FOREIGN SERVICE JOURNAL

$1.25

February 1984

FOCUS ON SOUTHERN AFRICA

Paul Tsongas vs. Chester Crocker

AMERICAN
FOREIGN
SERVICE
PROTECTIVE
ASSOCIATION

WE'VE SERVED YOU WELL FOR MORE THAN A HALF-CENTURY . . . AND NOW WE'RE GOING TO SERVE YOU EVEN BETTER WITH OUR NEW LIFE INSURANCE PROGRAM . . . TAILORED TO MEET YOUR SPECIFIC NEEDS AT PRICES YOU CAN AFFORD.

$200,000 Worth Of Life Insurance For $136.00 A Year

$300,000 Worth of Accidental Death and Dismemberment For $195.00 A Year

We're Proud To Present Our New "Tailored-To-Fit" Group Life and Group Accidental Death And Dismemberment Coverage

You can select just the right components to fit your individual needs and those of your family. You don't have to take coverage you don't need.

Better Than FEGLI

Here's how we compare with Federal Employees' Group Life Insurance (FEGLI) using FEGLI's own examples of typical coverage:

	Age of Insured			
	22	30	33	45
Basic Life Coverage	28,000	38,000	60,000	36,000
Supplemental Coverage	12,000	44,000	84,000	180,000
AD&D	14,000	19,000	30,000	36,000
For Above Coverage FEGLI Rates Per Annum	102.91	178.22	296.06	1,165.20
Our Rates Per Annum	37.10	86.15	149.10	892.80
You save with AFSPA	65.81	92.07	146.96	272.40

This plan is available to anyone who qualifies for membership in the Association. You qualify for membership in AFSPA if you fall into one of the following categories:

- Foreign Service personnel of the Department of State, USIA, USAID, Foreign Commercial Service (Department of Commerce), and the Foreign Agricultural Service (Department of Agriculture).
- Personnel drawing annuities based on employment in the above categories.
- Certain non-career personnel serving as Presidential Appointees.
- Peace Corps administrative staff.
- Peace Corps volunteer.
- **Dependent of any of the above 19 years of age or older.**

The Best News Yet

Adult dependents qualify for full membership and full insurance coverage in their own names.

MAIL THIS COUPON TO:

American Foreign Service Protective Association
1750 Pennsylvania Ave., N.W., Suite 1305
Washington, D.C. 20006

I would like to know more about your new plan:

NAME____________________

ADDRESS____________________

CITY, STATE________________ ZIP________

"The Monitor is by far the best source of daily coverage of international news."

H. Anton Tucher, *Vice-President, Bank of America; Vice-President, World Affairs Council of Northern California; Treasurer, German-American Chamber of Commerce of the Pacific Coast*

Tony Tucher speaks with authority—in both English and German. Born in Europe, raised in South Africa, schooled in the United States, he's looked at the world from three different continents. And he's brought this intercontinental outlook to his 20-year career in banking. A career that's reached from California to Europe, and New York to Asia.

Mr. Tucher finds this same international outlook in the newspaper he reads, The Christian Science Monitor.

"I've been struck on several occasions, attending conferences on international affairs, to find how topical the Monitor is. Either what has been in the Monitor the previous couple of weeks, or what appears in the paper the following couple of weeks, is exactly what was covered at the conference. I think the Monitor is superb in that regard.

"It has a manageable format which is remarkably good at covering the news.

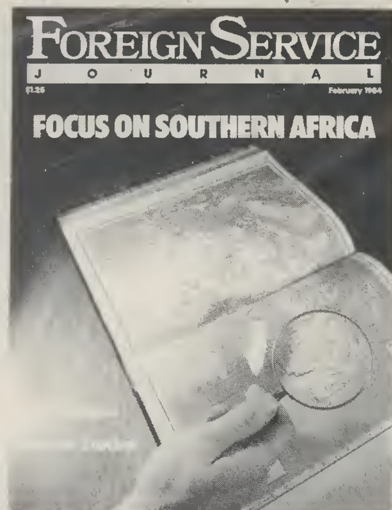
"It's an easy paper to read. The stories aren't too long. It does take time to read, no doubt about it. But it's value for time."

You'll get good value, too, for the time you spend reading The Christian Science Monitor.

Free One-Week Subscription.
(U.S. and Canada Only)
Now you can receive five issues of the Monitor at no cost and no obligation. Simply call today toll-free 1-800-225-7090. Or from Massachusetts, Alaska, Hawaii, or Canada call collect (617) 262-2300. Ask for the special offer desk. T6S

International Subscribers
For information about subscribing to the weekly overseas edition of the Monitor address inquiries to:
The Christian Science Monitor
P.O. Box 125, Astor Station
Boston, MA 02123 USA

THE CHRISTIAN SCIENCE MONITOR®



The Reagan administration's policy of constructive engagement in southern Africa is now three years old and ripe for review. To focus on diplomacy in the region, we present opposing views from key government leaders involved in the debate over the current policy.

CONTENTS

Other Foreign Services: China 21
Edward Marks

After the traumas of the Cultural Revolution, Chinese diplomats are now guided by professionalism.

Southern Africa: Overview 24

The JOURNAL presents comments from two leading figures in the debate over U.S. policy in southern Africa.

Constructive Engagement: Yes 26
Chester A. Crocker

The United States can best encourage positive change by keeping channels open to all governments.

Constructive Engagement: No 30
Paul E. Tsongas

The United States should be involved in the struggle for freedom, but the current policy is naive.

Journal: On the Devil's Path 34
Betty J. Cruit

The Afghan doctor was on the security force's list; this is the tale of his flight to freedom.

Association Views 3
Letters 4
Books: Essay 6
Books: Reviews 12
Clippings 18
10-25-50 20
Foreign Service People ...39
Association News 41

Editor: STEPHEN R. DUJACK
Associate Editor: FRANCES G. BURWELL
Editorial Assistant: NANCY L. BARTELS

Editorial Board

Chairman: JOHN D. STEMPEL
Members: FRANCIS X. CUNNINGHAM
GILBERT DONAHUE
GEORGE GEDDA
W. HAVEN NORTH
CAROLINE MEIRS OSTERLING
TAIRA ST. JOHN
LANGE SCHERMERHORN
CAROL VAN VOORST
JAROSLAV VERNER

Advertising Representatives

JAMES C. SASMOR ASSOCIATES
521 Fifth Ave., Suite 1700
New York, N.Y. 10017.
(212) 683-3421

JOSHUA B. POWERS, LTD.
46 Keyes House, Dolphin Square,
London SW1. 01-834-8023/9.
International Representatives

"The Independent Voice of the Foreign Service"

The FOREIGN SERVICE JOURNAL is the magazine for professionals in foreign affairs, published monthly except August by the American Foreign Service Association, a private non-profit organization. Material appearing herein represents the opinions of the writers and does not necessarily represent the official views of the foreign affairs agencies, the U.S. government, or AFSA. The Editorial Board is responsible for general content, but statements concerning the policy and administration of AFSA as employee representative under the Foreign Service Act of 1980 in the ASSOCIATION NEWS and the ASSOCIATION VIEWS, and all communications relating to these, are the responsibility of the AFSA Governing Board.

JOURNAL subscriptions: One year (11 issues), $10; two years, $18. Overseas subscriptions (except Canada), add $1 per year.

Second-class postage paid at Washington, D.C., and at additional post office. POSTMASTER: Send address changes to FOREIGN SERVICE JOURNAL, 2101 E Street NW, Washington, D.C. 20037.

Microfilm copies: University Microfilm Library Services, Ann Arbor, Michigan 48106 (October 1967 to present).

The JOURNAL welcomes manuscripts of 1500–4000 words for consideration by the Editorial Board. Author queries are strongly urged, stamped envelope required for return. All authors are paid on publication.

© American Foreign Service Association, 1984. 2101 E Street NW, Washington, D.C. 20037. Phone (202) 338-4045.

February 1984. Volume 61, number 2. ISSN 0015-7279.

ASSOCIATION VIEWS

Mr. Wick's Legacy

Mr. Charles Z. Wick, the director of the U.S. Information Agency, is an action-oriented man. He prides himself on getting things done and undoubtedly hopes to leave his mark on the world. Which leads us to speculate that he must be worrying about how history will view his tenure as head of USIA. After all, the best possible interpretation of his taping conversations with a variety of public figures and private individuals is that it was unethical and ill-advised. The best possible interpretation of his repeated denials of the taping, until presented with irrefutable evidence, is that it was due to faulty recollection. It may very well be that all he has done in the agency, good and bad, will be overshadowed by this controversy.

Somewhat belatedly, Mr. Wick has begun the long road back by publicly acknowledging his mistakes and asking for the forgiveness of all involved. This is an important first step, but it will be a hollow one unless it is accompanied by several other actions. At a bare minimum, Mr. Wick must come to realize that his employees are dedicated professionals who have lived and worked overseas and have the experience he needs if his ideas are to be implemented. Further, to be strong, our Foreign Service must remain independent and non-political. We serve the president and the United States, and our job is to report accurately and dispassionately. Mr. Wick's increased budgets and higher agency profile will amount to little if USIA is demoralized, politicized, and run by amateurs. If Mr. Wick wants to leave the agency stronger than when he came to it, he will want to reconsider:

- The excessive use of unqualified political appointees to fill positions that the best career officers can aspire to only after twenty years of hands-on experience;
- Failing to publicly support his highly qualified senior career adviser for an ambassadorial appointment that instead went to his former landlord at the Watergate;
- Attempting unsuccessfully to turn the selection process for senior-level performance awards into a cash-for-cronies program;
- The repeated humilitation of subordinates before their peers—members of the Foreign Service are professionals and expect to be treated as such;

If Mr. Wick would work with his people instead of against them, there would be no limit to what USIA could accomplish. Successful diplomacy is based on trust, respect, and the free exchange of ideas. Mr. Wick's legacy can still be one of accomplishment. The choice is his.

DENNIS K. HAYS
President

American Foreign Service Association

Governing Board

President: DENNIS K. HAYS
Vice President: ANTHEA S. DE ROUVILLE
Second Vice President: DOUGLAS P. BROOME
Secretary: IRVING A. WILLIAMSON
Treasurer: JOANN JENKINS
AID Representatives: RICHARD DELANEY, JUANITA L. NOFFLET
State Representatives: JAMES DERRICK, THOMAS J. MILLER, JAMES SPAIN, JAMES WILLIAMSON
Retired Representatives: SPENCER KING, ROGER PROVENCHER, JOHN THOMAS

Staff

Acting Executive Director & Administrative Director: CECIL B. SANNER
General Counsel: SUSAN Z. HOLIK
Members' Interest & Grievance Counsellor: SABINE SISK
Comptroller: JOHN TIERNEY
Executive Secretary: CATHY SEWARD
Membership Secretary: LEE MIDTHUN
Accountant: WANDA DYKHUIS
Secretary: CRISTINA CABREJAS

Congressional Liaison
ROBERT M. BEERS

Scholarship Programs
DAWN CUTHELL

Face-to-Face Program
KENNETH J. DILLON

The American Foreign Service Association, founded in 1924, is the professional association of the Foreign Service and the official employee representative of all Foreign Service employees in the Department of State and the Agency for International Development under the terms of the Foreign Service Act of 1980. Active membership in AFSA is open to all current or retired professionals in foreign affairs overseas or in the United States. Associate membership is open to persons having an active interest in or close association with foreign affairs who are not employees or retirees of the foreign affairs agencies. Annual dues: Active Members—$52-117; Retired Active Members—$40 for members with incomes over $20,000, $25 for under; Associate Members—$25. All dues include $7.50 allocation for JOURNAL and ASSOCIATION NEWS subscription under AFSA Bylaws. All AFSA members are members of the Foreign Service Club, owned and operated by AFSA.

AMERICAN FOREIGN SERVICE ASSOCIATION
2101 E Street NW, Washington, D.C. 20037

Membership inquiries, comptroller, scholarship programs, insurance programs, JOURNAL offices: (202) 338-4045

Governing Board, general counsel, labor-management relations: (202) 632-8160
members' interests, grievances: (202) 632-2548

Foreign Service Club: (202) 338-5037

SOFTGRAF USA
TRY BEFORE YOU BUY!
DIPLOMATIC SOFTWARE AND COMPUTERS!
PROFESSIONAL PRESENTATION GRAPHICS
DIMENSION -32-BIT COMPATIBLE-FIRST
AND LAST COMPUTER YOU NEED
EDUCATIONAL SPECIALISTS
OVERSEAS MAIL ORDER DIVISION
SHOWROOM AND TRAINING ASSISTANCE
#COMPUTER ART
COLUMBIA-THE PC COMPATIBLE
#_FOREIGN_SERVICE_EXPERTISE
291 VAN DORN PLAZA ALEX.VA 22304
703 370 5000 TELEX 904059(TIE WEST)

SOFTGRAF USA

LETTERS

Facts & Figures

To buttress his argument for a program spearheaded by the State Department and the president to teach the U.S. public the facts of international life, retired Consul General Adolf B. Horn paints Presidents Wilson and Roosevelt almost as isolationists who in their times "were assuring the country that there was no need for us to become involved in Europe's problems" [LETTERS, December].

Who but Wilson, in a series of decisions involving much personal torment, brought America into Europe's war and dispatched Pershing to France, then battled to his grave for America's membership in the League of Nations, and left as a legacy the concept of the self-determination of European peoples? Who but Roosevelt first recognized the Soviet government, sent envoys to Moscow and the Vatican as well, swapped destroyers for islands, launched lend-lease, and generally left an impact on Europe perhaps equaled only by that left by the underrated Harry Truman? To imply that Wilson and Roosevelt wanted to divorce themselves and their country from Europe and its problems is to do them and history a disservice.

As for Mr. Horn's theme—the need "to relate factual information in an intelligent and convincing manner in simple terms to our people"—I doubt that he has chosen the proper teachers when he suggests that the job be done by the department and the president. The American people deserve information that has not been filtered through political and ideological screens. The public's need is for hard facts stripped of partisan interpretations.

No government and no government agency in the world can provide qualifications as teachers without bias.

RICHARD PATRICK WILSON
FS10, retired
Mobile, Alabama

Not Amused

I would like to correct a few errors in the book review on *The Muses Flee Hitler* that appeared in the October edition. First of all, my name was misspelled. Second, the reviewer misrepresented the refugee situation in Switzerland described in one of the book's essays when he stated that the records of Canada and Switzerland were "far worse" than that of the United States. In fact, essayist Helmut Pfanner argued that while its record was not without blemish, "in the overall picture of refugee migration Switzerland can stand the test of comparison with other countries."

JARRELL C. JACKMAN
Santa Barbara, California

Author Charles R. Foster responds:

My evaluation of the Swiss record on accepting refugees from Nazi Germany is not an error but a judgment on which I differ with Helmut Pfanner, supported by the 1969 study of Swiss historian Alfred Hasler, *The Lifeboat is Full: Switzerland and the Refugees 1933–1945*.

The United States, in contrast to Switzerland, did not discriminate among and against exiled intellectuals, nor did we permit the Gestapo to harass them, as in the notorious case of German Socialist leader Berthold Jacob in 1935. I do, however, apologize for inadvertently omitting the second "l" in Mr. Jackman's given name.

Author's Query

I am a retired Foreign Service officer in need of assistance from other members of AFSA. I am planning to write a Ph.D. dissertation on the influence of U.S.-based multinational corporations on U.S. foreign policy toward Latin America from 1960–80. Specifically, I plan to examine in detail a number of cases of actual or threatened nationalization of multinational corporations' property to try to determine what kind and how much assistance was requested of the U.S. government, and the nature of the response in foreign policy terms.

I would especially like to talk to individuals, in particular people now retired, who were directly involved with such cases in the field or in Washington. Any suggestions regarding people I should talk to or unpublished papers bearing on the subject would be greatly appreciated.

JOHN EDGAR WILLIAMS
PO Drawer 1
Carrboro, North Carolina 27510

The Foreign Service Journal *welcomes letters to the editor. All letters must include the name and address of the writer. In appropriate situations, however, the Editorial Board will consider withholding the name. The* Journal *reserves the right to edit letters for space and clarity.*

The Mark of Distinction.

For those who appreciate the difference between a luxury car and a premium automobile, we proudly offer the new Lincoln Continental Mark VII.

Take in the distinctive, worldly lines. The assured air. The understated elegance that is unmistakably Mark VII. This is first-class travel.

Advanced aerodynamics smoothly directs the flow of air over Mark VII, giving you a car that moves sleekly, quietly. And electronically controlled air suspension automatically levels the car for consistent riding comfort and precise driver control. In Mark VII, you are literally riding on air.

The new Continental Mark VII. The definition of a premium automobile.

Remember that Ford's Special Diplomatic discount applies to any Ford Motor Company car or light truck. Just send in this coupon for more details.

Get it together — Buckle up.

Have you driven a Ford... lately?

FORD EXPORT DIVISION

Please send me full information on using my diplomatic discount to purchase a new________.

WRITE TO: DIPLOMATIC SALES, FORD MOTOR COMPANY
815 Connecticut Avenue, N.W. Washington, D.C. 20006
Tel: (202) 785-6047.

NAME________

ADDRESS________

CITY________ STATE________

COUNTRY________ ZIP________

ESPRIT De Corps

for weary wardrobes: our handmade, British Regimental Stripe ties. Pure silk, 3¼" wide.

Regular Length, $15 ea., 3/$42
Longer Length, $16.50 ea., 3/$46

Note Selection & Quantity Desired

- ☐ **Royal West Surreys** *(navy-olive-red)*
- ☐ **Royal Irish Regiment** *(red-navy-green)*
- ☐ **Royal Dublin Fusiliers** *(navy-red-green)*
- ☐ **15th Lancers** *(black-gold-rust)*
- ☐ **Glasgow Yeomaory** *(navy-red-gold)*
- ☐ **Shropshire Lt. Infantry** *(green-maroon-blue-gold)*
- ☐ **Royal Marioes** *(navy-maroon-green-gold)*
- ☐ **Royal Scots Grey** *(silver-navy-gold-red)*
- ☐ **Royal Air Force** *(maroon-navy-lt. blue)*
- ☐ **4th Gordons** *(black-green-blue-gold)*
- ☐ **Royal Army Medical Corps** *(maroon-navy-tan)*
- ☐ **Argyle & Sutherland** *(navy-green-red-gold)*
- ☐ **1st Dragoons** *(navy-maroon-gold)*
- ☐ **1st of London Middlesex** *(maroon-ecru-olive-black)*
- ☐ **Brigade of Guards** *(navy-maroon)*
- ☐ **Black Watch Regiment** *(dk. blue-red-olive)*
- ☐ **Intelligence Corps** *(bottle green-tan-red)*
- ☐ **3rd Highland Lt. Infantry** *(green-navy-red-silver)*

ORDER TOLL FREE
(800) 962-6602
In California
(408) 646-9055

J. BLADES & Co.
Post Office Box 503, Dept. R
CARMEL-BY-THE-SEA
California 93921

To Order By Mail:
☐ Check ☐ VISA ☐ MC ☐ AE
Card # ________ Exp. Date ________
Add $2.75 Postage/Ins. CA Res. 6% Tax
☐ **SEND FREE CATALOG OF HANDMADE NECKWEAR AND GIFTS.**
Name ________
Address ________
City/State/Zip ________

FREE SQUASH MEMBERSHIPS FOR AFSA MEMBERS

ASFA members can now play squash at the Capitol Hill Squash Club without paying any membership or initiation fee. By simply showing your AFSA membership card, you will pay only the court fees at Capitol Hill's most luxurious fitness facility. Located only a block from the Capitol South Metro stop, the Club also offers free use of changing rooms, showers, and saunas before and after playing squash. There is a $10 annual processing fee, some restrictions apply.

Capitol Hill Squash & Nautilus Club
214 D Street, S.E. • (202) 547-2255

BOOKS

Defining Diplomats

The Diplomats. *By Martin Mayer. Doubleday & Company, 1983. $17.95.*

In his new book *The Diplomats,* Martin Mayer presents a mass of varied detail on the profession of diplomacy and makes some perceptive observations concerning its practice. In his conclusions, however, he confuses the process of decision-making with the implementation of decisions and so loses an opportunity to make a greater contribution to the understanding of diplomacy. Like others who have written on the subject, he is unable to decide exactly what diplomacy is. He refers to negotiation and the operation of diplomatic missions abroad, but in the end he yields to the temptation that has lured other writers: he becomes concerned not with diplomats but with global strategists and policymakers.

The book discusses such subjects as the status and function of diplomats, the people who choose diplomacy as a career, systems for organizing diplomacy, and of course includes a final paragraph on purpose. The diplomacy of the United States receives the most attention, but he also reviews in some detail that of other states, including Egypt, the Ivory Coast, Cameroon, Israel, Austria, and Singapore. The variety of the examples provides a scope of observation that extends beyond that of the usual book on diplomacy.

