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Battling Modern Diplomacy

By Alan Tonelson

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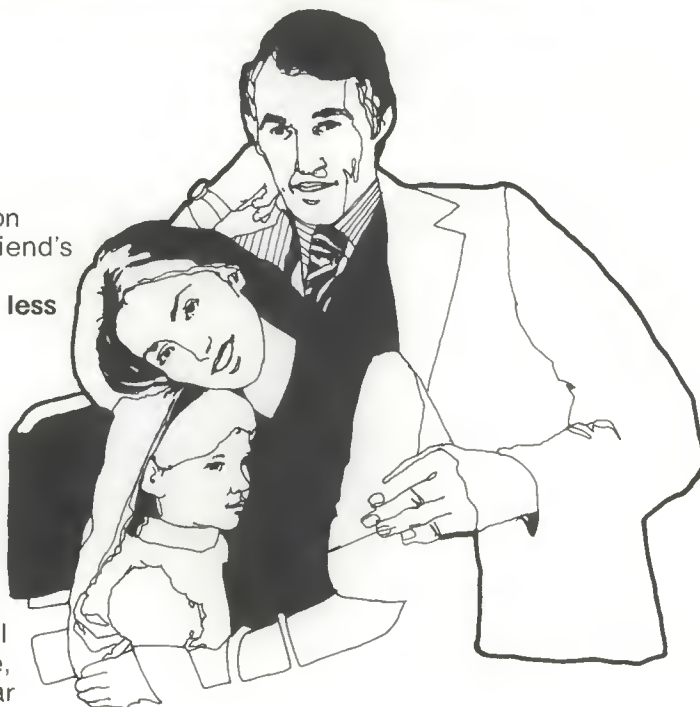
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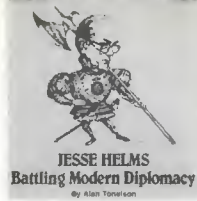
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The *Foreign Service Journal* is the magazine of professionals in foreign affairs, published 11 times a year by the American Foreign Service Association, a non-profit organization. Material appearing herein represents the opinions of the writers and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

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LETTERS

Humanizing Communications

I have read with continuing interest articles and letters in the *Journal* on automation and communications. I am a former Foreign Service officer who decided to join the automation/communications industry.

It is difficult to disagree with Mr. Naehrer's view (June) that the Office of Communication has, in many respects, led the way in implementing communications technology in the government. Further, given the far-flung nature of the department's operations, in many less-than-optimal locations, the support provided by OC deserves high praise.

However, while concentrating on seemingly optimal hardware solutions, State has not adequately taken into account the much more important dimension of "human factors." Telegrams do not originate in the C&R area, and hardware solutions which only commence in C&R fail to treat the communications function as a whole. Rather, telegrams originate in the minds of the drafters and are then transferred to paper. At this point begins a unique Foreign Service ritual, the "clearance" process. The document is continually revised, retyped, revised again until, finally, it is sent to C&R, where Mr. Naehrer's technical wizardry first becomes involved in a rather small part of the entire communications process.

Unfortunately, OC's communications philosophy has required a large array of people to conform to machine requirements. What is missing is a systematic approach to integrating all message origination and reprocessing. The result would be substantially improved efficiency for everyone.

In addition to not having given adequate attention to human factors, the department was, until my departure at least, schizophrenic about message traffic versus data processing traffic, i.e., inventory,

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FORD EXPORT DIVISION

personnel, or financial information. OC's links should have been capable of moving all information directly between posts and departmental data bases. In fact, scant attention was paid by OC to data-processing traffic. The ability of posts to manage their operations has been limited.

Today's office-automation technology far exceeds the capability of most users to employ it effectively. Until State implements fully integrated information processing and transmission capabilities which begin with the drafter and end with the reader, it will lag behind organ-

izations which are already well along in these areas. As long as a dichotomy is maintained between the Information Systems Office and OC (both of which possess excellent individual and organizational capabilities), State will never be able to implement a total human-factor system, nor can it be considered a genuine leader in the automation/communications sector.

STEPHEN J. HAYDEN
Vice President, International
CPT Corporation
Minneapolis, Minnesota

Indochina Fallacies

One would have thought that six years after the Vietnam fiasco, professionals of the intelligence and experience of James C. Thomson Jr. would have finally seen the light ("The Indochina Tragedy," July/August). In the intervening time, Hanoi's take-over of Cambodia and Laos should have opened even the eyes of the blind.

In his article, which revived most of the misstatements and fabrications that deluged us during that unfortunate conflict, and undermined the nation's will (yes indeed, Mr. Thomson!), noteworthy are the following:

Our belated "intervention" is castigated but that of the USSR—via its stooges Ho Chi Minh, et al.—is ignored. Our Vietnam ward's countermeasures against communist terrorism are equated with the systematic and wide-scale genocide of the adversary.

We ostensibly failed to negotiate in 1965 for what would have supposedly been "at worst, a neutralist government." The world knows—particularly Czechoslovakia—that a coalition government is but the gateway to communist domination.

The Tet offensive is interpreted as a communist victory, yet, in reality, it was a heavy military defeat for Hanoi from which it was rescued psychologically thanks to our key media's manipulation of the event.

He repeats the transparent and worn-out argument of our "invasion" of "neutral Cambodia," ignoring the fact that North Vietnam had already invaded Cambodia and was using it as a springboard against the Republic of Vietnam and our forces. International law allows hot pursuit of an invader. Moreover, dense jungles, with a minimum of population, hardly qualify for the niceties of territorial delimitation.

Though Thomson alleges violation of the (give-away) Paris agreements of 1973 by "both sides," the degree, intensity, and purposes of the two adversaries are totally ignored.

Let us all thank Mr. Thomson for an unbiased historical perspective! (Incidentally, has he ever read *The Spike?*)

CHARLES KATSAINOS
Washington

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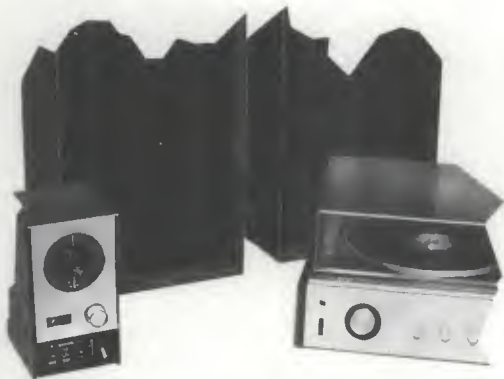
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BOOK REVIEWS

End of American Century

REAL SECURITY: Restoring American Power in a Dangerous Decade,
 by Richard J. Barnet. Simon and
 Schuster, 1981.

Deep concern about the over-mili-
 tarization of U.S. foreign policy is
 the theme of this long polemical
 essay by Richard J. Barnet, articu-
 late spokesman of the left in con-
 temporary America. After outlining
 the major developments in the end
 of the "American century," the high-
 risk nuclear arms race, and the chas-
 tising experience of the superpow-
 ers in the Third World, Barnet con-
 cludes: "Our failure to project power
 is due to our preoccupation with
 military strategies that cannot work
 and our insufficient attention to
 political and economic strategies
 that can work."

Barnet believes that there was
 what he calls an "American centu-
 ry," that is, an inflated concept of
 American power. It was brought to
 an end by the contagion of revolu-
 tionary nationalism, the triumph of
 capitalism in Germany and Japan,
 the nuclear arms race, and emer-
 gence of the Soviet Union as a
 mighty nuclear power.

According to conventional wis-
 dom, the nuclear arms race and the
 military balance with the Soviet
 Union has been characterized by
 three "gaps": the spending gap, the
 missile gap, and the doctrine gap.
 Barnet, however, denies the exist-
 ence of these gaps. On spending,
 NATO defense expenditures total
 more than those of the Warsaw Pact.
 On missiles, the U.S. has increasing
 retaliatory capability in spite of the
 coming vulnerability of its land-
 based force (a point Barnet fails to
 bring out clearly). With the new
 Trident II missiles, "each (Ameri-
 can) submarine commander will be
 able to land the equivalent of 11
 Hiroshima bombs on 336 separate
 and dispersed targets." On the doc-
 trine gap, Barnet cites no less an
 authority than Soviet President

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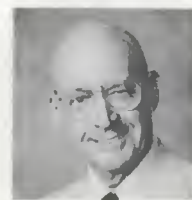
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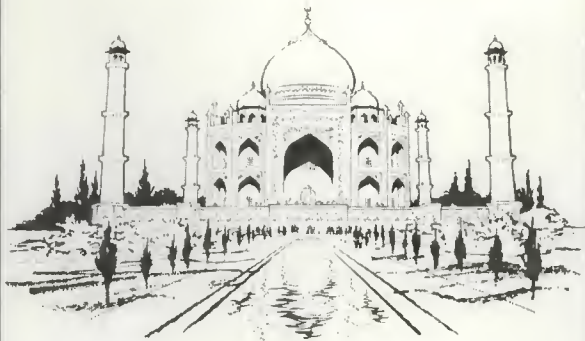


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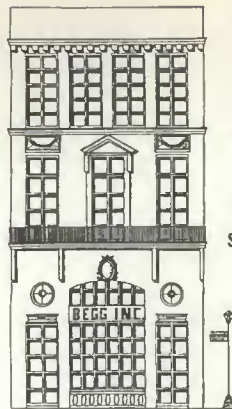
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Leonid Brezhnev to refute White House adviser Richard Pipes's charge that the Soviets believe it is possible to "win" a nuclear war. Brezhnev told the 26th Congress of the Communist Party in February 1981 that "to attempt to defeat each other in the arms race and to count on victory in a nuclear war are dangerous adventures."

Barnet effectively disposes of the gap mythology, including the mistaken belief that nuclear superiority has been useful as a political instrument in advancing the interests of the United States.

However, there is one important omission in Barnet's analysis of the military balance. He says nothing about the conventional military balance, surely a key factor in maintaining an equilibrium with the Soviet Union.

Barnet defines two competing views which he believes have dominated American thinking about the Soviet Union: the belief that the Soviet threat is mainly military as the Soviets seek to impose their absolute authority on the rest of the world; or the belief that the Soviet challenge is primarily political, economic, and diplomatic. The latter view—the view that Soviet military strength is not the source of all our problems—gained dominance in U.S. policymaking circles after Vietnam. But this view lost ground in the face of heavy assaults by the Committee on the Present Danger and by Team "B", an intelligence panel appointed by President Ford, and in the face of a personal attack on U.S. arms negotiator Paul Warnke and sharp criticism of the SALT II treaty. President Carter retreated, especially after the invasion of Afghanistan, and he too came to believe that America must restore its military might to restore its confidence. Unfortunately, Barnet does not discuss the wider forces on the world scene, unrelated to Vietnam but most relevant to the real security he seeks, that made possible President Nixon's détente policies. Two such forces were and remain of great significance: the Sino-Soviet conflict, and acceptance by all the major powers of the territorial status quo in Europe.

Barnet then addresses the question of when force can be used to advantage in the Third World. His conclusions are generally negative. In Angola and Ethiopia, there was

"no fit" between possible U.S. military measures and the political situation. And the United States' experiences in Iran—defending the Shah and attempting the rescue mission—and North Yemen demonstrated the limits of military power. Barnet points out that the Soviets have had their failures too, for example, China, Indonesia, and Egypt. But in forecasting future Soviet behavior, Barnet quotes the late Senator Richard Russell: "If a country invests heavily in forces that can go places and do things, that is what the forces are likely to do."

Barnet believes the danger of nuclear war in the 1980s is "awesome." The list of flashpoints is long. He proposes radical arms control measures to stop the rot in U.S.-Soviet relations. He suggests a freeze on deployment of nuclear weapons and a prohibition against further deployment of U.S. and Soviet forces in third countries.

How do we establish the political context with the Soviet Union that would make these bold measures possible? Barnet does not really come to grips with this hardest of all foreign policy questions. But in spite of its shortcomings, *Real Security* presents a powerful case against the over-militarization of American policy.

—DAVID LINEBAUGH

Ethnic Struggle

THE BASQUES: *The Franco Years and Beyond*, by Robert P. Clark. University of Nevada Press, 1980, \$19.

On October 25, 1979, voters in three of the four Basque provinces of Spain overwhelmingly approved (albeit with about 40% of the eligible electorate not voting) a regional autonomy statute. After more than a century of protest, political mobilization, civil war, and dictatorship, the Basques finally won some measure of control over their own destiny.

Robert Clark has written the first English-language account of Basque nationalism during the Franco years and their immediate aftermath. He portrays a people striving to maintain their language and cultural identity in the face of the Franco regime's overt policy of repression and, as is the case of many ethnic groups, in the face of the leveling

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effects of mass media. It was the Franco policy of political, economic, and cultural reprisals that encouraged a protracted clandestine opposition to his regime by a variety of Basque resistance groups ranging across a wide political spectrum in both platform and tactics.

Clark carefully traces the rise of ETA, the Basque separatist organization, and the resort to violence by a normally non-violent people. He predicts a continued role for ETA and for the use of violence in seeking independence because, as he

notes, a third of the Basques consider ETA a terrorist group whose violence has no justification, and another third believe ETA is a national liberation force.

Clark shows the post-Franco years to be a complicated and indecisive period of political compromise between the Spanish state and the Basque nationalists, who have undergone profound divisions within their ranks. These nationalists, now dominant in the new Basque regional government, must deal with the many problems that beset their so-

ciety: unemployment, scarce energy resources, among the worst environmental contamination in Europe, lack of hospitals, schools, and parks, cramped housing, and decaying urban areas.

The importance of this book—of interest not only to *aficionados* of Spain but also to students of national minorities—is its highlighting of the struggle that is going on between class and ethnic identity within the Basque political universe.

—CHARLES R. FOSTER

Special Relationship

GERMANY AND THE UNITED STATES: *A Special Relationship*, by Haus W. Glatzke. Harvard University Press, \$17.50.

Germany and the United States can only be termed a very successful review of the special relationship which has existed over the years between this republic and the various incarnations of Germany. The account may be so balanced and the author so evenhanded that blandness prevails on occasion, but compressed into 282 pages are all the real highlights of 200 years of transoceanic moods, reactions, and bilateral idiosyncrasies. It makes excellent background reading for that first assignment to Germany.

Surprisingly, the chapters on Germany's interaction with German-Americans in the years up to World War I are perhaps the most enlightening—much of that phase of the U.S. experience and its import has been lost in recent histories. The later history is, of course, much more familiar territory.

