechamel sauce of the Count's own concoction, replete with the flavor of wild onions. There were compliments and questions and then almost before we realized it, the entrée had been served. I noticed that the Count had become quiet and was studying our reaction to his creation.

"What *is* this?" asked one of the ladies, and the Count replied instead, "How do you like it?"

"It looks like beef Wellington," said the congressman. The Count nodded, delighted.

"It does, indeed it does," he conceded. "But the meat encased in that crisp pastry is not beef. For the nonce it must remain a secret. If none of you guesses what it is I'll tell you after a while."

The meat beneath that crisp, shiny crust and the paté was certainly not beef, we soon discovered. It had a faintly sweetish flavor, and frankly I thought it bore a slight resemblance to elk meat that had not been hung for the required two weeks or marinated sufficiently—perhaps due to lack of time.

Faintly from the kitchen direction off a wide corridor came the sound of weeping and the Count glared at his major-domo who bent to whisper something.

"Try to quiet her," said the Count in a kindly tone. "It is the wife of Maximino," he explained to us. "She has come here seeking her husband, who, as you know, is missing."

The Count nibbled judicially at a piece of meat. He bestowed a small chewy smile over the table and looked at me quizzically.

"Do you remember what I said about Maximino the last time I saw him?"

I nodded and thought that this was not exactly the time or place to recall the subject.

"Well, what did he say?" demanded the congressman, who was lifting another glass of wine. He looked brusquely at me and before I could equivocate, I told him the truth just as though I was in the witness chair before one of his sub-

committees.

"He said that Maximino, who was the Embassy chauffeur," (I had meant to say "is" instead of "was"), "had become very fat and would make a nice steak or stew for the Cuyabo Indians or for us if we had their cannibal tastes."

"The Count was joking, of course," said the wife of the First Secretary hurriedly.

"I certainly hope so," growled the congressman. "I remember Maximino. He drove me around when I was here five years ago. Not a very good chauffeur." He frowned at the Count. "But I don't care to relate him to this rather exotic dinner in the way you mentioned."

His manner was sharp, and the Count gazed at him solemnly. I began to get the impression that our host was not pleased with the raspy tone of the guest of honor.

The Count turned to me and went through the motions of a smile that didn't have much humor in it.

"I have made a study of cannibalism," he said, moving the conversation along. "or, if you prefer the term, anthropophagy—from the classical Greek. There are many ways of preparing dishes from human flesh. I doubt whether you, sir, could necessarily tell in every instance that you were eating meat from humans if it were properly prepared." His gaze held the congressman's eyes for a moment and dropped in passing to the plate where the distinguished guest's fork was now toying with a small bit of paté.

"Cannibalism until fairly recent times was one of the oldest socially approved practices of mankind. No continent has been without this usage. Herodotus mentions the Irish Celts and the Scythians in connection with the custom. A delicacy of the inhabitants of Bohemia four thousand years ago was the marrow extracted from human bones. In latter centuries it has been confined to various tropical and subtropical areas, probably due in many places to a desire of people for variety in their diet. Only a century ago missionaries in Nigeria reported seeing human skulls ground into a powder which was licked from the palm of the hand like sugar."

Continued on page 44

VIETNAM, from page 8

that abiding Highland face. They killed a lot of Communists, but that was all they did, because the number of Communist dead meant nothing, changed nothing.

It so happens that this reviewer visited some of the places that "laid a quick, chilly touch" on Mr. Herr's bones. It so happens that not just once, but many times, we did have "the terms," and one of those times was precisely the battle of Khe Sanh which he witnessed but did not perceive in military terms. Naturally, someone who considers that in any engagement the number of enemy dead is immaterial applies standards which are not those of a military reporter. Herr is not a military reporter. He is a humanitarian reporter, a great poet, and a fine observer of the terror of war. In a sense, he is a propagandist. As the reviewer for the *New York Times Book Review* wrote, "Vietnam required not only new techniques of warfare, but new techniques in writing as well." Whether the war required the latter is hard to tell, but it certainly produced some powerful anti-war writing by journalists as well as others.

Alan Dawson's *55 Days* is a story of the fall of South Vietnam, written from the point of view of someone who would rather have seen it happen earlier. The delay in Ambassador Martin's orders for evacuation is attributed to sheer malice and wilfulness ("The US Ambassador had no intention of helping get anything out of the country but the Thieus and their personal belongings"), not to a calculated risk that may have been necessary to avoid finding the departing Americans under attack, not by the North Vietnamese but by our South Vietnamese allies.

Despite its superficiality and hysteria, *55 Days* contains some fascinating glimpses which Dawson was able to obtain from his Communist contacts. There is for instance the story of an ARVN major at Hue who wished to surrender himself and his men to the victorious North Vietnamese. Back came the word:

The Peoples' Liberation Armed Forces were not calling for surrender. Rather, they desired that the major and his men see the error of their ways and return to the side of the people of Vietnam. If the major wished, the com-

mander . . . would facilitate the return [sic] of the major's battalion to the revolution.

Surrender was not enough. It had to be a political, not a military act, not alone a desertion but a staged defection. In another battle situation described by Dawson, a battalion commander offered to give up. "Mr. Ba repeated that only if Phuoc and his men agreed to cross over to 'the revolution' could he consider the offer and guarantee the safety of Phuoc and his men. Phuoc agreed." Naturally he agreed. If he hadn't, he would have been killed. The enormity of this pitiless refusal to accept the surrender of a defeated enemy leaves the author cold. He sees moral enormity only on the side of the defenders. His book is history written from the victor's point of view. This is of course not unusual in history, but Mr. Dawson is a journalist.

Herbert Y. Schandler, the author of *The Unmaking of a President* is neither a poet nor a journalist. He is a scholar who was present, in the office of the Assistant Secretary of Defense for International Security Affairs, when the switch was thrown on the war in Washington in the period after the Tet offensive of 1968. His analysis deals with the pulling and hauling within the Executive Branch, as President Johnson looked for help in re-thinking some of the basic assumptions of the war planners. Schandler, after a careful assessment of all available evidence, some of which he himself dug up with considerable effort, concludes that Johnson's speech of March 31, 1968 was a "fork-in-the-road," though the President himself "did not see the decisions [announced in that speech] as a repudiation of past policies. He saw the decisions made in March 1968 as allowing the United States to see through its commitment in Southeast Asia." How Johnson's intentions resulted in something else is explained in lucid and dispassionate terms.

Only at the very end does Schandler allow his own feelings to show, when he says:

Perhaps, then, enemies of the United States would be well advised in the future to confine their thrusts against us, thrusts that would ordinarily call for a response involving hard decisions and

unpopular, expensive, or controversial actions, to the period prior to an American presidential election. Surely a nation is ill-governed if its chief executive fails or even hesitates to adopt policies essential to the nation's security in the hope of gaining partisan political advantage or out of fear of alienating powerful political supporters, even if his political opponents are taking irresponsible positions. There are times when unpopular actions are required. However, the decision-making process in the United States seems to contain within itself certain constraints to action at times of presidential elections which may be less likely to be compelling between elections.

For the sake of completeness, mention is also made here of an almost completely unknown book, *All Quiet on the Eastern Front* which contains, in addition to some conservative viewpoints on the débacle, a document that Foreign Service officers interested in the history of the Vietnam war owe it to themselves at least to peruse: Ambassador Graham A. Martin's explanation why he timed the decision to evacuate Americans and friendly Vietnamese from Saigon the way he did. This reviewer finds his explanation—given to the House International Relations Committee in 1976—quite convincing. His options were much narrower than they were perceived by outsiders, and the number of friendly Vietnamese whom he was able to bring out actually far exceeded the number authorized by Washington.

—M. F. H.

FSJ BOOKSHELF

World Waterways

THE PANAMA CANAL: *The Crisis in Historical Perspective*, by Walter LaFeber. Oxford, 240 pp. & bib. \$10.95.

THE REAL SUEZ CRISIS, by Jacques Georges-Picot. Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, 200 pp., \$10.95.

International waterways remain in the news, as war and political tension escalate on the Horn of Africa, and the Panama Canal issue continues to divide the country. Two new offerings in the literature add useful insights to the histories of the Panama and Suez Canals.

Professor LaFeber's book is not a substitute for *The Path Between the Seas* (1977); even in the dip-

lomatic field its coverage of the 1903 revolution and negotiation of the Hay-Bunau-Varilla Treaty does not compare in detail, accuracy and sources with David McCullough's classic work. Nor is there coverage in depth of the financing and construction of the two canals.

Professor LaFeber concentrates instead on US-Panamanian political relations and Panamanian political history. Coverage in these areas is thorough, although the interpretation sometimes verges on the artless. So sympathetic is the author to the Panamanian point of view that he unearths a Panamanian national identity as far back as 1550, and even draws an unconvincing parallel between the primitive colonial society of the isthmus and the thirteen North American colonies with their advanced political institutions and literate populations!

Relations between the two countries since 1968 take up nearly one-fourth of the book and throughout the author displays a strong bias for the Panamanian position. His judgment on the new treaties is that

they represent a "diplomatic triumph" for the United States by perpetuating our *de facto* control.

The Real Suez Crisis is a unique and valuable addition to canal history. M. Georges-Picot was for 34 years director general and later board chairman of the Suez Canal Company, the role of which in the 1956 crisis has been undeservedly neglected. The author repairs this omission by giving an eyewitness account of the Naguib-Nasser coup, the subsequent nationalization, and the negotiations and settlement of the Company's claims.

Written in the typically French tradition of detachment and worldly disillusionment, M. Georges-Picot describes his futile attempts to marshal international support for the Company's rights in full knowledge that it was an expendable pawn in the Middle East power game. His story of the unbelievable vacillations of Britain, and the pious betrayals of Secretary of State Dulles, make uncomfortable reading even at this distance in time.

The author also unsparingly crit-

icizes his own naiveté. Press relations were unbelievably clumsy—subsidies were handed out in the continental manner instead of taking the form of leaks and preferential interviews in the American—and the ambitions of Eugene Black to play up the role of the World Bank as a crisis mediator, were recognized only too late.