For five years Mayer wandered through the corridors of the State Department, other government agencies, and the embassies and foreign offices of 19 other countries. He is obviously fascinated with details, as his description of entering the State Department reveals:

> At the State Department in Washington there is no wrought-iron vehicular gate through which the personage's limousine can be driven to avoid contact with the general public. Instead, the limousine containing the personage, accompanied by accessory vehicles and police cars, turns into the semicircular driveway before this immense, dull white-stone building, World War II recovery vintage and dead plain. Police briefly cordon off the area (including the street), obsequious myrmidons of the secre-

FOREIGN SERVICE PERSONNEL WORLDWIDE PERSONAL PROPERTY INSURANCE FLOATER

Call from anywhere in the United States toll free or write our Overseas Department for information about our low rates, our broad coverage, **our new option which provides replacement cost without depreciation,** and our ON THE SPOT claims service by representatives posted in every major city in the world.

underwritten by London insurers and exclusively administered by

HUNTINGTON T. BLOCK INSURANCE
2101 L Street, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20037
Telephone 202/223-0673
Toll free 800/424-8830
Telex 892596

AVAILABLE AGAIN . . . Tales of the Foreign Service

The paperback edition of "Tales of the Foreign Service" is now out and available from the American Foreign Service Association, 2101 E. Street, N.W., Washington, D.C. 20037

TALES OF THE FOREIGN SERVICE

Selections from the Jack K. McFall Contest

Only $4.95

American Foreign Service Association
2101 E Street, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20037

Please send me _____ copies of "Tales of the Foreign Service" at $4.95 each.
My check is enclosed.
Name ________________
Address ________________
City ________________ State ______ Zip ______

COLUMBIA PLAZA PHARMACY
516 23rd St., NW, Washington, D.C. 20037

Sensational SPECIAL-BY-MAIL SALE
Order any time and SAVE 20% on all prescriptions
Send No Money: Pay only after receipt of order

The only drug store your family will ever need
DEPEND ON US! Fast Service!
Telephone: 331-5800

ASSOCIATION OF AMERICAN FOREIGN SERVICE WOMEN
P.O. Box 8068, Washington, D.C. 20024

- NEWSLETTER
- FORUM
- Monthly Meetings
- Scholarships
- Community Service
- Holiday Ball for Teenagers
- Language and Writers' Groups
- BOOK FAIR (Book Room, Tel. 223-5796)
- Housing Assistance and Information
  Room 1248, Department of State, Tel. 632-3573

Foreign Service women, wives, or employees, active or retired, may join AAFSW. The annual dues are $15.00 which includes a subscription to the Newsletter. Send dues to Membership Chairman at address above.

OUR 50% DISCOUNT MAKES YOUR PER DIEM GO TWICE AS FAR.

If you're a government employee, the Sheraton Washington will give you a $100 room for $50 next time you're in Washington on business.* Just by showing us your Government Reservation Club membership card. (If you don't have one, fill out the attached coupon and we'll send you yours, right away.)

With a Metro subway stop right on our grounds, you'll be just minutes from the Pentagon, Federal Triangle and Capitol Hill. So, get yourself a card and get yourself a discount on luxury at the Sheraton Washington. The one hotel that doesn't treat you like Uncle Sam's poor relation.

Name ______

Title ______ Dept. ______

Address ______

City ______ State ______ Zip ______

Telephone: ( ) ______

Mail to: Tim Rector, Government Sales Manager, Sheraton Washington Hotel, 2660 Woodley Road, N.W., Washington, D.C. 20008

*Subject to availability. Single rate $50. Double rate $65. Reservation must be made in advance.

Sheraton Washington Hotel

SHERATON HOTELS, INNS & RESORTS WORLDWIDE

2660 WOODLEY ROAD AT CONNECTICUT AVENUE, N.W. WASHINGTON, D.C. 20008 (202) 328-2000

We have Foreign Service For the Foreign Service

Whether you're looking for just one car or an entire fleet, a purchase from H. B. Lantzsch links you to a dealer who has served the diplomatic community for 23 years. H. B. Lantzsch—Washington's largest and finest Volkswagen dealership—offers a Foreign Service courtesy discount and speedy worldwide delivery. When you're in Washington, stop in at our convenient Fairfax showroom, close to State Department and Foreign Service Institute offices, and contact our Diplomatic Sales Representative, or write us from your overseas post.

Bogdan Badrich, Diplomatic Sales, H. B. Lantzsch
Route 50, Fairfax, VA 22030 • (703) 273-6700

Performance Cars from the People Who Perform For You!

SPECIALIZING IN VOLKSWAGEN

Authorized VW Dealer VA Dealer #666

VOLVO • PORSCHE-AUDI MERCEDES-BENZ

tary of state perform welcoming ceremonies under the concrete canopy, and the party moves briskly through the glass doors in a glass wall, past the circular desk in the middle of the two-story-high reception room, past the guard who stands at the opening of the grille behind the desk, and off to the elevators that will carry them to the heroic figures of the seventh floor.

The routine visitor moves through the same space, but waits in line until the rather slow-moving receptionist inside the circular desk has verified his appointment, completed a blue paper form that must be handed to the guard, and drawn instructions on a map of the building—a most useful piece of paper, for the State Department is two city blocks long by one block wide, with a number of internal corridors with color-coded walls that do not give strangers (or even familiars) much hope of knowing where they are.

Mayer also delights in an occasional flippant quote to puncture the balloon of diplomatic prestige. In a chapter entitled "Life Among the Natives," he includes this paragraph:

> John Bright in the nineteenth century described the British Foreign Office as "the outdoor relief department of the aristocracy." Franklin Roosevelt agreed: "You can get to be a minister," he wrote to his secretary of state, "if (a) you are loyal to the Service, (b) you do nothing to offend people, (c) you are not intoxicated at public functions." Peter Ustinov once threw off the comment that "a diplomat is someone who is too ambitious and too lazy to be anything else."

Nevertheless, Mayer's book is essentially a serious one. He raises a number of perceptive questions about the conduct of our foreign policy and of our diplomacy. The questions are not new, but it is to the author's credit that he has looked behind the facades of the buildings and the lives of the practioners and recognized some of the basic dilemmas now facing diplomacy and foreign services. His comments, although perceptive in a narrow sense, suffer from a failure to look even further beyond to the nation and the political process that diplomats serve.

Mayer voices his concern that diplomats involve themselves in more aspects of the foreign scene than is necessary. He contrasts the broad scope of reporting and frequent demands for information that characterize the U.S. foreign policy apparatus today with that of a century ago and remarks, "now everything is important everywhere and always." He is correct that U.S. diplomats involve themselves in many aspects of the foreign scene, not only

because of our superpower status, but because of the wide demands our system makes for information—information for the bureaucracy, the Congress, and the public. Political leaders are reluctant ever to admit to gaps in their knowledge, and so they look abroad to the Foreign Service to save them from that fate.

Mayer also recognizes the isolation of a diplomat in a foreign setting: "The arranged common ground of diplomacy has been lifted higher and higher into space and the result is that most are shielded from developments within a country and frequently surprised at radical developments." Diplomats, he points out, are "necessarily more impressed with the concerns of their hosts than anyone can possibly be back home." He also takes a worthwhile swipe at the tendency toward parochialism. Mayer is essentially correct in these observations. He could, however, have put the issue in somewhat better perspective by noting the emotional atmospheres in which diplomats often serve, and the restrictions placed on them by foreign governments and even, at times, by their own. He could have said more about those who wanted, against the policy of their own government, to reach out to opposition elements.

Discussing the experience of the American FSO who returns to the State Department, he accurately describes the degree to which that officer is involved in discussions and, occasionally, confrontations with other departments of the government. "The most important diplomacy today occurs within governments rather than between them," he concludes. Diplomats "may be expert at horse trading with the foreigners," he observes, but they are not in tune with the bargaining that goes on inside their own government. As a result, "when difficult issues are to be negotiated abroad, people are sent from Washington to do the negotiating."

The problem of the American diplomat in Washington is real. The Foreign Service Institute is now doing more to prepare the foreign affairs professional for working in the Washington scene. But it is excessively simplistic to suggest that outsiders are sent abroad to negotiate for the United States simply because Foreign Service officers are unable to do so. Negotiators—including those who are former members of Congress or political supporters of powerful people—are often chosen for political reasons, not because of their negotiating skill. To suggest that the Foreign Service is not capable of producing successful negotiators is to do an injustice to a long line of professional diplomats who have demonstrated their skills around the world in

What do Ike, JFK & Nixon have in common?

They were moved by

FIDELITY STORAGE

From presidents to plenipotentiaries, Washingtonians choose Fidelity Storage, the company with more than 75 years of experience. Fidelity is one of the area's largest moving and storage companies, with six locations throughout the metro area—from the District to Virginia to Maryland. Fidelity's warehouses are the largest and most advanced containerized facilities inside or outside of the Beltway, with super-secure vault storage for your silver and other valuables. We are the only State Department contractor with both a quality control program and fulltime inspector to ensure the highest standards.

We have moved Patton, MacArthur and Doolittle. From generals to general service officers, join a moving crowd.

Inbound or Outbound, Storage or Air Freight, call Fidelity Storage
(703) 971-5300 • PO Box 10257, Alexandria, Va. 22310

Europe, the Mideast, Africa, Latin America, and Asia.

The question of FSOs as negotiators is one to which Mayer often returns. Wondering where the next generation of negotiators will come from, he quotes Sol Linowitz as saying, "What worries me sometimes is that I don't see the next generation of negotiators. Harriman is ninety, Bunker is in his upper eighties, Phil Habib has a heart condition, David Bruce is dead. Where is the next generation of negotiators, the ones who can look across the table and say 'This you must do' and it gets done because you're known to be honest and you are their friend? We need these people and I don't know where we are going to find them."

In a conclusion that has clear implications for the Foreign Service, Mayer writes "Bureaucratized diplomats are most useful, not in negotiation, but in formulating positions for the negotiators." He suggests that diplomatic negotiation can most effectively be carried on by lawyers and businessmen, with the Foreign Service officer providing "an understanding of the realities not only beneath the rhetoric but beneath the briefing." Mayer, however, should look beyond the diplomats, for the problem of effective negotiation is not only one of people. More should be said about the national attitude that distrusts diplomacy, about the current preference for quick reactions over protracted discussions. In a country where merely talking to an adversary is considered by some to be a sign of weakness, the creation of a new generation of negotiators will be difficult.

Mayer puts much of the responsibility for the current difficulties in diplomacy on the declining position of the State Department—a reflection perhaps of the fact that most of those with whom he spoke were associated either with foreign ministries or diplomatic services. The "Marshall-Acheson" system, he says, carried the "seeds of three destructive growths": the increased weight of the military in foreign policymaking, the creation of an intelligence organization, and the expanding requirements of the commercial and economic fields.

He emphasizes with some justification that new organizations were created because the State Department was unable to meet the requirements of an expanding American role in world affairs. He describes as inevitable the development of a separate intelligence organization: "The CIA would grow tired of depending upon the State Department for information and would sprout a network of its own agents who would provide information different from that arriving through State Department channels and probably more persuasive to the White House, where its minions would be permanently implanted." Similarly, in a world where foreign relations were increasingly affected by commercial and economic factors, the department lacked the depth of personnel and understanding in these matters. This led not only to taking the management of the Marshall Plan out of the State Department but in later years to the removal of the entire commercial service. Mayer also provides an entire chapter, very favorable in tone, on the important role of the agricultural service.

The State Department has lost the preeminent position it once enjoyed. The Marshall-Acheson system, as Mayer calls it, was not just a reflection of an attitude on the part of these two men, but of an expanded U.S. role that brought many new players and departments into the policy process. But to give the full picture, Mayer should also have discussed the way presidents run their policy apparatus; many of them prefer several channels rather than depending on one.

In the concluding chapter, Mayer suggests that much foreign policymaking could be done at a lower level and that

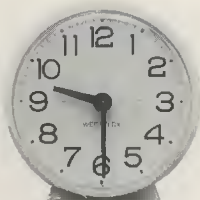
WE WON'T MAKE YOU WAIT, BUT WE WILL HELP YOU MAKE YOUR WEIGHT

Getting to the airport on time when you are going abroad to a new post doesn't depend on the mover getting you packed on time--it just seems that way. After 20 years and more than 20,000 moves we understand how important it is for us to be there when you expect us.

So we *will* be there and you won't have to wait. We'll get you packed right and on time. And while we are there we will bring along scales so that we can weigh your unaccompanied baggage and avoid your having to pay an excess weight penalty. No wait, no excess weight.

Select District Moving and Storage and neither one of us is going to be late.

We will show you what it is like to be an ambassador.



DISTRICT
MOVING & STORAGE, INC.
3850 Penn Belt Place
Forestville, Maryland 20747
301 • 420 • 3300

more questions could be answered with admissions of uncertainty or lack of knowledge. He writes that "presidential and congressional fingers" itch to interfere in matters which they do not understand. He suggests that congressional oversight could be accomplished "without incessantly summoning secretaries and undersecretaries or even assistant secretaries to appear with congressmen and senators before the television cameras, and without the present essentially punitive attitude toward people and programs that characterizes so much of what goes on in hearing rooms." The suggestion, however, that more policymaking could be done at a lower level and fewer questions need to be answered displays an inadequate comprehension of the political process involved in relations between the State Department and Congress. The secretary of state who seeks to delegate the vital responsibilities for legislative liaison will have greater and greater difficulty in getting administration policies accepted. Furthermore, Mayer is essentially calling for a basic revision of American political procedures and political attitudes.

Some other, less important, observations should be made about *The Diplomats*. Mayer as an author clearly has a point of view. He is critical of the United Nations and particularly of UNESCO. He can be slightly patronizing in referring to non-Americans. On the subject of the secretary of state's annual visit to the United Nations, he says, "The foreign ministers of the member states arrive with pomp and pageantry each September for the opening 'plenary' ostensibly to tell the Assembly what they said last year but really to socialize with their peers. (Half the top echelon of the State Department moves to New York for two weeks, marching behind the banner of the secretary, to make sure every visiting panjandrum is properly feted.)"

He quotes frequently those diplomats with whom he has spoken without putting their comments in greater perspective or context. One has the feeling that those who talked to him did not underrate their own task or their skill in its performance and that he accepted such ratings without qualification.

His choice of subject matter is obviously based on his random wanderings through the world of diplomacy. It is not necessarily based on an objective estimate of what is important. While, for example, there are a number of examples from Africa, Europe, and the Mideast, there is very little discussion of the special problems between the two superpowers, the United States and the Soviet Union.

The book contains the occasional errors that are perhaps natural to one who has moved quickly through a subject. He notes, for example, that the United Nations pays for countries to send a chief of mission to the General Assembly. If that were so, the U.N. budget would be far greater than it is. And, he refers to Julian Walker when he clearly means Julius Walker.

There is much in the book, however, that those of us who have been too busy being diplomats to study diplomacy can learn about the precursors of our profession. There is a good section on the history of the department and a fascinating introduction to a figure out of the its past—Alvey Adee—who reviewed all correspondence going in or out of the department for 55 years. He was clearly the precursor of the diligent women who were still reviewing all State Department correspondence for style when I first arrived in 1947.

The Diplomats is clearly different from the book I expected from the advance publicity. It does not deal with diplomats as individuals or with their skills but with process, minutiae, and organizations. It is a useful and frequently entertaining presentation of how a perceptive outsider views us.

—DAVID D. NEWSOM

More IRA
Less IRS

Save with an Individual Retirement Account at SDFCU. You'll benefit two ways: a tax break during your working years and a more comfortable retirement later.

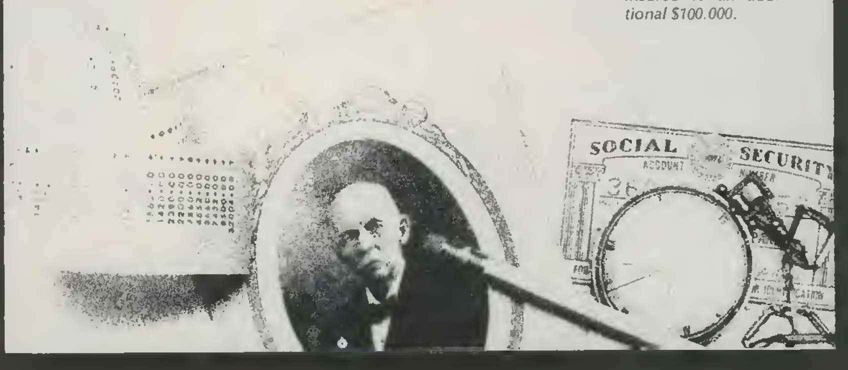
- Earn high market rate dividends
- No account fees at SDFCU
- IRA's are insured to an additional $100,000 by NCUA
- Working couples may shelter up to $4,000 each year in IRA's; $2,000 for singles
- Married couples with one wage-earner may shelter up to $2,250 annually
- Open an IRA as late as your tax filing date (April 15, 1984 for most people) to save on your 1983 taxes
- Save even more when you borrow from SDFCU to open your IRA—call for details

Contact us today for an enrollment kit

STATE DEPARTMENT FEDERAL CREDIT UNION

2020 N. Fourteenth Street
Caller #200
Arlington, Virginia 22210
703/558-8000; 800/336-4704

All member accounts insured to $100,000 by the National Credit Union Administration. All IRA accounts insured to an additional $100.000.



Reviews

The Alliance: *America, Europe, Japan—Makers of the Postwar World. By Richard J. Barnet. Simon & Schuster, 1983. $19.95.*

Richard Barnet has written a compelling, fast-paced account of the American relationship with Germany and Japan since the end of World War II. His theme, handled with exceptional narrative skill, has not been better or more vividly presented in any single book. It is the dramatic story of how the United States built these defeated wartime enemies into a powerful anti-Soviet coalition in which the United States played a hegemonic role and how that alliance, with the United States as its central power, has since descended into what Barnet sees as a twilight.

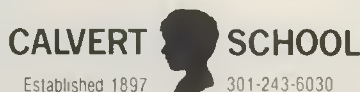
Barnet's judgments of men and events are incisive and often unorthodox. Even when it is difficult to agree with them, they stimulate a hard second look at traditional assessments. Barnet sees the negative aspects of the Soviet system clearly. Yet, like many modern historians, he regards the original raison d'etre of the alliance—the containment of an expansive and aggressive Soviet Union—with skepticism. Today, it is impossible to prove whether the Soviet Union would have actively sought to dominate a far weaker Western Europe or Japan if the United States had not organized this vast containment effort. The record, especially of the recurrent Soviet pressures on Berlin, suggests that even if these actions were originally merely defensive, their success would have created great temptations for Soviet leaders. But Barnet doubts that the Soviet Union had the capability to expand westward or was even motivated in that direction. He implies—and this is a major theme of the book—that the nearly exclusive objective of U.S. leaders in organizing the defense of Western Europe against Soviet military attack was a political one: to repress domestic communism and even democratic socialism in Western Europe in the interest of the free enterprise system. "The ideological tilt of Western Europe was a far more serious matter for the United States than the mythical Soviet invasion," he writes.

Certainly, when organizing the military strategy of containment and the huge structure of NATO armies, the U.S. leadership of the 1950s was concerned by the Soviet Union's capacity to project its ideological and political influence over Western Europe. And, U.S. foreign policy did project the dominant values of U.S. culture, as does the foreign policy of all governments. But Barnet's implication that these leaders were not also motivated by the real belief that there was a military threat from the Soviet Union goes too far. American concerns over Soviet capabilities in both military and ideological fields may well have rested on exaggerated evaluations, but they were genuinely held.

Barnet's elegiac theme of the emergence and decline of the *Pax Americana* and of American world hegemony suggests, probably too strongly, certain historical, even mythical parallels. The American predominance of the 1950s has passed from the world. Events well described in this book have contravened the cherished belief that the United States is immune to the errors and weaknesses of other human societies. Yet the alliance succeeded in its objective of reincorporating Germany and Japan into the international system. Even with the dangers that threaten us all, the alliance will probably survive in some form to the year 2000 and the United States is likely to remain the world's leading economic and military power. But this is a question of emphasis. Barnet's perceptive treatment of the alliance's early days and the rising frictions among the members

The school that comes to your child.

Complete home-study course for elementary-level students. Kindergarten through 8th grade. An American education anywhere in the world. Ideal for enrichment. Home is the classroom, you are the teacher with Calvert's approved instruction guide. Start anytime, transfer to other schools. Used by over 300,000 students. Non-profit. Write for catalog.



CALVERT SCHOOL
Established 1897 301-243-6030
Box F2-4, Tuscany Rd., Baltimore, MD 21210

Parent's Name ______
Address ______
City ______ State ______ Zip ______
Child's Age ______ Grade ______

Admits students of any race, color, national or ethnic origin

DATSUN Triumph VW VOLVO MG DATSUN FIAT BMW ALFA MG F MERCEDES MERCEDES

FREE! NEW CAR CATALOG
BUY DIRECT

The comprehensive NAI Master Catalog contains 32 pages, over 150 illustrations, DIPLOMATIC and FACTORY tax-free prices, equipment, options, colors, and all the details on how to order your car at these special savings

The Nemet Organization has been meeting the needs of Americans throughout the world since 1916 You will have your car, waiting where you want it, STATESIDE OR IN EUROPE—when you want it, all serviced and ready to go at special factory prices

Buy your new car from Nemet because we'll be here when you get home.

