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AFSA EDITORIAL

RESTRUCTURING THE FOREIGN SERVICE

Major changes are being proposed for the personnel systems of the Department of State and the Agency for International Development. Through AFSA, the career Foreign Service has an excellent chance to affect the direction and nature of these changes.

There is a legislative mandate, albeit somewhat confusing and contradictory, for change:

- A long-standing requirement—one of the Pell amendments—that the number of Foreign Service personnel categories be simplified;
- The Obey Amendment, Sec. 401 of last year's International Development and Food Assistance Act, called upon the Administration to submit by March 15 a new AID "unified" personnel system to be based primarily on the Foreign Service personnel system and consistent with the Civil Service Reform Act;
- A requirement (initiated by AFSA) for a comprehensive study of compensation and staffing of the Department of State.

AFSA has long supported a number of basic changes (some of which require legislation).

- Limitation of the Foreign Service to employees who are worldwide available and will accept assignment worldwide;
- A single Foreign Service pay plan;
- Better pay for the Foreign Service to fairly compare with civil servants, military personnel and others who do work of comparable value;
- More rapid upward movement for career Foreign Service people in State, AID and ICA, officers, specialists and staff corps;
- A legislative basis for Foreign Service employee-management relations;
- A permanently authorized agency to conduct and coordinate foreign assistance programs, staffed at home and abroad primarily by career Foreign Service people, at least some of whom should have the status, ranks and responsibilities inherent in Presidential commissions;
- A legislative basis for the Board of the Foreign Service, enabling it to give advice on the "Foreign Service impact" of proposed personnel policy changes in or affecting all of the foreign affairs agencies.

The managements of the Department and AID have made proposals which would address at least some of the issues identified above. Unfortunately, they have not really coordinated these efforts with one another.

- The State proposal would convert Foreign Service employees who aren't worldwide available or assignable back to the Civil Service. The AID proposal would convert many Washington-based civil servants to the Foreign Service and permit them to serve broadening tours overseas, but would not require them to accept the discipline of worldwide availability.
- The AID and State proposals contain divergent ideas on how to link FS with GS pay scales.

The differences between the State and AID packages reflect in part the different legislative mandates under which they were developed, in part real disagreement over what is desirable. But neither State nor AID appear to have involved one another in each other's drafting at an early stage before positions began to harden. And the Board of the Foreign Service, which has several representatives from State, AID and ICA, and might have been expected to urge closer coordination, doesn't even have the right to give advice to the AID Administrator on AID personnel policies.

Whatever the reasons, the differences in the proposals will create problems for both en route through the Executive branch and the Congress. State has, after all, the fewest personnel of any Cabinet department, and AID and ICA are smaller still. Going up to the Hill with two and one-half or three separate Foreign Service personnel proposals is likely to strengthen the hand of those who reject even one excepted Foreign Service.

Any decision to go to the Hill with recommended changes to the Foreign Service Act or the Foreign Assistance Act must be very carefully considered. We need to be sure, not only that the proposed changes are desirable in themselves, but that they cannot be accomplished otherwise than through legislation. They must be presented so as not to invite other possibly dangerous amendments to our basic legislation.

Last year, AFSA played a key role in obtaining for the Foreign Service an exception from those aspects of the Civil Service Reform Act which would be most disadvantageous to the Foreign Service if directly applicable. We can play a similarly important role in shaping the two proposals now being developed. Indeed, the disparities among the managements of the foreign affairs agencies, and the inability of the Board of the Foreign Service to deal with AID matters, makes AFSA in many respects the only institution capable of an interagency view of the impact of these proposals on the career Foreign Service.

AFSA is determined that our role in these changes will be representative and effective on behalf of the career Foreign Service. We have asked our chapters and members, and other Foreign Service employees, to comment to us on the two proposals, and will be ready to go back to management, elsewhere in the Executive branch, the Congress—whatever it takes. By the same token, we urge everyone to channel his or her energies, not into fractionated efforts to influence management, but into making the AFSA effort as strong and as right as can be.

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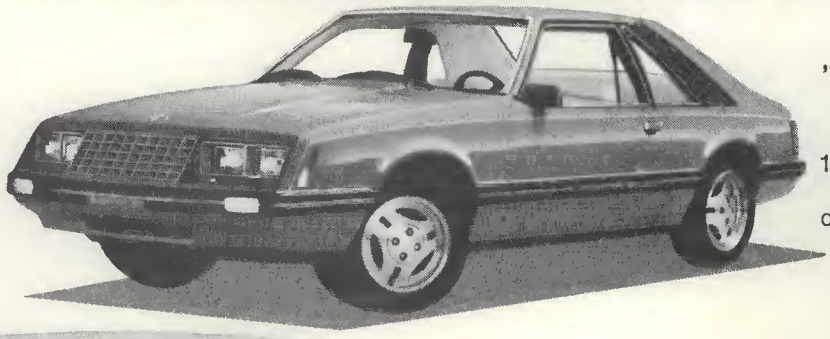

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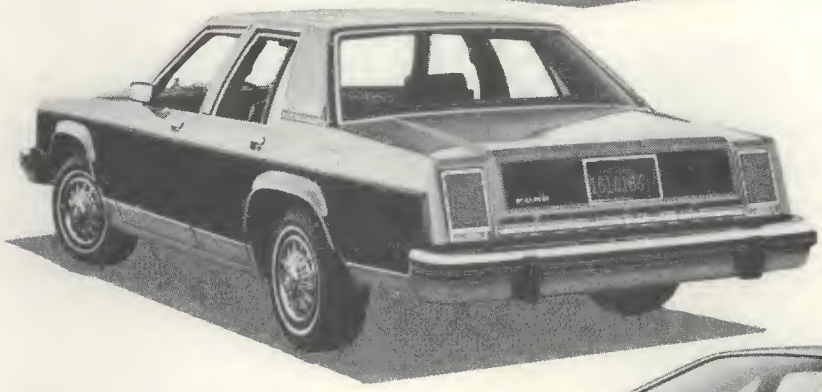

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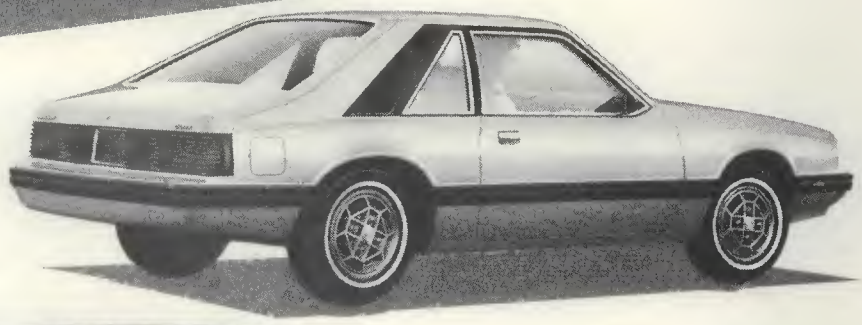

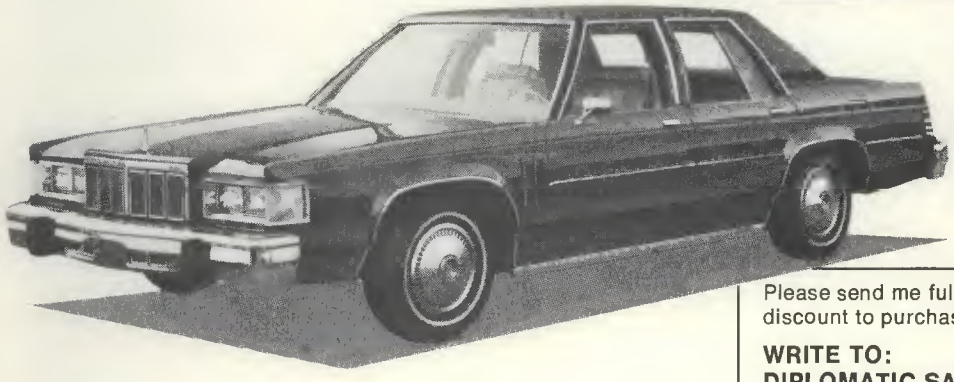

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ANOTHER VIEW OF CHANGE IN AFRICA

NICHOLAS FELD

"So geographers, in Afric-maps
With savage-pictures fill their gaps . . ."

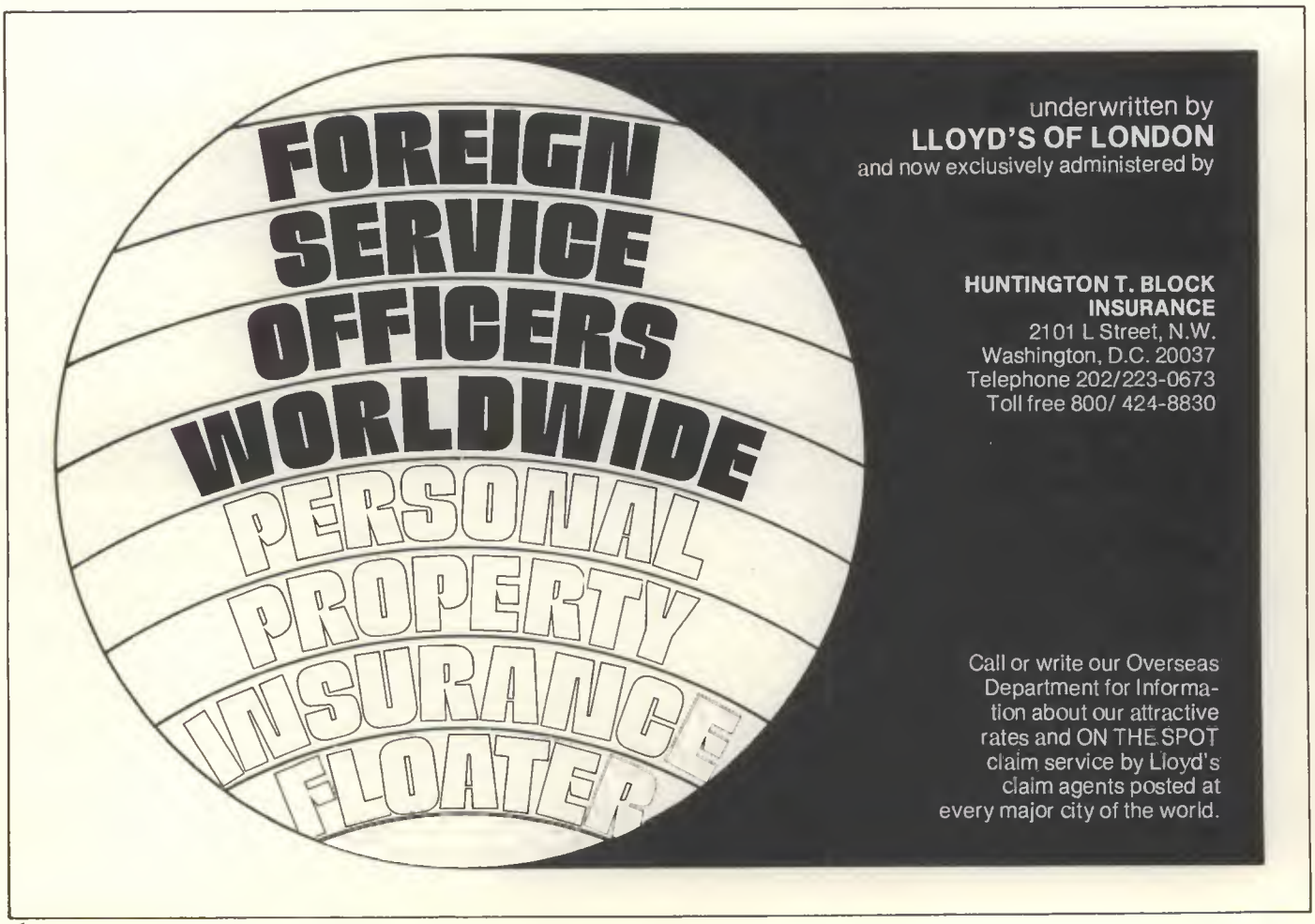
Since Swift wrote those familiar lines about 1733, accumulating scholarly experience of Africa has filled in most of the "gaps," but outworn ideas about Africa still endure among us. One of the most persistent is the overemphasis on "tribalism" as the decisive power factor in Africa and the root cause of its troubles.

Few would deny that tribalism, or ethnicity, continues to be a very important underlying factor in nearly all African societies. But, intensive investigation has produced a more balanced assessment of it as one of a number of significant factors contributing to change in African societies throughout their history, especially in the past several centuries.

Vastly accelerated changes since World War II have revealed that some "ethnic groups" or "tribes" are, in fact, of recent creation. And the very real appearance of an ethnic dimension in the politics of African states does not mean that the dimension is exhaustive, overwhelming or determinative. Thus, Daniel Arap-Moi, a member of the small Kalenjin tribal grouping, recently succeeded the late Kikuyu leader, Jomo Kenyatta, as president of Kenya. The chances are that other such peaceful acces-

The author joined the Foreign Service in 1939 and served at Zurich, Basel, Madras, Pretoria, Dar-es-Salaam, Geneva, Singapore, Budapest and as Acting Director, West African Affairs, Deputy Director, Inter-African Affairs and Country Director, East African Affairs before his retirement in 1969. Since then he has served as US advisor to the Mutual Aid and Loan Guaranty Fund of the Council of the Entente States, Abidjan, has taught courses in Comparative Government, International Relations and History and is now doing independent research.

He states that he is indebted to the works of such Africanists as Henry Bienen, Gwendolyn Carter, Norman R. Bennett, Robert C. Good, Leslie Rubin, Leonard Thompson, Lucy Mair, Monica Wilson and Aristide R. Zolberg.



sions to power will occur in Africa, and for the same reasons as in Kenya, mainly that the nation's political progress and socio-economic development can best be maintained by avoiding divisiveness.

Despite such cases, there is still an unfortunate tendency for some westerners to put the spotlight on tensions having an ethnic component, especially when

> "The point of this discussion is that words like 'primitive,' 'native,' 'tribe' and 'dialect' can be used provided they are defined and applied impartially without regard to race or continent."

large-scale violence surfaced more prominently after independence than before, although there was pre-independence violence in Kenya, Algeria and Madagascar, to mention a few.

By a process of circular reasoning, this manifestation of violence confirms the preconceptions of some westerners that while before independence black Africa largely experienced development, after independence it experienced decay. This view permeates much of the propaganda of those South African and Rhodesian whites, for instance, who try thereby to justify their own racial policies and attitudes towards non-whites. But another way of comparing the performances of blacks in the political and military spheres to that of whites in Africa is to examine whether the black leaders of independent Africa face the same political tasks and have the same means as the former European colonial powers did.

The familiar "administrative state" that developed in the British, French and Belgian colonies and trusteeship territories in Africa based its rule mainly on strength—a strong constabulary force (army, police)—and on competence in the form of a state administration led by Europeans and utilizing some Africans at lower levels in hierarchically organized field and technical services. Such a pattern could accommodate to a degree of popular representation and democracy during the period in which the colonial power was devolving power to the Africans as a prelude to independence.

Once that independence was achieved, the pattern, of necessity, changed markedly. Without possessing the coercive potential available to the colonial powers, the new African leaders were committed to a much faster pace of change in performing the tasks which the independent states set for themselves. Programs for much more rapid economic and social development replaced gradualist colonial improvement measures as the main goal of the new states. Those of us who have served in both pre- and post-independence Africa know that development programs throughout most of Africa have been far more ambitious in complexity, variety and aspiration in the last two decades. The fact that some African states have been relatively successful in their efforts, and others much less so, is not a peculiarly African phenomenon.

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With regard to political systems *per se*, another weakness of the "tribalist" approach to Africa is to regard the version of the nation-state found in Western Europe, North America and the white Commonwealth as the norm—the model which all peoples throughout the world should strive to imitate—and then to contrast it with "tribalism." But modern political science has gone well beyond this parochial view, and looks at political systems differently. Influenced by sociology and allied disciplines, political scientists have developed more universal and more accurate terms in analyzing power and its use. In the case of Africa they have listed three categories of political systems which have existed in most African countries—the so-called traditional system that prevailed in pre-colonial times; the European colonial systems in their varied forms; and the equally varied independent political systems, within frontiers established during the colonial period. Even today there remain patterns of colonial government and representatives of the traditional system who have power, although their present influence on the actual political realities of the independent states is diminishing.

Some "traditional" political systems had fairly well-defined centralized authority, with force at their disposal to carry out decisions and allocate resources. Examples, at some point in history, are the Ashanti of Ghana, the Kingdom of Morocco, Egypt, the Toucouleur, the Wolof of Tekrur, the Merina of Madagascar, the Balozi of Zambia, and the Fulani of Guinea. In others which did not have "governments," kinship groups, age groups and secret societies performed the functions of centralized authority. These include the Nuer of Sudan, the Fang of Gabon, the Kikuyu of Kenya, the Banda of the Central African Empire, the Igbo of Nigeria and the Amba of Uganda.

