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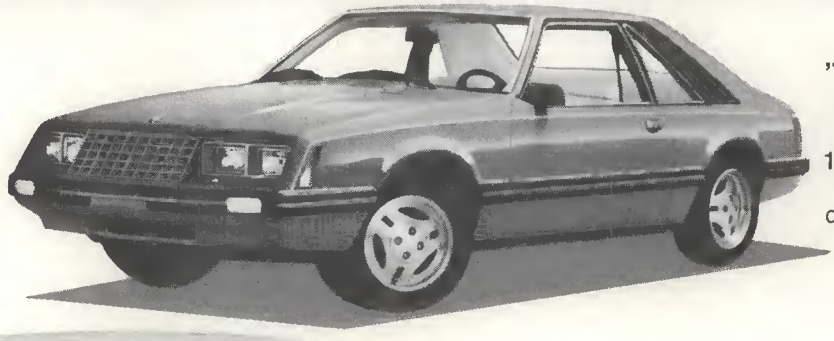
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# FOREIGN SERVICE JOURNAL

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## FOREIGN RELATIONS AUTHORIZATION ACT, FY 1979

The President signed into law October 10, 1978 the Foreign Relations Authorization Act, Fiscal Year 1979 (P.L. 95-426). This completed the annual cycle of authorizing appropriations for FY 1979 for the Department of State and the International Communication Agency and, as is usual, included provisions for making changes in the F.S. personnel system.

AFSA was active in promoting and supporting these developments which we consider of substantial benefit to Foreign Service employees and their families, such as the following. AFSA representatives made frequent trips to the Hill, wrote numerous letters and made many phone calls.

1. Section 401. **Employment of Family Members Overseas**

Building upon successes in previous years, this new provision provides that family members of foreign service employees overseas be given increased support when seeking employment. It directs the Secretary of State to create bilateral and multilateral agreements which will facilitate the employment of family members of US Government personnel assigned abroad and to give consideration to converting vacant alien positions at Foreign Service posts to American positions for staffing by qualified family members when long-term continuity is not a significant consideration. AFSA worked for this new authority and will follow closely how the Department uses it.

2. Section 402. **Special Allowances**

This new Special Allowance was authorized for Foreign Service officers and Foreign Service Information officers who are assigned to a relatively small number of specially designated positions which involve additional work on a regular basis substantially in excess of normal requirements. This allowance is designed, in part, to give recognition to those FSOs and FSIOs who are no longer eligible to receive premium pay as a result of Section 412 of the 1978 Authorization Act. AFSA was extremely active in working to effect an outright repeal of Section 412. When it became apparent that those efforts would not succeed, we then cooperated with management to persuade Congress to authorize the special allowance which will tend to alleviate the condition of some of those officers who are required to work over 50 hours a week on a regular basis.

3. Section 404. **Facilitating Voluntary Retirements**

This section authorizes the Department to provide professional career counseling, advice and placement assistance to most employees who are planning to leave the service. In granting this authority, the legislative history shows that Congress recognized the unique character of the Foreign Service and its requirement that an employee spend a great deal of time abroad, out of direct contact with the domestic American society and that a formal career counseling program would help ease the transition of Foreign Service personnel from the Service to another career.

4. Section 406. **Special Computation of Annuities**

The provision provided that those employees whose salary was or is "capped" are eligible to retire with an annuity computed on the basis of the salary of a single year of service rather than for the regular three year average salary.

AFSA had originally proposed this provision and worked hard for its adoption. It was designed as an inducement for senior officers to retire and thus help overcome the serious personnel surplus in the senior ranks. We had anticipated that about 200 employees would retire because of this provision and that this would give management much needed increased flexibility for solving a variety of personnel problems and result in benefits to all personnel.

Unfortunately, the "high one" formula attracted the ire of the Office of Management and Budget. The OMB succeeded in persuading Congress subsequently to adopt two riders on other legislation which were signed into law October 18, and which denied the Retirement Fund the right to pay a "high one" annuity and which also repealed Section 406. During the 17-day window when Section 406 was the law of the land, 64 senior officers (34 State, 14 ICA and 16 ICA) did retire. These retirees are now organizing themselves to win through legal action the "high one" annuity as authorized by PL 95-426.

5. Section 407. **Rest and Recuperation Travel**

This amends Section 911(9) of the Foreign Service Act so as to authorize the Department to approve rest and recuperation travel to the United States in addition to locations abroad. The legislative history shows that it is intended that Foreign Service employees and their families eligible for R and R travel subject to regulations issued by the Secretary, should have the option, except under unusual circumstances, to return to the United States.

AFSA has already asked management for consultation to develop criteria for implementing this new authority.

6. Section 408. **Reducing Family Separation During Temporary Assignments**

This amends Section 911(10) of the Foreign Service Act so as to authorize the Department to pay travel expenses of an employee's family accompanying the employee on TDY when *returning* from a foreign assignment as well as when *en route* to a new foreign assignment. Heretofore, many families have been unnecessarily separated because the employee is given a protracted TDY when returning from an assignment abroad and the family is given travel orders only for direct travel to the employee's home leave address.

7. Section 411. **Compensatory Time Off at Certain Posts in Foreign Areas**

This is a new provision which authorizes the granting of compensatory time off under special conditions at certain posts where unusual work conditions exist. This applies to personnel assigned to the Sinai Mission and to some posts in other localities that customarily observe irregular hours of work, for example in certain Eastern European countries where stores are open only a few hours a week and it would be desirable to allow employees one afternoon off each week to do their shopping as compensation for overtime work performed.

8. Section 413. **Review of Foreign Service Personnel Requirements and Compensation**

AFSA believes that this is a highly important provision in that it requires the Secretary to State to conduct a thorough review of personnel needs of the Foreign Service and of the suitability of the current compensation system. The Secretary is further required to complete this review and transmit the results, together with appropriate recommendations, to the House and Senate no later than January 20, 1979. The adoption of this provision represents a recognition by Congress that despite the steady expansion of responsibilities of the Foreign Service over the past number of years the total number of personnel has not increased. Congress also was recognizing that although the responsibilities and necessary qualifications of Foreign Service positions continue to change, compensation remains linked to the Civil Service schedule. AFSA is in communication with the Department concerning this review and we trust that it will help establish the true staffing needs of the Foreign Service and promote a more realistic pay scale.

9. Section 706. **Use of Foreign Air Carriers**

This section provides that employees of State, AID, ICA, and ACDA can travel on foreign air carriers notwithstanding the limitations established by the Federal Aviation Act of 1958 when traveling between two places, both of which are outside of the United States. The legislative history of this provision shows that while Congress recognized that the existing law had created hardships for US Government personnel required to travel overseas and had frequently resulted in increased travel costs for the US Government, Congress fully expects implementation of this authority to recognize the policy of Congress that US airlines be used to the greatest practical extent.

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# TRIBES AND TRIBULATIONS IN AFRICA

SMITH SIMPSON

One of the problems which all governments face with respect to Africa is that the arbitrary boundaries which empire builders carved out of the African continent in the 19th century had no relation to tribal distribution. Hence, the proliferation of putative nation states in recent years on that continent has generated not a system of nation states but an ethnic wonderland.

While some tribes were divided between colonial tracts, as was the ancient Kingdom of Congo between French, Belgian and Portuguese holdings, others were bunched together in uneasy colonial units. Nigeria consists of no less than 200 tribes, each with its own roots, history, culture and language or dialect, greatly complicating communication, governance, education and nation-building within that state. When one of its tribes—the Ibo—became such a target of discrimination and persecution as to threaten genocide, it tried to withdraw from the Nigerian union and form an independent Biafra. To have allowed the Ibos to do this would have been to invite others to do so, hence Biafra was mercilessly beaten into submission, its population decimated in the process. Virtually every African state is an affirmation of this uneasy tribal alliance and a negation of that common history, culture, language, loyalty and aspiration which characterize nationhood.

Tribal rivalries and fears can reach atrocious levels, as in Uganda, raising up leaders who, like Attila the Hun 1500 years ago, behave more like beasts than humans. Idi Amin is of the Kakwa tribe and his Attilian terror has been vented upon the other tribes of that unhappy land, principally the luckless Lango. As an army officer pursuing a military career, Amin found that his principal rival was Shaban Opalato, a Lango, and, when he decided to seize power, the president he had to depose was Milton Obote, also a Lango. Of the thousands Amin has seized,

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*Mr. Simpson is a retired Foreign Service officer whose last overseas assignment was as Consul General in Mozambique.*

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tortured, mutilated, burned alive, cast into rivers for crocodiles to feed upon and otherwise disposed of since his coup, many have been Lango. Some two-thirds of the Langi and Acholi soldiers in the Uganda army have been murdered and even their widows and children have been butchered. Amin's objective has not been merely to seize power through primitive tribal savagery but to maintain that power for life.

The dictators of the newly independent black African countries are soldiers waging war—tribal war—upon rival tribes and tribal leaders within their borders in an effort to hold together by force the disparate parts of their inherited tracts. Hence, their behavior, so bizarre and incomprehensible to Americans, including the Andrew Youngs who try to understand Africa by superimposing upon it their civil rights experience in the United States, is not only tolerated by other African leaders but accepted as normal. They have the same tribal emotions, fears, rivalries and problems at home as Amin and while Amin is an exaggerated and monstrous case, he is still understandable and acceptable as a tribal phenomenon. This explains why Africans will not condemn him and his behavior at meetings of the Organization of African Unity or the United Nations. Whatever the UN Charter or UN declarations and treaties may say about human rights, tribal standards hold among Africans. Tribal rights and interests take precedence.

It is in this perspective that one must view the Rhodesian problem. That land, also, is a tribal patchwork, although not to the degree of some others like Nigeria and Zaire. It is Joshua Nkomo's thirst for power as a member of the minority Matebele tribe that leads him to reject all suggestions of a free election to determine the composition of a Rhodesian government. He knows he would be outvoted every time by the dominant Shonas to which belong the black leaders who have joined Ian Smith's government in an Interim Agreement to hold an election. All talk of "one man, one vote" and "black majority rule" is as irrelevant to the guerrilla fighter based in the bush of Zambia as it would have been to Fidel Castro in the sierras of Cuba. Nkomo wants, as Castro wanted, power and he knows he cannot obtain it without imposing by force the rule of a minority tribe upon a majority. His guerrillas are not "Rhodesian" blacks simply rebelling against white rule and willing to set up a "one man, one vote," "black majority" regime but Matebeles willing to do battle for tribal dictatorship.

This is also true of Robert Mugabe who leads the guerrillas based upon Mozambique. For while he is a Shona, Mugabe belongs to a small subdivision of the tribe and has never had the support of its major subdivisions. Hence, he too would be outvoted in any election. He wants no part of the "one man, one vote" or "black majority rule" which have become the stated objectives—or shibboleths—of American policy.

These are, therefore, not "black nationalists" seeking the liberation of Rhodesia from white domination but black tribalists vying for tribal or personal dominance of a new Zimbabwe. Neither of the guerrilla leaders, nor the two together, comprise any "national liberation movement" which the Soviets profess to be supporting around the world but are efforts of tribal leaders or would-be


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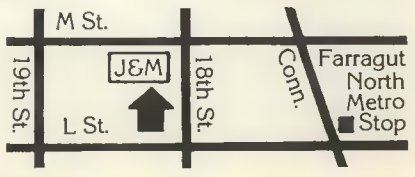
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leaders which the Soviets, Cubans and Chinese are exploiting for their own interests, among which is the humiliation of the west which has done so much to elevate living standards and political standards and processes in Africa as elsewhere in the world. What is going on is a power play and no one can dress it up otherwise.

This is why, as Julius Nyerere complains, it has been impossible to fuse the forces of the two rebel movements. Nyerere has publicly wrung his hands over this but he knows the reason as well as anyone. Being tribally constituted and engaged in a winner-take-all thrust for power, neither of the rebel forces is going to join hands with the other, any more than it is going to join hands with the moderate leaders in Salisbury on the basis of one man, one vote. It has therefore been obvious to all but the blind that a bloody civil war between the two "liberation" rivals will follow any collapse of the Interim Government.

This situation—and what has happened in other black African states—confronts the Shona and white populations of Rhodesia-Zimbabwe with a grim prospect, especially since the west has refused to provide them weapons with which to defend themselves against the Soviet-Cuban-Chinese-equipped guerrillas. Our reluctance to support the Interim Agreement has derived from a hope against hope of winning Nkomo and Mugabe over to "one man, one vote" and "black majority rule" and a desire to avoid any act which would precipitate an escalation of the conflict. This is a delaying tactic to gain time for the mediatory effort, on the slim chance something might happen to overcome the tribal factor, or at least postpone the day of holocaust. One might question whether the available guerrillas could absorb any marked increase of Soviet and Chinese arms, but there has always existed the possibility of Cuban troops intervening as they have done in Angola and Ethiopia.

An objective of victory presupposes that a tactic of delay is related to a positive strategy which the tactic will serve, but so far as one can ascertain there is no such US or western strategy, only a Micawber-like hope that "something will turn up." We are thus as paralyzed in Rhodesia as were the British and French vis-à-vis the Axis in the Spanish civil war. In the interests of promoting detente and avoiding an escalation of the Spanish internal conflict, the British and French governments abstained from intervention while the Nazi and Fascist governments exploited this, intervening to their heart's content and thereby ensuring the victory of Franco and contributing to the slide to World War II.

What applies to our approach to Rhodesia applies to our approach to southern Africa generally. The absence of a positive, clearly defined objective has deprived the United States of a well thought out, dynamic system of tactics and wise deployment of personnel resources. With the region belatedly recognized as a critical one in the waning years of the Ford administration, the present administration came to power determined to reverse the tide that had set in against us, but its first move was to appoint an ambassador to the UN totally bereft of the international experience and therefore unable to contribute to our strategic and tactical thinking. He was able to establish an emotional rapport with African leaders but,


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possessing only naive ideas of what our policies should be, relying for advice on a hand-picked assistant secretary of state for international organization affairs, as devoid as he of any practical knowledge of Africa and international politics and beset by an inclination to shoot glibly from the lip, he and his diplomatic efforts have been faulted by successive errors of judgment and faux pas, eroding respect for US diplomacy throughout the world.

The administration then proceeded to ease out an assistant secretary for African affairs familiar with the continent and its leaders, to create the appearance of a break with the Ford-Kissinger policy, and appointed as his replacement an individual with only the most superficial acquaintanceship with Africa. Appointments were made to the national security and policy planning staffs of African "experts" who were not experts at all. When an astute, knowledgeable, experienced director of the State Department's office of southern African affairs was elevated to deputy assistant secretary, his replacement was lifted from Belgrade; he lasted but a short time and was transferred to the Foreign Service Institute; and this crucial office at this time of writing is without a director. In the midst of these changes, as the Rhodesian crisis intensified, the experienced and able Rhodesian desk officer in the department was replaced by one with no prior background in Rhodesian affairs. All of this would make anyone wonder if we know what we are doing. It certainly ensured that the initiative in Africa would continue to be with the Communist triad.

Beneath these obvious inadequacies lie more subtle and profound ones. The Foreign Service Institute long ago abandoned the efforts of President Kennedy and Governor Mennen Williams to upgrade our African expertise, with the result that too many officers and their spouses in our African embassies and consular posts are finding their assignments boring and depressing. African cities and towns can indeed be dirty, usual social and cultural amenities lacking, and tribes dominant in capitals aloof and even hostile. Instead of being stimulated by this cultural challenge, officers are resisting assignments to Africa and the bureau of African affairs is finding it difficult to achieve a suitably high level of competence and performance in our missions. Faced by this the department and ambassadors, even some of the best, are doing virtually nothing to provide the needed cultural leadership. Since attitudes of officers and their spouses are readily sensed by people abroad, our political efforts are seriously handicapped and will continue to be until a more sophisticated cultural and psychological leadership is provided.

The department has also been remiss in not reviving the imaginative innovation of Mennen Williams in the early 1960s of an advisory committee on Africa. When we face serious and bloody crises, surely it is wise to mobilize all possible intellectual and cultural resources.

Our powerful rival, the Soviet Union, engages in no such slap-happy diplomacy and reliance upon amateurs. It has a driving strategy, to which every tactical move and personnel resource is related. Furthermore, being itself a state of ethnic diversity held together by oppression, it sympathetically encourages black Africa's pro-

*(Continued on page 45)*




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# US Covert Actions in Chile, 1971-1973

PART TWO

NATHANIEL DAVIS

I now come to a harder question; whether it was right to support the opposition as we did. I suppose I should note that no official—high or low—can have the luxury of entering into a virgin situation. Things have usually happened in most real situations which cannot altogether be undone. There was no possibility for us in Chile in October, 1971 to reacquire our national innocence, or examine afresh whether it would be the best course of action never to give, or have given, covert support to anybody. So the question really becomes: Would it have been right, or more nearly right, to discontinue supporting opposition democratic parties and media between October, 1971, and September, 1973? Should the United States have cut off ongoing support in October, 1971?*

The effort by *Unidad Popular* to starve out the opposition was real. Anyone who followed Chilean events in 1971-72 will remember the campaign to take over the *Papelera,* the great paper company, and thereby seize total control of the supply of newsprint. *Unidad Popular* almost did take it over, as the *Papelera* lost billions of escudos. Fortunately for its beleaguered leadership, it had been the richest company in Chile.

In the case of the *Papelera,* radios, TV stations, newspapers and other opposition enterprises, the government had substantial control over both the income and outlay side of their ledgers. On the enterprises' income side, the government controlled, regulated and sometimes blocked increases in the prices at which they sold their product. The government systematically withdrew official and institutional advertising from opposition publications. Private sector advertising inexorably declined, as the private sector itself shrank with every nationalization.

On the outlay side, spiraling inflation produced officially-decreed wage and salary hikes every month. Bills for back taxes were presented under new interpretations of the law. Fire code and other violations were found against opposition newspapers and radios. When leftists seized and illegally operated the University of Chile's TV station, the authorities turned a blind eye. Import licenses and foreign exchange permits to import radio and television tubes and printing equipment were denied. Smaller radios and newspapers did go under—and were bought up by the parties of the government.