—CHARLES MAECHLING, JR.

Africa and Human Rights

IDI AMIN DADA: *Hitler in Africa*, by Thomas and Margaret Melady. Sheed Andrews and McMeel, \$7.95.

Many people do not want to think about Idi Amin, least of all the Africans who have passionately condemned the abuses of imperialism and sought the glories and freedoms of independence. They, the Organization of African Unity and communist and third world confederates in the United Nations have stifled discussion and counter-measures, including simple investigation and publicity by the community of nations.

It is therefore well that the last United States Ambassador to



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Uganda and his wife should have collaborated in publishing this record of their personal experiences and observations in that country. It makes somber reading and highlights the inexcusable hypocrisy which has enveloped Africa and human rights on that continent in the last two decades. It also suggests there is something terribly wrong with the vision, courage and diplomatic effectiveness of a world power which can react to the heinous deeds of a monstrous regime only when its own citizens are involved, lacking a general strategy, suitable tactics and a will to do something about it on behalf of the international community with the support of that community. After all, diplomacy is persuasion, and Ambassador and Mrs. Melady are asking where US persuasiveness is.

—SMITH SIMPSON

Respect cum Grano Salis

PROTOCOL, *The Complete Handbook of Diplomatic, Official and Social Usage*, by Mary Jane McCaffree and Pauline Innis. Prentice-Hall, Inc. \$14.95.

Protocol "is the set of rules prescribing good manners in official life and in ceremonies involving governments and nations and their representatives." The term is derived from the Greek *protokollen* which means "first glue." It is these rules—the "social glue" of international courtesy—that Mary Jane McCaffree and Pauline Innis have tried to delineate and clarify in their book *Protocol, The Complete Handbook of Diplomatic, Official and Social Usage*. Insofar as they provide lists for the order of precedence, titles and forms of address, and alternative seating charts for formal official dinners and the like, they succeed admirably, performing a very useful service. They recognize changing social practice that admits women to positions previously held solely by men and include appropriate equivalent forms and titles in these lists. While some of the protocol questions raised by the advent of more women in official and public life are suggested, no attempt is made to offer final "answers." For people who need frequent access to such lists and specific information, *Protocol* is a fine addition to a skimpy book shelf and a useful

guide through complex territory.

Beyond these lists and charts, however, the authors have done their subject and their readers less of a service. As they point out, clearly understood and widely used, protocol facilitates the formal relationships between countries and individuals whose own ways may be at variance. However, in this increasingly free, "equal" and rule-less age, protocol is denigrated by some as a bugaboo of hypocrisy to be played down or ignored. To others, dealing with the high, the mighty and the foreign is a fearsome task to be undertaken with great trepidation. Unfortunately, and one assumes unintentionally, the tone Mmes. McCaffree and Innis have adopted in their text is likely to reinforce the opinions of the denigrators and unlikely to adequately relieve the anxieties of those afraid of protocol.

Recurrent figures in the narrative, for instance, are foreign Ambassadors who "at private parties given by Americans . . . have been known to threaten to leave when they found they were seated below their rank according to protocol." No doubt this has happened. No doubt offense can be and is inadvertently given. Yet nowhere do the authors suggest that perhaps, in such a *private* situation, the threatening Ambassadors might also be at fault. Their otherwise clear-cut emphasis on precedence and its role would be more reassuring to the timid and less off-putting to the protocol pooh-poohers had such gratuitous remarks about offended Ambassadors been left out.

As true as all these examples may be, including them obscures the practical value of internationally accepted social rules and does not help the practitioner grapple with melding the ways of protocol, one's own possibly less formal forms of politeness, and respect for other cultures and peoples. Yet it is this blend which is the litmus test of the diplomat. The authors of *Protocol* suggest some of the blend as they report on the personal styles of successive White House occupants. Other than a brief section on dietary practices, their major nod to respecting other cultures, however, is an admonition to inquire about the various national customs regarding sending flowers. Hardly the only social conflict, as anyone

can attest who has ever faced a sheep's eye or a fish eye; both wives of a dinner guest; a long-sleeved, high-necked dress and stockings on a hundred degree day; a long, jouncy, dusty ride in the close company of a gift goat; informing a Minister that his wife's brother's mother-in-law cannot have a visa; a winging mid-day visit, during Ramadan, of an Assistant Secretary bent on being entertained by his counterpart; or the necessity of a First Lady to walk behind a Head of State.

When they deal with the bare-bones rules, Mmes. McCaffree and Innis have written a useful book. One cannot help but wish, however, that from their wide fund of experience they could have more clearly helped the neophyte and "old hand" alike to handle the rules with that fine blend of respect and grains of salt which lets official relations be as correct and as genuine as possible.

—MARGARET W. SULLIVAN

Expiation of Guilt?

THE INEQUALITY OF NATIONS, by Robert W. Tucker. Basic Books, 1977.

\$10.95.

This is an important book. It is terse and "brutalist" in style and in the vein of the author's recent forays into Vietnam and Middle East controversy (in magazine articles) purposely sensational. But Tucker asks important questions and whacks at sacred cows. He questions the moral imperative or the political necessity for the developed nations to attempt to reduce and perhaps eliminate the gap between rich nations and poor ones and he attacks with a good deal of success some of the soft thinking by which we have drifted into believing that we have little choice but to expiate our national guilts. For the most part Tucker's discussion is in terms of nation states; his argument does not focus on the question of helping the poor for reasons of compassion. Indeed one gathers from a number of comments that a humanitarian rationale would not find Tucker unsympathetic. And here lies some of one's dissatisfaction with the book.

Because this is an important book it is perhaps permissible to

break the reviewer's golden rule of not criticizing an author for not writing the book he did not set out to write and, indeed, by the very title of his book signalled a different intention. But the moral question is not so easily compartmentalized. When Tucker's whole argument is analyzed, accepted, rejected or, more probably, absorbed as corrective the real question remains: why do I live as I do and a Bengali peasant lives and dies as he or she does? What should I as a member of one of the richest societies in the history of the world do about it? As a nation Tucker might argue that the United States should do little or nothing. But nations don't exist apart from their citizens; nations are administrative conveniences which do not release their citizens from making choices. And these choices can often only be expressed in terms of national policies closing the circle once more and making Tucker's argument philosophically inadequate.

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SOUTH AFRICA TODAY

from page 12

this, the US economic interest in South Africa is at the major level, but certainly not vital.

World order. Because of its potential for unleashing a serious race war which could involve other powers, South Africa is a major world order interest of the United States. Although Prime Minister Vorster has tried to convince the US government that his country is its best insurance against the spread of communism in southern Africa, the Carter Administration, as well as President Ford, came to the conclusion that South Africa is a greater threat to peace and security in southern Africa, because its apartheid policies are a barrier to establishing good relations with Black Africa as well as an invitation to the Soviet Union to make trouble on the continent. Thus, the United States has a major interest in preventing a race war in South Africa and may have a vital interest in checking Soviet and Cuban efforts to turn Black Africa against

the West.

Ideological. The US ideological interest has clearly risen from the peripheral level, where it had been for most of the post-World War II period, to the major level in 1975 when it became obvious that South Africa's racial policies made it impossible for the two countries to cooperate in dealing with the Angolan crisis. The rhetoric of the Carter Administration in 1977 may have led some to believe that the US ideological interest had become vital—requiring the possibility of military intervention: but this is unlikely for the reasons cited by George Ball.

In sum, the overall US interest in South Africa is at the *major* level, requiring strong political and economic pressures, but not bringing on a confrontation between South Africa and her neighbors or encouraging armed insurrection among non-Whites within the country. At the same time, US interests are opposed to granting assistance to the South African regime if it refuses to modify its racial policies and this brings on a civil war.

Scenarios for the Future

Given the situation in southern Africa at the beginning of 1978 and the national interests at stake for the United States and South Africa, what are the likely scenarios that could develop there in the next two years and what would be the likely consequences of each? Three plausible ones are the following:

1. *South Africa decides to modify its apartheid policies.* This could come about by Prime Minister Vorster announcing his government's plan to give Coloreds and Asians a special status in South African society by establishing separate parliaments for them and relaxing the apartheid laws to grant them greater freedom. Vorster could also agree to discuss with Black leaders ways in which apartheid might be modified for Blacks, but he would continue to set aside "homelands" for the settlement of the Black population.

2. *South Africa reinforces its apartheid policies.* In this scenario, Vorster decides to stand firm against all pressures to liberalize

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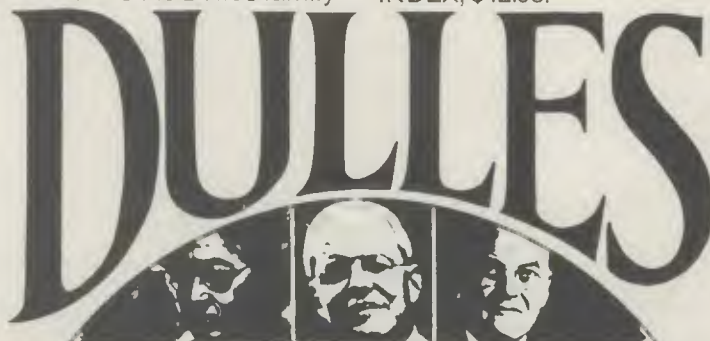
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South Africa's political and social life and warns the United States and Black Africa that they will be responsible for massive bloodshed if they encourage non-Whites to turn to violence against his regime. Vorster's government adopts a siege mentality against the outside world and is prepared to resist any pressures which might be exerted, including full-scale race war.

3. *South Africa decides to partition the country into two parts.* The northern and western parts of South Africa would become a federated nation for the 18.5 million Blacks, and the remainder of the country would be retained as the homeland of Whites, Coloreds and Asians. The latter two groups would be gradually integrated and apartheid would eventually disappear in the new South Africa. In this scenario, Vorster accepts part of the American plan of "full participation" but limits it to the 3.2 million persons of mixed blood and Asian origins. The Black population would form a new, fully independent nation and, one hopes, would live in peace with all its

neighbors.