Some western anthropologists, instead of studying mankind in general, become ethnographers, describing "primitive" African societies in isolation. They failed to compare African political systems with basic concepts of human organization or with other political systems, thus accentuating the long-time western tendency to treat Africa as a special part of the planet. Their terminology, which evokes special feelings, has been used to describe Africa at least since the advent of the colonial period. Thus, their tendency to talk about "kings" in Europe but "chiefs" in Africa. They deem a gathering or "palaver" in Africa (which is quite similar to a form of "pure" democracy found in the New England town meeting or the Swiss cantonal Landesgemeinde open air meetings) as "primitive." Westerners have also designated African people as "natives," implying that natives are somehow inferior. And so on, through a whole list of such usages.

But the "tribes" and the "strange" languages they speak excite the greatest comment. There are, of course, many tribes in Africa, as there were twelve tribes of Israel, and just as there are forms of tribes in Europe and America today, although we may prefer to call the latter "ethnic groups" or "nations." In the United Kingdom one refers to the separatism of the Scots and Welsh as "nationalist" movements. In Yugoslavia there are Serbs, Croats and Slovenes. In Belgium the Flemish and the

Continued on page 36

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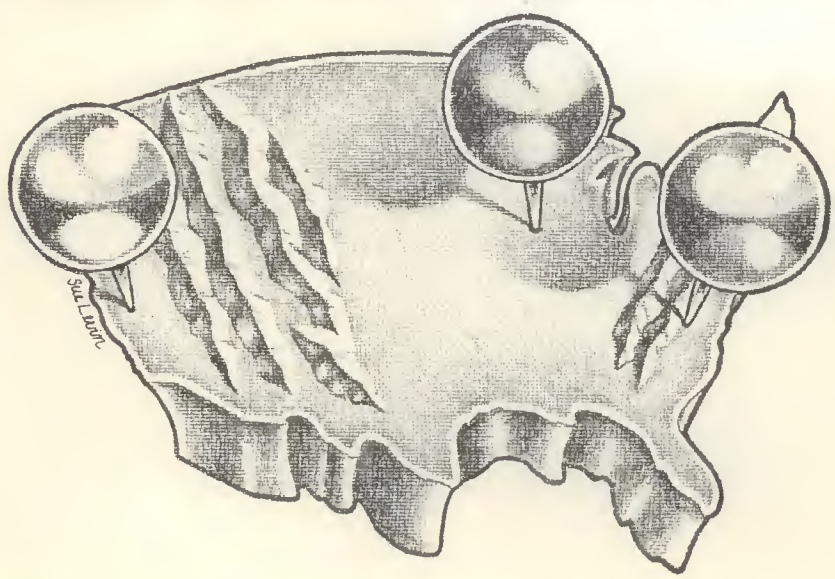

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CHINA: AFTER 35 YEARS

Yenan, China, fall, 1944: left to right: Chou En-lai; Chu Teh, commander-in-chief of Communist forces; John K. Emmerson; Mao Tse-tung; Yeh Chieh-ying, chief of staff of Communist forces.

JOHN K. EMMERSON

Almost thirty-five years ago, in mid-1944, while World War II was still raging, a group of foreign service officers was assigned to Yenan, the "capital" of the area in China then controlled by Communists, who were to become the future rulers of China. Four of us—John Davies, John Service, Raymond Ludden, and myself—lived with and observed Mao Tse-tung and his followers fighting a war while planning for the day when they would take over China. We were members of the "Dixie Mission (after all, we were proceeding to "rebel" territory) which was more formally designated the United States Army Observer Group. We never received written instructions but we assumed that our responsibilities included assessment of the contribution the Chinese Communists were making to the war against Japan and some analysis of their political potential for the future. My own job, as a Japanese language officer, was to investigate the activities being carried on with Japanese prisoners of war and through interviews with these Japanese, to probe attitudes, morale and thoughts about a future Japan which would arise from defeat. Most members of the mission were uniformed personnel (they included one naval officer and several members of the Office of Strategic Services) who took care of battlefield intelligence, communications activities, and observed the fighting capabilities of the Communists' 8th Route Army in the field.

Those of us who in 1944 flew from Chungking, the wartime capital of China, to Yenan, experienced a metamorphosis that even the toughest of us failed to resist. From leaden skies, mud, drizzle, fog, constant talk of corruption, tales of venal generals and flagging spirit in fighting our common enemy, the Japanese, we suddenly dropped down into a new society being forged among the remote loess hills of Shensi province with a vigor, determination and dedication we had not seen before. In October, when I arrived, the air was crisp and the sun was bright. I remembered my youthful experiences at religious revival meetings and wrote: "The first day in the 'brave new China!' Down the sawdust trail march we!" The Chinese Communists were resolved to build a revolution out of the peasantry. They were Marxists and they denied the appellation "agrarian reformers" which some over-enthusiastic foreigners had accorded to them. They paid homage to Len-

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John K. Emmerson entered the Foreign Service in October 1935 and retired in March 1968. He began and ended his career abroad in Japan. First assigned to Tokyo as a Japanese language officer in 1936, he was stationed three times in Japan: in Tokyo, Osaka, and Taihoku (Taiwan), from 1936 to 1941; in the political adviser's office during the occupation of Japan in 1945 and 1946; and as minister and deputy chief of mission of the Tokyo Embassy from 1962 through 1966. Other capitals to which Mr. Emmerson was posted included Lima, Moscow, Karachi, Beirut, Paris, Lagos, and Salisbury (Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland). During World War II he was attached to General Joseph W. Stilwell as political adviser in the China-Burma-India theater of war. In 1967 Mr. Emmerson was detailed to Stanford University as diplomat-in-residence and since retirement has been Senior Research Fellow at the Hoover Institution at Stanford, a position he now holds.

Mr. Emmerson is the author of Arms, Yen and Power: The Japanese Dilemma *(Dunellen, 1971);* Will Japan Rearm? *(with Leonard A. Humphreys) (Hoover Institution-American Enterprise Institute, 1973); and* The Japanese Thread: A Life in the US Foreign Service *(Holt, Rinehart and Winston, October 1978). Regarding the latter, Harrison Salisbury of the* New York Times *has stated: "This is a story we must etch in our memory."* The Christian Science Monitor, *in a recent review (January 4, 1979) has appraised the book as follows: "Emmerson has given us one of the best diplomatic memoirs of recent years."*

in, Stalin and the Russian revolution but China's revolution was Mao Tse-tung's revolution and one could have predicted then that a solid Russo-Chinese monolith would not persist.

Mao and his associates knew that they were going to take over China; "coalition government" might be a tactic but unity with Chiang Kai-shek's Kuomintang was never truly anticipated. Before they could control China—and a civil war was inevitable although they denied it—they had to get rid of the Japanese, who stood in the way. So the 8th Route Army *did* fight the Japanese and members of our Dixie Mission traveled through the hinterland to see at first hand Communists fighting Japanese.

Long before Teng Hsiao-ping and his "four modernizations" (agriculture, industry, science and technology and defense) Mao, who always said "*when* we take over China," never *if*, saw his country's future as a progress toward industrialization and a place in the world of advanced nations. He told us he would look to the United States, not to the Soviet Union, for needed help to modernize China. His message to us was: "You must teach us your technology and your democracy." Statements, slogans and wall posters appearing in China in late 1978 and early 1979 strike one who remembers 1944 as echoes of that past.

On December 16, 1944, the day before my departure from Yenan, Mao asked me to convey a message of goodwill to Undersecretary of State Joseph C. Grew, who had been my boss in prewar Tokyo. The following month Mao and Chou En-lai proposed that they visit Washington. Recently released documents reveal that Chou En-lai as late as 1949 wanted to establish friendly relations with the United States. But such was not to be. Mao's and Chou's overtures were ignored or rejected. History took many turns and thirty years passed before the United States established diplomatic relations with the People's Republic of China on January 1, 1979.

Invited by the People's Association for Friendship with Foreign Countries, a group of us Yenan "alumni" traveled to China in May 1978 as "Dixie Mission II." Our hosts asked us to designate the cities we wished to visit. Distances and numbers prevented all of us from returning to every place on our list; we therefore divided into a "western" and an "eastern" tour, converging in Sian and moving together to Yenan and Peking, our final stop and the climax of the tour. Our western contingent went to Canton, Kweilin, Kunming, Chungking, and Chengtu, all cities known to us in wartime.

We were received everywhere as "old friends" who had associated with the leaders of their new, revolutionary China when they had been planning the future in the caves of Yenan. At each city top local officials entertained us at sumptuous banquets where expressions of our friendship flowed with the innumerable toasts in throat-burning *mao tai*. Our principal host was Wang Ping-nan, president of the People's Association for Friendship with Foreign Countries, whom we had known in 1944 and 1945 as the Communists' representative in Chungking. Themes of the toasts, besides protestations of welcome and friendship, included appeals for normalization and ominous references to the neighboring "polar bear" (the word Russian was never mentioned) who waits with bared fangs to take over the world.

The highest ranking Chinese whom we had known in 1944 and whom we met again in 1978 was Marshall Yeh Chien-ying, then chief of staff of the 8th Route Army, recently minister of defense, and now second ranking official to Chairman Hua Kuo-feng, and Huang Hua, then an interpreter assigned to the Dixie Mission and now foreign minister of the People's Republic. Each of them entertained us at banquets in Peking and expressed their pleasure at our return to China. Huang Hua I had known better than any of the other Chinese in 1944 Yenan. Since I spoke Japanese and not Chinese, he almost always accompanied me in meetings with party leaders. In 1973 I called on him in New York when he was Chinese ambassador to the United Nations. I offered to give back to him a 1944 Englsh translation of Mao's *On New Democracy*, poorly mimeographed on the rough, locally produced paper then available in Yenan and bearing a penciled notation "Please return to Huang Hua." I apologized for the twenty-nine year delay in returning his property; he laughingly remarked that it was a very poor translation. During most of a long conversation, the ambassador delivered a diatribe against the Russians, urging Americans to look to their defenses against an enemy bent on certain war.

So much has happened since last May and so many Americans have visited China that any report of conversations then would pale beside the torrents of protestations of good will and praise of democracy which have been reported from China in recent weeks.

We were surprised in May at how little was said about Taiwan. When asked, our friends would repeat the standard answers: Taiwan is a domestic problem which should not concern foreigners; since the matter is purely one of the reunification of a part of China, the manner of return is a Chinese affair; peaceful reunification is desired and expected but no commitment to reject the use of force will ever be made. Wang Ping-nan, who briefed us in response to written questions, affirmed that Taiwan would be peacefully liberated but that "we cannot accept interference in China's internal affairs by the United States." In recent months the word "liberate" has been replaced by "reunify."

As a young foreign service officer, I had in 1939 been vice-consul in the one-man post the Department maintained in Taihoku, the capital of Taiwan, or Formosa, as the island had been called by the Portuguese. After the war, Taihoku became Taipei. The Japanese, who ruled Taiwan for fifty years, tried unsuccessfully to abolish all vestiges of Chinese culture, including language, literature, drama, religion and customs. The Japanese colonial government pursued vigorously a policy they called *Kominka*, or "turning into imperial subjects," which we saw at work at first hand. Many Formosans were sent to war during Japan's hostilities with China, but always as work troops since they were not trusted in combat. All Formosan Chinese who grew up during the years 1895-1945 were educated only in Japanese and read books and periodicals in Japanese;

Members of Dixie Mission II, Peking, May 1978: In the center: Huang Hua, foreign minister of the PRC, on Huang Hua's right: John S. Service, foreign service officer (ret.), on far right: John K. Emmerson, foreign service officer (ret.).

Chinese publications were banned. This common language among older Taiwanese has greatly facilitated the lucrative and extensive business relationships which grew up between Taiwanese and Japanese in the postwar period.

After the Nationalist Chinese came from the mainland to rule Taiwan, they restored Chinese influence and banned Japanese publications and films. The Taiwanese had again to shift thoughts and attitudes. The brutal manner in which the Kuomintang troops occupied Taiwan in 1947 left a rift between mainlanders and Taiwanese which has never been completely healed. For a time a Taiwanese independence movement was active in both Japan and the United States but its strength and influence have diminished considerably in recent years, although aspirations of independence have surely not been totally eradicated. Up to now the unifying factor between Taiwanese and mainlanders has been shared opposition to a Communist-imposed government. The Taiwanese, who in large part are the businessmen of the island, have believed that a Communist take-over would be the death knell of the free enterprise system which supplies their life blood.

The Taiwanese, although forming the preponderant majority of the island's population, have been the forgotten people. No plebiscite has ever been taken to determine the destiny they desire. The Shanghai communiqué of 1972, signed by Chou En-lai and President Nixon, dubiously states that "all Chinese . . . maintain there is but one China and that Taiwan is a part of China." This affirmation ignores those Formosan Chinese who, if given a choice, would prefer an independent Taiwan. A declaration of an independent Taiwan would be a development which the PRC could, of course, not tolerate, and scarcely any other event could more upset the stability of East Asia.

Recently, the government under the son of Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek, Chiang Ching-kuo, has been moving slowly in the direction of democracy and toward widening participation in administration, both local and island-wide, by the Taiwanese. Inevitably, since there is no new influx of mainlanders, Taiwan will eventually become truly Taiwanese.

With the recognition by the United States of the People's Republic of China and the one-year notice of abrogation of the American security treaty with the "Republic of China," the focus of attention has shifted to the determination of the future of Taiwan. Teng Hsiao-ping and his associates have exuded good will and openmindedness in their promises of freedom for Taiwan to pursue its separate system and maintain autonomy within the Chinese People's Republic. So far, responses from Taipei have been relentlessly negative; Chiang Ching-kuo has refused communication with the representatives of Peking.

Time will be required to settle the Taiwan "problem." In the meantime the United States has expressed its concern for the peaceful reunification of the island and retains the right to continue to supply arms to Taipei. Japan believes the security of Taiwan, as well as that of South Korea, to be inextricably related to its own security and worries about the loosening of American commitments in the area. Certainly, barring an unexpected overturn of China's present rulers and abandonment of the march toward modernization, the priorities in China will be, as stated, progress in the four areas of agriculture, industry, defense, and science. An attempt by the PRC to take Taiwan by force would run counter to all of these goals besides alienating the two countries on which China must most depend, Japan and the United States.

A crucial period lies ahead. Much will hinge on the success of the grandiose plans of Teng Hsiao-ping. If Chinese oil can become the lubricant for flourishing trade with Japan and other advanced nations, if education can keep pace with the demand for advanced technology and urban and rural development, if the standard of living of a billion people can be improved, then the chances for a transformation in China paralleling the spectacular accomplishments of Japan's 19th century Meiji restoration can be anticipated. The Meiji slogan "rich country, strong military" is being echoed by Chinese leaders. One may speculate on the consequences of such a transformation. Would a resurgent China shake hands with a relatively more equalized Soviet Union, or would war between the two Communist states become more likely? Would a confident China seize Taiwan militarily, providing, as some Chinese generals have suggested, that reunification had not yet been achieved peacefully and that the international situation were suitable? No one can answer these questions.

On the other hand, should the progress of the four modernizations falter, and the expectations of greatness be betrayed, the result could be disillusionment with democratic pragmatism and a return to ideology and another form of cultural revolution. The task outlined by China's leader is stupendous, when the funds are calculated, the

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A LOOK AT SOVIET CHINA-WATCHING

LEO A. ORLEANS

In their search for love and leverage, Washington, Moscow and Peking are each carefully weighing the political, strategic and economic implications of every pronouncement emanating from the other two capitals. Just how well the statements are understood, how expertly the policies are analyzed and how accurately the motivations are interpreted are crucial in this high-stake, tri-polar game of cat and mouse. While each nation has its internal peculiarities which pose problems to foreign analysts, there is no doubt that China—even without the ubiquitous "gang of four"—continues to be the more unpredictable and the more difficult to analyze. There is a widespread belief, however, that because they are neighbors, and Communists and former friends, the Soviet Union has a great advantage over the United States in its analysis and understanding of the People's Republic of China. But while the Soviets may try to perpetuate this conviction by insisting that "we know them better than you," they don't.

In their study of present-day China, Soviet sinologists do have several advantages, the most important being that "they were there." For more than ten years many thousands of Soviet specialists and technicians lived in China and were able to observe the country at close range—as comrades, not as enemies. Hundreds of Soviet China specialists spent time in the country either as visitors or as embassy officials. China has changed since the 1950s, but the opportunity the Soviets had, not only through observation, but through their association with policymakers, administrators, intellectuals and workers, was not available to anyone else. This experience of the 1950s (and continued diplomatic presence since then), represents an important advantage in the study of China. Although the Soviets accuse the Chinese of distorting the socialist system of development, it is very helpful to know exactly what is being distorted and how it is being distorted.

The Soviets also have the advantage of western scholarship on China at their disposal. Anyone struggling with economic estimates, for example, can appreciate the value of first reviewing the analyses of others—and whether or not one agrees with them is immaterial. Certainly China watchers in the west have not had the benefit of seeing more than a smattering of Soviet estimates. The Soviets, on the other hand, not only obtain all the relevant foreign publications through normal subscriptions and purchases, but in nations where significant work is done on China, Soviet embassies maintain at least one China specialist whose primary responsibility is to collect unpublished reports and papers, attend conferences and in general keep up with the activities of scholars and officials working on China. Since the English language is now a prerequisite for the younger generation of Soviet China scholars, US research is carefully studied and frequently cited—albeit usually selecting critical evaluations which seem to support and perhaps add authority to their own judgments.

