

Chapter and Verse in
American Diplomacy

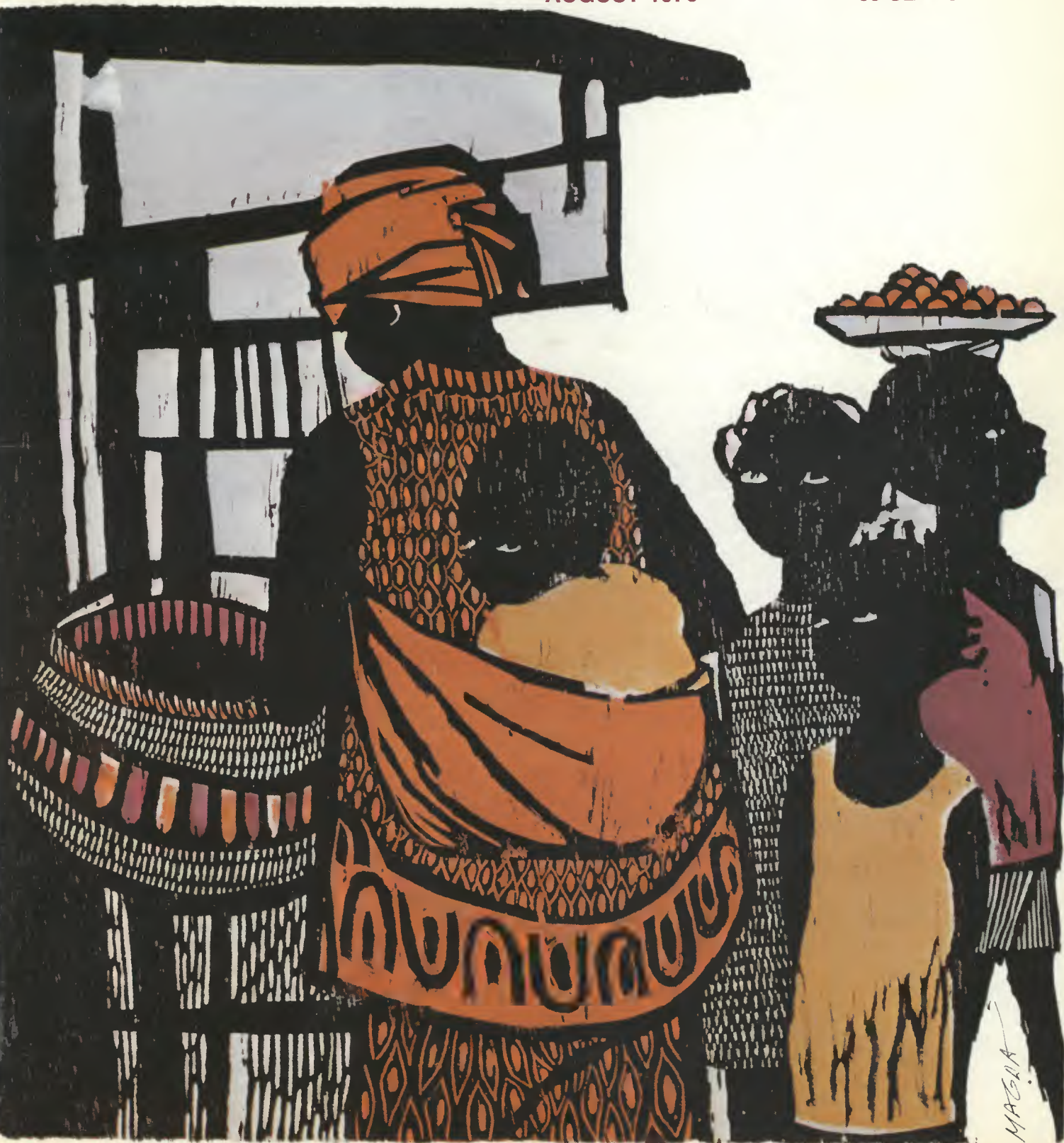
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FOREIGN SERVICE JOURNAL

AUGUST 1976

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COVER: Woodcut, "Woman and Children,"
by Magda French

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US Consulate in Kobe, 1885

Shoes for the Feet of Japan

RALPH E. HUSS

The toehold which Commodore Matthew C. Perry had made on the forbidding shore of enigmatic Japan in 1853-54 became more secure when Townsend Harris, first US consul in Japan, and later first US Minister, concluded a treaty of amity and commerce in 1857. This treaty formalized the privileges the United States had gained by the operation of the most-favored-nation article of the Perry Treaty concerning extra-territoriality, trade, and consuls. In 1858 that toehold became a foothold when Harris perfected a convention which provided for a Japanese Minister and consuls to be stationed in the United States, a diplomatic representative of the United States to reside in Yedo (Tokyo), and American consuls permitted at the open ports of Shimoda, Hakodate, Kanagawa, Nagasaki, Niigata, and Hyogo.

Thomas McF. Patton of Salem, Oregon, had been Assistant State Treasurer of the State of Oregon, a member of the State Legislature, and for seven years United States Appraiser at the port of Portland. Letters from Senator J. N. Dolph of Oregon recommended him for the post of consul to Osaka and Hyogo. (By this time Japanese restrictions had eased enough to allow consular representation for Osaka, about 20 miles east of Hyogo. Hyogo was later absorbed by and became a part of Kobe.) He was appointed on May 15, 1884.

In 1885 Patton endeavored to promote the commercial interests of the United States by actually getting a foot in the Japanese door—a foot encased in a shoe labeled “Made in the USA.”

Patton's despatch on November 15, 1885 to Assistant Secretary of State James D. Porter was on the subject, “The Japanese Shoe Industry—Wooden Clogs and

(Continued on page 20)

Mr. Huss graduated from the University of Minnesota. He came to work in the National Archives in 1951 and has worked as an archivist in the Diplomatic Branch since 1957.

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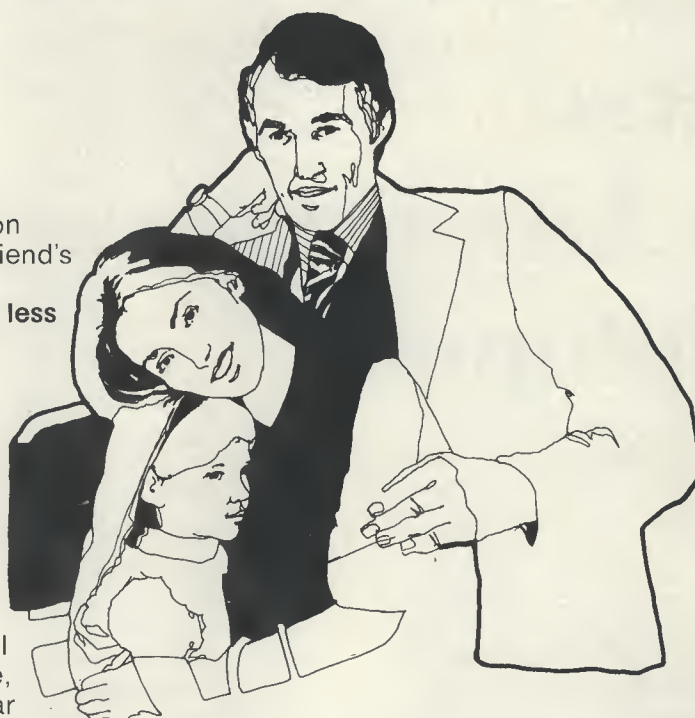
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"I'm acquainted with affliction,
Chiefly in the form of fiction,
As 'tis offered up by strangers
At the consul's open door." — Bret Harte

Chapter and Verse in American Diplomacy

EDWARD DEVOL

The American consul in Liverpool had been at the post four years. The pay was good and the working day short, but he found the job increasingly irksome. He had seen too many stranded sailors, over-enthusiastic tourists, eccentrics who demanded his endorsement of their impractical schemes, and all the "beggars and imposters who haunt the official in foreign ports."

In a letter to a friend back home he expressed a sentiment that can be appreciated by Foreign Service officers of today: "I have received and been civil to at least ten thousand visitors since I came to England and I never wish to be civil to anybody again."

A month later, in August, 1857, Nathaniel Hawthorne resigned. While consul he had written little

and published nothing, but he had not gone to Liverpool to gather literary material. He had taken office for the money it would bring and it had satisfied him in that respect: he left England with \$30,000.

Not all the American writers who served overseas tours in the 19th century hoarded their pay as well as Hawthorne, but most of them needed the money. Authorship was an uncertain livelihood and even the most famous did not get rich. As Bayard Taylor, one writer-diplomat, said of another—even Washington Irving "received just \$204,000 in more than 50 years of arduous literary labor . . . four thousand dollars a year, the wages of a chief clerk."

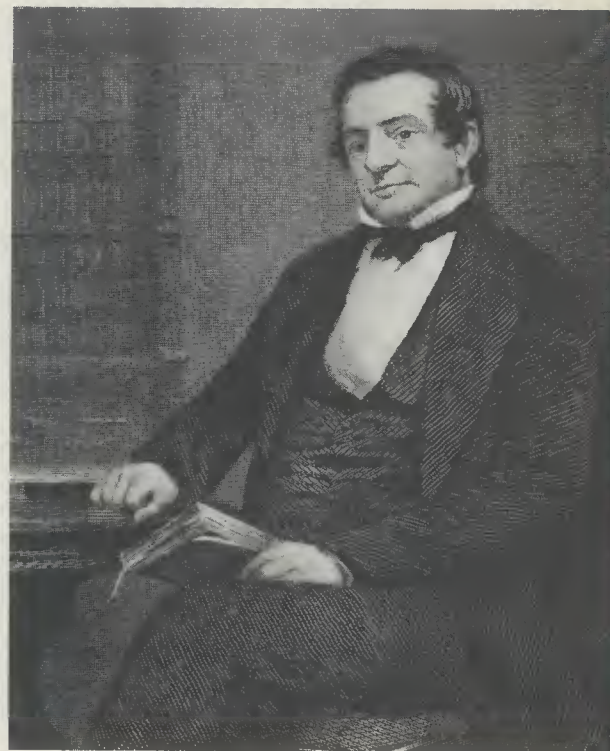
A necessary qualification for overseas service was having friends with political influence and the only entrance examination was how well one used such friends. Hawthorne's friend was President Franklin Pierce, the college classmate for whom he had written a campaign biography in 1852. Not that writers became diplomats only by partisan actions. Literature was

considered an important national resource and even writers of lukewarm political allegiance were often considered worthy of reward for their literary output, rather than for specific contributions to party victory at the polls.

Scores of writers found political friends who arranged government employment for them both at home and abroad. Thomas Paine was secretary of a congressional committee; Hawthorne and Melville served in custom houses; Whitman was a clerk in Washington; and even Mark Twain worked briefly as secretary to a Senator.

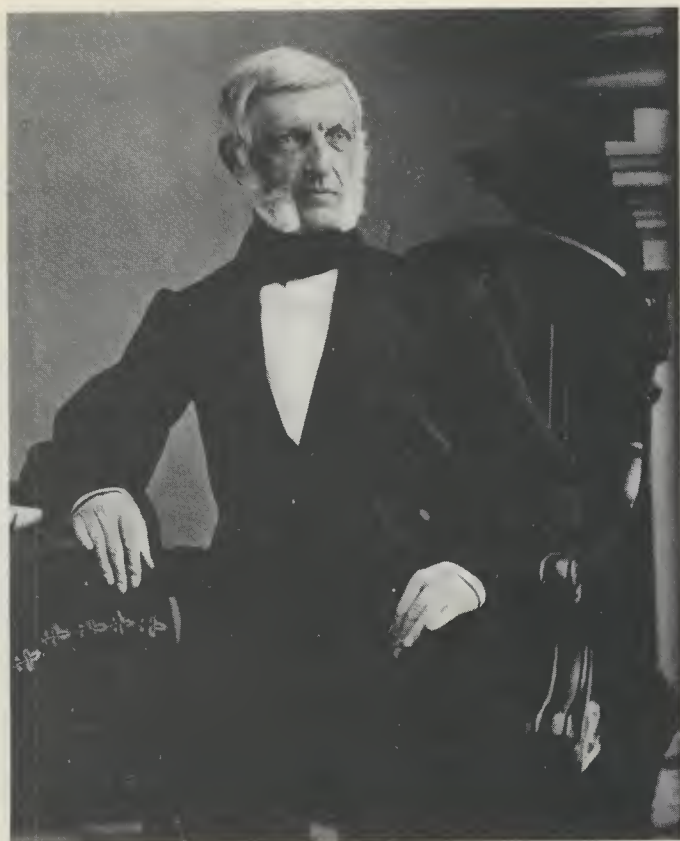
The list of writers who served abroad is long and varied. They were secretaries, consuls and chiefs of mission. They reaped the benefits of their patrons' victories, and were sometimes the victims of a patron's defeat. They enjoyed the salary and prestige of diplomatic service, but often chafed under the unavoidable routine.