Please send me a FREE copy of your 32 page Master Catalog. FSJ-1281

I am interested in: Stateside Delivery / European Delivery

AUDI	MG	RENAULT
BMW	MERCEDES	TRIUMPH
DATSUN	PEUGEOT	VOLKSWAGEN
FIAT	PORSCHE	VOLVO
JAGUAR		

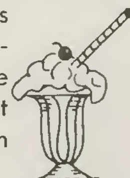
Name ______ Rank ______
Social Security No ______ Date of Birth __/__/__
Address ______
Date of Rotation ______
Delivery Place ______

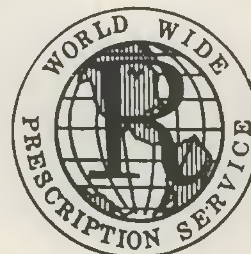
Nemet Auto International
World's Largest Distributor of Tax-Free Cars

153-03 Hillside Avenue, Jamaica, New York 11432
Telephone (212) 523-5858/ Cable NEMETAUTO
Toll Free 800-221-0177

SHOP IN AN AMERICAN DRUG STORE BY MAIL!

An ice cream soda is one of the few items we cannot mail. Drugs, cosmetics, sundries mailed to every country in the world. We maintain permanent family prescription records. SEND NO MONEY — pay only after satisfactory receipt of order.





Western Pharmacy, Inc.

t/a Morgan Pharmacy
3001 P Street, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20007

and his appeal for a new imaginative impulse provide a very useful basis for understanding future developments in the American relationship with Japan, Western Europe, and the Soviet Union.

—JONATHAN DEAN

Inevitable Revolutions: *The United States in Central America. By Walter LaFeber. Norton. 1983. 18.95.*

For those who believe that the current U.S. policy toward Central America is merely a petrified extension of the policies of the cold war, Walter LaFeber's latest book will be enlightening. One can only hope that 30 years from now, the Reagan administration's approach will not appear as shortsighted as does that of the Truman and Eisenhower administrations, at least as portrayed in *Inevitable Revolutions*.

The book covers most of the long, sad history of U.S. ties with Central America, but the most compelling section centers on the 1950s, when American attitudes were shaped almost exclusively by the belief that the United States must do all within its power to prevent what was viewed as the steady, worldwide advance of communism from reaching that region. By the standards of that era, President Reagan emerges as a dangerous radical—an advocate of democracy, reforms, and large-scale foreign assistance. As LaFeber points out, during the 1950s now-revered democratic leaders such as Jose Figueres of Costa Rica were viewed with mistrust, while strong leaders such as Nicaragua's Anastasio Somoza were preferred because of their ability to keep radical movements in check. Soviet affairs expert George Kennan, who now looks with distaste on the cold war excesses to which he contributed, summed up the prevailing sentiment of that era when he said in 1950: "It is better to have a strong regime in power than a liberal government if it is indulgent and relaxed and penetrated by communists."

LaFeber critizes the Central American policies of a number of administrations, but too often he neglects to suggest constructive alternatives. Furthermore, although this book is the product of prodigious research, it is diminished by too many dubious, misleading, or false statements. During the 1970s, LeFeber comments, Washington's "only consistent objective" was to arm and support the military forces of Nicaragua, El Salvador, and Guatemala. This, of course, ignores President Carter's attempts to disassociate the United States from all three countries starting in 1977. Also, it is misleading to suggest, as LaFeber does, that Carter sought to keep Somoza in power until 1981. In fact, Carter's goal from late 1978 until the July 1979 Sandinista takeover was somehow to ease Somoza from office peacefully. Still, this is a worthwhile book. It will prove useful to those who are curious about the roots of the dilemma in which the United States finds itself in Central America today.

—GEORGE GEDDA

Mr. Hawthorne Goes to England. *By James O'Donald Mays. New Forest Leaves. 1983. $24.*

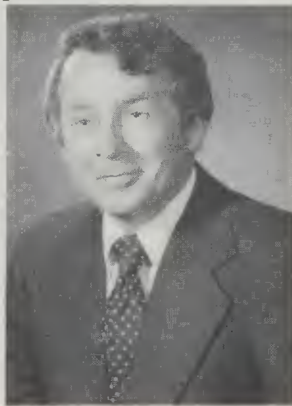
Although Nathaniel Hawthorne is better known as one of America's most famous authors, he served for four years as U.S. consul in Liverpool during the administration of President Franklin Pierce (1853–57) and properly deserves to be included among this country's early diplomats. James O'Donald Mays, a retired Foreign Service officer now living in Britain, has described this aspect of Hawthorne's life in a well-written and beautifully illustrated volume which is clearly a labor of love.

In 1821, Hawthorne, the son of an im-

Paul Wood cares about your peace of mind.

Paul Wood, your man in Washington, knows that Foreign Service personnel have special insurance needs when they are shipping goods overseas. As Manager of Security Storage's Insurance Division and an employee for 25 years, Paul specializes in making you feel secure with Security's Government Services Floater.

This world-wide policy insures all household goods and personal effects at any location in the world, except the United States. When you extend coverage for goods being shipped, you will receive a lower transit rate. You may also insure your automobile wherever it travels.



And, you can even store your left-behind treasures in Security's vault or keep your Oriental rugs safe in Security's temperature-controlled, moth-proof storage area.

Paul Wood and his staff value your peace of mind. These dedicated men and women personify the efficient, personal service that has made Security Storage *the experts* for over 70 years in all aspects of overseas moving, storage and insurance.

Security Storage offers **special low rates for Foreign Service personnel.** Call or write Paul Wood for further information.

Security Storage Company since 1890

Insurance Division • 1701 Florida Ave., N.W. • Washington, D.C. 20009 • 202/797-5625

poverished widow, became acquainted with Pierce on a stagecoach carrying the two young men to Bowdoin College, which Hawthorne had chosen to attend because his family could not afford the tuition at Harvard. Pierce, a hero in the Mexican War, was subsequently nominated as the Democratic presidential candidate and asked his friend Hawthorne to write a campaign biography which would increase his popular support. When Pierce entered the White House, Hawthorne successfully petitioned the new president to nominate him to the Liverpool post, which he sought as a means of bolstering his personal finances. In that period, U.S. consuls received their compensation from the fees charged for consular services, and Hawthorne calculated that he could save some $8000 annually after expenses.

Hawthorne experienced both the joys and frustations common in consular work and amassed a store of colorful anecdotes worthy of a veteran of the early consular service. Although Hawthorne's tour in Liverpool was generally a happy one, he failed to benefit financially as much as he had hoped because in 1855 the system for paying consuls was changed to put them on a regular and not overly generous salary. When he returned to the United States in 1860 after spending several rather unsuccessful years in Italy and Britain trying to resume his writing, Hawthorne's career was virtually over, and he died in 1864.

This is a well-documented volume, especially worthwhile for those interested in U.S. diplomatic history.

—Benson L. Grayson

Alliance Security: *NATO and the No-First-Use Question. Edited by John D. Steinbruner and Leon V. Segal. Brookings Institution. 1983. $28.95(cloth), $9.95(paper).*

John D. Steinbruner and Leon V. Segal have put together a useful collection of essays on the question of no-first-use of nuclear weapons. It includes contributions from German, British, and Norwegian experts, as well as American ones. Of special interest are the essays summarizing the history of NATO's conventional capability and German views of the no-first-use issue.

Steinbruner, in his introduction, comes quickly to the point: a mere declaration of no-first-use will be of limited consequence to an opponent. But the no-first-use idea can induce important structural changes in NATO. The conventional defense of Western Europe may be strengthened. Conventional and nuclear capability can be sharply separated and NATO's nuclear weapons can be deployed in much less vulnerable locations.

These are powerful arguments in favor of no-first-use. In the early 1960s, President Kennedy's secretary of defense, Robert McNamara, tried to move NATO away from its nuclear addiction, but the allies resisted and he had to be satisfied with the ambiguous doctrine of flexible response.

But as William W. Kaufman points out, "Whatever NATO's military guidance may say, it is highly improbable that the U.S. strategic forces would ever be ordered to launch a first strike against targets in the Soviet Union in response to a conventional invasion of Western Europe. Indeed this probability has been close to zero for at least 25 years....NATO may insist on continuing to have first-use as its policy, but the time has long since passed when it could count on being able to exercise that option."

Leon Segal's essay discusses French and British nuclear policies, including the British rationale for maintaining both a tactical and strategic nuclear capability. Segal puts the discussion of no-first-use in a wider context: "Detente reinforced by deterrence holds the best hope for survival against an implacable foe in a nuclear world."

This collection of essays is part of the continuing response to the article by Robert McNamara, George Kennan, Gerard Smith, and McGeorge Bundy in the spring 1982 issue of *Foreign Affairs* advocating no-first-use. It appears that NATO is not yet ready to discard flexible response and adopt a policy of no-first-use even though the use of nuclear weapons to defend the West would be catastrophic.

—David Linebaugh

THE FOREIGN SERVICE CLUB

For lunch
meetings
banquets
receptions
catering

Visit our New
LOUNGE AND BAR
Open: 9-5
Enter 21st. St.

2101 E. St., N.W.
Washington, DC 20037
(202) 338-5730
Barbara Hughes: Catering Manager

World Index of Strategic Minerals: *Production. Exploitation and Risk. By D. Hargreaves and B. Fromson. Facts on File, Inc., 1983. $95.*

Toward a Coherent U.S. Policy on Strategic Minerals. *By Robert A. Kilmarx. Center for Strategic and International Studies. Georgetown University, 1982.*

Hargreaves and Fromson have attempted the herculean task of applying quantitative methods to a political-risk assessment of 37 minerals in 34 countries; they also outline the mining activities of 63 international corporations and provide a bibliography for further reading.

The authors assess the risks associated

with production, transportation, application, and trade for widely used metals. Unfortunately, the assignment of the risk values is not always readily understandable; the authors give high risk ratings to gold and diamonds, despite the fact that in industry many substitutes for gold and synthetic diamonds are now more valuable than the real things. Although it is almost impossible to avoid subjective factors in country risk analysis, the 34-country risk assessment seems to have been thoughtfully prepared, taking into consideration such factors as labor, politics, location, mineral resource base, financial and economic conditions, and access to energy resources. Eyeballing the country ratings, there are few surprises. The authors do admit that some of the numbers may be misleading and the readet should take the time to research and assess the situation behind the numbers. Nevertheless, this is an excellent reference work.

The paper by Kilmarx, a 42-page monograph, discusses some of the principal problems in strategic materials dependence, with special focus on the importance of southern/central Africa and the Soviet Union. The author provides a useful thumbnail sketch of the difficulties to be overcome by the African countries themselves, such as inadequate infrastructure and political hurdles. He estimates that if key African suppliers were lost, the U.S.S.R. could not by itself meet world demand for critical minerals. He suggests that the United States spur domestic development of the most critical minerals and fill stockpiles to recommended levels. In addition, he argues for the General Services Administration to be given authority to buy and sell stockpile materials as needed and, with a revolving fund, take maximum advantage of market conditions.

—GILBERT J. DONAHUE

Split Vision: *The Portrayal of Arabs in the American Media. Edited by Edmund Ghareeb. American-Arab Affairs Council. 1983. $12.95(cloth). $6.95(paper).*

Israel in the Mind of America. *By Peter Grose. Alfred A. Knopf. 1983. $17.95.*

These two volumes might well be required reading for all those, including Foreign Service officers, who aspire to understand the policies, politics, and prejudices that in the 1980s govern U.S. relations with the nations of the Mideast.

Split Vision is the more significant book, for it deals with the current situation. It consists of interviews with, and articles by, a selection of knowledgeable people—

There's a New State in Washington

And, we're located right where you want to be . . . the State Department, George Washington University, the Kennedy Center and most government agencies. Our guests stay in spacious suites, with fully equipped kitchens, for less than the price of most rooms in Washington. Our rates for weekends, and longer stays, are equally attractive.

Should you require a meeting/conference/entertainment room, we have several to meet your needs, seating 10 to 75 associates. Catering is also available. For your dining pleasure we recommend our Cafe, featuring a wide range of appetite-pleasing entrees. Come by and visit our new state in Washington.

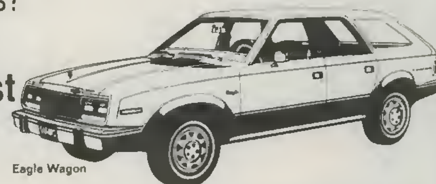
STATE · PLAZA

FORMERLY SHERRY TOWERS HOTEL

(202) 861-8200 2117 E St. NW, Washington DC 20037 (800) 424-2859

Coming home—Going overseas?

Buy from the Washington area's largest AMC Jeep • Renault Dealer



COURTESY

AMC • Jeep • Renault

4932 Bethesda Ave., Bethesda, Md. 20814
755 Rockville Pike, Rockville, Md. 20852

Choose from our complete line of 4-wheel drive Jeeps, AMC Eagles —plus the new Renault Encore and Alliance. Local or overseas delivery. Diplomatic corps discounts. Daily and weekly rentals available. Phone or write Dick Schmactenberg, (301) 656-0800

RONALD G. RUSSELL
ATTORNEY-AT-LAW
Formerly AID Foreign Service

The General Practice of Law Including:
- Wills and Estate Planning
- Employment and Grievances
- Taxes and Investments

Please Call or Write for Further Information:

Suite 1000
1250 Eye Street NW
Washington, DC 20005
(202) 898-0222

AUTHORIZED EXPORTER

GENERAL ELECTRIC

-U.S.A.-

GENERAL ELECTRONICS INC.

REFRIGERATORS • FREEZERS
RANGES • MICROWAVE OVENS
AIR CONDITIONERS • DRYERS
WASHERS • SMALL APPLIANCES
AUDIO EQUIPMENT • TELEVISION
DISHWASHERS • TRANSFORMERS

Available for All Electric Currents/Cycles

Immediate Shipping/Mailing From our Local Warehouse

We Can Also Furnish Replacement Parts for Most Manufactures

SHOWROOM
General Electronics, Inc.
4513 Wisconsin Avenue, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20016
Tel. (202) 362-8300
TWX 710-822-9450
GENELECINC WSH

SEND THIS COUPON FOR FREE CATALOG

NAME:

ADDRESS:

ZIP

Our Catalog Is Sent to Administrative Officers, Embassies, and Consulates Throughout the World.

Richard Valeriani, Georgie Anne Geyer, Peter Jennings, Anthony Lewis, Jim Hoagland, Hodding Carter, Trudy Rubin, James Abourezk, and 22 others. Ghareeb, an American scholar and journalist of Lebanese background, acts and writes as moderator. Within all the detail, the book suggests that, after decades of malperformance, the U.S. media are finally beginning to try for fairness and evenhandedness in their treatment of Arabic speaking peoples. As a consequence, significant numbers of Americans have begun to understand that simplistic Zionist propaganda has been misleading and that the Israelis do not necessarily wear all the white hats in the Mideast. The image of Israel as underdog in a sea of hostile Arabs has begun to give way, claims the book, to a picture of Israel as regional bully.

Split Vision's contributors acknowledge that there is far to go if Arabs are to catch up in the battle for American public opinion. Too much of the media continues to refer to Arab freedom fighters as "terrorists" and to accept controversial Israeli terms such as Judea and Samaria for the West Bank. Oddly, it is editorial writers who most often offend in this regard, and it is editorial cartoonists who strike the rawest nerves of all among Americans of Arab descent and Arabs in their own countries. Cartoonists who wouldn't dare personify Israel as a hook-nosed Shylock routinely depict Arabs as a bearded, berobed, evil-looking character leading a camel, or carrying a gun, or dripping oil dollars from his pockets. As Georgie Anne Geyer writes, there are actually as many college graduates among the Palestinian Arabs as among Israelis.

Peter Grose was raised a Baptist in Middle America, attended Yale and Oxford, served as *New York Times* correspondent in Israel, Moscow, and at the United Nations, worked on the State Department's Policy Planning Staff under Secretary Vance, and is now a senior fellow and director of Mideastern studies at the Council on Foreign Relations. His book, which draws on much newly available material, is primarily a history of the Zionist movement in America, and a long and stormy history it is.

Many modern Zionists will be surprised to learn that early in the 19th century there was talk in this country of a Jewish home in Palestine. The bulk of the story, of course, lies in the years beginning with World War I, when Zionists were a distinct minority among American Jews, and continues through World War II and the Holocaust to the dramatic events of 1947–48 and to the present. Colorful individuals dominate the narrative—Ben Gurion, Weizmann, Golda Meir, Abba Hillel Silver, Brandeis, Baruch, Stephen Wise, Eleanor Roosevelt, Harry Truman, and many others. State Department people, both mid and high level, figure throughout, and their performance, in retrospect, leaves a lot to be desired. This is a thoroughly researched book by a real professional, and also—like *Split Vision*—is a very good read.

Grose, incidentally, includes the blueprint for the tremendously successful Israeli lobbyist and Zionist propaganda operations in the United States. There might be useful information here for the Arab side. —FITZHUGH TURNER

Common Sense in U.S.-Soviet Trade. *Edited by Margaret Chapman and Carl Marcy. American Committee on East-West Accord. 1983. $5.*

Although this is a rather predictable set of essays, some of the authors do make a positive contribution to the debate on economic relations between East and West. The book presents a fairly uniform viewpoint, one opposed to tightening restraints on trade with the Soviet Union, although most of the contributors acknowledge the need for controls on items with an obvious military use. Yet, despite the authors' repeated denunciations of the grain and pipeline embargoes, such imbroglios will recur unless there is a better understanding of the goals and intricacies of East-West trade and more recognition by business and government of each other's interests.

Fortunately, a few of the contributors do make efforts to encourage such understanding. Stanley J. Marcuss and Eric L. Richard, in a perceptive article urge the establishment of permanent working groups that would facilitate communication between business and government and provide a forum for evaluating particular projects and assessing the risks for both national and business interests. William C. Norris, chairman of Control Data Corporation, claims that without a comprehensive national technology policy we have no way of judging the effects of technology trade. Marshall Goldman considers the impact of trade on the Soviet economy and balances whatever modest gains there may be (and he is not confident of the Soviet ability to integrate imported technology into their general economy) with the advantages of having the Soviet Union more involved in the global economy. However, this volume does not address some of the larger issues, even though they are inherent in some of the suggestions. For example, Michael Forrestal and James

H. Griffen conclude that even if government and business arrived at an accommodation, East-West trade would not flourish until information could be more readily exchanged and negotiations more rapidly concluded. Yet this would require some fundamental, and unlikely, changes in the Soviet system.

This slim book is worthwhile if only because it so clearly puts forward one side of a particular debate. At times it risks doing no more than that. But, although there are no definitive answers, a few of the essays do offer some stimulating suggestions for what has become a rather static and unconstructive discussion.

—FRANCES G. BURWELL

In Brief

Israeli Nuclear Deterrence. *By Shai Feldman. Columbia University Press, 1982. $25(cloth), $9.95(paper).* The author, a research associate at the Center for Strategic Studies at Tel Aviv University, argues that Israel could improve its defense capabilities by withdrawing to the pre-1967 frontiers and then shifting to a strategy based on nuclear deterrence to ward off Arab attacks. Heavily laced with material based upon works by U.S. military experts, the book is probably of greater interest to nuclear strategists than to readers primarily interested in Mideast developments.

—BENSON L. GRAYSON

Viennese Vignettes: *Personal Recollections. By Edmund Schechter. Vantage Press, 1983. $10.* Viennese *Liebhaber* will appreciate these personalized recollections of a Jewish Viennese immigrant who spent thirty years in the Foreign Service. This *Kaiserschmarrn* of autobiographical stories by an urbane mid-level FSO is a nostalgic journey back to the Vienna of Freud and Herzl. Everything considered, life in Vienna and the Foreign Service was not so bad.

—CHARLES R. FOSTER

The Egypt of Nasser and Sadat: *The Political Economy of Two Regimes. By John Waterbury. Princeton University Press, 1983. $45(cloth), $12.50(paper).* In this ambitious book, Waterbury surveys efforts over three decades to remake Egypt's economic character, underscoring the Egyptian leadership's continual preoccupation with its own political survival. Poking holes in the theories of several contemporary development experts, Waterbury argues convincingly that the course of Egyptian domestic policy in the Nasser and Sadat eras was shaped less by indigenous class forces or external pressures from the advanced industrial states than by political judgments made by Nasser and Sadat. What has been most remarkable about Egypt's relationship with its superpower benefactors, Waterbury points out, is the general absence of effective U.S. or Soviet pressure. Densely packed with facts, figures, and scholarly references, *The Egypt of Nasser and Sadat* is meant for an audience of serious students of Egypt and developing societies. For that audience, it is—to use a term whose currency has been sadly inflated through overuse—a truly indispensable work.

—WILLIAM BURNS

From the Think Tanks

The Federal Loyalty-Security Program: *The Need for Reform. By Guenter Lewy. Studies in Political and Social Processes, American Enterprise Institute, 1983. 90pp. $4.95.* Lewy argues that the current federal loyalty-security program, instituted in 1953, is seriously inadequate. However, some reforms could be made without jeopardizing important individual liberties. These reforms should include allowing the FBI to collect data on political groups that reject the basic legitimacy of our political institutions and tightening loyalty criteria—including forbidding membership in certain organizations—for those who occupy sensitive positions.