The choice of one of these scenarios, or any other, by South Africa depends on how deeply the Vorster government believes its national interests are likely to be affected by the ensuing events. Stated another way, the Government of South Africa must decide its priorities among the four basic national interests cited above: defense of homeland, economic well-being, peace and order with its neighbors, and a rigid national ideology. What is *not* likely is that South Africa will bow to US pressure and move toward "one man, one vote" for the entire population: most White South Africans probably consider this to be national suicide.

In my view, the Vorster regime is likely to follow Scenario 1, knowing that it will not be acceptable to the United States or to Black African states. But having made this effort, Vorster could eventually move to Scenario 3—the partitioning of the country and the integration of the non-Black population. The problem here is that South Af-

rican Whites would have to give up large and profitable areas of farmland and some of the rich mining areas in order to achieve peace on their borders and tranquility at home. It is a similar dilemma to the one faced by Israel as it approaches the agonizing decision of evacuating occupied Arab lands. Is it reasonable to expect the South Africans to accept such a compromise? Or will they prefer to "hang tough," as suggested in Scenario 2?

The history of South Africa since 1948 does not provide much optimism for a non-violent outcome to the race problem. On the other hand, Prime Minister Vorster is a political realist who knows that sacrifices will have to be made if South Africa is to avoid the race war which would ruin its economic well-being, endanger the defense of its homeland, and increase its isolation from the rest of the world. In the wake of his impressive election victory in November 1977, Vorster may be strong enough politically to bring about the changes internally that will be necessary to prevent southern Africa from being en-

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gulfed in war during the next few years. The question is: Does he want to?

The Outlook

Seymour Topping, Managing Editor of the New York *Times*, visited South Africa in the fall of 1977 and published his findings in the paper's Magazine section on November 13. He cited a South African newspaper editor who predicted that South Africa would have Black majority rule within four years: "The National Party, he predicted, would cave in under the pressure of internal violence, guerrilla infiltration from Black Africa and international economic sanctions."

Is this a realistic evaluation of how the South African government will react? To me, it is too simple a view of the looming struggle within South Africa, and between South Africa and the rest of the world. A more likely probability is that the Vorster government will be able to withstand the internal pressures for a long time, exercising various degrees of repression against its opposition. Indeed, South Africa's

position vis à vis its neighbors is not unlike that of Israel surrounded by Arab countries: both have the military power and will to defend their homelands and their way of life, and both are prepared to make great sacrifices to do so—including ignoring the advice of the United States. The difference in the two situations, however, is that Israel probably can count on the support of the United States if the Soviets or any combination of Arab states should pose a real threat to the existence of Israel, but this could not be said for South Africa if it confronts a force of Cuban-backed guerrillas overrunning portions of its territory. The reasons are not hard to find, for they lie in the ethnic background of the two segments of American society most directly affected by events in Israel and in South Africa. Regarding the Middle East, the powerful Jewish community in the United States believes Israel to be a vital interest of this country, whereas for South Africa, the American Black community is strongly opposed to the racist Vorster regime and has exerted

increasing pressure on the US government to abandon its "benign neglect" and get on the side of Black African states. The Ford and Carter Administrations have done so, but this does not imply that South Africa's determination to defend its society has been shaken. On the contrary, no one familiar with the history of the Dutch settlers in South Africa and their tenacity over three hundred years believes they will be swayed by sentiments or the so-called logic of the situation when they feel their survival is at stake. That is why it would be foolish to assume that Prime Minister Vorster's government will acquiesce in allowing majority Black rule. It probably will never be permitted. This leaves two alternatives: either a massive and prolonged race war in Southern Africa in which the most advanced weapons could be used by the Pretoria Government, or some kind of partition which permits the whites to remain the majority in the new political system. The world will have Pretoria's decision in the next year or two.



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THE VOA CORRESPONDENT from page 15

a visa in an official passport. This can mean serious delays for a correspondent needing to travel on short notice. Regular, non-official, passports are less bother and they have the added benefit of not singling out the individual for special attention by foreign governments. That alone can be sufficient reason for not using an official passport, especially in Eastern Europe.

On the other hand, VOA correspondents should make no effort to conceal, nor deny their official connection—neither should they flaunt it. But given the well-publicized use of journalists by the CIA, a VOA correspondent, with excessive government documentation can begin to run serious risks when he is seen behaving like a reporter on the job: i.e., seeking out controversy, questioning known political figures, and paying foreign nationals (stringers) for information. In many parts of the world these can reasonably be regarded as suspicious activities, especially when carried out by a foreigner.

They are made even more so when it becomes known that the foreigner in question is traveling on a diplomatic or official passport.

Low Official Profile

It has long been the feeling at VOA News that the less obvious the connection between a working correspondent and the local diplomatic establishment the better. VOA correspondents are therefore encouraged to use ordinary passports when they travel, to avoid access to classified or otherwise privileged government information, and—in general—to try and comport themselves like their non-governmental colleagues. This is not so much a question of protective mimicry as it is common sense. VOA thinks its correspondents should be seen to be what they are: journalists, not diplomats.

Taking this view to its logical conclusion, as the panel recommended, could mean giving up the occasional access to an embassy commissary, a military PX, or some of the other perquisites normally associated with US Foreign

Service life. Where it can be established that genuine hardship results, VOA might then have to find the means—financial or otherwise—for making up the difference. Initially, this could cost more money. It may also cause some correspondents to seek transfers back into the mainstream of USIA activities. But in the long run, minimal ties to US missions are thought to be to VOA's advantage, a fact borne out by the panel's findings.

Further Steps

There are a number of simple measures that can be taken—such as ordinary passports, non-access to classified documents, and not using commissaries and PXs—but ultimately the wisdom of sending correspondents abroad as Foreign Service Information or Reserve Officers will need to be addressed by VOA, as it was by the panel of outside experts. Is there an alternative within the Federal structure? Commercial broadcast networks put their correspondents on renewable contracts for specified periods

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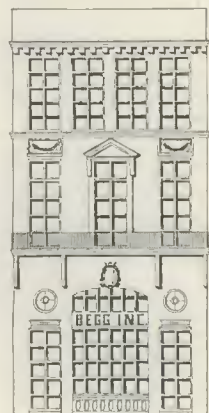
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of time. Might not this work for VOA?

USIA contracting officials say that, with appropriate Congressional approval, US government personal services contracts could be drafted to cover the benefits normally enjoyed by non-governmental correspondents abroad, including retirement and health benefits. Not all VOA correspondents would be willing to accept such an arrangement, especially those approaching retirement. But all new assignments abroad could be put on a contractual basis, and those correspondents already overseas could be given a five-year grace period to convert to the new system.

Having correspondents placed on contract would take them off the government rolls and permit them to function more easily abroad as journalists, without running the risk of being mistaken for diplomats. By the government's own definition, they would no longer be official employees. They could travel wherever VOA news requirements sent them, without

necessarily conferring US diplomatic recognition in the process. If a US Ambassador found it necessary to disavow something he heard on VOA, he would be free to do so—just as British Ambassadors have been doing with the BBC for years.

Reorganizing USIA

The question then arises, why have VOA in USIA at all? This issue has been explored thoroughly in recent years, both inside the Congress and out. Last year, Senator Charles Percy introduced legislation which would have given independence to VOA, but the provision died in committee. Congressman Dante Fascell's Subcommittee on International Operations held extensive hearings which ended up recommending that VOA be given greater autonomy within USIA.

This question had also come up during the 1976 presidential campaign, causing Jimmy Carter to issue a statement charging that VOA "... has been entangled in a web of political restrictions im-

posed by the Department of State, which seriously limits its effectiveness." Once in office, the Carter administration moved to reorganize USIA, pledging in the process its intention of "keeping the Voice of America's news-gathering and reporting functions independent and objective. Under this administration," said President Carter, "VOA will be solely responsible for the content of news broadcasts—for there is no more valued coin than candor in the international marketplace of ideas."

Paradoxically, the reorganization proposed by the President, and subsequently approved by the Congress, places the new agency—and VOA—"under the direction of the Secretary of State." Furthermore, the President's October 25, 1977 letter to all American Ambassadors abroad gives the Secretary responsibility "... not only for the activities of the Department of State and the Foreign Service but also, to the fullest extent permitted by law, for the overall direction, coordination and supervision of United States Gov-

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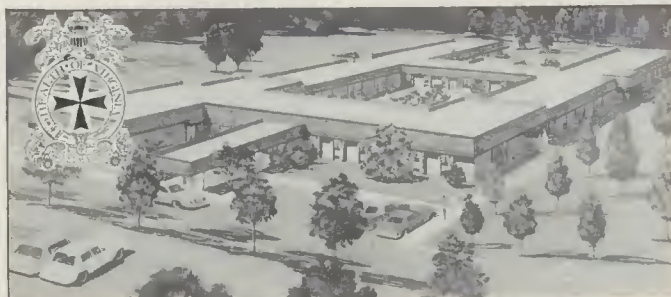
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ernment activities overseas."

This tends to place VOA's news-gathering and reporting functions even more closely under State Department control. The extent to which that control is exercised has been left up to the Secretary of State, although the director of the new agency does have direct reporting responsibilities to the President who, in turn, would presumably resolve any dispute between the Secretary and the Director. But it certainly seems unlikely that the question of how VOA gathers and reports the news would be raised at such a level, except in a most unusual circumstance.

In the meantime, the ground rules remain somewhat contradictory. The President has said he wants VOA's news-gathering and reporting functions to be independent and objective. In spite of this, the State Department continues to restrict the movements of VOA's principal news-gatherers, its overseas correspondents. This, in turn, would seem to violate the news mandate set forth by the Congress.

Finally, there seems to be no appeal mechanism short of taking the issue directly to the President. Under the circumstances, Congress and/or VOA's panel of outside experts might want to consider recommending that such a mechanism be built into the proposed United States Advisory Commission on International Communication, Cultural and Educational Affairs. This follows a suggestion made to the President by Congressman Fascell's Subcommittee on International Operations following ten days of hearings last June. Members of the subcommittee recommended that the new commission have an independent staff to investigate alleged improper actions, and that USIA officials be required to notify the commission's staff of pressures which would contravene the mandate of the programs.