One of the first writers to serve overseas was Joel Barlow, the Connecticut man whose output is now read only by historians of

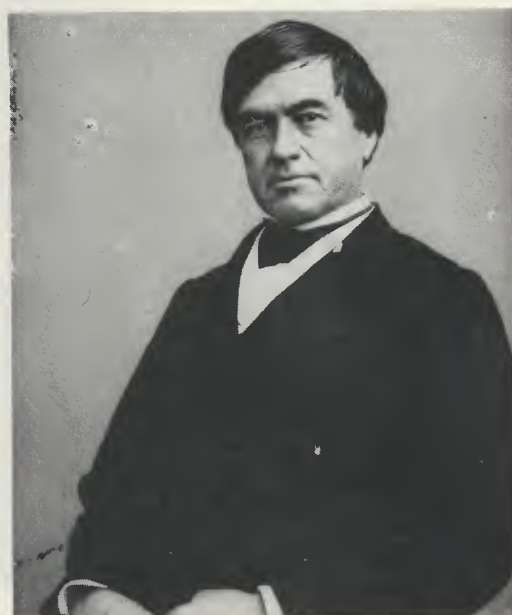


Washington Irving

Edward Devol joined the Press Division of State's international information program in 1950. Before his retirement in January of 1975 he had served in several positions in USIA, including a tour in Athens. At the time of his retirement he was Managing Editor of IPS's Press Division.



George Bancroft



Cassius Marcellus Clay

American literature, but who was hailed as a genius when his 4,700-line patriotic verse epic, "The Vision of Columbus," appeared in 1787. His American popularity suffered when he became what his New England friends considered entirely too fervent an admirer of the French Revolution. The leaders of the revolution were delighted by his essays in their defense and his verses making satirical sport of British conservatives like Edmund Burke. The Republic made him an honorary French citizen, and sent him on a diplomatic mission to persuade Savoy to merge with France.

In those times of more casual outlook toward the obligations of American citizenship, Barlow's service to France did not prevent George Washington from using his negotiating skills. In 1795, the honorary French citizen was sent to Algiers to obtain the release of American sailors held for ransom by the Barbary pirates. In 1812, as President Madison's Minister to France, Barlow set out for Moscow to get Napoleon's agreement to a treaty of commerce, was caught in the Grand Army's re-

treit, and died of exposure in a snow-covered village in Poland.

Diplomatic status provided advantages to an American abroad even if no official duties were expected of its possessor. James Fenimore Cooper, already known as the author of "The Last of the Mohicans," sailed for Europe in 1826 with a commission as United States consul in Lyons in his pocket, thanks to Secretary of State Henry Clay. It brought neither money nor responsibility—Cooper did not even reside in Lyons—but provided him with a useful identity as an official person during his eight years in Europe. In the same year, Washington Irving began three years in Madrid as an "attache" to the US legation. No work was expected of him, either, but the diplomatic status gave him easier access to official archives in collecting documents for his "Life and Voyages of Columbus," published in 1828.

A year later, Irving's friends in Washington urged Andrew Jackson to honor the now-famous author, even though he was no Democrat and in fact had no strong party al-

legiance at all. The frontier lawyer and duelist struck a blow for literature and named Irving secretary of the London legation.

Irving blithely assumed his new post would leave him ample time to complete other books on Spain. Alas, says one biographer: "His diplomatic chores took up most of his daytime hours; nor was it sensible to give up his evening social life to devote that time to writing." He had even less time to himself when the chief of mission fell ill, and Irving had to write the reports which the State Department expected from its legation. Both the Minister and Secretary of State Van Buren left it on record that the secretary of legation was quite effective in his performance.

In 1842, Irving was comfortable in his country house near Tarrytown, New York, making ready for what was to be the culmination of his life's work, his biography of George Washington. "I have been astounded," he wrote a friend, "by the intelligence of my having been nominated to the Senate as Minister to Spain . . . It was perfectly unsolicited."

Again friends and admirers—among them Daniel Webster, now Secretary of State—had proposed a diplomatic appointment and President John Tyler had consented. Irving spent four years as Minister to Spain. There were no serious diplomatic problems but routine duties were time-consuming and once again he found no time for writing. When Polk succeeded Tyler, Irving expected to be replaced, and resigned before his successor was named.

In Paris during the 1820s Irving had collaborated on several plays with an old acquaintance from New York, John Howard Payne, who had lived in Europe for years as an actor and playwright. Among Payne's enormous output (one authority says he wrote more than 60 plays) was an 1823 work called "Clari, the Maid of Milan," in which a simple country girl who has eloped with a duke sings the nostalgic song, "Home Sweet Home." In the same year that President Tyler sent Irving to Madrid, he appointed Payne US consul in Tunis, a post from which he was dismissed by the Polk administration. When the political wheel of fortune rotated again in 1851, Whig Millard Fillmore sent Payne back to the Tunis consulate, where he died a year later.

The 1840s brought the first diplomatic assignments for two Boston writers. The younger was John Lathrop Motley, the 27-year-old author of a mediocre novel when he went to St. Petersburg as secretary of legation under Tyler. He was to publish another novel, but his fame would come from his books on the history of the Netherlands. Motley did not like St. Petersburg: the climate was bad, his duties uninspiring, and the cost of living high. He quit after a few months, but his taste for diplomacy was not yet satisfied; he would eventually find opportunities to practice it in more congenial surroundings.

George Bancroft was one of the really political creatures among the writers who served in US overseas missions. He had published essays and criticism as a young man, but his real recognition came with the first volumes of his "History of the United States," in the 1830s. Reviewers called it a masterpiece that would last "while the memory of America lasts."

Such publicity did no harm to Bancroft's political ambitions. He was a fervent Democrat at a time when there were few such creatures among Massachusetts' leading citizens, and Democratic administrations rewarded him for it. He was Collector of the Port of Boston under Van Buren (and appointed Hawthorne to the Boston Custom House); and Secretary of the Navy early in Polk's administration. In 1846, Polk sent him to London as Minister, where he re-

**"Washington was a
dismal school . . .
The vultures descended
on it in swarms
and tore the carrion of
political patronage into
fragments and gobbets
of fat and lean,
on the very steps
of the White House."**

mained until Zachary Taylor removed him. Bancroft made good use of his three years abroad, returning home with "the most complete collection of source material from British and French national archives any American historian had acquired." He, too, would be seen again in an overseas mission.

The spring of 1861 in Washington brought Lincoln's inauguration, threat of war, and thousands of applicants for patronage jobs. They drove Lincoln almost to distraction, invading the White House and streaming into the offices of all who might have the power of appointment under the new Administration.

Henry Adams, the 23-year-old grandson of one president and great-grandson of another, saw it all from his position as private secretary to his Congressman father and did not like it: "Washington was a dismal school. . . . The vultures descended on it in swarms that darkened the ground, and tore the carrion of political patronage into fragments and gobbets of fat and lean, on the very steps of the

White House." Soon Henry's father was the recipient of a diplomatic appointment from the new president and the disgruntled private secretary went off to London to be private secretary to the new American minister.

Lincoln, with a war on his hands and a constituency eager for public employment after 30 years of largely Democratic administrations, "made the most thoroughgoing sweep of the government service ever seen up to his time." For the thousands of applicants there were thousands of jobs, both at home and abroad. Yet, not all could be put on the payroll.

Among the throngs of office-seekers that spring was Herman Melville, 41 years old, discouraged author and not-very-successful lecturer on his European travels. His most recent books were not the kind the public wanted to read and he needed money. Friends persuaded him to go to Washington and seek the consulate at Florence. He had tried for a consulate once before—in 1853, the same year his friend Hawthorne took up his duties in Liverpool. Nothing came of his application then or now.

Melville spent several days in Washington. He even attended a White House levee and was one of the hundreds who shook hands with the President. He was perhaps not a forceful enough job-seeker and detested the humiliation of waiting long hours in the ante-chambers of men who were too busy or too important to see him. He wrote his wife: "I have been unable to accomplish anything in the matter of the consularship—have not in fact been able as yet so much as even to see anyone on the subject." The consular service was never to have the author of "Moby Dick" on its rolls.

Another applicant managed to get an interview with Lincoln's two young secretaries, John Hay and John Nicolay, who were impressed by the 24-year-old Columbus, Ohio, newspaperman, and author of one of the numerous campaign biographies of Lincoln in 1860. The President knew about William Dean Howells, of course, although his first knowledge of the young author had irritated him. Howell's publisher had advertised that his was an "authorized" biography. "I authorize nothing—will be respon-

sible for nothing," Lincoln wrote the publisher and refused even to look at the proofs.

Still, Howells had performed a service, and had come to Washington well-equipped with recommendations from Ohio politicians. Soon he sailed off to Venice as consul and spent the war in peaceful, almost undisturbed study of Italian literature and the composition of poetry. His Venetian experience produced two travel books. The first of his score of novels was not published until 1871.

In London Henry Adams actually worked quite hard as an unpaid member of the legation. The entire staff consisted of the Minister, the secretary, an assistant secretary, and Henry, who described himself as doing the work of a second secretary: copying documents and correspondence, filing letters, and studying the newspapers in order to report to the Minister on British views toward the United States.

These views were generally hostile and in one instance the youthful second secretary and foreign service dependent caused a temporary increase in the hostility. Determined to be "useful" in other ways than clerking, he provided the few friendly editors in London with "news and views that should have a certain common character, and prevent clash." This press-officer activity caused no harm and may even have done some good. The harm resulted from Henry's use of his pen.

A Boston newspaper published his long account of a visit to Manchester, whose mills were suffering from the effects of the Union blockade on Southern exports of cotton. The article made passing reference to aspects of London life and manners which young Adams did not find to his liking.

Unfortunately, the Boston editor disregarded his request not to put his name on the article. When the London TIMES learned of it, the response was a scathing editorial about the insolent young American who had dared to laugh at his betters. It was an embarrassment to the chief of mission, and taught Henry a lesson that all foreign service dependents must absorb: they are not quite the "independent and free citizens" Henry had at first thought himself to be in London.

He decided never to be "useful" again.

Aboard ship with the Adams family when they sailed for England on May 1, 1861, was a Lincoln appointee who would be a thorn to another writer. The shipboard companion was Cassius Marcellus Clay, Kentucky Republican, veteran abolitionist, "eccentric egotist," and now US Minister to Russia.

As the war grew fierce, Clay tired of diplomacy and made it known he would prefer to come

"He refused to practice the military art as long as the Administration did not declare slavery abolished, and Lincoln, quite aware of the importance of the eccentric Kentuckian, returned him to his former post."

home and be a general. Early in 1862, Lincoln was able simultaneously to gratify the Kentuckian's yen for military rank, and to rid himself of Simon Cameron, the influential Pennsylvanian whose tenure as Secretary of War had been marked by a dismaying degree of favoritism and graft in the letting of contracts. Clay came home and became a major general; Cameron went to St. Petersburg as his successor.

In May, 1862, the State Department sent Cameron a new secretary of legation, 37-year-old Bayard Taylor, who was a formidable figure in his own right—journalist, essayist, poet, master of several languages, writer of successful travel books. Indeed, Taylor seemed to have gone almost everywhere: he was in California during the Gold Rush, had sailed with Commodore Perry to Japan; had ascended the Nile as far as the Second Cataract. His book on a walking tour of Europe had gone through 20 editions. He had been invited to read his poetry at Harvard, and in his lifetime came to be regarded as the country's most distinguished poet.

Despite his reputation, he was

not financially secure and could make good use of the salary of legation secretary. He also had a taste for more travel and an interest in higher rank in the diplomatic service.

Cameron and Taylor got along well, but the former Secretary of War could not endure his exile for long, and yearned for political office in Washington. He returned to Pennsylvania to run for the Senate and Taylor was left in charge of the legation for several months. His successful management of affairs led him to believe not only that he was capable of being Minister, but also that he had a claim on the job.

He sent a stream of letters to Washington to gain support for his claim. He obtained pledges from influential men to place his request before the President—Vice President Hannibal Hamlin, George Bancroft, former diplomat and Navy Secretary, and Cameron himself.

Taylor's friends wielded less influence than those who pressed Lincoln in a different direction. Yet, Cameron wrote his former subordinate, all was not lost; although the St. Petersburg mission was not to be Taylor's, the President would probably give him a special mission to Persia. A temporary assignment, but an interesting one.