International Debt and the Stability of the World Economy. *By William R. Cline. Policy Analyses in International Economics #4. Institute for International Economics, 1983. 134pp. $6.* The problem of international debt should prove manageable, Cline argues, as long as there is reasonable recovery in the global economy. The debt crisis is due, not to reckless lending by banks, but to a series of shocks to the international economy. Cline cautions against some of the radical policy proposals in vogue and emphasizes the importance of implementing country adjustment policies, maintaining cooperative creditor-debtor relations, and increasing IMF quota levels.

Looking Forward, Looking Back: *A Decade of World Politics. Edited by Walter Laqueur. The Washington Papers #100. Center for Strategic and International Studies, Georgetown University, 1983. 153pp. $6.95.* This volume marks the tenth anniversary of the CSIS *Washington Papers* by running some thirty excerpts with brief updates by the authors. The subjects are wide-ranging and many of the authors well-known. In a brief introduction, Laqueur notes the importance and riskiness of political predictions, but expresses general satisfaction with this effort.

BUY
SELL
INVEST

Ed Joyce
Retired FSIO

LICENSED IN D.C.
and VIRGINIA

6257 Old Dominion Dr.
McLean, Va. 22101
Off: 821-8300
Res: 821-2109

LAND-ROVER PARTS SPECIALISTS

- Complete Inventory
- Accessories
- Catalogue Available
- Range Rover Spares
- Worlds Fastest Parts Service
- Individual, Dealer LR Gov't and Fleet Sales

Atlantic British Export, Ltd, Inc
3705 Century Blvd. Lakeland, FL USA 33803
Telex: 807281 Phone: (813) 646-3612

DIPLOMATIC CAR SALES
AND LEASING
ALL MODELS
OUR 20TH YEAR IN WASHINGTON
CAVALIER VW
ONLY 10 MINUTES FROM KEY BRIDGE
4045 LEE HWY.
ARLINGTON VA 22207 703/525-1900

This Publication is available in Microform.

University Microfilms International

Please send additional information for ____

Name ____

Institution ____

Street ____

City ____

State ____ Zip ____

300 North Zeeb Road
Dept. P.R.
Ann Arbor, Mi. 48106

STATE · PLAZA

FORMERLY SHERRY TOWERS HOTEL

now offers Special Rates for AFSA Members

2117 E St., NW, Washington DC 20037
(202) 861-8200 (800) 424-2859

DIPLOMATIC CAR SALES AND LEASING ALL MODELS

OUR 20TH YEAR IN WASHINGTON

CAVALIER VW

ONLY 10 MINUTES FROM KEY BRIDGE

4045 LEE HWY.
ARLINGTON VA 22207 703/525-1900

CLIPPINGS

"As campaigner and president, Mr. Reagan told us that the United States could make things go its way in the world if only it built up its military strength and was more resolute. But we see in Lebanon that military power applied without political wisdom or the hard work of diplomacy does not make effective policy. It is just posturing, and it is dangerous....

"What now? If the United States is not just going to walk away from its involvement in Lebanon—and a very big if that is—it will have to get beyond postures and displays of force. It will have to get into the dogged, unpleasant, frustrating work of diplomacy."

Anthony Lewis in the New York Times
December 8

"Secretary of State Shultz fully intends to carry out his plans to leave the cabinet in January of 1985 to return to private business. Favored to succeed him is William Clark, longtime Reagan confidant recently promoted from national security adviser to secretary of the interior."

U.S. News & World Report
December 12

"Karl Dawell, energy specialist for the National Wildlife Federation [upon learning of the appointment of William Clark as secretary of the interior]: 'No. Come on. You're kidding. You're really kidding. (Long pause.) You're serious? No, it's gotta be a joke. Really? I don't believe anything I learn from the *Washington Post*.' "

Dale Russakoff in the Washington Post
October 17

"A week is a long time in Togo."

U.N. Ambassador Jeane Kirkpatrick
in the Washington Post

"[New Undersecretary of State for Management Ronald I.] Spiers said the [new management] group's main objective is to remedy the 'starved' and 'anorexic' condition of the central function of the Foreign Service, political reporting, analysis, and negotiating.

"In 1969, when U.S. responsibilities in the world were less heavy and complex than today, the department had 628 political officers abroad. Now the number has declined to 488, according to department records."

Don Oberdorfer in the Washington Post
December 23

" 'I also want to say to the gentlemen of the American Embassy that with the attitude that they have taken, denigrating officers of our beloved armed forces, they also are putting in danger their families, because the Farabundo Marti does exist in our country. Yes, they kidnap. Yes, they assassinate,' [El Salvador conservative leader Roberto D'Aubuison] said at an opening rally of his Nationalist Republican Alliance."

Robert J. McCartney in the Washington Post
December 19

"Those AID personnel who made the supreme sacrifice in Beirut were federal employees. You too are federal employees... and you should be very proud of it."

Representative Frank Wolf in Front Lines
December

"The [U.S. ambassador to Norway Mark Evans] Austad story illustrates hazards and benefits of sending political appointees to serve U.S. interests in such pleasant places in Europe as Norway and Sweden. Particularly in these smaller nations, the American envoy tends to cut a high profile and can play a substantial part in shaping the U.S. image.

" 'An ambassador,' Austad says, 'is a symbol of the relationship.' By that measure, the Scandinavians complain, the United States often does not take them seriously.

"The administration's ambassador to Denmark, John J. Loeb Jr., a New York financier, was recalled last summer after local grumbles about what are described there as his social high jinks. The White House then named him a public member of the delegation to the U.N. General Assembly. His replacement is Terence Todman, a respected career Foreign Service officer who had been ambassador to Spain. 'We were very relieved,' said a Danish official."

Peter Osnos in the Washington Post
December 25

"In a transformation in basic outlook, the professionals at the State Department have sent a tough withdrawal recommendation [on UNESCO] to the president. The incredulous will ask: Since when does the Foreign Service establishment out-Reagan Reagan? What confluence of forces effected this sea-change?"

William Safire in the New York Times
December 23

"Dealing with the foreign policy establishment is almost literally maddening. When I served a brief time in the State Department, there were officers of our Foreign Service whom I would not only have polygraphed but gladly attached to the rack, if only to get them out of range of a telephone for a couple of days. Liberals tend to forget that when unelected bureaucrats refuse to take direction from elected officials, the permanent government is committing a serious offense against democracy.... Those who worry loudest about the polygraph would do well to remember that what keeps administrations reaching for new means to control the bureaucracy is that so many of the bureaucrats are currently uncontrollable."

Suzanne Garment in the Wall Street Journal
September 23

" 'Do you know why everybody wants to be an ambassador? It's because when an ambassador walks down the corridor of his embassy, *everybody* kisses his ass.' "

Philip Habib,
quoted in Martin Mayer's The Diplomats

"Richard Gardner, a former U.S. ambassador to Italy,...recalls a recent, disturbing meeting with 30 'exceptional' young men and women working with several leading New York City law firms that have a particular interest in international affairs. 'About half of them,' Gardner reports, 'said they would have chosen a Foreign Service career had they not been deterred by the low salary scale, the triviality of much of the work given to young officers, the excessive number of unqualified political appointments to ambassadorial positions, and the failure of the department to develop a fast-track promotion system and other rewards for exceptional talent. We won't be attacting enough of the "stars" in the new generation until something is done about these problems.' "

Drummond Ayres Jr.
in the New York Times Magazine,
September 11

"[General Services Administration head Gerry Carmen] will be leaving GSA to become U.S. ambassador to the U.N. European delegation in Geneva. We wonder how in the world he is qualified for his new post. The State Department's Foreign Service officers must wonder too, although such a curious appointment is nothing new in their world. It is customary for presidents to select political friends for embassy jobs overseas, even if they have no background or training in diplomacy and no apparent knowledge of foreign affairs."

Federal Times, January 2

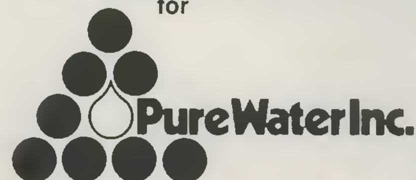
Water pollution.
It's enough to make you sick.

With all the pollutants that could be contaminating your tap water today, you just might be jeopardizing your health with every glass you drink. If that possibility concerns you, there's a home water purification system you should know about: the Pure Water distiller. Even if you don't believe there's a water pollution problem, maybe you should write us anyhow — just to be on the safe side.

☐ Please send me complete product information.
☐ Please send distributorship information.

NAME ____________
ADDRESS ____________
CITY ____________
STATE ____________
ZIP ____________
PHONE ____________

WRM DISTRIBUTORS
for



BILL McMENIMEN, P.O. BOX 116, N. READING, MASS. 01864 (617)664-3304
"Improving the quality of life through the quality of water."

Riverside Towers Hotel

Our Service Is No Secret!

Imagine! The convenience of your own suite with kitchen...within easy strolling distance of the State Dept., the Fed, GSA, OPM, Kennedy Center, and the metro! And all for just **$49-59** per day*. Discover why our good service is common knowledge at:

RIVERSIDE TOWERS HOTEL
2201 Virginia Ave., NW
Washington, DC 20037
Tel: 202-452-4600 or 800-424-2870
*tax not included. Government/military rate.

WASHINGTON, D.C. BOUND?

RENT-A-**USED** CAR from $12.95 per day

RENT-A-**NEW** CAR from $17.95 per day

FREE MILEAGE ALLOWANCE

Ideal When Shipping POV or on Home Leave

Call DRIVE-A-BARGAIN (703)683-6400
2850 Jefferson Davis Hwy., Arlington, VA 22202
For Fast Pick-up at Crystal City Metro

A SIGN THAT CAN POINT YOUR SON TO A BRIGHTER FUTURE

It sits high on a hill at the entrance of **Maur Hill Preparatory School** in Atchison, Kansas.

Maur Hill has everything an outstanding college preparatory school must have — modern buildings and residence halls, complete athletic facilities, a highly qualified faculty, latest instructional methods and more . . . . a whole lot more:

- curriculum geared to individual ability
- a wide range of interscholastic and intramural sports
- emphasis not only on learning how to learn, but on how to live successful, meaningful lives
- attention to growing mentally, spiritually, socially, and physically
- a special program for foreign students wishing to learn or improve in English

Maur Hill can give your son the preparation he needs to meet the challenges ahead of him.

For further information, write:
Academic Dean
Maur Hill Prep
10th & Green Streets
Atchison, Kansas 66002
(913) 367-5482

10-25-50

Foreign Service Journal, February 1974: "On August 22, 1973, President Nixon announced the resignation of William P. Rogers as secretary of state and the choice of Henry A. Kissinger to replace him. Kissinger was to continue to hold the position of assistant to the president for National Security Affairs. The 'purpose' of this new arrangement, said the president, was 'to have a closer coordination' between the White House and the State Department and 'to get the work out in the departments where it belongs.'...

"We are not privy, of course, to his deepest intentions in making the new appointment, but there is no reason to believe it was done primarily on organizational grounds. Despite periodic public adherence to the virtues of strong cabinet officers, the president's actual conduct of his office has consistently underscored his preference for dealing with and through a handful of White House–based advisers. His apparent satisfaction with the NSC system has been reflected in recurrent efforts to restructure the domestic government along parallel lines....

"It is more reasonable to conclude—unless and until events prove otherwise—that he intends little change in the way he and Kissinger handle foreign policy, and that he has made the move for a range of other reasons—a desire to reward Kissinger and to eliminate the periodic embarrassment caused by having his secretary of state on the periphery of actual policy-making; the difficulty of getting another good man to take the secretary job as long as Kissinger remains in the White House; and above all the desire to demonstrate renewed administration vitality in the year of Watergate." —I.M. DESTLER

Foreign Service Journal, February 1959: "We must accept the fact that the root purpose of the Foreign Service is to advance the national interest of the United States and that the only possible justification for any given administrative procedure is that it makes this purpose easier to achieve. We should examine each procedure with this yardstick. If we do, I think we will discover that many of our present administrative functions are not only unnecessary but positively harmful....

"The manner in which allowances are paid is not only expensive and inefficient but downright insulting to the individual. I refer to the elaborate system of accounting, checking, and vouchering for rental, temporary lodging, and representation allowances. Allowances should be scheduled according to position and area, and then paid to the person concerned with the assurance that a person worthy of representing the United States is worthy of being allowed to dispose of the money involved for the purposes for which it was intended." —JOHN E. CUNNINGHAM

"This year the JOURNAL rounds out 35 years of publication and, as with individuals at the New Year, would like to take time for a moment of self-assessment....In spite of numerous changes in the magazine and in the Service itself...the aims of the JOURNAL remain much the same: to be *the* professional publication of those who represent the United States abroad; to reflect their aspirations, their interests, their proper discontent.

"[The JOURNAL plans] to print in its pages material which its unique readership will not find elsewhere. More importantly, it seeks to provide a forum for constructive criticism toward the improvement of the Service....We trust that our readers will not hesitate to call us to account when occasion demands, and will be as generous with criticism as they have been with praise." —JOURNAL EDITORIAL

Foreign Service Journal, February 1934: "On Sunday, January 21, Secretary Hull returned from Montevideo, looking much refreshed by the rest obtained during the return journey."

—NEWS FROM THE DEPARTMENT

"The past ten months have been perhaps the most trying period through which the Foreign Service has ever passed and I want every member of the Service to realize that their difficulties are understood by the president and by the secretary of state.... Before the special session of Congress adjourned at the beginning of the summer, the president, foreseeing the hardships to government employees abroad that would likely result from the decline of the dollar, sought an appropriation with which to insure employees against loss from the decline in the exchange value of their salaries and allowances. Failing that, he employed such authority as he possessed and ordered the shipment of gold abroad with which to convert salary checks and drafts at mint par in every country in which that method could be held to be lawful...."

—WILBUR J. CARR

Presidential assistants Henry Kissinger and Dwight Chapin dine with the diplomat-premier Zhou en-Lai in 1971 to prepare for Nixon's opening to China. Zhou headed Chinese foreign relations from 1938 till his death in 1976.

Other Foreign Services

Professionalism Is on the Rise in China's Diplomatic Service

EDWARD MARKS

Diplomats are occasionally subject to pressures and developments that cause them to behave in a manner which might seem unusual. We in the U.S. Foreign Service should not forget this when dealing with our professional colleagues from other countries. Nixon's opening to China, Carter's normalizing relations, and Reagan's seeking of Chinese business and strategic partnerships may have made diplomacy with Beijing seem like an ordinary occurrence, but who can forget the encounters with its officials during the 1960s: the spurned handshakes, the silent looks, the sudden chill in a neutral social setting? There were some truly astonishing episodes in the public behavior of Chinese diplomats during that period, for instance the street brawl between the staff of the Chinese embassy in London and a group of bemused bobbies.

Members of the international community who remember those days have a tendency to stick with the impression that diplomats from Beijing possess few of the skills and attributes of professionals from other countries. The Chinese diplomats were attempting to survive a difficult domestic situation, however, and many did so with honor. Their behavior during the Cultural Revolution was only a phase in the development of the relatively young Chinese diplomatic service and should be seen in that perspective.

The first traces of a communist Chinese foreign service trace back to the Canton Commune of 1927, which had a foreign affairs section. The commune was immediately crushed, and the next effort to create a communist ministry of foreign affairs took place in 1931 during the Kwangsi period, when the People's Commissariat for Foreign Affairs was begun. The commissariat lay moribund until the end of the Long March in 1935. A foreign affairs apparatus of the party began to re-emerge late in the decade, during the Yenan period, centering around Zhou en-Lai, who first led a small liaison group to Hankow in 1938, and then took it to Xhung-King when Hankow fell to the Japanese. The Zhou mission began as an inter-party liaison to the Kuomintang, but during the following war it grew in size, scope, and diplomatic character, establishing regular contact and negotiation with General George C. Marshall's mission in 1946.

Following the collapse of Marshall's organized truce early the next year, most of the Communist members of the truce teams returned to battlefield activity. But, after the accession of the Communist regime in 1949, a large number were assigned to the new Ministry of Foreign Affairs. Others took up assignments which had diplomatic aspects, such as Soviet-sponsored front groups active in the cold war, like the World Federation of Trade Unions.

Edward Marks is deputy director of the Office for Combatting Terrorism in the State Department. He has also served as ambassador to Guinea-Bissau and Cape Verde.

This is the second article in an occasional series on various aspects of other foreign services. Readers are invited to submit manuscripts of 1500–4000 words for consideration.

Premier Zhou addresses the first Asian-African Conference in 1955. Under Zhou's leadership, career diplomats had an increasing role in implementing the policies of the Communist government.

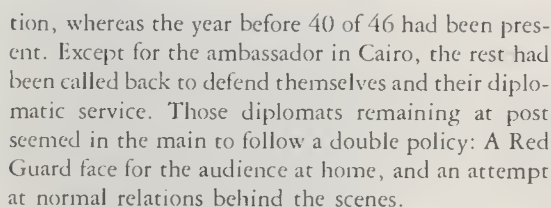
THE CHINESE DIPLOMATS following the establishment of the People's Republic were, therefore, not neophytes. Many had had extensive experience, similar to that of the first diplomats of the newly formed United States in 1781. Men like Benjamin Franklin had spent years exercising official and semi-official responsibilities representing their colonial governments in London, among the various colonies, and in dealings with the monarchy of France. Franklin's rustic style in Paris in some ways was a model for the simple peasant pose of the early post-revolutionary diplomats from Beijing.

After the Chinese revolution, the diplomatic apparatus of the People's Republic evolved into a network of agencies and organizations, divided into three broad categories: agencies of the Communist party, such as the Central Committee itself and the Department of External Liaison Affairs; government agencies, such as the ministries of Foreign Affairs, Foreign Trade, External Economic Liaison, and Defense, as well as the State Council and the New China News Agency; and people's organizations, such as bilateral friendship societies, the Institute for Foreign Affairs, and sports and cultural organizations. The distinctions between these three categories was, and is, largely a paper one.

The Ministry of Foreign Affairs itself was established shortly after the formation of the republic and, with few exceptions, the senior personnel were drawn from Zhou's coterie. Like most foreign ministries, it is organized on two principles, geographic and functional. It is headed by a minister who, under the 1975 constitution, is appointed by the National People's Congress on the nomination of the Central Committee of the party. This creates a direct, formal constitutional link between the government and the party. From 1949–66 there were frequent organizational changes in the ministry, largely reflecting a growth in the workload as the republic expanded its activities in external relations.

Prior to the Cultural Revolution, at least nine senior officials of the ministry were members or alternates of the Eighth Central Committee of the party. If we include Premier Zhou, who was actively engaged in foreign affairs, the ministry leadership was high in the national power structure. Under Zhou's guidance, the ministry became an influential organ in the government.

During the Cultural Revolution, the ministry was forced to defend itself against the "unleashed frenzy of young radicals," in Melvin Gurtov's phrase. The effect was not unlike that the charges of Senator Joseph McCarthy had on the State Department. Before a semblance of order was restored two years later, its operations had been seriously disrupted, the foreign minister himself subjected to abuse and public humiliation, and as a result China's image abroad was badly tarnished. In 1967, only one Chinese ambassador was at post to host a local national day celebra-



tion, whereas the year before 40 of 46 had been present. Except for the ambassador in Cairo, the rest had been called back to defend themselves and their diplomatic service. Those diplomats remaining at post seemed in the main to follow a double policy: A Red Guard face for the audience at home, and an attempt at normal relations behind the scenes.

Following the Cultural Revolution, the situation was immediately reversed. In the reorganization of the ministry in 1972, six of seven vice ministers appointed were experienced diplomats. Most of the senior diplomats who survived the Cultural Revolution, according to George P. Jan, had a pre-1949 military background; most were close to Zhou; most of the directors and deputy directors were senior party cadres with extensive foreign affairs experience as career diplomats; and none of the vice ministers, at least, was a member of the Central Committee. Of the purged officials, on the other hand, most had extensive Soviet training or contacts, a background in military intelligence under the purged People's Liberation Army chief of staff, political problems while on overseas assignments, and little pre-1949 experience with the army.

A further major shift in personnel occurred after the death of Mao Zedung. Following the ouster of Foreign Minister Ch'iao Kuan-Huan, who had supported the Gang of Four, there was an overall promotion for seasoned diplomats, continuing the trend that had started after the Cultural Revolution. Under the guidance of Zhou, the ministry was reorganized and staffed with experienced foreign affairs professionals, while the party influence of senior ministry officials was reduced.

SINCE 1949, China has used a three-tiered approach in its foreign affairs operations. It conducts relations from state to state, from people to people, and from comrade to comrade. In its revolutionary periods, Beijing had relied most on the latter two methods, which explains the importance of external liaison organizations outside the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. There has always been a policy of direct contact and, sometimes, one of friendly visits and relations with revolutionary and opposition parties and movements, but this has been changing as the country becomes more involved in international affairs. Particularly since the Cultural Revolution, the multi-tiered approach has become unwieldy. In the words of Robert A. Scalapin in *Problems of Communism*, "Operating simultaneously on three levels has inevitably involved the Chinese in contradictions difficult to resolve."