As for the parties, their expenses were in large part the costs of their media—newspapers, radios and publications—plus posters, campaign expenses, and of course salaries. They were vulnerable in the same ways the media were.

In looking back on the experience of the opposition parties and media, some US commentators have engaged in circular argument. They have noted that, by and large, the newspapers, TV and radio of the opposition survived; and have concluded that we therefore need not have helped them. The real question is whether they could have survived without our help. I believe not. And institutional democracy could not have long survived their extinction.

There is a second reality on the other side of the Chilean political fence. The help *Unidad Popular* gave to their own parties and media was substantial. Most domestic and foreign newsmen in Chile were aware that government parties skimmed a percentage off the top of foreign trade operations. It was widely reported that that the Radical Party did this, but other UP parties also did so. Government transport, communications equipment, supplies of paper, and printing facilities were made available to the UP forces on a large scale. Subventions came from abroad. I believe most foreign correspondents in Chile could confirm

**Regarding my statement on page 14 of the November issue, that I thought Mr. Cline might have misrecalled what had transpired, Mr. Cline has corrected me to the effect that his comments were, in fact, misinterpreted.*

that the UP parties and candidates went into the elections of 1972-73 well supplied and supported.

The foregoing discussion focuses on the financing of political action within the democratic framework —on resources available to the opposition and on those available to *Unidad Popular*. If one were to explore the larger question of foreign support to *Unidad Popular* in other ways, one would have to examine assertions like the following one by Ernest Lefever:

During the Allende period, large quantities of Soviet arms were illegally brought into the country via Cuba; Chilean and foreign terrorist groups were formed; and the Cuban Embassy became the center of subversive KGB activity.*

Such an examination would require extensive analysis; and these questions are not immediately related to the problem of whether the United States should or should not have provided money to the opposition.

Describing what the other side does is not an answer, of course, to the question of whether we Americans should be doing the same things. We still have not, as a society, thought through the practical and ethical implications of covert action. It is interesting to note the attitudes expressed by some of the strongest press critics of the Chile experience on another issue—Portugal—which might not be so different in ethical implications, particularly if one is going through the experience forward in time and not backwards.

William V. Shannon of the New York *Times* editorial board wrote in the edition of August 3, 1975:

If the United States over the last year had possessed competent leadership in foreign affairs, it would have provided Portuguese democrats with money and political support to help them offset the advantages of the Portuguese Communists in propaganda and organization. The Swedish and German Social Democrats have helped their counterparts in Lisbon but the flow of money from them has been trivial compared to the heavy subsidies to the Portuguese Communists by the Soviet Union. [This was written before press accounts asserted that the US was taking the action Mr. Shannon advocated.]

Later, the Washington *Post* editorialized:

The United States has apparently funneled some funds into Portugal, a country seized by economic collapse and political turbulence; it is entirely reasonable for the United States to provide, in a crisis, at least a partial counterweight to the aid that is flowing to the Portuguese Communists from the Soviet Union.*

On the more general question of covert action *Time,* on September 29, 1975, commented:

The CIA must also be able to carry out non-military clandestine actions, such as the funding of pro-American political forces in countries where the Soviets are backing their own candidates, as they did in Portugal earlier this year.

To return to the Chilean experience, there is a difference between covert financial support to a party when that support assists the continuation of the constitutional process and when it subverts it. An argument can be made that any covert action subverts the political process, but the considerations become more complicated if there are large and powerful contrary activities going on—in the Chilean case both in support of the governing parties and against the opposition. The continuation of constitutional government depends on the survival of a constitutional opposition. When that survival is put in doubt, the choices are not so simple.

A discussion which perforce has focused on covert actions taken, and not taken, should not close without a few words about the indigenous and underlying causes of the disintegration of the *Unidad Popular* government. As September of 1973 approached, it was increasingly evident that the Chilean experiment was failing. Whether it would be replaced by a people's democracy on the more familiar Eastern European pattern or by a military government of the kind which emerged was less clear; but the chances were fading of institutional parliamentary democracy lasting until a popular electoral verdict could be given in the presidential elections due in 1976. We in the embassy did not give up hope, but few foreigners in Santiago—official, private or press —could have been blind to the trend of events. As early as June 25, 1973, the New York *Times* was saying:

. . . genuine dialogue with his opponents . . . would inevitably mean that Dr. Allende would have to forego much of the pervasive socialist program for which he has no mandate in any case; but it might save Chile from either a military takeover or the civil war that the president rightly fears.

On August 18, 1973, the New York *Times* editorialized:

. . . the country is again lurching toward chaos, with the statesmanship, restraint and goodwill necessary for averting civil war not yet in evidence.

On August 17, the Washington *Star-News* commented:

The worsening violence in Santiago and the hardening attitudes of some of the protagonists raise new doubt that the Marxist government of Salvador Allende can long continue on the path it mapped out more than two and a half years ago . . . Allende . . . should understand by now that he cannot make willing marchers-to-socialism of enough Chileans to complete the trip in the three and a half years remaining of his term. If he tries, Chilean democracy could perish along the way.

On August 31, twelve days before the coup, the New York *Times* again editorialized:

Chile's most respected statesman, former President Eduardo Frei, said recently: "For Chile to emerge from the present crisis a change of government is required, not a change of president. . ."

His meaning was clear enough: To survive personally and dissolve the present crisis, Dr. Allende must cut back sharply on his drastic socialist program and get rid of the ministers who have persisted in pushing it by means that circumvent the Congress. In return for these actions, Mr. Frei implied, the Christian Democrats would cooperate with Dr. Allende to turn the country back from the brink of civil war.

There is no evidence so far that Dr. Allende is either willing or able to accept any such conditions, but Mr. Frei's course seems to offer the best way—perhaps the only way—for survival of both the President and Chile's democratic system.

The life of each successive cabinet was shrinking to fewer and fewer days between June and September. Chile was moving toward confrontation.

There were perhaps four main reasons for the failure of the *Unidad Popular* government: 1)

*Ernest W. Lefever, "The CIA and American Foreign Policy," Lugano Review, 1975/4, p. 20.

*International Herald Tribune, *Jan. 13, 1976.*

economic unraveling; 2) the breakdown of the political compact with the opposition; 3) the breakdown of the UP coalition—and the growth in power of the Extremist Left; and 4) the breakdown of the UP military understanding.

*Economic Unraveling.* The economic policies of the Allende government were rooted in genuine political necessities. If the Chilean way was to work, Allende's 36 percent of the popular vote had to be converted into the 51 percent necessary to transform the parliamentary structure through referendum or to capture a parliamentary majority. The government turned to stimulation of the economy for full employment, pump priming, expenditures of foreign reserves in a consumer-goods buying spree, deficit spending to finance nationalizations and increases in employment rolls in state enterprises (with underemployed workers), land reform and what was effectively a rural dole.

Allende may have reached 50 percent electoral support in early-to-mid 1971. Elections during that period indicated a roughly 50-50 voter split. If he did reach a majority, he did not take advantage of the moment to call a referendum. Subsequent by-elections showed an ebbing of support, and the parliamentary elections of March, 1973 produced a clear opposition majority. Chile is a country with a substantial and politically aware middle class, and a lower proportion of "workers and peasants" than in most Latin American countries. Moreover, substantial numbers of the Chilean "masses" had "saddled themselves with a middle class mentality." *Unidad Popular*'s natural constituency, which had revealed itself as being remarkably stable over three presidential campaigns at six year intervals, may have reverted to something closer to its normal level when the Allende government began to implement its socialist restructuring and take measures that frightened and antagonized the middle class, women, small landholders, and others.

In any case, the inflationary, disruptive and non-productive effects of Allende's stimulative economic policies began to catch up with him by the latter part of 1971. The government also ran out of foreign exchange reserves. From then on, the economic situation spiraled downhill.

The Chilean government had the simultaneous bad luck of seeing world copper prices plummet—and four fifths of Chilean foreign exchange earnings came from copper. As Theodore H. Moran observes, indifferent management and "sectarian struggles"—fights among Communist and Socialist managers and labor leaders at the mines—contributed to the government's difficulties in maintaining copper production.* While there were dislocations as a result of the efforts of Anaconda, Kennicott and the other great foreign companies, the Chileans consistently could obtain those spare parts, supplies and technical help they were able to pay for, and could successfully market their copper at world prices.

*The Broken Political Compact.* When Allende came to power he made a kind of political compact with the Christian Democrats. Allende's genius was his ability to maneuver, compromise and be all things to all men. His tragedy—in part caused by his internal necessities within the UP—was his failure to deliver on the understandings reached with the Christian Democrats, radicals of various persuasions, and others. By September of 1973 he had exhausted his credit, even with those center-left Christian Democrats who deeply wanted to hold together the 1970 consensus.

Many high officials of the UP government were frank about their own pursuit of the policy of the loophole, the use of century-old laws for purposes never intended, the stretching and twisting of decrees, and government-by-legerdemain. By September, 1973, both of the other two branches of government—the Supreme Court and the Chamber of Deputies—had openly and formally declared the Executive outside the law and outside the Constitution. The political compact that made possible the first year or two of institutional UP government lay broken.

*The UP Coalition.* Within the UP coalition, Allende always had the severest of problems trying to control his left wing, and the extra-legal extremists to the left of that. The actions of the ultra-radical Movement of the Revolutionary Left (MIR), the violence, the armed rural insurrection—these are familiar stories.

Both for reasons of policy and of loyalty, Allende was loath to bring the extra-legal left under control. This exacerbated his relations with the military. Within his coalition, the wing of the Socialist Party under Carlos Altamirano was rebellious at best and insurrectionary by instinct. There is some evidence that the "good," "gray," "moderate," "legitimist" Communist Party concluded in June, 1973, that its gradualist policies were failing and turned increasingly to arming the workers and intimidating its adversaries. By the tenth of September, the day before the coup, the Political Committee of the

*(Continued on page 42)*

> "Salvador Allende had caught the imagination of hundreds of millions of the world's men and women. He had extraordinary and appealing human qualities and a resiliency that was phenomenal. I think he really wanted to show the world that there was a Chilean Way to Socialism."

*Theodore H. Moran, Multinational Corporations and the Politics of Dependence: Copper in Chile (Princeton, Princeton U. Press, 1974).

# THE RISE AND FALL OF CHIANG CH'ING

ROBERT W. RINDEN

The aspiration of this modest piece is not to play yet another variation on the theme of *"Sic transit gloria mundi,"* nor to moralize upon how power can go amok when grabbed by the wrong hands. It is just to proffer facts and conjectures about Chiang Ch'ing's meteoric rise to the empyrean of political power in China, her exploits there, and her Icarian plummeting from glory.

Indulgence in psycho-biography will be restrained. However, some speculation may be permissible about her motivations, the drives that rocketed her so high and caused her to fall so far.

A brief, tentative recital of her life before she arrived in Yenan in August 1937 seems in order. And this only insofar as it may help to understand why she became the person she became and did the things she did. It must be terse as the data are scant, contradictory.

She was born in March 1914 to impoverished parents, already abundantly blessed with many children. Her father worked off his hostilities by beating his wife and children. Not to put too fine a point on it, she had an unhappy childhood.

In 1929, aged fifteen, she studied modern drama at the Shantung Provincial Experimental Art Theater. In 1930 she joined an itinerant theatrical troupe that gave anti-Japanese propaganda plays in North China. In 1933 she joined the Chinese Communist Party and went to Shanghai. For the next four years she acted in proletarian and anti-Japanese dramas. In 1936 and 1937 she played in similar films. Throughout these years, though miserably paid, she did get better parts. Gossips said it was by a series of liaisons with directors and fellow-actors. Also, "while she was well-endowed physically, she was also well-endowed with sheer brass." (Rice, *Mao's Way*).



Apparently feeling she had reached a dead end in her film and stage career (and knowing that she was not esteemed by her fellow-Thespians) she left Shanghai. By a circuitous route she reached Yenan, Chinese Communist headquarters, in August 1937.

The director and the female star of a film company that had employed her in Shanghai were then in Yenan with the Yenan Motion Picture Group. She was not invited to join the Group. Through the influence of a fellow-provincial, she did get a job teaching drama at the Lu Hsun Academy of Art. This school trained propagandists and secret service agents.

One fine day Chairman Mao Tse-tung was to lecture at the Academy. Chiang Ch'ing came early and got a seat right in front of him. During his speech she clapped loudly and took notes frenetically. At its conclusion, she stood up and asked a question. Mao commended her for her diligence and attentiveness. It seems he noted that she was a comely young woman.

Those who knew her at that time have voiced different opinions about her attractiveness. But it seems generally agreed that, among the husky, rough, sunburned Amazons of the place, she stood out as a beauty. Moreover, she spoke mandarin Chinese and carried herself as though on stage.

After this first meeting, she went often to the Chairman's cave apartment to seek instruction on ideological problems. Later, she moved in with Mao to care for his archives and serve as personal secretary.

And so comradeship turned into love.

When Mao asked Party leaders to consent to his marrying Chiang Ch'ing the majority objected. But, when he threatened to "go back to my native village and be a farmer," they surrendered. That his inamorata was obviously pregnant may have influenced their decision. There was, however, one important condition: she must stay out of politics and remain in the background.

Some reports say that her political oblivion was to be for twenty years, others say for life. That she did, in fact, remain there for about twenty years may corroborate this

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account of her debarment from political participation.

Various explanations for opposition to the marriage may be cited. One was widespread sympathy for Ho Tzu-chen, Mao's third wife. Many knew her as a fellow-survivor of the Long March, as a veteran Communist, and as the mother of five of Mao's children. She appealed to Party leaders to prevent the proposed marriage.

Chiang Ch'ing may have been a heartbreaker, but she was no home wrecker. Mao and Ho Tzu-chen's marriage had ended before Chiang Ch'ing came to share his cave. After the nuptials in April 1939, Ho Tzu-chen was shipped off to Moscow, with a one-way ticket, to receive treatment for emotional and mental ailments.

In Yenan, the ratio of men to women was about eighteen to one. There was more permissiveness than puritanism. Still, given the possibly vestigial concepts of bourgeois morality and of an actress as the functional equivalent of a prostitute, Chiang Ch'ing's reputation was not of the best.

Another explanation of the Party seniors' aversion to Chiang Ch'ing as Chairman Mao's consort was their remembrance of things not long past. An ambitious woman had been a calamity for China not just in ancient times but in the lifetime of many Party chieftains. The Empress Dowager, Tzu Hsi (1834-1908), had usurped and misused power, thus contributing much to China's misfortunes at home and humiliations from abroad. When the hoped-for day came that the Communist Party would rule China, Mao might become, in effect, the emperor. Then, Chiang Ch'ing, whose ambition was evident, might exercise power as his empress.

In this regard, Chiang Ch'ing in telling the story of her life to Professor Roxane Witke, philosophized: ". . . (S)ex is engaging in the first rounds, but what sustains interest in the long run is power." (Witke, *Comrade Chiang Ch'ing*)

A probable reason for Party objection to the marriage—and for her long isolation from political activity—was the troubling question whether she had been continuously, supremely faithful to the Party over the years. There were reports that she had not been. "Long after she left Shanghai . . . she could not rid her mind of the personal enemies she had made there, for many had resurfaced in Yenan." (Witke)

Determined to end doubts about her political past, she went before Politburo members to make everything perfectly clear. But her past remained unclarified, even after her marriage to the Chairman. So she again sought to defend herself in another hearing before the Party leaders. This second appearance also failed to achieve her goal. Once more she presented herself at Party headquarters to vindicate herself. Whether she succeeded is not clear.

> "So, finally, Chiang Ch'ing was to come out of the wings to front and center of the stage—there to luxuriate in national recognition and political power."

She suspected that Chou Yang, head of cultural affairs for the Party since the mid-1930s, was chiefly responsible for spreading rumors about her counter-revolutionary activities and Trotskyite leanings. Among other likely detractors were former associates in the left-wing world of Shanghai who had come to Yenan. However, their tales about her life in Shanghai may have dealt more with her agility in springing from bed to bed—in the interests of her career—than with her political purity.

Along with her frustration at being sent to political Coventry was being outshone, put down and upstaged by the wives of some Party leaders. This humiliation and rancor incited her to seek recognition for herself and to wreak vengeance upon her adversaries.

Among these redoubtable women three may be noted: (1) the wife of Chu Teh ("Father of the Red Army"), who had been a guerrilla chieftain, a Long March veteran, and political commissar in the Red Army; (2) the wife of Li Fu-ch'un (later a vice-premier in Peking), who had been trained in Moscow and headed all women's organizations in Communist China; and (3) the wife of the late Premier Chou En-lai, who had made the Long March and was vice-chairperson of the All-China Federation of Democratic Women.

Encompassed about by such distinguished female revolutionaries, Chiang Ch'ing—with her unimpressive, even dubious background—might well have felt overshadowed, inferior. But she would bide her time and one day avenge herself.

After the Chinese People's Republic was proclaimed in Peking on October 1, 1949, Chairman and Madame Mao took up residence in the *Nanchunghai,* once the preserve of the imperial court but now that of Party personages. But, as ever, kept in the background, Chiang Ch'ing found her days empty and dull. She was a spectator, not an actress in the political drama. Other wives of Party leaders accompanied their husbands on triumphal tours of China or state visits abroad. Beautiful, well-educated Wang Kuang-mei went with her spouse, Liu Shao-ch'i, the Chairman of the Republic, on a state visit to Indonesia.

But Chiang Ch'ing went nowhere. For one who craved the limelight she felt grossly miscast in the role of sit-by-the-fire Cinderella. Her envy of fortunate wives and her vengeful bitterness toward them and all those responsible for putting her in limbo festered.

The Chinese Communists had found literature and the performing arts effective political weapons in their fight for power; they realized these media would be no less useful in the consolidation of their control. Films and plays are especially potent as they reach a much larger number of people (many illiterate), and much oftener, than does literature. The "revolutionary opera" (ballet, in many cases) is outstanding.

With her years of experience in the proletarian theater, Chiang Ch'ing had long striven to revolutionize Peking opera. Resplendent in elaborate costumes, emperors,

generals, beautiful women and scholar-officials trod the boards. Contending that the stage is a school, she urged that it should inculcate the politico-social values of a socialist today, not those of an imperial yesterday. All the arts should serve the cause of revolution; there should be no art for art's sake and personal expression.