One caveat, however. The compression brings with it a certain amount of superficiality, especially when the author treats the complexities of the postwar period. Adenauer gets a bit too much credit for firmness in the Berlin crisis of 1958-61, and the assertion that Berlin "had already been assigned to the Soviet zone" at the war's end is misleading.

But such failings are more than compensated for by the appended bibliography, a superb listing and description of almost everything of worth written on the subject, to be filed away for future reference by any student of German affairs. It almost justifies the \$17.50 price tag.

—KARL F. MAUTNER



AAFSW Bicentennial Print Exhibition

In celebration of the 200th anniversary of the Department of State, the Association of American Foreign Service Women will co-sponsor with the National Museum of American Art an exhibition entitled *The Print in the United States from the Eighteenth Century to the Present*. Appropriately enough, a smaller version of this exhibition had an international setting for its premiere this July in Mexico City. The exhibition, now expanded to 90 prints, was selected by Janet Flint, print curator at the National Museum of American Art, who has also written an informative essay for the illustrated checklist.

National Museum of American Art (formerly the National Collection of Fine Arts), 8th and G Streets, NW, October 2, 1981—January 17, 1982.

The prints in this exhibition include copper engravings, etchings, aquatints, stipple engravings and mezzotints, woodcuts, and lithographs, as well as experimental contemporary works. Among the most popular nineteenth century subjects were cityscapes featuring the impressive buildings rising all over America. *The City of Washington from Beyond the Navy Yard* (1834) by William James Bennett, is a beautiful example of this genre. AAFSW has chosen this especially handsome hand-colored aquatint for a poster to commemorate the State Department Bicentennial.

The poster *The City of Washington* will be offered for sale at Bookfair '81 (Oct. 16-24) and through the Housing Office for \$10, or may be ordered through the Publications Chairman, AAFSW, P.O. Box 8068, Washington, DC 20024. Please add \$1 for mailing.

— AAFSW —

Old Assumptions Never Die

REVITALIZING AMERICA: *Politics for Prosperity*, by Ronald E. Müller. Simon & Schuster, \$13.95.

In Geneva in 1975, Ronald Müller was addressing the question of global interdependence before the press and an audience of world experts in government, business, and labor when he decided it was necessary to write this book. This supposedly enlightened group surprised and dismayed him by reacting with skepticism and disbelief to his statements that OPEC was not the sole source of the world's present economic woes, that things would not right themselves once the shock of OPEC price increases had been absorbed, but instead that the changes in the world economy and the way it functioned were permanent. From their reaction, Müller realized that the conventional thinking of even the world's experts was hampering the search for solutions.

Over and over he pounds his point—the old assumptions are no longer valid. Neither the monetarists nor

the fiscalists have the answer. From Schumpeter, capitalism's greatest defender, to Karl Marx, its most noted antagonist, it has been agreed that the system is governed by "laws of motion" which, over time, drive it from one stage of development to another. Given this motion, we have left the Keynesian stage behind us. It is no longer the case that decisions made by any country's leader can control the ebb and flow of its economy. We are a part of a global economy now, whether we like it or not, and our politics have not caught up with that truth. For the United States, it is a matter of whether our politics will once again enable us to master, or cause us to remain the slave, of economics. If we are to reach the point of mastery we face a tremendous task of public education, of changing attitudes, and it is that task which Müller undertakes here to begin.

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ment sector of our economy is not only indifferent to such old forces as inflation and recession, it both causes and benefits from the inflation. Economic decisions that were once marketplace decisions—on energy, property, food—have become political decisions. Yet we have developed neither the politics nor the political leadership (which usually follows, rather than leads, the people) to deal with this reality.

The Third World has become a force. The impact on the world's financial system of the shift of hundreds of billions of dollars from the

industrial world to the oil nations has yet to be understood.

Müller bites the bullet that George Gilder, economic guru to the present administration, has ignored. The book's concluding chapters outline the new national and international tools that Müller would recommend to restore stability. They include an altruistic approach, which he calls "Regulatory Pioneering," to resolving the present standoff between industrial development and environmental concerns. He advocates that, as a necessary beginning to the vital increase in productivity, we solve

the problem of humanizing work—not an original idea, but a worthy one. And he encourages this country's industry to adjust to the new patterns and realities of world trade and international divisions of labor.

It is an earnest and thoughtful book, a timely book. Müller's credentials are good and his concern is justified. None of the recommended solutions is a panacea, he admits, and there are no instant cures. But it is a contribution toward the education of the public that must precede any effective political change.

—MARIANNE KARYDES

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Reflections on the Bicentennial

The Bicentennial of the Department of State, which is being celebrated this year, provides an occasion to reflect on the Department of State and the Foreign Service and, indeed, on American diplomacy during this long and turbulent period. Foreigners are very apt to describe the United States as "young" but in fact few nations have such a long history of government stability. The illustrious founders of American independence, Jefferson, Adams, Franklin, Jay, and others, were at the same time our country's first diplomatists, and the long, unbroken line from these Olympian figures to ourselves gives to the Department and the Foreign Service a cachet which no other bureaus or agencies enjoy. Assisting the President in conducting the foreign relations of the United States has challenged the abilities of a succession of Americans of great intellectuality and distinction. Many former Secretaries of State are no longer household words, but between Thomas Jefferson and Alexander Haig lie many names which evoke the essence of our national experience: James Monroe, Daniel Webster, John C. Calhoun, William Jennings Bryan, Charles Evans Hughes, George C. Marshall.

The opportunity and challenge of representing our country abroad have brought thousands of less celebrated but unquestionably able and patriotic men and women into the Department of State and the Foreign Service during these two centuries. Obviously, there are great differences between the mission of a diplomat who went to his post by clipper ship, often at his own expense, and the highly organized duties which are carried out by the Foreign Service today, but there are also great similarities.

There is, for example, the responsibility—and the personal satisfaction—of representing a great country and of trying to harmonize our national interests and rights with those of other peoples and nations. There is the traditionally perplexing difficulty of gauging not only what a foreign government expects or is willing to do but to discern exactly how far one's own instructions allow one to go.

The Department and the Foreign Service have also been tempered through these two centuries by the hazards and uncertainties created by international upheavals and natural disaster. One not only cannot expect to keep banker's hours while working in the field of foreign relations, but the very nature of Foreign Service life has always imposed family separations, education problems, and all the difficulties inherent in living under alien circumstances. The plight of the hostages in Iran is a recent but not unique manifestation of the hazards of our career, and the tablets in the lobby of New State are a poignant reminder of the degree to which the Indochina war and international terrorism have taken a rising toll of the Foreign Service.

Therefore, in this Bicentennial year we are mindful of a proud tradition and the continuing demands of our career, and the opportunities it provides to serve our country and at the same time to lead lives which are enriched by extraordinarily varied and uncertain conditions. The United States is not the country Thomas Jefferson and Benjamin Franklin knew and American diplomacy is not practiced in the same way, but fundamental similarities exist to inspire those of us who serve today.

Trading Perspectives

The Businessman & Foreign Service Officer Must Forge a Creative Partnership

By S. PETER KARLOW

The Reagan Administration has promised to give priority to strengthening the international trade position of the United States, in both exports and investment, as a vital step toward improving the nation's economic health. This places new burdens and new responsibilities on the Foreign Service officer today—and on the American businessman too. No longer can they take each other for granted or regard each other as operating in different dimensions. Each must be aware of the other's perspective and problems as never before. Together, they must be ready to operate as a team, and this requires far better mutual understanding and communications than have existed in the past.

Changes in government—from the build-up of the new Economic Corps in the Commerce Department to the granting of Cabinet status to the Trade Representative—indicate a reversal of both national policy and attitudes in government and business, and with good reason. Exports are now nearly 12 percent of the U.S. gross national product. Almost

S. Peter Karlow is director of consulting services for International Business Affairs Corp. A specialist in international business-government relations, he previously was Monsanto Company's international affairs director. He has over 20 years' experience in U.S. government foreign policy assignments and has served as president of the Washington Export Council and on task forces of the U.S. Chamber of Commerce and the International Management Development Institute.

20 percent of the goods produced in the United States are exported, and some 400,000 American jobs are directly affected by U.S. foreign trade. But, as is well known, U.S. products are no longer pre-eminent in world markets. Part of the problem is that overseas businessès sometimes have more support from their governments than do U.S. businesses, and their national banking systems allow them to offer more favorable credit terms than those any U.S. supplier could provide. American businesses overseas have a further problem in that U.S. domination of world investment is a thing of the past. The extensive foreign investments by U.S. companies that so alarmed J. J. Servan-Schreiber in his book *Le defi americain* now seem secondary to the extensive investments and takeovers by foreign corporations operating in the United States. This is not just Arab oil money; investments of major proportions are coming from Canada, Europe, Japan, and even Malaysia.

Most major industrialized countries have long actively promoted their exports as an integral part of their foreign policies. They have eased tax burdens on their businesses in hard times, encouraged mergers or joint bidding to make their enterprises more competitive, and instructed their diplomats to give business abroad priority attention. In the United States, however, both government and citizens have tended to take exports for granted, even at times to suspect that exports are inflationary since they remove goods from the domestic market and thus raise prices at home. U.S. companies that invest or

produce goods overseas have been accused of exporting jobs and thereby raising unemployment in the United States.

The U.S. government—the president as well as the Congress—has used exports for political purposes by instituting temporary boycotts of high-technology and other goods to support particular short-term foreign policy objectives. Not to pass judgment on the intentions, the effect of these boycott attempts has been to make the U.S. producer a less reliable supplier than his competitors from other countries. Although the cost of this lost business to U.S. companies may be hard to measure, it is a fact that shows up on their corporate balance sheets.

Overcoming Disincentives

Congress has created other disincentives, including the "corrupt business practices" legislation; strictures against complying with third-country boycotts such as the Arab boycott of Israel; the unilateral U.S. prohibition of trade with Cuba (and with Rhodesia until it became Zimbabwe); credit restrictions on trade with countries such as South Africa and Chile; and discriminatory tax treatment for Americans representing their companies abroad.

As the Reagan administration elevates business into a national priority, attempts must be made to overcome the effects of these past policies and the strength of the current competition. This will require major changes in the existing relationship between U.S. foreign policy and business. The United States will hardly create a "Japan, Inc." but a new U.S. formula will evolve, much

of it pragmatically. And much of this will start at the interface between the Foreign Service officer and the businessman. Just as the businessman will have to recognize that governments have certain understandable concerns regarding the behavior of business and that a degree of regulation is therefore inevitable, so the Foreign Service officer will have to become familiar with the concerns and viewpoint of the businessman. The following is a discussion of those concerns from the perspective of a businessman, and a practical guide to creating a more effective partnership between business and the Foreign Service.

Short-term Pragmatists

Dean Acheson once said that the United States is a "nation of short-term pragmatists accustomed to dealing with the future only when it becomes the present." This is certainly true of the corporation, that magnificent short-range problem-solving machine. The businessman whose efforts make it successful is under constant competitive pressure to budget and control his time and resources. He is trained to identify a problem, define the problem, attack the problem, solve the problem, and drop the problem. His success or failure is revealed by computer print-outs that appear inexorably every few weeks, every month, every quarter, showing his results—his costs, his profits, his market share—for all his bosses and colleagues to see. Long-range issues, such as political problems in the marketplace, that continue without apparent resolution cannot take too much of his attention, since they are unlikely to provide him with the immediate profits that are so essential for his results and for the very tenure of his job.

Impatient with long-term trends, the businessman looks above all for continuity, simplicity, and predictability in his investment and market environment. When he speaks of "risk analysis," more often than not he is concerned with the possibility of sudden unanticipated changes in the ground rules that he must follow to operate in a particular country. Although he could adapt to almost any rules within the limit of his costs, any changes in these rules once they have been established could cause him to lose control over his costs and, simply stated, want

to avoid that particular market. A country with a reputation for frequent, unexpected changes will find business reluctant to make even an initial investment, except if prices would permit a quick profit.

This concern is particularly applicable to the Third World. Some Third World countries have had revolutions, including violent changes in leadership, and yet have maintained a basic continuity in their ground rules; Nigeria and Thailand could serve as examples. Other countries have been relatively stable politically and yet have a record of frequent and unexpected changes in their rules for foreign investors; Venezuela and Sri Lanka illustrate this.

Given this perspective, what does the businessman need most from the FSO? First of all, information. For years FSOs have been valuable sources of information on the location of markets. Even though this task is now divided between the Commerce and State departments, and even though other departments are also involved, such as Treasury, Agriculture, and Interior, this is still a significant and invaluable activity for the FSO—to spot potential business opportunities for U.S. products and to identify the sources of competing products. The FSO can also provide information concerning local needs and morés, identify key contacts, principal competitors, and representatives, and generally dispense advice on health, travel, language, food, and accommodations.

Furthermore, the FSO can act—and often has acted—as an invaluable contact. A resourceful businessman who has no company representative in a country would be well-advised to call on, or at least inform, the local embassy of his presence, and to request help in making or confirming major appointments, especially with government officials. This contact with the embassy should be an integral part of planning a trip to a country. In one case, a company's executives made their plans through the target country's ambassador in Washington, but on arriving in the capital city found that the ambassador's message had been lost. The alert U.S. commercial attaché had been informed of the visit in advance and was able to step in and make most of the arrangements on the spot, saving an otherwise costly mission from being

aborted. All too often, however, the businessman is apt to turn to the embassy or consulate only as a last resort, when some trouble or difficulty has appeared which he is unable to resolve.

Not only must the businessman include the FSO in his planning, he must develop these contacts as a matter of routine and see that they are maintained. Efforts to this end can include sending copies of his company's annual reports to the embassy and stopping in to contact the incumbent commercial attaché or meet his successor.

The Foreign Service officer can also encourage the development and maintenance of contacts by including interested businessmen on mailings for some post reporting, and calling on the company's U.S. office when on home leave. If particularly impressed with a businessman, a complimentary follow-up letter, perhaps with a copy to the businessman's superior, can create an incentive for further cooperation. Another means of facilitating these contacts would be by disseminating more practical information on countries to the business community, both in the U.S. and abroad—how to best contact which official for what purpose, where, and when. Periodically, the State Department or embassies abroad publish pamphlets and guidance sheets to this effect, but with the turnover of personnel in both embassies and companies, these lists are frequently incomplete or out-of-date. To compound the problem, the businessman often finds them hard to obtain. One direct and effective approach would be to have such lists issued by individual embassies and mailed directly to company representatives or international executives in the home offices.