Taylor never went to Persia, for the new Minister was Cassius Clay himself. He refused to practice the military art as long as the Administration did not declare slavery abolished throughout the seceded states, and Lincoln, quite aware of the political importance of the eccentric Kentuckian, patiently returned him to his former post. Taylor resigned in disgust. It would be another fifteen years before his ambition to be chief of mission was satisfied.

The Civil War brought back into service John Lathrop Motley, the Bostonian who had so disliked St. Petersburg's climate and high prices in 1841. Since then he had published another novel, written literary and historical essays, and even served a term in the Massachusetts legislature. He had also found his subject, and in 1856, after ten years of research, in European archives, published at his own expense "The Rise of the Dutch Republic," a vivid three-volume ac-



James Russell Lowell

"No, never say nothin' without you're compelled tu,
An' then don't say nothin' that you can be held tu."

— The Biglow Papers, James Russell Lowell

count of the 17th century Dutch struggle for independence. Although commercial publishers had said it would not sell, the public bought 15,000 sets in the first two years, and Motley was encouraged to continue the work on Dutch history that occupied him for the rest of his life.

In 1861 he was in London continuing his research. Disturbed by the considerable sympathy for Southern independence in the British press, Motley wrote two long letters to the *LONDON TIMES*, amounting to "a plea for the sacredness of the Union as an organic, vitalized whole." As a historian of European reputation, his views carried some weight and may have changed a few minds among readers of the *TIMES*. More significantly, the letters were reprinted in America and much appreciated by the harassed Lincoln administration. Furthermore, Motley was a friend of Charles Sumner, of the Chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee.

Inquiries were made. Motley had never lost his interest in diplomacy, the White House was grateful for his support, and Sumner's desires

could not be casually disregarded. Motley was appointed Minister to the Austro-Hungarian Empire and served in Vienna until 1867. In 1869 Grant named him Minister to the Court of St. James.

Motley enjoyed both the assignments. He was able to continue his research, travel about Europe, and visit frequently with his close friend Otto von Bismarck, a fellow student at Gottingen in the 1830s.

Pleasant as Vienna and London were, both sojourns ended badly. Late in 1866, Motley received a letter from Secretary of State Seward. A private American citizen had written the President that he had heard several American diplomats in Europe, including Motley, express strong disagreement with Johnson's Reconstruction policy, and—much more serious—speak contemptuously of the President, the Secretary, and the American democratic system.

At the President's direction, Seward asked for comments by all the diplomats named by the traveler, assuming they would simply deny the charges and the annoying matter could then be dropped.

Motley, the gentleman and scholar, was insulted at being required to dignify the slurs by formal comment. He wrote Seward that although he did not approve of all aspects of the President's policy, he had expressed no public disapproval; he had certainly never uttered words of disrespect for the President or the Secretary. He ended his indignant letter by offering his resignation. Seward reported this to the President. Andrew Johnson knew Motley was a Sumner man and Sumner had become his bitter enemy. "Let him go," Johnson told Seward and Motley's pleasant years in Vienna came to an end.

Two years later, Sumner was still looking out for his friend and persuaded Grant to give Motley the London legation. Within months, Sumner was thwarting Grant's effort to get Senate ratification for a treaty for the purchase of Santo Domingo. To get the obstructionist Senator out of the way, Secretary of State Fish offered the London legation to Sumner himself. His refusal did not save the job for Motley. As a Sumner man, he would have to go.

Motley received a letter from Fish, inviting him to resign. He refused. Next came a copy of the letter informing the Queen of his successor, and instructions to turn over all government property to the legation secretary. So ended the diplomatic career of John Lathrop Motley, twice a casualty in the political battles of Charles Sumner.

In the 19th century Massachusetts seemed to grow an inexhaustible supply of writers and none was more famous than James Russell Lowell. Poet, political essayist, critic, successor to Longfellow as Harvard professor of modern languages, first editor of the *ATLANTIC MONTHLY*—there was nothing he could not write and, it seemed to Boston and Cambridge, little he did not know. He was without doubt the leading man of letters in the second half of the century. Today we pay him little attention, although anthologies sometimes print some of his essays or "The Vision of Sir Launfal," in which appears the familiar line, "What is so rare as a day in June?"

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"Nationalism in the 20th century is as antiquated and as dangerous as Greek city-statism was in the first century." — Arnold Toynbee

Financial Realities Behind Oil Power in Iran

ANINDYA K. BHATTACHARYA

One of the key issues that will affect the "interdependence" of nations in the next decade and perhaps beyond is the question of "recycling" of petrodollars accumulated in the hands of member states belonging to the Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries (OPEC). The future stability or turmoil in the international system will be shaped to a large extent by how the western world carries on its relations with major oil-producing countries in trade and investment areas.

As the year 1976 unfolds, the prospect of an ever-growing oil-revenue surplus of OPEC is increasingly being replaced by that of a potential downward trend in such revenues in the years to come—a phenomenon aptly characterized by First National City Bank as the "final act in a drama." Dwindling oil income of OPEC connotes a two-fold significance. In the first place, the concerns of 1974 have become obsolete. The specter of "too much money in the wrong hands" creating havoc in international trade and finance has lost much of its importance as a major policy issue in the industrialized world. It is now clear that western pessimists had exaggerated the "chaos" scenario and had paid little attention to the multiple intricacies of OPEC dependence on the western world. Secondly, declining oil revenues could lead to widening current account deficits of many OPEC countries and sharp revisions in ambitious diversification programs of the vast majority of oil-producing nations.

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Of all OPEC members, Iran has consistently adopted the most hardline approach to oil prices and has embarked upon by far the most spectacular development plan. Dwindling oil income could have a profound impact on both the Iranian ideology relating to oil price and the Iranian Fifth Five-Year Development Plan lasting from 1972-73 to 1977-78 (Iranian years 1352-56).

The Iranian Position on Oil Prices

With a population greater than that of all Persian Gulf states put together, an industrial base broader than that of other countries in the area, and a military machine mightier than that of neighboring countries, Iran—the second largest producer of oil in the cartel and the fourth largest in the world—has been one of the most influential and articulate members of OPEC, voicing OPEC demands vociferously vis-à-vis the industrialized world. According to Iranian authorities, the industrial world built its post-war prosperity largely on "cheap" oil, the posted price of which was lowered unilaterally by western oil companies from \$2.17 a barrel in 1947 to \$1.79 by 1969—a move viewed in Iran as a sheer "exploitation" of the country's most precious resource. At the same time, the prices of agricultural and industrial goods that Iran needed to import from the western world rose by an average of 300 percent during the same period. The Iranian authorities feel that oil is much too "noble" a product to be put to indiscriminate "inferior" uses such as heating, fuel, and electricity, and should be conserved for use as feedstock for chemical and petrochemical products—a measure all the more desirable in view of the fact that oil is a non-replenishable

product and that the supply of oil will probably be depleted by the end of this century. Iran has also emphasized the point that, even with high prices, oil is still cheaper than alternative ways of obtaining energy, and that one can get about 10,000 derivatives from oil in the petrochemical field—derivatives that are unobtainable from other energy sources.

Using her privileged position in the cartel, Iran has been in the forefront of the OPEC drive to push oil prices upwards, and has benefited handsomely from the quadrupling of oil prices since October 1973. Between 1973 and 1974, Iranian oil income quadrupled, crude oil production and oil exports went from 5.9 to 6 BBD, and Iranian GNP and per capita GNP growth rates recorded most impressive gains. Today, Iranian per capita GNP stands at a respectable \$1,500 in current prices—three times the amount registered in 1973.

The Iranian Fifth Five-Year Plan

The Iranian Fifth Five-Year Development Plan is more ambitious than anything undertaken in the country so far. All targets have been revised upward in anticipation of rising oil revenues. The Fifth Plan has committed \$69.6 billion in total fixed capital investment in the civilian sector of the economy—nearly twice the amount earmarked in the initial 1973 version of the Fifth Plan and seven times larger than the sum invested during the Fourth Five-Year plan.

The Bank Markazi (Central Bank of Iran) Annual Reports and the Budget of the Imperial Government of Iran published annually by the Plan and Budget Organization convey a good impression of the revenue sources and expendi-

ture allocations during the Fifth Plan. On the revenue side, oil income is expected to account for as much as 83 percent of total revenues anticipated during the Fifth Plan period. The importance of taxes (both direct and indirect) and other revenues pales into insignificance by comparison. The country is expected to engage in deficit financing to the tune of \$2.9 billion, much of which is supposed to be financed through utilization of foreign loans.

On the expenditure side, defense allocations comprise the most important element in the budget, taking up more than a quarter of total allocations. Among the civilian sectors of the economy the largest amount of development funds has been allocated to the economic affairs sector, followed by social affairs and public affairs. Within the economic sector, the largest amounts have been earmarked for industries and mines, followed by oil and gas and transportation—a clear indication of the government's desire for industrial diversification. In the social field, housing and education occupy the highest priority reflecting the country's awareness of the infrastructure bottlenecks facing Iran today.

As far as the Iranian balance-of-payments situation is concerned, the projections for the Fifth Plan show a positive net current account due to excess oil-export receipts and a negative net capital account due to repayments of foreign loans and credits. The overall balance of payments is expected to show a tidy surplus.

The estimates for the Fifth Plan assume, among other things, a sustained rate of growth in oil-export receipts and are subject to revisions, depending upon the actual outcome, which, as we know today, has diverged substantially from initial projections.

Dwindling Oil Income: Possible Modifications of Targets

The extremely ambitious targets of the Fifth Plan appear to be headed for some revisions in the years ahead. The unlimited growth in oil income assumed in the Fifth Plan projections is already checked by recession-induced demand conditions in the industrialized world. Actual oil-revenue income in 1975 and in the first quarter of 1976 has

fallen far short of what had been expected in the budget.

The problem is that, since the last quarter of 1974, petroleum production levels in Iran have been falling, and Iranian oil exports have experienced steadily declining volumes.

Much of Iran's problem on the oil-revenue front derives from the fact that the demand for heavy fuel oil has plummeted in the developed world due to depressed conditions in the industrial use of residual fuel and fuel substitution. Western oil companies complain that Iranian heavy crude oil is overpriced at \$11.28 per barrel in relation to both what the market could take and to other OPEC deals that are available elsewhere due to "price shaving." The oil companies want a renegotiation of the 1973 oil agreement with Iran, whereby they are required to put up 40 per cent of total capital costs involved in oil exploration and development of oil fields.

At the same time, imports of capital goods, intermediate goods, and consumer goods, have been rising at a rate much faster than anticipated. Some of the increase in the dollar value of imports can be attributed to worldwide inflation, which has also been eroding the real value of Iran's oil income.

Moreover, Iran has committed vast sums of money totaling \$12 billion in foreign official assets. A First National City Bank study indicates that the accumulation of Iranian net assets abroad will reach its peak in 1976 and then start to decline, leading to a negative figure by 1980 due to either a running down of accumulated capital assets or extensive borrowing in the private capital markets of the west.

Finally, Iran, like other OPEC members, has embarked on an impressive foreign aid program. Disbursed aid as a percentage of Iranian GNP amounts to nearly two per cent, and the chief beneficiaries of Iranian aid have been India, Pakistan, Egypt, Turkey, Sudan, and Syria, together with African countries south of the Sahara. The Iranian aid performance contrasts with some 0.3 per cent in official development aid from developed countries of the west belonging to the Development Assistance Committee (DAC) of the Organization for Economic Cooperation

and Development (OECD).

The falling demand for crude oil and the erosion of the real value of oil income are causes of great concern to the Iranian authorities. While the Iranian foreign exchange position remains healthy, much of it is being drawn down to meet Iran's commitments abroad, including payments for imports of goods and services and foreign-aid disbursements. Morgan Guarantee Trust estimates indicate that in 1975 Iran borrowed more than \$265 million from the Euro-currency market, and that such borrowings exceeded \$420 million in the first quarter of 1976 alone.

In order to get around the problem of dwindling oil income and rising commitments, The Shahanshah of Iran has proposed an "indexing" method for valuation of the price of oil, whereby the latter will be tied to the imported price of a "basket" of goods that Iran needs. Also, Iranian officials have hinted that the future price of oil will probably have to go up to \$15 a barrel when the present OPEC price expires at the end of 1976. Finally, the Iranian authorities expect that some non-essential imports in the consumer-goods sector and the overseas aid and investment programs will probably have to be cut back.