In Peking, as in Yenan, she sought to implement this concept—but with indifferent success. Top people in the Party, especially in the Ministry of Culture, slyly thwarted her efforts. Possibly in the hope of directing her concerns from the opera to films, she was made a member of the Motion Picture Guidance Committee of the Ministry of Culture. But this did not deflect her from her determination to reform the classic opera. Chou Yang, her superior, remarked: "When Comrade Chiang Ch'ing is present, work becomes difficult."

A prologue to the super-colossal drama of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution (in which she was at long last to find stardom) was increasingly bitter conflict between Mao and Liu Shao-ch'i over the future course of the Revolution. Simplistically, one might say that Mao and his allies were more concerned about doctrinal orthodoxy ("The Thought of Mao Tse-tung") and in "uninterrupted revolution" than in raising production and living standards. Liu and Party Secretary-General Teng Hsiao-p'ing (Number 3 in the Party) stressed economic growth and political stability. Mao's insistence on making revolution disrupted production and brought political disarray. Pragmatic Teng said: "What does it matter if the cat is black or white as long as it catches mice."

Fearful that revolutionary *elan* and mission would be lost if the "capitalist-roaders" remained in power, Mao resolved to fight back to control of the Party and State which he had relinquished in 1959, when he retired to the "second line" and left to Liu and Teng the administration of the Party and government. In his battle in the Cultural Revolution to regain power, Mao needed all the help he could get. He turned to Lin Piao, commander-in-chief of the armed forces, for assistance on the military front and to his wife for help on the propaganda-cultural front.

So, finally, Chiang Ch'ing was to come out of the wings to front and center of the stage—there to luxuriate in national recognition and political power and to revenge herself on those who had so long demeaned her.

Publicly supporting her demands for reform of traditional opera, Mao complained in November 1963: "The Ministry of Culture is the ministry of emperors, kings, commanders-in-chief, prime ministers, talented men, beautiful women, foreigners and dead people."

Armed with the Chairman's invincible sword, Chiang Ch'ing lunged forward in her crusade to redo the performing arts. "The Red Detachment of Women" and "The Red Lantern" were among several operas on modern themes that were presented in 1963 and 1964. A "Festival of Peking Operas on Contemporary Themes" was held in June-July 1964.

Unheralded until the Festival, Chiang Ch'ing made her debut there. She gave a long speech. To her intense indignation her discourse was singled out for non-publication. Not until mid-1967 in the Party journal, *Red Flag (Hung Ch'i)* was it published. Sabotaged by conniving colleagues, she was criticized by high Party officials for her operatic innovations. Teng Hsiao-p'ing said: "Some people try to gain publicity for themselves just by criticizing and repudiating others. They step on the shoulders of others just in order to mount the stage."

As the Mao-Liu policy conflict rose in hostility so did Chiang Ch'ing's political fortunes. In the Cultural Revolution and the Red Guard movement, she became one with the Mao-Lin-Chiang triumvirate.

A "Cultural Revolutionary Group" to disseminate propaganda and manipulate the young revolutionaries was set up. Chiang Ch'ing dominated the Group, although nominally one of two vice-chairpersons. She electrified a monster rally of revolutionary students and teachers on August 16, 1966, when she opened proceedings with "I have been asked by Chairman Mao to send you his regards."

In late 1966 Lin Piao appointed her supreme adviser on cultural affairs for the armed forces and ordered that all documents in this field be sent to her. Her new office reflected Mao's effort to expand his authority over the People's Liberation Army.

She acquired enormous power over books, newspapers, magazines, films, operas and painting. As the cultural-propaganda tsarina, through her minions, she terrorized those in this field.

In the latter months of 1966 Mao received some eleven million Red Guards, from all over China, at the *T'ien An Men* Plaza. Along with Mao and Lin Piao, Chiang Ch'ing—from the eminence of the Gate of Heavenly Peace—gazed down upon the hundreds of thousands of frenzied young, who, cheering and weeping, marched in review before their demi-god.

At Red Guard rallies, Mme. Mao's histrionic abilities and ambitions were given full play. She showed a great flair for exciting the young rebels to fury and violence against her and Mao's foes. She incited them to seize Chairman Liu's wife and drag her to Tsinghua University for various humiliations, including a public "trial." The Red Guards also insulted the wife of Chu Teh, accusing her of bourgeois corruption and frivolous depravity and forced her into the street for a "trial." At Chiang Ch'ing's instigation and at Red Guards' hands, many senior officials of the Party and State suffered public insults and "trials" and the ransacking, looting and wrecking of their homes.

For Chiang Ch'ing, the patron goddess of the Red Guards, her day had come. And for her long-hated enemies, it had come, too. It was the "day of wrath."

As the Cultural Revolution developed into virtual civil war, the leadership of the Party and the government was riven from top to bottom. High government officials, veteran Party leaders, low-level cadres—in enormous numbers—were dismissed, disgraced, vilified. Among those cast into outer darkness were the second and third ranking officers of the Party: Liu and Teng.

Premier Chou En-lai, who over

the decades had shown consummate ability to get along with Mao, discreetly sought to curb the excesses of the Cultural Revolution, to bring order out of the chaos that was ruining the country's production and damaging China's reputation abroad. But Chiang Ch'ing egged on the Red Guards to continued revolution and violence. "As revolutionary masses, you should take up arms to defend yourselves. Don't be naive. Don't lay down your weapons when your enemies use pistols, rifles, spears and big swords against you." Such was her battle cry on July 22, 1967.

By early 1968, with PLA support, Premier Chou had achieved a measure of stability, a circumstance that provoked Chiang Ch'ing to mount an ill-concealed campaign against the premier. Her offensive had scant result till the summer of 1968, when she managed a renewal of Red Guard turmoil.

Notwithstanding the premier's impressive experience and finesse in foreign affairs, she challenged him in this field. She objected to his moving China toward resumption of diplomatic relations with the world (severed in the Cultural Revolution) and, above all, toward *détente* with the United States.

At the National Party Congress of April 1969 Lin Piao officially declared the Cultural Revolution had ended in a "great victory"—that is, for Mao and his comrades-in-arms.

So, with the advent of the 1970s, the Cultural Revolution was over and the Red Guards gone—many, under duress, to bleak reclamation projects in the arid Northwest. Ideology was no longer supreme. Politics were no longer in command. Technology and expertise were now esteemed. Chiang Ch'ing continued to be listed among Party greats. But she was increasingly not the power which once she was. There was a steady erosion of her influence as her status in the Party declined.

In 1974, when stricken Premier Chou could no longer carry out his exacting duties, he was ably replaced as acting premier by Teng Hsiao-p'ing. Chou had "rehabilitated" Teng after the latter's years in political disgrace, restored him to high office, and groomed him to be his successor. That Teng, in whose downfall Chiang Ch'ing had played her part, had now been "born again" must have been for her a case of incredible miscasting and ominous possibilities.

> "It was at this most critical moment that the Political Bureau took decisive action, smashed with one stroke the plot of the 'Gang of Four' to usurp Party and State power, and thus fulfilled Chairman Mao's unfulfilled wish to settle the question of the 'Gang of Four.' "

Chou died January 9, 1976. On January 15, Teng delivered the eulogy at the state funeral. Immediately thereafter he disappeared from public view and official life—to the amazement of the Chinese people and the confoundment of "China-watchers."

In following months, Chiang Ch'ing and her extremist cohorts, aided by their allies in the propaganda *apparat,* launched a nation-wide denunciation of Teng as the "foremost capitalist roader" in the Party.

In early April 1976 riots erupted before the Gate of Heavenly Peace. Those demonstrating their esteem for the late Premier Chou and his moderate policies (and thus, by implication, for Teng), as well as their hostility toward Chiang Ch'ing and her cabal, clashed with those supporting the latter faction. Massive pro-Chou demonstrations took place in other cities of China. Mao, apparently alarmed at this burgeoning movement, forthwith dismissed Teng from all posts and appointed Hua Kuo-feng in his place.

Although high in party circles and in the government (notably for his ability in agriculture), the new premier was relatively unknown. His political orientation was obscure. He seemed to be a compromise between the moderates and the radicals, whose rivalry could not be resolved at that time.

In the coming struggle for power, the radicals, led by Chiang Ch'ing, seemed the weaker faction. While well established in headquarters in Peking and in their Shanghai stronghold, they lacked a power base in the provinces. They had support from lower-ranking army officers and bureaucrats in Party and government, teachers and students. They had a hold on the media and the propaganda apparatus, whcih would be crucial in seeking to represent themselves as the inheritors and continuers of Mao's revolutionary mission.

On the other hand, the moderates (essentially the followers of the late premier) held top posts in the Party, the government and, very significantly, in the military establishment. The PLA, which had eventually been called upon to put down the rampaging Red Guards, wished to see China strong economically and militarily —not weakened by the destructive disorders of "uninterrupted revolution."

The death of Chairman Mao on September 9, 1976, came as no surprise. Both he and others had expected it for some time. The inevitable succession crisis may have begun some years before. The Cultural Revolution may well have been a prelude to it. The demise of Premier Chou had brought the crisis nearer, for he had been a conciliatory, balancing force in factional strife. It was once thought that, if he outlived Mao, he would facilitate an orderly transfer of power.

So, when the Great Leader completed his earthly pilgrimage and set out on the Long March to the Great Beyond, it seemed a decisive

*(Continued on page 39)*

# What the Hell Am I Doing Here?

JOHN ST. DENIS

At no other time in the State Department's history, including the era of the legendary Wilbur Carr, has the Department been faced with the challenge and opportunity in consular affairs that it faces today. After years of lethargy, Congress has taken an interest in consular affairs and in consular services for American citizens overseas. This interest is timely since the present immigration law has become so loopholed over the past 26 years that it is neither enforced nor enforceable.

With the breakdown of the immigration system, the nation no longer has control of who enters the country nor knowledge of when, where, or how many enter illegally. The present administration's response to the handling of perhaps 12 million illegal aliens has been to redesignate them as "undocumented aliens," evidently in the hope that, if somehow they can be documented and given a softer sounding name, the problem will disappear.

In the midst of this congressional interest, legislative apathy, bureaucratic maze, and administrative euphemism, the president has indicated that he wishes to reorganize the nation's border and immigration control by transferring the visa function to the Immigration and Naturalization Service, thereby effectively removing the heart of consular work. On June 30, the president made several decisions concerning the reorganization recommended by the director of the Reorganization Project Staff and the Departments of Treasury and Justice. In a memo of July 19, the president instructed the secretaries of state and treasury, the attorney general, and the director of OMB: "I hereby direct each of you to provide support and assistance to my Reorganization Project and to have your organizations develop supporting materials and implementation plans . . . so that, by December 1978, all necessary consultations will have been completed . . . and related documents will have been submitted to me." [INS Commission's Communique, July 21, 1978.] It may be noteworthy that the president made his decision based on the recommendations of the director of the Reorganization Project Staff and the Departments of Justice and Treasury, even though the visa function falls within the purview of foreign policy and the Department of State.

While the problems of the silent invasion of millions of illegal immigrants, foreign visitor control, and border security of the United States are far larger than any one department or agency, the basic flaw in the visa issuing system lies squarely with that agency and those people whose function it is to issue visas: The Department of State and consular officers assigned to visa work.

The department's response to media criticism of consular services, congressional interest in consular activities, and the myriad complaints of consular callousness in implementing the visa system has become defensive and reactive. In reply to congressional letters of inquiry or complaint the department's response is too often to send directives that complicate the visa issuance system even further. The department's defensive reaction has evolved into vertical communication—the hallmark of over-management.

A result of this evolution among consular officers is a growing discontent with consular work that comes from a double frustration. The frustration is both work-oriented and career-oriented.

The work-oriented frustration stems from the consular officer's

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inability to apply the Immigration and Nationality Act of 1952 (INA) as it was written and amended. The consular officer is frequently unable to apply the law for many reasons, among which are political considerations, local foreign policy goals, congressional interest, and departmental instructions. The oft-used justification of these circumventions is "the intent of Congress," a bureaucratic euphemism which translates as "Congress and special interest groups are putting pressure on us. We are not going to jeopardize next year's budget hearing, and we don't want a court fight, so let's get on with it!" The intent of Congress in 1952 was so far removed from the immigration and consular problems we face today that we may as well look for guidance to the immigration policy of William the Conqueror.

A recent case illustrates the use of the INA to circumvent the intent of that law. The wife of an American soldier was issued an immigrant visa as the spouse of a US citizen in Honolulu on April 28, 1978. She was expeditiously naturalized as a US citizen in Honolulu on May 10, 1978 (twelve days later). On May 24, 1978 (26 days after receiving her own visa as an immigrant), she was back in her native land to file a petition for her brother to immigrate to the United States as the brother of a US citizen. There was nothing done that was not allowed by the INA, but it is highly doubtful that such a procedure was what Congress intended when it promulgated the law.

The INA of 1952 was a product of the aftermath of World War II and was an attempt to control post-war immigration, to reunite families that had been separated by the war, and to settle displaced persons. In light of today's problems, the INA is neither relevant, enforced, nor enforceable. The INA is still in effect because of the influence of private interest groups maintaining pressure on Congress to preserve the status quo, and because a reluctant Congress is unwilling to face up to the realities of the fourth quarter of the 20th century.

In the application of "the INA of 1952, as amended" the consular officer must face, continually, the maneuvering of the visa applicant who intends to get around the law and the immigration lawyer who makes a living getting into the United States those persons whom the INA and the consular officer have excluded. The department gives the consular officer guidance and directives and recognizes that the burden of proving eligibility for a visa rests with the applicant for the visa, rather than for the consular officer to prove that the applicant is ineligible. The department is honestly and sincerely aware of the consular officer's problem, but the department has been, and continues to be, unable to come to grips with the reality of the total situation: that the present immigration law of the US is neither obeyed nor relevant to the existing situation, nor does today's law respond to the circumstances Congress tried to rectify in 1952.

"To issue a visa to a student from Country A to study nuclear physics when Country A has none of the infrastructure that is necessary to support a nuclear physics program does not make common sense."

It is both safe and accurate to say that the immigration system of the United States has broken down and is no longer a viable system. The proof of this is that, while we know there is an army of illegal immigrants in the United States, no one, neither the states nor the federal government nor INS nor the department, is certain of the count. Estimates vary from three to 12 million.

The reality of the situation is that many non-US citizens are residing permanently in the United States without the approval or even the knowledge of the government. Many more are coming on a daily basis to reside permanently, again without the knowledge of the government. If this situation *is* a realistic, valid problem for the United States, the government has the obligation to do something to counter the problem and prevent its future recurrence since it is in violation of federal law. If it *is not* a problem, then the government should so state, inform visa issuing officers abroad, and let them and the government at home get on with other work. But the present government position of indecision based firmly on ignorance and the government's refusal to determine either the extent of the problem or its future ramifications are both poor policy and bad management. Transferring the visa function from State to Justice and Treasury is not the answer. That will merely transfer the problem from one agency to two other agencies, thus increasing the bureaucratic maze.

A brief look at a recent directive may illustrate the plight of the visa-issuing consular officer trying to cope with the law and simultaneously trying to respond to department guidance. The following is quoted from the Department's General Discussion of Adjudication of NIV [Non-Immigrant Visa] Applications" [State 051973 of 1978].

The Dept has noted an increasing trend among consular officers to link refusals of student visas to poor prospects in the job market in the applicant's home countries (sic) for the skills they would acquire through their studies in the US. While the Dept recognizes that limited employment opportunities for university graduates is (sic) an accurate assessment of the labor markets in many third world nations, this is again the kind of generalization which, (sic) can not appropriately be cited under the Immigration and Nationality Act as a basis for refusal of an individual student application. The utility of education or acquired skills to future employment prospects is certainly a relevant factor to be weighed in determining whether an applicant has a residence abroad he has no intention of abandoning. However, the lack of utility of the proposed training would be an inadequate reason in itself to justify an NIV refusal. The consular officer's judgment of an individual applicant's intention in the light of all the circumstances of his case at the time of his application must be the bottom-line basis under law in determining whether an applicant has overcome the presumption of intending immigrant.

It also appears to the Dept that student visa refusals are sometimes based

on consular officer's (sic) decisions that an applicant has no need to study in the United States because similar training or education is available in the applicant's home country. Here again, the Dept is concerned that such a rationale too easily overlooks legitimate factors that may be motivating an applicant to apply for a US student visa. Applicants may have deliberately chosen to be educated in the United States because they consider the training or education to be of higher quality. Sometimes training in their homeland is only theoretically available in that openings in schools may be filled or reserved for others.

. . . It is the Dept's view that our visa laws can be equitably administered through consular officers adopting a sensitive, flexible approach in which they give careful consideration to the applicant's education background and aspirations.

Since the immigration law prohibits the issuance of a student visa to any student who is an intending immigrant or to one who has *not overcome the presumption* that he is an intending immigrant, the obvious purpose of a student visa is to enable a foreign student to come to America, learn a skill, and return to his home country. The purpose of a student visa is thus not just to provide an American education to a foreign student, and certainly not to provide a means for the United States to acquire foreign specialists.

The acquisition of an American education is a legitimate benefit and a valid goal for the foreign student but the primary purpose of the student visa is to assist or improve the intellectual, technical or educational environment of the student's homeland by virtue of his or her American education. The United States does not need Indian doctors nor Iranian agriculturists nor Nigerian engineers nor Latin American public health specialists. India, Iran, Nigeria, and Latin America do need them, and, in some areas, badly. The United States should be, and is, willing and able to help those countries develop their own experts. The improvement of the student is not to be denied, but it should be a secondary aspect, not the primary goal.

To issue a student visa to a student who has no reasonable likelihood nor expectation of using his American-acquired expertise in his own land defies what should be the purpose for the student visa program. To issue a visa to a student from Country A to study nuclear physics when Country A has none of the infrastructure that is necessary to support a nuclear physics program does not make common sense. To give the student a visa to study medicine, public health, education, agriculture, or public administration makes eminently good sense and should be done. The question is not the issuing of a student visa to a particular student, but does the issuance of a visa to that student for a particular course of study support the goal of the student visa program? INS figures show the rate of return for foreign students is about 35 percent. Although not all students remain in the US for the same reasons, it is safe to say that a program with a 65 percent rate of failure is in need of some rethinking and redesign.