If Congress required the Advisory Commission to report back to it on a regular basis in writing and in public hearings, instances of interference in VOA's news-gathering mandate could be dealt with

on a more formalized basis. In the past, such interference has usually been the subject of classified messages—if it has been put in writing at all. This has resulted in some whistle-blowing to Congress by VOA employees, and an occasional leak to the press, in order to get the matter in the public domain. It would be far better to have a regularized appeal procedure that would be available to Congress and the American public. Once instituted, its inhibiting effect on potential transgressors might go a long way toward resolving the problem once and for all.

Whether such a recommendation comes from the Congress or from the Administration itself, additional reform is needed. Otherwise, the problem is likely to worsen. VOA, in following its news mandate, will encounter further difficulties with State Department restrictions until finally the issue is blown up way out of proportion, and some form of drastic intervention may prove to be necessary—either by the President or the Congress.



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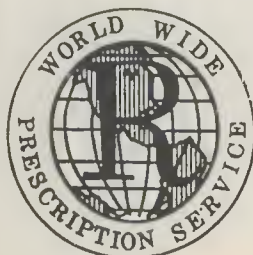
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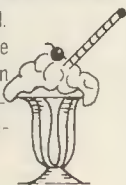
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BOGOTA

from page 22

"The Violence," claimed the lives of Colombian citizens in the thousands.

Subsequent investigations produced no evidence that the communists had any hand in the Gaitán assassination, but suspicions of their involvement remained strong in some quarters. What was certain was that a relatively small corps of communists and other radicals, by gaining control of radio broadcasts and promoting disorder in other ways, exploited the situation to the utmost. It is now fully accepted that Fidel Castro was in Bogotá at the time and may have taken some part in the disorders, but it is unlikely that the youthful Cuban student radical of 1948 played a role of any significance.

Once it was established that United States military planes could get in and out of Bogotá's *El Techo* airport, evacuation of personnel, especially women, from a number of delegations was arranged. It was decided that a number of members

of the large US delegation and its helpers would be sent out, some to Panama and others back to the United States. As with most such delegations, there were a few obvious supernumeraries, but some of the decisions were difficult. Although none too certain at the time, I have always been gratified that my chief, John C. Dreier, later Ambassador to the OAS, let me stay. I was dismayed, however, to learn that Miss Marjorie Whiteman, adviser to the delegation on legal matters, would be returned to Washington. It did not take many sessions involving the legal complexities of Inter-American document drafting, for those in charge to recognize that mistake: Miss Whiteman no sooner arrived at her desk back in the Department than she was requested to return on the next flight—then a long and arduous journey.

The congressional members of the US delegation were Donald L. Jackson, Republican from California, and Michael J. Mansfield, then a Democratic Representative

from Montana. Jackson, an active supporter of anti-communist legislation emanating at the time from the House Committee on Un-American Activities, flew back to Washington almost immediately after the *Bogotazo* and delivered his personal report on the Colombian events on the floor of the House. His remarks did not underestimate the extent of communist direction behind the rioting or the likelihood that the same sort of thing would happen in the United States if proper legislation were not approved. He then returned to Bogotá. Congressman Mansfield, later Senator and now Ambassador to Japan, who had been unable to join the delegation earlier, arrived soon after the *Bogotazo*. To one who several times shared transportation to the Conference sessions with him and Jackson, Mansfield's taciturnity made him seem a bit aloof at first, but the aptness and cogency of his comments once he had fully assessed the situation made a lasting impression.

Having attended a morning meet-

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ing one day at the residence in the suburbs Secretary Marshall was using, I found myself trapped at lunch time without transportation back to the *Carrera Rojas*. After a certain amount of conferring among the Secretary's aides, it was decided that I, a decidedly junior officer, might have lunch at Secretary Marshall's table along with others in the upper echelon. I did not open my mouth, but listened attentively while the Secretary spoke briefly about what was uppermost in his mind that day—the crucial Italian elections—and then described in great detail his experiences when, in 1923, he was detailed to accompany the cortege of deceased President Warren G. Harding from California to Washington. I do not recall that the subject of the *Bogotazo* or the conference came up.

Most of the subsequent working sessions of the conference were held in the gymnasium of a private school on the outskirts of the city, with protected transportation in buses for the first few days. The *Capitolio*, rapidly but only partially reconstructed and refurbished, was

used for only one more session.

The signing of the treaties and the *Final Act* was held in the *Quinta Bolivar*, historic home of Simon Bolivar and scene of some of his more picturesque exploits. Security was quite strict for the event which was attended by most of the Foreign Ministers and Colombian dignitaries. (Secretary Marshall had left the city a few days earlier under special precautions.) It was a beautiful sunlit day as if to prove that the weather in Bogotá could be good on occasion, but my remembrance is somewhat marred by the fact that, among the eight or ten delegation members with whom I walked toward the *Quinta Bolivar*, I alone was singled out by the Colombian security guards to be "frisked." This produced great merriment among my colleagues, but it was a rather disheartening culmination to what had been for me an interesting and thought-provoking experience.

It did not take long after our return to Washington for the custom to develop among those who

were in Bogotá for the *Bogotazo* to refer to each other as the "SOBs"—"Survivors of Bogotá."

For a few years, in fact, the group in Washington held an annual reunion of that particular breed of SOBs. I am sure that in the 30 years that have passed since April 9, 1948 most of us have written, thought or spoken many times about our experiences during those eventful days. From the many fellow SOBs who could tell the story better, or at least differently, I beg indulgence for my temerity in undertaking to do so here. I am especially grateful to Willard Beaulac for the account he wrote in *Career Ambassador*, a book every aspiring Foreign Service officer should read, as well as for his help in my preparation of this piece. The month at the Bogotá Conference, especially the *Bogotazo* and its aftermath, provided an eye-opening introduction to Latin America for one who was then trying to understand the area and its people better, a quest he has been engaged in without very much interruption ever since.



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THE GOURMET

from page 31

My wife paused in the act of spooning a powdered concoction, presumably ground *mandioca* root dried and spiced, onto her plate. She looked away as though not to embarrass the Count who didn't appear to notice her. The congressman had stopped eating altogether, and the Count smiled as though to himself.

"When the Spaniards came to the New World," he continued, "cannibalism was practiced from the Gulf Coast of the United States through the Caribbean deep into South America as far as Chile. The Spaniards with their own eyes watched one hundred captives being eaten by Chibchan Indians in the Cauca Valley of Colombia."

The eyes of the poetess flashed with inspiration. She drew her bosom up and the medals shimmered. She spoke in English.

"The epic poem which I am now writing proclaims these things. It tells of the simple, heroic *campesino* of my country

*who cleared away the jungle
fought the nation's wars for sur-*

*vival,
and today tills its fields,
and how he drank the blood and
ate the flesh
of his brave Indian adversaries
and thus through their partook
of the strength
of the rich earth
and the valor of all the fearless
men who went before*

"And if the campesino be devoured by a company such as this from many nations, the courage of his heart, the patience of his eyes and the truth of his peasant tongue will accrete like calories to those who have partaken of his flesh and all are in truth brothers. . ."

"Señora!" her husband barked.

She stopped dead still in full course, blinked and turned in his direction.

The congressman's face had become progressively greener as he thought upon the lady's words. Now, without a word of apology, he arose and stumbled out of the dining room. I followed and found him on the terrace being very sick over the balustrade, supported by Tiberius, who was lending his

stone head for the purpose.

Early the next morning I assisted the congressman aboard a north-bound airliner, as he wished to be gone as soon as possible. He was in a rancid mood, and I knew that I could never hope for an appointment as Ambassador to the Court of St. James or any other place if he lived to have any say in the matter.

A week later, after I had learned from the Count that the dinner entree had in fact been the baked flesh of an anteater, Maximino sheepishly appeared to be reinstated, after a trip to the festive capital of a large neighboring country where he had gone on the spur of the moment with a cousin from the backlands—the only aberration of his adult life so far as we ever knew.

In due course Washington informed us that our representation allowance would be cut from \$894.32 to \$401.00, due to the feeling of a subcommittee on the Hill that there was too much socializing in the field, and I realized perfectly well that if the congressman could have had his way it would have been reduced to exactly zero.



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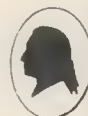
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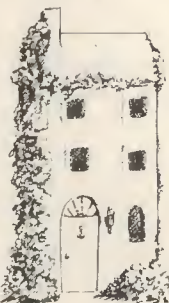
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Human Rights

 James A. Nathan's article "Human Rights and International Order" was interesting because of what was said but even more interesting for what it represented—a model for the kind of schizophrenic foreign policy Mr. Nathan perceives the Carter administration to be conducting.

Mr. Nathan quotes with approval philosopher Thomas Hobbes's assertion that since the names of virtues and vices are of "uncertain signification [they] . . . can never be the grounds of any ratiocination." This is the extreme nominalist position which can be succinctly summarized by the observation that "words mean exactly what I choose them to mean and not a single thing more."

More germane to Mr. Nathan's analysis, what Hobbes is saying is that the names of virtues and vices are unreliable coinage in the marketplace of ideas simply because these general terms cannot be used to convey the meaning of fundamentally idiosyncratic emotions and value judgments.

Later on, however, Mr. Nathan claims that "the nature of legitimate rules [of international relations] is that they contain a certain *a priori* validity." This, opposed to the nominalist position Nathan espoused earlier, is the realist position, or the Platonic idealistic position, if you will, which maintains that there are eternal verities, and further that these verities can be recognized and named by all rational beings. We can except from this compass the "crazies" as Mr. Nathan calls them.

Why "human rights" cannot be conjoined to the trinity of "sovereignty, international law, and non-intervention," these three "absolutes" presumed by Mr. Nathan to possess a "certain *a priori* validity," is neither explained or justified. Obverting this analysis it is far from clear that the USSR, the Third World, yes, even the US, would regard non-intervention as an inviolable absolute.