The Future Scenario: Implications and Conclusions

The overall picture for the Iranian economy is far from bleak, despite some short-run problems arising out of oil-export receipts. The foreign-exchange reserve position of the country remains basically enviable. The domestic inflation rate, which had been averaging between 25 to 30 per cent per annum, has been controlled quite effectively by official subsidies of basic foods and severe crackdowns on blackmarketeers.

Even assuming the worst scenario for Iran—namely, a drop in demand for oil combined with a glut in the supply of oil—the vast diversification programs already undertaken will have borne fruit by the 1980s. By around 1985-90, petrochemical production, together with natural gas, iron and steel, copper and rubber, and invisible exports such as shipping and oil tankers, will bring in sufficient rev-

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Does a Bicentennial Excursion Fare entitle you to take a round trip inside two hundred years? And what about a bimonthly publication? Does it come out every two weeks or every two months?

If patches of ambiguity persist in the daily use of our own language by native speakers of English, how can we fairly poke fun at what other people do to and with English and their own or neighboring languages as they keep shaping words to suit their perceptions of the world around them. It may not be fair, but it's fun anyway and as exciting and harmless as stalking big game with a camera. Yet it is definitely less strenuous and less costly, a game that can be pursued at diplomatic receptions even in times of crisis as I have discovered in three trips around the world over the past eighteen months. The source of supply never seems to dry up and each etymological tracking report published in these pages brings new leads and reminiscences from readers bitten by the same bug.

Beyond the funny looks or poignant meanings of the borrowed and reprocessed words themselves, literal translations and misinterpretations cause words to become the key to comic or tragicomic situations. I hope readers will delve into their own memories to add to the starter collection recalled from the vantage point of this writer's template on reality.

In Japan this time I discovered the constant use by media people of the word *Maskomi* (マスコミ). It sounds very legitimate Japanese. It means "mass communications," a direct borrowing from English to create a new indigenous concept. The masters of eclectic acquisition reached into two languages—English and German—to shape *bakshan* (バックシャン), a widely-used colloquial term used to describe, with an admiring grin, the tilting hips of the lady hurrying just ahead of you along a Tokyo sidewalk. "Back" is self-explanatory, "shan" is a somewhat altered German *schön* (beautiful) that has lost its umlaut. Honest. I

George G. Wynne, USIA, has been a contributor to the JOURNAL for many years—on subjects ranging from missing obelisks to Vietnamese proverbs through urban problems and into government travel vouchers.

"The question is," said Alice, whether you *can* make words mean so many different things."—
Lewis Carroll

Word Sleuthing: Or "Anyone for Deckchairs on the Titanic?"

GEORGE G. WYNNE

was told the combination was made up after the first war by students returning from abroad.

Much earlier imports were "shappo" (シャッポ) and "shabon" (シャボン) originating in France respectively as chapeau (hat) and savon (soap). Today these words are used only in country dialect in the prefectures where the foreigners first stepped ashore. City Japanese use "boshi" for hat and "sekken" for soap, and amusingly consider the European imports as country bumpkin words. Local versions of savon for soap have entered several Asian languages. For example, R. L. Kranker of USAID Bangkok writes: "in Vietnamese the word

for soap is *xabon*. One can see the Portuguese and French influence immediately." The letter adds that *xemang* stands for cement in Vietnamese. In Japanese, incidentally, it's *semento* (セメント), not really too far from the original Latin *caementum*, which meant rough stone or stone chippings. Foreign words absorbed become your own but direct translations can be tricky. I have heard the story of a Japanese businessman picking up the phone in his New York hotel room and startling the caller with a high-pitched: "if if." All Japanese shout *mushi mushi* (モシモシ) into the receiver when they pick up a ringing telephone. It means *hello hello* when voiced in combination but for some absurd linguistic reason that totally escapes me, just plain *mushi* translates as the preposition *if*. It doesn't pay to stick too closely to the dictionary. By the same token, consider the impact on the guest at a formal dinner in the home of a Japanese dignitary of this sentence, delivered in halting English by the apologetic host:

"We can offer you nothing to eat, will you now please proceed to the dining room."

This is a literal rendering into English of the same self-disparaging politeness that causes traditional Japanese to refer to their "stupid" sons or daughters when talking with parental pride to strangers about their children.

Words also play mean tricks when taken quite literally without allowing for slight variations in pronunciation. What I took to be the same sort of self-depreciation as practiced in Japan when the dean of an applied arts faculty in Indonesia kept talking about "the rotten furniture designed by the students," turned out to be no value judgment but the way *rattan* is pronounced in Bandung. I felt pretty silly about politely protesting the skills and talents of the young designers. He was absolutely right on the pronunciation, incidentally. I found out later that *rattan* comes from the Malay *rotan*, a climbing palm with tough, flexible stems.

There is less confusion when words are borrowed directly from another language, soon lose their imported appearance and identity and have to be learned as standard

Malay by the language student. Some examples are *almari* for wardrobe or closet from the French *armoire*, which then becomes *almari es* for refrigerator, *es* being ice, thus ice closet. Similarly, *horloge*, French for clock, becomes *arlogi* for wristwatch in Bahasa Indonesia.

Total confusion reigns where familiar words or symbols in one language acquire a completely new meaning in another. A traffic sign with a long-skirted figure, which might mark the door of a ladies' room in some countries, denotes a pedestrian crossing in Burma where both sexes wear the *lungi*. In Bahasa Indonesia, on the other hand, a small ² above a word or a phrase which makes the sentence look like a formula or an equation, merely signifies the plural form as in *buku²* which means books. As I drove around Colombo, the capital of Sri Lanka, where English is still the official language, I saw such signs as *Motor Car Halting Place* which means Bus Stop. "Do you know Dudley Perera, he is one of the blind Pereras" was a question put to me, a string of words that made surface sense, only it didn't. There is no clan of sightless Pereras. The key to that particular puzzle is held by every Ceylonese who know that the Portuguese gave their names to many of the inhabitants when they took over the island hundreds of years ago. Today there are thousands of Pereiras and thousands of Pereras. A blind Perera obviously is one without the i. Silly, but no more so than the *prefix dinner* I saw listed on the menu of the good ship *Dandy*, the excursion boat on the Potomac. Perhaps some components of the meal were prefabricated, but I think what the management had in mind was *prix fixe*, phonetically.

I apologize for the diversion to quote at this point from a Damascus restaurant menu. This comes under the rubric of restaurateurs as agents of cross-cultural gastronomic transmission, or what you can do to international dishes if you really try: Continental favorites include a tender *Feeleh Mignon*, a succulent *Shatoberyan*, a racy *Steak Boaveer*, or for larger appetites a *Max Greel*. The more adventurous might try *Frogs Panieh*, *Birds 10* or *Chicken Kindness*. Under the Arabic Dishes are

found 200 grams of *Sheep's Eggs*, which I suspect is a literal translation of an Arabic term with a more virile connotation. Side dishes feature *Rice with Espagodi*, *Sheep Legs Broth* and to wash it all down the menu offers a choice of: whiskey 1 liter, ½ liter, ¼ liter or for dainty tastes, whiskey 1 cup, before proceeding to such sweets as *Gelley with Fruit*. These jottings all have to do with funny situations that result from misspellings or misinterpretations. (An American Arabist told me he saw a sign *Pubic Barber* along the route to town from the airport in Saana. *Public* was meant according to the Arabic script above, which leads me to voice the pious hope our PAOs exercise care in the selection of sign painters in the Arab states.)

Inside each language though, the sonorous beauty of onomatopoeic words that echo the sounds or sights they depict provide a charming commentary on what the same external world sounds like to different language users. *Donner* is thunder in German. On this trip I picked up the like word used in Afghanistan—*babaghorghori*. It translates literally to *grandfather of noise*. Try it with cock-a-doodle-doo, the rooster's call, as imitated by different languages. For butterfly it's *papillon* in French, *farfalla* in Italian, *cho cho*

(蝶蝶) in Japanese. You can almost touch those fluttering wings. So what's wrong with *Schmetterling*, said the German professor. Speaking of butterflies did you know that in Indonesian, *kupu kupu malam* or night butterflies, —can you sense the nervous fluttering of the wings? —is the name given to ladies of easy virtue.

We have been concerned with meaning and changes of meaning as

words flit back and forth between languages. But occasionally, without knowing any words, the total meaning is revealed. Early in the 19th century the story was told of a German journeyman carpenter who walked all the way to the Netherlands port of Amsterdam. He was impressed by the wealth of the great city. As he walked along the docks sturdy ships unloaded precious spices from the orient. "Whose are these ships?" the journeyman asked a passerby. *Kannitverstan*, came the answer in Dutch. I do not understand. He walked past a magnificent mansion along main street. When inquiring after the ownership, he once again hears *Kannitverstan*. On and on he walked, taking in the sights of the bustling port city. A gilded carriage drawn by four horses clattered past. Inside a beautiful lady in a lace gown. Whose consort? *Kannitverstan*, of course. He walked for hours. Everything seemed to belong to *Kannitverstan*. Dusk fell when, you guessed it, a stately funeral procession hove in sight. Our tired journeyman was on his way to the inn for his night's lodgings but he had just enough energy left to ask the day's final question: "And who is the poor fellow they are laying to rest?" Of course it was *Kannitverstan*. The simple journeyman without understanding anything, had understood everything.

Misunderstood words had led to an eternal truth on the impermanence of life. But misreading signals rarely leads to such valid results. The Austrian mission in Hongkong is still smarting over the huge ice sculpture of a kangaroo, masterwork of a Chinese chef, that graced the center of the buffet table at the diplomatic reception on its national day celebrated at the local luxury hotel some years ago.

Not only words but intentions are frequently misunderstood in a cross-cultural setting. When the British Ambassador presented two Yorkshire puppies together with his credentials to the last Empress of China, the formidable dowager Tzu Hsi as a personal remembrance from Queen Victoria, he was served the dogs soon thereafter at an imperial banquet in his honor. Little brown dogs were a delicacy. What could be more courteous than to ask the envoy to share in the enjoyment of his



sovereign's thoughtful gift? It would have been unthinkable for the Ambassador to refuse the proffered dish. The Empress herself had announced its contents. In his memoirs he described what followed as the worst moment of his diplomatic career. He had to swallow more than his pride.

From China misinterpretations and mistranslations like the *Boxer Rebellion* even enter world history. The *I-He-Chuan* or righteous united band was mistakenly rendered into English as righteous united hand, which obviously meant fist, hence boxer.

Even people who speak the same language can have trouble understanding correctly when the adrenalin starts pumping. Henry Dunlap vouches for this story. It happened to a pilot friend of his:

Early in World War II, a nervous tail gunner soloed for the first time on target practice at an aerial gunnery school somewhere in the Southwest. Just the pilot and him. Everything seemed to go well as he sat strapped into this parachute gear by the open hatch, firing burst after burst at the towed target. But after a couple of minutes, the pilot tapped him on the shoulder. The spent rounds were interfering with his control of the guide wire for the rudder. The wire ran along the floor of the small aircraft. "Save your brass," the pilot shouted. It was standard procedure to scoop up the expended brass, but the excited gunner was neglecting his check list. "Save your brass," the pilot shouted again, pointing to the cluttered wire. Suddenly the plane lurched. The pilot was alone. A parachute drifted down in the distance.

"Why the hell did you jump?" was the first question the pilot put to the gunner back at the base hospital. The gunner was in a cast. They had him in traction with a fractured ankle.

"What choice did I have? You kept pointing down and shouting: 'Save your Ass.'"

After this *tour d'horizon* of mistaken signals and nonverbal communications let's now return to the kind of word borrowings that characterize contemporary *mas-komi* society and the influence of English as a world language. Like their French neighbors we dealt with in an earlier article, Italian

language purists are extremely upset at the damage English has done to the tongue of Dante and d'Annunzio. *Italish* has become a first cousin to *Franglais*. The language of politics is international. Terms like leader, meeting, slogan, *boicotaggio* (boycott), *strategia nucleare*, *l'austerita* fill the daily papers as can be expected. But now there are also English buzzwords that have acquired new meanings after taking root in Italian soil. *Il footing* (in France *le footing*) means jogging. *Il crack* is not the result of too much footing or the inmate of a mental institution, but a generally accepted term for bankruptcy. In the clothing department, *il clergyman* is a cassock-like garment, *il trench* a raincoat and *il moutgomery* a duffle coat. This is only a hasty sampling from the eternal city that echoes each afternoon to the tooting of automobile horns as people head home during *il rush* to seek *il relax*. I'll ask my son who goes to school there to supply me with more.