"Does the department earmark these principal officer positions at posts where political activity is so bland that 'even a consular officer should be able to handle it?' "

These frustrations in applying the INA and the department's directives for his use in applying the INA are at the root of the consular officer's frequently asked question, "What the hell am I doing?"

The consular officer's career-oriented frustration is the frustration of living with, but being unable to accept gracefully, the concept that, while consular work is one of the two foreign service functions specifically directed by Congress, it is considered to be of secondary importance by many department and foreign service officers. Notwithstanding the department's periodic massaging of the consular function, the department's assignment and promotion policies, career development, and the "substantive work" syndrome create in the consular officer's mind the conviction that he or she is destined to be a career "also ran."

When the founding fathers established diplomatic relations for the newly formed republic, the protection and welfare of American citizens abroad were two of their overriding concerns. They are as important today as they were in the days of the Barbary Coast pirates. Despite these historical antecedents, many American embassies today place the consular section in the role of the embassy's step-child, and many foreign service officers abroad can find neither the time nor concern for the weekend call for help from a distraught, confused, or incarcerated American citizen overseas.

The State Department operates under a strange double standard of officer growth and development. As a political or economic officer advances in rank and experience it is assumed that his knowledge of foreign policy grows proportionately. When the officer is appointed to counselor of embassy or DCM rank, it is also assumed that, while he may not be technically conversant with all of the fine points of consular work, he or she does have the experience to evaluate embassy consular problems. Embassy consular telegrams periodically require clearance by the political or econ/commerical officer and always by the DCM, which is as it should be. The same is not true, however, of the consular officer whose rank and experience have earned him the position of consul general. He is neither a party to political or economic discussions, nor would he be asked his view on a political cable. He frequently first learns of embassy political policy when he reads about it in the local newspaper. Despite the fact that he may have 20-25 years in foreign service and 20 of those years overseas, he is not considered sufficiently knowledgeable to be a party to foreign policy discussions.

Personnel assignments for the rising political or economic officer usually include a tour as a vice consul early in his career, during which

he issues visas while he plans his future in the political or economic cone. This early exposure to consular work justifies his policy pronouncements on consular work years later when he or she is in a position of authority in the embassy. Out-of-cone assignments for the consular officer, however, tend more to be a tour in personnel, perhaps in INR, or maybe in international organizations.

Educational tours for a political or economic officer cover a wide range of interdisciplinary subjects to increase his or her knowledge of the total spectrum of foreign relations. Educational tours for consular officers tend to be in international law, courses in psychology, or perhaps an introduction to sociology, all of which are good but are related to improving his capability to function as a consular officer rather than to increasing his ability to function as a foreign service officer in policy making or policy implementing positions when his rank and experience will qualify him for such an assignment.

The department's personnel office (PER) has advised that there are 33 principal officer positions designated for consular cone officers, of which 20 are filled (as of June 23, 1978) by consular officers. PER notes that the number of consular officers assigned to these 33 positions has risen over the years and should have reached 22 by September 1, 1978.

The question is not how many principal officer positions are reserved for consular officers nor how many are presently held by consular officers (although one does wonder, if 33 are "designated for consular cone officers," why are 13 of them filled by non-consular officers, and what were the numbers *before* they started to rise?). The more important question is why are some principal officer positions designated for consular cone officers at all? Does the department earmark these principal officer positions at posts where political activity is so bland that "even a consular officer should be able to handle it?" Does this policy imply that at the senior levels consular officers are less qualified for command responsibility than admin, econ/commercial, or political officers? The department's view is that these posts are designated on the preponderance of the type of work at the post. Where the work is primarily consular, the post is designated for a consular officer; where the work is primarily economic/commercial, the principal officer position is designated for econ/commercial officers. But this rationale simply does not hold up if one looks at past or present assignment patterns.

These figures appear to place the department firmly on the horns of a dilemma. Either the department discriminates against consular officers by officially judging them to be less competent than the other three cones in that they are qualified to be in charge of only 33 specific posts, or the department discriminates against consular officers by designating 33 principal officer positions as being reserved for consular officers and then assigns more than one-third of these positions to non-consular officers.

The State Department *Newsletter* of May 1978 announced the appointment of a career consular officer as an ambassador. The bureau of consular affairs has noted that the recent appointee "is the only consular officer in recent years who has been appointed as ambassador." The natural question this raises is "Why?" Are consular officers less qualified or less prepared to be ambassador than other career diplomats? A review of the "Appointments" page in past issues of the *Newsletter* would answer that question in the negative. Certainly a career consular officer with 22-28 years experience in the foreign service is as qualified to serve as ambassador as an art dealer from California, an oil man or an insurance executive from Texas, a labor leader from Michigan, or a cement salesman from Pennsylvania.

The appointment of an ambassador is the choice of the president of the United States. The president must be able to, and should, choose ambassadors from the private sector as well as from among career foreign service officers. Some of our most able ambassadors, with no experience in foreign affairs, have come from the private sector, and some of our more calamitous disasters have been career FSOs when they have reached the pinnacle of their careers. The point is that, when the president asks the department for recommendations for appointment of an ambassador to Country X and the department deems the post to be one that should or could be filled by a career foreign service officer, there is no legitimate reason why the names of some qualified consular officers could not also be considered if the department truly considers senior officers of all four cones as equal.

In the area of consular promotions, the Consular Officers' Association made a study of department promotions from 1973 to 1978. The association observed:

"1) In no year did consular chances for promotion exceed or even meet the average chance for officers in the group as a whole;

2) With only two exceptions (vs. E/C in 1975 and vs. POL in 1976), consular expectations were the *lowest* of *all* specialties in *every* year studied." [*The Consular Packet* No. 27, 13 April 1978]

The following table was made up from Department of State Requirement/Skill Inventory data as of March 31, 1978.

| FSO Grades | 1 | 2 | 3 | Total 1-3 | Total 1-8 | % of Total in Grades 1-3 |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Admin Required | 20 | 52 | 140 | 212 | 870 | 24.3 |
| Admin on Hand | 21 | 42 | 104 | 167 | 609 | 27.4 |
| Consular Required | 5 | 12 | 60 | 77 | 730 | 10.5 |
| Consular on Hand | 8 | 15 | 56 | 79 | 602 | 13.1 |
| Econ/Comm'l Required | 25 | 80 | 156 | 261 | 819 | 31.8 |
| Econ/Comm'l on Hand | 38 | 92 | 188 | 318 | 879 | 36.1 |
| Political Required | 38 | 69 | 221 | 328 | 984 | 33.3 |
| Political on Hand | 64 | 108 | 289 | 461 | 1,204 | 38.2 |

These figures indicate that a consular officer who wishes to make a career in consular work has a 10.5 percent chance of obtaining an assignment at the FSO 1-3 levels, while a political officer has a 33.3 percent chance for the same opportunity. The figures also justify the description of the consular cone as "a mound with a flag pole on top."

*(Continued on page 43)*



*The Potala*

# A VISIT TO LHASA, 1978

**CAROLINE SERVICE**

We flew into Lhasa airport over some of the highest mountains in the world; across the Yangtze, the Mekong, and the Salween, far below us in their deep parallel gorges; above the clouds and then down through a broken cloud cover into the valley of the Tsangpo (Brahmaputra) where we came to a gentle landing.

The plane was a jet-prop Ilyushin 18, and Lhasa airport is two long paved strips and a control tower. Later we found out that there is an airport terminal, but on our arrival we did not see it. We were a group of six, three foreigners, one who lives in Peking, and three Chinese. Waiting to meet us were several welcomers, including a doctor.

The flight from Chengtu had taken two and a half hours; the drive to Lhasa, on a good graveled road, took another two, with a stop beside the Kyi, or La Sa, river, a tributary of the Tsangpo, for a midmorning snack.

Jack and I were both struck by how much this part of Tibet resembles the American southwest. The same dry, weathered landscape with some irrigated cultivation; the same barren, windswept mountains with snowcaps to be seen here and there in the distance. The same bright clear sky. Even the Tibetans we saw, with their resemblance to southwest and Mexican Indians, lent credence to the illusion. Then the houses were of stone or adobe construction with flat roofs, and roof poles extending beyond the walls of the houses.

Arriving in Lhasa we were taken to the guest house in New Lhasa, not far from the Potala. Lhasa is two adjoining cities, Old and New Lhasa. Old Lhasa centers around the Jokang Monastery, the holiest shrine in Tibet. The monastery is maintained today as a museum, and a few monks still live there.

The Parkor, the wide circular street around the Jokang, has narrow alleyways radiating from it. It was in these Parkor "townhouses" (which is what they resemble) and along these alleyways that the Tibetan nobility used to live. They had country estates as well.

An interesting feature of Tibetan architecture is the windows which always narrow at the top. They are often framed with wide stripes of black paint, and they sometimes have heavy jutting cornices or occasionally a cloth valance on the outside of the window. Sometimes

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*Caroline Service is the wife of FSO-retired John S. Service. The Services have made three trips to China since 1971, lasting six weeks, three months and two months. Photographs by John S. Service.*



*Front of Potala*

a frieze of flowers will be painted across the top, and occasionally flowers in pots grace the painted window sills. Bright touches of paint are often added to the frames or sills. The effect is both pretty and fanciful. Old Lhasa has a new arts and crafts shop built in the old style and facing on Parkor Street not far from the Jokang. It is open to all who wish to buy things there.

New Lhasa, again reminiscent of our southwest, has wide, paved, tree-lined streets. Most of the trees in and around Lhasa are poplars and willows. The Lhasa guest house is a modern two-story building which can accommodate about thirty people. Several dining rooms are in a separate building and there are other small buildings for staff housing. The main building has a shop where one can buy various necessities and some mementos of Tibet. And there is a barbershop where I had my hair shampooed and blow-dried. All of this is in one complex which includes a large paved courtyard opening onto the main street. At a nearby department store I was able to buy the Tibetan aprons that all Tibetan women wear with their native dress. When we went shopping the people crowded round to see what we were buying more than to look at us. They were always friendly and smiling.

Our visit lasted from May 24 to June 2, nine days in all. Three of these days I was unfortunately hostel-bound with an unpleasant case of bronchitis. The ministrations of a Chinese doctor and a Chinese nurse vanquished whatever bug I had. I was given antibiotics by injection and a variety of pills by mouth, some of which were traditional medicine. And I used the oxygen tank in our room whenever I needed it. When we went out walking or in a car one of our companions always carried a tank of oxygen in case of need.



*Image at Drepung Monastery*

Fortunately, the bronchitis did not develop till after we had seen the Potala. This massive structure seems to spring right from the hill on which it is built, a forbidding, exotic white and red fortress with the central portion crowned with shining golden cupolas and domes. The Potala dominates Lhasa; and the name, we were told, means "Hill of the Gods." A Tibetan Olympus, except that the gods were men rather than myths.

We approached the Potala from the back, driving up a steep, switch-back road until we came to an entrance about halfway up the hill. From there we walked. This great building is now a museum. Its treasures are being preserved and, where necessary, repainting and carpentry work are being done. We saw works in progress and works completed.

Every inch of the interior walls is covered with paint, frescoes, silks and brocades. The pillars are often wrapped in silk brocades. The ceiling in the throne room is lined with silk, and on the floor are magnificent rugs. In rooms where ceilings are exposed the rafters are painted a bright cobalt blue, and the poles between a canary yellow. All this vibrant color can now be seen by rather dim electric light, but in the old days the only illumination was the light from endless flickering butter lamps. There was no electricity in Lhasa until the 1950s.

Gold and silver lamps still stand before many of the images. Some of the large images are encrusted with jewels. The tombs of the Dalai Lamas often rise through several stories—the golden canopies on the roof are the tops of such tombs. The connecting stairs between the floors are much like steep companionways on a ship, and a musty



*Gold roofs of Jokang Monastery*

odor clings to the rather airless rooms.

The present Potala dates from the late 17th century and was built by the Great Fifth, as that Dalai Lama is always referred to. But we were shown one small interior room which we were told dates back to the seventh century when Buddhism first entered Tibet from China. Some strands of Buddhism came from India and Nepal.

One room was in marked contrast to the overwhelming grandeur and wild splendor of the main rooms. This was a small room, perhaps three by four meters, which was the Dalai Lama's real, not his official, bedroom. It contained an iron bedstead painted yellow, with a silk coverlet and silk quilts folded at one end; a small dresser-washstand on which are two laughing Buddhas such as one can buy in Chinatown, and a clock. We looked at the clock and then looked closer. On it were the initials "S. T." (for Seth Thomas?) and "made in the United States of America." We laughed with surprise and pleasure.

The walls of this small bedroom are covered with yellow cloth which has three open flaps to show painted Buddhas on the walls. And there is one window giving a magnificient panoramic view out over Lhasa and the surrounding plain.

We have been asked many questions about Lhasa and Tibet. Nine days for us was a nine days' wonder, but answers, of necessity, must be somewhat tentative.

Are the people happy? Of course we do not know, but the average Tibetan, who used to be a feudal serf or slave, is certainly better off than before 1950. As in China proper there is free medical care, both western and traditional, for all. There are hospitals. A new one is being built. We visited a Tibetan Clinic which treats about 600 outpatients a day. We visited a factory which makes traditional medicine. Smallpox has been wiped out, as it has been throughout the world, and venereal disease, which used to be a scourge in Tibet, is now practically eliminated. The usual childhood diseases are controlled with inoculations. Women receive pre- and post-natal care. In some of the more remote districts this is probably fairly rudimentary, but Tibet, like China, has barefoot doctors.

Universal education is the goal today. We were told that about 70 per cent of the children are in school. Primary schools are taught in Tibetan or Chinese, but in middle school both languages are taught and used. English is introduced at the middle school level.

Tibet boasts four colleges; agriculture, medical, teachers, and nationalities for training cadres. About 2,000 Tibetans are studying in universities in China proper. In 1978 unified university examination papers were introduced into Tibet in line with those now being used in other parts of China.

What about industry in Tibet? is another question we are asked. Before 1950 it was of the cottage variety, plus some rug weaving and cloth weaving. Industry, as we know it, was almost non-existent. Today there are wood pulp and paper mills, match factories, cement plants, woolen textile mills, sugar beet refineries, and a small electric motor factory. Not much coal has been discovered but there is some iron ore. The number one power resource is hydro-electric.

We visited a carpet factory

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*Children at Norbulingka (Dalai Lama's former palace) on Children's Day (June 1)*

"We have learned that we cannot live alone, at peace; that our own well-being is dependent on the well-being of other nations, far away."—Franklin D. Roosevelt

# The United States and the Middle East: The Historical Background

HARRY N. HOWARD

### Basic Interests and Policies

As one of the Great World Powers, the United States has enduring interests in the Middle East. It is confronted with a wide range of problems in that much troubled region. These include the persistent Arab-Israeli conflict concerning Palestine, the Greco-Turkish controversy over the island of Cyprus, the tension between Iran and the Arab States of the Persian Gulf region, and the inter-Arab rivalries concerning position, influence, and ideologies, to say nothing of the problems which arise as a consequence of the expansion of Soviet influence in the Eastern Mediterranean and the Middle East. It is doubtful that any other part of the world, with the exceptions of Europe and Southeast Asia, has been of greater concern to American policy-makers since the end of World War II in 1945. The Middle East it would appear, contains more of the seeds of future world conflict than any other area.

The United States is interested in the Middle East as an intercontinental crossroads between Eurasia and Africa. It is interested in the maintenance of land, sea and air routes and the communications facilities of the area. It is also concerned with the orderly and equitable access to the vast oil resources in the Middle East and North Africa, with some 400 billion barrels of proved reserves, or about 70 percent of the free world's supply of oil. These resources are of vital significance to the economies of allies of the United States in Western Europe and the Far East. As the energy crisis deepened during the 1970s in the United States, Middle Eastern oil became of increasing concern, as was quickly demonstrated immediately after the October 1973 war between Israel and Egypt, Syria and Jordan. The United States is fundamentally concerned with the peace, security, welfare, and orderly development of all the Middle Eastern peoples.

The American people have been in touch with the Middle East for some 200 years, especially in the commercial-economic and the missionary-educational-philanthropic enterprises. Enduring American politico-strategic interests, however, date only from World War II, when President Roosevelt, four days prior to the Japanese attack on Pearl Habor, on December 3, 1941, declared the defense of Turkey and the Middle East vital to the defense of the United States. But military commitments came only after the end of World War II, in response to the threat of possible Soviet, or Russian, domination of the Middle East, where the USSR, too, had long-term and wide-ranging interests along the northern tier—Greece, Turkey and Iran—in the urge to the open sea. Russian interests in the Arab world have broadened and deepened since 1955. As President Nixon observed in February 1970, "the United States would view any effort by the Soviet Union to seek predominance in the Middle East as a matter of grave concern."

### Foundations of American Policy and Interest

The Middle East and its problems have been with us since the most ancient of days. The question of the Turkish Straits dates from the Trojan Wars (1194-1184 B.C.) and that of a possible canal at Suez from the sixth century. Even oil was not unknown in the ancient era, although it lacked its modern significance, when nations, as Lord Curzon once remarked, "float to empire on a sea of oil."

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*Harry N. Howard served in the Department of State and Foreign Service during 1942-1962. He was a technical expert at the San Francisco Conference and an adviser on various US Delegations at the UN, and was a member of US Delegations on the UN Balkan Commissions. He served as Acting US Representative on the UNRWA Advisory Commission, Beirut, (1956-62). Mr. Howard is the author of a number of books, including* The Partition of Turkey, 1913-23 *(1931; 1966);* The King-Crane Commission *(1963);* Turkey, the Straits and US Policy *(1974).*

While much has been written over the years on the "Eastern Question," and conflicts among the European Powers relative to the succession in the declining years of the Ottoman Empire, it is rather seldom noted in the standard histories that the American people and the United States developed an abiding concern with the Middle East, particularly in the 19th century. American merchantmen plied an uncertain, if profitable, trade in the Middle East as early as 1767, and Izmir figs appeared on the Boston market as early as 1785. The Continental Congress sought diplomatic recognition by the Sublime Porte in 1774. In 1792 the Washington administration signed a treaty with Morocco which recognized the independence of that country.