If Mr. Nathan is correct in his assessment of the schizophrenia

afflicting US foreign policy—the conflict between Wilsonian idealism and Kissinger's *realpolitik*—it is even more apparent that this aberration afflicts his own analysis. Siding with Hobbes, Nathan concludes that there are no universally valid principles which could govern the conduct of international affairs. Siding with Plato, Nathan concludes that there are universally valid principles which govern the conduct of international affairs, namely, sovereignty, international law, and nonintervention, and that these principles are *a priori* given and further accepted by all rational beings.

Until Mr. Nathan can resolve this manifest contradiction in his own mind his foreign policy recommendations must remain suspect.

EDWARD D. BOOTH
Reston, Virginia

Technology and World Politics

 I was somewhat puzzled by the review of my book on *Technology, World Politics and American Policy* (Columbia University Press, 1977) by Thomas H. Etzold in the February 1978 issue of the *Journal* (p. 32).

Mr. Etzold ascribes to me the view that "... because we can manage so small a proportion of change in international affairs, we must do our very best to manage some aspects of technological progress." Indeed, I would be wasting a great deal of my time and over 400 pages in print on a policy-oriented book if I really believed that so little can be done. Another puzzling aspect: About half of the review is devoted to a speculation about the future 75 years from now, a speculation which occupies a minor part of my book and was taken directly from its last two pages.

My book deals extensively with the organization and concrete policies of the US Government in general and the Department of State in particular with regard to worldwide changes brought about by technological advance. The great majority of the readers of the *Journal* are Foreign Service officers. It is their responsibility to cope with problems of the present and future world permeated by the impact of technology. I believe that

Foreign Service officers deserve a more responsible and less flippant review of a book which addresses a major subject of direct concern to them.

VICTOR BASIUK
Arlington, Va.

Taking Exception

 I must take exception to AFSA's editorial against the principle of affirmative action.

The present lack of minority and women officers at the middle and senior ranks is our legacy from a history of prejudice and discrimination. We are not to blame for things that happened before our time and it is perhaps unfair that we should be asked to bear the burden of redressing past wrongs.

However, in the interest of protecting our own careers, let us not forget our responsibility to this country and to the people we serve. We have an obligation "to insure that the officers and employees of the Foreign Service are broadly representative of the American people and are aware of and fully informed in respect to current trends in American life." In conducting the foreign relations of this nation we are attempting to demonstrate the validity of our ideals. We have in this land developed a nation that tolerates differences in race, class and religion. We have our problems, but we are working them out and we are setting an example for other nations. What better example can we set than to have a Foreign Service which comprises the diversity of our people and of our culture?

AFSA has a legitimate interest in protecting employee rights. AFSA also has a responsibility to insure that Management, in implementing the affirmative action program, hires only the best officers; minority and majority, male and female. AFSA, however, should recognize that its first obligation is to make a statement of principle in favor of an immediate remedy which will make this Foreign Service truly representative of the American people.

JAMES R. DOYLE
FSO-6

NOTE: This letter to the editor represents my own opinion and is not necessarily the official position of the Junior Foreign Service Officer Caucus or the AFSA State Standing Committee.
Washington

Caring for the Service

 Thank you so very much for your letter about my father "on behalf of the members of the American Foreign Service Association."

When people inquired as to a charity my father would have been interested in having money sent to, in lieu of flowers, Mildred and I suggested the American Foreign Service Association Scholarship Fund. We feel the things Daddy cared most about in the world were American foreign policy and the Foreign Service.

ROSEMARY MURPHY
New York

Costs of Retirement

 I am, along with many others, in agreement with Mr. James D. Phillips, whose article "Debate on Retirement" appeared in the January *Foreign Service Journal*. Those whose previous comments have been published seem not to have given sufficient thought to society as a whole and even Mr. Phillips forgot one that cannot be over-emphasized—the cost to the American taxpayer.

Personnel in the Foreign Service, especially those running the American Foreign Service Association, are the "best" and with much more than average intelligence, yet history of retirement funds seems to be far removed from their scope of knowledge. Otherwise, all would be aware of the dire straits of the Social Security System and the fact that the retirement budget for the Defense Department amounts to some \$9 billion per year; almost 8 per cent of the national defense budget requested by President Carter. These problems did not just come about routinely, but can be traced directly to retirements at an early age and increased life span of our people. There are now arguments about eliminating the 20-year retirement for military personnel but alas, promises, promises, promises.

Pushing capable and physically qualified Foreign Service personnel out of the service at age 60 will only increase the tax burden, already pretty staggering, and the younger fellows (and even their children) will have something to complain about when they have to dig a little

deeper to support those "old men."

To further prove Mr. Phillips's contention, here I am a year and a half away from mandatory retirement and writing things like this already!

SANFORD J. STONE
FSR-3

Kabul

Merit or Politics

 A few days ago, rummaging through some old files, I found a brief paper I had written in early 1925 for a freshman course in American Government at Northwestern University. We had to do an essay each week in the style of an editorial, based on a current news item and citing a clause from the US Constitution. This one, based on the announcement of exams for the Foreign Service, is entitled, "Our Foreign Service."

After commenting briefly on the legislative history of the Foreign Service, there is a fuller description of the Rogers Act, passed the previous year. The "Editorial" then concludes with a value judgment and a recommendation, necessary in such a piece. This paragraph read:

The result of these provisions, revising our Foreign Service, cannot be ascertained until they shall have been in operation for an extended period of years. Already, however, the number and quality of applicants for the Foreign Service has been materially improved. The eventual object of the State Department is to make the Foreign Service a career in which a man may put forth his best, and in return receive adequate compensation. At present, three Ambassadors and thirteen Ministers have been promoted from the lower ranks of the Service. As yet, however, the possibilities of a well-educated and capable man rising to a position of leadership are too slim to appeal to the best of our young men. The goal in the future must be to remove these positions from politics and place them on a purely merit basis.

Fifty-three years later, what's new? It is a sad commentary.

As a personal note, Professor Colegrove was sympathetic and gave me an A. My conclusion at 16 years of age influenced me for a long time as I only joined the State Department, rather by accident, from OSS 20 years later and the Foreign Service 10 years after that as a "Wristonee." But following

this circuitous path has left me with no regrets.

EDWIN M. MARTIN
(C. A. Retired)

Washington

An Exchange of Letters

I wrote the following letter:

January 9, 1978

Dear President Carter:

I find it impossible to understand why Bert Lance has a diplomatic passport. His use of one seems particularly inappropriate in light of his personal business dealings with influential Arabs.

As a private citizen, Bert Lance has no more right to a diplomatic passport than I do. The only difference between us, that I am aware of, is that you know him and you don't know me. Should you, one day, decide to send Mr. Lance on some kind of an official diplomatic mission, there will be ample time to issue a diplomatic passport to him before he departs.

Sincerely,

Edward C. Howatt

Foreign Service Officer-Retired

I received the following reply:

THE WHITE HOUSE

Washington

January 17, 1978

Dear Mr. Howatt:

I am responding to your recent message to President Carter.

Thank you for taking the time to share your thoughts with us.

Sincerely,

Landon Kite

Staff Assistant

Mr. Kite says absolutely nothing for or against Bert Lance or his diplomatic passport. As far as the White House is concerned, I might just as well have written about sugar in breakfast cereal or the price of hogs. In fact, I find this response so totally unresponsive that I simply must share it with someone!

By writing to you, I am able to suppress the temptation to tell Mr. Kite to go fly one—although there is one thing to his credit. He did spell my name right.

By the way, has the Foreign Service Association taken any position on the subject of non-diplomats holding diplomatic passports?

EDWARD C. HOWATT
San Diego

The JOURNAL welcomes the expression of its readers' opinions in the form of letters to the editor. All letters are subject to condensation if necessary. Send to: Letters to the Editor, Foreign Service JOURNAL, 2101 E Street, N.W., Washington, D.C. 20037.

This portion of the JOURNAL is the responsibility of the Governing Board of AFSA and is intended to report on employee-management issues, conditions of employment and the policy and administration of AFSA, including its Board, Committees, and Chapters.

Members wishing to send letters on employment, working conditions or AFSA affairs should get them to AFSA by the 10th of the month preceding desired publication. AFSA News Committee, Room 3644, N.S.

NEW DATE FOR FS DAY

Foreign Service Day is now scheduled for May 19, with AFSA's annual brunch slated for May 20. Complete information will be going out to retirees early this month.

FAMILY LIAISON OFFICE OPENS

March 1, 1978 merits special mention as the day the Department of State took a major step toward institutional recognition of the needs of the entire Foreign Service family. The opening of the Family Liaison Office (FLO) means that State Department management will work with Foreign Service families to solve the myriad of problems they face.

The FLO has been in the minds of many for years. Family Liaison offices, in a variety of forms, have sprouted up in several missions in the past few years. The 1972 Directive on Wives, the USIA Referral and Counseling Service and the FSI Workshop for Foreign Service Families were important precedents which helped create a favorable management climate for FLO. It was the AAFSW's March 1977 Forum Report which gave the FLO concept form and impetus. Most important was Secretary Vance's prompt recognition of the need for FLO and his subsequent encouragement of its bureaucratic birth.

FLO holds out great promise for Foreign Service families. Its professional staff, headed by experienced counselor Janet Lloyd, and assisted by AAFSW and FSECC activist Mette Beecroft, injects a note of non-bureaucratic enthusiasm. Their many years of frustrating experience as Foreign Service spouses living within a foreign affairs community with its traditional view toward the role of the



Secretary Vance cuts the ribbon for the Family Liaison Office as Director Janet Lloyd looks on. Mette Beecroft is at Mrs. Lloyd's left.

Foreign Service family are important requisites for the job.