The slogan and boycott mentioned above have interesting Gaelic-Irish antecedents known to relatively few people. *Sluaghghairm* meant a battle cry or an assembly signal, while *Boycott* was the name of an Irish captain ostracized by his neighbors during the land league troubles in Ireland in the 1880s. I am indebted to Burton E. Ashley for another Gaelic origin, this one of the expression "putting the kibosh on someone," which as everyone knows means to squelch, or put an end to a bothersome person, stop him in his tracks, as it were. According to an article quoted by Ashley *kibosh* is derived from the Gaelic *cie bais*, meaning the "cap of death"—and nothing, the article observes accurately, can be more final than that.

With the giant of the North looming over Latin America it is small wonder that the influence of English on Spanish exerted through the press, trade and industry, the movies, sports and travel is even more pronounced than in the case of French or Italian. Professor Jesse Levitt of the University of Bridgeport gives an impressive collection of instances from colloquial Spanish south of the border in a recent article published by the English-Speaking Union. The tendency is especially pronounced

when it comes to automotive terms given the predominance of Detroit products throughout the hemisphere. The words imported with the cars have largely replaced the original Spanish terms. There is *antifris* (anti-freeze) for *anticongelante*, *bomper* (bumper) for *paragolpes*, *chouk* (choke) for *obturador*, *guaiper* (windshield wiper) for *limpiavidrio*, *troc* or *troque* (truck) for *camión*, *espidómetro* (speedometer) for *velocímetro*, *flat* or *flataya* (flat tire) for *llanta*, *desinflada* and *bloaut* (blowout) for *reventón*.

Professor Levitt notes that American trademarks have become generic words in their own right. In Peru, *cuaquer* (from Quaker oats) has replaced the regular word for oats—avena. Similarly, *bividi* (from B. V. D.) now means a sleeveless shirt for men, *flit* (which is no longer seen widely in the United States) is any liquid insecticide, *scotch* or *escoch* a transparent adhesive tape, and *klinex*, a paper handkerchief.

Before and after dinner, Latinos are required to cope with such words as *coctel* (cocktail), *guisqui* (whiskey), *brandi*, *jaibol* (highball), *colcrin* (cold cream), *champu* (which incidentally came via English from the Hindi *champo*, 2nd person singular imperative "rub!", shampoo).

Besides the words that have entered "standard" Latin American Spanish, there are numerous local, regional and colloquial forms on which the impact of English is obvious.

In Puerto Rico *jolope* means holdup, *pana* (derived from partner), is an intimate friend and *to-fete*, a derivative of tough, is a braggart. Retired FSO Jesse Lee writes from Puerto Rico where he spent his childhood that heavy and tall persons started being called *gordemis* some years after the Americans took over the island in 1898. The reason: "When the Americans came they appeared to the locals to be very much bigger and fatter than they were and they were also saying 'godammit' all the time. A fat person in Spanish is a *gordo*," hence the connection. About the same time, Jesse writes, "the Americans introduced safety cans, presumably for garbage. This has become *safacón*, which is the only word here for containers to

throw garbage in." Finally, he reports that after Charles Lindbergh made his transatlantic crossing he visited Puerto Rico, and fruit ices started to be called "Lindbergs" in his honor. The "d" gradually disappeared and to this day they are *linbergs*. *Gordemis* and *safacón* are still in use as originally devised.

Back to Professor Levitt who notes that in Costa Rica *chinchibi* is ginger beer, *sontin*, from the English "something" as in "Let's eat something," is a light snack, and a *tanchec*, derived from "time check" means "a check given to a worker being laid off."

Sig Maitrejean of the USIA Inspections staff told me that in Peru a sweater is a *chompa*, derived from the British jumper. A *yamper*, on the other hand, says Levitt, is "a sleeveless dress," from more recent American usage.

Retired FSO Bob Owen writes that during his 1946 to 48 tour in Santo Domingo (then Ciudad Trujillo), a term commonly used for a saddle blanket was *oosah*, written *usa*, "derived from the USA with which the saddle blankets of the US Marine occupiers' mules and horses were prominently adorned some years earlier."

A nearly untapped area that could provide grist for another article is the use of colloquial loan translations which somehow sound even sillier in the borrower's language than in the lender's—*perros calientes* for hot dogs. Readers are invited to send examples.

The custom of importing other peoples' words together with their goods is not of recent vintage, nor is it confined to any one geographical area. In the trademark department, like the phonetic *bic*, *eye-ex* (Ajax), *tee-day* (Tide) and *oover* (Hoover) reported earlier, there is now also the *pakaa*, (phonetic) Thai word for fountain pen. Probably the first pens that came to Thailand were Parkers.

Gerry Gert's letter from Berlin adds to the many Russian words of eighteenth century German origin, *galstuk* (ГАЛСТУК) from *Halstuch*—neck cloth (now necktie in Russian) and *fortuk*—apron (from the obsolete German *Vor-tuch*—front cloth). And he notes that in Serbocroatian a *shrafziger* is a screwdriver and a gas range a *shporhert*, obviously from the *Schraubenzieher* and *Sparherd* (a

trade-mark) of neighboring Austria.

The Austrians, in turn, just to cite one example, have made *Karfiol* (cauliflower) phonetically from the Italian *cavola fiori* (French: *chouxfleur*) whereas the literal Germans use *Blumenkohl* which is an exact translation of "flower cabbage." Such instances abound.

But word borrowings are repaid with compound interest. It is this secondary application of originally borrowed terms, that acquire a new meaning and then re-enter their original language as foreign imports, that is of special interest to the language sleuth (*sloth*, from old Norse, a track, a trail). A classic example is the English *riding coat* which became phonetically a *red-ingote* in French and returned to English in the Webster definition as "a long unlined lightweight coat open down the front, worn by women." There is *chic*, a direct loan from the French for smart or stylish in appearance and dress, which the French in turn borrowed from the German *schicklich*, or proper, and which came back into German in the last century in its French orthography and meaning. Professor Walter J. Mueller, a retired FSO and FSI linguist writes: "Another German word appropriated by the French during the Thirty Years' War, actually a phrase, was *bei Wache* (at watch) referring to a military unit at rest but with sentries on duty. The French took this term over as *bivouac*." Later the Germans borrowed the French word back as *das Biwak* with the same military significance of temporary encampment with which it is used in English.

Dr. Mueller also questions my report on the derivation of *le vasis-tas*, a transom window that came into Russian via French from German (see FSJ Dec. 74). He says: "Documentation in the field of German linguistics traces this word back to the Thirty Years' War when French troops, among others, were in action in Germany. According to the documentation, these troops or bands of armed men, would come riding into towns, villages and courtyards, making a wild clatter on the cobblestones, shouting, shooting and the like. The sudden noise would set maids and others to fling-

ing open the small peephole windows in their kitchens, peering out and exclaiming, "was ist das?" in reponse to the disturbance. This is said to have happened so often that the French came to expect 'Was ist das?' to be uttered at the little windows and gradually came to identify the phrase with the place of utterance." I had a much more grisly definition harking back to the guillotine. Both may be correct.

In modern-day Spanish, finally, *rancho*, which started as a humble shelter, came to mean a large farm, after being borrowed by English and returning to Latin America with the same connotation as the North American ranch. Professor Levitt also advises that *cafeteria*, originally "a place where coffee is sold as a drink," has now acquired the meaning current in English.

This entire article has been devoted to foreign words in various contexts and the amusing connotations or comedies of error they evoke. Equally devastating can be a perfectly proper English word used by a foreigner with a fine sense of timing. Let me close by reporting that the head of an American Embassy section in a small oriental country was known among his colleagues as a stuffed shirt. He took little interest in the local environment and citizenry but never relaxed in his efforts to impress visiting firemen from Washington with his sophistication and wide range of contacts. A visitor from headquarters knocked on his door one day and our pompous friend got him invited on very short notice to a formal dinner hosted by the Ambassador.

As he swept through the lobby of the Ambassador's residence, with the visitor in tow, the impeccable Chinese butler in his spotless white tunic with the gold eagle buttons padded over deferentially: "What would you like to drink, Sir?" the soft-spoken servant addressed each in turn. The Washington guest gave his order first. Then came the local dignitary: "I am going to have the usual, Chin," he stated in a voice just a shade too high and a manner a shade too patronizing, demonstrating within earshot of the visitor, his familiarity with the Ambassador's home and the contents of his liquor cabinet.

The blow fell from the mysterious East: "What is the usual, Sir?"

"The theorists of the sixteenth century contended that the first diplomatists were angels, in that they served as 'angeloi' or messengers between heaven and earth."—Sir Harold Nicolson

DIPLOMACY: some professional and political perspectives

SMITH SIMPSON

Diplomacy, as George Santayana said of beauty, seems to be something not quite describable. "What it is and what it means," as the philosopher said of his subject, "can never be said." Few indeed have addressed the question of what diplomacy is and what it means, and fewer still have given much thought to whether it can be taught. Yet, as the United States has endeavored since World War II to match diplomatic resources to the demands of world politics, sometimes with disastrous results through a failure adequately to conceptualize diplomacy and its limits, it has become more and more urgent to do precisely this.

One of the first to try to define diplomacy was Harold Nicolson, subsequently knighted, who composed a graceful dissertation in 1939. Unfortunately, he took an overly limited definition. Instead of extracting a realistic meaning from his father's experience in the British diplomatic service or his

own in the Foreign Office, he resorted to the Oxford English dictionary which said that diplomacy is the management of international relations by negotiation. Then, through emphasis on the role which writing plays in sharpening diplomacy into an instrument of precision, Nicolson wound up insisting that it is not a verbal but a written art.

This, we should have recognized, is absurd. Being a political process, diplomacy is as much oral as scriptural and indeed finds expression in a variety of modes ranging from body language to the deployment of military forces. As in local and national politics, it is essentially maneuver for political and economic advantage, including more than is involved in normal negotiation, even if one stretches that term to its outermost limits of elasticity. Nicolson's problem may have been that his book was written for the "Home University" series of a British publisher and therefore had to be oversimplified for readers of limited education.

This problem became our own, for his little book, being the only treatise in our language, in addition to being written with seductive charm, became the bible of our dip-

lomatic establishment. Its argument that diplomacy is an art reinforced the view held by our practitioners that diplomats are born not made, and there is nothing about it which can be taught. Any attempted instruction was a waste of time and the sooner the newly commissioned officers were hustled to their first assignments the better for them and everyone else. So preparatory time was reduced from months to weeks—limited to six for the past several years. Compared to the three years demanded by the legal profession, the four by the medical and corresponding periods by other professions this should have warned us that our emphasis upon the art of diplomacy seriously undermined any claim of professional status for it.

Nor did anyone question why, if diplomacy is an art, it is the only art form deficient in teachable principles, techniques and approaches. The rudiments of every other art have been taught from time immemorial—those of sculpture to Phidias, those of painting to Michelangelo, those of music and composition to Beethoven. What is so special about the art of diplomacy?

Smith Simpson, a retired Foreign Service officer, is author of "Anatomy of the State Department," as well as many articles on US diplomacy. These articles have appeared in the JOURNAL, THE NATION and THE ANNALS OF THE AMERICAN ACADEMY OF POLITICAL AND SOCIAL SCIENCE.

The conventional wisdom of our establishment responded that diplomacy does not deal with physical things—marble, canvas and pigment, keyboards, sound waves and the like—but with human beings and these in cross-cultural situations demanding an inborn perceptivity and judgment. These, it maintained, could not be imparted. They were natal dispensations, conferred by the right kinds of ancestors. The developing science of psychology came more and more to contest this but we practitioners have always been leery of psychology, so any discussion of the nature and instructibility of diplomacy backed off before the question could be seriously considered whether the flowering of an inherited gift could be accelerated by suitable instruction. The point therefore seems never to have penetrated the wise old heads that instruction in an art is not necessarily intended to create but to fan and refine a genetic gift. Nor did the point register that there are different degrees of native endowment, so that appropriate assistance might enable a third-rate genius to become a second-rate; a second-rate, to enter the sacred portals of the first-rate; and the first-rate to become even more accomplished in a short time. This redounds to the benefit, in this case, of the employing government and the tax-paying nation it represents.

In addition, an exaggerated emphasis upon the genetic ingredient subjected our diplomacy to inordinate risks of overly personalized performance. In the minds of those who rose to senior levels by gift, luck or maneuver a dangerous supposition of elitism was nurtured. Officers, when entrusted with supervisory responsibility, all too frequently conducted themselves according to their own lordly lights rather than by professional criteria, with the result that colleagues and sometimes whole missions, consular posts and our government itself were victimized by arbitrary, unethical, sometimes even cruel, behavior. In recent decades when such was available, an inspector or team of inspectors has had to be dispatched from Washington to rein in a wayward and imperious chief of mission. Not a few of our problems with Presidents, Senators, Congressmen and the public

have been incubated by this conceit.