The United States fought a naval war with the Barbary States along the shores of North Africa during 1801-05. President Jefferson expressed the hope that there would always be an American naval squadron in the Mediterranean, and by 1816 a squadron was maintained in the Inland Sea, a forecast no doubt, of the later Sixth Fleet, which has been there since World War II. In 1826, Secretary of State Henry Clay proposed the training of a group of young men who would be proficient in the use of Eastern languages and decided to "put a midshipman or some other youth" under the care of the American consuls in Tunis, Tripoli, Algiers and Tangier to study Turkish, Arabic and other languages. This project, perhaps, foreshadowed establishment of the Foreign Service Institute and its field schools!

The first American religious mission was established by the American Board for Foreign Missions in 1820. While these "premillennial Christians" did not convert many Muslims or Jews, and finally worked among the "nominal Christians" in Istanbul, Beirut, Damascus and Jerusalem, they began the work which culminated in the establishment of Robert College (1863), now Bosphorus University, the Istanbul Women's College (1871), the Syrian Protestant College (1866), or the American University of Beirut, and the American University in Cairo (1919) to say nothing of other institutions. It would be difficult, indeed, to measure the beneficent influences radiating from these institutions of higher learning.

Commodore William Bainbridge took the first American warship into Istanbul—bearing tribute—on November 9, 1802. An American consul was assigned to Izmir in 1802, but he was not officially recognized. An American trading house was established in 1811. But it was not until May 7, 1830 (ratified 1831), after ten years of negotiations, that the first American-Ottoman treaty of commerce and amity was signed. A new treaty was signed in 1862, during the American civil war, and in 1871 the United States enunciated the principle that the Sublime Porte had no legal right to close the Straits, even to American warships, while the Porte was at peace, and refused to recognize the Ottoman right *de jure* to do so, although it made no special issue of the principle. Meanwhile, treaties were signed with the Sultan of Musqat (1833; ratified 1835), and the Shah of Persia (1856; ratified 1857).

"The establishment of Eretz Israel on May 15, 1948 with American recognition following within nine minutes, and the ensuing conflict intensified the Arab-Israeli problem, and there were grave fears as to the future."

The commercial-economic interests of the United States in the Middle East remained largely aspirational until the advent of the World War II in 1939, and there were few recognizable politico-strategic interests. Nevertheless, it was two American ship builders, Henry Eckford and Foster Rhodes, who practically rebuilt the Ottoman navy in the early 1830s, after the disastrous Battle of Navarino (1827). Moreover a group of former Confederate and Union officers, with the full approval of General Sherman, anxious to refurbish their military reputations and their pocketbooks, supervised the modernization of the Egyptian armed services, carried out extensive engineering surveys, prepared detailed maps, and projected construction of a dam at Aswan during 1870-83. These almost forgotten episodes, in a way, constitute the first American naval and military assistance programs in the Middle East, anticipating the official assistance programs after World War II, when the Middle East had moved from the periphery toward a more active center of American concern and interest.

### Political Interests During World War I and After

Although there was little political interest, there was concern at times as to Russian imperial moves toward the Turkish Straits, much misunderstanding as to Russia's urge toward the open sea, some involvement in the American problem especially after 1890, and interest in the struggles of the Greeks, the Rumanians and the Balkan Slavs against the Ottoman Empire. The United States was not particularly concerned with the Middle East during World War I, did not declare war on the Ottoman Empire as an ally of Germany and Austria-Hungary, although it did break relations, and had no troops in the area. It was interested in the peace and security of the region. President Wilson, in his Fourteen Points Address of January 8, 1919, called for Turkish sovereignty in the Anatolian homelands, "unmolested opportunity of autonomous development" for other nationalities then under Ottoman rule, and permanent opening of the Turkish Straits "as a free passage of commerce to the ships of commerce of all nations under international guarantees."

President Wilson sought to develop a viable program for peace in the Middle East at the Paris Peace Conference. He not only fostered the mandate system, but sent the King-Crane Commission (May-August 1919) to investigate conditions in the Middle East and to report and recommend concerning the conditions of peace. The King-Crane Commission recommended a general American mandate, including mandates over the

region of the Straits and Armenia. In the end, however, none of this program, which was highly critical of French claims in Syria and opposed to the extreme Zionist ambitions in Palestine, worked out. The United States took no part in the negotiations of the Treaty of Sevres (1920), rejected any responsibility in the Middle East, and sent only observers to the Lausanne Conference of November 1922-July 1923.

During the interwar period of 1919-1939, the United States occupied itself with the rights and properties of American citizens, freedom of opportunity for American business under the principle of the "open door," maintenance of the capitulatory regime, the missionary-educational-philanthropic enterprise, and archaeological research. While there was an interest in freedom of the Straits—even for Soviet Russia—the United States rejected participation in the International Commission of the Straits under the League of Nations, and did not ratify the American-Turkish treaty of August 6, 1923. It did not participate in the Conference at Montreux (June-July 1936) for revision of the Lausanne Straits Convention, since its only professed interest lay in the maintenance of the principle of commercial freedom—a position, incidentally, somewhat regretted ten years later in the immediate post-World War II era when the USSR essentially sought control of the Straits. While the Congress approved a resolution in 1922 relative to a Jewish "homeland" in Palestine and endorsed the British mandate, the primary interest even in this matter lay largely in the preservation of the rights and properties of American citizens, as stated on October 14, 1938 and reiterated by Secretary of State Hull on the occasion of the twenty-fifth anniversary of the Balfour Declaration (October 31, 1942).

### The Impact of World War II

The enduring politico-strategic interest in the Middle East, ultimately involving military commitments, dates from World War II. During the war Turkey pursued a cautious policy as a nonbelligerent ally of the United Kingdom and France (October 19, 1939), with neutral status. President Roosevelt stated the basic principle, in extending lend-lease assistance to Turkey, when he declared the defense of Turkey "vital to the defense of the United States"—a principle extended to Iran on March 10, 1942. On March 16, 1944, the President declared that the United States had "a vital interest in the Middle East," the peace and security of which were of "significance to the word as a whole." But despite the deployment of American forces to protect supply lines to the USSR and of American forces in the later stages of the North African campaign in 1943, it was quite evident that the Middle East was of secondary importance to the United States as a military theater, as compared with Western Europe, where Operation Overlord was clearly to be the major operation against Nazi Germany. At Casablanca in January 1943 it was agreed that the United Kingdom would "play the cards" in the Middle East. It is obvious from the conferences at Quebec, Moscow, Teheran and Cairo in 1943 that the United States did not favor Turkish entrance into the "shooting war." It is also doubtful that the United Kingdom did so either, whatever the propaganda and the pressures to the contrary at very critical moments during the great conflict. There were no concerted plans for a Balkan campaign, and neither troops nor supplies were to be diverted from Operation Overlord.

> "It was well noted that, while Israel had no alliance with the United States—like Greece and Turkey under NATO—it was the only state in the world which had an alliance with the American Congress."

### The Postwar Rivalries

President Truman was confronted with very serious Middle Eastern problems from the outset of his administration, primarily because of the continuing threat along the northern tier of Greece, Turkey and Iran, and also because of the Palestine question, the dangerous implications of which were already becoming evident, although he seems to have had little understanding of the historical backgrounds or the implications for the future. The USSR had set forth its position concerning the Middle East during the Molotov visit to Berlin in November 1940. As a price for possible entry into the Axis, the USSR had demanded a new regime for the Turkish Straits, with bases in the area and provisions for joint defense, and had declared that the center of gravity of Soviet policy and interest lay south of Baku and Batum, in the general direction of the Persian Gulf. The Soviet position did not change with the end of the war, and the United States stood by Turkey, as well as Greece and Iran during the critical postwar years. No political or military commitments were involved in the agreements to assist Greece and Turkey until the two became allies of the United States under the North Atlantic Treaty Organization on February 18, 1952.

The United States was, of course, heavily involved in the developments which led to the partition of Palestine under the Resolution of the UN General Assembly of November 29, 1947. President Truman has testified as to the severe and incessant pressures which American Zionists employed against him. He was determined to avoid the use of American forces to implement the November 29 resolution, and tried to backtrack temporarily into trusteeship in March 1948. Secretary of State Acheson did not share the Truman views as to the establishment of a Jewish state in Palestine and neither did Secretary of State George C. Marshall. The establishment of Eretz Israel on May 15, 1948, with American recognition following within nine minutes, and the ensuing conflict intensified the Arab-Israeli problem, and there were grave fears as to the future. In response to this highly complicated series of problems and their potentialities for trouble, France, the United Kingdom and the United States, in the Tripartite Declara-

tion of May 25, 1950, in the interest of avoiding an arms race in the Middle East, recognized that both Israel and the Arab States needed to maintain their armed forces at a certain level to assure internal security and legitimate self-defense, and to permit them to play a role in regional defense. The three powers declared their interest in promoting the peace of the area and agreed to act, within or outside the United Nations, to prevent trouble. But the Declaration was soon violated by Israel and France and became invalid in the Suez conflict of 1956, although the United States still considered it valid.

### The Development of American Policy

There were few basic changes in American policy in the Middle East in the years which followed World War II. The United States originally endorsed establishment of the Arab League (March 22, 1945). During 1951-1952, it promoted establishment of a Middle East Command, or Middle East Defense Organization (MEDO), as a regional security arrangement in the area. The United States was, of course, much concerned with the developments which led to the Suez conflict during October-November 1956, and especially with the problem of transit and navigation in the Suez Canal, following the Egyptian nationalization of the Suez Canal Company in July 1956. At the outset of the Suez conflict, Secretary of State Dulles declared that the United States did not intend to shoot its way through the Canal and sought only a peaceful solution of the problem. He roundly condemned the Israeli-Anglo-French attack on Egypt, planned and plotted at Villacubray on October 23-24, 1956, and called upon Israel to evacuate occupied Arab territory, duly observing that aggression could not be rewarded. Claims to the contrary notwithstanding, in an aide memoire of February 11, 1957 given to Ambassador Eban, Secretary Dulles indicated that, while the United States regarded the Straits of Tiran as comprehending international waters, it was prepared to exercise the right of passage only on behalf of vessels of American registry. President Eisenhower enunciated the so-called Eisenhower Doctrine, modeled on the Truman Doctrine, on March 9, 1957. The United States entered into bilateral agreements with Pakistan, Iran and Iraq under the provisions of the Doctrine, although it did not adhere officially to the Baghdad Pact, or Central Treaty Organization. The NATO obligations with Greece and Turkey and the bilateral arrangements noted above constitute the only formal agreements which stipulate specifically the possible commitment of American forces in the Middle East.

Neither the Kennedy nor the Johnson Administration made any basic changes in the publicly stated American policy or commitments of the United States, although there was much pressure and propaganda at times to bring about a special security arrangement between the United States and Israel. These pressures were resisted, but it was well noted that, while Israel had no alliance with the United States—like Greece and Turkey under NATO—it was the only state in the world which had an alliance with the American Congress, as one seasoned American diplomat, with long experience in the Middle East, once reminded the writer.

In addition to the Palestine issue, President Johnson was confronted with the problem of Cyprus, over which Greece and Turkey had contended for years, despite their association as allies in NATO. The problem seemed insoluble, for four-fifths of the population of 645,000 were of Greek ethnic origin, while the island was only forty miles off the Turkish coast. The United States was heavily involved in attempts to solve the problem, which threatened war in the spring and summer of 1964. In July 1974, Turkey landed some 40,000 troops on the island, with the result that the United States embargoed the shipment of military supplies to Turkey, and Turkey took over certain American military installations on Turkish soil. Not until July-August 1978 did the American Congress act to lift the embargo. President Carter signed the legislation on September 26. There is now some prospect of restoring the Southeastern NATO flank.

Meanwhile, the Palestinian problem appeared insoluble, despite all the work which had been done in the interest of achieving a solution. On December 9, 1969, Secretary of State William P. Rogers, in the Nixon Administration, set forth proposals which looked toward an equitable adjustment, based upon the principles embodied in UN Security Council Resolution 242 of November 22, 1967, which called for peace among the parties, the development of a sense of mutual security, endorsed the principle of the nonacquisition of territory by war, and insisted that there could be no enduring peace without settlement of the problem of the Palestinian refugees. While the United States had pressed its efforts to restore the cease-fire after the June 1967 *blitzkrieg* and had supported the Security Council Resolution of 1967, it indicated that it would "maintain careful watch on the balance of military forces." But all too often balance was interpreted in terms of Israeli military superiority, especially in the air. Both Israel and the Arab States turned down the Rogers proposals. The situation appeared to grow much worse by 1971 and the prospects for peaceful adjustment darker than ever. In October 1973 came a fourth round in the long Arab-Israeli conflict when Egypt and Syria, especially, joined in a military effort to retrieve territories lost in previous years.

Whatever its immediate results, the conflict in October 1973 demonstrated that the Arab States would and could act in concert and could use the oil weapon effectively. In the period which followed, both the Ford and Carter Administrations worked actively to bring about peaceful solutions of the Arab-Israeli conflict. The "shuttle diplomacy" of the Ford Administration gave way, in September 1978, to Camp David "summitry," in which President Carter brought President Sadat and Prime Minister Begin together will a view to finding basic solutions to complex problems. None could tell whether success would ultimately crown these urgent efforts, but a greater sense of realism, and fears as to the possible disastrous consequences of another conflict, strengthened the determination to move forward and offered hope for the future.

FSJ BOOK ESSAY

## Free Press vs. National Sovereignty

ACCESS DENIED: *The Politics of Press Censorship, by Sean Kelly, Georgetown University Center for Strategic and International Studies, SAGE Publications, $3.00.*

Developing nations are increasingly calling for a "new world information order," one that gives them some leverage on what they see as Western domination of the flow of news—whether the news is going into or out of their countries.

They state their case in different forms: Incoming foreign news sources can stimulate appetites for unattainable goods, undermine government stability, damage national cultural identities, and ignore information about the developmental techniques that struggling nations would find useful. Outgoing news can concentrate on the warts—the poverty, crimes, intrigues, natural disasters—and give the rest of the world distorted or at best irrelevant impressions of reality. They assert that a free press is solely in the hands of the rich and powerful, and LDCs can't compete on equal terms.

As a result, many African, Asian and Latin American countries are imposing stricter limits on news sources that come into their countries and on the locally based individuals who report about them to the outside world. In addition, they are pursuing in UNESCO a declaration on the mass media which would assert the rights of states essentially to impose this kind of control.

Sean Kelly, a correspondent for Voice of America, provides in this booklet an excellent factual history of the issue in UNESCO. He combines it with detailed examples of press censorship in developing nations as well as in Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union, a discussion of Soviet behavior during and after the Helsinki and Belgrade discussions on the "free flow of information," and descriptions of several efforts to operate a news pool that would serve the information needs of developing nations.

This is not, however, an objective analysis of the issue. Kelly has little sympathy for Third-World sensitivities about the impact of the Western media on their citizens, their governments, or their international reputations. His view essentially is that America's First Amendment guarantee of freedom of the press must be accepted by all nations, that reporters must be free to go where they want, write what they want, and have their wares distributed wherever they want, let the chips fall where they may. He applauds as "right" the view that "if national cultures cannot survive accurate, factual reporting, they probably will not last very long anyway."

Nowhere in this book is there any suggestion that a reporter—even a government reporter—needs to employ judgment, balance, proportion, relevance or common sense, or to have the least concern for the local or international impact of what he does. "Accuracy" seems to be the only test. The book does not even recognize continuing debate—just within the US—about media sensationalism, "peephole journalism," political muckraking, and the impact of the press on criminal trials.

It seems to be Kelly's view that any LDC that wavers the least bit in its allegiance to our First Amendment not only does not express a legitimate concern but is part of a Commie plot—or, as he puts it, "a continuing Soviet diplomatic effort." He seems to deny that developing countries are capable of independent thought or feelings, and sees "connection" and "linkage" with the Soviets, "unseen presences" at every turn.

Kelly would handle the UNESCO problem by having the United States get out or cut off its contributions. Although he notes that the UNESCO Charter gives it authority to recommend international agreements in the mass communication field, and salutes UNESCO programs for training journalists, he denounces the discussion of a declaration on the mass media as "politicization" of a UN agency. What he seems to mean is that, whenever a UN agency starts edging toward something that we have difficulty swallowing, we should pick up our marbles and go home. To the contrary, the debate over the mass media—a legitimate concern of UNESCO—is an argument for the United States to get more deeply involved in order to vigorously present its point of view; backing out simply cedes the issue to those who would damage our interests.

Kelly would also take a hard line with nations that expel American journalists. He shows that the National News Council questioned President Carter's retaliatory expulsion of a Soviet journalist, noting it did not believe press freedom is best served by such an eye-for-an-eye policy. Nevertheless, he argues that the US response to expulsion by others should be kept flexible: "After all, we may want to do more than merely reply in kind."

In sum, this is a review of government censorship seen through the prism of an uncompromising journalist who feels the world has him hemmed in, and who puts the primary blame on the Soviets. *Access Denied* is his logical title, as though access is something he should automatically have.

But more than that, this is censorship viewed through the eyes of a *government* journalist—one who is prepared to broadcast to the Soviet Union a lawyer's testimony blasting the Soviet treatment of dissidents, and rub it in their faces, but who can't conceive why the Soviets would continue their "illegal" jamming of Radio Liberty. (Our broadcasting is all good; their jamming is all bad.) It is also a journalist who argues that a government-wide edict against direct USG contacts with the PLO constitutes "State Department manipulation" if it is applied to a Voice of America employee ("In effect, the United States Government was censoring itself").

Given this overall perspective, it should not come as a surprise that the ultimate conclusion of this document is that Kelly's employer—the International Communication Agency—should clean up this mess and step into the "communications policy vacuum." He even uses this Georgetown University cover to make a pitch to Congress for new money and people for ICA.