Improving Relations

Some embassies abroad have acted to improve relations between local U.S. businesses and FSOs by establishing regular meetings between senior embassy officials and representatives of U.S. firms in the country. There have been problems, however, as many representatives of U.S. firms are themselves not U.S. citizens. Including non-Americans in discussions within a U.S. diplomatic installation on matters related to U.S. policy can create a situation in which an FSO will understandably feel uncomfortable. Obviously, there

are cases when a sales agent representing more than one company would not be suitable for inclusion in this type of business council, regardless of the wishes of his employer. Yet, there are many non-U.S. citizens in responsible positions who are dedicated and loyal employees of a U.S. enterprise. Some of these people could become important assets to the FSO in reflecting their views of local conditions and perspectives that would interest not just the FSO but the embassy as a whole. This type of contact can also lead other companies to realize that they had better upgrade their local managers to meet the challenge.

Constructive Intercession

These contacts also will be improved if the businessman regards them as important; that is, if they are of value in achieving his profit goal. This brings up the matter of an FSO interceding with the host government on behalf of a U.S. company. In the past, FSOs have generally been overly cautious in this area. Although many consider such assistance by an FSO to be inappropriate, favoring one company over another, it should be regarded more positively and constructively as simply a useful competitive incentive: The businessman who makes the best and most intelligent use of his contact with the FSO will get the most attention—and rightfully so. If the service he receives in return is sufficiently valuable to him, the word will travel quickly in the business community and others will compete for the FSO's attention.

Aside from the importance of these contacts, the ability of an FSO to explain the needs and principals of the private sector to foreign governments could be invaluable in creating more understanding and tolerance of private enterprise in foreign countries. This is especially vital in countries—and there are many in the Third World—whose social and economic systems are different from, or even hostile to, the American brand of capitalism. Most FSOs are probably aware that the businessman would like the officer to stress the importance of continuity in the economic and investment environment, and describe what some companies literally term the "comfort factor," that is, the degree to which their operations are affected by political and social prob-

lems alien to those they are accustomed to in the United States. These problems might include import barriers, local content requirements, joint venture rules, export quotas, repatriation limits, and license or trademark protections, as well as any local racial, religious, or economic strictures.

The diminished role of foreign assistance in the new administration makes it even more important that the FSO be sympathetic to the private sector and be able to explain it to foreign governments. The Reagan administration has indicated that one of the criteria for determining U.S. foreign assistance priorities in the future will be the degree to which a potential recipient government gives leeway to its own private sector rather than relying exclusively on a government-run planned economy.

On a daily basis, the FSO must deal with the basic contradiction between the international nature of business and the national orientation of government. Any government is primarily concerned with its own interests and the interests of its citizens. To a government, the businessman's dream of complementary worldwide production to make possible global production of better goods at lower prices is at most a secondary concern. Instead a government wants more factories and jobs within its own borders, benefiting its own people and treasury. It may not even want to see foreign and particularly American names on products made in its territory. It would rather see names that reflect its national image. Mexico, for example, once ordered that every foreign brand name product also have a Mexican trade name to go with it.

The international nature of business makes it difficult for governments to exercise the degree of control that many of them consider essential. Not a few foreign leaders believe that international business is out to avoid all taxes, national rules, and other controls. Many Third World countries have turned to the U.N. and its agencies as the best means to prevent what they see as exploitation—not profits but profiteering—by international businesses. Since the U.N. and its agencies are international, this should be the channel to regulate international businesses and extract more of their reputed hidden profits for the

benefit of the less industrialized nations. The purpose of such U.N. proposals as establishing "codes of conduct" is not to elicit proposals from companies as to standards that they will follow, but to help define and impose standards on the companies through the U.N.

The U.N. and its agencies have had only a limited impact on international business, but there is always the danger that new barriers will be created. For example, if Nigeria should indeed enforce its expressed distaste for dealing with any U.S. company that also has relations with South Africa, this could have severe consequences, as both Nigeria and South Africa are important trading partners of the United States. Small businesses in particular do not have the time, patience, knowledge, or interest to keep posted on developments in the myriad U.N. agencies and meetings. They need the FSO to monitor these developments and help ward off needless new obstacles to international business.

Understanding Business

In recent years, some major, specific problems have emerged on which the FSO must understand the business perspective.

Credit terms have become a major concern for international business. If a product made in the United States compares favorably with one manufactured in some other country—but the other country offers credit terms that are twice as favorable as those that the United States can offer—is it hard to understand why the American producer loses the sale? Other countries, more concerned about earning foreign currency and maintaining their exports than is the United States, are sometimes willing to take sizable losses by helping their businesses offer low rates and long repayment time to buyers of products produced in their countries. U.S. government officials are in regular contact with foreign governments, trying to work out a better international agreement on standardizing credit terms, including enforcement provisions. A credit war between major industrialized countries could have a crippling effect on the world economy and on the whole system of international trade and commerce. Industry committees are now advis-

(Continued on page 30)

Association News

New Accord Reached On Separate Maintenance And Representation Allowances

After protracted negotiations, management and AFSA reached agreement in August on new regulations covering separate maintenance allowances (SMA) requested by an employee for special needs or hardship, and on representation allowances for family members of employees and Foreign Service nationals.

With the new SMA regulations, the basic concept has been changed: it is now designed to accommodate the special needs of the employee and his or her dependents in addition to the needs of the government.

An employee assigned abroad can request an SMA in the United States or elsewhere "because of special needs or hardship involving the employee or the employee's spouse or one or more dependents, including but not limited to career of spouse, psychological or educational needs of dependents." According to the new regulations, "Applications will be denied only in exceptional circumstances."

An SMA may be requested prior to an overseas tour or during the tour, except for the first or last three months. The prohibition with regard to the first three months will not apply to tours beginning in 1981. Termination of separate maintenance may be requested at any time. Only one change in status per tour is allowed.

Allowances are based on the number of dependents covered. The minimum payment is \$1,800 a year for one dependent; the maximum, for one adult and four or more children, is \$6,600.

Application for an SMA is made on Form SF-1190, and approval is granted by the executive director of the appropriate regional bureau for State; by the chief, Overseas Personnel Division, for AID; and the chief, Foreign Service Personnel Division, for ICA. Complete instructions for application are contained in the regulations, available from the personnel officer at post.

In the past, representation allowances have only been payable to the

employee; if a spouse incurred expenses for official entertainment or other duties, allowances could not be paid unless the employee had personally participated in the activity. Under the new regulations, such participation is not necessary; family members can be reimbursed for legitimate representational expenses undertaken on behalf of the employee.

In addition, Foreign Service national employees can likewise be reimbursed for representation expenditures "on an exceptional basis." Such payments must have the approval of the head of the agency and be "consistent with the guidelines on representation established by the chief of mission."

Barnett Named AID Representative



Ralph Barnett has been appointed to the AFSA Governing Board as the second AID representative. A new bylaw that authorizes each component agency of the Association to have one representative for each 1000 members was approved in the recent election. Because AID has achieved membership in excess of this number, it is entitled to a second representative.

Barnett is an engineer currently serving in the Asia Bureau in AID/W. He had been a candidate for the position of AID representative, running against Bill Schoux, who won the election. Because of his demonstrated interest in being on the board and his willingness to work on AFSA affairs, he was unanimously approved by the board to assume the newly established second AID position.

Barnett's career with AID has covered 12 years, and he has served in Vietnam, Abidjan, and Washington.

AFSA Files Suit Charging AID With Retreat on Obey

AFSA filed suit September 2 in the U.S. District Court for the District of Columbia charging AID with issuing a set of amended regulations to the Obey Amendment that violate the amendment and have no legal authority.

The amended regulations create two additional exceptions that allow the administrator to fill Foreign Service-designated positions with non-FS employees. The Obey Amendment, passed as a rider to the International Development and Food Assistance Act of 1978, required the president to draft regulations establishing a unified personnel system for all AID employees. The regulations went into effect when, under the terms of the amendment, neither chamber vetoed them within 90 days. The regulations were intended to redress problems created by having inexperienced, non-FS personnel in program-development positions. They required all AID positions in Washington to be designated either FS or GS.

Once the number of FS-designated positions filled with non-FS personnel falls below 10 percent, the agency administrator can fill positions with a non-FS employee. Attrition to that level, however, should take several years. "In apparent frustration, we presume, the administrator took another course," said AFSA General Counsel Susan Holik. "It is one we consider unlawful."

The administrator promulgated two amendments without proper authority or Congressional approval that allow him to act before the 10-percent threshold is passed. The first comes into play "in order to avoid a reduction in force" but establishes no method of determining that point. The second allows the administrator to simply fill 15 FS positions with non-FS personnel. "That is an unabashed attempt to expand the agency's already broad schedule C and AD political appointment authority," said Holik. The amended regulations were made retroactive to August 5. (See related story page 16C.)

Method of Joint Negotiations Still in Dispute

After a summer-long volley of appeals, briefs, and statements, the manner in which the five foreign affairs agencies conduct negotiations on uniform policies with the two employee representatives, AFSA and AFGE, remains unresolved. These joint negotiations have proven frustrating and time-consuming, primarily because the State Department, acting as chief negotiator for the five agencies, has been unable to arrive at uniform bargaining positions with AID, ICA, Commerce, and Agriculture.

The action began when AFSA and AFGE (which represents ICA employees) proposed that State be mandated to justify forcing the two employee representatives into joint negotiations on uniform policies rather than allowing parallel negotiations with the respective agencies. The proposals were aimed at expediting negotiations on allowances and other employment perquisites, as well as getting benefits to employees speedily. State management challenged the proposals as non-negotiable.

AFSA responded on June 29 by filing its first negotiability appeal with the Foreign Service Labor Relations Board, an independent agency created by the Foreign Service Act to replace the old Employee-Management Relations Commission. State filed a statement opposing our petition for negotiability review a month later. AFSA in turn filed a brief challenging the department's position on August 12. The matter of whether AFSA's proposals are negotiable rests with the FSLRB, which had not made its decision as the *Journal* went to press.

"Even if the FSLRB finds against us," declared AFSA General Counsel Susan Holik, "you can be sure we will go back with other proposals to speed up the negotiating process."

Journal Names Staff Assistant

Craig W. Hupper has been named editorial assistant of the *Foreign Service Journal* for the duration of his Washington Semester in Foreign Policy at American University. Craig is a junior majoring in government and legal studies at Bowdoin College in Maine. Last year he studied Chinese politics at Columbia University and toured the People's Republic of China.

New System Changing Allowances

Several overseas posts have had hardship differential allowances reduced in recent months, even though conditions at the posts had not appreciably changed. The reasons for the adjustments—some up and some down—is the new weighting system on which the differential is calculated. Though the new system was put into effect in November 1979 by the Interagency Committee on Overseas Allowances and Benefits, it is only now being applied to many posts because evaluations normally occur every two years. Since August 1981 alone, 28 posts were up for re-evaluation.

Differentials are calculated by a complicated formula that uses weights for various hardship factors, such as climate, housing, health conditions, isolation, etc. An example of a change is that more weight is given to political violence but less to climate.

Employees at a post who feel their differential has been adjusted unfairly may submit a new report, but the State Department Allowances Staff (A/ALS) may ask for justification if the new report notes significant changes in post conditions in a relatively short

AFSA Files Unfair Labor Practice Charge Against AID Management

The Association filed an unfair labor practice charge with the Foreign Service Labor Relations Board on August 27 citing AID management for "unreasonable delay and dilatory tactics," according to AFSA General Counsel Susan Holik. She said the agency's "surface bargaining" constitutes a violation of its legal duty to negotiate in good faith.

AFSA made a proposal on open assignments to AID in May and had since held discussions with management representatives, who indicated their intention to present a formal counterproposal. The Association notified the agency by letter on July 23 that AFSA would initiate unfair labor practice proceedings after August 21—three and one-half months after the date of the original proposal—if no counterproposal were made. The agency had made no counterproposal by the time the *Journal* went to press.

The Foreign Service Labor Relations Board was created by the Foreign Service Act of 1980 to decide labor-management disputes involving the foreign affairs agencies.

time. A/ALS will not release the weighting formula of posts, fearing attempts to "structure" responses on the hardship questionnaire.

AID Missions Lead In Posting Membership Gains

Over the last year, worldwide membership in AFSA rose by nearly 19 percent to a total of 7049 (*Association News*, July/August). A number of individual posts have outstripped this pace or maintained levels of membership far above the average. Much of this success can be attributed to the efforts of the AFSA representatives and other active members at the posts.

The really outstanding posts are the AID missions, 10 of which have more than 65 percent of their Foreign Service employees enrolled as Association members. Lima tops the list, with an 80 percent membership level, followed closely by the AID mission in Yaoundé, which stands at 78 percent. Tegucigalpa and Bridgetown also have strong showings, with membership percentages of about 75 percent each. Other outstanding posts are Colombo, Free-town, Lomé, and, in particular, Bujumbura, which within one month rallied to achieve a full 100 percent.

Most significantly, the largest AID posts, Cairo and Jakarta, both have membership levels in the 70 percent range. In the case of Cairo, much is owed to the former AID Governing Board representative, Jon Sperling, who in a recent trip to Egypt recruited 27 members.

Among the embassies and consulates, Adana, Florence, Lahore, and the USEC at Brussels have all maintained high membership levels. The most active consulate has been Quebec, which recently enrolled all but one of its employees as members.

The following posts have consistently added new members, been particularly active in recruiting new members, and maintained high percentages of members:

Post	AFSA Membership
Lima AID	80%
Yaoundé AID	79%
Quebec	85%
Bujumbura AID	100%
Tegucigalpa AID	76%
Adana	83%
Bridgetown AID	75%
Cairo AID	72%
Brussels USEC	40%
Jakarta AID	71%

AID Standing Vows Vigilance on Obey

On August 5, AID management issued a memorandum to all personnel on the subject of the reduced employment ceilings. That memo contains one paragraph which will be of concern to all AID Foreign Service personnel:

Special placement procedures are planned which include filling vacancies within a Bureau or Office with available employees from abolished positions, reassignment of employees from one organization to another where feasible, and in situations where warranted the director of AID's Office of Personnel Management may assign GS employees from abolished positions to vacant "F" designated positions to avoid a RIF. In addition, up to 15 "F" designated positions may be filled on a time-limited basis by non-Foreign Service personnel. These exceptions will be approved personally by the administrator on a case-by-case basis.