China has thus moved toward a greater concentration on regular state-to-state relations, which has contributed to the enhanced role of its career service. In the last few years, the ministry has apparently been fully in the control of professional diplomats. This has culminated a trend of what Freeland Henry Carde III, in a Naval Postgraduate School thesis, termed the "rather unique cohesiveness" of the Foreign Ministry. During the Cultural Revolution, senior members of the service issued a manifesto defending Foreign Minister Chen Yi against attacks by the Red Guards—a remarkable act of political courage. Even during the height of the revolution, many diplomats attempted to maintain normal relations while overseas, even though they may have had to act in a contradictory fashion at times by espousing Red Guard slogans.

Carde also notes that the differentiation between foreign policy making and implementation is marked in the Chinese foreign service, particularly since the Cultural Revolution. While they may have extensive professional experience, the new leaders of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs lack the party rank of their prerevolutionary counterparts. The ministry thus can be described as a hub connecting spokes that make up a wheel of foreign policy. The wheel helps move the wagon of government along but it does not guide the wagon. In this metaphor, the ministry coordinates the input of policies from the State Council and coordinates their execution overseas. The minstry thus would appear to be trying to seal itself off from the unpleasant internecine political battles its more senior officials well remember by staying out of policymaking itself. It seems to have been successful, since top leaders have preferred to use the ministry as a buffer between foreigners and decision makers. This of course does not mean that the ministry is without influence, particularly now that China is pursuing a policy of pragmatism in its foreign relations. In fact, the rise of professionals in its diplomatic service has paralleled its growing interest in the world beyond the China Sea. □

Angola
Zambia
Zimbabwe
Mozambique
Swaziland
Lesotho
Namibia
Botswana
South Africa

Focus on Southern Africa

THE REAGAN ADMINISTRATION has changed many elements in U.S. foreign policy, but few so sharply as our approach toward southern Africa. In the wake of Portuguese decolonization and the Rhodesian unilateral declaration of independence, and with the tensions of apartheid continuing in South Africa, the region seemed headed toward conflict and destruction. A succession of diplomats have sought to turn the region away from this frightful future and construct a foundation for regional security and cooperation, but apart from creating Zimbabwe out of Rhodesia, they have had little concrete success. With hopes of reversing this dismal record, the Reagan administration adopted the policy known as "constructive engagement." Now three years old, it is ripe for review.

The JOURNAL has asked two leading protagonists in the debate over southern Africa to examine constructive engagement—its objectives and its tactics, its successes and its failures. Chester A. Crocker, assistant secretary of state for African affairs and a principal architect of the policy, writes that U.S. national interests demand that we use our influence to resolve the conflict peacefully. But, he claims, we will only have the necessary influence if we maintain constructive ties based on principle and reality with all the governments of the region, including that in Pretoria. Paul E. Tsongas, the ranking Democrat on the Senate Subcommittee on African Affairs, argues that we must be involved in southern Africa's struggle for freedom, but constructive engagement is neither effective nor just. The political and military situation for which that policy was designed no longer exists in southern Africa, nor is it likely that Pretoria can be coaxed into making the drastic changes that are required.

This is not a debate about purposes or goals. Both sides acknowledge the evil of apartheid and the tragedy of conflict. It is a debate about strategy and tactics, about encouragement and pressure, about when to build bridges and when to curtail relations. It is above all about the different ways diplomacy can be used to achieve a desired end.

Constructive Engagement: Yes

Only by pursuing a practical policy of building bridges between governments will the United States have influence in southern Africa

Chester A. Crocker

The crisis in southern Africa persists. Nearly a decade ago, as we stood mesmerized by our engagement in southeast Asia and by escalating warfare in the Mideast, Portugal's empire in Africa collapsed. In its wake, southern Africa's conflicts, rooted in longstanding struggles for decolonization and racial equality, became world issues—issues that would engage U.S. national interests and test our resolve. Angola was born amid internationalized civil strife that continues to this day; the war for Zimbabwe's independence intensified; Mozambique was caught up in regional conflict; and the struggle for change in South Africa assumed more violent and polarized forms. Wars which had been more or less contained within national boundaries spread across frontiers, and the cycle of violence which has come to plague the region took root.

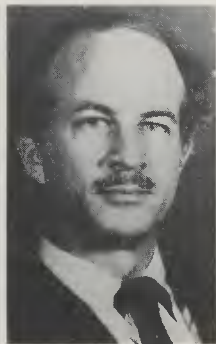
The region has enormous potential—both positive and negative. Historically it is a zone of western influence and has been so for three hundred years. But direct western control has ended, and the region is in flux. Decolonization, whether peaceful or violent, left a legacy of fear, weak institutions, conflicting nationalisms, and loss of confidence in any reliable external hand.

At present, the issues surrounding South Africa's continuing control of Namibia—including the presence of Cuban forces in Angola and the practice of harboring or supporting guerrillas and dissident movements that operate against targets in neighboring states—pose severe challenges to regional security and western diplomacy. In the wake of Portugal's departure from its former colonies and Zimbabwe's independence, a cycle of cross-border violence has emerged and taken root in southern Africa. Unless it is reversed, the interests of the region and the West will be severely damaged. If southern Africa is at war, the consequences for South Africa are clear: there will be more spending on the military, less political will for addressing the domestic agenda of negotiated, evolutionary change, and heightened polarization of attitudes that can only distort the internal South African debate about the means and forms of change. Similarly, the economies and institutions of the neighboring African states will be undermined, distorted, and perhaps destroyed. No amount of western or international support and solidarity with these states will be productive if the politics of development and co-existence continue to be subordinated to the politics of survival and war.

One way or another, the states and parties of southern Africa must develop ground rules for cooperation and co-existence. Unless there is peace and stability throughout southern Africa, it will be impossible to encourage that essential change in South Africa: a shift away from apartheid. At the same time, we fully recognize that a durable structure of regional stability in southern Africa is unlikely to take root in the absence of a basic movement away from a system of legally entrenched rule by the white minority in South Africa.

South Africans must get on with the business of shaping their own future. The political system in South Africa is morally wrong and a growing majority of South Africans of all races increasingly recognize it as impossible to maintain. By one means or another, it will be ended. Blacks will gain fuller participation in all aspects of South African society and politics. U.S. policy is directed, therefore, not at whether a non-racial order is in South Africa's future or what the shape of that non-racial order will be, but how it will be attained. Western policy toward South Africa today must focus on how various black groups can acquire the influence needed to participate in a genuine bargaining process producing change acceptable to all. The future of South Africa will depend on those who participate in shaping it. A peaceful process of change requires support from those who reject, as we do, both alignment with the current racial order and violence as a means of ending it.

In retrospect, it is apparent that western indifference to change in southern Africa played a part in creating the current situation. The United States in particular was not well-equipped to deal with the region. Our past involvement had been superficial, and we knew little about the actors or dynamics. Our body politic was polarized: the left was transfixed by the issue of racism, while the right was too ready to interpret events exclusively in the light of East-West competition. Despite these domes-



Chester A. Crocker has been assistant secretary of state for African affairs since 1981. This article is adapted from a presentation given by him at a symposium in St. Gallen, Switzerland, and from a speech delivered by Undersecretary of State for Political Affairs Lawrence S. Eagleburger late last year.

tic divisions, three administrations have attempted to catch up with fast-moving events, define our national interests, and decide how best to use our influence.

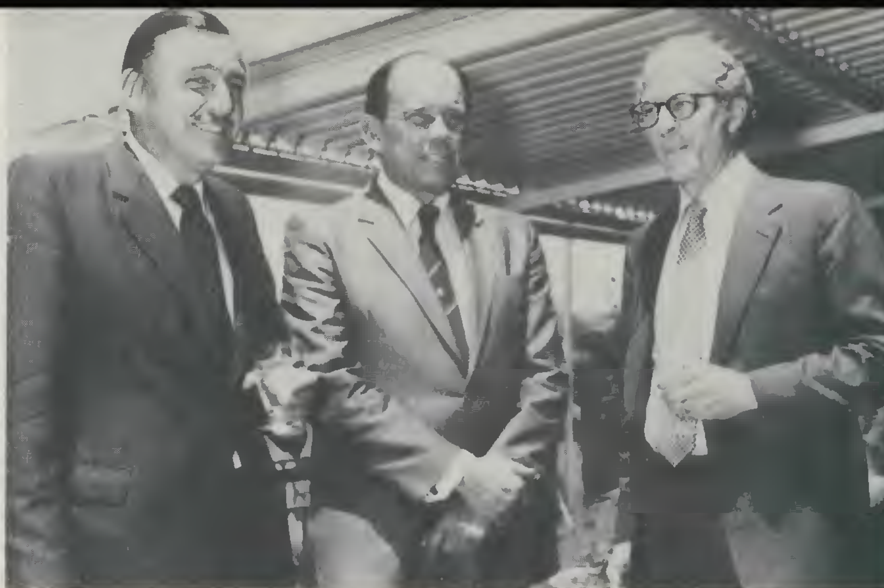
The divisions of the past, regrettably, still linger. There are those in our society whose prescriptions for southern Africa revolve solely around negative pressures, such as punishment and sanctions. Voices in the Congress, the media, and the public call for punitive measures against governments whose policies and actions do not please us—banning bank loans to South Africa or the importation of krugerrands, denying access to the International Monetary Fund's stabilization programs or escalating petty trade controls, banning food aid to Mozambique or development assistance to Zimbabwe. Others repeat the slogans of liberation, while denying us the ability to add an ounce of political will or diplomatic investment to solving the region's problems. At a time when we need all the leverage available to us, some argue for disinvestment and escape. They confuse the making of statements and the adoption of postures with the ability to influence events.

There are others outside southern Africa whose motives are more cynical. They are advocates of violence, who would turn the landscape of southern Africa into an enlarged version of Lebanon, with the sovereignty, independence, and economic viability of the states in the region subordinated to a battle between South Africa and its neighbors. These forces are more than willing to shed African blood and supply copious quantities of weapons, even though they know the violence cannot create anything of value. Violence, for these outsiders, is an end in itself, a political vehicle to enhance external influence and permit the political and ideological subjugation of independent Africa.

The United States, however, proceeds from the conviction that our national interests and those of the West demand an engagement—constructive and peaceful—in the affairs of southern Africa. Even as we concern ourselves with such concrete factors as the minerals trade, strategic communications, and investments, we should not lose sight of our interests in the region's intangible dimensions—its political health and its capacity for negotiation and constructive change, for development and compromise—and in the survival of existing institutions of universal value and the creation of new and urgently needed institutions. Above all, we must remember that today's southern Africa will be easier to destroy than it was to build.

U.S. diplomacy in southern Africa has consciously sought to encourage broad regional security. This concept rests on several key premises. First, the obligations of statehood, in southern Africa as elsewhere, are basic and reciprocal. Apart from Namibia, the region consists of sovereign states that recognize the rights and obligations of that statehood. Respect for international boundaries and renunciation of the use of violence across them are central to any framework for international security. There can be no double standards for either South Africa or its neighbors.

Second, the United States categorically reaffirms that all states have a duty to refrain from tolerating or acquiescing in organized activities within their territory by guerrillas or dissidents planning acts of violence in the territory of another state. This applies equally to South Africa and its neighbors.



Crocker meets with South African Minister of Foreign Affairs Roelof Botha (left) and Minister of Defense Magnus Malan in South Africa. Apartheid is wrong, says the author, and by one means or another it will be ended.

Third, regional security cannot rest solely on the activity, the vision, or the influence of outsiders. Our task is not to impose the structure of security. The structure must rest on regional realities, mutual interests, and direct channels of communication. Our role is to foster a climate conducive to building such a structure. But it is up to the governments directly concerned—those of South Africa, Mozambique, Zimbabwe, Lesotho, Botswana, Zambia and others—to make the basic choice between the temptations of violence and the challenge of co-existence.

Fourth, we recognize that it is not realistic to speak of regional security without referring to the internal political situations in the area. Both peaceful domestic change and regional security are urgently needed in southern Africa if the risks of international strife are to be avoided.

THERE ARE THOSE who see in southern Africa's political tensions an opportunity for the West to identify the good guys and bad guys and then to align itself accordingly. Others argue that the United States cannot maintain constructive ties based on principle and mutual interest with both South Africa and its black-ruled neighbors. Our policy of constructive engagement, however, rejects simplistic stereotypes based on race and ideology as inadequate guidelines for U.S. policy. From the outset of this administration, we have signaled our hope for constructive relations with all governments in southern Africa that seek the same objective. No regional state or external power can or should define our relations for us. In Namibia, U.S. diplomatic efforts involving our allies, the frontline states, and the South West African People's Organization (SWAPO), the South Africans, the internal Namibian parties, and the U.N. secretary-general and his staff have put virtually all elements in place for the implementation of U.N. Resolution 435, which outlines a plan for the Namibian transition to independence. This can begin as soon as the key parties are prepared to make the necessary political decisions. The United States has also conducted a separate but

parallel negotiation with the government of Angola. If successful, this would result in a commitment for the departure of Cuban forces, thus making possible a South African decision to implement the international agreements so painstakingly developed for achieving Namibia's independence and setting the stage for peace in Angola itself. South Africa must leave Angola's southern provinces and it must leave Namibia. Angola can make such steps possible and remain true to its principles by assuring, in a reciprocal manner, the withdrawal of Cuban combat forces from its territory. This is not a condition imposed by the United States but, rather, a statement of practical realities.

South Africa informed the secretary general that it was prepared to implement a disengagement of forces in Angola as of January 31. The United States welcomes the South African initiative and is prepared to work with all parties to the conflict in Angola to try to expand a "disengagement" into a cease-fire. Such a cease-fire could set the stage for a broader agreement involving withdrawal of Cuban forces from Angola and South African forces from Namibia in the context of implementing the U.N. plan for Namibian independence described in Resolution 435.

Constructive engagement in southern Africa extends well beyond negotiations regarding Namibia and Angola and our efforts for constructive change in South Africa itself. It involves programs of development assistance and support for economic stabilization measures in key states such as Zaire, Zambia, Zimbabwe, and Botswana. Over the past three years, U.S. humanitarian and economic aid to all independent states in the area has risen significantly as a percentage of all aid to Africa. A special program of large scale transitional assistance was developed for newly independent Zimbabwe in light of its central place in southern Africa and its avowed commitment to the rule of law, reconciliation, and a healthy private sector. While funds available for economic assistance to Zimbabwe, like those for other countries, will be subject to the annual appropriations process and limited by pressing needs elsewhere, its economy remains a key factor in the overall development of the southern African region. The size and importance of its communications, transportation, and services infrastructure are vital to the success of regional development efforts.

While building upon existing ties with long-standing partners in the region—Zambia, Malawi, Swaziland, Botswana, Lesotho—we have also addressed the anomaly of Western estrangement from the former Portuguese territories of Angola and Mozambique. The strong links of those countries to the Soviet Union and its allies represents an accident of history—a fruit of the violent decolonization process and its immediate aftermath. Nor is it surprising that their relationships with the communist bloc have produced little in the way of domestic peace or progress, for Moscow has nothing to offer in the field of development and little interest in fostering regional stability.

For our part, we have consciously built an opening to these avowedly Marxist states based on mutual respect and reciprocity. That effort has proceeded in tandem with our efforts to build peace in Namibia and Angola and between Mozambique and South Africa. We have moved to rebuild our relations with Mozambique on the basis of full reciprocity while responding to that counrry's desperate economic situation with food aid. We have quietly encouraged bilateral talks between Mozambique and South Africa and have found a commitment on the part of both to continue negotiations in the search for mutual understanding. We recently sent an ambassador to Maputo to help foster this fragile dialogue.

Similarly, we have counseled restraint and dialogue between South Africa and other neighbors, such as Lesotho and Zimbabwe, complementing and reinforcing their own efforts at achieving a workable basis for coexistence. Whether this vulnerable beginning survives will be determined by the governments directly concerned. The states of the region must choose between violence and coexistence. To accept the challenge of coexistence is much more difficult but would represent the best hope of fostering constructive change and avoiding international strife.

In South Africa itself, we believe that our mutual interests are best served by encouraging a process of constructive change away from apartheid. That process has already begun, however limited its results to date. We are committed to strengthening the capacity of black South Africans to participate in their country's society as equals—economically, culturally, and politically. However, the power to participate in society can only be made—not taken. This is not and cannot be a zero-sum game, since power taken by force or revolutionary upheaval will likely leave little worth fighting over.

AT THE SAME TIME, the United States and most of the world unequivocally reject ongoing attempts to denationalize the black South African majority and relegate them to citizenship in the separate tribal homelands. Americans are repelled by the sight of long-settled, stable black communities being uprooted and their inhabitants forcibly removed to barren sites in a "homeland" they may never have seen before. Neither can we countenance repression and bannings of organizations and individuals seeking to work for peaceful change.

American efforts should concentrate on positive steps that support constructive change and those working for it. We support the steps being taken to expand home-ownership opportunities, trade-union rights, and access to education. Apartheid is inevitably affected as education budgets grow dramatically and blacks find new opportunities and new influence as workers and consumers. This year's court decision to expand urban residency rights is an important development, and we are closely monitoring its implementation.

Our policy of constructive engagement supports those both in and out of the South African government who are committed to peaceful change away from apartheid. Our support is both tangible and political. We in the West who have the most to offer as a guide toward peaceful change and who have much to lose if this effort fails should send an unambiguous

message to the people of South Africa. First, we agree with South Africans who recognize that change is imperative and, second, we are determined to permit them the opportunity to shape and define that change free of the threat of foreign intervention.

To support the positive aspects of change in South Africa, the Reagan administration, with the support of Congress, has launched several unprecedented programs over the past two years. This has included the authorization of some $10 million for 1984, to be used in assisting South Africans disadvantaged by apartheid in the areas of education, trade union promotion, and entrepreneurial development. Moreover, the Senate has recently expressed its interest in setting aside $5 million for a scholarship program within South Africa as a counterpart to a program now bringing black South African students to the United States. The administration would strongly endorse such a measure. The United States does not pretend that these programs in and of themselves are the answer to apartheid. But they are indicative of an approach that fully justifies using the term "constructive."

Meanwhile, we should remember that the American business community has had considerably more experience in terms of advancing change in South Africa than has the U.S. government. U.S. firms have led the way toward equal employment opportunities in South Africa. Corporate initiatives, both foreign and domestic, have helped bring about changes in South African labor law permitting blacks to organize trade unions and bargain collectively. U.S. firms have had a significant impact on the well-being of black South Africans both on and off the job and have invested large sums in projects that have directly benefited blacks.

THOSE IN THE United States and other western countries who would have our firms disinvest not only ignore this record of achievement but propose measures that rest on no discernible philosophical or policy premise. Disinvestment by U.S. firms would undo an avenue of positive effort. Proponents of corporate disinvestment—and of stockholder or pension manager sales of stock in firms operating in South Africa—would have Americans wash their hands of any association with that country. This apparent quest for symbolic dissociation is, in reality, a formula guaranteed to ensure the United States' irrelevance to South Africa's future. It is a cop out, and it rests on the premise—for which there is not one shred of evidence—that change in South Africa would be advanced if the United States left the scene so others could work their will.

In the final analysis it is the South Africans themselves who must meet the challenge of their society, drawing for inspiration on their own resources and history. Significantly, Prime Minister P.W. Botha put his own political base in jeopardy with his proposal to extend a limited and ethnically based franchise to the colored and Asian communities. While the United States certainly does not endorse the constitutional reform proposals, which were passed by the white community last November, we do recognize that the South African government has taken a first step in addressing the issue of national political rights for non-whites. Furthermore, white South Africans approved by a two-to-one margin that measure, which could open the way toward constructive evolutionary change and a system based on the consent of all South Africans, 80 percent of whom are not white.

President Reagan confers with Zimbabwean Prime Minister Robert Mugabe. Zimbabwe's economy remains a key factor in the overall development of the southern African region.

Unfortunately, these proposals make no provision for national political participation by the black African majority, except via the traditional apartheid model of separate tribal homelands. Many observers have therefore rejected the proposals as irrelevant and have discounted all incremental improvements that are not explicitly part of a full-blown democratic blueprint. It is clear that this is a major but as yet unaddressed area of political inequality and inequity. The United States recognizes the limits on current changes, and for this reason we do endorse individual steps in themselves as being an adequate response to the imperative of change. However, we also believe it is incumbent on us to avoid the arrogance of rejecting such steps as have been taken, and important to acknowledge and thus encourage those moderate forces from *all* elements of the South African body politic. We state clearly and unequivocally our belief in the concept of government based on the consent of the governed. We do not, therefore, presume to offer a formula to South Africa for resolving its unsettled political agenda other than to say that all South Africans must have a voice in determining any future political system.

In the final analysis, we must resist the temptation to believe that some inevitable force of history has predetermined a violent outcome for the confrontation between the peoples of southern Africa. The United States must accept its obligation as a major power to use its influence to resolve the conflict peacefully. The approach adopted toward southern Africa under the rubric of constructive engagement rests on the judgment that the U.S. government should seek practical results—that we should be opening channels, building bridges, and exploring road maps toward the twin goals of regional peace and positive change. There have already been some results and there will be more, but only if we remain dedicated to influencing events in southern Africa and do not merely seek the emotional gratifications of a protracted morality play. □

CONSTRUCTIVE ENGAGEMENT: NO

Current U.S. policy is based on circumstances that no longer exist; it is an embarrassing anachronism that implicitly supports Pretoria

PAUL E. TSONGAS

APARTHEID IS AN old issue and a stubborn one. Even though some former minority-rule regimes of southern Africa have fallen to black nationalist insurgencies, South Africa and its satellite, Namibia, remain firmly in white control. This anomaly, particularly in respect to Namibia, has roused a succession of high-ranking diplomats into action but with no apparent success. The recent efforts of Chester Crocker, the assistant secretary of state for African affairs, deserve credit for their originality and sincerity, but it is not likely they will succeed.

