

Recently, the resignation of nearly a quarter of the staff has been attributed to "mid-term blues". These internal conflicts, combined with the absence of a mediator other than the President, who seems to be more involved in the detailed technical aspects of events, have led to inconsistent policies, such as the stance concerning the Soviets. Another factor contributing to the public's confusion over U.S. foreign policy is its many spokesmen. In the initial days of the Administration, open discussion was encouraged and publicly welcomed as a needed relief from the secret diplomacy of the Kissinger years. The Vance-Brzezinski debates were encouraged and Andrew Young was given free rein. Carter has continued this approach by using troubleshooters such as George Ball and Robert Strauss. As a result, the Carter Administration has frequently lacked a unified voice on foreign policy.

In spite of its unfortunate style, the Carter Administration has had a number of notable foreign-policy achievements. Building upon the efforts of previous administrations, it has made successful policy decisions involving China, the Panama Canal and, apparently, SALT II. The Camp David agreement between Egypt and Israel was a much-needed breakthrough, but it requires expansion. Carter has, in general, succeeded in re-establishing friendly relations with traditional allies and lesser developed countries that had been relatively ignored during the Nixon-Kissinger years. It is misleading to see Carter as having had an easier role to play in foreign affairs than his predecessor because the U.S. is not involved in any military conflict. The Carter emphasis has been mainly on economic and political activity, rather than on military effort. Because of the Soviet arms buildup, however, the Carter Administration appears to be modifying its policy of avoiding military responses.

### Africa

The successes and most glaring failures of the Carter foreign policy can be discerned in its approach to Africa, which has assumed a surprisingly significant position in its foreign policy. In contrast to the neglect of African affairs by the preceding administration, Carter has acknowledged African affairs as a top priority. In spite of a pronounced tendency at first to analyze African problems in terms of the American

civil rights experience, the Carter Administration has approached African affairs more broadly, namely in terms of "African solutions to African problems". Within this framework, the U.S. has sought to co-sponsor negotiations with Western European countries to settle regional conflicts among African nations, such as in Rhodesia/Zimbabwe, Namibia, and Zaire.

### China

Despite a slow start, partly to avoid antagonizing the Soviet Union, the Carter Administration has moved carefully, yet rapidly, to normalize relations with China. The timing of the announcement came as a surprise, but the Administration had carefully made behind-the-scenes preparations that were built upon the groundwork laid by preceding administrations. The Administration has limited the playing of the questionable "China Card" to the normalization announcement and a joint communiqué with Deng Xiaoping con-

demning Asian "hegemony".

### Europe

In contrast to the Kissinger era, the Carter Administration has actively sought political and economic partnerships with various European nations for the solution of global and regional concerns. Reflecting Brzezinski's initial trilateral "architectural" approach to foreign affairs, the Administration has acknowl-

## The Carter Report Card

GEOGRAPHIC	Comment	Grade
1. Africa	<i>initially appealing approach undermined by failure to resolve some intractable problems</i>	B
2. China	<i>normalization followed by appropriately cautious optimism</i>	A-
3. Europe	<i>generally healthy climate, though much tension from particular issues</i>	B+
4. Japan	<i>continuing trade problems, despite efforts</i>	B-
5. Latin America	<i>business as usual: rhetoric without substance</i>	D+
6. Middle East	<i>still fluid: success, but also failures</i>	I
7. South and East Asia	<i>neglect; mixed on human rights</i>	B-
8. Soviet Union	<i>ambiguous, until recently</i>	B-
TOPICAL		
1. Arms Control	<i>mixed record on arms sales, non-proliferation; good on SALT</i>	B
2. Defence	<i>unclear approach</i>	B-
3. Foreign Aid	<i>neglect</i>	C+
4. Human Rights	<i>mixed: positive thrust, notable failures</i>	B
5. Trade and Economic Policies	<i>good on trade, mixed on monetary policies</i>	B+
OVERALL	<i>Style and consistency poor, substance impressive</i>	B