Without contesting that an art of diplomacy exists—as it does in all political processes—we should consider whether scientific ingredients are present as well. This possibility has been almost totally ignored, even by scholars who have labored at the definitional task. Practitioners have always greeted the suggestion with a snort of derision, for only the physical sciences, with their mathematical exactitude, have come to their minds. Even among scholars only one has been so bold as to assert that diplomacy is “both the art and science by which each state attempts to achieve success in its foreign policy short of forcing conclusions by armed conflict.” This was the French encyclopedist Grolier. Our own scholars have generally been content with such generalities as “the management of international relations,” “the use of accredited officials for intergovernmental communication,” “the business or art of conducting international intercourse” (at least there’s the art ingredient), or simply “the manner in which international relations are conducted.” Occasionally one has thrown in the towel completely by saying “diplomacy is what diplomats do.” Relatively few have endeavored to separate out the political processes, such as discussion, negotiation, conciliation and representation. This, although an incomplete inventory, takes the right path.

Innumerable political science departments in our institutions of higher learning insist that a political process possesses distinguishable scientific ingredients. They also concede that diplomacy possesses these by including it in their textbooks and courses on international relations but in so casual and abstract a way as to have little connection with its arduous, complex and risky operations. It is surprising, too, that almost no courses on diplomacy have been offered for in-depth treatment of a political process which constitutes our principal alternative to war and on which, therefore, humanity’s chances of survival depend. More astonishing, this has been the case until very recently even in schools, graduate and undergraduate, established to prepare those interested in

a diplomatic career. The Fletcher School of Law and Diplomacy (diplomacy, mind you) has seriously tackled this subject only in recent years under the deanship of a colleague of ours. The Georgetown School of Foreign Service is doing so this year. But the surprise *par excellence* has been the Foreign Service Institute, supposedly established, among other things, to ready newly commissioned officers for diplomatic service. FSI has ducked not only the issue of whether diplomacy as an art can be taught but also the issue of whether instruction in diplomacy as a political process can and should be provided in its “basic officers course.” In fact, the Institute has not even taught diplomatic practice, this being treated as some kind of Martian irrelevance to the routine, desk-bound “jobs” which are viewed as awaiting the young officers. “They won’t be involved in diplomacy for years,” has been the conventional view which has guided the Institute, as though a diplomatic service is somehow not a diplomatic service until one advances to senior ranks. This, of course, reflects the Nicolson eccentricity, for it is quite true that, with few exceptions, only senior officers are likely to participate in sufficiently high-level negotiations to yield written agreements.

The consequences of this widespread abjuration of instruction in diplomacy have appeared in two major areas. Within the diplomatic establishment we have been compelled to navigate without a clear concept of our calling and what it demands. Over the years we have tacked this way and that in our recruiting and examining objectives and methods. We have swung from separate diplomatic and consular branches to a single service and back to a fragmentation into five divisions—not just two—with no basic, unifying instruction to synthesize them. We have viewed the Service less as a profession demanding preparatory professional instruction than as an aggregation of assignments, “jobs,” “slots,” “tracks,” “cones” and classes. With professional criteria of performance and values failing to win ascendancy, promotion has become a consuming obsession. In this bewildering situation it is small wonder that almost as many differ-

ent Foreign Services have emerged in the minds of officers as officers themselves, each visualized in terms of the individual's own experience and observation. The Service—indeed the entire diplomatic establishment—is a kind of Rorschach inkblot interpreted not professionally but in response to the human tendency to react emotionally to personal stimuli.

We therefore find ourselves constantly unhappy with what we have done in the name of "reform" and are forever casting about for something different without really knowing what we want. We do not know how to conceptualize specialists, including administrative officers, who, because of this uncertainty and victimization, real or imagined, hardly know how to conceptualize themselves and in desperation seek high-sounding diplomatic titles to make clear that they truly "belong." We swing into a "global assignment policy" without first analyzing the sources of the deficiencies it is conceived to overcome and land in an Assistant Secretary's position a first-rate senior officer who lacks familiarity with the bureau's geographical region. Then, in a few months, to everybody's embarrassment, we must shift him elsewhere because he cannot produce instant "creative policies" for a region of which he is ignorant.

We pursue labor-management bargaining and the resolution of grievances without relating these to diplomacy and the qualities of mind, character and personality, or the erudition, culture, personal sacrifice and team play which diplomacy demands and therefore without a clear notion of how these new bargaining and grievance procedures must fit into the development and implementation of foreign policy. In the midst of such confusion, our Foreign Service Association, in its efforts to persuade officers of its effectiveness, has found bread-and-butter issues the easier to address. The idea of *service* has thus been further eroded.

Our lack of a sense of professional mission has become manifest in broad sectors of our foreign affairs. Without a clear understanding of diplomacy and the resources it demands, the State Department has been unable to head off rash involvements requiring diplomatic

resources we do not possess, or even to formulate in convincing terms any objection to such ventures on the ground of inadequate resources. Hence, it was not the diplomatic establishment but pressure from Congress which averted a preposterous attempt to shore up an unshorable resistance to the Soviet-Cuban push in Angola. In the United Nations, unclear as to what is required of us—and judging in an almost Nicolsonesque way the prime qualification of effective UN diplomacy to

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be competence in the art of composition—we veer from one type of diplomacy to another, tacking from reason, consultation and quiet maneuver to what strikes allies and friends as impish and flamboyant volubility, thereby amplifying opposition to us.

The other area of significant impact lies outside the diplomatic establishment. Surfeited with a discussion of foreign policy, policy making procedures and "area problems" but starved of analysis of what a national government does with policies and problems, our university graduates—and thus the more educated part of our adult population—are, like the rest of the citizenry, virtually illiterate on how governments deal with each other.

Thus it happens that when "national defense" is promoted by Presidents, Congressmen and media it is invariably conceptualized in terms of military and economic, never in terms of dip-

lomatic resources. A strong "national defense posture" means a strong military, not a strong diplomatic establishment. Funds generously bestowed upon the military and intelligence agencies enable them to work with whole banks of computers while the State Department limps along with a handful and is not even certain as to how these can contribute to "diplomacy," although its officers call constantly upon the banks of other agencies to disgorge desired information. Congressmen, lacking a clear idea of the international political process, clamor to control the entire sequence of foreign affairs by legislative fiat. Confidences, on which much diplomacy rests, are scattered to the winds. Because the First Amendment guarantees freedom of speech and publication, everything must be blabbed; diplomacy and its requirements count for nothing; all must be bugled from the rooftops. To the consternation of friendly governments and sources of intelligence, our diplomacy is buffeted helplessly between Congressional hoopla and litigation. In all this burlesque, the meaning of *détente* becomes so bewildering and use of the very term such a political liability, the President considers himself obliged to jettison it from his vocabulary.

Such wandering confusion is not of recent origin. While its genesis lies beyond the limits of discussion here, its impact had become sufficiently evident by 1970 to persuade the American Academy of Political and Social Science to finance a two-day meeting to search for answers to five questions: what is diplomacy (i.e., how should it be conceptualized, as an art, a science, or both)? Can it be taught? If so, how? What resources required for instruction are available and which need amplification and refinement? Finally, *should* it be included in the liberal arts curricula of our institutions of higher learning as part of what educated citizens should know of the world in which they live? A monograph, "Instruction in Diplomacy: The Liberal Arts Approach," set forth the papers circulated in advance of the meeting, the discussion of participants, a bibliography of books on diplomacy and the meeting's consensus that diplomacy is both an art and a science, it can and

should be taught as a liberal arts subject and adequate materials do exist for the purpose.

Although distributed widely in the political science community, the monograph elicited only a limited response. Nearly two centuries of neglect in this country were not going to be ended by a single clarion call. But several interesting developments ensued. Among them was the creation of a permanent Committee for the Study of Diplomacy, meetings of which have been sponsored by American and Georgetown universities; and the School of Continuing Education at Georgetown decided to offer a course on diplomacy. So, in the fall of 1972, some five months after the monograph's appearance, preparation began for pioneering instruction on "The Dynamics of Diplomacy." Starting the following February, the course attracted an astonishingly large enrollment including two Foreign Service officers, officers from the Canadian, Italian, Soviet and several African embassies and one from the Estonian legation, an Air Force captain, several housewives, a graduate and an undergraduate student from Georgetown.

The thrust of the course was the application to diplomacy of the concepts of strategy, tactics and techniques, as well as the roles of learning, character and personality traits and skills of diplomats, thereby treating diplomacy as both science and art. After analysis of the nature of diplomacy, with some historical and comparative perspectives, the establishment of diplomatic relations was discussed in strategic and tactical terms, which brought alive the dynamics involved in the recognition of states and governments, the various shadings of diplomatic relationships which can exist and the ingenious ways in which governments get business done in the absence of such relations. The fascinating way in which the United States and the Peoples Republic of China had engineered the creation of quasi-diplomatic relations was so recent as to make unnecessary much elaboration of the point that diplomatic relations are of great variety and their construction is no routine or simple matter.

So, too, with the selection of diplomats and the *agrément* process

from which comes (or fails to come) the *agrément* permitting a government to send a particular individual as its ambassador. Not only do strategies and tactics play a part in this but *agrément*, far from ending that stage of the political process, must sometimes be reinforced by additional political acts, as illustrated by the agreement of our government to receive Lord Halifax as the British ambassador in 1941. As Foreign Secretary in the Chamberlain Government, Halifax had been conspicuously associated with appeasement and was anathema to many of FDR's New Deal colleagues. With their unfavorable reaction to Halifax's appointment finding expression in the media, FDR, to put an end to the objections, went down Chesapeake Bay to meet the envoy and his wife, who arrived on the newest and strongest battleship of the British fleet, the *King George V*, Churchill's ploy to "clothe the arrival . . . with every circumstance of importance." The tactics of these two wily politicians worked. No more was heard from the critical New Dealers. The visible Presidential imprimatur had had to be added to the invisible *agrément* to make Halifax truly acceptable and able to perform effectively.

By similarly treating the organization and functioning of embassies and their location, design and construction, as well as the privileges, immunities and roles of diplomats, these, too, came alive as dynamic factors. Even protocol, which is widely regarded as a meaningless exercise in social amenities is susceptible to tactical exploitation. In a reverse of the Halifax case, for instance, President Truman used the courtesy call of a new Czech ambassador in 1951 to tell him what Americans thought of his government's arrest, imprisonment and "trial" of an Associated Press correspondent, administering to him the rough side of his Missouri tongue. Where the President left off, Dean Acheson resumed when the envoy arrived to pay his courtesy call on the Secretary of State. This was followed by an ambush of American journalists outside Acheson's office. So unnerved was the envoy by all of this he never ventured forth to diplomatic haunts again and six weeks later was ordered to Paris to attend a United

Nations meeting, which was a face-saving tactic to cover retreat, for he never resumed his post in Washington.

Tactical exercises are also involved in the recall of diplomats, either at the request of the host government or the initiative of the sending government, the suspension and rupture of diplomatic relations and the ways by which governments continue their communication when formal relations are interrupted.

Thus the ground was cleared for a study of actual cases of diplomatic "push and shove." Just as one is fired in imagination and sharpened in analytical ability when visiting an historic site, recalling what he knows of people and events associated with it and finding every detail of the place springing forth with unsuspected meaning, so with his involvement in a specific case in which diplomats have had to maneuver. These provide sufficient detail to enable the analyst to grasp quite precisely what the situation was, the strategic and tactical problems it posed and how the diplomats resolved them. One's perceptivity is sharpened as well as his ability to extract the significance of each detail which otherwise might have been overlooked. The most nebulous factor of all in diplomacy—that of personal qualities and skills—is detectable. The student thus finds that he is educating himself to an extraordinary degree in the subtleties of a political process which, by any other approach, is only general and abstract.

That first class delved into four such case studies. The first was written by James J. Wadsworth on how the "Atoms for Peace" idea was negotiated painstakingly and ingeniously from 1953 to 1957, ending in the creation of the International Atomic Energy Agency—a good example of quiet, global diplomacy pursued through both multilateral and bilateral means over a long, exacting course during the Cold War.