Soviet research institutions on China are concentrated essentially in Moscow, with only a few other centers scattered around the country. Presumably this should make for a better-planned and better-coordinated program which facilitates meetings, conferences and the general exchange of views and information. In the United States such cross-pollination may require a major effort and a substantial expense; in Moscow—at least in theory—this can be done more quickly and informally. Whether this is in fact the case is debatable, however, since the impression one gets from Soviet visitors is that despite periodic conferences, sinologists are highly compartmentalized by discipline and institution.

There are, however, inherent weaknesses and important handicaps faced by Soviet sinologists, and surprisingly not the least of them is inexperience in conducting critical analysis of developments in the PRC. Following in the footsteps of their tsarist predecessors, highly competent Soviet sinologists essentially continued to specialize in Chinese language, history and the humanities pursued in such prestigious institutions as the Institute of Oriental Studies. Chinese studies took a spurt after the creation of the People's Republic, in 1949, but the two countries were, after all, close friends and you don't study friends the way you do enemies. The number of publications on China increased rapidly, but virtually all of them were descriptive in nature, reporting Chinese claims and evaluations, but lacking any analytical content. Even after the 1960 split between China and the USSR, there did not seem to be a major effort to study contemporary China, because the Soviets never believed that the break was anything but a temporary aberration and that the Chinese would eventually "return

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to the fold." Only during the Cultural Revolution, with its highly pitched anti-Soviet rhetoric, and especially after the border incidents in 1969, was Moscow finally convinced that efforts to patch up the differences with Peking were not likely to produce any immediate results. China was obviously departing even further from what the Soviet leaders considered to be rational policies and there was no longer any doubt of the necessity for really serious analysis and evaluation of China's capabilities as a military, political and even economic competitor. And in response to the recognition of this new requirement, Soviet academic studies of present-day China have been accelerating and rapidly improving since 1970. But only since 1970.

Another handicap the Soviets face is that in comparison to the United States the number of people in the Soviet Union who are working on contemporary China is still small. One obvious reason is that of language. In the United States the overwhelming majority of university scholars and government researchers working on the People's Republic of China rely on the hundreds of pages per week of translated texts (newspapers, journals, radio broadcasts and other materials), which are available to individuals interested in the day-to-day developments in China. Even many scholars of Chinese extraction find it more practical to use translations and only occasionally supplement or cross-check this information by consulting the original texts. In other words, the knowledge of the Chinese language, while highly desirable, is not a prerequisite to the study of contemporary China in the United States. The Soviet Union does apparently publish Chinese radio broadcasts in Russian and probably translates other selected materials, but the overall effort does not come close to the extensive translation services available in the United States.

This means that in the USSR every person working on China must have a good grasp of the Chinese language. As admirable as this may be, the obstacle of language limits tremendously the number of people who, in addition to getting a higher degree in a discipline, would be willing to devote years of additional study to attain a reading fluency of Chinese. Related to the question of language, the Soviet Union does not have the tremendous resource represented by the many hundreds of American scholars and translators of Chinese extraction, who not only have a native language fluency, but also can provide valuable perspective on many of Peking's policies and programs.

Every Soviet scholar visiting the United States is overwhelmed by the materials on China available in our academic and governmental institutions and by our elaborate retrieval technology. While Soviet centers have impressive Chinese collections in their own right, and have numerous titles not available in the United States, there is no reason to doubt the amazement expressed by visitors viewing American collections and facilities. When queried about reasons for this discrepancy, the answer is more or less the same. In the 1950s, when the USSR and the PRC were friendly, the Soviets obtained much material from China, but apparently there was no directed, intensive and systematic collection effort; certainly nothing comparable to the US effort. There seemed to be no reason at that time for anything much more than a casual procurement of Chinese publications. They apparently did use some of the Hong Kong book sellers to obtain publications from the Chinese mainland after the 1960 schism, but probably because the Soviets did not believe until the late 1960s that the break between them and Peking was anything but temporary, the USSR did not establish a wide-ranging procurement system comparable to that of the United States.

> "There is the old-fashioned racial prejudice against the Chinese which readily translates into the long-standing fear of the 'yellow peril'—but now a peril with a nuclear capability."

Most important, in terms of quality and objectivity, is the inevitable intrusion of politics into research on China. Soviet sinologists visiting the United States become indignant if anyone even suggests that, because there is little if any disagreement in how they perceive China, they are not completely free to state the impartial conclusions of their research. They maintain that there is no consensus in the Soviet Union about China and that scholars are free to express their views either in writing or orally ("we have heated arguments"). Why then such congruency in all Soviet publications? Because, they say, the course of China's political and economic development makes it intellectually impossible for anyone to disagree with the basic criticisms. How can anyone argue that China is not a militarized society, for example; or defend the Great Leap and the Cultural Revolution; or say that the emphasis on small-scale rural industries is an efficient means of economic development. To further counteract the accusations of political prejudice, they turn the argument around and accuse the China watchers in the United States of gullibility in accepting China's claims and in seeking (and often finding) rationale for some of Mao's disruptive principles and programs. They say that to the Americans "Peking looks like Gogol's lady—'pleasing in every respect.' " In other words, Soviet sinologists are just as vehement in defending their objectivity and in denying any undue political influences or pressures, as specialists in the west are, in denying any personal biases. But despite their protestation there is no doubt that some of the myopia in Soviet research on China is prescribed and that such a sensitive discipline as Soviet sinology cannot be free from political meddling.

Some of the uniformity of Soviet research is also inevitable when viewed from the perspective of the system under which it is performed. Highly planned, regulated and coordinated research is not appropriate in dealing with contemporary China or, for that matter, with any other area with inadequate data. In this stifling atmosphere there is little imagination in

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"America is a land of wonders, in which everything is in constant motion and every change seems an improvement."—Alexis De Tocqueville

ELEPHANTS IN SOUTH DAKOTA

THE SEARCH FOR AMERICA

ROBERT F. MILLER

"Thus I discovered that I did not know my own country . . . I had not heard the speech of America, smelled the grass and the trees and the sewage, seen its hills and water, its color and quality of light . . ."

So begins *Travels with Charley*, John Steinbeck's poignant and wise search for America.

I first read those words at the age of eighteen. It was my first year back home, after a lifetime living in the foreign service, and Steinbeck's book described a land I had never seen, and people I did not know. But the words impressed me, and fifteen years later, in the summer of 1978, I quit a job which held little interest for me, packed a small car with camping gear and embarked on my own 12,000 mile search for what Steinbeck had called "this monster land."

And I smelled the grass, the sage that grows on the sandy pink plains of the Southwest and fills your nostrils with a dusty pungent odor. I smelled the eucalyptus trees in the Sacramento valley, a prickly smell that mingles with the odors of the orchards. And I saw elephants in South Dakota—two of them—huge gray shapes lumbering across Interstate 90, out of the wheat fields.

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Of course they were not elephants, not upon close examination. They were hay wagons, heavily loaded and pulled by a tractor. But at first glance, from a distance . . . "You're crazy," laughed my companion, a Californian who knew better. But she had never crossed the choking Serengeti plains in a Land Rover or sat by a waterhole in Tsavo and watched the elephants. Sometimes they looked like hay wagons. And sometimes they were bright red, covered in Kenya clay, much the same color as the sandstone cliffs of New Mexico.

It is quite natural, is it not, to relate what you see, or think you see, to what you have already seen. My reference points were in Europe, India, and Africa. I remember standing on the floor of the Rift Valley, just where the soda lakes divide Kenya from Tanzania, on one of those days when the African sun beats down through your head and melts the soles of your desert boots, wondering, "Is this what the Southwest is like?" When our Honda motorcar dropped down the escarpment of Palo Duro Canyon, just outside of Amarillo, Texas, I felt the thrill of returning to a place familiar after many years. It was all there—the perpendicular planes, the pastel layers, even the thorns, though not the lovely flat-topped fever trees where we used to stretch out in the shade in the middle of the day.

And yet the American Southwest is unique. While there may be common reference points (and I found them all over the United States), this country is also like no other, and I was most interested in those qualities peculiar to America.

This was unexplored and uncharted territory for me. What I knew of this land I had learned from what a history professor had scornfully labeled, "secondary sources." It is quite easy to do that when you live in Washington, D.C. and everyone tells you that you know what is going on. You read the best newspapers, watch the pundits on the television, mingle with residents of every state, see movies which offer a clue now and then. But I had never even crossed the Mississippi River, and one day I watched, from the steps of the US Capitol where I was working, as protesting farmers let loose thirty goats, which promptly disappeared into offices and corridors. The sight was amusing and I joined the laughter of the farmers. But their laughter was touched by bitterness and I suddenly realized that I had no idea who these people were, or what it was like where they came from.

So, equipped with volumes of Steinbeck, Twain, Irving Stone's *Men to Match my Mountains* and an old mandolin I was determined to learn to play, I pointed the Japanese marvel of automotive engineering west, and set out in search of America.

At the edge of a man-made lake

in Arkansas on a misty, blue-green morning, I met a man from Chowchilla, California. He identified the place with reference to the kidnapping of a schoolbus full of children there. Heavy-set in an athletic way, he had huge hands and a broad face, a western face with large, open features. He smiled when he spoke and he spoke with a startling gentleness that contradicted his size.

"Six months ago I had a head of hair like yours," he said, rubbing thick fingers through his sparse, curly white hair. "It fell out when I went into a coma." He was not meant to be in Arkansas at all. His doctors had advised against a turtle collecting trip to the Gulf states but he had gone anyway and now he and his wife were headed home in a VW van. The trip he was meant to be on was an exploration of the Amazon, and when he spoke of it the regret was there in his eyes.

"I took all the shots, just to be safe and my body reacted to the cholera," he said, "I went into a coma that lasted weeks and the doctors still don't know just what happened."

We talked a bit about turtles and about his interest in making a living raising and selling them. A few years ago the government made that illegal and he hoped the laws could be changed. "They said it was because of the risk of salmonella poisoning but I suspect the real reason was too many kids thought the turtles were wind-up toys," he laughed. This was to be a second career; the man had recently sold his dairy farm and he spoke of this new venture with the enthusiasm and delight of a twenty-one-year-old.

Around us the camp was waking up. The smells of breakfast began to drift through the pine trees and when his wife called from a nearby bath house for some shampoo we wished each other luck and the man from Chowchilla trotted off to his van full of turtles, diving gear, and somewhere, a bottle of shampoo.

It is quite possible to spend weeks camping in the United States without meeting anyone. That is not to say you do not see anyone; it is about as difficult to escape the sight of fellow human beings in the United States as it is in India. I remember picnics in that teeming country which included lengthy searches for a spot of uninhabited ground. And just when you thought you had found it, there, fifty feet away, standing on one leg and leaning on a stick, a human form and a face with unrelentingly staring eyes.

In this country there is not much staring but you have to backpack into some fairly rugged mountains in order to escape humanity. Camping is enormously popular and local, state and federal agencies have catered to the urge by providing what are, in many cases, elaborate facilities. But the very popularity of the camping experience has created an atmosphere on crowded camp sites similar to that in big city apartment dwellings. Your proximity to others is so tight that privacy must be protected by ignoring neighbors no more than twenty feet away.

> "Had Norman been built in Europe, in the 14th century, Oklahoma University's football stadium would have been the cathedral."

Perhaps nothing has contributed more to this sense of isolation in the midst of comfortable civilization than the RV, the recreational vehicle. John Steinbeck may have started it all when he had a small house built on his pickup truck but let's not blame him. In any case, the idea has blossomed and, in true American fashion, has been carried to ridiculous extremes. Hurtling along a Los Angeles freeway, gasping for air (the pollution problem is not exaggerated), I saw, sitting in a dealer's showroom, an RV with its own helicopter perched above the driver's cab, like a great plastic vulture!

An RV is best described as portable suburbia. Usually resembling an aluminum storage shed on wheels, they are equipped with everything (including airconditioning and television), except taste in design. At one particularly spectacular camping area along the northern coast of California, I observed one such vehicle for twelve hours without once seeing any of its inmates emerge into fresh air.

Until you get out in this country, traveling and camping, it is difficult to appreciate how much of a "do-it-yourself" operation it is. Services (unlike anywhere else I have traveled, where waiters, bellmen, doormen, clerks and guides hover about in large quantities) are provided by machines, not people. Supermarkets, fast foods, carry-outs, laundromats, ice machines, a highway system that encourages long distance travel, well marked roads and accurately drawn roadmaps, even self-service gas pumps have all but made people obsolete. Consequently, meeting the locals, actually establishing some sort of human contact beyond a polite, or even friendly, greeting, becomes a matter of choice and involves some degree of effort.

This sense of isolation, in spite of circumstances which made it unlikely and surprising, made me wonder about the earliest explorers of this land and the sense of isolation they may have felt in the midst of genuine wilderness. Heavener, Oklahoma, makes you wonder about just that.

Heavener is a whistle-stop railroad town where the tracks run parallel to the main street. We arrived there after taking a short cut straight down a pine-covered ridge and out onto the brown plains. Outside the town was a sign reading, "Warning, hitchhikers may be escaping inmates." A freight train crept through the town and a grandfatherly figure in a blue uniform stepped down from the caboose. Three small children leaped from a waiting pickup and ran to him. Bending over as he walked, he rubbed their heads with one hand and carried a black bag in the other.

The residential part of Heavener, laid out in small squares of single level bungalows, runs partway up the slope of Poteau Mountain, site of the 1977 National Hang-gliding Championships. The mountain overlooks a dry, flat land marked by occasional twisted trees, bent by a relentless hot wind that blows from the south. On the ridge of the mountain, protected by the sweeping curve of a cliff, is the Heavener rune-stone, a huge slab

of rock which bears, in carved Norse letters, the date, November 11, 1012.

The effect is staggering. Staring at those strange symbols, here in the middle of America on the edge of a vast, baking plain 600 miles from the nearest body of water, the implications were unbelievable. The Vikings, those bearded, woolly seamen whom we now give credit for landing on the East Coast centuries before the rest of Europe had the imagination to conceive a new world—in Oklahoma? The thought was, to me, exhilarating. Why did they come, and why didn't they stay? What did they think about the place? Did they encounter the native people? And why is there no further evidence, a written record somewhere? The Heavener rune-stone is only one of several found in the American Midwest and there remains controversy as to their significance and indeed their authenticity. But who would carve those letters if the Vikings didn't, unless Mark Twain did, as a joke on the archeologists he loved to ridicule. At any rate, the idea of America being a part of the explorations of Europe five hundred years before Columbus sailed the ocean blue—what does that idea do to who we think we are, and where we think we came from.

Of course, who we think we are depends on who is doing the thinking about whom. We are accustomed, those of us in Megalopolis, East Coast, USA, to think we know, not only who we are but who everyone else is too. But I wonder if we really know the people of Norman, Oklahoma, for example or what they think is good for them?

Had Norman been built in Europe, in the fourteenth century, Oklahoma University's football stadium would have been the cathedral. It dwarfs the trees and buildings around it and casts a symbolic as well as literal shadow on the lives of the town's residents. Unlike the college towns of New England, which preceded the colleges named for them, the town of Norman was virtually created by the university, and, like it or not, O.U.'s claim to fame is, and always has been, a ferocious football team.

I stopped in Norman to visit one of the residents, a friend with twinkling eyes named Joy. "You can't help it," she laughed, "You buy tickets and every Saturday you go to the game." People from Norman are gracious and soft-spoken; Joy's voice was a purr with a bit of a giggle, and the faintest southwestern drawl. "I can't help myself, I get carried away up there in those seats and I scream and shout and act crazy. The whole town acts crazy."

On an August evening Norman is a quiet place. On campus a handful of students, foreign students there to study the oil refining business, pass between surprisingly old-looking buildings with tall windows and stone arches. We strolled around the empty stadium and Joy's dog, Hank, chased giant grasshoppers on the path until we stopped in at Ernie's, on the edge of town. Ernie's is a hangout that could be placed anywhere in America except for the view of the stadium out the window, of course, and the season statistics from years past plastered on the walls. O.U. has lost very few football games. Above the cash register was a small sign which read, "Eat a live frog for breakfast and nothing worse can happen to you all day."

> "In looking for an America I found only three nationwide common denominators—the language,the passion for sporting events and television."

In all probability, the political pundits of Washington are quite right about what is good for America. What is also apparent, I discovered, is that what is good for America may be irrelevant. In fact, 12,000 miles of travel throughout this country leaves me with one overwhelming conclusion—the concept of America is a myth. The idea of one nation with definable characteristics, needs and dreams may be a theoretical possibility but, in practice, America does not exist, there is far too much diversity.

It is not just that Norman, Oklahoma, is different from Washington, D.C. and a handful of other metropolitan centers. Norman is different from everywhere else. The regional, even the local, variations in this country are truly incredible. And the differences are not superficial ones; they are the bread and butter, the gut-level differences. After driving through thousands of acres of grazing land in Wyoming, where antelope outnumber not just people, but cows as well, it is not hard to understand the nationwide indifference to the plight of New York City.