The memo also notes that "the employee bargaining representatives, AFGE and AFSA, have been advised." Be assured that although AFSA was "advised," we certainly have not agreed to the language quoted above. AFSA did have two bargaining sessions with AID management on the subject of how the agency would reduce personnel levels. However, we were unable to reach agreement on how to solve the problem of GS employees without adversely affecting FS employees. We notified management in writing that we were willing to explore the idea of allowing a limited number of GS employees *who would otherwise be "RIFed"* to move to vacant FS-designated positions, *provided proper safeguards for our FS members were guaranteed.*

On the topic of the administrator's approving the assignment of up to 15 non-FS personnel to FS-designated positions, AFSA stated flatly that it would not accept this clear violation of the Obey Amendment and its implementing regulations. Management broke off discussions of these points, apparently because of severe pressure to issue its August 5 memo. After the memo was sent to all employees, management did give AFSA a letter that attempted to explain the circumstances under which it may place GS employees in FS-designated positions in order to avoid a RIF. AFSA has notified management that its position does not adequately safeguard the interests of our members. Regarding the issue of the 15 positions, management did not even bother to comment. Management did note that both proposed actions "will require some change in the Obey regulations."

AFSA believes these proposed actions represent a frontal attack on the intent of the Obey Amendment and

our letter to management. We are prepared to seek every remedy available.

While the AFSA Board and AID Standing Committee will pursue this challenge thoroughly, AID's FS personnel can help. If you know of, or even hear of, any proposed placement of non-FS personnel to FS-designated positions, let your AID representatives know immediately and we will take action. It is much easier to block a proposed action than it is to reverse an action already taken. AFSA will be pursuing this matter on all possible fronts, and we will keep you advised as the situation unfolds. (See related story on 16A.)

Board Names State Standing Committee Members

In August, the Governing Board chose AFSA Vice President Thea de Rouville to be the chairman of the State Standing Committee. According to the Association's bylaws, standing committees for each membership constituency have primary responsibility for the interests of those members, subject to the direction of the Governing Board.

In addition, the board approved the following to be members of the standing committee: Joseph McBride, Robert Franks, Donald Holm, Irving Williamson, Thomas Adams, Andrew Goodman, Harry Fornoff, Jeffrey White, Janet Andres, Gene Schmiel, and Emmett O'Brien. Franks, Holm, and Williamson are the newly elected State representatives to the Governing Board. McBride is the newly elected Association secretary. Adams, Andres, Schmiel, and O'Brien have worked with the standing committee in the past.

Language Requirements For Management?

Department management officials seem to be experiencing difficulties with the mother tongue.

The other day we submitted a proposal to management. The response—if that is the proper word: "Specifically, while there is some ability to alter allowances within total allowances, there is no authority anywhere to increase total allowances retroactively." How's that again?

AFSA, State Agree On Major Retail Price Schedule Changes

A revision of the retail price schedule used to calculate cost-of-living allowances for civilian government employees overseas has been submitted to AFSA for review and comments. The new schedule was devised by representatives from the State Department Allowances Staff (A/ALS), the Office of Personnel Management, and the Department of Defense.

In this first major revision of the schedule since 1972, a number of items have been added, deleted, or changed to reflect evolving consumer buying patterns. For example, more women's beauty-salon services have been included, as have greater varieties of some food items. The schedule now requests the price for a color TV instead of black and white, and for a ten-speed bicycle as opposed to a three-speed.

Items were selected for inclusion on the list according to criteria such as likely availability at a wide variety of overseas locations, relative importance of use for the typical American family, and ease of identity for price-collection purposes.

Cost-of-living allowances are calculated for a hypothetical "average" Washington family of three to four with an income of about \$25,000 as a base. For employees at post to receive an allowance, their cost of living must be significantly higher than the base. As costs go up in Washington, overseas allowances are adjusted accordingly.

Posts normally submit a new price survey every two years, but if significant changes occur, additional submissions—initiated either by the post or by the department—may be necessary. Adjustments necessitated solely by currency exchange-rate fluctuations are calculated when appropriate by A/ALS.

For some locations where environmental factors have a significant impact on the cost of living, affected items are weighted more heavily. For example, where blackouts are common, extra costs for food spoilage may be taken into account, or where clothing wears out quickly due to climate, that can be considered.

After reviewing the draft schedule, AFSA suggested the inclusion of some additional items—most of which are products used by the typical American family but which often are not available overseas, thus requiring importing at considerable expense. The new schedule will be available for use once final agreement has been reached.

AFSA Protest Helps Defer Metro Route Changes

Following complaints from riders—including a letter from AFSA—Metro has deferred most major changes in bus routes affecting the Foggy Bottom-Potomac Park area. In the letter sent to Metro in May, former AFSA President Anthea de Rouville (now vice president) registered a strong protest on behalf of Association members and strongly urged Metro to reconsider the proposed realignment of service.

De Rouville pointed out that "in the fall of 1980, the American Foreign Service Association agreed to a change in the working hours of the State Department. Part of that agreement was based on assurances by Metro officials that bus scheduling and routing would be coordinated with the Department of State so that employees would be adequately served. On the same basis, the department reallocated parking spaces, encouraging employees to make greater use of public transportation. There has been a substantial increase, in fact, in the use of public transportation."

In addition, she disputed Metro's contention that other routes were readily available. De Rouville noted that AFSA had received many complaints from members whose commutes would be substantially lengthened, made altogether impossible, or made prohibitive in cost.

Although the decision on these route changes—originally scheduled for sometime last summer—has been deferred, the fight is not yet over. After the planned opening of the Red Line to the UDC-Van Ness station in December, Metro has proposed eliminating the existing L5 bus route. Hearings on this change, along with others intended to be coordinated with the extension of the subway, were held in September. Also, Metro may reopen discussion of the route changes proposed last spring. AFSA will continue to monitor these developments to ensure that the interests of its members are taken into account.

AFSA's New Voice Makes Debut

Association members making telephone calls to the staff in the AFSA building have been hearing a new voice answering the phone. Since early July, Isabel Aragon has been the Association's receptionist, secretary, and clerical aid.

Estate Planning for the Living

When President Reagan signed the new tax bill on August 13, he put into effect more changes than the highly touted three-year reduction of income taxes. The system of estate taxes in particular was affected by the new legislation. All families should consult their attorneys or financial planners to revise their estate planning, if needed in light of the new federal law.

The new law will raise the maximum amount that can be excluded from federal estate taxes from the current level of about \$175,000 to \$600,000 over the next five years. The maximum applies only to estates that will not be passed to a surviving spouse, which will not be taxed at all, no matter how large. In addition, any taxes on estates over the maximum exclusion will be lowered by five percent annually to a maximum of 50 percent by 1985. As the President said in his mid-summer address to the nation, no longer will a widow or widower have to sell the family property to pay estate taxes.

Previously, many families had purchased special insurance policies to make sure that a surviving spouse or children would be able to meet the estate-tax bill. Couples who hold these

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types of policies, with proper professional advice, may wish to lower or discontinue them. Children of surviving spouses, however, may have to pay taxes and so the spouse should be covered if necessary. The new law is complex, and families planning changes in their estate planning should do so with great care.

A further provision of the new tax law that affects estates is the annual gift-tax exclusion, which will be raised in 1982 from a current level of \$3000 annually (\$6000 if both husband and wife give jointly) to \$10,000 (\$20,000 for joint gifts). Gifts from spouse to spouse, however, will have no limit whatsoever. While the old law taxed gifts in excess of the maximum at a rate lower than estate taxes, in the new law this loophole will be closed. Surviving spouses in particular, whose estates may be subject to taxation, should seek advice on passing along part of their wealth to their children while the single parent is still alive.

When we think of estate planning,

the idea of death is an unpleasant one, but it is really a worthwhile opportunity to plan a legacy for the living. We can provide for a surviving spouse so he or she can live with pride and self respect. We can provide for children so that their educations are assured. Obviously, good estate planning involves the drawing of an adequate last will and testament. Once again, in light of the new law families should get advice on whether their wills need to be revised.

In drawing a will, the first step is to determine who will receive distributions from the estate. The details should be discussed with your spouse and all adult children who would benefit, to assure family harmony and no misunderstandings in the future. The will should provide for the possibility of simultaneous death of both parents. A guardian should be chosen, if the event should arise, and a fiduciary to manage financial matters. If you do not have a will upon death, existing state laws will distribute the estate for you—perhaps not in the way you had intended. Moreover, for estates with property in more than one state, delays and money costs could be considerable if not covered adequately in a proper will.

Upon completion, the will should be checked for legal correctness, estate-tax considerations, and whether your requirements have actually been met. Trusts can be used to remove assets from your taxable estate or to transfer income to lower-taxed persons. Prior planning to properly account for assets can greatly assist the preparation of required tax forms, such as the U.S. Estate Tax Return Form 706, which may be required whether taxes are due or not.

Next month's column will deal with specific advice for those who want to cash in on the new tax bill. Among other tax-saving provisions, we will look at Individual Retirement Accounts and the new All-Savers Certificates.

—HOWARD GLICK, *financial planner*

Grievance Representative Sought by Association

In response to the increasing case load of grievances, AFSA is seeking a part-time grievance representative to work at its offices in the State Department. Familiarity with the personnel system of the foreign affairs agencies would be helpful. The position might be particularly attractive to a recent retiree. For more information, contact AFSA at (202) 632-2548/9.

A Flawed 'Tragedy'

U.S. Concern About the Defense of Europe Has Been Forgotten by Vietnam War Critics

By MARTIN F. HERZ

"The Indochina Tragedy" (excerpted from the book *Sentimental Imperialists*, by James C. Thomson, Peter W. Stanley, and John Curtis Perry, July/August) was an excellent example of one-dimensional history. The thesis of chapter author Thomson was one-dimensional because, among other things, it leaves out the fact that the United States also had interests in Europe and that, when decisions had to be made with respect to French Indochina in the early 1950s, our alliance in Europe was a factor of major importance. It is not dishonorable to take into account the interests of one's allies. It was easy in 1950 to conclude that the French were played out in the Far East and that to support them would set the Indochinese against us, but it was a very difficult thing to take the side of the nationalists for a number of reasons.

The first reason I have already mentioned, and it was no doubt the most important—fidelity to an ally whose cooperation was absolutely essential to the defense of Europe. At that time, Europe was clearly of infinitely greater importance to the United States (as it still is) than anything that happened in Southeast Asia. But there were other reasons: Certainly the fact that Ho Chi Minh was a communist was one. But another, which the author of "The Indochina Tragedy" seems to ignore,

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is that Ho had no monopoly on nationalism in Indochina. He fought not only the French but also non-communist nationalists.

I was in Paris in 1950, and I had little to do with Far Eastern matters. My job was to follow internal French politics, and Indochina did not yet loom as large in French minds as it would later. The French were concerned about the Soviet Union, which had already taken over the countries of Eastern Europe, blockaded Berlin, and encouraged the communist takeover of Czechoslovakia. And they were concerned about Germany. Young embassy officers like myself were naturally inclined to be anticolonialist and thus friendly to Indochinese national aspirations, but even a lowly officer could understand that the U.S. Embassy in Paris had to point out to Washington the grave consequences for our relations with France, and thus on the very basis for defense of Europe, if we took a public position against French policy in Indochina.

Cataclysmic Event

And then came an event whose almost cataclysmic importance to our foreign policy both in the Far East and in Europe is mentioned only in passing by the author of "The Indochina Tragedy." When South Korea was attacked in 1950, the repercussions were felt not only in the Far East, but most of all in Europe. Suddenly—whether correctly or not—people thought the communists had given proof of their aggressive, expansionist nature, and there was panic that the Korean War might be only a diversion and that the real thrust would come in Europe.

This raised to a new level of urgency the question of whether West Germany would participate in the defense of Western Europe, an idea that was profoundly abhorrent to the French. The need for a German defense contribution was obvious, for it was known that NATO plans envisioned a withdrawal from Germany and through France to a "Brittany redoubt," which would then be gradually reinforced until the West was strong enough to launch a counter-attack. The revelation of this plan, and of the Western weakness in the face of an early Soviet attack, led to the almost panicky proposal of various plans, including the creation of the European Defense Community (EDC), intended to make the arming of Germany more palatable, or at least less unpalatable.

It is easy today, from the vantage point of the 1980s, to say that the United States made a great mistake in not trying to befriend Ho Chi Minh (this is the theme of an entire book, *Why Vietnam?*, by Archimedes L. A. Patti, which is also distinguished by its one-dimensional assumption that the defense of Europe couldn't possibly have been as important as what happened in Southeast Asia). Aside from the question of whether Ho Chi Minh wouldn't have in any event shown greater loyalty to Moscow than to any capitalist country—he was not only a nationalist but also a dedicated communist who undeviatingly supported the Moscow line—the European dimension also had to be considered.

It was my job in the embassy in Paris to follow the progress of the EDC in the French parliament. The

(Continued on page 29)

Battling Mod

Wide World Photos



Jesse Helms' attempt to project his fundamentalist beliefs into the foreign policy arena strikes at the principle of a professional diplomatic corps

By ALAN TONELSON

In a city filled with professional civil servants, the image of a rogue senator hounding bureaucrats out of their jobs is especially chilling. Lately, the lightning rod of considerable anger and anxiety in Washington has been Jesse A. Helms, the arch-conservative Republican senator from North Carolina.

During the first six months of the Reagan administration, Helms, one of the president's earliest backers, waged a campaign to block the appointment of nearly a dozen candidates for senior subcabinet posts in the Pentagon, the Arms Control and Disarmament Agency, and, most importantly, the State Department. Most of the nominees were career Foreign Service officers or experienced foreign policy-makers who had served in the moderately conservative Republican administrations of Richard Nixon and Gerald Ford. None of the appointments Helms opposed was withdrawn by the White House or denied confirmation by the Senate. But Helms kept some of the plush offices in Foggy Bottom officially empty until June.

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ern Diplomacy

He has tried—and largely failed—to wangle third- and fourth-level jobs for hardline conservatives by offering to drop his opposition to would-be assistant secretaries. Moreover, his attempts to secure the transfer of several career diplomats to make room for his own men have shaken many Foreign Service officers. Over this period, Helms and his staff were also influential in convincing the Reagan administration to remove FSOs Robert White and Lawrence Pezzullo from their positions as ambassadors to El Salvador and Nicaragua, respectively. And Helms' aides have reportedly drawn up hit lists of FSOs whose scalps they hope to collect further down the road.