In fact, Kelly describes a number of potentially useful activities—including exchanges and training of foreign journalists, and coproduc-

tion arrangements—that ICA might conduct in order to strengthen ties with developing countries in this field and perhaps diminish the tensions. But if ICA approaches the problem from the viewpoint that, in their journalism policy, LDCs are only Soviet pawns, serious doubt is cast on the utility of such programs.

The problem is certainly real. The issues of press censorship everywhere, and the growing concerns of LDCs about the Western media need to be squarely faced. Consciousness needs to be raised all around. Common interests need to be identified. Possibilities of cooperation, compromise and self-restraint need to be explored. A balanced, objective review of the issues would be particularly welcome. But this isn't it.

—NEIL A. BOYER

# FSJ BOOKSHELF

## The Glamor of Che

THE LEGACY OF CHE GUEVARA, a Documentary Study, *by Donald C. Hodges. Thames and Hudson Press, $14.95.*

One outcome of the 1954 overthrow of Guatemalan President Jacobo Arbenz, to which the United States made a considerable contribution through the CIA, was that it completed the conversion of "Che" Guevara from a medical career to that of a full-time revolutionary. It was then, according to the author and editor of *The Legacy of Che Guevara* that the Argentine *medico* learned " . . . that to become a revolutionary doctor, one must first make a revolution." Guevara soon after joined Fidel Castro, participated in the guerrilla activities that brought Batista down, served as "economic tsar of the Cuban economy" in the new revolutionary Cuban government, and then left Cuba to undertake revolutionary leadership in other places. These included Africa and Bolivia, in the latter of which his career came to an abrupt end when he was captured and executed in 1967.

It is the "legacy" of that career which Professor Donald Clark Hodges of Florida State University has sought to project to the book's readers in this slender volume, presenting " . . . a picture of the foundations of Guevarism, its divisions, its impact on Third World liberation movements, and its newly discovered role in the advanced countries." To those inspired by the memory of Guevara, of whom the professor seems to be one, the book offers a variety of pieces of "documentary" evidence and an interpretative essay by its compiler. One can read of what "Che" and others had to write or say about the "insurrectional foci," the "revolutionary vanguard," the "new Christianity" and any number of other aspects of the continuing struggle to destroy " . . . imperialism as a world system." There are illustrative examples of the doctrinal contributions of such groups as the Red Army Faction, the MIR, *Lotta Continua,* and even the US Weathermen.

The reader will find next to nothing in this book, however, to illustrate or describe the destructive impact of Guevarism. At one point, Hodges mildly rebukes the "young people" who have been "captivated" by the "romantic and glamorous aspect of Guevara's legacy" which has led them to believe that " . . . revolution can be made simply by taking up a gun . . . " But the tragic record, for example, of how the Tupamaro movement led to the conversion of Uruguay, one of Latin America's foremost democracies, into a military dictatorship is not to be found in these pages. Nor is there any examination of the general impact of "Guevarism" on the political complexion of Latin America as a whole, a continent in which in 1960, for the first time, more than half the governments were either democratically governed or making real progress in that direction. Finally, the Florida professor has told us nothing about the extent to which "romantic attachment" to the legacy of Guevara had inspired the kind of sheer, unmitigated terrorism that has brought death to hundreds of individuals and cause for constant apprehension to guiltless families all over the world.

—EDWARD A. JAMISON

## Marx with a Difference

KARL MARX—AN INTIMATE BIOGRAPHY, *by Saul K. Padover. McGraw-Hill, $18.95*

In the course of the research for his seven-volume Karl Marx Library, Professor Padover accumulated notes for this "intimate biography" of Marx which deals with him as a human being, not as a philosopher—showing him as father, son, friend, lover, husband, as well as activist.

This is probably the first biography of Marx done by a non-Marxist who is neither friendly nor hostile. The result is a fascinating profile of an enormously gifted psychoneurotic human being whose intellect spanned a good part of human knowledge: Marx learned new languages in months; when he was sick he read physics and mathematics. He also wasted much time and money on fruitless personal vendettas.

There was a great deal of self-hatred in Marx, of which his virulent anti-Semitism must have been an expression. Most of his illnesses, which pursued him all his life, can today be seen as psychosomatic. He was a doting father and rather un-German in not imposing discipline on his children.

Marx was also devoted to his father, and when he died an old daguerreotype of him was found on his person. Engels, on the other hand, hated his father. It was really Engels who converted Marx to communism. Read this and many other startling facts in Professor Padover's biography.

And, if your work involves conversation or disputation with Marxists, this book will permit you to be "one up" on those who know about that founding father only from a Marxist perspective.

—M.F.H.

## Elementary, My Dear Watson

HONORABLE MEN: *My Life in the CIA, by William Colby. Simon and Schuster, $12.95.*

IN SEARCH OF ENEMIES: *A CIA Story, by John Stockwell. W. W. Norton, $12.95.*

Like the sea on its infinite shores, literature on the CIA comes surging in, bearing the foam of both heroism and folly, of methodical research and adven-

turistic high-jinks, of professional shrewdness and incredible naiveté. The latest of the flotsam and jetsam are memoirs by William E. Colby and John Stockwell.

One's head turns dizzily in wonderment what all this adds up to, but in an expression of self-mastery I turned my own head—to my friend and consultant Sherlock Holmes with whose ghost I maintain close rapport. The other evening as I sat on my African chest there was a knock and intense vibration within it and I knew he was at hand. Having had some personal experience with the CIA, I solicited his views succinctly, since ghosts do not linger long for human communion, that between ghosts being so much more instructive.

"What do you make of all this hullaballoo about the CIA?" I asked.

"There is not much to be made of," he replied with his Churchillian disregard of dangling prepositions, "and what there is should never be publicized."

"But we are a democracy and must know what is going on," I reminded him. "Besides you have gone public with your own cases."

For a fleeting instant he looked at me in disbelief, as though he considered me out of my mind, but caught himself quickly, either from innate British politeness or a sudden British recollection that, being an American, I do not possess what might be properly called a mind.

"The national security was not involved in my cases," he said crisply.

"The national security is not involved in all that the CIA does," I protested. "Very often this is only an excuse for someone with the mentality of a college sophomore eager to be a Scarlet Pimpernel. 'National security' then becomes only a cover for reckless adventurism and inexcusable blundering."

Sherlock meditated a moment. "Quite so," he said. "We do not have that problem." He paused seemingly for effect. "We select our people with great care and we have an ample reservoir of truly educated people to draw from. It was not from idle fancy we created our great universities and insisted on their maintaining a high standard of intellectual discipline. They were started to provide us educated, thoughtful people and so they have. From them we recruit our intelligence service."

I could not resist the thrust. "But it was a continental—Henry Kissinger—who pushed our CIA into Angola, as John Stockwell relates."

"The continent," Sherlock replied haughtily, "is not the British Isles."

"All right," I said, "granted that you go at these things in a more sophisticated way. How can we improve our performance?"

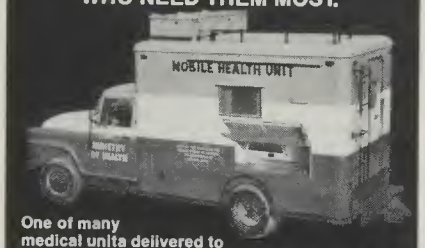
"Improve your universities. Teach philosophy and particularly political philosophy and recruit no one not profoundly instructed in it. Only men of learning, culture and the perspectives that go with these can perform such delicate work skillfully. But for this you need truly profound instructors, and you have too few of these. So we come full circle. I do not really know how Americans can do these things well. They are such superficial people they cannot help being amateurs. You know," he went on, "this is why we do not have cultural attachés in our diplomatic service. Our diplomats are cultured and serve in that double capacity. It's much cheaper, you know. Look at the way you select your prime political leader. He tells you flatly he has had no experience in national and international affairs, yet you elect him as your president. What sense does that make?"

Sherlock grew pale and seemed on the point of receding completely, but I implored him to stay a bit longer. "Give Colby my best," he said. "He is sophisticated. He went to a good university, studied and thought, subjected himself to the discipline of law, possessed and cultivated political instincts and he had the good sense, everywhere he served, to mix with the rest of society—all kinds of people. He was no cultist. That helped him to keep right side up. When the roof caved in, he was the only one of the president's associates to understand the large constitutional and philosophic problems involved. He got fired, but he stuck to his principles for he had thought them out and had the right instincts." He paused for a fading instant. "Don't trouble to give my greetings to Stockwell or the rest—the Marchettis and the Marks, the Proutys, the McGarveys. They are earnest people and mean well but they are not sufficiently educated to think to the roots of your problem and act accordingly. You might give Lyman Kirkpatrick my regards. He tried to bring order to your CIA's chaos and got the boot like Colby—or gracefully resigned before he was. I forget which. That he saw the problem was attested



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when he retreated to Brown University to do some educating of both students and faculty. That is precisely what is needed. Colby should be teaching instead of practicing law. You have too many lawyers as it is."

He was almost gone, but he asked one last question. "Where will we meet next time? Olympus? Socrates and Plato will be there. Aristotle, too. We could have a good discussion of the CIA and its problems. A little wisdom doesn't hurt—and willingness to risk the cup of hemlock."

I am thinking of inviting Colby to the Olympian gathering. He could hold his own in such company, but I do not think of inviting any other CIA directors. I can't think of any president to invite except Harry Truman and possibly Ike. Can anyone think of a secretary of state—or a foreign service officer?

—SMITH SIMPSON

### Kennan on the USSR

DECLINE OF THE WEST? *George Kennan and His Critics, edited by Martin F. Herz. Ethics and Public Policy Center, Georgetown University, $5.00.*

No one interested in Soviet-American relations can fail to appreciate and benefit from this collection of writings by and about George Kennan.

From the Kennan side, this book includes:

• Excerpts from his 1976 *Encounter* interview, in which he argued that "we should gradually reduce our existing commitments to a minimum even in the Middle East, and get back to a policy of leaving other people alone and expect to be largely left alone by them," in which he lamented that Western Europe had gotten "degenerate" and that "the United States has nothing much to say to the outside world," and in which he urged that Americans worry more about the "absolutely certain ecological and demographic disaster which is going to overtake this planet" and less about nuclear conflict or Soviet control of Western Europe.

• Excerpts from his 1977 book *The Cloud of Danger,* in which he further minimizes the Soviet threat, arguing that "there is no political or ideological difference between the Soviet Union and the United


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States . . . that would be worth the risks and sacrifices of a military encounter" and warning that "the exaggeration of an adversary's negative attributes" can take on the quality of a "self-fulfilling prophecy."

• His November 1977 speech, in which he complained that "military enthusiasts" had gained such power in the US that they could torpedo the SALT treaty and other vital agreements, and in which he called for Soviet experts here to lay aside "the whole question of the military relationship" and join in a "reeducation of the realities of Soviet power and leadership."

The commenters on these recent Kennan thoughts provide a valuable clash of ideas that helps to sharpen thinking on US relations with the Soviets. Sometimes they attack Kennan head-on. At other times, they seem to distort Kennan's points in order to make their own. Does Kennan really advocate unilateral nuclear disarmament, or is he only "close to advocating" it?

Hugo Seton-Watson cannot agree that "the dangers of pollution, crime, drugs and moral decadence are more urgent or more menacing than the danger of Soviet imperialism." Richard Pipes rejects the idea that argument over the US-Soviet military relationship can be put "out of bounds" in the search for a new consensus. He says that Kennan "simply must start taking seriously the views of those who are concerned with Soviet weapons' developments and see in them indicators of Soviet intentions."

Some of the argument in this book is high-toned, philosophical and strategic. But some of it is personal and even nasty. Michael Novak says that "In 1947, Mr. X was bold and assertive. In 1977, Mr. Y is weary, timid and ready to yield." Eugene Rostow, in an unbecoming lengthy diatribe, says that Kennan's "sad new book" is not an exception from the bulk of his work on foreign policy, which is "confused, inconsistent and detached from the most objective measures of reality." He says Kennan "is an impressionist, a poet, not an earthling . . . . Kennan has a high specific gravity, and the assurance of a man anointed. He speaks ex cathedra, often severely, and sometimes he excommunicates. . . . The contradictions and *nonsequiturs* in Kennan's reasoning are breathtaking."

For those of historical mind bent, there are also two heavily documented articles on the point of whether Kennan's 1947 "X" article on containment of the Soviets meant what it said, meant what Kennan then said it meant, meant what he later said it said, meant what others said it said, et cetera. One author has even pulled out of Policy Planning Staff files an early version of the article and claims that it shows Kennan didn't mean to prescribe military counterforce against the Soviets but only political "counter-pressure." To the extent that that remains important 30 years later, it seems to be an admonition to bureaucrats to save their drafts.

—NEIL A. BOYER

### Asylum Denied

FOR THOSE STILL AT SEA: *The Defection of a Lithuanian Sailor, by Simas Kudirka and Larry Eichel. Dial Press, $7.95.*


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In November 1970 a Lithuanian named Simas Kudirka, then serving as a radio operator aboard a Soviet fishing mothership, sprang from his vessel onto the deck of the US Coast Guard cutter *Vigilant*, claiming asylum. Kudirka expected to be welcomed by the Americans; instead, in a complex tragedy of errors, he was returned to the Soviets, who proceeded to pursue, beat and tie him up on the decks of the United States cutter within US waters. Frontpage headlines and public outcry followed. *Vigilant*'s commander was relieved; two senior Coast Guard officers were forced to retire under a cloud.

But what of Kudirka? He was subsequently tried for treason against the Soviet state, convicted (naturally) and spent the next years as a Russian political prisoner. Then, largely through the private efforts of the sympathetic Lithuanian community in the United States, it was discovered that Kudirka was actually entitled to American citizenship, and Moscow was prevailed upon to release him. In November 1974—four long years after his initial bid for freedom—he finally arrived in America.

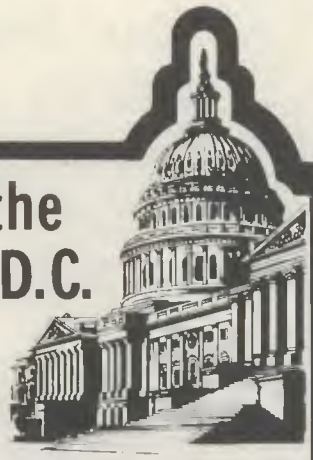
Actually, although I was almost certainly asked to do this review because I am retired Coast Guard, only about one sixth of the book deals with the Coast Guard's involvement in this attempted defection. Most of the book deals with Kudirka's trial and his subsequent experiences as a political prisoner. The book does not appear to reveal anything startlingly new, but it is another piece of evidence substantiating what we have already been told, *i.e.*, in Solzhenitzyn's *One Day in the Life of Ivan Denisovich*, and elsewhere. Nonetheless, for those whose memories need to be refreshed on the matter of political prisoners, it is recommended that they give time to this readable little book.

As for the Coast Guard, the system has, of course, been thoroughly overhauled so that a repetition of the Kudirka fiasco is now highly unlikely. For instance, a senior State Department officer and staff have since been permanently assigned to Coast Guard Headquarters. The next problem, however, is not apt to look exactly like this one.

For the Coast Guard as a whole, the Kudirka incident must be a deeply felt shame. But to keep the matter in perspective, one has only to review the photographic files in Miami to study the faces of the many, many men, women and children pulled to safety from small boats and rafts of all description, fleeing from Cuba. One can also go to Key West and look at the modest memorial to the Coast Guard put up on the quay by those same Cuban refugees. A similar exodus is now coming from Haiti, in which the Coast Guard plays a like role.

Let us hope that Kudirka survives equally well the dangerous waters of existence as a free man in New York City, where he now manages an apartment house. He deserves a safe harbor.

—CHARLES W. KOBURGER, JR.

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## CHIANG CH'ING

*from page 17*

battle impended. But it was not fought.

On October 7, 1976, Premier Hua Kuo-feng ordered the arrest of Chiang Ch'ing and her associates in the "Gang of Four": Chang Ch'un-chi'iao, Yao Wen-yuan and Wang Hung-wen. They were charged with conspiring to seize power in a *coup d'état*. She was accused of a forgery to make it appear that the chairman had designated her as his successor, as well as other forgeries.

In his political report to the 11th National Party Congress in August 1977, Hua said: "As anticipated, they were really out to create disturbances and stage a coup. It was at this most critical moment that the Political Bureau took decisive action, smashed with one stroke the plot of the 'Gang of Four' to usurp Party and State power, and thus fulfilled Chairman Mao's unfulfilled wish to settle the question of the 'Gang of Four.' "

In the months after the arrest of the "Gang of Four," Party leaders carried on a relentless national campaign to expose the alleged conspiracy to seize power. Chiang Ch'ing was specially vilified: "malevolent as a demon, treacherous as a serpent, savage as a mad dog." To shock puritanical Chinese she was painted as a trollop and sybarite. Her personal life—in extravagance and lubricity—was described as luridly as that of the notorious Empress Wu in the seventh century.

With regard to the alleged coup, only the "official" version by the winners had been made public. Chiang Ch'ing and her ill-fated friends, understandably, have not made their story known. However, a scenario of their alleged conspiracy may be imagined.

The "palace clique" may likely have apprehended that its foes were in the stronger power position as they had direct control of the major institutions of military and political prowess. It also may well have realized that its main asset was its former closeness, personally and ideologically, to the chairman and the possibility of its holding itself out convincingly as his true disciples. But the Great Helmsman having set sail for the Blessed Isles, this asset was a rapidly wasting one. If they were to capitalize on it, they would have to move quickly. Logically, then, they would have plotted a power grab at the earliest opportunity. "If it were done when 'tis done, then 'twere well/it were done quickly. . . ."

Whatever they may have planned, Hua moved first. It seems quite possible that he and his supporters may have foreseen some such scenario as the one adumbrated above.

What does seem clear, though, is that Chiang Ch'ing has taken her final bow on the political stage. Never again will she strut the boards to hector her adversaries, to incite young revolutionaries to violence, to exult in the glory of power and the joy of vengeance.