His initiative—known as "constructive engagement"—was conceived as a response to a set of circumstances that prevailed in 1980–81. But those circumstances have changed dramatically in the intervening three years, making a Namibian settlement very unlikely. The policy of constructive engagement has shifted the United States dangerously close to Pretoria and is now an embarrassing anachronism. We should reconstruct our policy to bring it into line with the new realities in southern Africa and restore a proper fusion of our interests and principles. That will require two major changes—a new diplomatic opening to apartheid's opponents and a willingness to employ sanctions as an expression of U.S. policy.

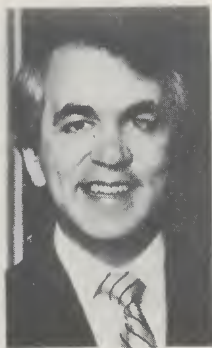
Apartheid is not an issue for foreign policy beginners. In 1966, Representative Brad Morse welcomed me as a summer intern and promptly assigned me to the task of unraveling the international legal snarl which then barred the way to independence for Namibia, or so we thought. My analysis, which seemed to me compelling and correct at the time, in retrospect appears to have been irrelevant to Namibia's future. Since then I have met many other would-be "liberators" of Namibia, not to mention South Africa, and all of us recognize that apartheid will not easily succumb to naive, idealistic, or simplistic formulations. Yet apartheid is clearly an abomination, and we must do something about it. This places an extraordinary burden on anyone who would try to achieve results in southern Africa.

Three years ago, I told Crocker that his place in history would be measured by the success or failure of constructive engagement. Since he is both professionally accomplished and personally well-intentioned, I do not applaud his present unhappy dilemma. It would be better for all of us if serious change were to take place in South Africa soon. But that is not likely.

The debate surrounding current U.S. policy toward southern Africa does not focus on the policy objectives of the last two administrations, for they are not at issue. Both Presidents Carter and Reagan have sought to achieve an internationally acceptable settlement of the Namibian crisis and an end to apartheid in South Africa. These objectives have been pursued for obvious reasons: to forestall an escalating Namibian civil war and preempt one in South Africa; to prevent Soviet gains in the region; to reduce the tension between South Africa and neighboring independent black states; and, finally, to help eradicate a system of racial prejudice and oppression unparalleled in the world community. Those are laudable purposes pursued for sound reasons.

Independence for Namibia and the eradication of apartheid are not tasks of equal difficulty; the former has always been acknowledged as more tractable than the latter. Namibia is an unabashed colony of South Africa with no international legal standing or justification. Moreover, Namibia is merely important, not vital, to South Africa strategically or economically. Yet, the counterinsurgency warfare undertaken to retain the territory is draining South African funds and military assets. The only rationale for holding on to Namibia seems to be a South African concern to avoid a military or political defeat at the hands of black nationalists. Therefore, many in the United Nations, the United States, and Europe consider a Namibian settlement to be attainable.

THE REAGAN ADMINISTRATION has accepted this reasoning and elevated Namibia to its number-one African policy priority. Crocker coined the term "constructive engagement" as a title for the policy approach. An academic sounding title for a straightforward change in tactics, constructive engagement in practice simply meant more cordial relations with Pretoria, much less anti-apartheid rhetoric, and building a relationship of trust between the two governments. This, it was argued, would unlock the door to a Namibian settlement by establishing the United States as an impartial, honest broker. The futile negotiations and



Paul E. Tsongas (D.-Massachusetts) is a member of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee and the ranking Democrat on the Subcommittee on African Affairs.

optimistic rhetoric of the past would give way to a pragmatic, realistic policy. The spirit of the undertaking was displayed when Crocker stated that the United States will not "choose between black and white" in South Africa.

There followed a series of gestures, concessions, and outright gifts to Pretoria, each designed to build the necessary trust. The anti-apartheid community was stunned by the warm official welcomes for Pretoria's top leadership and military officials, permissions given for new South African consular offices, new landing rights granted to South African Airways, votes in support of South Africa in the United Nations, a vote in favor of an IMF loan to Pretoria, and relaxation of controls on exports to the South African military, even an inadvertent export license for a shipment of shock batons.

The Reagan policy toward South Africa eschewed pressure, sanctions, and rhetoric in an experiment designed to coax progress out of Pretoria. I—and other vocal critics of apartheid—recognized that the experiment should have a chance to show that it might work. The price for a chance at an independent Namibia—the spectacle of Pretoria gorging itself on American carrots and the expected damage to American stature, especially in Africa—was painful, but seemed only temporary. As long as the largesse remained only carrots and not the whole farm—such as a U.S. military base in South Africa or recognition of the homeland governments—that price seemed tolerable. We held ourselves in check.

Three years have passed. Nothing has changed.

It is now fashionable to attack constructive engagement. That is not surprising—most failed policies are irresistible targets. But it is more important to understand, first, why constructive engagement has failed, and, second, what steps the United States should adopt in pursuing a truly constructive policy.

Constructive engagement was a specific policy response to a given set of circumstances in southern Africa at a particular time. What were those conditions in southern Africa which inspired the policy?

Three years ago, President Carter's negotiations had sailed agonizingly close to a final agreement but had run aground on Pretoria's preoccupation with the role of the United Nations and fears of a radical South West African People's Organization government in Windhoek. For the Reagan administration, which hoped to push these negotiations into port by repairing South African sensitivities, conditions seemed propitious for a settlement.

At that time, SWAPO was building a guerrilla force of some effectiveness, and the South African military was bogged down. There were signs of white impatience with the war; even conscientious objection to military service was developing a following. In Namibia, the local political parties opposed to SWAPO were intact, if not vigorous, and it seemed at least possible to Pretoria that their popularity could be expanded even further. A settlement involving a free and fair election therefore might have been acceptable to South Africa.

In South Africa itself, white politics were in turmoil during the discussions of a new constitutional arrangement for blacks, coloreds, and Asians. It was unclear how much flexibility this would lead Pretoria to allow in Namibia. The government seemed to be facing a fundamental trade-off defined by, on the one hand, the limited tolerance of the white electorate for black political advancement and, on the other hand, inadequate government resources for defeating simultaneous black insurgencies in both Namibia and South Africa. The choice was for either a Namibian settlement or constitutional change, but not both. This state of flux seemed to contain the seeds of an agreement on Namibia.

Tsongas talks with Mozambican President Samora Machel. Machel's government has recently begun negotiations with South Africa concerning a possible nonaggression agreement.

Conditions also seemed favorable in Angola. The Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola (MPLA) was willing to talk to both the United States and South Africa. Western commercial interests were active in Angola, and the MPLA clearly sought to expand their presence. The National Union for the Total Independence of Angola (UNITA), the only effective anti-MPLA force in the country, was confined to the extreme southeast and posed no serious threat to the Luanda regime. The number of Cuban troops in Angola, the most convenient measure of Luanda's independence and confidence, was showing signs of decline. The MPLA publicly stated its desire for a settlement in Namibia, believing that with South Africa out of that country, Jonas Savimbi and his UNITA movement would wither away.

The incoming Reagan administration considered these circumstances, essentially the same ones that had faced Carter, and Crocker chose to launch a major effort to settle Namibia. Two daunting obstacles remained—first, to sell the idea to President Reagan, and second, to sell it to Pretoria. The same device ultimately solved both problems—the withdrawal of Cuban forces from Angola would be linked to South Africa's withdrawal from Namibia. The president bought it; Pretoria embraced it.

THOSE WHO WRITE the epitaph of constructive engagement will devote many pages to "linkage." It is viewed by optimists as a mere technical error that has further complicated the negotiations. Pessimists see it as the only terms under which Pretoria would play its long-standing game of diplomatic hide and seek. From that perspective, linkage provided the newest insuperable

obstacle behind which Pretoria could find credibility and relief. The administration, however, still maintains that South Africa has legitimate security concerns in Namibia which only linkage can address.

But the debate on linkage, lively as it is, has achieved a certain sterility. The Namibian negotiations have been overtaken by events. New conditions on the ground in southern Africa have crippled the negotiations and reduced constructive engagement to its status as an anachronism.

In Namibia, the once cohesive internal parties have disintegrated into separate feuding entities. The Democratic Turnhalle Alliance, on which Pretoria had placed high hopes as an electoral alternative to SWAPO, no longer exists. Any free election as part of a Namibian settlement would place SWAPO and Pretoria's much vilified foe, Sam Nujoma, in uncontested control of the government.

As for the war in Namibia, South Africa's counterinsurgency campaign against SWAPO guerrillas has evolved from a defensive war of attrition to an offensive strategy including seizures of territorial sanctuaries and aggressive anti-insurgency tactics. SWAPO's military presence in Namibia is now reported to be at an all-time low. Since mid-1981, South Africa's army has occupied a portion of southern Angola, effectively pushing SWAPO bases back many harsh miles from Namibia's northern borders. A war which Pretoria once regarded as a burden is now a showcase for South African military prowess. And SWAPO no longer plays the crucial role in providing military leverage for a Namibian settlement.

In Angola, a similar transition is underway. The MPLA government has been unable to consolidate its factions under the leadership of Jose Eduardo dos Santos, thus making a decision on Cuban withdrawal difficult to consider, much less achieve. But even more critical, the war against UNITA has lost much ground. With South African support, UNITA has expanded its area of control to most of southern Angola, and now contests the MPLA for control of the densely populated central highlands. Once considered a military nuisance that might be dealt out of a Namibia deal, UNITA is now applying telling pressure on the MPLA. The recent South African incursion prompted the Soviet Union to warn South Africa against further military attacks in Angola. Under these circumstances, it is difficult indeed to portray the MPLA as ready and eager to expel the more than 20,000 Cuban troops now in Angola. In fact, the Angolans may request more Soviet military aid and Cuban troops to defend themselves.

The key to the success or failure of constructive engagement and achieving an independent Namibia can be found in Pretoria. Despite the negative developments in Namibia and Angola, it is, of course, within the power of South Africa to reach an agreement. But the question remains as to whether it is willing.

The true intentions of Pretoria have long served as the premier guessing game for South Africa watchers. A calculated ambiguity has always characterized South African diplomacy, leaving the carrot-givers and the stick-wielders equally confused. In the last two years, however, momentous changes in internal South African politics have revealed some of Pretoria's concerns.

The decision pending before the government in 1981 was for either domestic reform or an international settlement in Namibia, but not both. Prime Minister P.W. Botha may have been undecided when President Reagan assumed office, but he soon chose to place his proposal for separate colored and Indian parliaments before the white electorate. The cohesion of his own party was at stake, along with his new strategy to update minority rule. The whites-only referendum, in which the new parliaments passed by a 2-to-1 margin, was a resounding victory for Botha and an overwhelming mandate for his vision of constitutional change.

As a politician I can understand, if not applaud, the feeling of vindication and triumph which Botha enjoyed. Not only did he hold most of his own party together, he humiliated the two opposition white parties as well. For the first time in an election, Afrikaans speakers and English speakers voted in the same proportions, approximately 65 percent of each voting in favor of the new constitution. A new white constituency seems to have emerged in South Africa, with Prime Minister Botha triumphantly at its head.

AFTER SUCH A strong showing, some observers believe the government can now move forward in Namibia and allow the United Nations to sponsor free and fair elections for the black majority there. But this reasoning ignores the powerful racial message of the election. Even without embarking on a detailed analysis of the referendum and the new constitution, it is abundantly clear that the voters were emphatically rejecting any political accommodation with blacks. Again and again, the government assured the voters that the referendum contained no hidden agenda for black political rights. Again and again, the government confirmed the basic structure of homeland political rights for blacks as the core of apartheid. As for the losing side, the major opposition party appealed for a vote against the proposal because the constitution excluded blacks and would provoke racial unrest. Faced with those choices, the white electorate cast a vote of confidence in the Nationalist party's efforts to contain the burgeoning black population (20 million now and expected to reach 30 million by the year 2000) and its aspirations to share political power. In this situation, any concession to the cause of black liberation either in South Africa or Namibia would alarm the electorate and bring the so-called reform effort crashing to the ground.

The constitutional developments now underway in South Africa do indeed represent change, but not reform. Their objective is to expand the number of whites and white allies who will be able to withstand the black challenge. A secondary objective is to upgrade the international image of the South African government from a "whites only" regime to a multiracial one. Any reform or change is a gamble, albeit one laden with risks, to retain power by changing political formulas. It is not, as some Americans wish, a purposeful step forward in a South African reenact-

ment of the civil rights struggle in the United States. Such comparisons are unfair to both countries. But this gap in perception has led many policymakers to hold naive expectations for South Africa. Yet, one must be hard-headed and pragmatic to understand the truth about South Africa and then frame a policy that accurately responds to these realities and not to fantasies.

The reality is that at least in the near term we can expect more of the same from South Africa. The government will continue its aggressive military intervention in Angola and in other neighboring black states, such as Mozambique and Lesotho, that provide sanctuary for anti-apartheid guerrillas. Using its overwhelming military and economic power, South Africa will intimidate its neighbors and attempt to roll back the wave of black nationalism that is the gravest threat to the Pretoria regime. Therefore, there will be no settlement in Namibia in the foreseeable future.

Constitutional and political change in South Africa is likely to proceed slowly and deliberately, with no provision for blacks to share power. The sabotage campaign of the African National Congress will intensify. Blacks inside South Africa will reject municipal elections and other strategems intended to co-opt the urban population. The government will use harsh measures to clamp down on black political activity and will impose more stringent controls on black population movements as part of the effort to export surplus black labor to the artificial tribal homelands. Grand apartheid, or the denationalization of millions of South African blacks, will proceed on schedule.

These grim realities provide the setting for the current policy of constructive engagement. Unless the policy seeks credit for the constitutional changes underway, and apparently it does not, then there will be little else other than continued internal repression of blacks and armed intervention in neighboring states to applaud as the fruits this policy. This clearly should be and is unacceptable.

AMERICAN INTERESTS and principles demand a major shift from the current policy. It is dangerous for the United States to become associated with apartheid and it is morally offensive for the United States to abstain from the struggle to eradicate it.

First, we cannot turn our back and walk away from the problem. To be engaged in the struggle for freedom in South Africa is important and useful. We should continue and expand programs that commit U.S. funds to those groups and individuals in South Africa working for peaceful change. These include providing scholarships for South African blacks to study in the United States and South Africa; grants to anti-apartheid groups and organizations in South Africa; help for black labor unions in their struggle for equality, independence, and recognition; and more. The Reagan administration has accepted those programs proposed by Congress, for which credit is due.

Second, we must widen our diplomatic perspective and make public contact with nationalist groups and individuals opposing the government. Instead of quiet visits and backroom talks, U.S. diplomats should make clear our concern for banned groups and individuals. And, we should engage the African National Congress and other insurgent groups in discussions. Contacts with organizations fielding a guerrilla force are not unprecedented in American diplomatic history. In Central America, for instance, the practice is commonplace. Southern Africa merits equal treatment. By broadening our contacts, we will establish credibility and effectiveness with all the participants in South Africa's future. That is essential to our interests.

Third, we cannot rely on rhetoric alone to express our abhorrence of apartheid. We must take concrete action in a carefully orchestrated manner, applying a steady pressure on Pretoria and inserting a measured distance between our government and theirs. However, this should be done through a continous process rather than with an abrupt gesture. Sanctions that would undermine the respectability and credibility of apartheid should come first. Congress recently passed a requirement that the U.S. director of the International Monetary Fund must oppose any loan to countries practicing apartheid. This sort of measure denies to South Africa the legitimacy it seeks in international forums. We should also consider an immediate ban or limitation on the importation of krugerrands, not as an economic sanction, but to restrict a coin symbolizing the South African state. Denying landing rights for South African Airways would be another telling symbol of American rejection of apartheid, as would prohibiting U.S. bank loans to the South African government. U.S. institutions could divest themselves of any portfolio holdings in companies doing business in South Africa. And denying visas to South African national sports teams seeking to tour the United States would also help. These sanctions would not end or seek to end U.S. involvement in South Africa. They are not intended to undermine the South African economy, nor to damage ours. Severe economic and military sanctions are costly, difficult to implement, and nearly impossible to enforce.

The measures proposed here are designed to censure and isolate the government of South Africa. Imposed sequentially and with flexibility so they could be lifted should progress toward full black political rights occur, they would remedy one of the most unfortunate consequences of constructive engagement—the implicit support and encouragement that policy has lent to Pretoria and its actions. These sanctions would impress on South Africans that their government has earned public condemnation and rejection from the United States. In addition to the salutatory impact on U.S. diplomacy in the rest of Africa, our policy would disrupt complacency and stimulate serious debate in the South African government and among its supporters.

Even with the most effective sanctions and pressure we can devise, however, there is no real assurance that Pretoria will respond, even indirectly. To assume under present circumstances that the United States can dictate or coax change from South Africa is naive and a mistake. A policy based on realism will accept our limitations and those of Pretoria. Our interests and our principles demand, however, that we stay vitally involved in the freedom struggle in South Africa. □

On the

We read and hear a great deal about those refugees from Afghanistan who have been forced from their mountain villages into refugee camps in Pakistan. They deserve our concern and compassion. But many Afghan refugees are not in the camps. They are people of means who were able to flee to Europe and the United States. Separated from their homeland, separated from their loved ones, they too have tragic stories to tell.

Sado is one such refugee. I met him during the six years I spent in Afghanistan as a teacher, administrative assistant for the Fulbright program, and Foreign Service wife. The story of his flight to freedom is true. His name and the others in this article, however, have been changed to protect those relatives still in Afghanistan. His story represents the spirit of the millions of Afghans who yearn for freedom—for themselves and for their country.

BETTY J. CRUIT

IT IS FOUR IN THE MORNING one day in the winter of 1980 in the capital city. Sado, a physician, leaves his home on the outskirts of Kabul dressed as a household servant—baggy pants, faded tunic, woolen shawl wrapped around his shoulders, turban on his head, sandals on his feet. He stoops as he walks, head lowered against the chill wind. The dark streets are deserted except for an occasional shopkeeper walking to his store or a servant hurrying to prepare morning tea. And, of course, there are the ever-present signs of the occupation—Russian soldiers along with their Afghan sycophants dozing in doorways while on guard at government buildings and residences. He is less nervous than he thought he'd be, but the high mud walls still seem to have eyes and ears. His is walking toward the Kabul Hotel, a mile and a half away. His ultimate destination—America.

As he walks, doubts previously dispelled come rushing back. Should he stay, take his chances, try to help the cause of freedom? He already feels like a traitor and he hasn't yet left Kabul. The escape plan was pre-paid, one thousand dollars in local currency. No guarantees. No refund. Sado smiles sardonically. How does one refund a corpse? That, he knows, would be his fate if he stayed. Trustworthy sources in high places had warned him. He's on the list. An aristocrat, educated in Europe, married to an American. Some time soon—day or night—they'd be coming to get him.

He remembers too vividly his friend and neighbor Omar, a simple, hardworking man, arrested, jailed, tortured—for no reason that Sado could imagine. He owned a small shop, a bit of property. Omar finally "committed suicide" in his cell, self-punishment for his treasonous act. So his family was told.

Only a few blocks to go. Sado hears the sound of an army jeep gearing down to turn the corner he is facing. He ducks into an alley. Best to take no chances. Even servants are stopped, questioned, threatened—often sent to fetch tea and cigarettes. He hurries on. Ahead is the hotel, the oldest in the city. Where in hell is the service entrance, he wonders, and then slows down to follow a sweeper who seems to be heading that way. Once inside he finds the kitchen, where one of the cooks is cutting meat and doesn't notice him. The small room behind it will be his first stop.

Inside this dimly lit space are two charpoys and, in the corner, a laundry bag. Following instructions committed to memory, Sado opens the bag and pulls out a wool suit, turtleneck sweater, desert boots, socks, overcoat, muffler, and tweed cap—all in shades of brown. Not his particular taste, but well chosen. After changing he stuffs the servant's garb into the bag. In his jacket pocket is a passport with exit visa and a worn leather wallet containing dog-eared identification papers, a packet of calling cards, a hundred dollars worth of deutschmarks, and two photographs of his "German family members." He finds a small mirror on one wall and is pleased with what he sees. Tall and fair for an Afghan—his dark hair is graying rapidly—he looks the part. Sado, he says, meet your new self, Herr Heinrich Fischer, businessman from Hamburg.

The final item, under one of the charpoys, is a leather suitcase. Sado checks the contents: dark glasses, a few articles of clothing, and several samples of the pharmaceuticals manufactured by the company he has come to Afghanistan to represent. Pulling the cap down on his forehead, he looks at his watch. It is 4:50. He leaves the room to find the hallway leading to the lobby, where he will join an assembly of Europeans awaiting the 5 a.m. departure of a German tour bus. The day's journey will take them from Kabul through the mountain passes and across the border to Pakistan.