Jesse Helms' current notoriety transcends his war against the Reagan State Department, and much of it is deserved. First elected to the Senate in 1972, Helms has emerged as the unofficial leader of that coalition of radical conservatives, "right-to-lifers," and politically active fundamentalist Christians known as the New Right. Helms has also created an unusual personal political empire, based on a fund-raising organization called the Congressional Club, and on four Washington-based foundations. The former, created to pay off his 1972 campaign debt, went national in 1978, and in 1980 alone poured nearly \$8 million into the coffers of right-wing office-seekers (including \$4 million to the Reagan campaign).

Helms' organizations and other New Right groups have also received considerable credit (or blame) for defeating numerous liberal Democratic senators in 1980 with aggressive and often misleading political ads, prompting comparisons between the North Carolinian and Joe McCarthy. Nor does the similarity end there. Like McCarthy, Helms has given his aides (chiefly John Carbaugh and James Lucier) extraordinary freedom of maneuver. And he has been singling out individual State Department officials for sharp public attacks for years. (One

of his favorite targets was Helmut Sonnenfeldt, Henry Kissinger's State Department counselor.)

However, some criticism of Helms has been unjustified. For instance, one of his least popular Senate tactics involves attaching amendments concerning highly charged social issues to random bills. Helms thus forces his colleagues to take all kinds of public stances they would rather avoid, on issues such as busing, abortion, and sex education. This is seen as somehow unfair by many in Washington, where hiding behind shields labeled "off the record" and "background" are a way of life. God forbid an elected official should say something important on the record, much less cast a public vote!

Violating the Code

Helms is also resented for violating the Senate's code, under which, as Elizabeth Drew writing in the *New Yorker* explains, senators "do not go after each other in campaigns . . . they largely confine their activities to helping their party's candidates, and . . . they do not speak ill of their colleagues." Democratic Whip Alan Cranston of California grumbles that Helms has "brought a sort of mean mood to the Senate by taking on senators directly in a campaign." But however this practice threatens the chumminess of official Washington, it's hard to see why the public should care.

Above all, politicians and journalists fault Helms for hindering the Reagan administration's efforts to launch a foreign policy. Helms replies—correctly—that he is exercising his Constitutional obligation to advise the president on executive appointments, and has observed just as correctly that the president and the secretary of state scarcely lifted a finger to help their selections. All along, it was the Reagan administration's responsibility to fight for its own men.

Meanwhile, the real challenge—and danger—Helms presents has gone practically unnoticed. It is a

challenge to the very idea of a professional diplomatic service, and to a foreign policy based on the systematic study of world affairs. In fact, a survey of his public statements reveals Helms' campaign against the Reagan picks to be the flip side of his domestic opposition to "secular humanism" and "evolutionism." Helms and his lieutenants, in other words, are trying to end the techniques, outlook, and values of their Moral Majoritarian, New Right brand of politics onto foreign policy-making.

Ronald Reagan's victory was in many respects the New Right's crowning triumph, and no one in the movement had played a larger role than Helms. The first U.S. senator to endorse Reagan's run for the 1976 Republican nomination, Helms helped rescue that drive, and the candidate, from early oblivion by engineering a Reagan victory in the North Carolina primary. On the podium in Detroit last year, Helms praised Reagan for "resolutely and unfailingly" championing "the principles of Americans who want to make our nation great again. . . ."

At the same time, New Rightists feared, as John T. Dolan of the National Conservative Political Action Caucus put it, "the voices [who] will be telling Ronald Reagan that he must compromise and accommodate his liberal opponents." In their darkest nightmares they saw a "Nixon-Ford restoration"—a Reagan administration staffed by the huge pool of moderately conservative "retreads" from the last two Republican presidencies. The first signs of trouble appeared even before the Republican convention ended, when Reagan named George Bush as his running mate.

Scant days after the election, as the first Reagan transition teams were created, the New Right's complaints resumed. Thus far, grouched Conservative Caucus chief Howard Phillips in that month's issue of *Conservative Digest*, "not a single New Right individual has been wel-

came to the Reagan inner circle." "The transition appointments have angered us," conservative mail-order wizard Richard A. Viguerie Jr. told the *Washington Post* on November 11. "There's not a hard-core conservative in the lot. Was it the Ford-Kissinger-Rockefeller wing of the party that has been promoting Reagan for 16 years?"

Using Retreads

Viguerie had a point. Some hardliners were scattered throughout the foreign policy transition teams—including Carbaugh and Lucier. And hawkish former SALT negotiator William R. Van Cleave actually headed the Pentagon transition team. But most of the team leaders were retreads, notably career diplomats Robert Neumann and David Abshire. Reagan quickly picked former Ford campaign manager James A. Baker as one of his two top White House aides. And the names being floated for top national security posts—Alexander Haig, Caspar Weinberger, George Shultz, William Casey, and, most appallingly of all, Henry Kissinger—scarcely qualified as the "fresh, new, aggressive, conservative leadership" the New Right demanded.

The radical conservatives had two major complaints. First, the retreads failed to match Reagan's conservatism. During Reagan's 1976 nomination campaign, their positions in the Ford administration had placed them in the enemy's camp. The radicals also suspected the retreads of plotting to water down Reagan's programs. In addition, the New Right objected to the reported Reagan choices on good old-fashioned patronage grounds. They had supported Reagan from the start; they were entitled to the spoils of victory. *Conservative Digest* editor John D. Lofton sounded almost like a CETA administrator when he complained, "There has been no job-counseling or any advocacy on behalf of those who worked hardest for the November 4 victory Extremely low morale and outright despair" filled "the hundreds of campaign workers who are unemployed."

Some of the true believers voiced doubts about Reagan himself, but most blamed moderates who had inexplicably wormed their way into Reagan's high command—notably Casey, who directed the Reagan



Helms confers with Senator Charles Percy, chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee. Percy was able to secure the Committee's approval of administration nominees in spite of Helms' objections.

presidential campaign; longtime Republican operative William Timmons; and E. Pendleton James, a Los Angeles executive headhunter who ran the White House and transition personnel offices. The nomination of Haig as secretary of state on December 16 deepened the dilemma faced by the New Right in general, and by Helms in particular.

Haig, after all, was a protégé of the hated Henry Kissinger, and closely identified with Richard Nixon's overture to China, and his quest for arms control pacts and détente with the Soviet Union. His view of international affairs, wrote syndicated columnist Joseph Kraft, "goes far beyond the vulgar toughness associated with so many in the Reagan entourage." Yet the jut-jawed former NATO commander was also

seen as a strategic thinker, the kind of idea man Helms and his conservative allies wanted to staff the administration. Moreover, Haig had established himself as a leading critic of SALT II, and of the Carter administration's handling of U.S.-Soviet relations. In December and January, therefore, Helms helped steer Haig's nomination past Watergate-minded Senate liberals. The senator's prime concern at this point was the appointment of Caspar Weinberger as secretary of defense. The former Bechtel executive had made his reputation as a budget cutter while heading the Office of Management and Budget under Nixon and Ford, not as a defense expert, and he had infuriated the Republican right by abruptly firing Van Cleave in December. On Inaugura-

tion Day, as Reagan's 12-year quest for the presidency culminated, Helms gave Weinberger's nomination a thumbs down, his first vote against a Reagan appointment.

All the same, Haig quickly gave off a series of signals that must have disturbed the Helms camp. Three days before Christmas, he pink-slipped the State Department transition team. Theoretically, their work was to be finished that day, when they handed in their final report, but many were reportedly angered by Haig's curtness—including Carbaugh. In the following weeks, Haig worked hard to portray himself as a champion of the career diplomats who had been upset by numerous leaks suggesting that the transition hardliners were planning a purge of FSOs judged unsympathetic to Reagan's aims. And during his confirmation hearings, Haig stunned Helms with his cavalier dismissal of the strident Republican platform whose writing the North Carolinian and his aides dominated. "In no way," he declared, "would I anticipate an approach which visualized strict adherence to something that I had no role in drafting." Snapped an indignant *Conservative Digest* staff writer, "Let's hope Secretary Haig doesn't feel the same way about the Constitution."

Patience Runs Out

Helms' patience finally ran out in mid-January, when the roster of Haig's proposed State Department team was floated to the press. Except for former California State Supreme Court Justice and foreign policy neophyte William P. Clark, picked to serve as Haig's top deputy, all belonged to that breed of non-partisan, veteran Washington manager that Helms and the New Right had warned against. As undersecretary for political affairs, Haig selected 39-year career diplomat Walter Stoessel, a former ambassador to Moscow and Warsaw. Even more disturbing to Helms were Haig's choices to head the regional bureaus and the economic affairs shop. Slated to become assistant secretary for European affairs was Lawrence Eagleburger, a former colleague of Haig's on the Nixon National Security Council and later Henry Kissinger's chief State Department deputy. His counterpart in the Africa bureau was Chester A. Crocker, another former Nixon NSC staffer.

A conservative critic of Jimmy Carter's southern Africa policy, he had nonetheless written in *Foreign Affairs* that Washington could no longer "operate on the basis of a Marxist/non-Marxist litmus test in the choice of regional partners" in an area where the New Right hoped for a virtual alliance with South Africa to halt the spread of communism.

Haig reportedly picked another FSO, John H. Holdridge, as assistant secretary for East Asian and Pacific affairs. Holdridge's service in the bureau from 1969 to 1973, when the Nixon administration re-established relations with China, and his subsequent stint in the U.S. liaison office in Peking made him anathema to Helms and his staunchly pro-Taiwan colleagues. The new secretary's choice as undersecretary for economic affairs was Myer Rashish, a leading economic consultant with long years of service in Democratic administrations on his résumé.

The nominations were expected to be made public by late January, but the New Right quickly fired a warning shot in the direction of Foggy Bottom. Helms and 16 other right-wing lawmakers who had formed a caucus called the Senate Steering Committee dashed off a letter to Haig protesting the proposed nominees. "They have been a part of a foreign policy that has not worked," Helms contended. Initially, the new administration decided to slow the appointments process and tried to appease Helms by offering a few key slots to New Right favorites such as Ernest Lefever and hawkish defense specialist Fred C. Ikle. But the ploy failed. Far-right opposition to Reagan's personnel policies intensified, with the February issue of *Conservative Digest* focusing on the betrayal of conservative ideals allegedly in progress. "Dear Mr. President," wrote John Lofton on the magazine's front cover, "Your mandate for change is in danger of being subverted." He blamed not only political ingenuities at the White House personnel office, but "individuals whose backgrounds reveal a hostility to most everything for which you have so strongly stood over the years." Warned Lofton: "There will be no Reaganism without Reaganites."

By early March, scores of officially empty offices at State and at other agencies had become a keen

embarrassment to an administration which had promised to "hit the ground running." (Many of the unannounced nominees were hard at work performing their duties as paid consultants.) So on March 3, the White House unleashed a flurry of 17 official subcabinet nominations, including Rashish, Holdridge, and Crocker. Eagleburger's appointment was announced the next day, along with the news that he would meet with Helms the following week.

Nominations on Hold

Helms was left with no choice but to reach into the parliamentary bag of tricks that had made him a powerful obstructionist force in the Senate even before the Reagan era. Beginning in late March, he placed "holds" on Senate floor action on Crocker, Rashish, Eagleburger, and Holdridge, as well as on Peter McPherson, selected to head the Agency for International Development, Robert D. Hormats, tabbed to direct State's Economic and Business Affairs Bureau, Thomas Enders, a veteran Nixon-Ford policymaker chosen to run the critical Inter-American Affairs Bureau, and Eugene V. Rostow, a hawkish anti-SALT Democrat slated to head ACDA. The move put Reagan and Haig in a bind. The holds could only be removed by publicly directing the Senate Republican leadership to override Helms, to whom they both owed great political debts.

Again, the White House tried appeasing Helms, deciding to delay formally forwarding the nominees' names to the Senate Foreign Relations Committee. On March 18, Haig reportedly met with Carbaugh and offered him an ambassadorship—to Paraguay, one of the right-wing South American dictatorships whose friendship Helms prizes (Carbaugh declined). The administration also announced several policy decisions which some interpreted as sops to Helms—particularly the loudly proclaimed determination to "draw the line" in El Salvador against "communist aggression," and its cutoff of U.S. military and economic aid to Nicaragua's revolutionary Sandinista regime.

By late April, the administration seemed to be making headway with Helms. The senator attended a series of meetings with his Nevada colleague Paul Laxalt and the White House "Big Three"—James Baker,

Edwin Meese, and Michael Deaver. "I think it's going to be worked out," said Helms after the Reagan aides promised to take a "second look" at the nominees in question. All Helms wanted, he insisted, was for Reagan himself "to tell me that these are the people he wants and needs."

Crossing Helms

But the word was not forthcoming from the White House—which publicly stated that Haig would have to fight for the nominees on his own. Yet Haig was still unwilling to cross Helms. Enter the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, chaired by liberal Republican Charles Percy of Illinois, one of the last holdouts of centrist power in the upper chamber. Its Republican majority had lost patience with Helms, while committee Democrats saw a chance to embarrass the White House. On April 27, committee members blasted Helms for delaying the confirmation process, and Percy pledged to meet "day and night if necessary" to speed the nominations along. Helms replied that neither the president nor the secretary of state had championed the appointees, and concluded that "Ronald Reagan didn't know one thing in the world about these people." For good measure, he sought to delay the Crocker, Holdridge, and Rashish confirmations even longer by presenting them with several hundred written questions cooked up by his staff. But Percy and his allies called Helms' bluff, and on the 28th the panel approved Crocker, Rashish, and Hormats by 14-0 votes. One week later, they approved Holdridge and Eagleburger, and the full Senate confirmed Hormats by a 96-0 tally.

The votes signaled the beginning of the end of Helms' delaying action, but Senate Majority Leader Howard Baker of Tennessee, in the absence of any instructions from the White House or Foggy Bottom, continued to honor Helms' holds on Crocker, Rashish, and Holdridge by delaying floor votes. At this point, the North Carolinian tried to turn Washington into a cattle market, with offers to trade his approval of the assistant secretaries for subordinate positions for his protégés. In mid-May, according to the *Washington Post*, Helms met with Haig and promised to lift the hold on Crocker if the assistant secretary would

name Africa specialist Clifford A. Kiracofe of the Fletcher School of Law and Diplomacy as head of the Africa bureau's southern Africa office. Helms unsuccessfully tried to bar Crocker's right-hand man, FSO Lannon Walker, from any "policy-making" positions. Helms also reportedly convinced Holdridge to transfer two of his top aides, FSO Michael A. Armacost and Carter appointee Ginger Lew, and to appoint Gaston Sigur of George Washington University to his staff. All parties involved deny that any deals were cut. But by early June, Crocker, Holdridge, and Rashish all won Senate confirmation, Lew had left the Asia bureau, while Armacost awaited an ambassadorial appointment. Sigur was not offered a permanent post, but will serve Holdridge as a paid consultant. And while Kiracofe has been offered neither a full-time nor a consulting position, the Africa bureau's southern Africa office still has no director.