The second, extracted from Spruille Braden's "Diplomats and Demagogues" (with supplementary assistance from Braden's colleagues and published materials in the "Foreign Relations of the United States"), dealt with the negotiation of an end to the Chaco War through multilateral diplo-

macy conducted almost entirely in a single capital. With the flair of a true raconteur, Braden takes his reader through the complex maneuvers, counter-maneuvers and personal factors—friendships, learning, experience in private negotiations as a mining engineer, personal traits and skills—which he utilized in Buenos Aires over a three-year period to wind a tortuous, chicanery-bestrewn path to a peaceful settlement of a protracted war. Like a Bayeux embroidery chronicling the Norman conquest of Britain, this account possesses fascinating detail—threats and insults, venality, stupidity, sly double-crossing and outright lying and theft of documents—in which diplomacy and the domestic politics of various governments intermingled, providing perspectives missing in the Wadsworth study. As part of his masterful orchestration of diplomatic resources, Braden used dinner parties effectively. Knowing in advance who would sit next to his Chilean wife, whose family had standing and influence in South America, he primed her on what points to get across to her table companions, what questions to ask, what suggestions to make, what encouragements and discouragements to convey. More than once this saved his efforts from the brink of failure and of course illustrated nicely one of the contributions a wife can make to the political process.

The third case study, one of bilateral diplomacy, was provided by chapters four and five of Ellis Briggs's "Farewell to Foggy Bottom," in which the tactics employed by a communist government to make life miserable for a Western embassy and the countermeasures employed by the embassy are recounted with Briggsian zest. The second of the two chapters focuses on how an Associated Press correspondent, accused of espionage, was jimmied loose from prison. Since that was a "protection" case, it incidentally challenges the validity of a "cone" personnel system which, unsupported by unifying instruction in diplomacy, structures "protection" as a consular function separate from strategic considerations and political and economic tactics. Unlike the Wadsworth and Braden studies, this concerned a career

diplomat, which made comments on the issue of career versus politically appointed officers apropos.

A case study of our involvement in Vietnam, concentrating largely on the roles of the State Department and Embassy Saigon and supplemented by Chester L. Cooper's "The Lost Crusade," brought the course to an end, with one of the many insights emerging being the importance to the modern diplomat of some knowledge of the military factor in foreign affairs. This is demanded not only by Great Power politics but by the necessity of the diplomatic establishment exerting a restraining in-

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fluence upon Presidents who, in troubled times, are always more impressed by the visible indicia of military power and the military's "can do" zeal than by the advice of diplomats of no professional training and almost total ignorance of military resources and their limits. Presidential use of the military establishment for crucial advice, on-site investigation and appraisal and even as a source of ambassadorships repeated a message in the Vietnam situation which, as in our China experience a generation earlier, has scarcely been heard. But it came through with a bang in this study of gross diplomatic inadequacy.

A former United States ambassador to South Vietnam contributed to discussion of this case, as did others of our colleagues to other segments of the course.

Taken together, the four cases, dealing as they did with global, regional and bilateral problems, with underdeveloped as well as developed countries and a wide range

of cultures and ideologies, reveal most of the basic diplomatic functions—

- gathering, evaluation and reporting of information
- forecasting of developments
- maneuvering for political or economic advantage
- advising and persuading the diplomat's own as well as other governments on policies and tactics
- managing (or trying to manage) crises
- coordinating the various components of diplomatic missions
- working with military and intelligence organs operating outside those missions
- creating a favorable public opinion in the host society

—and the issues which they raise. Synthesized, the cases present—more adequately than a dictionary—a definition of diplomacy. They show that diplomacy is, as all politics, the art of the possible but that what is possible often depends upon the quality of diplomacy itself. They show that diplomacy is describable—that there is no impenetrable, unstructable mystique about it. What it is and what it means can be said.

That saying is urgent indeed, both to newly commissioned diplomatic officers for professional reasons and to the general public for a more effective performance of our democracy in the world arena. We have lost the advantages of emergence from World War II as the recognized world leader, with seemingly unlimited resources and a nuclear monopoly. We must now depend more than ever before upon diplomatic skill. For this, a clear conceptualization of the political process and its resources by both public and practitioners is imperative. It is not enough to keep repeating "no more Vietnams," "no Angolas" and similar refrains of negativism, ringing appeals for "creativity" and rhetoric about "unprecedented tasks" before us. Creativity requires learning and unprecedented tasks demand unprecedented professional efforts including a continuing analysis of what diplomacy is, how it can be made to work and what its limits are. There is no lack of materials for this. What has been lacking to date has been erudition, imagination, initiative—and a professional recognition of the challenge. 

SHOES FOR THE FEET OF JAPAN

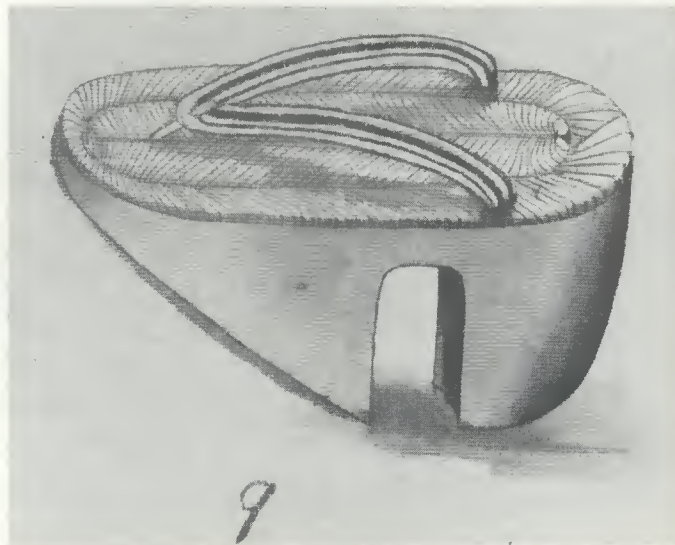
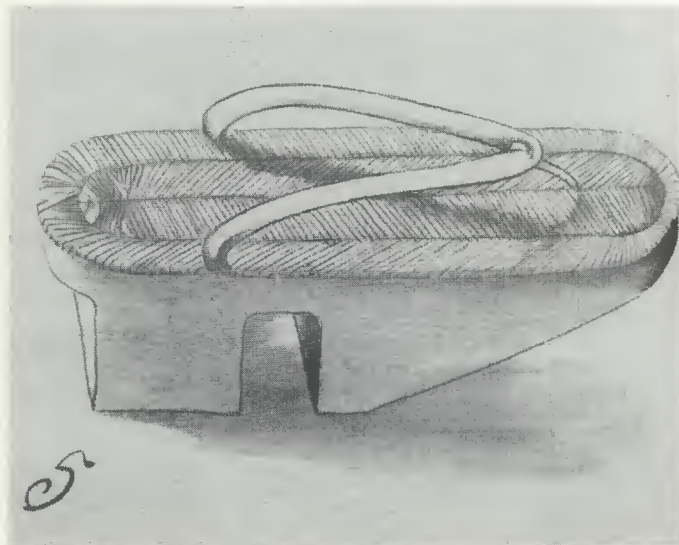
from page 2

Straw Sandals." He clearly had mixed feelings about Japanese footwear. He conceded that the Japanese had demonstrated a certain ingenuity in utilizing products of the soil, wood and straw, to manufacture shoes which were light, varied in style, suited to various terrains and variable weather, and remarkably easy to attach to and release from the foot. The materials, styles, and methods of manufacture were outmoded, however, having been "maintained by this people from time immemorial." Ob-

viously, he implied, shoes produced in US factories, of leather, by US workmen, on machines developed in a rapidly developing technological society—in short, the product of "Yankee Know-how" must be superior and would inevitably find a market in this quaint but backward land.

Most of Patton's illustrated report describes types and styles of Japanese footwear; the 48 illustrations, prepared by a local artist, cost \$8.50, and he asked the Department to approve the expenditure.

Patton stated that the product of the shoe industry could be divided into three classes:



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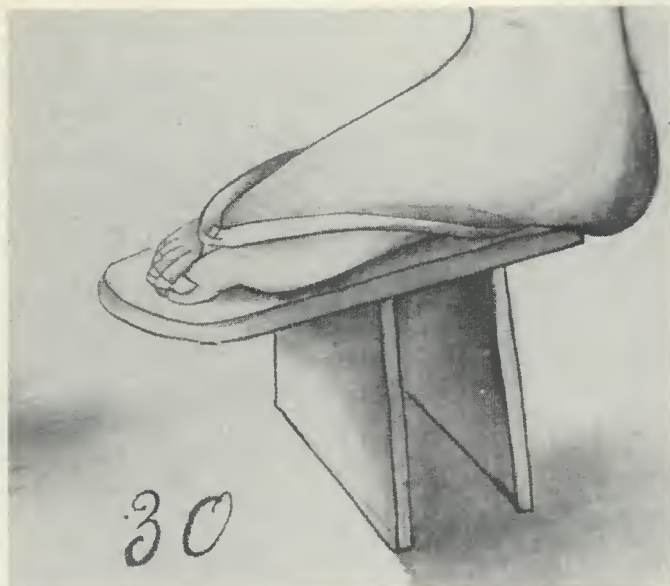
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1. The Bokuri and Geta were put in the same class because they were both manufactured from wood. The Bokuri was made from a lightweight wood called "Kiri"; the Geta was made with a sole of "Kiri," but the supports under the sole were fashioned from the sturdier "Kashi" (oak) wood.

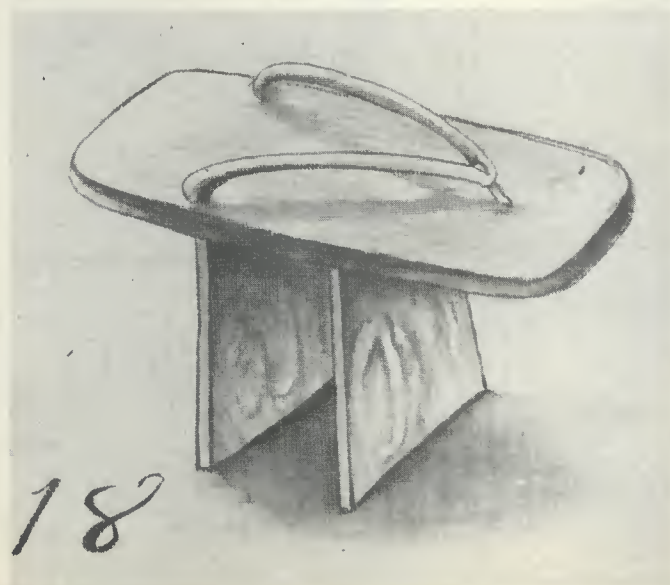
2. The Zori, the best grade of sandal, was manufactured from straw and had a thong or strap attachment to hold it in place on the foot.

3. The Waraji was the ordinary or workingman's sandal made from straw with strings or loops for fastenings.

In the accompanying illustrations the Bokuri was represented by number 1-14 and the Geta by numbers 15-26. These constituted the major types of shoes displayed in the shops. Although the general appearance of all the Bokuri was similar, each style was individual and had its admirers.

Most of the Bokuri and Geta were made of natural wood without paint or polish, but numbers 2, 3, 11, 12, and 24 were lacquered and generally worn by women.

As to functional characteristics of these shoes, Patton reported that numbers 25, 26, and 32 were known as Niwa Geta, and were used for walking in the flower garden or courtyard. Numbers 27 and 28 were snowshoes,



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used only in mountainous districts where heavy snowfall occurred in winter.

The consul pointed out that the style of the Zori, represented by illustrations 33, 34, and 37, was the same as it had been a century before. It might be observed that the basic design still prevails nearly a century later.

The Waraji, numbers 38 and 42, were used by laborers and coolies who transported freight and passengers by cart or jinricksha. The Musha Waraji or soldier shoe was illustrated in numbers 31, 35, and 36. This was a type of snowshoe and was made mainly of leather. The Yuki Kutsu, number 39, was a straw boot which was also used as a snowshoe.

Number 40, the Tobi, was the Japanese sock, which was made of cotton cloth and which had a separate place for the big toe.

Even horses were provided with straw shoes for hoof comfort while carrying loads or pulling carts. This was the Zori illustrated by number 41.

Numbers 15, 16, 18, 19, 20, and 24, the Geta, were known as the Ami Geta, or rainshoes.

In the report are statistics concerning production of diverse grades of footwear in various districts of Japan, as well as wholesale and retail prices of the several grades.

Consul Patton concluded his report with the following guarded projection for the American shoe industry: "Thirty million of people in Japan are today wearing shoes of wood and sandals of straw as here described. They have been worn for centuries in the past, and being a distinctive feature in Japanese costume it is

reasonable to suppose that they will continue to be used to a great extent for a long time yet to come. The American manufacturer from this will be enabled to form a definite idea as to the time when American shoes will take the place of these clogs and sandals.

"At the open ports the change will be marked, each succeeding year, but in the interior, with the great majority, old customs and usages will be rigidly maintained because of non-intercourse with other nationalities."

During the 20th century the acceptance of western style footwear by the Japanese has probably exceeded Mr. Patton's most expansive dreams. Nor could he have foreseen the tremendous developments in Japanese technology and industrial output, or for that matter, the eagerness with which the Japanese adopted such aspects of American culture as the electric guitar, cola drinks, and baseball.