The primary purpose of FLO is to serve as a resource center where Foreign Service families needing a sympathetic ear can obtain help. FLO serves as a switchboard where family members can be referred to the right office in State, AID and ICA for assistance in areas such as medical, housing, insurance, childcare, and schools. Cooperative arrangements have been set up with AAFSW's Housing Office and Forum Committee, AID's Operations Training Branch, the FSI Overseas Briefing Center and Workshop for Foreign Service Families, USIA's Advisory Referral and Counseling Service, the Office of Overseas Schools, State's Medical Division and the Foreign Service Educational and Counseling Service. A resource library of materials contains post reports, career materials, educational handbooks and catalogues, childcare center listings and information on work regulations and opportunities abroad. The small FLO staff is unable to solve most individual problems, but is equipped to refer family members to the right place. They also will do their best to interpret government regulations that affect families.

The second purpose of FLO is to serve as an advocate for Foreign Service family issues. In the first week of operation FLO facilitated the issuance of spouse passes to the State Depart-

ment, eliminating needless delays in entering the building. The number one priority issue is job development for spouses overseas. The FLO Director is active in asking the Department to encourage Congress to ratify the Vienna Convention which will provide the legal, diplomatic protocol framework which will be the basis for the establishment of reciprocity, on a bi-lateral basis, for working spouses overseas and in Washington. Today the Department and USUN routinely support application by diplomatic families in the United States to obtain permission to hold jobs while American Foreign Service families are often refused work permits overseas. The Department, with FLO input, is establishing FLO units in overseas missions. FLO Director Janet Lloyd hopes that many of these overseas FLO positions will be paid. It is also hoped that these mini-FLOs will expedite jobs for families in missions and facilitate jobs on the local economy.

Other issues which FLO is supporting include childcare at FSI and increased rights for fathers who do not have custody of children.

Support FLO and use their facilities! FLO is open to all members of the foreign affairs agencies—State, AID, ICA. Stop by room 1216A, New State, conveniently located next to the C St. Diplomatic Entrance, and see for yourself that Foreign Service families have something good in store for them!

AUTHOR! AUTHOR!

The following has been circulating among the offices of AID. A cloak of anonymity envelops the author at present but perhaps he/she will wish to come forward and claim due credit upon this publication.

July 20, 1776

Mr. Thomas Jefferson
Continental Congress
Independence Hall
Philadelphia, Pa.

Dear Mr. Jefferson:

We have read your "Declaration of Independence" with great interest. Certainly, it represents a considerable undertaking, and many of your statements do merit serious consideration. Unfortunately, the Declaration as a whole fails to meet recently adopted specifications for proposals to the Crown, so we must return the document to you for further refinement. The questions which follow might assist you in your process of revision.

1. In your opening paragraph you use the phrase "the Laws of Nature and Nature's God." What are these laws? In what way are they the criteria on which you base your central arguments? Please document with citations from the recent literature.
2. In the same paragraph you refer to the "opinions of mankind." Whose polling data are you using? Without specific evidence, it seems to us, the "opinions of mankind" are a matter of opinion.
3. You hold certain truths to be "self-evident." Could you please elaborate? If they are as evident as you claim, then it should not be difficult for you to locate the appropriate supporting statistics.
4. "Life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness" seem to be the goals of your proposal. These are not measurable goals. If you were to say that "among these is the ability to sustain an average life expectancy in six of the 13 colonies of at least 55 years, and to enable all newspapers in the colonies to print news without outside interference, and to raise the average income of the colonists by 10 percent in the next 10 years," these would be measurable goals. Please clarify.
5. You state that "whenever any Form of Government becomes destructive of these ends, it is the Right of the People to alter or to abolish it, and to institute a new Government . . ." Have you weighed this assertion against all the alternatives? Or is it predicated solely on the baser instincts?
6. Your description of the existing situation is quite extensive. Such a

AFSA's LEGISLATIVE PROPOSALS—1978

Following-up on AFSA general statements to the House International Relations Committee concerning the State Department's 1978 Authorization Bill, we sent the Committee several proposals for specific legislative action. These proposals included:

1. to amend Section 821(a) of the FS Act to permit those employees whose salaries are limited by ceilings of Congressional pay to retire during 1978 and 1979 on the basis of the high one-year salary rather than the average of high three years of service.
2. to repeal Section 412 of the 1977 Authorization Bill, which provided that all FSOs and FSIOs will be ineligible for premium pay, including over-time compensation and compensatory time off as of October 1, 1978.
3. to amend Section 522 of the FS Act so as to restrict the total number of

Foreign Service Reserve office appointments which can be made at any one time by the Department of State, and thus avoid further abuse of Schedule C type of political appointment.

4. to provide that the Secretary of State and the President's Pay Agent shall present to Congress a comprehensive plan for a revised Foreign Service pay structure reflecting standards of comparability with compensation paid to excepted US Government career services and other comparable systems, and in the interim to establish a new linkage between the Foreign Service and Civil Service grades as follows:

FSO-8 equates to GS-9; FSO-7 to GS-11, FSO-6 to GS-12; FSO-5 to GS-13; FSO-4 to GS-14 and FSO-3 to GS-15.

long list of grievances should precede the statement of goals, not follow it.

7. Your strategy for achieving your goal is not developed at all. You state that the colonies "ought to be Free and Independent States," and that they are "Absolved from All Allegiance to the British Crown." Who or what must change to achieve this objective? In what way must they change? What resistance must you overcome to achieve the change? What specific steps will you take to overcome the resistance? How long will it take? We have found that a little foresight in these areas helps to prevent careless errors later on.
8. Who among the list of signatories will be responsible for implementing your strategy? Who conceived it? Who provided the theoretical research? Who will constitute the advisory committee? Please submit an organizational chart.
9. You must include an *evaluation design*. We have been requiring this since Queen Anne's War.
10. What impact will your program have? Your failure to include any assessment of this inspires little confidence in the long-range prospects of your undertaking.
11. Please submit a PERT diagram, an activity chart, and an itemized budget.

We hope that these comments prove useful in revising your "Declaration of Independence."

Best Wishes,
Lord North

P.S. Could you please enclose vitae of the signatories? We need them for our files.

PROMOTION LIST DELAYED

On February 28, as the Senate Foreign Relations Committee was performing its usually pro forma review of the 1978 FSO promotion List and Career Minister list, John D. Hemenway appeared to testify. In the course of voluminous testimony he suggested that the list be "remanded to the Department, since the merit principle clearly has not been the principal factor in its determination" and cited five persons' promotions as examples. The Committee thereupon held up the two lists for further consideration. AFSA and Department people went to the Hill to brief members and staffers on the fact that the lists were properly prepared in accordance with legislation and AFSA-management agreements. Two week's work saw the lists safely through committee.

The FSSO/FSR/FSRU promotion lists do not require Senate confirmation and became effective February 12 as earlier announced.

SEE WHAT YOU WROTE

Many retired Foreign Service personnel engaged in academic activities have been refused permission to review what they themselves wrote while on active service. This refusal has been based on an interpretation of an Executive Order, as was discussed in a letter to the editor appearing in the January issue of the *FS Journal*.

Acting on a resolution passed by the AFSA Governing Board, we formally asked the Department to revise its policy in this regard. Even though the Department has already responded that the present policy cannot be changed, we shall continue to press for some form of helpful modification.

FOREIGN SERVICE GRIEVANCE BOARD

The Grievance Board has begun to issue summaries of its decisions, appropriately "sanitized" so that the employees involved and the posts or offices in question are not identifiable. Each summary is approximately a page long and has been assigned a number for identification purposes. The Board has released seven summaries so far, and we expect that more will be issued shortly. The Grievance Board plans to complete summaries of all cases brought before it since it was established and began operation under the Foreign Service Act provisions in mid-1976. AFSA and the Department of State have given preliminary consideration to the format for further dissemination of these digests, as we expect they are of broad general interest and may be of great use both to management and to individuals considering grievance proceedings. Plans are incomplete at this time, but a tentative decision has been made to publish the digests in the Department *Newsletter* periodically, followed by occasional publication of special *Newsletter* supplements containing just the digests in a format which may be readily retained for reference.

On another Grievance Board topic, six members of the Grievance Board whose terms of appointment expire in March 1978 are being reappointed, a new Chairman has been chosen, and a new Member has been appointed. Members of the Grievance Board, including the Chairman, are chosen following agreement among the three foreign affairs agencies, AFSA, and AFGE. The terms of service of approximately half of the members of the Foreign Service Grievance Board expire each spring; most members are appointed for two-year terms.

The newest member is **Woodrow W. Leake**. Mr. Leake served in AID for over twenty-five years, and his selection to serve on the Grievance Board comes at the conclusion of a long and outstanding career in the field of agriculture. He was appointed to fill the vacancy created by the resignation of **Melbourne Spector**. AFSA supported Mr. Leake as a prospective member of the Board, and we take great pleasure in his appointment.

In addition, the following appointments or reappointments are being made at this time:

Richard I. Bloch. The newly-appointed Chairman of the Foreign Service Grievance Board, Mr. Bloch has served as a Member of the Board since March 1976. He is a professional arbitrator and member of the National Academy of Arbitrators, as well as a lawyer and former law school faculty member. He also serves as the Associ-

ate Umpire for General Motors and the UAW and the permanent Umpire for Alcoa and the Aluminum Workers International Union.

Martha I. Burns. A retired Foreign Service employee with extensive experience in both the Department of State and USIA. Ms. Burns has served on the Foreign Service Grievance Board since March 1976, and served on the Interim Grievance Board beginning with its inception in 1971.

Philip F. Dorman. Mr. Dorman also served on the Interim Grievance Board beginning with its establishment in 1971, and has served on the Foreign Service Grievance Board since March 1976. Mr. Dorman served several years in the Department of State, and was transferred to USIA in 1952.

John W. McConnell. Dr. McConnell is an arbitrator, member of the National Academy of Arbitrators, and former president of the University of New Hampshire. He has also served on the Grievance Board since the days of the Interim Grievance Board.

Alexander B. Porter. Mr. Porter has been Chairman of the Grievance Board since March 1976; as of March 1978 Mr. Porter relinquishes the Chairmanship and continues to serve the Board as a Member. A member of the National Academy of Arbitrators, Mr. Porter is also Permanent Arbitrator for Republic Steel Corporation and United Steelworkers of America; Reynolds Metals Company and United Steelworkers of America; and Revere Copper and Brass, Inc. and United Steelworkers of America. Mr. Porter previously served on the Interim Grievance Board as Deputy Chairman.