Though the politics of Helms' revolt has dominated news coverage, its substance is much more interesting and troublesome. (Rashish was the lone exception. Though Helms expressed "great concern that Mr. Rashish does not support the President's foreign and economic policies," he focused primarily on the possibility that the nominee's work as a registered foreign agent for French and West German businesses would create "mixed loyalties.")

Take the case of Holdridge. Unlike many conservatives, Helms is just as hostile to the Chinese as to the Soviets. He continually refers to the People's Republic as an "abnormal" regime which "has slaughtered 60 million of its own people," and considers the decision to withdraw diplomatic recognition of Taiwan as the feckless betrayal of a loyal ally. Carbaugh insists that there is no China card that can be played against the Soviets, and Helms himself doubts that it would "really take more than a telephone call" to patch up the Sino-Soviet dispute. And he "charges" that Holdridge "encouraged a tilt towards the People's Republic" which conflicts with Reagan's campaign commitments and the Republican platform.

Helms saved his most detailed complaints for Crocker. Ever since Henry Kissinger finally placed the United States on the side of majority rule in southern Africa in word

and deed (with an unsuccessful burst of shuttle diplomacy in 1976 designed to end the Rhodesian civil war), many Republican conservatives have at least paid lip service to the need for racial progress in the region—if only to freeze out the Soviets. Not Helms. He backed Ian Smith to the hilt, and became a leading supporter of the "internal settlement" Smith arranged that put blacks nominally in charge of Rhodesia. He even insisted that "the problems in Rhodesia are not black versus white, they are black versus black," and suggests that the same holds for South Africa. Moreover, he feels that the greatest danger to U.S. interests in the region is not the chance that American friendliness with white governments will drive black nations and guerrilla movements into Soviet arms. Rather, he charges that Western reluctance to cooperate militarily with South Africa will prompt a "much-rumored" Pretoria-Moscow rapprochement.

Many of these views are shared in varying degrees by Republican hardliners. But Helms is not simply more conservative than Reagan. His dissent goes further, beyond the realm of conventional politics. Helms has taken great pains, for example, to distance himself from the greatly weakened but still discernable bipartisan foreign policy consensus which has at least loosely bound American presidents, and most senators and congressmen, since Harry Truman's day. "For the past 35 years, the United States has concentrated on managing its own decline," he declared last January 21. And in 1976, he warned that "the so-called policy of 'containment,' which has been United States policy for almost three decades, carries within itself its own destruction."

Sterile Undertaking

To Helms, this policy is not only "negative," it is less than a policy; it is "a process devoid of content or philosophy," which ignores "the fundamental principles of this nation." Cut off from the Judaeo-Christian, free market values (to Helms, they are synonymous) which give it strength, U.S. diplomacy has become a sterile, timid undertaking, guided simply by "compromise and concession." Lacking the "moral certitude of one's principles," American diplomats are trapped in a

seemingly endless series of negotiations whose logic "demands results even when results threaten our national security." Determined to "subdue the nationalist sentiments of the American people," foreign policy-makers instinctively seek to entangle the country in a web of "self-imposed international agreements and arrangements" which dangerously impinge on national sovereignty.

Further, Helms blames these policies on postwar presidents' insistence on manning their national security bureaucracies with professional problem-solvers who lack firm beliefs or coherent philosophies, and who have "sought to direct battle on terms that traded heroism for technological management." The Foreign Service is at fault, too. It is not only "elitist and manipulative" and "completely out of touch with the American people." It is a profession where success "is too often measured in [the] ability to avoid crisis, rather than to overcome it." It stresses "eliminating the fundamental causes of conflict even if the United States itself is required to surrender its vital interests." Helms would replace this approach with "a policy of conflict development" which would direct force in international conflict "so that not only peace but also liberty will triumph and prevail."

Helms is not only challenging the competence of the Foreign Service, and the positions and approaches it allegedly favors. He is explicitly attacking the very faith in rational analysis that spawned the creation of a professional diplomatic corps. And this rejection of reason in foreign policy-making is part and parcel of his broader, better-publicized campaign to shift the ground upon which this country's politics is conducted, to hold up all of the debate, the posturing, maneuvering, and compromise of public life to the mirror of his medieval and unbending interpretation of Christianity.

The sweep of Helms' aspirations has been revealed in a fascinating explanation of his political philosophy given by his aide Lucier to Elizabeth Drew: "The problem in our country is there is a tremendous gap between the people as a whole and the leadership groups that run the country—not just the media but also politicians, corporate executives, financial officers of major banks, and so forth. They have been

trained in an intellectual tradition that is not only at variance with the way the ordinary person thinks but is contradictory to it. Helms is not right-wing. He's not even political. The issues he's involved in are pre-political. What I mean is, the intellectual training of those groups I referred to is highly rationalistic. Ever since Descartes, the emphasis has been on the mind to the exclusion of the rest of the person. That was revolutionary. Before that, the emphasis was less on the mind than on the will—virtues such as courage, bravery, and so forth. The emphasis was on acting rather than thinking. Not that the mind was ignored, but it was part of a whole complex of thinking and feeling. Once the mind is emphasized, it excludes most of the things that are important to people—the people who are selling cars and digging ditches. . . ."

The temptation to laugh off such detailed theorizing (always strong in unphilosophical America) vanishes upon remembering that the ideas which percolated in Helms' office during the 1970s are front-burner political issues today.

Pre-politics & Democracy

It is unclear whether or not Lucier is suggesting that the United States would be better off under a pre-Cartesian leader with deep respect for the family and faith in God. Lucier does emphasize that Louis XIV was such a pre-political leader.

What is clear is that "pre-politics" runs contrary to this country's oldest political traditions and practices. Our system's devotion to rationality springs not from an unconscious bias on behalf of secularity, nor from a considered "modernist" rejection of religious faith, but from a determination to curb the caprice which characterizes monarchy—in fact, all authoritarianism—and to preserve the limited government to which Helms swears fealty.

Furthermore, the notion of pre-politics is in fundamental conflict with the concept of a professional diplomatic corps and a rational—and therefore effective—foreign policy. Not that reason is *ipso facto* superior to faith and idealism as a policy framework. In fact, foreign affairs experts, whether career diplomats or "best and brightest" style policy intellectuals, have compiled an unenviable record, particularly

since World War II. Nor must ideals and reason always conflict, as Helms maintains. But a foreign policy bereft or disdainful of reason and pragmatism is inconceivable for a democracy today.

A politics based on reason requires politicians to explain and justify their values, rather than simply to assert the superiority of their beliefs and attempt to impose them on non-believers. This pulls politicians and all citizens onto a common ground and makes political debate possible. It is only through such debate that a broadly acceptable concept of the national interest can be developed. Such debate is our last line of defense against the whims of policymakers whose values, intuitions, and emotional judgments would otherwise go unchallenged. And it is not to begrudge a president's right to staff an administration with his people to note that an essential component of this debate is the continuing flow of information and advice from a professional diplomatic corps.

In the end, however, caprice and arbitrariness are all that Helms and his pre-political movement have to offer. As Lucier states, Helms is trying to appeal to people who are "looking at the world in terms of what's good and bad, and 'what's good for me.'" In foreign policy, this translates into "standing up for your country and putting its interests first"—the be-all and end-all of Helms' worldview.

This is not morality at all, certainly not Judaeo-Christian morality. It is a peculiar philosophy which, in personal relations, exalts base selfishness as the height of virtue, and which in the realm of politics encases unilateral, nationalistic actions in the goldplate of principle. Nor does it provide a viable approach for foreign policy-making. As Helms seems to recognize, the United States can "go it alone" and disregard international commitments and agreements only by enjoying overwhelming military superiority, absolute power of the kind that pre-Cartesian monarchs wielded. In the absence of such omnipotence, the tradeoffs, the compromise, the search for international cooperation, and the concern demonstrated for other nations' interests which Helms so resents may be poorly executed, but they are neither treasonous nor amoral. They are simply unavoidable. □

The Senator

When a maverick American senator visits the Congo, a Foreign Service officer gets involved in a kidnapping

By FITZHUGH GREEN

I stood quietly on the terrace of the embassy residence and watched the late afternoon sun throw long shadows from the acacia trees across the meadow sliding by below at a steady five knots. The "meadow" was a sheet of millions of water lilies floating down the Congo River. A few minutes downstream, the lilies would blossom into a smooth, light green from the ferocious churning of the Leopoldville rapids. By my side was Chargé d'Affaires G. McMurtrie Godley, and we stood together worrying about Senator Thomas Dodd of Connecticut.

Any minute we expected the senator to come downstairs and start tearing up the foreign policy our embassy was attempting to sell to the yearling Democratic Republic of the Congo in late November of 1961. As chief of the U.S. Information Service in the Congo, I was assigned to promote the American policy for a unified, democratic nation. But back home the senator had been

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touting the breakaway province of Katanga, which had seceded only days after Belgium granted the Congo independence on June 30, 1960, and now Senator Dodd was en route to Katanga as its privileged guest. Godley and I knew his presence would confuse the Congolese as to where America stood.

Shortly after independence, discipline in the army had ruptured and given way to mutiny in many of its contingents. Then the army started to battle the remaining Belgian paratroops, and within a week the country was awash in anarchy.

Prime Minister Patrice Lumumba and President Joseph Kasavubu appealed to U.N. Secretary General Dag Hammarskjöld to rescue their new country from its peril. While the United Nations debated, the Congolese took their plea for help to the United States, the U.S.S.R., and even Ghana. Finally, the United Nations accepted the challenge, with the United States in full agreement. During the next few days 30 member nations dispatched military units to the Congo. The U.N. forces speedily established a semblance of security.

A Copper Font

For the Belgians, however, Katanga was an important asset not to be lost. The province was the font of the Congo's wealth—vast copper mines near the cities of Jadotville and Kolwezi were owned and operated by the Belgian government's cartel, Union Minière. With encouragement from Brussels, Katanga President Moïse Tshombe—educated by American Methodist missionaries—proclaimed his province a separate sovereignty. Belgium provided mercenaries to beef up his army and gendarmerie. Katanga was able to maintain a relative serenity compared to the rest of the Congo. The copper continued to flow and the Union Minière coffers continued to fill.

The United States and the United Nations pressured Tshombe to ac-

cept the authority of the Leopoldville government, but he remained stubbornly aloof. In September 1961, the U.N. troops in Elisabethville, the central city of Katanga, mounted a military action to round up the mercenaries Tshombe had hired. They resisted strongly in a series of skirmishes that came to be called the "first round."

The Katanga problem bred controversy in the United States. Tshombe and the Union Minière financed a Katanga lobby. Senator Dodd emerged as the province's leading apologist. His vigorous participation in the lobbying efforts won him the nickname of "Ambassador from Katanga."

Voices from the spacious porch of the residence roused Godley and me; now we would deal firsthand with this opponent of a unified Congo. We were uneasy. How do Foreign Service bureaucrats handle a senator totally on the outs with the executive branch? Furthermore, Dodd was a member of the Foreign Relations Committee, whose authority is not to be tampered with idly.

Godley stuck out his barrel chest and flashed his grin of determination. He hasn't changed much since we were teenagers in Rye, New York, I thought to myself, as we marched inside.

There we found a silver-haired man of ruddy complexion who had to raise his head to see the six-foot-three Godley.

Softly, the senator said: "This is David Martin, my assistant."

We noted the unsmiling face with angry dark eyes under heavy brows. We knew that Martin held strong opinions on Katanga's value as a democratic, pro-Western bastion against the dangers of communist incursion. He apparently ignored the fact that our country had been fiercely contesting these dangers in the rest of the Congo. The Congolese had already driven the personnel of two communist embassies out of the country.

We four sat down in the ambassa-

From Katanga



We threw ourselves to the tarmac as the plane's massive wing sliced the air above us—an unsettling welcome to Katanga.

dor's study before the reception in the senator's honor. Dodd turned to Godley. The senator's mournful, beagle eyes—one of which drooped slightly—played over Godley's mouth.

Dodd began: "Your reputation in Washington is excellent. I have heard you have the keenest analytical mind in the State Department."

Godley smiled appreciatively.

"I came here not just for protocol. I wanted to see you before going to Elisabethville to get your own thoughts."

Godley then explained the reasons for our policy against Katangan

sovereignty. He stressed that no African country could tolerate being split along tribal lines, as with the Balubas in Katanga.

"Adoula [the Congo's new prime minister]," Godley wound up, "is a political moderate and has told us he will be forced to seek aid from other quarters—even the communists—if the United Nations, backed by the United States, cannot bring about the reintegration of Katanga."

At this the senator purred: "Why, the way you put it I can see the sense of your position much better than I ever could talking to the administration."

Martin grumbled at the conciliatory tone of the senator and reminded him, and us, that Katanga had to remain independent.

"That's right, David," the senator kept replying, "but these fellows really have some points we haven't considered."

As we rose to welcome the Congolese dignitaries, the senator promised he wouldn't say anything either here or in Katanga which would contradict our government's policy.

The Congolese received the senator enthusiastically. They mentioned they were happy to meet a fellow politician and then they took turns trying to divert him from his well-advertised stand on Katanga.

With the senator thus busied, Godley drew me aside.

"Aren't you encouraged?" I asked him.

"Yeah, but I think it would be a good idea for you to escort him to Katanga. Someone from the embassy has got to hold him on a short tether to be sure he keeps his word!"

Interpreting Omens

The senator agreed to take me along as his interpreter during the Katanga visit. When I said good-bye to my wife the next morning, she frowned. "Be careful. I have a negative feeling about this trip."

I laughed and told her to relax, but I shared her malaise because our latest reports indicated tensions could ignite "round two" between Tshombe and the U.N. forces any day. Also, I remembered a curious remark by Briton Brian Urquhart at the Belgian sports club a couple of days earlier. Urquhart was en route to relieve Conor Cruise O'Brien as director of U.N. operations in Katanga. He and I were playing tennis in the late afternoon to avoid the equatorial heat. The trees were shedding their last bits of foliage in a gentle breeze. As we changed courts between sets, Urquhart said, "There's something infinitely sad about those leaves falling." Clearly, he saw them as

symbols of finality that, I sensed, matched a vague dread he felt about his new assignment. In retrospect, I have to conclude he was prescient.