Nowhere are the differences more obvious than in the cities of America. The ranches of Montana, of course, have little in common with the potato farms of Maine but mankind has actually had little effect on the face of nature, and in the rural areas the striking differences are Mother Nature's, not ours. For which we can all be thankful because nowhere in this country of ours will you find a creation of man that can compare in majestic splendor to the Cascade Mountains, or to the mountains of Glacier National Park. Cities, on the other hand, are the work of man and, in the United States particularly, they reflect the diversity of purpose, style and taste in human endeavors.

No city in America is very old, certainly not in comparison to London, for example, where something constructed within the last two hundred years is a recent addition, but I was struck by the newness of American cities once the East Coast is left behind. There are exceptions of course, notably Santa Fe, N.M., where the adobe buildings have blended into the Sangre de Cristos Mountains for hundreds of years, but in general, the cities of the Midwest and the West are new arrivals and consequently fascinating, because their reasons for existence are so obvious.

Watching an old man who bore a striking resemblance to a tortoise eating fish and chips in a cafe in Astoria, Oregon, the city's character and purpose was immediately apparent, even to a stranger like me. Astoria is a center for two

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"Something hidden. Go and find it.
Go and look behind the Ranges —" —Kipling

HER MAJESTY'S COURIER

JAMES H. BOUGHTON

The tale may be somewhat or mostly apocryphal, but there is more than just a lingering conviction that the skeleton is of real bone.

Its font may have been the late Angus Ward, then our ambassador to Afghanistan, or perhaps it was a youngish Foreign Service officer who shared with me the two Lahore-Kabul legs of a three-day jeep trip from New Delhi in 1954.

As many fellow sufferers of that era may recall, 1954 was a year or maybe several before that glorious one when the road from the Pakistan border into Kabul was finally paved. Previously it had been an engineering disaster, particularly as it wound slowly up slightly northwest of the Khyber Pass through Jalalabad toward Afghanistan's capital. Hardly more than a bullock path, it was a rutted, rocky monstrosity of a highway which threatened to tear out the guts of any traveler daring or foolish enough to try it in the company of an internal combustion engine. Camels yes, Chevrolets no.

So it is with both sympathy and admiration that I reflect upon the story of Her Majesty's servant, the British courier who once a week carried Her Majesty's classified bag from Karachi to Kabul and then back to Karachi with Her Majesty's embassy's responses and initiatives on a part of the long return journey to London.

He carried out the Peshawar-Kabul portion of his duties on a bus. My guesses for the reasons for this mode of transportation of classified and sometimes important papers are two: first economy; second safety. Certainly, an Afghan bus was far cheaper than an airplane, but as for safety, that may be up for grabs. At the time, the Kabul landing strip consisted of dirt overlaid with a runway constructed of those metal mats so familiar to World War II CBI veterans of C-46s and 47s. For additional and more terrifying reasons, the Afghan national airline had been branded as unsafe by the US aviation authorities and was off limits to employees of the American government.

Whether Afghan buses were safer was a questionable point. As they inched their way upwards toward the lovely sight of the Hindu Kush, those drivers of the motorized traffic coming in the opposite direction followed a common Middle Eastern practice. To save the cost of fuel, they turned off their engines, put their vehicles in neutral and careened happily downwards. It made no difference that the route was often wide enough only for a vehicle and a half and Afghan maintenance procedures were hardly adequate to prevent compound fractures of the braking systems at any moment.

Vivid and often horrifying testimony to these perils lay in the many wrecked and often fire-gutted carcasses of trucks, buses and automobiles which punctuated the roadside scenery.

Nonetheless, our Anglo-Saxon hero made his weekly rounds jammed into the wide wooden seat of a charabanc. Often choked in by peasant women in full purdah going to or from market carrying vegetables, fruit, live fowl, and small edible animals on the one side, and on the other by bearded Pathan males cloaked to the toes, even on the hottest days, in heavy, unwashed wool, and generally smoking unspeakably odorous cigarettes, he gritted his teeth and carried on.

I see him in my mind's eye: a small Englishman, most certainly not of the upper classes, but possibly with the slight affectation of a pencil-line moustache (à la David Niven), perhaps wearing steel-rimmed glasses, carrying about him an almost undetectable, disdainful aura attributable to his fellow passengers and the general proceedings around him. As he pressed the precious bag between his thin knees, there could be no mistaking his devotion to duty.

He may have noted briefly upon embarking on this latest passage in Peshawar the atmospherics of his means of transportation. For like countless others of its Asian ilk, the exterior of the bus was painted resplendently with a base of the brightest baby blue, overlaid with stars, crescent moons, animals, suns, palaces, mountains, and any other objects of man or nature the artist saw fit to include, all in startling yellows, reds, purples, and particularly greens, a lucky color for Mohammed's followers.

The courier, after his first few trips, probably did not give much thought to the outside of the bus,

Jim Boughton is a retired FSO who spent most of his career in Near Eastern and South Asian affairs. Since retirement he has been a consultant and a writer.

but was much more concerned with the discomforts of the inside. It would have done him no good to remind himself that hostile Pathans lurking in the shrubbery would hardly need a parti-colored bus to test the acuteness of their eyesight. Pathans, since firearms first came into their possession some centuries ago, seemingly never have had problems which would bring business to opticians, optometrists, and the like.

The accuracy of their vision equals that of the homemade gunsights through which they aim their homemade replicas, exact in every detail down to serial numbers, of old Enfields, Garands, BARs, Colt revolvers, Stens, Brens, and almost any other of a reasonable caliber firearm which has ever fallen into their roughened hands. (Indeed, in the tribal areas of Afghanistan and Pakistan gunmaking is one of the more important cottage industries. One must assume that it has so far been ignored by the honchos of our aid programs.)

One critical use to which these weapons are put is to protect the tribal turf, including that which lies alongside the thirty-odd miles of the Khyber Pass. This land is stark, studded with rocky hills and low mountains, mostly in browns and grays, laced with dusty shrubbery, and often crowned with primitive redoubts, which the chiefs of many tribes, Pathan and other, have used and occupied over countless generations.

As the bus carrying Her Majesty's messenger jolted its way past that magnificent dark red fort, the former home of the Khyber Rifles, one might wonder if shades of Kipling crossed the courier's mind and the possibility that a forebear, following the Union Jack, may have sweated his way upwards in much more unpleasant circumstances a hundred years and more back in time with only a gun and a canteen (perhaps replenished by Gunga Din) to sustain him against his wily and successful enemies. It is doubtful. Probably the only Pathans he thought about were those in the charabanc interfering with his physical well-being.

At this moment, external events did not concern him, his view to the outside world in any case being largely shut off by large jute bags overstuffed with fruits and vegetables, by huge cardboard suitcases held precariously together with pieces of rope and by chubby Afghan babies held up to the windows.

Nor could it have come as much of a surprise when the bus stopped suddenly in a desert-like area some miles northwest of Jalalabad. Afghan buses often stopped suddenly in the middle of nowhere. Tires blew out, axles snapped, water pumps broke, engines heated up dangerously, a passenger had an immediate call of nature. While all these unscheduled halts added considerably to the length of the trip, they also enabled those on board to scramble out and stretch their legs, everyone, that is, except the courier, who almost always chose to stay inside to guard his seat, to protect his cargo, and because he could put his feet and legs up on the bench and doze anywhere from ten minutes to a few hours, depending on the cause for the stop.

> "Whoever it was, coming to life at 6 a.m., as only a diplomat-in-crisis can, correctly decided to waken at once his Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary, an old South Asia hand who also knew exactly what to do."

This time, however, no one disembarked. Instead, new forms appeared at the front of the conveyance, four of them and all well-armed. It was not unusual to see armed men on an Afghan bus. Quite the opposite. The courier had often ridden beside men carrying rifles, daggers in their belts, pistols, and those short swords so useful for close-in fighting. So at first he was not alarmed.

The initial measurable degree of his concern came shortly after the four had climbed the steps toward the driver and rose rapidly when the newcomers, with words, gestures, and in case someone did not get the message, pointed firearms, made it clear that theirs was not a good-will mission.

They went about their business methodically. The male passengers were searched first with no ceremony, their money and anything else of value taken, including, of course, their weapons.

The women, all now keening full blast, were treated somewhat more gently. Their jewelry was taken and particularly their gold which many actual and spiritual descendants of the Quraysh tribe, beginning with the Prophet, carry with them as their personal fortunes.

The courier did not have much of interest: a few Pakistani rupees and a few Afghan afghanis, but, of course, he had the bag. The currency, together with a watch and ring, he gave up willingly enough. But the British bag? His knees squeezed the sacred canvas cloth even more firmly. Without being able to speak a word of Pushtu, his eyes spoke for him. His posture was rigid. He became suddenly but invisibly mantled with his country's flag.

It would be good to report that this representative of our dearest and closest ally played a successful role in helping it to weather yet another crisis, but that is not possible. Numbers, physical heft and the menace of armed might overcame whatever resistance he tried to offer. He was at one point helped temporarily by a small flock of live hens, tied in a bunch by the lower legs, which took up a portion of the bench beside him. As the fowl became more agitated and frightened at the commotion around them, they reacted in the manner of their kin all over the world. Despite this messy diversion, he was forced to cede the bag.

The bandits left the bus, shot out all four tires and retired a few paces off to the side of the road. They were having a logistical problem with their booty, in part because of the bulk of Her Majesty's mail. Accordingly, they emptied the bag under some desiccated bushes. It revealed only papers decorated with red stamps reading MOST SECRET, SECRET, and CONFIDENTIAL. None had any visible value.

A small rivulet flowed by and into it went the bag and its con-

tents, bobbing away on a long voyage toward the Kabul River.

Disappearing almost at once, the robbers took to the hills. The courier, his mission a failure, left the bus and waited forlornly in the dust with the driver and the other passengers for help to arrive. It must have been long delayed for the trip from Peshawar to Kabul generally lasted from early morning to late evening. This time the bus limped into the Afghan capital twenty-four hours after departure, the sun barely beginning to show. The bazaars had not opened, the streets were almost empty and still cold and nobody answered the doorbell at the British chancery.

The courier, unshaven and bagless, stood despondently outside the building until its nocturnal guardian, dressed in the traditional British garb of such occupations (stained dark blue, almost black uniform, with tarnished brass buttons and shabby black cap with visor) peered sleepily through the outside gate and opened it.

This was the conversation:

Guardian: "Hallo! What's up? Where's the bag?"

Courier: "Been robbed."

Guardian: "Been robbed, eh? Whereabouts?"

Courier: "Not sure. Somewhere down the line."

Guardian: "Shame! Come on in for a cuppa. Their nibs'll be along in a couple of hours."

The courier, even after his ordeal, was more alert than the guard and managed after a time to break through the many shortcomings of the Kabul telephone system to rouse someone of substantive responsibility in the embassy. Whoever it was, coming to life at 6 a.m., as only a diplomat-in-crisis can, correctly decided to waken at once his Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary, an old South Asia hand who also knew exactly what to do.

Not waiting for the Foreign Ministry to begin functioning, a procedure beginning about 10 a.m. and ending about noon when everyone went out to lunch, he put in calls to the Foreign Minister at *his* home, the King's private secretary at *his* home, and the general in charge of the Afghan constabulary at *his* home. He had his complete embassy staff awakened. Telegrams were sent to London, some *not* in cipher, so that the Afghan authorities could taste the full flavor of British ire. (The enciphered cables were at this point attributing events in full to the courier in the unlikely chance that he had been possessed by demons.) He also asked for instructions—in fact to cover what he had already done.

Which was: to protest vehemently to the Afghan government the occurrence of a heinous breach of diplomatic privilege, a grievous lack of security (for after all, it knew the courier was on that bus), a threat or threats to the person of an emissary of Her Majesty's government on official duty, the conditions of transport obtaining within the Royal Afghan domain, and several other gripes which the ambassador had had in mind for some time, all somewhat extraneous to the immediate issue but which nonetheless served as a vehicle for their deliverance.

> "At sunup, the four criminals were hanged in the courtyard of the prison and their remains are, at this very moment, being taken to their closest relatives for proper burial before dusk, in accordance with our religious custom."

This verbal démarche was most certainly impressive, sobering, and charged with muscle. The Foreign Ministry, reacting with unaccustomed speed, responded more or less affirmatively within a few hours to each point.

On the telephone, the Foreign Minister had assured the ambassador that everything possible would be done to find and punish the assailants; the private secretary to the King had promised that His Majesty would be informed *before* his first cup of morning tea, implicitly, however, not before he faced toward Mecca for his morning prayers; and a little later the general, who had naturally been forewarned of such a call by the Foreign Ministry, had said that his men were already combing the hills where the outrage had occurred.

Now everyone involved in these exchanges knew that the bandits would never be found, let alone arrested, tried, or convicted, that within hours or even minutes of the robbery they had been absorbed through a centuries' old Pathan process, akin to osmosis, back into their protective tribal womb.

Nevertheless, the ambassador knew that something would be done but he did not expect it to happen so quickly. Within 48 hours of the "outrage," he received a summons to the Foreign Ministry where he was received by the minister with cordiality and light refreshment.

The minister began, with no visible tongue in cheek, by commending His Excellency the Ambassador and His Excellency's government for the patience they had displayed during the past two trying days. He went on to say that for their part the Afghan authorities had taken every conceivable action to find the criminals and to punish them. No stone on those wild and craggy hills had been left unturned, he implied.

The minister paused and looked without blinking into the ambassador's blue eyes.

"I am pleased to inform Your Excellency" (he spoke virtually perfect English having been educated through the British System) "that at midnight last night a *very* small unit of our security forces in the face of *gravest* dangers," (here the ambassador felt forced to nod in understanding), "and after a struggle in which two of our own were severely wounded, seized the miscreants," ("miscreants" being a favorite word among Middle Eastern officials trying to cope in difficult circumstances with western ambassadors, chargés d'affaires, and the like).

"They were brought immediately to the Kabul prison where they at once, at 4 a.m. to be precise, signed a confession."

Here the minister picked up a document from the ornate, inlaid table over which the two faced each other and waved it between

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"To plunder, to slaughter, to steal, these things they misname empire; and where they make a desert, they call it peace."—Tacitus

PROTECTING ONE'S PATRIMONY

DARCY OSTEEN

pat•ri•mo•ny. *1. an estate inherited from one's father or ancestors. 2. any quality, characteristic, etc., that is inherited; heritage.*

It seemed odd that eighty people from all over the Caribbean area would gather in the United States, where tradition and cultural heritage are so rarely considered, to talk about patrimony. But there they were, university professors and cultural officials from Costa Rica, Mexico, Martinique, the Dominican Republic, Guatemala, Puerto Rico, Guyana, Curacao, Jamaica, Haiti, the Virgin Islands, Venezuela, Trinidad, and the United States, talking about what patrimony is, how much can be shared and in what way.

The issue has become a hot topic throughout Latin America, occasioning United Nations conventions and international treaties, as well as this Conference on Caribbean Patrimony, hosted by the University of Florida's Center for Latin American Studies.

Rare objects and ancient art treasures have always been looted by this nation or that—the famous Elgin marbles which an Englishman saved from a Turk's lime-making fire in Greece, the Egyptian obelisks that grace the downtown plazas of most major European cities—but for Latin America, the problem didn't really get out of hand until after World War II. Thanks to many art dealers who opened galleries of "primitive" art in Europe and America at that time, pre-Columbian art treasures were soon all the rage in museums and penthouses around the world.

But the quiet, elegant fragments of stone displayed in hushed rooms were often brutally torn from their natural settings, some blasted loose by dynamite, some deliberately cut up "to have a piece to sell to me and a piece to sell to you," said Dr. Doris Stone, a research associate of Peabody Museum at Harvard University and of the Middle American Institute at Tulane University.

"The most famous example of this happened about 10 to 15 years ago," said Stone, who moderated a session on pre-Columbian patrimony. "Part of a Mayan monolith had been in the Trocadero in Paris for years, then another piece came up for sale in New York. Somebody had the imagination to say, 'That looks like the bottom of the Trocadero piece,' and, sure enough, it was."

Stone painted a dreadful picture of chain saws being carted into primeval forests on mules, helicopters, and dugout canoes, and of precious cultural heritage being smuggled out "on shrimp boats and every kind of way."

"If a legitimate archeologist came to study one of these out-of-the-way-sites, big guys with guns would come tell you to get out," said Stone, who was very bitter about the stratigraphic information lost through "pot hunters."

Museums and governments are working together across national boundaries to change things but some experts have their doubts as to how much change is occurring.

Roy Craven, director of University Gallery at the University of Florida and author-photographer of several books and exhibitions on pre-Columbian art, said unhappily that the result of recent cooperation among the nations of the western hemisphere is that the bootleg art is now going to Europe, Asia and the Mideast instead of the United States.

"The majority of the pre-Columbian sites is located in nations where governmental moneys are scarce and needed for more pressing human problems than the protection or preservation of dead cultures buried in the ground," said Craven. "In fact, the grinding poverty of the poor in these countries makes such sites the source of a bonus income for needy citizens. Unfortunately, in many countries, the pressures of poverty frequently lead those very persons assigned to guard national monuments and maintain custom regulations into accepting bribes from traffickers."