Rufus Z. Smith. Mr. Smith served in the Foreign Service from 1946 until his retirement in 1974. His last assignment was as Deputy Assistant Secretary of State for Canadian Affairs. He has been involved with Meridian House International, and he was first appointed to the Foreign Service Grievance Board in March 1976.

Harold D. Snell. Mr. Snell spent many years as an active participant in the trade union movement prior to joining ICA in 1955. He served the government in ICA, the State Department, the Department of Labor, and AID. His last overseas assignment was Director, AID Mission to Kenya. Mr. Snell has been a Member of the Grievance Board since the establishment of the Interim Board in 1971.

Appointment of an additional retired Foreign Service employee will be made shortly, and will complete the current appointment cycle.

A further item of interest concerns **Eva Robins**, also an arbitrator and Member of the Foreign Service Griev-

AID CHIEF GETS HIS RATING

The March 9 issue of AID's weekly publication *Front Lines* reveals the results of AID Administrator Gilligan's recent request that AID employees evaluate his performance: An overwhelming 82% of those employees responding gave Governor Gilligan an "Unsatisfactory" rating!! Only 12% gave him a "Satisfactory" and a skimpy 6% rated him an "Outstanding."

The brickbats of complaints apparently focused on four sore points: Gilligan—

1. didn't appreciate career employees, and had failed to demonstrate loyalty to them or to AID,
2. failed to communicate with employees and sometimes did not even acknowledge notes and memos sent to his office concerning problems in AID,
3. didn't fight hard enough for money from Congress to continue programs and permit AID to promote employees or prevent layoffs of staff,
4. surrounded himself with noncareer, inexperienced aides who were long on political savvy but short on ability to run a big governmental program.

Governor Gilligan says that he has learned a lot after almost a year on the job. Among other things, he now says he feels that AID has more than its share of top-notch dedicated professionals. And he also promises to improve communication between top management and the work force.

While not all AID employees are from Missouri, there is a strong response of "Show-me" among the staff to Governor Gilligan's new enthusiasm for AID and its mission. AFSA hears that AID management is "working hard" to develop new personnel measures which will be in line with those contained in the Humphrey Bill. These promises of good things reportedly will include "open assignments procedures, a real career development personnel system and provisions to identify and reserve certain senior and policy positions in AID/Washington for AID's Foreign Service employees."

AID's past record in personnel management has not inspired confidence, but we do hope that the current external display of good intentions will be internalized to protect and further the interests of AID employees.

ance Board. (Her appointment will not come up for renewal until 1979.) Ms. Robins has just been designated by President Carter as one of three members of a fact-finding panel appointed under the terms of the Taft-Hartley Act and charged with providing the President with recommendations on the current United Mine Workers' coal strike.

ICA NEWS

Janet Ruben is still with us in spirit! AFSA/ICA, AFSA/USIA until April 1, carries on the impetus Janet gave all of us with several activities. Most important was the call for nominations for a new Board Member to be chosen at a meeting at the AFSA Club on March 29.

The AFSA/ICA Standing Committee drafted testimony for AFSA President Lars Hydle to present at the nomination hearings of John Reinhardt, for Director, and Charles Bray, for Deputy Director. We especially welcome them as former leaders of AFSA, Foreign Service professionals, and proven leaders of public diplomacy. The testimony stressed that "the creation of ICA with its new, more sophisticated and complex mission of public diplomacy offers an exciting opportunity for more responsible involvement of promising Foreign Service professionals before reaching the senior decision-making levels." President Hydle said that "Director Reinhardt has acknowledged this opportunity with his announced intention to restructure Washington-based positions to allow for greater mid-level management experience as a training ground for future overseas supervisory positions. The Service has suffered in the past from deficiencies in substantive management experience for mid-level Foreign Service officers; a number of frustrations have emanated from this deficiency. Thus, we look forward to this restructuring for optimum professional involvement in a flexible and open professional environment that presents itself in this exciting new phase in the evolution of the Foreign Service."

The issue of the Voice of America was treated in the following way:

The Association welcomes the assurances of Director Reinhardt that the new Agency, ICA, will safeguard the professional journalistic integrity and the credibility of the Voice of America's news operation. However, the Association is also aware of recent State Department restrictions on the movements of VOA correspondents abroad. This problem is now under review by a panel of outside experts, and the Association looks forward to the recommendations of that panel and hopes that they will be made public. In the meantime, there continues to be an apparent conflict in the law which gives American Ambassadors overseas the power to direct and coordinate the activities of all US Government elements within their mission, and the instructions set forth in the Presidential guidelines establishing the new Agency. The Association hopes that this conflict will be resolved soon.

A basic disagreement with USIA management was raised in the testimony.

AFSA is the exclusive bargaining agent for the Foreign Service employees of the Department of State, including those in the Bureau of Educational and Cultural Affairs

(CU). The American Federation of Government Employees (AFGE), Local 1812, is presently the exclusive bargaining agent for the Foreign Service employees of USIA. USIA has sent AFGE a letter dated January 27, 1978, which says in part:

"1. Those CU General Schedule and Foreign Service employees that transfer from the Department of State to ICA will automatically accrete to AFGE's current Civil Service and Foreign Service bargaining units. The Agreements in effect for those units will apply to the new employees.

"2. Since there appears to be no basis on which to question the community of interest shared by CU employees transferring from State and the appropriateness of including them in the ICA bargaining units, a Clarification of Unit petition (CU) should not be necessary. Instead, when the reorganization has been effected and the new Agency begins life, we will file an Amendment of Certification petition (AC) for the Civil Service unit and take similar steps for the Foreign Service unit, to change the name of the Agency on the certifications from USIA to ICA. While these petitions are pending, the employees of ICA will be covered by the existing Agreements with USIA."

We feel that USIA management erred in not even sending a copy of the letter to AFSA. The organization which is the exclusive bargaining agent for CU employees should surely be told that USIA feels that it will not represent them after they are transferred to ICA on April 1, 1978.

There is serious doubt on our part that employees now represented by AFSA can be automatically represented by AFGE. The CU employees are not being transferred to USIA; they, like the employees of USIA, are being transferred to, in essence, a new organization, ICA. This raises some complicated questions as to the status of all employees in the new Agency.

We believe that USIA management has not dealt with AFSA in good faith in the manner in which the reorganization effort has been undertaken. AFSA must be included in any resolution of the questions of representation of F.S. employees currently in the bargaining unit represented by AFSA.

The 1978 FSIO promotion list is a source of concern for all of us. AFSA/USIA is not just disturbed by its shortness, we are also displeased with the cavalier method in which it was issued without an explanation. AFSA's/State Department unit negotiated an agreement with State Management resulting in an explanation of why their list was so short and their promotion prospects for the future. We can understand why USIA management did not want to issue a statement, but we cannot comprehend why AFGE did not ask for one. We are further dumbfounded by reports that AFGE has never even seriously considered negotiating a public explanation for a promotion policy which has demoralized the FSIO corps.

BOOKFAIR 1978

There are easily 100,000 reasons—one for every book offered on sale—to convince members and friends why we need your support, but let's just summarize by saying: by helping the Bookfair you may be either helping yourself or a friend. As AAFSW President Lesley Dorman wrote: "The Bookfair is the Association's money-maker . . . without the proceeds from this fund raiser, there would be no scholarships." She further states that this project requires "support and help from everyone." Everyone is you . . . your child . . . your neighbor's child. Help us help them by your donations and time. Proceeds have also been used for such worthy programs as FSECC, The Forum, Area B Mental Health and the Eastern Branch Boys' Club.

The Bookfair is a year round operation and already the Bookroom is a hive of activity—collecting, sorting, pricing, and placing books, magazines, prints and rare objects already donated. Among contributors this year are: Author Louis L'Amour who has given 12 autographed copies of such well-known novels as *How the West Was Won* (recently re-run on TV) and *Shalako*; Pauline Innis (co-author with Mary Jane McCaffree), an autographed copy of their recent book *Protocol: The Complete Handbook of Diplomatic, Official and Social Usage*, which the Department of State *Newsletter* reviewed in the February issue; AAFSW Member Jo-Ann Dikeos with an antique 1912 White sewing machine; and AAUW's D.C. Branch Member Vivian Fahey, a ten-year collection of *National Geographic*.

Last year in addition to rare books, exceptional Japanese wood-block print and beautiful brass rubbings from England, the collector's corner also offered for sale a mid-18th century Russian icon of wood overlaid with gilded silver and an antique ceremonial Japanese doll festival encased in glass. Dealers came from as far as Canada and diplomatic buyers from USSR and New Zealand mingled with the book-lovers who attended the Fair.

As Winston Churchill once said: "My tastes are simple. I like only the best." . . . so let our Bookfair be the best. . . the best ever. Already donated are 41 Bantam numbered paperbacks of Barbara Cartland. We would like to make this a complete collection. The Stamp Corner needs mint, cancelled, commemoratives and first day covers especially from areas such as the Arab, African, and Pacific countries (including the islands), and Israel.

Pick-up for your donations can easily be arranged by calling 632-9411 at any time. Thank you one and all!

TAXATION OF ALLOWANCES

The House Ways and Means Committee held hearings February 23 and 24, 1978 on proposals to modify the tax treatment of individual United States citizens working overseas. AFSA presented a strong statement urging that Section 912 of the Internal Revenue Code which exempts most Foreign Service allowances from taxation be retained without amendment. The Administration spokesmen also recommended against any changes being made in Section 912 but did suggest amendments to other sections of the Code, some of which would help alleviate certain problems of government employees.

The Committee is still studying the issues involved at our press time, but we understand that it will probably not take any action this year in respect to Section 912.