In Moliere's last words: "Ring down the curtain, the farce has been played." (*"Tirez le rideau, le farce est joué."*)

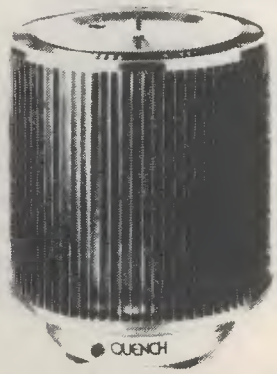

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## A VISIT TO LHASA, 1978

*from page 24*

where we were told that the rugs were being made to fill orders, some for the Canton Trade Fair, and we visited the traditional medicine factory which I mentioned above. There are about 20,000 industrial workers in Tibet today. Jack and the others of our party visited a neighborhood association and a commune when I had bronchitis.

From a low of about 1,250,000 people there are now about 1,750,000 Tibetans in Tibet today. And there are about 100,000 Han (Chinese) people. Population control is not urged on the Tibetans nor on any other minority group in China as the minorities make up only about six per cent of the entire population. With encouragement and good medical care, and with boys not entering monasteries, the number of Tibetans is increasing. Tibetan families tend to average three or four children.

Farming has been greatly improved and expanded. Communes consist of two "steps" rather than three as in China proper—the production team and the commune. Tibet is self-sufficient in the basic foods which can be grown in its climate. New strains of winter wheat have been introduced, and various crops which do well at high Andean altitudes have been brought in. There are greenhouses outside Lhasa for growing vegetables. Some orchards are being started. Lhasa is one place where solar energy should have a big future as there are many hours of sunshine all during the year.

More Tibetans live outside their country than in it. There have for centuries been large communities in the neighboring provinces of China, especially Szechwan, Chinghai, and Kansu. There are Tibetans in India and Nepal, and in other parts of the world. We were told that about 90,000 Tibetans, nobles and monks for the most part, fled Tibet with the Dalai Lama in 1959. About 30,000 of them have chosen to return.

One of the most interesting people we met was a middle-aged woman who used to be a Living Buddha. She was the 12th in her line, the only female Living Buddha, and she was "discovered" at the age of four. She said that she was the only woman living in an all-male monastery. She went to India in 1959, but later returned. Now she is married and has a number of children, and no longer considers herself a Living Buddha.

Everyone asks us about yaks. We saw exactly two, on our drive from Lhasa airport to Lhasa. The altitude of Lhasa, about 3,700 meters, is too low for yaks. They thrive best at a higher altitude. But we saw many cows of a small variety, little Tibetan horses or ponies, donkeys, and herds of sheep and goats. And in Lhasa we saw many small dogs, but no large mastiffs. The samll dogs are kept as pets. Tibetans are very fond of dogs and often carry the small ones cradled in the front flap of their robes. One small boy, with his dog in his arms, wanted his picture taken.

We saw eagles in the countryside. I have tried to identify this eagle, but so far trips to the library


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have not helped me. Along the river to Lhasa we saw several terns. Not many, but there they were, a great surprise. Again I do not know what kind of tern. And we saw many swallows with white patches on their rumps. One variety of sparrow was very plentiful in the trees of Lhasa, and there were other small birds we did not recognize.

Many Tibetans in Lhasa wear Chinese clothes, the men and boys especially. The young girl who waited on us at meals always wore Chinese clothes. She told us that her father is Chinese and her mother Tibetan. When she goes home she usually wears Tibetan clothes.

The day before we left Lhasa, June 1, was International Children's Day which the Tibetans were celebrating. Many groups of school children and many Tibetan families were walking the short distance to the Norbulingka, the Dalai Lama's summer palace. The present palace, not built until 1954, is a comfortable country villa. We were shown through it and admired its amenities (two bathrooms, one for the Dalai Lama and one for his mother) and the gaiety of its colors.

The Norbulingka is surrounded by a grassy, tree-dotted park. Tibetan families were staking out little claims for themselves for picnics and rest. They did this by tieing strips of cloth to bushes and trees and enclosing a small space into which they put mats or rugs and their picnic gear. We were invited into one of these small enclosures and I was urged to sit down on a rug and rest. I did so, and immediately a girl knelt beside me and held an umbrella over my head to shade me from the sun. Then a smiling woman approached and offered me some barley wine from a handsome wood and silver bowl. I gratefully accepted. While all this was going on a group of children and young people were pressing against the restraining cloth barrier to watch the strange foreign woman. Very soon after, the barrier collapsed amid much laughter.

In answer to one last "question"—do the Tibetans in Tibet want the Dalai Lama to return? Again the answer must be a question mark. I can imagine the return of the Dalai Lama, but not the return of the old, closed, feudal society. Feudalism, once gone, does not return. It passes into history. Tibet with its new roads, its transportation system, its health care, its industries, its education, its new openness, is looking towards the future.

The morning came when we were to fly back to Chengtu. We waited at the guest house until a call came from the airport that the plane for Lhasa had left Chengtu. (All of China, by the way, is on the same time, even though three full zones and bits of two others are spanned.) This was our signal to start the 100 km. drive to Lhasa airport. Just as we reached it we saw the plane coming in. Perfect timing. Our party said goodby to the friends who had been so welcoming and kind to us, boarded the plane, and flew off over the cold, menacing mountains which are no longer a barrier to what was once "Secret Tibet." We were in Chengtu in time for lunch.


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## US COVERT ACTIONS IN CHILE, 1971-1973

*from page 13*

Communist Party was calling on the workers of city and countryside to take "combat positions."*

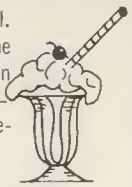
*The UP-Military Understanding.* Central to the *modus vivendi* between the Allende government and the military were three things: respect for the non-political character of the military establishment; willingness to support the military in its historic role as guarantor of Constitutional institutionalism; and a UP "hands-off" policy on internal administration and promotion within the military forces. As mentioned above, it was Allende himself who drew a reluctant military, and General Prats in particular, into politics and governmental responsibility in 1972. The problem of leftist extremism and the government's unwillingness to allow the military to enforce public order broke the second element in the UP-military understanding. Then, in the weeks before September 11, leadership crises occurred one after the other in each of three services. First, General Ruiz was forced out as commander-in-chief of the air force. Then there was an effort to remove a dozen allegedly anti-UP army generals, a crisis which merged into General Prats's own leadership trauma. The navy's leadership crisis in Valparaiso followed, and this was one of the immediate factors that triggered the coup.*

The coup was not simply one more in the long series of military interventions that we have witnessed on this planet. It was traumatic. Salvador Allende had caught the imagination of hundreds of millions of the world's men and women. He had extraordinary and appealing human qualities and a resiliency that was phenomenal. I think he really wanted to show the world that there was a Chilean Way to Socialism—human, launched institutionally with a broad base of popular support, and without the same social cost of Lenin's and Stalin's way. There is a poignancy about the end that may help explain the emotion and animus that has seemed to permeate so much of our American *post mortem.* I remember talking with President Allende at a party hosted by the *Carabineros* not long before the coup. The president was obviously enjoying himself and making quips and jokes with everybody, in spite of the crises that threatened on all sides. I mentioned to him how much this ability to rise above circumstance, to reach out and lift his own spirits impressed me, and asked if this was a legacy of his forty years as a public figure. His comment was: "I pay a high price."

*El Siglo, *Sept. 11, 1973*

**This does not mean to say that military coup plans and plots were non-existent until Allende government actions destroyed the modus vivendi or that the fault for the undermining of it was entirely one-sided. But there is a difference between plotting and acting; and a difference between some officers' plotting and the military institutions' acting. What caused the military to move beyond the point of no return and when that moment came is not an easy question, but citing the existence before 1973 of plots and plans does not provide the whole answer.*


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## WHAT THE HELL AM I DOING HERE?

*from page 21*

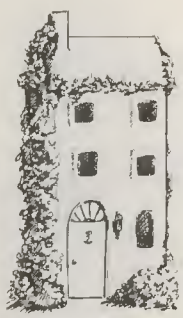
Because of the scarcity of objective, intellectual, "hard-core" facts in complaints from consular officers, it is difficult to distinguish what is cause and what is effect. It is also difficult to distinguish legitimate consular complaints from consular paranoia.

Consular officers, as a group, do not generally distinguish themselves in staff meetings or local chapter meetings of AFSA. Their arguments frequently generate more heat than light, and their failure to do their homework is evident all too often. Within the last two years there have been several articles in the *FSJ* that should have been of particular interest to consular officers, since they dealt largely with consular problems. The letters to the editor in subsequent issues of the *FSJ*, either in support of or in disagreement with the articles, were noteworthy by their absence. Either nobody read the articles or no one cared enough to make a comment.

Attempts by the bureau of consular affairs to generate consular discussion have been frequent, honest, and well-intentioned. They have not met with great success. One can hardly expect oil to be expended on a wheel that is too apathetic to squeak. What might be said more bluntly is that the bureau of consular affairs has made more than a gesture of opening channels of communication and complaint. If consular officers feel they have a legitimate grievance, either individually or as a group, they would be better advised to use those channels than to grump about their plight over coffee in the cafeteria.

The challenge and the opportunity the department now faces is not just saving the visa function for the consular service, but what to do with the consular service if the department does manage to keep it. The consular challenge is not just quieting congressional complaints of consular callousness nor demanding equal time on the television networks to counteract films depicting a "do-nothing consul" somewhere in Latin America. Nor is it quenching the fire of "consular burn-out." The department talks about "consular burnout" as though it were some occupational maladjustment that can be cured by positive leadership, more directives, or rotation within the consular section.

The challenge and the opportunity of the department, given the present interest of today's Congress, is in motivating Congress to decide what *is* our immigration policy and then providing a new immigration law that can implement that policy. The challenge and opportunity is not just to provide leadership and directives to the consular officer in the field, but to provide leadership in obtaining the kind of immigration law that does away with "consular burn-out" and, in providing the tools, the professionalism, and the career opportunity to enable the consular officer to perform his job effectively within the framework of the law, in short, to operate as a full-fledged foreign service officer.

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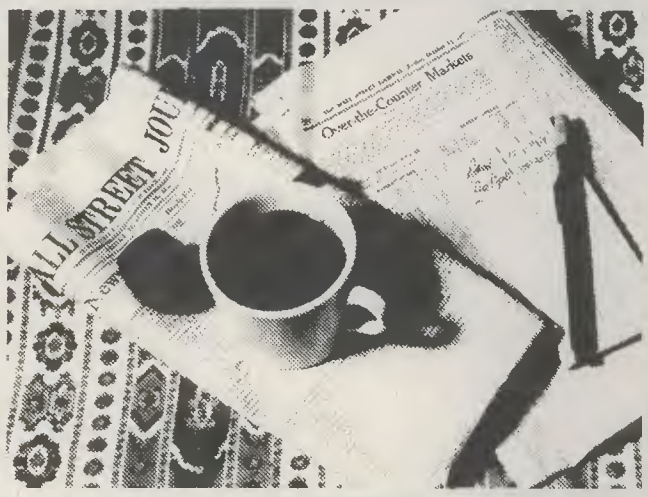
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The department's ineffectiveness has been cited by presidents since FDR and has resulted in foreign policy initiative moving from the department to the White House, while the role of the president's senior foreign policy advisor has moved from the secretary of state to the chairman of the National Security Council. The move did not start with Presidents Carter or Nixon. The last secretary of state who filled that position as it was designed was Secretary George C. Marshall. Historian Clinton Rossiter has noted that "leadership in foreign affairs flows today from the president—or it does not flow at all!"

If the White House sees the department as less than responsive, and if that complaint is commonly held by political scientists, public administrators, and behavioral scientists, it is not a long jump to understand why some congressmen feel they can take certain liberties with the department without fear of reprisal. But subservience and the wringing of departmental hands is not the answer nor will it gain the respect of Congress.

On the other hand, neither is "stonewalling" the answer when there is some truth to the allegation of consular incompetence and callousness. At the same time as the consular officer is frustrated by the department's obsequiousness to congressional pressure and annoyed by congressional correspondence that takes so much of his time away from substantive work, there is a foolproof method the consular officer may take to avoid the annoyance of departmental interference and congressional interest: Clean up his own consular act.

Any consular officer who has had at least two tours is experienced enough to know that most congressional interest cases and the department's memoranda generated by them are a colossal pain just forward of the wallet. But the second tour consular officer is also experienced enough to know that, if one investigates closely and is honest, there is too often a grain of truth to the complaint. Satisfied customers do not write to their congressmen, and consular officers who serve their public well are those who are unknown, unsung, and unmolested.

Of primary importance is how the Department of State responds to its present position vis-à-vis foreign policy leadership and personnel management. The problems of the consular area are only a tip of that iceberg. The present mood of Congress has given the department practically a blank check to renovate and repair, and such interest and largesse will not last forever. Success in solving the numerous problems related to consular services will provide some of the momentum the department needs to regain its former respect and its primacy in foreign policy initiative and implementation. Such success will not come easily nor from the department alone; it will require the enthusiastic, professional participation and support of the consular officer. It is an opportunity and a challenge that will not come again in our professional lifetime.


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**AFRICA,** *Continued from page 10*

pensity for oppression. For these reasons, black African leaders are seeing the Soviet Union as a model and leader rather than the United States or any other Western country except perhaps France, whose astute diplomacy has generated an extraordinary influence with almost all of its former equatorial colonies. In considering our options, we would do well to study that accomplishment.

Along with these factors there has continued a public and emotional badgering of South Africa whose help we have equally consistently, albeit more quietly, solicited in efforts to find a solution to the Rhodesian problem. This has represented anything but skillful diplomacy and has certainly not been in our strategic interest. It has not promoted change and compromise in South Africa but stiffened attitudes, playing into the hands of South African hardliners, and raising false expectations in other parts of the continent. It has been a wretched substitute for the international political art and science of maneuver and persuasion.

Just as important, it has played into the hands of communist propaganda. While South Africa does indeed have a racist-authoritarian regime, it is restrained by parliamentary values and a relatively free press. On any objective list ranking the "badness" of regimes it would not be anywhere near the top. It would obviously fall below the Soviet regime which has caused as many as 70-80 million deaths in forced labor camps and prisons and at the hands of secret agents since 1917. It obviously ranks far below the fanatic Khmer Rouge regime which has decimated the population of Cambodia. On the African continent, South Africa is not in the same class with Ethiopia, Sudan, Uganda, Burundi, Guinea, Angola, Mozambique and Equatorial Guinea, to mention the worst. No United Nations or Organization of African Unity resolution has condemned any of these states or imposed sanctions upon them.

We insist upon the ending of apartheid but African experience surely suggests that this ending could only be the beginning, not of one-man, one-vote or black majority rule, but another monstrosity—that of tribal dictatorship with all the oppression, discrimination, corruption and chaos this would produce. Is this what we want? If not, how is it to be avoided? We have the moral right and indeed the obligation to make plain our abhorrence of South Africa's violations of human decency. But, on our part, we need to have the decency to stop posturing as the savior of mankind—the one great moral leader with the answer to all the problems of human rights in the world and to start thinking through and ahead in the light of what has happened already in Africa and in the light of our overall national interests.

It is time for our African policy to reach out for reason, balance and perspective instead of following the tom-tom beating of emotional and often racist and ideological drums. It is time to take a vigorous diplomatic offensive with a policy which asserts our own analysis, values, perspectives and strategic interests. It is time to bring to bear upon our southern Africa efforts our best professional resources and our most subtle and sagacious maneuvering in the African tribal thicket.


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# LETTERS TO FSJ

### Security Investigations

Eric Griffel's *Very Minor Qualm* (*FSJ*, September 1978) regarding the matter of security investigations is right on target. Attention must be paid. He is squarely in the tradition of that great conservative, Edmund Burke, who observed that "all that is necessary for the triumph of evil is for enough good men to do nothing." And nothing in this case means continuing to provide security investigators with totally positive answers to their questions about the subjects of their investigations because one fears that the slightest negative statement might be misunderstood and exaggerated into a damaging accusation.

The result is disinformation, a waste of time for security investigators and those they interview, and a system which is ineffective for the purposes it was intended to accomplish, except perhaps for the stifling of dissent. And yet few have chosen to raise their voices in solitary and therefore suspect complaint.

Mr. Griffel speaks, I think, for many of us. Broad support for his thoroughly sensible suggestion can help encourage a salutary and long overdue change.

MARK WARD

Rabat

### Big Story—Lower Price

In its August, 1977 issue the *Journal* published a book essay by me about *Big Story* by Peter Braestrup, a book that analyzed how the American mass media reported the Tet offensive in Vietnam in 1968. I wrote at that time:

This monumental work is a landmark in American historiography and a major contribution to any inquiry into the interaction of political (and military) events and the mass media in the United States. In a way, Braestrup has done for the press and television what Professor Kinsey did with respect to sex in the United States.

You censored the next sentence which explained the parallel with Kinsey, for I pointed out that in both cases scientific inquiry established that "seemingly deviant behavior" was actually a great deal more widespread than had been believed.

I also told your readers at that time that *Big Story* was "unconscionably expensive, the two volumes selling for $50." I am told that despite some rave reviews (the New York *Times Book Review* said "Everyone should study *Big Story* for its valuable lessons on how press performance can be improved"), the $50 edition sold a total of 1,400 copies.

Now for the good news. I am happy to report that *Big Story* has come out in a slightly abridged paperback edition, at $8.95, published by Doubleday/Anchor books. Your readers might be interested to have that information.

MARTIN F. HERZ

Washington, D.C.

### Support for Silent Majority

The October 1978 issue carried a letter from Dennis E. Hinen, C & R Assistant, Sidney. His "Silent Majority" letter struck a very responsive chord—one that deserves being heard up and down the corridors. What indeed would the Service do without the secretaries and communicators? (And the remainder of the so-called "support" personnel.)

Not only from personal experience at assigned posts, but as an Inspector for three years I can supply first hand confirmation of Mr. Hinen's complaint. When a crisis hits a post, he and his colleagues are quickly appreciated and sometimes receive an award recognizing their contributions! But isn't it time for more concrete and equitable recognition of their daily and all too often taken-for-granted contribution?

L. WADE LATHRAM

Alexandria

### A Note on the Death of Peter Orr

The *Journal* of October 1978 carried a short obituary of FSO Peter Orr. Like most similar obituaries it had to be short and concise. I think Peter deserves a little more space.