Darkness offers temporary comfort as the bus makes its way slowly through the city streets and on toward the outskirts of town. Sado sits alone in the back, an opened book on his lap to discourage social conversation. He speaks English, French, and German but is not in the mood for small talk. He may look like a tourist, but he is very much an Afghan.

Before entering the Kabul Gorge, a canyon of winding mountain roads, the bus is stopped by Afghan soldiers—their first checkpoint. A routine glance at passports held by the driver, a few jokes exchanged, and on they go. If only it would be this simple all the way, Sado muses, as he rests his head on the back of the seat, closes his eyes, and tries to slow his breath.

The drive through the gorge, along the Kabul River, goes smoothly. The curves are treacherous but the road is good. Sado thinks of his brother Zalmai's parting advice that morning: "Don't look back, just look ahead. Think about joining Anne, and a new and safer life in the United States. Don't worry about us. We'll be careful to stay out of sight." They hugged three times, as Afghans do, and, trying unsuccessfully to hold back his tears, Zalmai whispered, "*Khuda Hafiz.*" God be with you.

Betty J. Cruit is the author of a history and geography of Afghanistan that was published by the Education Press, Kabul, in 1968. All readers may submit articles on diplomatic history or first-person stories relating to Foreign Service experiences to THE JOURNAL section. Authors are paid on publication.

Devil's Path

SADO DID NOT WAKE his daughter, Halimah. They had talked late the night before. The thought of missing her wedding, to be held in six months' time, was too difficult a realization for both of them. Halimah's mother, Sado's first wife, had died four years earlier. Later, Sado met and married Anne, an American secretary at a U.S. government agency. Anne easily earned the affections of his extensive family. She had already fallen in love with his country before they met, and when they bought and remodeled their own home in Kabul life had briefly seemed perfect. Sado revels in memories of those two lovely years and finds himself smiling for the first time that day.

But his smile fades when he begins to ponder his country's state of affairs. Why? Why did those in government allow a complete communist takeover? Were they blind to the serpentine infiltration? Blind to the incompatibility of communism and Islam? Have they forgotten the cherished and hard-won freedom that generations of proud Afghans have fought and died for? Centuries of effort now thrown away, leaving the children a legacy of serfdom and silence.

"Don't look back!" His brother's advice is hard to follow. How can one hide the bitterness, the rage, the frustration? But surely the rest of the world will soon respond and support our right to independence. If necessary, force the Russians back across the border. A dream? Sado wonders. Perhaps, but we must hold on to it—act on it. Beyond his fighting years—he cannot join the mujahaddin—he can still use words as his weapons. When he reaches America he will lecture, write, inspire—"*Enshallah.*" God willing.

Sado turns his head to gaze at his country's spectacular scenery. Jagged cliffs reaching up, their hues changing hour by hour as the sunshine and blue sky play on the canyon walls. And the Kabul River, resting before reaping the torrents of melted snow in springtime, winding like a gunmetal ribbon, a finishing touch to a landscape embroiled in violence. Sado's thoughts wander back to happier times when he drove this same route on business trips or to picnics with family and friends. Will he see all this again? Will he ever return to a free Afghanistan?

Sado feels the bus gear down, preparing to stop. They have entered Serobi, for many years a Russian complex with a hydroelectric plant and a military installation. The bus stops at what appears to be a larger and busier checkpoint. A Russian soldier motions to the driver to leave the bus and follow him. They enter the gatehouse and are joined by other soldiers. Sado watches, trying to keep calm and appear relaxed. But as the moments pass he feels his heartbeat quicken and his hands shake. He clasps his book tightly and prays. The driver finally leaves the gatehouse carrying the passengers' passports—all but one, which the soldier behind him is holding. Is it German? Sado wonders but can't quite see. The driver boards the bus and takes his seat. The soldier follows, his expression determined, almost defiant. He begins to walk slowly through the bus, glancing

from passport photo to passenger. He takes his time. He would have to be sure. The task seems endless. Sado feels faint. The passport is German and must be his. The other passengers are obviously European. The soldier keeps moving toward the back—like a film run in slow motion—and then stops, two seats before Sado's. He stares at the passenger and again at the photo—then turns and leaves abruptly, shouting to the group of soldiers. Two of them board the bus, weapons in hand, and order the unfortunate man off. The passenger does not protest—simply stands up proudly and follows them—seemingly resigned to whatever fate may bring. The driver is then signaled to go and the bus pulls out. The remaining passengers sit in stunned silence. Sado feels his blood find its way back to his face and fingertips and tries to forget how dry his mouth is.

Once underway they make good time. Sado notices several passengers talking together. One of them leaves his seat and approaches the driver. A few words are spoken and the driver seems to understand, nodding his head in agreement. It is past the scheduled lunch stop due to the delay in Serobi. Twenty minutes later they park outside a *chai khanna*, a tea house. Sado would rather remain on the bus but decides it would draw attention to him—so he follows the others.

As he sits, sipping his tea and smoking a cigarette, Sado notices a woman whose manner, gestures, even appearance, remind him of his wife. Anne had been extremely stubborn for so long, wanting to stay in Kabul in case things changed for the better. Then, insisting she would wait until they could leave together. How many futile trips he had made to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, hoping they would stamp his passport.

Later, when the American ambassador was shot and killed at the Kabul Hotel, a shocked and saddened Anne agreed it was time to leave—but on one condition. Sado must follow as soon as arrangements could be made to smuggle him out. "It can be done, Sado," she had said. "You know whom to contact. Stay here and you'll be another missing—or dead—Afghan!" How right she was, Sado thinks, remembering his friend Omar and others. He would prefer not to be remembered in quite the same way. A shiver goes through him as he walks to the bus, relieved to be moving on again. Sado looks at his watch. In about one hour they will reach the third checkpoint. That should be easy—routine. In his mind he goes over and over the answers he will give to all possible questions: his German name, address, business, reason for coming to Afghanistan, reason for leaving, destination, goods to declare. He feels confident enough that his papers are in order, that there would be no doubt he's a German. But Sado's greatest concern is being recognized. He has many friends and former patients in Kabul, Kandahar, Ghazni—all the major cities—people in business, professional, and diplomatic circles. If he were to be seen, his name called out—even as an innocent gesture of courtesy—he could, as they say in cheap spy novels, blow his cover.

THE BUS PULLS INTO a compound dotted with palm trees and tropical shrubs, more typical of Pakistan. They are close to the border; so very close. The customs officials here look over passports and visas. They are schooled in western languages to the extent needed to perform their duties. They weed out any irregularities before the final border checkpoint and, if in doubt, telephone ahead to alert those who give the final okay.

While waiting in line, Sado is drawn into conversation with a German engi-

BEGG Inc.

2121 Wisconsin Ave., N.W. Washington, D.C. 20007
(202) 387-2480

SALES • RENTALS • INSURANCE
• MANAGEMENT • INVESTMENT • COMMERCIAL •
Specializing in the managemant of:
Private residances and apartmants. Condominium complexes. Commercial sales and managemant.

Our sales staff of over 100 experienced agents includes the following presently or formerly associated with the Foreign Service.

Mrs. Virginia Barlerin
Mrs. Betty Battle
Mrs. Efrem Calingaert
Mr. Robert Campbell
Mrs. Wendela Carwell
Mrs. Georgia Devlin
Mr. Willard Devlin
Mrs. Monique Dragoi
Mr. Donald Haher
Mrs. Anne Hawkins
Mrs. Ilse Heintzen
Mrs. Pamela Jova
Mr. Thane Kuhlman
Mrs. Barbara Lawrence
Mrs. Jeanne Livingston
Mrs. Susanne Madden
Mrs. June Ogino
Mrs. Ellen Ozga
Mrs. Joanne Pernick
Mrs. Louise Sullivan
Mrs. Ellen Swihart
Mrs. Giselle Theberge

BRANCH OFFICES:
Maryland (301) 657-2760 Chevy Chase, (202) 686-9556
Virginia (703) 893-2300

For Caribbean and European properties:
Begg International Inc. (202) 338-9065

"Specializing in the Finest Residential Propertries for over 33 years"
telex no: 440036UI

Leigh & Schwab, Inc.
REALTORS — Since 1962

Sales and rentals in Washington, D.C., Bethesda, Chevy Chase, and Potomac. Multiple Listing Services.

Temporary Accommodations Available

5025 Wisconsin Avenue, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20016
Phone: 202/362-5800

Property Management Division

• Professional • Personal
• Profitable • Prompt

620 Wolfe St.
Alexandria, VA 22314
548-2339

neer returning from a Helmand River project. At the same time he listens to the officials talking back and forth on various matters—the high cost of sugar, the shortage of wheat flour. There is one voice that Sado has heard before, perhaps some time ago. Glancing at them intermittently, he puts face and voice together. They have met—somewhere. The man is young, perhaps the son of a patient, or a neighbor, or once a patient himself. In that case, Sado thinks, he would be more apt to remember me. When his turn comes, fortunately, another officer greets him. Sado lights a cigarette, hoping the smoke will help to make him less recognizable. He answers all questions in German, quickly, keeping his voice low. The official's eyes drop to the documents spread before him. Nothing seems to be amiss. He hands Sado his papers, nodding politely. The remaining passengers go through quickly and they board the bus for the last leg.

The final border checkpoint is a different matter. These officials are stone-faced, serious, efficient. They know the consequences for failure of duty. They take their time checking passports, photos, visas. The wait seems interminable. Tension mounts and begins to overwhelm him. He feels eyes on him, questioning his origin, his identity, the status of his soul. He feels the words "I am an Afghan!" spring out from his heart and wind around him in a mad fantasy. Still they watch. Had the young man seen this in his face at the last checkpoint and telephoned ahead?

The German engineer approaches him to ask a friendly question. Sado is still answering when his turn arrives. A stroke of luck, for this averts his mind and calms him somewhat. A telephone rings a short distance away. Sado holds

Experienced competent staff ready to serve your needs in sales, rentals, management, investments.

JOHN Y. MILLAR*
WILLIAM C. TRUEHEART*
LYNN MOFFLY MAGRUDER*
PATRICIA GARRISON BOORMAN
CAROL OWENS*
STARKE MEYER*
FRAN DIXON
ROSEMARY DIRCKS
CAROLYN RAYFIELD
PAULINE BARNES*
HENRIETTA SEITZ
JOHN TURNER*
MARY HANSTAD
RUTH R. JOHNSON*
CAROLE B. HERSMAN
DIANE NOBLE
SUSAN RAEHN
MARY ANN STOESSEL*

MGMB, inc. Realtors

362-4480

Foxhall Square 3301 New Mexico Avenue
Washington D.C. 20016

SANDOZ & LAMBERTON
INCORPORATED

Specializing in the rental and care of fine residential property throughout the metropolitan area. Sandoz & Lamberton offers highly personalized service including detailed semi-annual status reports, frequent correspondence, updated rent control information if it pertains, and coordinated insurance protection, as well as monthly computerized financial statements. For more details please contact our property management department.

5100 Wisconsin Avenue, N.W., Washington, DC 20016
(202) 363-9800
Real Estate Since 1921

COMING or GOING
You can count on
PERSONALIZED SERVICE
from
W. C. AND A. N. MILLER
DEVELOPMENT CO
A Complete Real Estate Service Since 1912
NEW HOUSE SALES • BROKERAGE SALES
RENTALS

4701 Sangamore Rd. 229-4000
Bethesda, Md. 20816 229-4016

JOEL TRUITT

PERSONAL TOUCH

Construction: Under my direction, we are general contractors with broad capability and over 10 years experience, ranging from authentic restoration, remodeling, new construction, repairs, design and drafting.

Property Management: For private residences, multi-unit and commercial property, and condominium associations.

JOEL TRUITT—BUILDER—PROPERTY MANAGEMENT
737 Eighth Street, Southeast, Washington, D.C.
547-7207 — Quality Since 1972 — 546-6958

Experienced Real Estate Agent With Well-Established Company

- Buying
- Selling
- Investing
- Refinancing
- Property Management

Please write or call **Anita Murchie, Long & Foster, 6300 Richmond Highway, Alexandria, Virginia 22306**
(703) 765-3160

25 years as a Foreign Service wife enable me to understand your special needs.

Will Your Home Still Be A Castle When You Return?

Personalized Property Management by Mrs. Wyatt

- Serving Foreign Service personnel since 1959.
- Planning for necessary expenditures
- Leases tailored to fit owners' needs
- Updates on real estate laws and regulations
- Frequent inspections • Sales
- Licensed in D.C. and Maryland

Call Mrs. Wyatt — 202/362-7397

WALSH, MESMER & ASSOCIATES, INC.
4713 MAPLE AVE., BETHESDA, MD 20814

Relocating?
Washington, DC—Virginia—Maryland

Come To An Open House

FREE Individual Consultation and Information Packet

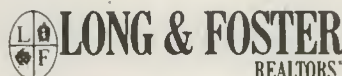
We'll have information on:
- Housing & Real Estate Market
- Financing & Qualifying
- Schools & Communities
- Transportation

WE'LL BE IN EUROPE FROM 23 FEBRUARY TO 4 MARCH

Check the Army, Navy, Air Force Times for the location and date we'll be near you.

VISIT US IN:

LONDON	BONN
BRUSSELS	FRANKFORT
MADRID	MUNICH
ROME	W. BERLIN
NAPLES	STUTTGART



Or Write:
Jackie Johnson
7040 Old Keene Mill Rd.
Springfield, VA 22150

Nationwide Relocation Service

his breath, listens, but can't hear what is being said. Could this be it? he wonders. He struggles to keep his face blank, benign, with just a touch of typical European impatience at the lengthy perusal of his papers. The officer on the telephone hangs up and leaves the office area. He enters the waiting room and walks toward the line of passengers. Sado turns away. Please God, he prays, feeling his legs weaken beneath him. The official passes by, hesitates, then enters a toilet. Finally, Sado's papers are stamped and returned, his luggage examined and cleared for transit. He manages to thank the officer before him with a brisk "*danke*" and then continues out toward the waiting bus.

Just as Sado's tension begins to give way to a giddy sense of relief, he hears a scream—a scream of pain. An elderly French woman has missed her footing while boarding the bus. She seems to have sprained or broken her ankle—perhaps other bones. There is much scurrying around, people anxious to help, to make her comfortable. Calls for a doctor can be heard in several languages. Sado sits on a bench away from the crowd—watching, listening to the sobbing woman, thinking of the border just a few steps away. He fights his instinct to go to her, do what he can to ease the pain. But he's a businessman now. He can't risk it. Surely there's another doctor in their midst.

More and more people appear—curious, chaotic. The calls for help become louder. Then, a sudden hush, and the crowd makes way for a young woman, a nurse, found among the travelers in the customs office. She comforts the woman while bandaging her swollen ankle, then gives her a pill for the pain. The nurse and driver help the woman onto the bus. She must have x-rays. But the nearest hospital, they tell her, is across the border, in Pakistan.

As Sado sits, hiding behind the smoke of his cigarettes, sweating, praying, cursing the woman—damning the delay—he gradually begins to feel that somehow, despite all, he will make it. And when the driver calls his passengers, waving his arms frantically, Sado tries to keep himself from running, running toward the bus, toward the border, toward the freedom that he knows is his at last.

Epilogue: Sado, after a year in the United States, found that there could be no real freedom for him as long as his country is in bondage. He is now in Europe working with an underground intelligence network for the liberation of Afghanistan. □

PEOPLE

Deaths

WILLIAM F. GRESHAM, former counselor of embassy for public affairs in Tunis and Dacca, died at his home in Alexandria, Virginia, of lung cancer on December 19. He was 59.

Before joining the Foreign Service in 1957, Gresham worked for the Aramco Oil Company in Saudi Arabia for several years. He was an accomplished Arabist, having studied Arabic and engaged in Mideast area studies at the School of Advanced and International Studies of Johns Hopkins University. He received a bachelor's degree from Loyola University in Chicago. Foreign Service posts included Tripoli, Libya, Port-of-Spain, and Saigon, in addition to those mentioned.

Survivors include his wife of 30 years, the former Anne Mary Pelham, who was the daughter of the British ambassador to Saudi Arabia at the time Gresham was posted there with Aramco. She is residing at their home in Alexandria. Surviving children include Marine 2nd Lieutenant William F.P. Gresham of Kanoehe Bay Marine Base, Hawaii; Anne-Teresa Gresham-Giroux of Boston, Massachusetts; and Antonia Mary Suire of Roanoke, Louisiana. Four grandchildren also survive.

LANDRETH M. HARRISON, a retired Foreign Service officer, died on July 27. He was 86.

Harrison attended the U.S. Army School of Aeronautics and received both his bachelor's and master's degrees from the University of Minnesota. From 1923–25 he was on the faculty of law at the University of Paris and L'Ecole Libre des Sciences Politiques. He was also employed as a political science instructor at the University of Minnesota and a lecturer in international law at Hamline University.

Harrison joined the Foreign Service in 1928, serving as vice consul in Riga. Later assignments sent him to Berlin and Bern as second secretary and London, Warsaw, and Paris as first secretary and consular officer. In 1955 he was appointed special assistant to the operations coordinator in the Office of the Under Secretary.

Survivors include his wife, a son, and a daughter.

Life Imitates Art

HOW ABOUT LUNCH in an art gallery? Come see an exhibition of color photographs of scenes from around the world taken and custom printed by Liz and Bob Allen, now at the Foreign Service Club dining room and second-floor buffet room through the end of March. A Foreign Service family for 25 years before they retired to turn to careers in photography, the Allens have developed a new method of printing color photographs in a manner that resembles oil painting techniques. Rendered in impressionist and pointillist styles, some of which are actually printed on canvas, the framed photographs may be purchased by AFSA members at special prices during the run of the show.

Bob Allen studied photography and art in Cuba and Spain, as well as in the United States, and has taught the subject at various photo clubs that he started at several posts. He has had a number of successful exhibits in Europe and in New York, where the Allens were last stationed at the U.S. mission to the United Nations. He established darkrooms in many remote areas of the world during his Foreign Service career and accumulated a massive negative file, which he is now printing. Long experimentation, most recently in color, has led to his special printing techniques that suggest the tones and coloration of fine art. The couple's photographs are in many private collections.

Alumni Associations

The EXECUTIVE SEMINAR IN NATIONAL AND INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS is forming an alumni association. The association will publish a directory of graduates as well as a newsletter with information about the seminar and the activities of its graduates. Plans are being made to hold a significant lecture on foreign affairs, with the seminar as joint sponsor.

Anyone who was graduated by the seminar and has not received an invitation to join the alumni association may obtain one by writing: ESNIA, c/o Room 1200, Foreign Service Institute, 1400 Key Boulevard, Arlington, Virginia 22209.

The NATIONAL WAR COLLEGE ALUMNI ASSOCIATION, in collaboration with the alumni associations of the Industrial College of the Armed Forces and the Army War College, is sponsoring a conference on contemporary national security problems and issues on Friday, March 2, at Langley Air Force Base, Virginia.

Speakers include Rear Admiral Jonathan T. Howe, director of the Bureau of Politico-Military Affairs,; George Kenneth Johnson, staff member, Senate Armed Services Committee; Ambassador Paul H. Boeker, Policy Planning Staff; and Air Force Major General Perry M. Smith, commandant, the National War College. Air Force General Wilbur L. Creech, commander of the Tactical Air Command, will speak at a luncheon.

Topics to be covered include Third World problems, relationships with allies, the threat of international terrorism, and formation of national security policies.

For information and reservation forms, contact the Secretary-Treasurer, NWC Alumni Association, the National War College, Fort McNair, Washington, D.C. 20319. Phone: (202) 693-8318, autovon 223-8318. All interested persons are invited to attend.

FOREIGN EXCHANGE

PROPERTY CLAIMS

MOVING LOSS & DAMAGE CLAIMS: Professional preparation and processing of claims for the recovery of money due from property loss and damage when moved by the U.S. government. NO UP-FRONT MONEY. Fee for this service is 10% of the amount recovered. We get all estimates. Write or call and ask for one of our agents. PERSONAL PROPERTY CLAIMS, INC. 2000 Virginia Ave., McLean, VA 22101. (703)241-8787.

PROPERTY MANAGEMENT

PEAKE PROPERTIES LTD.: Muriel Peake, Broker, specializing in residential property management in McLean, Vienna, N. Arlington, etc. Caring, personal service. 6723 Whittier Ave., 303C, McLean, VA 22101. (703)448-0212.

WE OFFER PROFESSIONAL PROPERTY MANAGEMENT especially for those who plan to return to their home. We limit our amount of properties to ensure the highest degree of personal attention to your home. Management plans are tailored to your specific needs. Serving Reston, McLean, and Vienna since 1976. References will be happily provided. Call or write: Joanne Miller, Miller Homes Properties, P.O. Box 2552, Reston, VA 22090. (703)893-5350.

INVESTMENTS

FINANCIAL PLANNING/PORTFOLIO MANAGEMENT: E.F. HUTTON & CO., INC. G.Claude Villarreal, Account Executive, 1825 Eye Street, NW, Suite 1000, Washington, DC 20006. (202)331-2528 or (1-800)368-5811.

BOOKS

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

CURRENT PAPERBACKS airmailed within 5 days at reasonable prices. Send for monthly list to Circle Enterprises, Box 1051, Severna Park, MD 21146.