After completing our testimony, both AFSA and the Department of State sent follow-up letters to the Committee stressing the importance of Section 912 as a key element in the recruitment, retention and assignment of the best qualified people to staff our embassies and consular posts worldwide. We noted that despite the escalating costs to employees abroad caused by the declining value of the dollar and inflation in foreign countries, there has been no decline in the national security requirements and other essential functions mandated to government employees at foreign posts. Foreign Service employees are required to be available for service worldwide and to spend their entire careers in a series of assignments at home and overseas. Mod-

ification of Section 912 so as to subject employees' allowances to tax would result in an inequitable and uncompensated reduction of disposable incomes. The impact of this reduction would fall most heavily on those employees serving at high-cost posts. Further, the impact would be felt most severely in percentage terms by the lower salaried employees who make up most of the government's workforce abroad.

The only proposal affecting Section 912 with which the Administration agreed concerned a requirement that the Treasury report to Congress every two years on the amounts of allowances paid to government employees abroad. At some time in the future, this information could become the basis for new initiatives to amend Section 912. We shall continue to monitor this issue of taxation of allowances.

The Administration did propose that Section 217 of the Code, concerning moving expenses, be amended. The proposal is to increase the time limits for moving and associated temporary living arrangements from 30 days to 60 days and to raise the ceiling on temporary living costs from \$1,500 to \$5,000. This would apply only when moving to or from a foreign residence or from one foreign country to another.

Another proposal presented by AFSA and the Administration would amend Section 1034 of the Code so as to extend the period of time to four years during which a taxpayer working overseas could reinvest the proceeds realized from the sale of the taxpayer's principal residence and postpone liability for capital gains tax.

TWENTY-FIVE YEARS AGO

The news in the April, 1953 *Journal* was the investigation of the *Voice of America*, which Senator McCarthy stated, "will take a long time." Both President Eisenhower and Secretary Dulles indicated to newsmen that the power of Congress to investigate would be respected. The unofficial transcript of the President's news conference read, "[The President] thought it would be extremely dangerous to try to limit the power of Congress to investigate. It is one of those things that in the long run, as we trust the will of the American people to produce the best answer for America, then he thinks in the long run this power in the hands of Congress, which they must have, must be treated properly and used properly by their long-term restraint, let us say, and bringing always into the problem moral values as well as strictly legal and constitutional values."

The editorial welcomed the vindication of the name of John Carter Vincent

but this satisfaction was tempered by the news of his retirement. Secretary Dulles's granting of Vincent's application for retirement was criticized by Senators McCarran and McCarthy.

Henry S. Villard contributed an article entitled "Cyrene Summer," which dealt with his summer as the first US Minister to Libya. King Idris the First insisted that Chiefs of Mission should move to the Jebel Akhdar in Cyrenaica for the hot months, resulting in considerable inconvenience.

In "53 Years in the Service," Clare Timberlake praised the dedication of Mrs. Ida Hafermann, who served in the Hamburg Consulate General from 1899 until her death on December 5, 1952. During the two World Wars, she continued to serve in the American Interests Section of the Spanish Consulate General and in the American Interests Section of the Swiss Legation, respectively.

SAIGON EVACUATION?

Have you been laboring under the misconception that you were evacuated from Saigon? It seems that the General Counsel's Office thinks otherwise. The General Counsel recently recommended that an allowance claim, based upon the emergency evacuation, be rejected, "in view of the fact that in Saigon AID embarked upon a phased, orderly withdrawal and that the withdrawal procedures adequately protected the interest of the employee." This legalese does not explain whether emphasis should be placed on the word "embarked" or on the words "phased" and "orderly."

It seems, however, that there really was an evacuation from Laos. The General Counsel concluded that even though an evacuation from Laos was never declared, there was "no question that these employees and their dependents left Laos for military or other reasons which created imminent danger to their lives."

So those of you who waited for a helicopter the afternoon and evening of April 29, 1975 may now rest easy in the knowledge that either there was no imminent danger to your lives or, if so, it was not for military or other reasons.

AFSA is looking into this intriguing interpretation and has asked the Agency for further explanation.

REVISED MANUAL

The working document of AFSA's various representatives overseas and at home has been updated once again: on March 1 revisions to the AFSA Chapter and Keyman Manual were sent to all posts at which AFSA has members and to all keypersons in Washington. On March 2 an addendum followed. A number of lists of AFSA people have been updated and, of particular importance, the section on handling grievances has been improved.

AFSA keypeople who did not get the revisions should write to: Membership, AFSA and request them.

ROCKEFELLER AWARDS

Nominations are open for the Rockefeller Public Service Awards for 1978. One of the seven problem areas in which nominations are being sought is "strengthening international cooperation in dealing with key issues of interdependence." The deadline for receipt of nominations is April 30, 1978 and a brochure describing the program and the nominating procedures is available from: Rockefeller Public Service Awards, Woodrow Wilson School, Princeton University, Princeton, N.J. 08540.

In order to be of maximum assistance to AFSA members and *Journal* readers we are accepting these listings until the 15th of each month for publication in the issue dated the following month. The rate is 40¢ per word, less 2% for payment in advance, minimum 10 words. Mail copy for advertisement and check to: Classified Ads, *Foreign Service Journal*, 2101 E Street, N.W., Washington, D.C. 20037.

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SECOND CAREERS

James Lobenstine, FSO-retired, is Director of Operations at the Experiment in International Living, School for International Training in Brattleboro, Vermont. After early retirement, he spent four years at the Westminster Choir College in Princeton where he graduated with honors. The Lobenstines are enjoying life in Vermont. They included with their letter a clipping on Ambassador Bunker's speech in defense of the proposed Panama Canal treaty in late December before the Windham World Affairs Council, of which the ambassador is honorary chairman.

Donald S. Macdonald, FSO-retired, received his Ph.D. in political science from George Washington University in February. Mr. Macdonald retired from the Foreign Service in 1969 after 22 years of assignments in Seoul, Istanbul, Geneva and Washington and joined the faculty of the East Stroudsburg State College in 1971. He is associate professor of political science.

Hewson Ryan, former deputy director of USIA and former ambassador to Honduras, now Edward R. Murrow Professor of Public Diplomacy at Tufts' Fletcher School, will be directing a four-week seminar for professional journalists in June and July. The seminar, part of a series of National Endowment for the Humanities summer programs open to non-teachers, is being run under an NEH grant of \$40,000. The subject is "The Free Flow of Ideas: the International, Historical and Cultural Dimensions." Further information from Professor Ryan at Tufts University.

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Foreign Service People

Marriage

Klein-Kerrigan. Mrs. Josephine B. Klein was married to William M. Kerrigan, FSO-retired, on January 28 in Washington. Mr. and Mrs. Kerrigan live in Bethesda, Maryland.

Deaths

Carlson. Laura Carlson, widow of FSO Harry E. Carlson, died on January 28 in Great Barrington, Massachusetts. She is survived by a son, Harry E. R. Carlson, 19098 Myron Ct., Saratoga, California 95070, and a daughter, Mrs. William B. Pennebaker, R.F.D. #1, Box 66, Crane Road, Carmel, N.Y. 10512.

Minnigerode. H. Gordon Minnigerode, FSO-retired, died on February 18 in Talladega, Alabama. He joined the Foreign Service in 1930 and served at Montreal, Quebec, Jerusalem, Tegucigalpa, Bangkok, Singapore, Penang, San Jose, Amsterdam, Karachi, Lagos, Lourenco Marques, Dar-es-Salaam, Port Elizabeth and Capetown before his retirement in 1958. He is survived by his wife, Anna, of P.O. Box 721, Talladega, Alabama 35160.

Sutherland. Hugh B. Sutherland, FSO-retired, died on February 16, in Bryn Mawr, Pennsylvania. He entered on duty with ECA in 1949 and joined USIA in 1954, serving at Lisbon, Brussels, Belgrade and Port-au-Prince before his retirement in 1967. He was assigned to the Department of State in 1962 as Director of the Public Information and Reports Staff. He is survived by his wife, Mary, The Mermont, Apt. 603, Bryn Mawr 19010, two daughters, Nina French-Frazier and Melissa Sutherland, two sisters, a brother and two grandchildren.

Witman. William Witman II, retired Ambassador, died on March 12 in Washington. Ambassador Witman joined the Foreign Service in 1939 and served at Beirut, Ankara, Athens, Bombay, Tangier, and as Ambassador to Togo. At the time of his retirement in 1974 he was a special assistant to the Secretary of State for African Affairs. He received the Superior Service Award in 1963. Ambassador Witman is survived by his wife, Melpomene, of 2300 25th Street North, Arlington, Virginia 22207, and two sisters, Harriet Hoag of Phoenix, Arizona and Barbara Rogers of Harrisburg, Pennsylvania.

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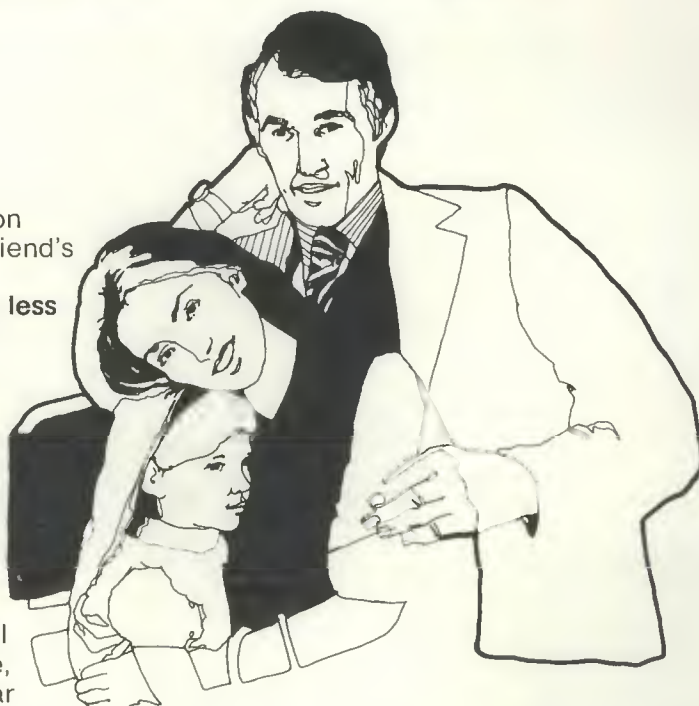
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