For very small countries, where a small number of police can easily keep good surveillance on a small number of people and ports, it's not too difficult to keep the poor from looting their patrimony to put supper on the table for their children.

For larger countries, though, part of the problem of guarding patrimony is a problem of enlisting popular support.

"We need to develop an awareness of patrimony," said Wigberto Jimenez Moreno of the Programa de Historia Indigena of the Instituto Nacional de Antropologia e Historia in Mexico. He has found that small, local museums, which collect and display objects found in an area, become a matter of community pride, making the black market less attractive.

Guatemala and Costa Rica are taking more of a "get'em while they're young" approach. They're working to integrate education of children with museum and other preservation programs so that the children will grow up having an awareness and a certain pride in the heritage.

Dr. James Swauger said the Pittsburgh Carnegie Museum of Natural History, where he is a senior scientist in anthropology, was having troubles with people prospecting for Indian artifacts in their area, then selling them to the museum. The profitability of paleopoint-hunting ruined many rich archeological sites, much to the museum's dismay. There was only one way to prevent the pillage,

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Detail of glyphs on side of stela in the great plaza at Tikal. Maya, late classic period. Photo by Roy C. Craven, Jr.

they decided, namely, not support it, and a new policy was adopted—nothing would be purchased. It took a couple of years for the message to sink in, but in the end the ploy worked, Swauger said.

As the American Association of Museum's representative to the International Committee on Museums, Swauger traveled to Guatemala and Costa Rica to find out first hand what his organization and his museum could do to help them preserve and protect their patrimony. Several programs are already underway.

Guatemala asked for a visit from a US specialist in using museums in the educational process. Elizabeth Dear from the Museum of New Mexico soon spent six weeks there and money is now being sought to bring someone from Guatemala to the United States to learn more about how museums work with educators here.

Costa Rica asked for a plant preparator to have a teaching visit to the National Museum and Betty Niedringhaus, formerly of Carnegie Museum, has agreed to go to San Jose as she did to India in 1977. A National Museum worker is being sent to the Carnegie Museum for six months of taxidermy lessons as soon as he finishes some English lessons in Costa Rica.

Both Guatemala and Costa Rica wanted combined programs with the US in archeology, anthropology, geology and biology ("after all," said Swauger, "stinkbugs are patrimony, too").

Everyone seems to recognize the propriety of the new respect for patrimony, but the subject stirs up questions like: will one have to go to a country to study its artifacts? What about students, will they then never see any actual examples of what they study? Will it become illegal for foreigners to buy paintings by living artists since those are certainly part of patrimony, too? Will each country end up locked into studying only itself?

The younger museums are asking, "How are we ever going to put together a good collection if the flow of art and artifacts dries up?"

These are panicky reactions that don't quite fit the facts, but they made the meeting on the University of Florida campus all that much more timely.

International exchanges and loans of artifacts can take care of some problems but still leave the problem of how to finance preservation and archeological projects.

The King Tut exhibit has been a great money-maker for Egypt which is going to use income from paid attendance to renovate the National Museum in Cairo, said Doris Stone. She believes the displays of Peruvian and Bolivian gold on world tour can help their countries the same way.

Roy Craven has suggested the Organization of American States establish an agency, such as those created by the United Nations to save Egyptian and Javanese monuments. "The OAS agency would coordinate emergency requests from hemispheric countries whose sites are threatened," explained Craven, "and set priorities for scientifically excavating endangered zones." An international research team would carry out the archeological dig and the host country's national museum would have first choice of the finds. Materials and artifacts duplicating cultural patrimony held in the national museum could then be sold at international auction and the proceeds used to finance further projects.

"With such items of world patrimony openly available to museums and collectors through a controlled and documented system, the need for illegal traffic in such items should, in contrast to present-day activities, dry up."

Director of the Musée Départemental et des Antiquités pour La Circonscription Archéologique in Martinique Mario Mattioni objects that he believes it is immoral to sell any item of patrimony. His view is shared by many.

But all agree that the important thing is to keep talking, because the cultural heritage of a hemisphere is at stake.

FSJ BOOKSHELF

The Somoza Dynasty

GUARDIANS OF THE DYNASTY, *by Richard Millett. Orbis Books, $6.95.*

Early in 1931 Laurence Duggan, a perceptive young State Department official, predicted that the *Guardia Nacional de Nicaragua* could never be made into a nonpolitical institution. He said:

The fact is . . . a nonpartisan constabulary is impossible in Nicaragua. Not only is it contrary to Latin American political-historical development, but Nicaragua is handicapped by a special circumstance, namely, the vitriolic animosity of the two parties, which is as bitter today as it was two hundred years ago. Therefore it is difficult to understand why hope was ever entertained that a nonpolitical military force could be established.

Nothing in Richard Millett's *Guardians of the Dynasty* would have surprised Duggan.

A history of the *Guardia Nacional* and of the Somoza dynasty in Nicaragua, Millett's book is interesting not only for what it reveals of the *Guardia*, and of Nicaraguan politics in which the *Guardia* inevitably became involved, but also for what it suggests concerning the problems Americans encounter when they try to alter institutions in foreign countries or to create institutions where none have existed; when they try to change people, that is.

Creating the *Guardia Nacional* has not solved Nicaragua's problems. Does that mean that the United States, which conceived the *Guardia* and trained it for nearly six years, is responsible for the Somoza dynasty and the unsatisfactory political situation in Nicaragua, as Millet at times appears to suggest? Not at all.

I knew "Tacho" Somoza, the first of the dynasty, intimately. He was undersecretary of foreign affairs when I was deputy chief of mission in the American Legation, and he was my contact in the Foreign Ministry. "Tacho" was the most dynamic of the young Liberal Party leaders and might well have emerged as Nicaragua's dictator even if he had not been named director of the *Guardia* or if there had been no *Guardia*. Untrained soldiers, when well led, have had no more trouble overturning Nicaragua's governments than the *Guardia* had in ousting President Sacasa in 1936. And of course in all the Central American countries except Costa Rica the military customarily act as guardians of the dynasty, or of the dictatorship, or of the party, or of the establishment, except when they are engaged in subverting one or more of them.

Although Millett is at times critical of the United States role in Nicaragua he places most of the responsibility for the current status of the *Guardia* and for the continuance of the Somozas in power on Nicaragua's "upper classes and the traditional opposition leaders (who have) repeatedly allowed concern with their personal interests and fear of any basic change in the nation's social and economic structures to outweigh their dislike of the Somozas."

Millett does not pinpoint the basic change in the country's economic and social structures which he says those persons might fear, but Miguel d'Escoto, a Maryknoll missionary and publisher of Orbis Books, who has written an eleven-page introduction to the volume, comes right out and says what he thinks it should be. After telling us that "Tachito" Somoza, the present member of the dynasty, is "pot-bellied," apparently a cardinal sin in d'Escoto's mind, and that "United States responsibility for the agony which (Nicaragua) has experienced in the last forty years can hardly be overemphasized," he makes his principal point which is that "to actively participate in the construction of a just noncapitalistic (sic) system can only be the result of a moral conversion. If the (Nicaraguan) elite are not up to this kind of patriotic action, then their reluctance will only serve to prove that the *Frente Sandinista de Liberación Nacional* had been right all along in choosing violence and guerrilla warfare as the only viable strategy to bring about change."

The *Frente Sandinista de Liberación Nacional* is as Marxist as Father d'Escoto appears to be.

Guardians of the Dynasty leaves us with an impression of ambivalence. Millett's meticulously researched book is calm and generally objective but d'Escoto's introduction to it is neither. The question arises; if Millett shares d'Escoto's views concerning the American role in Nicaragua and the desirability of a noncapitalist society in that country why did he not indicate that in his book? If, on the other hand, he does not share those views, why did he let d'Escoto write the introduction?

—WILLARD L. BEAULAC

Revolving, Not Revolting

INVENTING AMERICA: *Jefferson's Declaration of Independence, by Garry Wills, Doubleday, $10.00.*

Intellectual history written with humor, realism and common sense is a rarity in the literary scene. *Inventing America,* which traces the origins of the Declaration of Independence to its intellectual roots, not only embodies these attributes but provides the first scholarly exegesis of the Declaration of Independence since Carl Becker's of forty years ago.

"To understand a text from the past," Wills writes, "one must reassemble a world around the text." Wills does precisely that for the 18th century of Thomas Jefferson, bringing the Declaration to life in ways that continually surprise and delight the reader. It was not, for example, John Locke but two obscure Scottish intellectuals, Francis Hutcheson and Henry Home, Lord Kames, who set the stage for much of the language of the Declaration, including its curious downgrading of property rights. In the 18th century the term "revolution" had none of its modern violent overtones—the words "revolt" and "rebellion" served that purpose—but rather took a literal—and Newtonian—derivation from the verb "revolve," as of the stars in their courses. The Glorious Revolution of 1688, which restored the traditional rights of Englishmen, was the model that the drafters of the Declaration aspired to, and not a bloody uprising against constituted authority.

The reader of *Inventing America* cannot fail to observe how often the principles of the Founding Fathers have been exploited for transitory foreign policy ends. The notion that the quarrel of the men

of 1776 with Parliament had anything in common with the disgusting savagery of third world liberation movements is a grotesque distortion of our national origins.

This fascinating book should be required reading at the White House.

—CHARLES MAECHLING, JR.

Begin and Narayan Behind Bars

WHITE NIGHTS: THE STORY OF A PRISONER IN RUSSIA, *by Menachem Begin, Harper & Row, $8.95.*

PRISON DIARY, *by Jayaprakash Narayan, University of Washington Press, $8.95.*

"Depend upon it, Sir, when a man knows he is to be hanged in a fortnight, it concentrates his mind wonderfully." This Johnsonian judgment comes to mind on reading Menachem Begin's memoirs of the year he spent as a prisoner in wartime Russia. For surely the prime minister's considerable powers of concentration must owe something to his experience of life in the hands of the Soviet secret police. No one should wish such an experience on others, of course, and yet can one doubt that Franklin Roosevelt (who was president at that time) and some of his successors as well would have been better and wiser men if their souls had been put through the flames with a bit of the suffering men have gone through in the Soviet camps. Certainly, Begin must have seen enough and learned enough there to have no Rooseveltian illusions about the kind of future the Russians have always in mind for their political opponents.

Begin's book, first published in Hebrew in 1957, has only now come out in English. The period covered by the book is short, and the author's experiences of life in the camps relatively narrow, as such experiences go. Though he was subjected to lengthy interrogation and kept from sleeping for days on end, he was not beaten or otherwise tortured. And after little more than a year in prison, he was released to join the Anders Army then being formed in Russia by the London Polish government. But if the book tells a story which has been told as well and in much greater detail by Solzhenitsyn and dozens upon dozens of other survivors of Soviet prisons, it is for all of that a book of great interest—both for its account of life in the Russian prisons, and for its picture of the prime minister in his early formative years.

Jayaprakash Narayan's *Prison Diary* is a work of another kind. His account of being locked up by Indira Gandhi leaves one with admiration for the man, but also with an appreciation of how civilized the Indians showed themselves to be, even when they lapsed into dictatorship. For Narayan was occasionally allowed to have a visitor, had access to books and writing materials, and was given good medical care when he needed it. Begin and his fellow prisoners in the Soviet camps never had any of these. Their experiences were of another kind altogether from those of political prisoners in most non-Communist countries. And perhaps this is why even today—38 years after slipping from the grasp of the Soviet secret police—Menachem Begin's mind is so much more wonderfully concentrated than, say, the mind of Narayan (admirable as it is), or the mind of Ambassador Andrew Young (another ex-prisoner of conscience, it is said), or of so many of Begin's impatient well-wishers in the United Nations and elsewhere.

—THOMAS A. DONOVAN

A Valued Update

20TH CENTURY CHINA *(third edition), by O. Edmund Clubb. Columbia University Press, $20.00 cloth, $7.50 paper.*

O. Edmund Clubb's *20th Century China* (now in third edition) is generally recognized as the outstanding work on China in the period from the collapse of the Confucian (imperial) order to the present post-Mao era. A required text in most courses on modern China in colleges and universities, it has been widely acclaimed for the thoroughness of its scholarship, the soundness of its judgments and the lucidity of its presentation.

There remains to note that this edition adds chapters on post-Mao China. They deal with principal events from the Ninth Chinese Communist Party Congress (April 1969) to the Eleventh CCP Congress (August 1977). Among them were the deaths of Premier Chou En-lai and Chairman Mao, the arrest of Mme. Mao (Chiang Ch'ing) and her cohorts in the "Gang of Four," and the establishment of the moderate diumvirate of Premier and CCP Chairman Hua Kuo-feng and Vice-Premier and CCP Vice-Chairman Teng Hsiao-p'ing.

Of special interest is Mr. Clubb's projection of what may come in China's domestic and foreign affairs under the new administration.

The pragmatists-in-power will reject in practice (though not *en principe)* Mao's millenarianism as impractical both at home and abroad. With economic development a prime concern, China has abandoned Maoist "metaphysical voluntarism" in favor of discipline and hard work—and profitable exchanges with the outside world.

With the third world failing to rise in revolt against the super powers and the latter, the US and USSR, failing to fall upon each other in inevitable war of mutual destruction (Mao doctrine), China will necessarily adopt "a less dogmatic, more flexible grand strategy."

Those who believe China will be an increasingly vital factor in our foreign policy equation will find this superb history an invaluable aid to understanding what China has been and what it may be.

—ROBERT W. RINDEN

Americans View China

THE UNITED STATES AND CHINA: *American Perceptions and Future Alternatives, by Ralph Clough, et al. Potomac Associates, $4.00.*

This monograph is of immense value and interest. Clearly, concisely, authoritatively, three eminent scholars discuss recent events and trends in Sino-American relations. Special attention is paid to possible normalization of US relations with the Chinese People's Republic (CPR) and alternative formulas to deal with the future of Taiwan. The results of an April 1977 survey of American attitudes toward China are given. The study concludes with a look at the future, the rather murky future.

Noting the difficulties in working out a reasonable compromise between the US and the CPR, the authors see the possibility of deferring negotiations "to a more propitious time without allowing the

delay to lead to a deterioration of bilateral relations" but with "no assurance that the passage of time will make normalization easier to accomplish; indeed, the loss of forward momentum in the last few years suggests the reverse."

The survey of American attitudes toward China and Taiwan reveals that Americans view Taiwan much more favorably than the CPR. *En principe*, they favor full diplomatic ties with the CPR but not on Peking's preconditions: US severance of its diplomatic and military links with Taipei.

Asked if Taiwan has a communist government, 17 percent of the respondents said "Yes," 44 percent said "No" and 30 percent "Don't know!" This is a heavy load of misinformation or lack of information.

By a two-to-one margin, Americans are negatively disposed toward the CPR and by a three-to-one margin they are favorably inclined toward Taiwan. In the main, Americans do not feel it would be in the best interests of America for China to become a great power by 2000 AD. Nor do they favor US help to China to build up its military strength against the Soviet Union.

Though 62 percent of Americans see full diplomatic ties with Peking as "very important" or "fairly important," by a 47 percent to 28 percent plurality, they reject closer relations with the CPR if conditioned on US cutting its ties with Taipei. "The American people are ready for a more complete relationship with the People's Republic of China, but within the framework of a decent respect for the rights of the people of Taiwan."

—ROBERT W. RINDEN

A Young Austrian Against Hitler

EXPLODING STAR—*A Young Austrian Against Hitler, by Fritz Molden. William Morrow & Co., $10.00.*

It cannot be said that Austria, during World War II, distinguished itself by the size and vigor of its anti-Nazi resistance movement. There were good reasons for this, among them the fact that the Western Allies did not do in the case of Austria what they did systematically with respect to the resistance of Nazi-occupied Western European countries. But there were also other reasons.

All the more interesting and important is the book *Exploding Star* by Fritz Molden, who as a youth became involved in anti-Nazi activities; was sent to the Eastern front as part of a *Wehrmacht* "punishment battalion"; was rescued from almost certain death by a doctor who sanitized Molden's file while he was in a field hospital; and became associated, first, with the Italian resistance.

The story of what happened next is fascinating. Molden went to Switzerland, met Allen Dulles, became a courier between the OSS (the predecessor of the CIA) and the nascent Austrian resistance, was parachuted into Austria, had a number of hair-raising narrow escapes—and at one point found himself, at the age of 20 years, with the assimilated rank of lieutenant colonel in the American forces.

The book must be read on several levels—as a rattling good yarn, as a reflection of the political situation in Austria during the war, and as a sociological treatise, with Molden's family a paradigm of what remained decent and reliable in the best old Austro-Hungarian middle- class cultural tradition. His father was to become the editor of *Die Presse*, the only decent newspaper in Vienna, and his mother, a poetess, among other things contributed the lyrics to the national anthem of liberated post-World War II Austria.

The author, no doubt for reasons of delicacy, does not mention that a few years after the war he was to marry Allen Dulles's daughter; that he himself inherited the cultural and political ethos of his father and played a moderating role in Austrian politics; and that he represents that *rara avis* in today's Austria, an uncommitted middle-of-the-roader.