Senator Dodd and his wife, along with Martin and me, took off early to make the 1200-mile flight to Elisabethville. Our passage was uneventful. None of us could have predicted the terrors that lay only hours ahead.

A portent of trouble hit as we walked from the plane to the terminal building. We were striding abreast through gusts of prop wash and northwest wind. We halted as a huge cargo plane taxied toward the runway. It stopped abruptly and accelerated its starboard prop. Suddenly, its massive wing spun straight at our heads. We threw ourselves to the tarmac as the wing sliced the air above us. The European pilot—all whites were called "European" in the Congo—glared as his machine completed a 360-degree turn and then roared away for the take-off.

Too startled to speak, we scrambled to our feet and hurried into the terminal, where our consul in Katanga, Lewis Hoffacker, greeted us.

Our consul in Katanga, by the way, still reported to the ambassador in Leopoldville, because the United States recognized Katanga only as a province of the Congo republic. Tshombe was either ignorant of this diplomatic nicety, which de facto kept him in his place as a president of a province rather than an independent country, or he chose to ignore it. From a practical standpoint, both the United States and Katanga needed an official channel of communication with each other. Hoffacker was it.

We described our hair-flattening escape to him and asked what was going on. Hoffacker shook his head and said that a lot of strange things were happening lately. Since "round one," the hostility between Tshombe's people and the United Nations had grown chronic. He said war could erupt at any time.

Hoffacker's warning seemed justified by the ambience at the president's palace when we arrived a half hour later. Tshombe invited the senator indoors while exchanging some pleasantries with me. I hadn't seen him since bringing Louis Armstrong to perform a year earlier.

At first Tshombe and his ministers were warm in their conversa-

tion with Dodd. Then the senator said, with innocent courtesy: "Mr. President, I am impressed by how young your cabinet is. That fact surely means an energetic leadership for Katanga."

Tshombe, a tall, moon-faced man with heavy eyelids, frowned. Then he rose and motioned the senator to come into the garden and acknowledge the crowd of about 3000 gathered there.

Tshombe introduced Dodd to the audience and the senator made some bland remarks which I translated into French. The reaction was polite. The president cited Dodd's comment about the ministers' youthfulness. In acid tones he jabbed his finger at the senator's white locks and sneered, in Swahili:

"Don't you think it is better for our country to be led by young men who will ensure our future, rather than by old men like the senator, whose powers are obviously waning, along with those of his country?"

A Champion Scorned

The Katangans cheered to hear their president put down this important visitor from the big country which scorned them. They handily forgot that Dodd was their champion in the United States. Or maybe they hadn't really got the word; these people had not yet formed the media habit.

We Americans went silently to the guest house. We were in for ruder shocks. Hoffacker held a cocktail party for Dodd. At the gathering, Tshombe's cabinet members and the U.N. military and civilian VIPs warily circled each other like dogs in a pound.

Urquhart, U.N. staffer George Ivan Smith, Maire McEntee (who was the fiancée of Smith's predecessor Conor Cruise O'Brien), and I drove to the house of Mobil Oil's man, Sherry Smith. Since the Dodds, a Belgian banker named Willame, and Ivan Smith were invited there for dinner, we stopped at the Sherry Smith house to drop off Ivan Smith. Urquhart, McEntee, and I planned to go on for our own dinner. Suddenly from the shadows a dozen soldiers armed with rifles swarmed about our Volkswagen. They ordered us to go with them as prisoners.

We protested. My companions waved their ID cards.

"We know you're U.N. types," barked a soldier. "We also know you're planning to execute our general. Now, come with us. We have ways to deal with enemies!"

I said, "Let's go in the house and call Mr. Tshombe. He will assure you that his friend, Senator Dodd, is due here and will have supper with Mr. Ivan Smith. The president himself may also be with him."

"We don't believe you," growled the soldiers uncertainly.

The argument went on until the soldiers reluctantly allowed us into the Smiths' bungalow to telephone. They waited outside. Even in the midst of fracas like this we had observed the Congolese's curious mix of ingrained subservience to "Europeans" and their new arrogance.

"Hurry up!" several of them shouted as we closed the door. Maire McEntee picked up the phone while Sherry Smith's wife, looking anxious in the absence of her husband, mixed us drinks.

For several minutes McEntee wrestled vainly with the local phone service, trying to reach Tshombe through the U.N. office. She was still talking with someone there when the door burst open and three dozen more gendarmes stormed in, yelling and brandishing their guns. Pushing aside the others, they seized Ivan Smith, Willame, and Urquhart, dragging them out to a truck at the curb.

I blocked the soldier who was pulling on Urquhart and once more tried my routine of "President Tshombe may be on his way here and he won't like what you're doing," alternately smiling, smoothtalking, and listening, as we had learned to do in similar confrontations in Leopoldville.

The tall, rugged Katangan, eyes bulging with rage, let go of Urquhart. He pointed his gun at my nose. The steel chilled my face. Still, I kept grasping Urquhart's arm and talking about Tshombe's expected arrival. The soldier depressed his rifle, ejecting a shell on the floor. He slid another into the breech. He watched for my reaction.

I released Urquhart's arm. Then the soldier swung his weapon and smashed the stock across Urquhart's cheeks. Blood spurted from his nose and his forehead as he staggered under a rain of blows.



The soldier swung his weapon, smashing the stock across Urquhart's face. Bleeding profusely, Urquhart staggered under the blow.

McEntee looked up from the telephone and shrieked at whoever was on the line: "Now they're beating Fitzhugh Green and shoving him onto a truck and they're going to kill him!"

I pointed to the slight figure of Urquhart, halfway out the door, and said loudly: "No, Maire, it's Brian."

I wanted to spare my wife from worrying when this message would inevitably reach Leopoldville, but McEntee just kept repeating that I was covered with blood and about to be murdered.

So I sat down on the sitting-room couch to figure out what to do next. A number of soldiers were still stomping around, and one of them knocked a gin and tonic off the coffee table. This irritated him and he jumped on it until his paratroop boots ground it into a shiny dust on the rug. Then he screamed at me:

"Toi! Tu es aussi de l'ONU!"
You're in the U.N. too!

I handed him my U.S. passport, and he was reading it studiously and uncomprehendingly when sirens sounded in the street. I snatched

back my document and ran through the French doors onto the lawn. Some 20 soldiers were still clumsily herding Ivan Smith, Urquhart, and Willame down the path to the truck. The wail of the sirens was getting nearer. Good! Urquhart's eyes rolled at me from within a red smear.

I approached the mob and mustered a commanding tone:

"That's President Tshombe! Just as I told you, he's coming and you still have time to let these men go—"

Twenty rifles trained on me, and someone bellowed:

"Va t'en! Ou bien on va tirer!" Get out of here or we'll shoot!

I believed them and vaulted over the 10-foot wall behind the house, hoping to find help. On the other side stood another bungalow. The curtains were drawn tight but light showed through. I hammered the knocker and the front door cracked, cautiously.

Then a Belgian accent: "Who are you?"

"I'm an American, from the embassy in Leopoldville." Whereupon, a thirtyish, heavysset man led me to

where his companions huddled in the half-lit parlor—four couples, two Belgian, one Portuguese, and one Greek. Their faces were taut.

I noticed in a mirror over the one dim lamp that my hair was standing straight up and Urquhart's blood had stained my white shirt. No wonder the strangers were staring at me. They let me call our vice consul. After I recounted what had happened, he assured me he would contact U.N. headquarters. What would the U.N. people do? I wondered as I hung up. If they sent troops, they would surely have a fine fight with the gendarmerie, if any were still at the Smith's house. I noticed then that the noise of men and machines had ceased. My hosts pressed me for details on the behavior of the gendarmerie. They were appalled at what I told them.

"Dreadful," said the Portuguese man. "Even we can't do anything with this crazy army and we are their officers."

Swedish Platoon

Mercenaries, I thought. Then we heard more vehicles and voices nearby. I re climbed the wall and discovered a platoon of Swedish U.N. soldiers searching in and around the Smiths' house, but no more Katangans.

McEntee told me she wasn't sure what had transpired when Tshombe's limousine arrived, only that it had stopped briefly and then sped off. They had no clue to the fate of the three captives. All the Katangan soldiers had driven away in their trucks.

Before I was driven back to our consulate, I collected the cartridge that had been aimed at my nose. It lay on the floor amid the broken glass and mud left by the invaders. Even now it sits on my dresser as proof of how much luck I expended that evening in Elisabethville.

At the consulate I found Ivan Smith peacefully sipping a scotch. He was bruised but otherwise unhurt from his knocking about. I was amazed and greeted him with relief. He just grinned. A rugged ex-boxer, he shrugged off his close call. "Hoffacker's bravery and quick thinking saved me and Willame from the gendarmerie," he declared, "but not Brian."

Hoffacker and his staff began trying to locate Urquhart and get him

released—if he were still alive. Meanwhile, I learned the specifics of Smith and Willame's escape.

When Tshombe's car had drawn up behind the truck where the three Europeans had already been tossed, a momentary diversion was created among the soldiers by the four loud motorcycles in the police escort. They may even have believed that Tshombe himself was in the car, as I had suggested. One of the actual occupants, Hoffacker, spotted their hesitation and seized the initiative. He leaped from the limousine and onto the truck, where he collared George and Willame and hustled them toward the car. By then the soldiers had seen Tshombe was not in the car, only some Americans—the Dodds and Martin. As the soldiers closed in, Hoffacker pushed his charges into the car, shouting at his chauffeur to "gun it." Simultaneously, the police revved up their bikes and convoyed the car through the gaping military men. But Urquhart remained on his back in the truck with a soldier's boot on his Adam's apple. He was unconscious.

For hours at the consulate we kept trying to persuade the Katangans to spare Brian Urquhart. Progress was slow. At one juncture U.N. General Raja announced he had the solution: His troops would open fire on the palace and keep shooting until Tshombe freed Urquhart. Hoffacker coolly vetoed this idea. He insisted that the United Nations stay out of the picture while he negotiated with the Katangans.

At last a Katangan automobile rolled up the driveway, and out stepped . . . Urquhart, followed by Foreign Minister Kimba and Interior Minister Munongo. Tshombe was returning the hostage in style. Urquhart's cuts had been cleaned up and he accepted our fervent welcome back to safety with a smile. Minutes later he and Ivan Smith sauntered off toward their U.N. billet as if they had merely enjoyed a long evening of bridge. It was nearly four in the morning.

Urquhart's deliverance stemmed from Hoffacker's patient wrangling with the Katangans. To have Urquhart accompanied personally to the consulate by two ministers "says something for diplomacy," as Hoffacker modestly put it.

How did the senator take the horrendous evening? He had stayed

quiet, cowering in the back of the limousine, while Hoffacker exerted his crisis magic. In the long period that followed in the consulate, he remained composed and frequently told us how impressed he was by the performance of Foreign Service people under duress. Hoffacker and I were of course delighted that he was subjected to the strenuous chaos, because it should have destroyed his view that Katanga was a pro-U.S. paradise in the center of a disjointed, bloodthirsty, communism-prone Congo. The senator's comments tilted toward our official policy, but he didn't really commit himself.

With the excitement over, I drafted a telex on the evening's events for Leopoldville and Washington. Remembering Maire McEntee's remarks over the phone during the turmoil, I was careful to stress that no casualties had been sustained.

Before the night ended, however, a U.N. major disappeared. He was never found, but the following morning the police discovered his sedan parked 100 yards down the road from the U.S. consulate. Inside, his driver lay slumped, shot through the ears.

A Token for Caesar

Shortly after dawn, Tshombe began his personally conducted tour of the "sovereign state" of Katanga for Senator Dodd. When we stepped into his lead car for the day's caravan, Tshombe was cheerful and eschewed any reference to the previous evening. He guided us about his domain like a Caesar triumphantly parading through Rome. Everywhere his subjects acclaimed him and his token American senator.

Dodd exulted and bubbled that he felt this was campaigning in the best sense, and he was going to win.

Tshombe staged the day's final ceremony on the outdoor steps of a government building in the copper capital of Kolwezi. Six thousand Katangans stood waiting as night fell with a light rain. Tshombe trudged ahead of the senator, Hoffacker, and me to the top step. He made his speech, the same boastful pitch he had been offering all day, and then handed the microphone to the senator. Dodd had just whispered to me that this city and the attitude of the crowd reminded him

of his home-town Hartford. Now he produced his own little talk, ending ebulliently: "And for you good citizens I wish health, prosperity, and . . . freedom!"

During the applause I told the senator I was going to translate that last word as "justice," and did he have any problem with that. He agreed to the change. When I had finished, though, Tshombe shot me a glare. He had learned English from the Methodists and saw that I had spoiled Dodd's endorsement. Fortunately the crowd didn't notice.

We assembled for drinks a half hour later in the luxurious house the Belgians had given Tshombe. He and I sat down on a couch among the thirty or so Katangan officials and mining executives who were invited to dinner. The senator was seated on his other side. Abruptly Tshombe turned to me.

"From now on your consul (Hoffacker) will interpret for me and the senator. Thanks for all your help." At the table I could find no place card with my name on it. That was all we saw of Tshombe on that trip.

In the morning, the senator held forth at a press conference I had organized for foreign and American journalists. I was again interpreting and monitoring him closely, lest he forget himself.

After a farewell buffet arranged by Tshombe, though not hosted by him, I flew with the Dodd party to Luanda, the seaside capital of Angola. En route we rehashed our adventures of the past two days. The senator claimed he had profited from them and gained a better understanding of U.S. policy; indeed, he promised to defend it from now on back in the United States. Martin glowered but didn't contest the senator's pledge.

Some weeks later I was home on leave and was invited to lunch one day in the Senate dining room. There I heard that Senator Dodd had given a speech attacking the U.S. Katanga policy with all the arguments he had renounced during our flight to Angola.

Someone must have reported seeing me in Washington, for the senator placed several long distance calls to me before I returned to the Congo. I didn't actually refuse to talk to him, but somehow I never was present when the calls came through. □

A Flawed Tragedy

(Continued from page 17)

French were worried, justifiably so, that they might be overbalanced by Germany in a unified European defense. Therefore, some called for re-trenchment abroad in the interest of a more effective and politically palatable European defense. But other important elements in France wished it to be demonstrated that the rearming of Germany would not prevent France from continuing to play an active role abroad. It was in large part to assuage these elements that the United States supported the French in Indochina in the early 1950s. Although people such as I did not care for that policy, at least we were forced to understand it. Today, writers about Indochina are under no similar compulsion. Hence the problem is made to appear much simpler, and the alleged dereliction by U.S. policymakers much more plausible, than they seem to those who remember or acknowledge the historical context.