TAX RETURNS

TAX RETURNS. All tax matters including consulation, extensions, filing one return, IRS representation, for one average fee ($140). Milton E. Carb, E.A. 833 S. Washington St., #8, Alexandria, VA 22314. (703)684-1040.

TAX COUNSELING on any problem. No charge to AFSA members for telephone advice. Bob Dussell (ex-FS), enrolled to tax practice by the Treasury Dept., 3601 N. Fairfax Dr., Arlington, VA 22201. (703)841-0158.

TAX PROBLEMS, returns and representation. T.R. McCartney (ex-FS) Enrolled Agent, and staff. Returns now completely computerized. Business Data Corp., P.O. Box 57256, Washington, DC 20037-0256. (703)671-1040. INVESTMENT GUIDANCE.

A-1 TAX SERVICE. All federal tax forms prepared. Also, state forms if required, including part-year. Fee of less than $100 covers all tax work for one year. Write George A. Hannemann (ex-B&FO), 12070 Willowood Drive, Woodbridge, VA 22192.

TAXES $5000-15,000? Reduce them significantly while earning 15-20 percent after taxes on investments in selected Washington area real estate. AID/Washington architect-engineer with good tax background will find and manage rental property to fit your financial/tax picture. Jim Claps, REALTOR, P.O. Box 9599, Arlington, VA 22209. (703)323-1033. Mount Vernon Realty.

APARTMENT RENTALS

FOR RENT: Apartments one block from State Department, $450-550 per month, minimum three months. Write: MONROE House, 522 21st St., NW, Washington, DC 20006.

FARA APARTMENT RENTALS: Fully-furnished efficiency, 1 and 2 bedroom apartments. One block from State Department. Prices from $40-60 per day, plus tax. Call (202)463-3910. Write FARA Housing, Rm. 2928, Dept. of State, Washington, DC 20520.

BRIDGE CLASSES

ALL LEVELS. Convenient locations, days and evenings, games too. Contact Steven Hoglund, ABCL, 1414 17th Street, NW, Washington, DC 20036. (202)387-8907.

VACATION RENTAL - ENGLAND

Rent 3 bedroom cottage and car in England's Cotswolds for R&R, etc. Contact Tom Boyatt, 7614 Holiday Drive, Alexandria, VA 22308. (703)660-6539.

GIFT & SHOPPING SERVICE

NEED A GIFT for someone at home? FORGET SOMETHING AT POST? We'll shop and ship for you. Write for details and brochure. Janet Kerley (ex-FS wife), 5010 N.27th St., Arlington, VA 22207. (703)241-1505.

REAL ESTATE

NORTH MYRTLE BEACH. Thinking of a vacation or retirement home, or other investment in coastal South Carolina? If so, call or write Bill Dozier (FSO-retired), Dozier Associates, P.O. Box 349, North Myrtle Beach, SC 29582. (803)249-4043.

NURSING HOMES

100 MILES SOUTH OF D.C. Renowned among Virginia physicians for excellent nursing care, latest equipment, and parklike setting. Skilled, intermediate, and residential. 198 beds, national accreditation (JCAH). Owner formerly with AmEmbassies S. America and ConGens Barcelona, Zurich. University Park, 2420 Pemberton, Richmond, VA 23233-2099. (804)747-9200, Mrs. Jacobsen.

EXCHANGE RATES

Classified advertising in the FOREIGN EXCHANGE is open to any person who wishes to reach the professional diplomatic community. The rate is 50 cents per word per insertion. Telephone numbers count as one word and zip codes are free. To place a classified ad or to receive our rate card for regular display advertising, write or call the Foreign Service Journal, 2101 E Street, NW, Washington, DC 20037, (202)338-4045. Checks should accompany all classified insertion orders. The deadline for FOREIGN EXCHANGE ads is approximately 5 weeks before the publication date.

Association News

Even in Washington: Barriers at State

Following tips that terrorists may be planning attacks on the Department of State, the department has erected concrete barriers outside every entrance to the building. The barriers are designed to stop bomb-laden vehicles from entering lobbies, the technique used in the bombing of the Beirut embassy and the Marine headquarters.

Dangers Committee Re-formed to Meet Renewed Threats

The Governing Board has appointed Thomas Boyatt, former AFSA president (pictured), to head the newly re-formed Committee on Extraordinary Dangers. The group's purpose is to review current measures meant to protect the safety of Foreign Service employees and to suggest improvements to management and Congress.

"The recent series of attacks against American officials overseas underscores the ugly fact that terrorism is and will continue to be an everpresent danger to all of us," said AFSA President Dennis K. Hays. He added that it may be impossible to anticipate every terrorist act, yet there are steps that can be taken to increase the safety of employees and their families. "We believe the State Department is at present addressing this problem with speed and seriousness," he said. "But it is up to all of us to see that the Washington bureaucracy, the Office of Management and Budget, and Congress do not lose their sense of urgency as the memories of recent tragic headlines fade."

AFSA intends to go to Congress to ensure that adequate resources to address the problem are made available. "We need rational programs, professionally implemented, with all possible speed. Budgetary constraints and bureaucratic turf-fighting must not delay projects which can save lives," said Hays.

The committee will be sending a message to the field shortly. Posts are encouraged to send in comments and suggestions.

FSIDP Reaffirms AFSA Position on Untenured Firings

The Foreign Service Impasse Disputes Panel has reaffirmed an earlier decision it made implementing an AFSA proposal that untenured employees may file grievances on terminations, despite an intervening decision by a U.S. District Court that untenured employees may do so only in extraordinary circumstances such as constitutional violations [ASSOCIATION NEWS, October]. The conflict between the FSIDP ruling and the court decision, however, may have to be resolved before the U.S. Court of Appeals.

Early last year, the foreign affairs agencies and the two unions went before the FSIDP after failing to agree upon regulations to implement grievance procedures. The panel decided in favor of AFSA's proposals to retain Grievance Board jurisdiction to hear untenured employees' grievances and to provide prescriptive relief to such employees—a stay of termination pending a hearing. In September, the district court handed down its ruling, going against past practice of the Grievance Board, which generally accepted jurisdiction of untenured employees' termination cases and granted the relief. The court decision thus disagreed with the ruling by the FSIDP just one month before.

Following the court ruling, State, AID, and USIA filed a joint motion before the FSIDP seeking clarification of the panel's initial decision. The agencies maintained that Congress intended to reserve to the agencies the unfettered right to terminate "probationers" and to deny the Grievance Board authority to direct agency heads to retain such employees on the rolls. AFSA opposed the agency contentions as contrary to the intent of the Foreign Service Act, citing legislative history describing the grievance system as "the basic provider of due process protection" to the Foreign Service. Last December, the FSIDP denied the agencies' motion, adopting AFSA's arguments and once again affirming the right of untenured employees to grieve a termination.

Impasse Panel Rules on Standby Duty Pay

The Foreign Service Impasse Disputes Panel has adopted an AFSA proposal that an employee be entitled to receive standby pay for basic pay purposes from the date that he or she begins duty to the date that the employee ceases to be paid basic pay in that position. This eliminates the lapse between an employee's performance of standby duty and receipt of compensation for it. The ruling by the FSIDP resolves a negotiating impasse between AFSA and the State Department and AID about regulations in the Foreign Affairs Manual affecting communicators and secretaries.

The panel also required the department and AID to withdraw a proposal that would have eliminated standby pay between midnight and 6 a.m. unless substantial labor was performed. This decision affirms AFSA's position that compensation for standby duty is provided to ensure the availability of an employee. Standby duty requires an employee to remain at the worksite, available to perform work.

The parties were sharply divided on the issue of on-call duty, which allows an employee to leave the worksite but requires him or her to be available to return to duty on short notice. AFSA opposed on-call duty because it constitutes uncompensated and involuntarily assigned duty. The Association believes that management should assign an employee to standby rather than on-call duty if it wants to ensure that a sufficient number of employees are available to carry out agency operations. The FSIDP nonetheless ruled that on-call duty is reasonable and appropriate in those circumstances where the amount of work to be performed does not justify standby duty.

The panel also accepted a management proposal that an authorizing officer at post must certify that the post's requirements cannot be met by placing the member in on-call status. Employees in on-call status will be required to maintain some means of communication, either telephone, electronic beeper, or similar device, and be able to return to the worksite within one hour. Finally, the authorizing officer may assign on-call status in the absence of sufficient volunteers, although declining ro volunteer will not be considered in employee evaluation teports and supervisors are constrained from using restraint or coercion on the basis rhat an employee did not volunteer.

The FSIDP concluded that management requires the flexibility afforded by on-call duty to manage operations effectively and efficiently. AFSA feels that this ruling is inconsistent with previous FSIDP decisions as well as a Federal Labor Relations Council ruling that management does not retain the unilateral right ro use on-call duty as a method for fulfilling its mission. Though the decision is unappealable, the Association will monitor its implementation closely to ensure rhat its terms are observed.

Christmas Party Draws 200 to Club

Foreign Service Club server Carmen Acosta slices spit-roasted turkey for a guest at the AFSA Christmas Party held at the club last December. Revelers, including members, employees, the Governing Board, the Editorial Board, Hill staffers, management, and journalists, flowed through all three rooms in the club's expanded second floor.

AFSA Initiative Gets Decision Allowing Sound in the Air

Because of an AFSA initiative, sound equipment may be included in airfreight of Foreign Service personnel. While most employees had taken this for granted, it was actually forbidden but not enforced by the State Department.

Eatly last year, the Association was informed by members serving in Japan that the Tokyo embassy was prohibiting shipment of sound systems in unaccompanied air baggage. The decision was based on a 1968 ruling by the Government Accounting Office in the case of an employee who had shipped 784 pounds of sound equipment as UAB. The GAO disallowed the shipment, maintaining that the third-of-a-ton system would more appropriately be included with household effects.

Foreign Affairs Manual regulations at no time noted this restriction, nor was AFSA aware of other instances in which shipment of sound equipment in airfreight had been disallowed. The Association held several meetings with the transportation division, which agreed that the department would ask for a new ruling that would take into account changes in lifestyle since the decision was written, the increasing necessity for personnel to have these items in their immediate possession (e.g., to continue language instructions by tape), and that newer systems were much lighter.

AFSA also urged those employees in Japan who had been denied airfreight shipment to file a grievance. The Association felt that even if a favorable GAO decision could not be received, or could not be teceived in a timely manner, the issue should be tested on the basis that departmental regulations do not prohibit such shipments, and that past and current practice has been to allow such shipments. In addition, while GAO decisions are generally final, the Foreign Service Act of 1980 gave the Foreign Service Grievance Board the authority to overrule the comptroller general.

One employee filed a grievance. Shortly thereaftet GAO responded with an amended decision, allowing airfreight shipment of sound equipment as long as it complied with State's regulations. The department granted the grievance while noting that shipments could be prohibited if not for personal use.

Life and Love in the Foreign Service

"Recreation gazebo? No M'am, Madame Ambassador! This is the residence!" —BOB FOUCHE, Washington

Honorable mention:
"Sweetheart, I don't care how much the differential is, this is our last tandem GSO assignment!"
—ALBERT E. FAIRCHILD, Fairfax, Virginia

Winners of the monthly LIFE AND LOVE contest receive a certificate for a free lunch for two at the Foreign Service Club, honorable mentions receive a certificate for a free carafe of wine. Send entries to:

LIFE AND LOVE #8
AFSA
2101 E Street N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20037

Contest deadline is March 15

Competition #8

Administrative Law Judge to Rule on Personal Property

AFSA is awaiting resolution of an unfair labor practice charge brought against the State Department for failure to negotiate in good faith on new regulations governing the sale of personal property by employees serving abroad [ASSOCIATION NEWS, June]. A hearing on the charge was held in October before an administrative law judge appointed by the Foreign Service Labor Relations Board.

The original regulations, issued in 1966, prohibited employees serving abroad from retaining any profits from the sale of personal property. Employees received in dollars converted from local currency the amount equal to the acquisition or replacement cost of any personal property unless there was evidence that the item had been imported solely for resale at a profit. Any excess was donated to an approved charity.

Last March, new regulations were negotiated by AFSA that permit employees to retain profits. Only in instances of abuse can the embassy deny use of its facilities for conversion of local currency. Two days before the scheduled implementation in April, however, the department issued a worldwide cable in effect directing ambassadors in countries with more than one exchange rate to impose a ceiling on the amount of local currency that could be converted to dollars at U.S. government facilities. Because the cable was sent without prior notice to AFSA and without affording AFSA an opportunity to bargain, the union filed an unfair labor practice charge for failure to negotiate.

State argues that it was not required by law or regulation to negotiate with AFSA on the grounds that the subject of the cable did not constitute a new policy and that it was precluded from bargaining anyway because government-wide or multi-agency personnel practices were involved. AFSA believes that the department did effect a new policy because the newly negotiated regulations, as well as those already in existence, specify that conversion be limited only in instances of abuse. The department's cable thus instructed ambassadors to implement additional limitations. AFSA also believes that the cable did not constitute a government-wide or multi-agency rule. Even so, the Foreign Service Act requires State to consult with AFSA with respect to government-wide or multi-agency matters, and to inform it of any proposed changes.

The decision of the administrative law judge will resolve whether the department was obligated to bargain. Should the judge rule against AFSA, the Association will consider filing an appeal.

$5.85 Buffet at Club: Best Deal in Town

The Foreign Service Club's new unlimited luncheon buffet, served daily from 11:45 to 3 for $5.85 (including tax and tip) in the new second-floor Bar & Lounge, is the best dining bargain in town. The price includes a choice of two hot entrees, a sandwich bar, several salads, a fresh fruit and cheese plate, and homemade soup, plus choice of red, white, or rose wine. Happy Hour in the Bar & Lounge is from 4–7 daily.

Managing Your Money

The Alphabet Soup of Mortgage Financing

By MARGARET WINKLER, *Financial Planner*

A review of my files dating back to 1979 turned up repeated announcements of breakthroughs in mortgage financing—a potpouri of products and vast changes in home financing that has many homeowners and prospective buyers more confused than relieved. If you are bewildered about ARMS, RAMS, GPMS, Buy-Downs, SAMS, GEMS, and all the rest of the new jargon, you have plenty of company. "Menu-enhancement" appeared, of course, as an effort to keep housing sales alive as mortgage rates zoomed from single digits to the high teens. Long-term mortgages virtually disappeared in the last two years. Now that rates have dipped slightly, lenders are again (reluctantly) making long loans. Nevertheless, it may be helpful to have an acquaintance with the more commonplace components of the new spectrum.

The Federal Trade Commission has recently published a 16-page guide containing definitions and very useful payment tables (free, from the Division of Credit Practices, 6th and Pennsylvania Ave. NW, Washington, D.C. 20580).

Among the new loans are:

• *Adjustable-rate mortgages* (ARMS). Unlike the familiar fixed-rate mortgage, these loans have an interest rate that fluctuates, depending on the market conditions. They may contain interest caps which limit the borrower's risk. These loans are most frequently indexed to Treasury bills, the current Federal Home Loan Bank Board's national-average rate, or the average being paid by lending institutions for the funds they are borrowing. Indexing can be applied monthly or less frequently.

• *Graduated-payment mortgages* (GPMS). Payments are relatively low during early years of the loan but escalate at a set rate over several years, leveling off for the duration of the loan. If the interest rate is fixed and the buyer expects later to have substantially increased income, this type of loan could be attractive.

• *Growing-equity mortgages*. (GEMS). A variation of the above; the monthly payment changes but the interest rate is fixed. Payment levels are indexed and can decrease as well as increase.

• *Shared-appreciation mortgages* (SAMS). The buyer agrees to share with the lender a sizable percent (usually 30 to 50) of the appreciation in the home's value when the property is sold or transferred. This would appear to be a last resort, eliminating most of the investment aspect of home ownership. It is common practice in commercial lending. *Shared-equity plans* are variations of this idea. They all depend for their success on continually growing housing values. The tax consequences are complex.

• *Balloon mortgages*. These loans are typically for three to five years, with a series of equal monthly payments and a large final payment. The equal payments may be for interest only. This strategy was used in 1979 and 1980 by many buyers who were mistakenly confident that the mortgage rate hike was temporary and that high-interest loans could soon be refinanced. Clearly, that balloon was punctured.

• *Buy-downs*. The developer provides an interest subsidy that lowers the monthly payments during the first few years of the loan. The difference is inevitably tacked on to the purchase price of the home!

• *Seller take-back* and *second trust*. These have become standard procedure with probably 60 percent of all home sales currently using some variation of cash as a downpayment. Commercial second trusts have been as high as 22 percent, while the typical seller second has been in the 12- to 14-percent area. There have been many instances where sellers have offered first trusts.

• *Wraparound mortgage*. The seller keeps the original, low-rate mortgage. The buyer makes payments to the seller, who forwards a portion to the lender holding the original mortgage. This has the effect of lowering the effective interest rate below that which the buyer would be required to pay for a single, larger loan. This is borrowed from commercial practice. When used in connection with individual transactions, legal complications regarding the due-on-sale clause could arise. This clause gives the lender the right to require immediate repayment of the balance owed if the property changes hands; such claims are increasingly being enforced in the courts. Transactions can and have triggered foreclosure actions by professional lenders.

• *The land contract* is another practice borrowed from commercial real estate. This installment sale contract allows the seller to continue to hold title to the property until the buyer has made all payments. It is being used to avoid the due-on-sale clause. Lenders' assertions that such contracts constitute sales have been upheld in the courts.

Pitfalls exist in these various vehicles, for sellers as well as buyers. Home sellers offering to carry loans to buyers will find that usury limits, although gone for institutional lenders, are very much in force for individuals in at least 18 states.

A recent revelation shocked many owners of low rate mortgages who had succumbed to inducements from lenders to retire their loans early in exchange for substantial discounts. The IRS ruled in late 1982 that the discount "savings" must be treated as fully taxable ordinary income.

If any conclusion is to be drawn from the appearance of the vastly different practices still in the process of evolution, it is (forgive, kind reader, the obvious pun) that one can not easily use yesterday's *assumptions* in today's market!

Elections Notice

An Election Call for the nomination and election of officers and retired constituency representatives to the AFSA Governing Board is being sent to members by the Elections Committee. If the notice does not arrive in time to make the March 1 deadline in Washington, prospective nominees can consult their AFSA representatives or write the Elections Committee at 2101 E Street N.W., Washington, D.C. 20037.

Fact: Recognizing the limits of the Claims Act, the government recommends private insurance too.

Claims Act

1. The government will be responsible for only $15,000 of proven property loss.
2. Loss recovery limitations exist on most categories of possessions such as jewelry, furs, cameras, fine arts, antiques.
3. Claims process requires government investigation and documentation.
4. Loss must be incident to service.
5. Comprehensive Personal Liability insurance is not available.
6. Loss evaluation is complicated and includes depreciation.
7. Theft loss requires proof that due care was exercised to prevent the occurrence.

These are only a few of the differences.
Please refer to Foreign Affairs Manual (6 FAM 300).

AFSA Plan

1. You may purchase as much insurance as you need.
2. Valuable articles can be scheduled without limitation on a "valued at" basis.
3. Swift claims settlement begins with a simple telephone call or letter.
4. Coverage is worldwide whether on business or pleasure.
5. Comprehensive Personal Liability insurance is available.
6. Loss settlement on unscheduled items is based on replacement cost *with no depreciation.* Settlement on scheduled articles is based on the agreed amount.
7. No such requirement.

AFSA Desk, The Hirshorn Company 284
14 East Highland Avenue
Philadelphia, Pa. 19118 (215) CH2-8200.*

Send me your free brochure (with built-in application form) that answers my questions about overseas insurance.

Name ______________________

Address ______________________

City/State/Zip ______________________

**If calling from the Washington, D.C. area: (202) 457-0250*

Note: The insurance policies, not this advertisement, will form the contract between the insured and the insurance company. The policies contain limits, exclusions and limitations not listed here.

Chrysler means quality around the world.

Get big diplomatic discounts.

As an active member of the diplomatic corps, you are eligible for Chrysler's 1984 Diplomatic Purchase Program. Which means, no matter where you are, you can get a big diplomatic discount on a new quality-built Chrysler-made car.

And 1984 is one of Chrysler's most exciting model years ever. The beautiful Chrysler New Yorker is the most technologically advanced luxury car we've ever built. Dodge Aries can suit just about anybody's needs in 2-door, 4-door or station wagon models.

Also offered, from the Chrysler line, are LeBaron, 5th Avenue, E Class and the all-new Chrysler Laser. Plymouth has Horizon and Reliant, and Dodge offers Omni, Aries and 600, and more. You can order any one of these fine cars overseas and have it waiting for you when you arrive home.

For full details on these and other vehicles, as well as the Diplomatic Purchase Program, contact:

In U.S.: The Diplomatic Sales Office, Chrysler Corporation, P.O. Box 1688, Detroit, MI 48288. Phone (313) 956-0818. TELEX 0235264 CHRYEXIMDET.

Overseas: TELEX 961320 CHRY-NEWCAR Attn: Diplomatic Sales. Or mail the postage-paid reply card enclosed in the magazine.

Chrysler New Yorker

Dodge Aries Station Wagon

The New Chrysler Technology