Among innumerable cameo passages, only one may be cited. Fritz Molden was introduced by the OSS in early 1945 to General Mark Clark at his headquarters in Caserta. The general inquired about conditions in Vienna, from where Molden had just come, and about the fighting that was then going on between the Germans and the Russians in Hungary.

Having told him what I knew, I went on to repeat in all innocence a story brought back from the front by wounded Germans, namely that, on occupying the Hungarian town of Miskolc, the Russians had raped almost every woman they could lay hands on. At this, General Mark Clark rose abruptly. "That's enough," he snapped. "If Allen Dulles had not assured me of your integrity, I'd have you placed under arrest. But I would ask you never again to refer in my presence to the lying tales about our Soviet Allies put about by German propaganda."

Since General Clark later distinguished himself by his steadfast defense of Austrian interests against Russian encroachments, this passage stands as a testimony to the good will that was found in high American circles, including the military, before they came into direct contact with the Red Army and knowledgeable about what the Russians were doing in the parts of Europe they occupied.

Anyone who served in Austria (where Molden is now the president of a giant publishing concern) or who wishes to find out what it was like to be an anti-Nazi in Austria during World War II, should read this book. Even readers not especially interested in the subject will find it a fast-paced story, well told, thought-provoking, and immensely readable.

—M. F. H.

Death of a Civilization

THE YEAR ZERO, *by Francois Ponchaud. Holt, Rinehart, Winston, $8.95.*

Author Francois Ponchaud joins the ranks of a small, select group of French and American writers seeking to come to grips with the nightmare that is today labeled Democratic Kampuchea. Ponchaud is a French priest, an avowed sympathizer with "the peasant class" in Cambodia and a very competent student of Khmer language who resided in Cambodia from 1965 to May 8, 1975. He is also a skilled analyst who describes himself as an "exegete by training and profession accustomed to apply the methods of source criticism to a body of reported events in order to elicit historic truth from them." Ponchaud offers one of the best insights into the workings of the Khmer Communist system thus far.

Ponchaud confirms the forced evacuation of four million urban dwellers from Phnom Penh and

every other town and city in Cambodia. These were ruthlessly "tossed into the countryside to grow rice." Mass purges of officers, noncommissioned officers, intellectuals, civil officials and their families are likewise carefully documented. Malnutrition, disease and mind-crippling terror accompanied this total destruction of the old civilization.

An interview with a Khmer Rouge official in the Thai *Prachachat* on June 10, 1976, illustrates the Khmer Rouge solution to reeducation.

"The Vietnamese revolutionary method," the Khmer official states, "is very slow . . . . Khmer methods do not require a large number of personnel. There are no heavy charges to bear because everyone is simply thrown out of town. . . Khmers have adopted a method which consists in overturning the basket with all the fruit inside. Then, choosing only the articles that satisfy them completely, they put them back in the basket."

Ponchaud avoids the numbers game, concluding simply that based on the available evidence the number who died during peace "certainly exceeds one million."

Author Ponchaud is also sharply critical of the Republic and makes no allowances for the intolerable pressures of war and a huge influx of refugees into the already-strained government-controlled areas. In an unsparing criticism he notes that the short-lived Republic was born on March 18, 1970, in the midst of jubilation. The young, the teachers, the army and many honest people hailed the coup that overthrew Sihanouk as the dawn of an era of justice after the rot and filth of the feudal regime. "But the republic only trudged on in the wake of the kingdom and the liberal dream vanished and left nothing behind but corruption." The history of the Republic is the history of one long disappointment, author Ponchaud contends. A radical change in attitudes and human relations was indispensable, Ponchaud argues, but was there no other way to bring it about?

Finding a School

GUIDE TO PUBLIC SCHOOL PROGRAMS IN THE WASHINGTON, D.C. AREA, *by Bernice Wilson Munsey, P.O. Box 40003, Washington, D.C. 20016. $4.50 (plus 75¢ postage and handling).*

Bernice Munsey's newly published *Guide to Public School Programs in the Washington, D.C. Area* provides a much needed companion piece to the *Independent School Guide* which was first published in 1971. Bernice Munsey is director of the Foreign Service Educational and Counseling Center.

The book provides a wealth of information which would be very useful to anyone moving into or moving back to the Washington area. For each school district (Washington, D.C., Alexandria, Arlington, Fairfax County, Falls Church, Montgomery County, Prince George's County), a general profile with data on per student expenditure and on federally funded programs is included.

The types of education treated in each district are: preschool, elementary, intermediate, high school, special, career and adult. The section on special education is the most detailed. Inasmuch as such information is often unusually difficult to come by, this section would be especially useful.

Mrs. Munsey's *Guide to Public School Programs* does not attempt to be all-inclusive. It provides basic information on the many important aspects of a district's educational program. These aspects include: admission requirements, teaching techniques, testing, career awareness programs, subjects offered, required courses, support services and extra curricular activities. Certainly, if it is possible, a visit to a school to observe and to talk with students and parents is always valuable. However, as a point of departure and in addition to the basic information described above, the *Guide* lists sources of additional information on a given district including names and up-to-date telephone numbers. It also suggests many of the points a parent may wish to consider in placing children in school.

In sum, the *Guide* is an extremely useful addition to material available on school placement.

—METTE O. BEECROFT

(The reviewer is deputy director of the Family Liaison Office of the Department of State and co-chairman of the Governing Committee, representing the AAAFSW, of the Foreign Service Educational and Counseling Center.)

Errata

The review of *Treason Was No Crime*, in the February issue of the *Journal*, was incorrectly credited to Neil Boyer. The author of the review was Karl F. Mautner.

Hitler's Last Days

THE BUNKER, *by James P. O'Donnell. Houghton Mifflin, $13.95*

O'Donnell's may well be the definitive popular account of Hitler's last days in the bunker. The author stalked and pulled the teeth of most of the remaining survivors of that underground Valhalla, many of them also survivors of long Russian captivity as well. The result is an engrossing weekend's reading, with the description of the final breakout alone worth the price of admission.

The book's virtue is its colorful, yet detached narrative style, with documented fact carefully separated from conjecture and hearsay. The reader is deluged with vignettes contrasting the real world above with a never-never land down below—and the contrasts are hair-raising.

As the Reich tottered, here below were the generals (who knew better) and the Nazi zealots (incapable of understanding) moving non-existent armies and divisions around on the battle map day after day; here was Hitler drinking afternoon tea with his cronies, reminiscing over the good, old days in Berchtesgaden and declaring the German people unworthy of his leadership; and, of course, Magda Goebbels sipping champagne after conscientiously poisoning her six children. Outside, soldiers and civilians went on dying by the thousands, defending blocks of rubble with any weapons at hand or huddling shell-shocked in cellars, many believing the trash Goebbels kept pouring out of the Bunker until the very end.

The details are overwhelming. If O'Donnell paints Speer in too favorable light, as the *New York Times* complained, Speer nevertheless emerges as one of the more perceptive witnesses to what happened—at least he recognized the utter banality of Hitler and his court. Some of O'Donnell's other sources, it becomes frighteningly clear, still are awed by having been in Hitler's presence 35 years ago.

—K. F. MAUTNER

HER MAJESTY'S COURIER
from page 21

the teacups gently in the direction of his guest.

"As you see, it is properly signed and valid." In fact, what the ambassador could see were some undecipherable scribbles and a huge red seal bearing the coat of arms of the Royal Afghan Republic. Nonetheless, he resumed his nodding as the minister went on.

"As it was felt that the legal process should be expedited in view of the gravity of the offense, judgment was made before dawn by the hakim. At sunup, the four criminals were hanged in the courtyard of the prison and their remains are, at this very moment, being taken to their closest relatives for proper burial before dusk, in accordance with our religious custom."

The minister paused once more. The ambassador, whose mind had been racing through the implications of this short but extraordinary account, reflected for a few seconds on its more obvious impossibilities. The most glaring was the presence of a small number of Afghan police roaming the mountainous tribal areas at midnight where, in fact, they would have lost themselves almost immediately and would have disappeared forever shortly thereafter, victims of the knife, not the gun, which would have made too much noise and possibly brought on a rescue attempt.

"As you can understand, Excellency, in our country justice can be swift, particularly as it involves our British friends, whom we, of course, hold in highest esteem. Perhaps you will be kind enough to inform your Foreign Office as to the happy outcome at your earliest convenience. Again, on behalf of my government, let me express our distress over this incident, but also the hope that it will not shake the bonds of friendship between us."

The ambassador, who had spent a large part of his foreign service career successfully treading the by-roads of the diplomatic world, wondered briefly about the poor beggars—very likely literally—who were dragged from their hard, straw pallets in the Kabul jail, taken out into the cold dawn and hanged without ceremony. He knew he was correct.

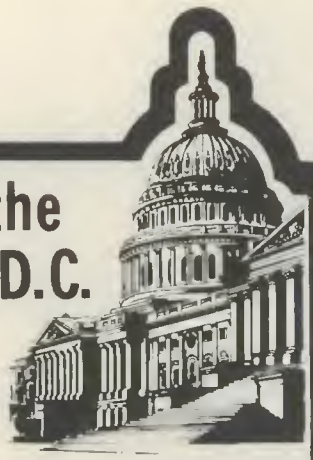
"Thank you, Excellency," he said, "for informing me so promptly. I am, and I know that my government will be, most gratified at the manner in which your government has dealt with this most difficult and serious situation. Justice is, after all, one of the strongest foundations upon which our two democracies must rest."

He suddenly remembered the two "wounded" policemen and a small slush fund his embassy had in keeping for such occasions.

"I hope," he concluded, "that you will allow me to provide some small recompense for those two brave men who were so badly injured in the course of carrying out their duty."

"Of course," replied the minister, "I know that they and their families will be very grateful."

The ambassador offered a little smile which was returned by the minister, stood up and took his leave.



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ELEPHANTS IN SOUTH DAKOTA

from page 18

large, dramatically visible industries —fishing and lumber. Above the cafe, a bridge of mind-boggling proportions spanned the log- and boat-filled Columbia River, just where it meets the Pacific Ocean. That bridge, the frame, salt-swept houses cemented to the sweeping hill above the town, the old man and his neighbors, all wore the character of the town like a sign reading, "This is a workers' place; a place where people work hard with their hands and their bodies, and where only a few make fortunes." What a change from New York or Boston, whose purpose, or reason for existence, has been, with time, obscured, multiplied or destroyed and replaced with others more subtle.

All the way up the rain-drenched, green and gray Northwest Coast the cities, by their appearances, told a history of the region. Those histories were as different as the cities themselves and bore little similarity to the histories of other regions, either the siloed cities of the Midwest or the blazing, flat-topped towns of Arizona.

In looking for an America I found only three nationwide common denominators—the language, the passion for sporting events, and television. The first of these is suspect—the language as written may be uniform but it just doesn't sound the same. As far as sporting events go, Americans will play anything with enormous enthusiasm, particularly from the spectators. But if there is an America, I think it can fairly be said that it must be the creation of television executives. The role of television in the United States cannot be overestimated. The vast majority of Americans work hard and long hours in parts of the country which offer little except television for recreation, amusement, or escape. It is that image of a nation created in Hollywood that is zapped into every home in America and consumed by a population hungry for glamour, excitement, and fantasy, that tells us, and the rest of the world, who we are.

That may be argument enough for the elimination of television, but that is another subject.

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CHINA: AFTER THIRTY-FIVE YEARS

from page 13

required technology assessed, and the numbers of universities and students to supply the trained personnel are counted.

For Taiwan, its best future would be to become another Hong Kong. At present Chiang Ching-kuo and his cohorts do not trust the honeyed words of Teng Hsiao-ping and, more fundamentally, must find it almost impossible to renounce the time-honored claim, the sacred heritage of Ching-kuo's father, to *be* China. James Thomson of Harvard has put it clearly in a recent issue of the *New York Times*: ". . . if only the political and ideological *claimancy* factor could be put aside . . . Taiwan might become an even larger and more vital Hong Kong—meaning two different Chinese communities, under radically different economic systems (and their attendant politics), living side by side and benefiting greatly from each other." Prospects for setting aside the claimancy factor do not at present appear bright. Gradually, if communication, the recognition of mutual economic benefits and a modicum of trust could develop between Peking and Taipei, changes might occur permitting such a solution. A regime representing greater Taiwanese influence, more practical-minded and less imbued with the sanctity of perceived legitimacy, might accept a Hong Kong formula. Such acceptance might be tacit rather than formal; Taiwan may go its way for a considerable period as a prosperous "entity" while Teng wrestles with his four modernizations. The Soviets may try to meddle, but so long as American and Japanese amity and economic ties with Taiwan remain strong and a military threat does not develop out of Peking, Taiwan is not expected to flirt in response to Soviet advances.

The Soviets now seem to perceive a triple alliance of Japan, China and the United States, aimed against them. It behooves the Japanese and us to allay these fears. One can argue that it would have been better for the United States to have signed a SALT II agreement before turning to the normalization of relations with the PRC. The playing of the China card may not necessarily bring the Russians around to a more agreeable stance. In spite of verbal reassurances, their present actions indicate anger and frustration since our agreement with China. The Japanese are ardently searching for ways to improve their relations with Moscow in line with their "omni-directional" foreign policy. It would seem that for the peace of the world relations between the two super-powers are paramount.

Those of us who were privileged to hear Mao Tse-tung's expressions of good will for the United States in Yenan feel that in the ensuing thirty-five years we have come full circle. We are in a position to start all over again with China. Let us hope that we will not repeat the mistakes of the past but that we will encourage the healthy trends which seem to point the way to a freer and more modern China.

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A LOOK AT SOVIET CHINA WATCHING

from page 15

the work on China, and Soviet researchers find it difficult to go beyond the data—an imperative when working with limited information. Duplicative research may seem wasteful and inefficient, but it is exactly this individuality and "freewheelingness" of American research on China, which eventually produces growth in understanding and sometimes even a modicum of consensus. Neither the Soviet political milieu, nor the Soviet highly structured and orthodox educational system, encourages the use of creativity, and even flights of fancy, in a field which has such far-reaching political and international ramifications.

There is also an important intangible. To what extent are emotions likely to interfere with Soviet scholarship on China? The fact that there is an emotional bias in the Soviet population and even the leadership seems indisputable and it stems from a variety of national, personal, political and educational experiences. There is jealousy and competition with regard to other communist parties and within the third world; there is embarrassment brought on by China's constant reminders of Soviet invasion of Czechoslovakia, accusations of "colonial economics" and other charges with just enough truth in them to make the Soviets uncomfortable. There is disappointment and "hurt," because China no longer even recognizes the extraordinary economic assistance that was provided by the USSR in the 1950s; and there is the old-fashioned racial prejudice against the Chinese which readily translates into the long-standing fear of the "yellow peril"—but now a peril with a nuclear capability. Are scholars immune from these emotional factors? While there can be no definitive answer to this question, my opinion is that they are not.

The Soviet Union has an ever-growing number of highly trained and competent China-watchers but, unfortunately, it seems that political (and perhaps emotional) constraints limit the potential value of these individuals in providing impartial research and analysis for policymakers. The perpetual dilemma that seems to plague Soviet sinologists is how to justify the many hundreds of thousands of troops on the Chinese border, without admitting any achievements on the part of the Chinese economy and society. As history has so well documented, without objectivity and impartiality, relations between nations tend to snowball and, while rhetoric normally *reflects* relations between countries, it is not too far fetched to suggest that over the past decade, it has been rhetoric which has *dictated* the nature of relations between the USSR and the PRC. In other words, considering the relative triviality of the announced issues, it would appear that relations between China and the Soviet Union have reached a point where emotions (national image) play a much more important role in decision-making than does intellect (national interest).

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TRIBES AND NATIONS

from page 8

Walloons. In France the Breton "nationalists." The Swiss Confederation is made up of the Swiss Germans, the "Federal" French, the Italianate people of Ticino, and the small Romansch group in the Engadine. Many other countries of the world have comparable ethnic groups.

The great variety of languages and dialects, often cited as a concomitant of "backward" societies in Africa, Asia, and other non-western areas, has its counterparts in Britain, Europe and North America, including the United States. The point of this discussion is that words like "primitive," "native," "tribe" and "dialect" can be used provided they are defined and applied impartially without regard to race or continent. Thus, one should refer to the Flemish and Walloons of Belgium in the same way, for example, that one refers to the Yoruba of Nigeria. Incidentally, the latter number about 16,000,000, while the Ibos and Hausa of Nigeria number about 20,000,000 and 32,000,000 respectively. Any one is more populous than a number of European "nations." Other such sizable population groups are found throughout Africa.

In large-scale federal states, such as India, scholars have not usually employed the pejorative terms that some westerners habitually apply to Africa. Thus, they generally refer to "communal" struggles when describing such cataclysms as the partitioning of the Indian sub-continent at the time of independence in 1947. Likewise, the potential divisiveness caused by linguistic and cultural differences in a number of states of the Indian Union has been a source of additional tension in the years since independence. In the west, in addition to the "nationalist" movements already mentioned, separatist tendencies in Québec and in Spain, mainly in the Basque area, are well known. Active or suppressed irredentist movements in such European areas as the Sud-Tirol, the East Baltic (Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania) and the Hungarian groups in Romania, Czechoslovakia and Yugoslavia, not to mention Ireland, attest to the presence of this phenomenon in Europe.