I think it is correct to say that the French position in Indochina was "doomed," as does Thomson. But it is inadmissible to equate the French policy in Indochina, which was anti-nationalist, with the U.S. policy there in the 1960s, which was pro-nationalist. It is slanderous to view Ngo Dinh Diem in South Vietnam as any less nationalist than Prince Sihanouk in Cambodia or Souvanna Phouma in Laos. Nationalism was no monopoly of the communists; the people whom we supported were patriots, anti-colonialist to the core (and thus very prickly customers), and this was also true of the successors of Diem. That they were not democrats was another matter. Democracy as a form of government was not well understood, and still less well practiced, anywhere in Southeast Asia.

But democracy is not the same thing as self-determination, and there is no need for anyone to be ashamed that the United States tried to promote the latter in South Vietnam. There is an assumption in "The Indochina Tragedy" that the South Vietnamese should have accepted being sold out to the communist North Vietnamese and that the United States was alone in refusing to sign the Geneva agreement. Selective history! Far more

important than the refusal of the Americans to sign was the refusal of the South Vietnamese to sign in 1954, a fact that is passed over in silence. The article states that the French had "had enough in Vietnam and would let the Vietminh [communists] take it over, slow-motion, through elections by 1956." The French wished to wash their hands of South Vietnam, but the South Vietnamese themselves had no desire to be taken over by the North. This was true throughout the Indochinese wars, and is probably equally true today.

Nor is it correct that Diem cancelled the elections that had been envisaged for 1956. Neither South Vietnam nor the United States had made any commitment in this respect at Geneva, mainly because there were no provisions to assure freedom of choice in the North. If the more populous North had voted 100 percent for the communists, and the South had voted 25 percent for them, the country would have been "reunited" by subterfuge—I put the word in quotation marks because Vietnam had not always been a united country before and the North and South have very separate iden-

tities. American liberals saw this very clearly at the time. To leave such matters out of account is one-dimensional history; it is advocacy history, a new and popular variant of advocacy journalism.

Finally, one does not have to believe in, or defend, any particular U.S. policy in Indochina to make the points that I have made above. One can believe that it was a mistake to have intervened in Vietnam and still acknowledge that these things are true. I happen to believe that we made a mistake in intervening massively. But I also believe that the manner in which we got out of our commitment was important as well. Author Thomson put quotation marks around the words "national honor," as if it were specious to adduce it as an argument against leaving the South Vietnamese in the lurch. This, once more, involves alliance politics: It is not dishonorable to try to live up to one's commitments, and dangerous not to do so. Those who felt this way may have been wrong in the case of Vietnam—I do not think so myself—but they had a better case than the one given in this one-dimensional history. □

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Family Night at BOOKFAIR 81 is set for Friday, October 16 from 5-8:30 p.m. Special attractions will include a clown, magicians, cartoons, and short films. The State Department cafeteria will feature family fare from 3-7 p.m.

Trading Perspectives

(Continued from page 16)

ing U.S. negotiators of developments and their effects, but business must count on U.S. officials, including FSOs, to represent the interests of U.S. business.

Terrorism has affected the U.S. businessman in many areas. The FSO can be vital to the businessman in avoiding or surviving the macabre possibility of actual or threatened terrorism and kidnapping abroad. Most American companies draw no distinction between the na-

tionality or rank of their personnel; if the employee or a member of the employee's family is kidnapped and held for ransom or even simply threatened with kidnapping, the company must take action. Yet it is not always clear to whom the company should turn for assistance. There has been at least one case where a U.S. company opened negotiations with terrorists in an attempt to free its employees, only to have its property nationalized by the host government. In general, a company realizes that it is on its own in the face of a kidnapping. But do not

underestimate the value of having alert FSOs on the spot to advise and above all provide communications with the U.S. government and local officials.

The Reagan administration's emphasis on international business will require close relations between FSOs and businessmen. Both the FSO and the businessman must work to perfect their abilities and their readiness to form effective teams on short notice. This presents a challenge. Neither must take it lightly: The stakes for the nation's economy are too high. □

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FOREIGN SERVICE PEOPLE

Foreign Service Juniors Awarded 1981-1982 AFSA Scholarships

The initial list of the 1981/1982 American Foreign Service Association Scholarship Program Awards has been announced by the Hon. H.G. Torbert Jr., chairman of the Committee on Education. AFSA once again expresses appreciation to all those who have supported the scholarship programs with their generous contributions, and in particular the Association of American Foreign Service Women for its continued efforts on behalf of Foreign Service juniors with funds raised at the annual AAFSW Book Fair.

The names of the recipients, the scholarships that they have received, and the colleges and universities that they will attend follow:

Marit C. Anderson, Barbara Chalmers Memorial Scholarship, James Madison University. **Rolf R. Anderson**, Norris S. Haselton Memorial Scholarship, Kenyon College Latin American Program. **Mark E. Brogley**, AAFSW Scholarship, University of Southern Florida. **Virginia M. Brogley**, Jefferson Patterson Scholarship, Barry College. **Barbara F. Brown**, Gertrude Stewart Memorial Scholarship, Trinity College. **Tamara E. Brown**, Wilbur J. Carr Memorial Scholarship, Trinity College. **Peter H. Carwell**, John Campbell White Memorial Scholarship, Wesleyan University. **Marina S. D'Angelo**, Marcia Martin Moore Memorial Scholarship, University of Maryland (Baltimore County). **Mauro G. D'Angelo**, AAFSW Scholarship, University of Maryland (Baltimore County). **Michael S. Dropik**, Thomas F. Opila Memorial Scholarship, University of Minnesota. **Sharon Dropik**, AAFSW Scholarship, University of Minnesota. **Paul S. Dwyer Jr.**, John Moors Cabot Memorial Scholarship, Tufts University. **Elizabeth C. Ferguson**, Kemp G. Malone Memorial Scholarship, Harvard University.

Melissa J. Garza, AAFSW Scholarship, George Mason University. **Christine L. Grant**, Betty Carp Scholarship, University of Pittsburgh. **Elizabeth E. Hayden**, Gertrude Stewart Memorial Scholarship, Mary Washington College. **Katherine R. Hayden**, Timberlake Scholarship, Mary Washington College. **Kenneth Hewes-Manapol**, Arthur B. Emmons Memorial Scholarship, Yale University. **Stephen A. Hubler**, Samuel D. Berger Scholarship, University of Southern California. **David Jefferson**, AAFSW Scholarship, Boston University. **Paul Jefferson**, American Women's Group/Bonn Scholarship, Harvard University. **Motaki R. Lippe**, AAFSW Scholarship, University of Maryland (Eastern Shore). **Andrea Martin**, AAFSW Scholarship, Mount Vernon College. **Diana Martin**, Oliver Bishop Harriman Memorial Scholarship, University of Tennessee. **James McClure**, AAFSW Scholarship, Abilene Christian University. **Cynthia McIntyre**, AAFSW Scholarship, Millsaps College. **Phalika Ngin**, Robert E. and Florence L. Macaulay Memorial Scholarship, St. Petersburg Junior College. **Abebayehu Novick**, AAFSW Scholarship, University of Maryland (College Park). **Emily F. Peek**, AAFSW Scholarship, West Virginia University. **Patricia A. Pogue**, Hope Rogers Bastek Memorial Scholarship, Mary Washington College. **John R. Pogue**, Gertrude Stewart Memorial Scholarship, George Mason University. **Jeanne-Marie Pogue**, AAFSW Scholarship, University of Virginia. **William F. Pogue**, Oliver Bishop Harriman Memorial Scholarship, George Washington University. **Kai J. Reinertson**, Wilbur J. Carr Memorial Scholarship, George Mason University. **Krag C. Reinertson**, William Benton Scholarship, Western State College. **Thomas M. Scanlon**, Gertrude Stewart Memorial Scholarship, San Jose State College. **Harrison B. Sherwood Jr.**, Julius C. Homes Scholarship, Kenyon College. **Nora Sherwood**, Gertrude Stewart Memorial Scholarship, University of Colorado. **Susan C. Sigda**, AAFSW-Patricia Ann Johnson Memorial Scholarship, Amherst College. **Jennifer Wellde**, AAFSW Scholarship, University of Virginia. **Philip Wellde**, Edward T. Wailes Memorial Scholarship, University of Richmond. **David F.**

Wills, Mark G. Mattran Memorial Scholarship, University of Massachusetts. **Matthew P. Wills**, AAFSW Scholarship, Clark University. **Eric L. Woods**, Ellis O. Briggs Memorial Scholarship, Dartmouth College.

The AFSA Committee on Education members are H. G. Torbert Jr., chairman; Robert L. Caffrey, State; Stephen Chaplin, ICA; David T. Jones, State; Sheila Mack, AAFSW; James D. Singletary, AID. Clarke W. Slade is educational consultant to the committee, and Dawn H. Cuthell is the scholarship programs administrator.

Attention Foreign Service Juniors—Apply Now for 1982-83 Scholarships. All eligible dependent students of Foreign Service families, who have served or are currently serving abroad, are encouraged to apply to the Scholarship Program of the American Foreign Service Association immediately. In addition to the Financial Aid grants for undergraduate study, there are Merit Awards of \$500.00 for High School students graduating in 1981, based on competitive academic excellence.

There is no limit to the number of dependent FS students who may apply from one family, if eligible. There is a limit, however, on the amount of money that can be awarded to a single student and also collectively to a family. Grants for individual students range from \$200 to \$2,000 per year, according to need and limitations imposed by the school attended. The total amount awarded to a family cannot exceed \$3,000 per year, regardless of the number of college-attending members. All financial aid applications are evaluated by the College Scholarship Service in Princeton N.J. (or Berkeley, CA). AFSA also uses this system to insure equitable distribution of its scholarship funds.

Students may request application forms for either the Financial Aid or Merit Awards (or both, if qualified) by writing to Dawn Cuthell, Scholarship Programs Administrator, AFSA, 2101 E St., NW, Washington, DC 20037, giving Foreign Service affiliation. **Deadline**—Feb. 15, 1982. AFSA membership is not an eligibility requirement, and Foreign Service personnel in the lower grades are encouraged to apply.

Deaths

PATRICIA ANN JOHNSON, founder of the first Diplomatic Wives Women's Club, died of pneumonia June 3 at Sibley Memorial Hospital. She was 73.

Born Patricia Ann Tillman, she was married in 1932 to U. Alexis Johnson, a Foreign Service officer who became ambassador to Japan, Czechoslovakia, and Thailand and served as an undersecretary of state. In the 1950s in Prague, she organized the diplomatic wives club with about 70 members. The queen of Thailand gave her an award in 1960 on behalf of the Red Cross. In the late 1960s, she was a volunteer who aided wounded Vietnam soldiers hospitalized in Japan. She was a member of the Association of American Foreign Service Women. Survivors include her husband, two sons, two daughters, and seven grandchildren. The family suggests that expressions of sympathy be in the form of contributions to AAFSW.

MARY COOKE JONES, former president of the Association of Foreign Service Women and widow of Ambassador G. Lewis Jones, died June 8 at Georgetown University Hospital of a heart attack. She was 68.

Known as Polly Jones, she was married in 1935 to Mr. Jones, a young Foreign Service officer. In 1957 he was named the first ambassador to Tunisia. Her husband died in 1971. Survivors include their three children, a sister, and two grandchildren. The family suggests expressions of sympathy be in the form of contributions to the Polly C. Jones Memorial fund, c/o the Washington Cathedral.

JULIA ELISABETH LINEBERGER RAMBERG, wife of Walter G. C. Ramberg, former science attaché at the U.S. Embassy in Rome, died October 30, 1980, in Sparks, Md.

A graduate of Hollins College who received a master's from Bryn Mawr College, she studied singing in Florence, Italy, before marrying in 1930 in Munich. She spent most of her married years in the Washington area, where she was active in several organizations. From 1959-69, she and her husband lived in Rome while he was stationed at the embassy. In addition to her husband, survivors include their three children.

BEN A. THIRKIELD, retired journalist and Foreign Service officer, died of emphysema August 13 in Bellows Falls, Vt. He was 66.

He joined the Foreign Service in 1948 and was a public information and press officer in South Africa, Finland, Burma, and Nigeria. He returned to the State Department in 1958, working as a press officer and, until retiring in 1973, as a watch officer.

Before his diplomatic career, he was a journalist in Wilmington, Del., and in Washington for the *Washington Post*. During the war he earned a Bronze Star and Silver Star for Navy service in the Pacific. After the war he joined the staff of *U.S. News & World Report*. Survivors include his wife, formerly Nancy Jane Smith, a daughter, a son, and three grandchildren.

Marriages

EDITH LOUISE BRUCE, to Frank Boas, on June 30 in Geneva, Switzerland. The bride recently completed a three-year assignment with the U.S. Mission in Geneva as a Foreign Service officer. She has also served in Brussels and Montreal. The couple will live in Brussels.

JACK S. WILLIAMS, to Alyce Carlson Simmen, on July 20. The couple reside in Vero Beach, Fla.

Births

ANNE MARIE GALLAGHER, to Michael and Martha Gallagher, on July 2 in Fairfax County, Va.

ANDREW MARTIN MACFARLANE, to Lewis and Ann Macfarlane, on June 15 in Washington, D.C.

Achievements

CORINNE M. MULL, daughter of Mr. and Mrs. Gerard Mull, stationed in Kartoum, the Sudan, was graduated by Johns Hopkins University on May 29 with the degree of bachelor of arts.

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AUTHOR'S QUERY

WRITER working on detailed history of microwave radiation problem at U.S. Embassy Moscow and related medical/health issues wishes to hear from interested FSOs, military personnel and family members who have served in Moscow. Barton Reppert, 1320 21st Street, N.W., #305, Washington, D.C. 20036.

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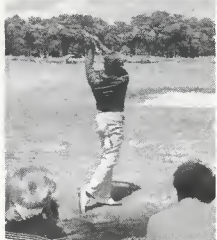


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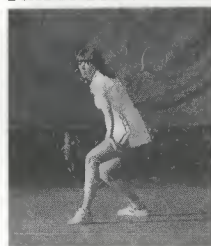
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