My friendship with him began in 1964 when he was a Peace Corps Volunteer in what was then East Pakistan and I was the Peace Corps Director for the country as a whole.

Peter Orr (I never knew his Korean name) was smuggled out of Korea during that war in a barracks bag by American GIs. He had become the mascot—and that is a bad term—of a US infantry unit, which found him an orphan in North Korean-held territory. He was adopted and educated here.

In rural East Pakistan, which in many ways was one of the most difficult areas of the world in which Peace Corps Volunteers could serve, his performance was outstanding. Always cheerful, always cooperative, he made many friends among the Bengalis, was immensely effective in an unstructured job in community development, and was totally respected.

He was Asian by birth and American in every good sense of the word. His values were those of Thomas Paine and Thomas Jefferson, those of Lincoln and Martin Luther King.

All of us who knew him will miss him greatly.

JAMES H. BOUGHTON, *FSO-Ret.*

Washington

### For Collectors

My son Paul collects beer cans. If anyone else outside or within the United States is also so afflicted and wishes to encourage the spread of this disease, please tell your collector that Paul would be very pleased to exchange beer cans with him. I, too, will be very pleased if Paul can get these extra "tradeables" out of his closet.

JAMES OZZELLO
*First Secretary*

Mexico, D.F.

### Writing on the Wall

I thought you might just be interested in the following item of Incidental Intelligence:

Obviously Rosslyn is *somebody's* cup of tea. A graffito in the men's room of SA-6 says: "I love Rosslyn with its shopping centers, buses, and restaurants."

RALPH STUART SMITH

### NOTE

John Anderegg's letter, featured in the November editorial column, expressed his personal views and not those of AFGE Locals 1534 and 1812. His letter was not intended to be an "official" expression of AFGE's opinion.

# AFSA NEWS

DECEMBER, 1978

*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.*

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## AFSA SCHOLARSHIPS for dependent sons and daughters of FS personnel

Materials for the 1979-1980 AFSA Merit Awards and Financial Aid Programs are ready to mail out. All students graduating from high school in 1979 interested in entering the Merit Awards Program and all 1979-1980 undergraduate students interested in applying for a financial aid grant from the AFSA Scholarship Fund should write to:

AFSA SCHOLARSHIP PROGRAMS
2101 E Street, N.W.
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The deadline for completion of the materials is February 15, 1979.

These programs are made possible by funds from the AFSA Scholarship Fund and funds raised by the AAFSW Book Fair.

Additional financial aid grants for 1978-1979 have been awarded to: **Thomas H. Estabrook,** Pennsylvania State University, AAFSW Scholarship; **Harriet A. Hirshorn,** Antioch College, Charles B. Hosmer Memorial Scholarship; **Mary A. Hretz,** University of Florida, Vietnam Memorial Scholarship; **James B. Peabody,** The Potomac School, Merrill Trust Scholarship; **John D. Peabody III,** Brooks School, Charles C. and Jane K. Stelle Scholarship; **Diana R. Hooper,** Pratt Institute, Oliver Bishop Harriman Foreign Service Scholarship.

## UNIFIED PERSONNEL SYSTEM FOR AID???

AFSA has long urged upon Congress and AID Management the need for legislating a better Foreign Service personnel system which, among other things, would give AID Foreign Service personnel career status similar to State's and ICA's. Recognizing the many problems in the current AID personnel system, Congress passed and the President signed into law the International Development and Food Assistance Act of 1978 which includes the following provisions:

TITLE IV—UNIFIED PERSONNEL SYSTEM ESTABLISHMENT OF A UNIFIED PERSONNEL SYSTEM

Sec. 410. (a) Not later than March 15, 1979, the President shall submit to the Congress, and publish in the Federal Register, regulations establishing a unified personnel system for all employees of the agency primarily responsible for administering part I of the Foreign Assistance Act of 1961. In preparing such regulations, the President shall keep the appropriate committees of the Congress fully and currently informed, and shall consult with them on a regular basis, concerning the nature of the unified personnel system to be established.

(b) The regulations submitted to the Congress pursuant to subsection (a)—

(1) may not become effective until after the end of the 90-day period beginning on the date of such submission in order to provide the appropriate committees of the Congress an opportunity to review them; and

(2) shall not become effective then if, during such 90-day period, either House of Congress adopts a resolution stating in substance that it disapproves the personnel system proposed to be established by the regulations.

(c) Regulations which take effect pursuant to this section shall have the force and effect of law and shall apply with respect to the personnel of the agency primarily responsible for administering part I of the Foreign Assistance Act of 1961, notwithstanding any inconsistent provision of law unless that provision of law specifically states that it supersedes regulations issued under this section."

The Agency recently hired L. Wade Lathram, a retired Foreign Service officer and an ex-Director of AID's Personnel Office, to draft the Regulations called for in Title IV. The draft is to be ready by January 15, giving the Agency two months to complete its proposals. The Deputy Administrator has asked for AFSA's views on how a unified personnel system should be structured and for AFSA's reaction to the following:

- A unified system would be essentially a Foreign Service system;
- The regulations, procedures, etc., of the unified system would be adopted, to the extent feasible, from existing USG personnel practices, especially those pertaining to the Foreign Service; and
- All personnel conversions from the Civil Service to the Foreign Service would be accomplished at one time.

AFSA gave the following response:

"While AFSA concurs in general with the above principles, we must reserve our full concurrence until we have examined and approved the regulations, procedures, etc., that would implement these principles. We are especially concerned that any Civil Service personnel brought into the Foreign Service have and accept the same obligations as all other members of the Foreign Service; e.g., a unified system should not contain Foreign Service personnel who (a) have no intention of serving overseas, (b) have little or no hope of finding a position that matches their skills, or (c) management will not require to serve overseas. Moreover, we do not wish to see conversions to the Foreign Service for the purpose of grade advancement; with subsequent reversions to higher Civil Service grades as the original 'error' is discovered."

Clearly this subject is of great importance to AID personnel, who are urged to make their views known to the AID Standing Committee. AFSA asked Management to approve the release of one member from other duties for the next few months to work full-time on this matter. Management refused; therefore, all the help that the Standing Committee can get will be appreciated.

## UPWARD MOBILITY IN AID

After approximately a year of goading by AFSA, AID management finally has tabled for consultation Handbook revisions that would govern the conversion of employees from FSS to FSR. AFSA looks forward to the adoption of a permanent procedure for such conversions, rather than repetition of the past ad hoc exercises.

## NEW AID PERSONNEL DIRECTOR

Gordon Ramsey, a veteran member of AID's Foreign Service, has been appointed Director of the Office and Personnel and Training. AFSA is pleased that this key position is once again occupied by an officer who understands the Foreign Service dimension of our activities, and how it impacts on personnel requirements and Agency employees.

## PREGNANCY DISABILITY AMENDMENT TO TITLE VII

On October 31, 1978, the President signed a bill which amended Title VII of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 to explicitly prohibit employment discrimination on the basis of pregnancy, childbirth, or related medical conditions.

This action came about as the result of the concern on the part of Congress, supported by the efforts of representatives from women's and civil rights groups and unions, that the Supreme Court's decision in December 1976 in the *General Electric Co. v. Gilbert* case could vitiate the prohibition contained in Title VII against discrimination in employment based upon sex. In the Gilbert case the Court held that GE's medical plan did not unlawfully discriminate on the basis of sex, although the disability coverage of the plan included every disability which a man might incur, but did not include pregnancy as a covered disability for a woman. The Court held that the difference in treatment between disability related to pregnancy and disability related to other causes was not sex discrimination under the Equal Protection clause of the Fourteenth Amendment. This ruling was reached notwithstanding the fact that the guidelines issued by the EEOC, which has responsibility for administering the Act, included pregnancy-related disabilities in coverage of Title VII. Moreover, all six federal Courts of Appeals which had considered the issue, and twelve district courts, had ruled that pregnancy-related disabilities were within the coverage of Title VII's prohibition of discrimination based upon sex. Justice Stevens, in a dissenting opinion, stated that, "[b]y definition, such a rule discriminate on account of sex; for it is the capacity to become pregnant which primarily differentiates the female from the male."

The House Committee on Education and Labor stated in its report that in their view, the dissenting Justices were correct and the opinion of the Court majority incorrectly interpreted the intent of Congress. They further stated, "In enacting Title VII, Congress mandated equal access to employment and its concomitant benefits for female and male workers. However, the Supreme Court's narrow interpretations of Title VII tend to erode our national policy of nondiscrimination in employment.

"As testimony received by this committee demonstrates, the assumption that women will become pregnant and leave the labor force leads to the view of women as marginal workers, and is at the root of the discriminatory practices which keep women in low-paying and dead-end jobs."

The change does not mandate disability coverage where such coverage does not now exist, but it does require that pregnancy and childbirth be treated the same as any other cause of disability where disability is covered under an employer's fringe benefit plans.

A compromise provision was enacted regarding abortion, stating that employers are not required to cover abortion (unless abortion is necessary to save the mother's life or unless such coverage is part of a collective-bargaining agreement), but employers may choose to provide such benefits.

The provisions of the bill are applicable to federal employees by legislation in 1972 which brought federal employees under the coverage of Title VII.

AFSA will be approaching the Department to discuss the necessary changes in order to bring the Foreign Service system into conformity.

---

## THE SMOKING CONTROVERSY

What are the rights of smokers and non-smokers? Should the rights of one group take priority over the rights of the other? These and similar questions are receiving an increasing amount of attention. The July 1978 Department of State *Newsletter* featured an article on the growing smoking controversy and subsequently published an exchange of related letters. Reacting to such increased concern, private and governmental organizations are implementing revised guidelines and regulations. The goal is to provide adequate protection to all concerned and to promote improved working conditions.

The General Services Administration is responsible for management of most federal buildings. The present GSA guidelines on smoking date from September 1976 and pertain mainly to work areas: "The establishment of no smoking work areas in large open spaces with many employees should be thoroughly investigated. Supervisors should plan work space in such a way that employees who desire a no smoking area can be accommodated, provided that: (1) Efficiency of work units will not be impaired; (2) Additional space will not be required; (3) Costly alterations to the space or procurement of additional office equipment will not be necessary."

New GSA rules were proposed this September and are under current consideration. The new rules are designed to protect non-smokers "without infringing on the rights of smokers." Smoking would be prohibited in all auditoriums, classrooms, conference rooms, elevators, shuttle vehicles, library stack areas, most places in medical care facilities, and areas designated hazardous, such as places where flammables are stored. "No Smoking" areas also would be established in cafeterias. The rules would also permit managers to establish "No Smoking" areas in offices. However, the separation of work space into "smoking" and "no smoking" compartments would be permitted only when the efficiency of work units would not be impaired; additional work space would not be required; and costly alterations or equipment would not be required.

The Department of Health, Education, and Welfare has adopted a more comprehensive set of regulations than those proposed by GSA. The HEW rules appear to be aimed toward providing additional protection to non-smokers: "In common work areas, in which two or more employees are assigned, supervisors *will prohibit* smoking if an employee objects in writing to tobacco smoke in the immediate work environment on the basis that it is having an adverse effect upon his or her health."

Buildings in the United States occupied by State, AID, and ICA are all under the general management of GSA and abide by present GSA guidelines. Most overseas buildings are managed by the State Department's Office of Foreign Buildings. No exact guildelines have been issued for these buildings, in part because smoking habits vary widely in foreign countries. The Department of State was recently asked to adopt smoking regulation similar to those advocated by HEW. Director General Harry G. Barnes's reply was printed in the July *Newsletter:* "In view of the wide variety of working conditions encountered by Department employees at more than 250 posts abroad, I feel that a decentralized regulatory posture is eminently wise and sensible."

AFSA has received some inquiries from the field on the smoking issue. The AFSA Members' Interests Committee finds it in the best interest of all concerned to leave the smoking question up to individual posts to decide. This policy allows for the greatest flexibility in dealing both with Americans abroad and with the foreign nationals employed at those posts.

# BARGAINS FOR BIBLIOPHILES

As comfortable as an old shoe, a second-hand book is a source of joy to many readers. Old and young, they turned out in scores to taste the delights offered by the more than 100,000 hardbound and paperback books on sale in the Department last month during the Association of American Foreign Service Women's 1978 Book Fair. More than 200 volunteers contributed to the event.



*Mrs. William B. Whitney* and daughter *Ellis* admire a painting.




A customer finds a quiet corner.



*Mary Smith*, left, and *Adele Porter* (wearing badges) find the art corner tempting.

## AFSA BOARD ELECTIONS

In early 1979, an Election Call will be announced setting in motion the process for electing members of a new AFSA Governing Board to take office in July 1979. The Election Call will prescribe the terms and conditions of the election and solicit candidates. The general proeedures for conducting these elections each odd-numbered year are outlined in the AFSA Bylaws and will not be substantially affected by the proposed Bylaw changes circulated in the November issue of the Foreign Service *Journal*.

## AFSA ANNUAL AWARDS

The annual presentation of the Herter, Harriman and Rivkin awards will be made on December 13 at noon in the Loy Henderson Room at the State Department. Governor Averell Harriman will be the speaker.

These awards, honoring members of the Foreign Service for initiative, integrity, intellectual courage and creative dissent, carry a stipend of $1,000 each.

## RUBEN MEMORIAL LECTURE

A Memorial Lecture and luncheon, honoring the late Janet E. Ruben, was held on November 30 at the Foreign Service Club. Ms. Ruben was the ICA representative on the AFSA Board at the time of her death.

Dr. Olin C. Robinson, chairman, United States Advisory Commission on International Communication, Cultural and Educational Affairs and President of Middlebury College, delivered the lecture on "Public Diplomacy" to a capacity audience.

## FSJ SPECIAL SERVICES

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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## Foreign Service People

### Marriage

**Curran-Orlando.** Alice T. Curran, FSO-retired, married Joseph Orlando on June 22 at Saint Mary the Virgin, The Parish Church, Bowdon, Cheshire, England. Mr. and Mrs. Orlando will divide their time among Bowdon, Washington and Pompano Beach, Florida.

### Birth

**Boyle.** A son, Joseph Andrew, born to FSO and Mrs. John A. Boyle on March 12, at Fairfax Hospital.

### Deaths

**Allison.** John M. Allison, retired Ambassador, died on October 28 in Honolulu. Ambassador Allison entered the Foreign Service in 1930 and served at Shanghai, Kobe, Tokyo, Dairen, Tsinan, Nanking, Osaka, London, Singapore and as Ambassador to Japan, Indonesia and Czechoslovakia, before his retirement in 1960. He was interned by the Japanese for six months in 1941 and helped draft the Japanese peace treaty after the war. Since his retirement he had been teaching at the University of Hawaii and served as president of the Japan-American Society of Hawaii which he helped found. He is survived by his wife, Sue, whom he married earlier this year, two daughters, Betty Vesey Gewald of Houston and Jeannette West of Honolulu, a stepson, six grandchildren and a great grandchild.

**Carroll.** Loren Carroll, FSO-retired and former magazine and newspaper editor, died on October 21 in Chevy Chase. Mr. Carroll divided his career almost equally between the diplomatic service and journalism, serving as reporter on the Chicago *City News*, correspondent for INS, city editor of the Paris *Herald*, foreign editor of *Newsweek*, chief of psywar operations for OWI in western Europe, press attache at the Paris Embassy, PAO to NATO and Paris, consul general in Quebec and Palermo. After retirement in 1964, he edited the *Foreign Service Journal* for four years. He is survived by his wife, Sheila Baker Carroll, 105 Grafton Street, Chevy Chase 20015, two sons, Alexander and Nicholas, and three sisters, Marion Carroll, Aileen Carroll and Jeanne Carroll Kass, of Western Springs, Ill. Contributions in his memory may be made to DACOR, 1718 H St., N.W. Washington, D.C. 20006.

**Clark.** Lewis Clark, retired Ambassador, died on October 28 in Washington. Ambassador Clark joined the Foreign Service in 1925 and served at Peking, Kalgan, Hankow, Paris, Ottawa, London, Nanking, Tripoli (with personal rank of ambassador), and as consul general at Algiers before his retirement in 1958. He also served as US representative on the UN advisory council for Libya. He is survived by his wife, the former Manuelita Boldt White, 2456 Massachusetts Avenue, N.W., Washington, D.C. 20008, a daughter by his marriage to the late Anne Covington Clark, Anne Jelley, of Orinda and Pebble Beach, California and three grandchildren. Contributions in his memory may be made to the DACOR Educational and Welfare Fund, 1718 H Street, N.W., Washington, D.C. 20006.

**Shouse.** Gordon Shouse, FSO, died on October 28 in Annapolis. Mr. Shouse joined the Foreign Service in 1970 after serving with the Navy. He had assignments to Moscow and Madras, in the bureau of Soviet affairs and as chief of the Washington finance center. At the time of his death he was teaching a course on Soviet affairs at the Naval Academy. He is survived by his wife, the former Eloise Kelley, and a daughter, Bethany, of 147 Williams Dr., Annapolis, Maryland 21401. The family suggests that memorial contributions may be made to the L. Gordon Shouse Memorial Fund, in care of AFSA.

**Wahl.** Sarah Martin Wahl, wife of FSO Theodore A. Wahl, died in Washington on August 31. Mrs. Wahl married her husband in 1948 at Tsingtao and later accompanied him on assignments to Chungking, Oslo, Dhahran, Istanbul, Beirut, Manila and Riyadh. In addition to her husband of the American Embassy, Jidda, she leaves two sons, a daughter, two brothers and a sister. Memorial contributions may be made to the Cancer Home Care Service of Georgetown University.



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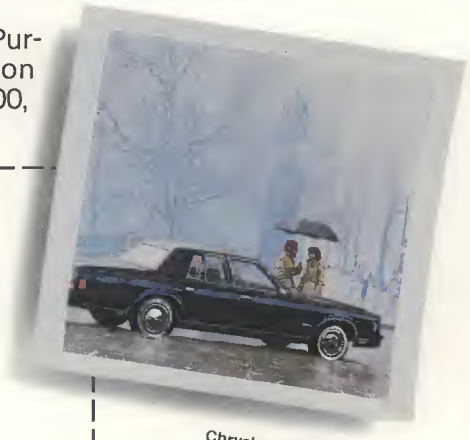
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