What about divisiveness in Africa? It may surprise some, but in most of Africa the war of the tribes has not taken place since independence. In those countries where it has, some westerners have used colorful language to describe the excessive violence that has taken place. But if one speaks of massacres and "bad" regimes in such African countries as Ethiopia, Sudan, Uganda, Burundi, Guinea, Mozambique and Equatorial Guinea, one should speak, at the other end of the scale, of such states as Kenya, The Gambia, and the Ivory Coast, which are reported to be holding no political prisoners at present. There is also a large "middle" group of African states in which conditions could certainly be much better but which are not glaring examples of repression. Such pivotal countries as Cameroon, Zambia, Senegal, mainland Tanzania and Tunisia come to mind.

When westerners employ the stereotype of the unrestrained "savage," they point to the particular form that violence takes when it erupts in Africa. Used to the ways of death in more industrialized societies, westerners are

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shocked by the way death can occur in places of lower-level technology. But is it more "civilized" to inflict death from a distance by means of bullets or bombs or napalm dropped from the air than with a blade at the end of an arm? One doubts whether the victims of either kind of death would make such fine distinctions.

When it comes to sanitation in the aftermath of violent death, "civilized" warriors are also seen to be those who clean up the battlefield, whereas savages leave bodies to rot. This is more an aspect of technology and means than of superior morality.

In moral terms, for instance, there is little distinction between names or phrases like Auschwitz, Belsen, Buchenwald, the Gulag Archipelago, Spanish Civil War "atrocities," the Cherokee "Trail of Tears," Wounded Knee, My Lai, Amritsar, Magdeburg, St. Bartholomew's Day, Sharpeville and its sequels, the Herero and HeHe decimations, and the hunting down of South African Bushmen as "vermin," on the one hand, and such often cited recent cases of inhumanity as Uganda, Burundi, the Congo, the Sudan and Biafra, on the other. Montaigne, in describing the "savage" inhabitants of a newly discovered non-western land, made the point four centuries ago when he wrote "I find (as farre as I have been informed) there is nothing in that nation that is either barbarous or savage, unless men call that barbarisme which is not common to them." He added that these savages killed with swords one of their prisoners taken in a war, roasted and ate him, while " . . . the Portugales, who had confederated themselves with their adversaries, . . . use another kind of death, when they took them prisoners, which was to burie them up to the middle and against the upper part of the body to shoot arrowes, and then being almost dead, to hange them up . . . I am not sorie we note the barbarous horror of such an action, but grieved, that prying so narrowly into their faults we are so blinded in ours."

One can conclude from this entire discussion that it is not in the employment of stereotypes but rather in a careful examination of the changes that began to occur as an interaction between European and African intentions, and including unintentional consequences of both, that one can see more clearly what forces underlie African realities. Among these one can enumerate not only the growing economic, educational and political differentiations already referred to, but one can accept the reality that other forms of social and political differentiation than the purely ethnic are common in African national life today.

Important among these are class differences, based on differing educational levels, on occupations and professions, on wealth and poverty, and on urbanizing influences. These have all been studied by investigators of African societies, and their analyses have often provided very complex but more meaningful descriptions of the dynamics of these societies. One investigator, in an excellent recent summary of ethnicity and class in Kenya, fully recognizes the great importance of intertribal tensions in Kenya but he also agrees with the argument of another qualified investigator that "tribalism" in new states should be treated as a dependent variable and not as a primordial political force. A term like "primordial,"

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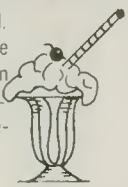
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he argues, implies that ethnic identities are "givens," i.e., fixed categories, whereas these categories can be created out of modernizing force, and ethnic perceptions can be fed by politicians. Or, politicians can use party organizations and develop ideologies and slogans to try to change perceptions, for instance, such slogans or concepts as Kenyatta's "Harambee" ("Let us all pull together"), Nyerere's Arusha Declaration for Tanzanian society and Senghor's "negritude" philosophy.

While conceding that ethnic perceptions are very real political factors, the same investigator notes that both intertribal and intratribal tensions in Kenya are closely connected with the critical issue of land allocation in a mainly rural and agricultural country, the best parts of which were once preempted by white settlers. He concluded that the threat to the régime in Kenya was not immediately that of tribal conflict but the fissures within the regime's own Kikuyu core constituency.

One can apply this kind of analysis to almost every troubled society in Africa and be fairly sure to find that the dynamics at work are by no means one-dimensional in nature. This is especially true in southern Africa, the area in which white domination has lingered the longest and which, therefore, has most compellingly drawn close world attention. For this reason, careful analysis of the complex forces shaping the plural societies in southern Africa repays manyfold the effort involved, clearing away the racial shibboleths to which whites in southern Africa (and overseas) have been wedded far too long. To dismiss the concepts of majority rule, universal suffrage, and liberation as meaningless catchwords to mask an allegedly tribal power struggle is to substitute catchy simplicities for more probing analysis. To deny the reality of African nationalism is to misconceive a movement, the origins of which in South Africa, for instance, go back nearly a century, and which was formally organized in 1912, be it noted before there was a communist government anywhere in the world.

It took from 1969 to 1976 for Henry Kissinger to travel the road from NSSM 39 to Lusaka near the Zambezi border. This journey became inevitable in April, 1974, when the Portuguese empire in Africa collapsed following the long colonial war which led to the overthrow of Salazarism in Portugal. While this event certainly hastened Kissinger's belated discovery of the importance of Africa, it also made clear that invoking the menace of "tribalism," "communism" and "civil war" in southern Africa will not in and of themselves magically provide the dynamics of a workable American policy toward the part of the continent. As Kissinger said, "I have come to Africa because in many ways the challenges of Africa are the challenges of the modern era. Morally and politically, the drama of *national independence* in Africa over the last generation has transformed international affairs."

In this transformation, there have been many factors involved besides "tribalism." It is quite inadequate to try to explain such a vast process of change and of awakening awareness in terms of it alone. Having got over our national "hangup" about the PRC, we now have to abandon the images of blackness and darkness in Africa which for too long have clouded our imaginations. The heart of darkness has been a mirror of ourselves all along.

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LETTERS TO FSJ

Footnote to "Christmastime on a Farm near Moscow"

For some time I wondered how traditional the practice of Christmas caroling was in old Russia. Then I ran across a footnote by my namesake in Gogol's story "The Night Before Christmas." It explains that to carol (kolyadovat') meant to sing carols (kolyadki) under the windows on Christmas Eve. The carolers received sausage, bread or a coin according to the means of those in the household.

"They say there once was a blockhead by the name of Kolyada who was taken for God and supposedly this is where the name for carols (kolyadki) came from. Who knows? It's not for us simple people to explain this. Last year Father Osip was ready to forbid caroling on the farms, saying that the people were somehow pleasing Satan. However, if the truth be known, in the carols there's not a word about Kolyada. They often sing of the birth of Christ; and at the end they wish good health to the master, the mistress, the children and the whole house."

It would seem that the custom may not have been widespread in Russia—at least outside the rural areas. Otherwise, there would have been no need for a footnote to the story.

WILLIAM PANKO

Tribalism and Professionalism

We are all indebted to Smith Simpson for pulling no punches and expressing his views so candidly in his recent article "Tribes and Tribulations in Africa" in the January 1979 *FSJ*.

Those of us who have served in Africa know only too well how important tribalism is in the turbulent politics of that continent. It is a factor which adds a dimension of great complexity to the problems of such areas as southern Africa.

For this reason such problems should be handled by professionals with experience in depth in these areas. Simpson explains a great deal about the fumbling and obdurate nature of our recent actions in Africa when he reveals that it has been in the hands of careerist semi-professionals and talented amateurs both in the department and in the United Nations.

Some day our great nation will learn to conduct its foreign affairs through professional representatives who understand what diplomacy is all about. Until the time arrives when it is not necessary for the United States to entrust the conduct of its foreign policy to neophytes and tyros who are intruded into the diplomatic process every time we have a change of administration, we will be condemned to try somehow to survive the damage done by well-meaning incompetents who have to learn on the job.

Simpson's article was a delight to read. It was not only written in excellent English (a rare treat these days) but it also injected a measure of common sense and practical wisdom into the problem of how to conduct our foreign affairs in such complex and little known regions as Africa.

Congratulations to Smith Simpson for writing it and to you for publishing it.

LEON B. POULLADA
Ambassador, Ret.
Flagstaff, Ariz.

Ibo Aggression

Smith Simpson's December article is full of provocative observations on our Africa policy, and I agree with some of them. I just hope that his astonishing two sentences of Biafran propaganda are not intended as an example of the "reason, balance and perspective" he argues for:

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.

Surely no disinterested observer can doubt that the Ibos' own aggressive political and commercial ambitions—within the rest of the Federation as well as the former Eastern region—contributed mightily to the catastrophe that was Biafra. The Ibos were clearly bent on dominating at least enough of Nigeria to control the oilfields, which lie outside their tribal territory.

I point this out without holding the slightest brief for the war strategy or tactics of the federal military regime and its supporters.

GEORGE T. EATON
Bamako

"The Ambassador and the CIA"

Ray Thurston's delightful report on "The Ambassador and The CIA" reminded me of a moment in Tehran when Loy Henderson was ambassador. The local CIA chief, a subtle and sophisticated man, in order to assuage the ambassador's suspicions, told him that he could read the station's "chron" file of incoming and outgoing telegrams at any time—an astonishing concession. Of course he also had an understanding worked out with the agency.

Weeks after having received these comforting assurances, the ambassador, in a fit of boredom, asked to see the file. The secretary who took the call and who knew of the arrangement—but who had not been *fully* briefed—trotted down the corridor with the papers. Henderson flipped through the traffic without much attention until he came on one from Washington slugged—

"DON'T SHOW LOY . ."

JOHN H. STUTESMAN
San Francisco

The Consular Challenge

The article about the "consular challenge" in the December *FSJ* pinpointed some of the reasons why consular work can be so frustrating. Another point which is frequently overlooked is that consular sections can make significant contributions to the mission's goals. Of all the sections of the embassy, it is the consular section which has the broadest contact with the local population, including such important groups as the middle class and private Americans. The potential for reporting, information gathering, and other contributions is normally not reflected in the staffing and direction of the embassy.

A consular section can contribute to our understanding of capital flight, purchasing trends among importers, legal procedures, human rights conditions, the forces which

lead people to emigrate, the man on the street impression of our government, and many other facets of activity which are all too often neglected. Consular sections are seen as service centers; substantive matters are to be handled elsewhere. The answers are there, but frequently no one bothers to ask or to include consular officers in the discussion.

Through organization and through the distribution of resources, embassies inhibit reporting and analysis by the consular section, and neglect the groups with whom they work. Consular workloads are evaluated in terms of the number of visas issued or notarials signed. Secretarial time for classified typing is also at a premium and it becomes a major undertaking for an officer who wishes to write a report to find the time to draft it, get it typed, and finally get it read. Until the necessary resources and recognition are given to the tasks which consular sections should properly handle, consular officers will remain in second class status.

RICHARD BOUCHER

Taipei

Accepting the Challenge

John St. Denis, my counterpart in Seoul, has challenged me and other consular officers to write letters to the editor about his article. I am in basic agreement with his two main arguments; that US immigration law and policy needs major overhaul, and that a consular career still leaves much to be desired. However, I must take issue with many of the specifics.

Although Congress may have taken more interest in consular affairs recently, that interest has generally been directed towards consular services for US citizens and not towards visas. While visa work may be the tail that wags the consular dog, it is not "the heart" of the consular function. Recent interest in immigration policy has not come from the foreign affairs committees, which are interested in consular work, but rather from different quarters of Congress. The Select Commission on Immigration and Refugee Policy which was formed in January may eventually lead to some basic changes in the law, but these will not be because of interest in consular affairs as such or because of any major role played by the Department of State.

The Department of State and the consular officer have little legitimate interest deciding what US immigration policy should be. Whether the United States should unify families, extend welfare to recent immigrants, or give illegal aliens in the United States due process of law are very much domestic issues. Only to the extent that our immigration policy affects our foreign relations does the Department of State have a role to play in determining policy.

The department does have a role in administering US immigration law, and we must have some input into making the law and regulations administratively manageable. However, domestic political pressures will surely have more influence on immigration policy than will discussions of relatively arcane aspects of the law by the department or consular officers.

I agree that the Immigration and Nationality Act (INA) has lost all relevance to the last quarter of the 20th century. However, the statement that immigration attorneys "get into the United States those persons whom the INA has excluded," does not make sense. Are immigration attorneys smuggling in aliens? Are immigration judges deliberately ignoring or breaking the law? This seems to be a charge of large scale malfeasance.

Mr. St. Denis makes a misstatement of fact when he says that under the president's re-organization plan, the visa function would be transferred from State to Justice and Treasury. The visa function would go to Justice, while the border patrol function (not State's) would go to Treasury. I agree that the plan would be a disaster, but chiefly because Treasury would mismanage the inspection function worse than INS.

Mr. St. Denis asks why consular officers aren't ambassadors. Since the experience with a consular officer as ambassador to a small landlocked country in South America in 1970, the Department has probably been afraid to try again. However, by the time this letter appears, a consular officer should have been named ambassador to this post. It will not, however, be due to any moral support given by Mr. St. Denis.

I take issue with Mr. St. Denis's statement that most congressional correspondence and complaints are results of consular incompetence and callousness, and that we could eliminate same by cleaning up our own act. Congressional correspondence often starts long before an approved visa petition is ever received at a post, and continues through every stage of visa processing. When an applicant is refused a visa, no matter how justified the refusal may be under the law, the case must be explained to the congressman or the department in just as much time-consuming detail as it takes to answer a legitimate complaint. The same generally applies to welfare and protection cases. My act is cleaned up and I still get mail.

I agree very much with what I believe to be Mr. St. Denis's chief complaint, namely the seemingly mindless and infuriating unsolicited guidance and advisory opinions we often get from the visa office. To a certain degree, cleaning up one's own act does help, but not much. However, I do not believe that the department is pushed around on visa matters because of any lack of its leadership in foreign affairs. Rather, in visa policy, the department simply has to follow the interpretative guidance of the Attorney General, the Board of Immigration Appeals, and the courts. It is in all of these forums that the INA is being torn apart. Only Congress can restore order by closing loop-holes and reasserting its plenary power in determining immigration law.

There is indeed a great need to revise US immigration law to make it manageable and enforceable. However, in spite of our close proximity to the problem, I doubt that either consular officers or the Department of State will have much influence over any final changes that may come about. This is simply because immigration policy is not considered to be foreign policy. Ironically, the one part of immigration policy with real foreign policy significance—refugees—is under the Justice Department.

JAMES W. CARTER
American Consul

Kingston

AFSA NEWS

MARCH, 1979

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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EXCHANGE RATE CHANGES

Various AFSA Chapters overseas have complained that adjustments of post allowances never keep up with changes in the US dollar exchange rates. We have raised this issue with Management and are informed that changes in the administration of allowances are being adopted to help ensure that fluctuation in exchange rates will be more promptly reflected in allowance payments.

According to the Allowances Staff, the most current average exchange rate is used as the basis for determining the allowance payments. Heretofore, the Allowances Staff had reviewed the exchange rates only once every four weeks. In the future, the rates will be reviewed every two weeks or once each pay period. This is particularly important as the Comptroller General prohibits the Department from increasing the allowances retroactively.

When determining what is the most "current" average exchange rate, the Allowances Staff relies on information submitted by sources abroad. Unfortunately, it appears that the rate being used in some instances does not reflect the exchange rate actually available to employees at the posts concerned. This problem is apt to continue unless posts submit the necessary exchange rate reports. In order to help ensure that employees are not being disadvantaged, AFSA chapters are encouraged to review the information submitted by their local management officials.

PAY COMPARABILITY STUDY

The Department of State has contracted with Hay Associates, a well-known consulting firm, to complete the Foreign Service pay comparability study project which was mandated by Congress in the State Authorization Act for FY 1979. AFSA was instrumental in persuading Congress to include this requirement in the 1979 Authorization Act and continues to monitor closely how State carries out this Congressional instruction. The AFSA State Standing Committee has established a special subcommittee for this purpose. As the study will undoubtedly impact on the pay scale of all foreign affairs agencies, representatives from the ICA and AID Standing Committees have been invited to work with the subcommittee.

In meetings with Hay Associates, we learned that they expect to make a wide-reaching survey of various compensation systems and compare the Foreign Service system with those of many other governmental and private organizations. This will include a comparison with military as well as Civil Service pay scales. The final report should include an overall analysis related to the overseas salary and benefit structure to identify compensation-wise what is required to attract, retain, and motivate employees.

The Committee has discussed with Hay Associates some of our concerns regarding the study. Considering the short period of time allowed, we are concerned whether Hay Associates will be able to gain a sufficient understanding of the Foreign Service and its unique problems. For example, how will Hay Associates take into account the rank-in-person concept? How will they allow for different assignment patterns among the various cones and specialties and how will they use position descriptions and work requirement statements for judging what an individual does? Management will provide Hay Associates with background information on these and other issues as seen by management. AFSA will also provide information representing the employees' viewpoints and suggest ways how these concerns can best be handled.

State management wants to have the results of the Hay Associates study reflected in its forthcoming report to Congress due to be submitted in the spring proposing a restructuring of the Foreign Service personnel system. Thus, there is considerable pressure for Hay Associates to produce at least a preliminary report by early April. As further developments become known, AFSA will keep employees promptly informed.

SPOUSES MAY AUDIT FSI FUNCTIONAL COURSES

The Department's Family Liaison Office (M/FLO) and Foreign Service Institute (M/FSI) are sponsoring an experimental program for the remainder of this fiscal year which permits spouses or family members of employees likely to be assigned abroad in the next year to "audit" the Institute's ConGen Rosslyn Consular Training Course (C-101) and its Budget and Financial Management Program (A-119). Both are essentially self-instructional courses preparing participants for consular work and budget and fiscal operations at US posts abroad.

The consular and administrative areas are also those providing opportunities for part-time, intermittent and temporary employment for spouses and family members of Service employees assigned abroad. This experimental program, enabling spouses and family members to "audit" those courses involving possible areas of employment, is designed to assess spouse interest in such programs and the feasibility of their operation.

Participation will be determined on the basis of the following criteria:

(a) The employee whose spouse wishes to participate must be within one year of his tour expiration date *and* be seeking an onward assignment overseas to which spouse will accompany employee;

(b) If post of assignment is known, there must be a presumption that spouse employment is likely; and

(c) Spouse language skills, education and work experience will be factors influencing selection.

Selection of participants on basis of foregoing criteria, will be made by an *ad hoc* committee chaired by M/FLO.

Spouses or family members of Service employees, with prospect of overseas assignment in next year, who are interested in participating in this experimental program should forward a completed SF-171 form or resume to the Director, Family Liaison Office (M/FLO), Room 1216A, Main State, Phone 632-1076.

AFSA STATE STANDING COMMITTEE REACHES NEW AGREEMENT ON EXCURSION TOURS

On January 9 the Governing Board approved the draft agreement reached between State management and the State Standing Committee on Excursion Tours. The excursion tour is a method whereby individuals with diverse interests, aptitudes and skills may obtain an assignment in another functional area. It is not related to cone changes or out-of-cone assignments of officers.

Under the agreement, by July 1st of the year preceding an employee's transfer eligibility date (TED) or January 30, 1979 (for those employees with TE D's in 1979) persons interested in applying for an excursion tour should send a letter to PER/FCA/JO (with a copy to their Career Development Officer) indicating their interest in being considered for such an assignment, and outlining their educational background, training and experience, motivation for seeking an excursion tour assignment, and any volunteer or out of work activities that they may have performed related to the proposed excursion tour field. Tested or self-estimated language proficiency should also be indicated.

The applicant should specify the field in which he/she wishes to be considered for an excursion tour, e.g. budget and fiscal, political, personnel, economic/commercial, consular services, etc. Background of previous training in the desired field is not required, but could increase the chances for selection. Training may consist of formal course work in the proposed field, or may reflect on-the-job experience in the area.

All applicants will be rank ordered and will be advised in writing of their standings on the list. A single rank order will be established for each functional area without regard for the differences in personal rank of the applicants.

FSRU CONVERSION PROGRAM

The AFSA State Standing Committee's new agreement with State Management for the Foreign Affairs Specialist (FSRU) Conversion Program was approved by the AFSA Governing Board on February 6.

As announced in FAMC No. 752, the acceptance of applications for conversion to the FAS program was suspended on May 11, 1978. Under this new agreement, officers interested in the program may now once again submit their applications to PER/MGT. Applications will be processed according to the regulations and procedures in effect at the time an application is made. *Neither the application nor any other document generated by these procedures will be included in an applicant's performance file.*

Eligibility for the FSR/FSRU Program

From its inception, the Foreign Affairs Specialists program, encompassing both FSRUs and FSRs (FAS Candidates), was meant to give the Department the "advantages of greater management flexibility and more efficiency in the use and development of specialists." For that reason, MRB No. 8 announced that "As a general policy, FAS officers will be expected to serve some time abroad, although many will spend more time in the United States than overseas." Exceptions to this worldwide availability status were originally made for officers over age 50 at the time of conversion. This special conversion incentive expired on December 31, 1975, as announced in Department Notice dated February 4, 1975.

In keeping with the original intent of the FAS program, current domestic service only officers, whether Civil Service, Foreign Service Reserve not serving on FAS candidate appointments, or Foreign Service Staff, will no longer be considered for conversion to FSR (FAS Candidate) or FSRU unless they become available for worldwide assignment and there is a need for their assignment both at home and abroad in the same way as other members of the Foreign Service who serve rotational careers. Specifically, the individual considered must be qualified for worldwide service, willing to accept an assignment abroad in the immediate future, if offered, and possess a functional skill for which there is a continuing need both at home and abroad. When questions exist as to whether these criteria are met in a particular case, the Director General will make the final decision.

Individuals whose applications for conversion to FSR (FAS Candidate) were received by the Board of Examiners (PER/REE/EXAM/BEX) before May 11, 1978, or who have already been accepted as FAS candidates, shall continue to be processed in accordance with MRB No. 8, rather than under the new agreement.

REVISED PER FOR TECHNICAL PERSONNEL

The completion of meaningful performance evaluation reports for technical personnel in Security, Communications and Medical work serving overseas has been a long-term problem. All too frequently, these employees work under the direct supervision of rating officers who have insufficient specialized training to evaluate the ratee's performance. In order to help overcome this problem, the Department has developed special supplemental evaluation forms (DS-1723 and DS-1583) to be completed either by an appropriate Washington office or by a regional supervisor.

In an effort to further strengthen the supplemental evaluation procedures, the Department, in consultation with AFSA, has adopted a new single form which will replace the two earlier forms and will be used in the future. We trust that this new procedure will better insure that the performance files for technical personnel will present a clearer, more informative profile of each such employee's performance.

EMPLOYEES ON EXCURSION

The AFSA State Standing Committee has received a number of inquiries concerning competition for promotion for employees on excursion tours.

The criteria for the 1978 Boards were:

Employees serving in an excursion tour as of May 15, 1978, who completed five consecutive years in that tour as of May 15, 1978, must compete in the excursion tour skill code.

Employees who completed two consecutive years in an excursion tour as of May 15, 1978, and have been scheduled for, or assigned to an additional tour in that speciality will be given the option of competing either in their own skill area or under the excursion tour skill code.

We expect that for the 1979 Boards, they will be the same.

MANUAL REVISIONS SENT

On January 31 all Washington AFSA Representatives and Chapter Heads were sent replacement pages for the AFSA Chapter and Keyman Manual. The revisions update the membership of the committees, the domestic keyman networks, the AFSA reps abroad and the Governing Board. The newly-amended Bylaws were also included.

Keypeople and Chapter Reps who are missing the revision—or the manual, please ask AFSA for replacement copies.

ELECTIONS COMMITTEE APPOINTED

The AFSA Governing Board appointed in January the following AFSA members to constitute the Association's Standing Committee on Elections as provided for in Article V of the Bylaws:

Chairman: C. Robert Moore. (Retired)
Michael Michaud, State
Gilbert Johnson, State
Susan Jacobs, State
Ronald Reafs, ICA
Franklin R. Stewart. AID

The Committee's term of office will continue until July 1980. As stated in the Bylaws, it is responsible for administering the Association's procedures for elections, recall and referenda.

ROCKEFELLER AWARDS

The Rockefeller Public Service Awards program is now accepting nominations for the five $10,000 awards to be given in 1979.

The nominees may be working in the public or private sector, must be US citizens and may not be seeking or holding elective office or be sitting judges. The deadline for nominations is May 15.

A brochure describing the awards and the nominating procedures can be obtained from: Ingrid W. Reed, Administrative Director, Rockefeller Public Service Awards, Woodrow Wilson School, Princeton University, Princeton, N.J. 08540.

WILSON AWARD NOMINATIONS

The Joseph C. Wilson Award Committee is accepting nominations for its fifth annual award of $10,000 to someone who had made a major contribution in international affairs. Nominees should be American citizens in mid-career with both achievement and promise. Contributions to international well-being in fields such as agriculture, communications, diplomacy, economics, education, environment, health, human rights, law, science or technology in a relatively recent period are sought. Each nomination should detail the nature and significance of the candidate's contribution and potential in a two- to five-page statement. A list of three people who can comment on the candidate, complete with titles or affiliations and addresses, is required, with a reasonably complete biography of the candidate, including date of birth.

Nominations must be received by May 15 by: Joseph C. Wilson Award Committee, Box 329, 100 Gibbs Street, Rochester, N.Y. 14605.

CONVERSION OF AID FS STAFF TO FSR APPOINTMENTS

AFSA's AID Standing Committee and the Office of Personnel Management have agreed upon revisions to Handbook 25 (Chapter 5G) and 28 (Chapter 5B) which will provide a procedural framework for providing training to Foreign Service Staff employees. By such training, Staff employees will be able to qualify as Foreign Service Reserve officers. AFSA worked long and hard to get this agreement which gives permanency to an upward mobility program for the Foreign Service Staff Corps. This agreement will give that program a much needed boost.

PERSONNEL INTERCHANGE

During January 1979, the AFSA State Standing Committee negotiated an agreement with State Management on guidelines for an officer interchange between State and the International Communication Agency. The effective date for the guidelines is being deferred until the present limitation on federal hiring is lifted.

The objectives of the guidelines include the promotion of career development interests of the participating officers and the strengthening of the relationship between the two foreign affairs agencies. It will be open to mid-level and senior officers who can compete for assignment opportunities in both agencies. The aim will be to achieve a one-for-one exchange at the senior levels and a two (State) to one (ICA) ratio at mid-levels. Assignment decisions on candidates will be made by the prospective recipient agency.

AFSA PROMOTES PROFESSIONALISM

During January and February, AFSA hosted two more scholar/diplomat luncheons with prominent outside speakers. The January occasion brought together a group of college and university professors from throughout the United States who were working on South American and Caribbean developments with Foreign Service employees from State, ICA and AID responsible for those areas. The Minister for Political Affairs from the Mexican Embassy was the guest speaker. In February a similar group of Africanists from educational institutions and the foreign affairs agencies met and were addressed by Somali Ambassador Abulahi Addou. These luncheon meetings are part of a series of such occasions when scholars and diplomats interested in similar problems can meet and informally discuss matters.

LETTERS TO FSJ

Thirty-six Things to Do on a Tropical Island While Waiting for your Luggage to Arrive

Become hypnotized by the luggage conveyor belt.
Count how many times that unclaimed red suitcase comes around.
Go out on the runway and poke around under the cardboard boxes.
Get sent inside by a man with a gun.
Find the airline agent.
Watch her shrug.
Make her write down the information anyway.
Sweat.
Swear.

Listen to your husband say, "I told you so."
Threaten to hit your husband.
Wear jeans to dinner.
Discover how much cold cream costs in the backwaters of civilization.
Have a drink.
Have several drinks.
Discover that you're married to a man who uses a worn out toothbrush.
Sleep in the nude.
Sniff suspiciously at your blouse.
Find out that your husband's shirts don't fit you.
Glare at the people around the pool.
Sweat.

Have a drink.
Go to the airport again.
Listen to your husband argue in French with a policeman.
Consider crying.
Listen to your husband say, "I told you so."
Consider murder.
Lose your claim check.
Consider suicide.
Find your claim check.
Have a drink.
Watch the plane land.
Become hypnotized by the luggage conveyor belt.
Find out how much underwear costs in the backwaters of civilization.
Sweat.

KAREN FOSTER
Washington

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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OUT OF PRINT

Prosser, Ed. **Sow the Wind: Heads of State Address UN** (Morrow, 1970) 2 vols. deluxe, boxed, numbered, originally $100, now $27. Prepaid/invoice. Mor Prosser, 1 Dawson's Row, Charlottesville, VA 22903.

OF INTEREST TO FSOs

SELECTED-OUT for time-in-grade? See Bob Allen, INR/RAR, Room 7532. Phone 632-0814.

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BOOKS

IF YOU ARE LOOKING for an out-of-print book, perhaps I can find it. Dean Chamberlin, FSIO-retired, Book Cellar, Freeport, Maine 04032.

Foreign Service People

Births

Kline. A daughter, Samara Kathryn, born to FSO and Mrs. Paul C. Kline, on July 9, at USAF Hospital, Lajes Field, Azores.

Munro. A daughter, Tina Phipps, born to FSO and Mrs. Glenn A. Munro, on January 6, at Canapé Vert Hospital, Port-au-Prince. Mr. Munro is assigned to the embassy in Caracas.

Deaths

Bass. Charles W. Bass, FSO assigned to the Office of International Conferences, died on December 8, in Arlington. Mr. Bass joined the Department in 1942 and transferred to the Foreign Service in 1956. He served at Bombay, Bern, Accra, Osaka-Kobe, Bangkok and Bridgetown. He is survived by his wife, Alice, 4501 Arlington Blvd., Arlington, Virginia 22203, and two daughters.

Roberts. Quincy F. Roberts, FSO-retired, died on December 16, in Budleigh Salterton, Devon, England. Mr. Roberts entered the Foreign Service in 1915 and served at Venice, Genoa, Saloniki, Apia, Suva, Saigon, Chefoo, Belfast and, as Consul General, Alexandria and Nice/Monaco before his retirement in 1953. He is survived by his wife, Margaret, of Sunlea, 6 East Budleigh Road, Budleigh Salterton, Devon, England.

Scott. Joseph W. Scott, FSO-retired, died on January 2, in Washington. Mr. Scott joined the State Department in 1946 and entered the Foreign Service in 1952. He served at Paris, Ankara, Kingston and as DCM in Ottawa with the personal rank of minister. At the time of his retirement in 1970 he was director of the Canadian desk. His first wife, the former Ann Collins, died in 1969. He is survived by his second wife, Claretta, of 600 S. Fairfax, Alexandria, Virginia, a daughter, Joanna Hennessy, of Boston, a sister, Jeanette Allday, of Houston, and three grandchildren.

Withers. Charles D. Withers, retired Ambassador, died on January 1, in Naples, Florida. He joined the Foreign Service in 1942 and served at Leopoldville, Bombay, Dacca, Karachi, Nairobi and London. He was appointed Ambassador to Rwanda in 1963 and retired in 1967. He is survived by his wife, Jane, 1385 Morningside Drive, Naples, Florida 33940.

AID UNIFIED PERSONNEL SYSTEM

AFSA invited Deputy Administrator Nooter to meet with Foreign Service employees to discuss the proposed AID Unified Personnel System (UPS) on February 7, 1979 in the Loy Henderson Conference Room. Speaking to a full house, Mr. Nooter briefly presented management's position which was followed by an AFSA summary of field comments on the proposal. During the question and answer period, the audience comments and questions were sharply critical of the UPS and at times, quite forcefully presented. By means of this long meeting, as well as other formal and informal meetings with management, and in a lengthy letter from the AID Standing Committee, AFSA has been making management aware of Foreign Service employee reactions to the proposal. Copies of many of the messages from overseas posts commenting on UPS have been forwarded to management.

The AID Standing Committee will continue to devote much of its attention for an indefinite period to influencing the outcome of this proposal. In the near future we expect the battle to move to Capitol Hill.

HARTER COMPLAINT

A Department of Labor Administrative Law Judge has scheduled a hearing in late March to hear evidence concerning a complaint filed by Mr. John J. Harter, an AFSA member, alleging that "the Governing Board of AFSA, purporting to act in behalf of the organization (AFSA) has continually impeded and interfered with (his) exercising of his rights as an AFSA member." Rights of members of employee organizations are guaranteed under the "Bill of Rights" section of the applicable federal labor relations regulations (22 C.F.R. 804 and 29 C.F.R. 204). Mr. Harter's allegations largely concern events during the period of Mr. John Hemenway's presidency and subsequent recall in 1975-76. AFSA has filed a response with the Labor Department rejecting all of Mr. Harter's allegations.

The disposition of earlier complaints against AFSA brought by Messrs. Harter and Hemenway were reported on in the *Journal* issues of February 1978, August 1978, and February 1979.

JOIN AFSA
(OR ENCOURAGE OTHERS TO JOIN)

The proud winners at the 11th annual awards ceremony face the camera on December 13, in the Loy Henderson Conference Room. From left, Nathan Glick (Marks Award); Richard N. Viets (Herter); Stephanie Smith Kinney (Harriman); and Kenneth M. Quinn (Rivkin).

The Honorable W. Averell Harriman, the principal speaker at the ceremony, presents Ms. Kinney with her award.

Mrs. Christian Herter confers the award given in memory of her late husband on Richard N. Viets . . .

And Mrs. John Sterry Long presents the award named for her late husband to Kenneth M. Quinn . . .

While Nathan Glick receives his award and a warm handshake from Leonard Marks on behalf of the Marks Foundation.

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