On this side of the Pacific, American adaptations of the Zori have long been popular for beach and street wear. More recently the popular fad in shoes has been the platform shoe which has, in basic design, much in common with the Bokuri. Certainly, these shoes will soon disappear from the shops and be relegated to the back of the closet. Nor will Americans shod in the platform shoe likely ever move on them with the graceful ease the Japanese attained over centuries atop the Bokuri. Here in any case, was ground where East and West amicably did meet—the ground trod by the Bokuri, the Zori, and the shoe "Made in the USA."

It was not reported whether Mr. Patton's expenditure of \$8.50 for the illustrations was reimbursed. Ah so! 

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Unanswered Questions

THE MAKING OF A MISSILE CRISIS:
OCTOBER 1962, by Herbert Dinerstein.
Johns Hopkins University Press.

On the way to another project, Herbert Dinerstein, a specialist in Soviet affairs at the School of Advanced International Studies (Johns Hopkins), changed his mind and wrote this book instead. He had set out to expand and bring up to date his earlier analysis of "Soviet Policy in Latin America" (1967); but soon decided that the "formative period" was 1954-62 and that he would study these nine years.

The result is an uneasy book that loosely traces Soviet policy from the American overthrow of Arbenz in 1954, through the Cuban revolution, and stresses the period from the Bay of Pigs invasion in April 1961 to the missile crisis in October 1962. It was the unsuccessful invasion at the Bay of Pigs, according to Dinerstein, that marked a shift in

Soviet policy and led to the missile crisis. During the invasion, Premier Nikita Khrushchev, previously wary of American intervention in Cuba, abandoned his earlier strategy of caution and promised, according to Dinerstein, "all necessary aid" to Cuba while an American supported invasion of Cuba was in progress." When President John F. Kennedy backed away from further involvement in the invasion and refused to commit United States troops, Khrushchev probably concluded—wrongly, Dinerstein suggests—that the Soviet threat had deterred the President. Thus, the Premier probably learned the wrong lesson: that Soviet threats could block some United States action in this hemisphere.

In view of the President's caution and (what the author deems) his retreats in Laos in Brazil, Khrushchev believed that Kennedy would accede to the Soviet missiles in Cuba. The Premier was cautiously adventurous, not brazen or daring. But Khrushchev misread the recent past; he did not realize

that Kennedy would insist upon removal of these weapons and even threaten war. The web of mutual miscalculations, of each leader misunderstanding the other, brought the nations perilously close to war.

Even though Dinerstein is mainly interested in Soviet and Cuban policy, he leaves unanswered important questions about the events leading to the confrontation. Why didn't the Soviets camouflage the missiles? Why didn't they ship the MRBMs and IRBMs at the same time? What factions in the Kremlin escaped responsibility for placing the missiles in Cuba? Why hadn't Kennedy's use of CIA covert actions in Latin America and Asia made Khrushchev more wary of the President?

Dinerstein has tenaciously and imaginatively exploited the available Soviet and Cuban statements, acknowledged the ambiguities in these sources, and sometimes considered competing theories. Unfortunately, his analyses are often loose and the prose cumber-



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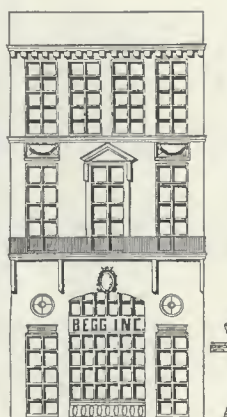
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some—as if portions of the book were dictated and not carefully revised. And his treatment of the American side is very skimpy, seemingly half-hearted.

—BARTON J. BERNSTEIN
Stanford University

Israel and the Arabs

BEHIND THE MIDDLE EAST CONFLICT, *The Real Impasse Between Arab and Jew*, by Gil Carl Al Roy. Putnam, \$9.95.

Considering the amount of controversy surrounding the Arab-Israeli conflict, the reader is unlikely to approach Professor Al Roy's book confident that the "real impasse" will be illuminated in a single volume. Scepticism will be reinforced when it is discovered early in Chapter One, that the author has concentrated on a single element as "crucial" to the conflict—"the Arabs' hostility."

Once the reader puts aside the sweeping claim to completeness implied by the title, he will discover, however, that Professor Al Roy has made an important contribution to understanding the

Arab-Israeli dispute, simply because he isolates for extended and penetrating analysis, the phenomenon of Arab hostility to Israel.

Professor Al Roy finds the historical and emotional roots of Arab bitterness in "dismay over the disastrous course of Muslim power in conflict with the West," coupled with the dispiriting prospect of Israeli success in such areas as education and modernization. He also seeks to destroy what he contends are the myths of a past Golden Age of Arab-Israeli cooperation, and of Arab "moderates" holding a position on Israel different from that of their more radical brethren.

Though Professor Al Roy is overly dismissive of Arab claims—characterizing them as mere code words for the destruction of Israel—his book does accurately trace the consistent pattern of Arab hostility.

Consequently, we gain not only a better idea of Arab perceptions of Israel, but also of Israel's preoccupation with security and eventual recognition by Arab governments.

—JOHN R. COUNTRYMAN

A Tough Pol

INDIRA GANDHI, by Krishan Bhata. Praeger, \$10.00.

Krishan Bhata's "Indira Gandhi" is probably not the definitive biography of the Indian Prime Minister but it is a very readable account of her life and much better than the dozen or so other biographies of her I thumbed through which are on the shelves of the State Department library. Bhata provides a fascinating account of her early life, schooling, strong and intimate relationship with her father (which continued throughout Nehru's life) and her not always harmonious family relationships (tension between her and Madame Pandit was always high). As the President of the Congress Party, party leader, Minister in Shastri's cabinet, and finally Prime Minister, Indira emerges in this portrait as a tough political manipulator who constantly gains in her skill and ability to out-manuever her political opponents and competitors. Recommended reading.

—DAVID LINEBAUGH

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CHAPTER AND VERSE IN AMERICAN DIPLOMACY

from page 8

Lowell had shown a strong interest in public affairs, and when the possibility of diplomatic duty appeared, he was receptive. However, he had to endure several false alarms before packing his bags.

It was rumored after the 1864 election that Lincoln would reward Lowell's support by nominating him Minister to Switzerland. Emerson wrote to Sumner, describing Lowell's "great and rare merits." Sumner spoke to Lincoln about Lowell, but nothing happened. In 1869, Ebenezer Hoar, Grant's Attorney General and another Massachusetts man, recommended Lowell for the Madrid legation. But stronger political pressures intervened and Madrid went to Daniel Sickles, the political general whose tactical clumsiness had cost him a leg and most of his corps at Gettysburg. Lowell's disappointment showed in his grim remark that perhaps he had been deemed overqualified because of

his knowledge of Spanish language and literature.

By 1874, the odor of corruption was so strong about the Grant administration that Fish sought to bolster public confidence by adding some reputable men to office. He made Lowell a definite offer of St. Petersburg. Lowell politely declined; he feared the salary would be too small and there was serious illness in his family.

His first assignment finally came in 1877, when Rutherford B. Hayes exercised the presidential prerogative of changing his mind. Lowell, offered his choice of St. Petersburg or Vienna, did not care for either. However, he told Secretary of State Evarts, if Madrid had been offered, he might have accepted. All right, Evarts said a few days later, the President was willing for Lowell to go to Madrid.

In Spain Lowell discovered that his salary of \$12,000 and allowance of \$2,100 needed careful management, for in the first few months he spent it all and some of his private funds as well. No serious diplomatic problems arose during his three

years at the post, although he was so nervous about his inexperience that he stayed awake nights worrying if he had made the right decisions. In his extreme conscientiousness, he even insisted on doing business in Spanish, which he did not speak as well as he thought.

His performance was deemed satisfactory and in 1880 he was transferred to London, where he remained until ousted by the Cleveland administration. Lowell had been a bit of an Anglophobe in earlier years, and could still bristle at any hint of condescension by the English, but he grew steadily more fond of the country. Some said he went native, avoiding the hospitality of resident Americans and preferring the company of Browning and Matthew Arnold. In the last years of his ministry he turned many duties over to subordinates, but could never escape the kind of visitors of whom Hawthorne had complained in Liverpool. "It is astonishing," Lowell wrote a friend in 1883, "how many destitute Americans walk the streets of

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London just three nights and three days without food—not, I sometimes fancy, without liquid nourishment—before bringing themselves to me for help.”

In the same year that Lowell rejected Fish's public-relations offer of the St. Petersburg mission, that fervent Democrat George Bancroft, resigned his last diplomatic assignment. His love of the Union had overcome his lifelong party allegiance and he had supported both Lincoln and Johnson. He had even written Johnson's first message to Congress in December, 1865. His reward was the Berlin legation. Grant chose not to remove him and Bancroft stayed on until 1874, working on the final volume of his 50-year history project, and enjoying the friendship of Bismarck and the historians Mommsen and Ranke. His unabashed love of Germany led to French complaints during the 1870-71 war that the American Minister in Berlin displayed an unseemly bias for the representative of a neutral country.

During the administration of Rutherford B. Hayes, assignments

in Germany went to writers of quite different kinds.

Bayard Taylor's literary fame had increased since his unhappy experience in St. Petersburg in 1863. He had written novels and plays and more of the voluminous verse that convinced many he was the nation's most distinguished poet. In 1876, he was invited to compose a "National Ode," for the Philadelphia Centennial celebration, and read it to stirring effect in Independence Square.

Perhaps this multi-sided writer's only permanent mark in literature was his translation of "Faust" in the original meter, which was published in 1870. Some say it is still the best English version of Goethe's masterpiece. Taylor became non-resident lecturer in German literature at Cornell. In 1878 his desire for choice diplomatic assignment and his German interests were both satisfied by appointment as Minister to Berlin.

Mark Twain was on the ship that took the new Minister to Europe in April, 1878. He described Taylor as "a genial, lovable, simple-

hearted soul, and as happy in his new dignity as ever a new plenipotentiary since the world began." Taylor did not long enjoy his new position. He died in December, 1878, only a month after the publication of his last volume of poetry.

Twain—that inveterate traveler who had once thought about applying for a consulate himself—had gone to Europe to write a travel book. He was happily settled in a Heidelberg hotel when he heard that Bret Harte had been appointed to a consulate in Germany. They had once been friends, and Twain admitted he had learned much about writing from Harte, but now he hated him, calling him a liar and a sponger. He may also have known Harte's books sold better in Germany than his own.

Earlier, when he had learned his former friend and collaborator was angling for a job from the Hayes administration, Twain had written the President of Harte's utter unfitness for public office. Now, boiling with rage at the news that Hayes had ignored his advice and Harte would soon be in Germany,

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he wrote to William Dean Howells: "Tell me what German town he is to filthify with his presence. Then I will write the authorities there that he is a persistent borrower who never pays."

Harte's appointment was to the consulate in Krefeld, two hundred miles to the north of Heidelberg. He arrived in June, leaving his family behind. They never rejoined him and he never again lived in the United States during the remaining 24 years of his life.

He was in debt, his books had ceased to provide much income, and American readers showed little interest in his tales of miners and gamblers in the California of the 50s and 60s. He badly needed the \$2,000 salary.

Harte was consul in Krefeld for two years. The atmosphere of the small textile-manufacturing city was uncongenial. He performed his official duties satisfactorily, but turned most of the routine work over to a clerk. He wrote little. In 1880, he was transferred to the Glasgow consulate. He was still much admired as a writer in Bri-

tain, and in the more sympathetic environment, he wrote continually, sending his salary to his wife and living off the large amounts of hack work produced by his pen. The Cleveland administration dismissed him in 1885. He lived in London until his death in 1902.

Harte and Lowell were almost the last of the primarily "creative" writers to receive diplomatic assignments. The custom of rewarding literary talent with overseas duty had lasted a long time. As George R. Stewart said, "During the 19th century the federal government assumed a certain responsibility, though wholly informal, toward writers. As a kind of patronage, a writer sometimes received an appointment that was moderately lucrative without being onerous, so he could continue to write without being under too great economic pressure." We have seen that writer-diplomats usually had ample time for writing while at their posts. The fact that most of them wrote little, or not very well, while on diplomatic status, can be interpreted as flaws in the men, or as the

inevitable result of an existence offering so many enticing distractions not to be encountered at home. Van Wyck Brooks thought it was the latter: "The ambassadorial habit has spoiled many a good man of letters who was not well-seasoned enough to survive the test." Finding the answer is a problem of psychology we shall not try to solve.

Perhaps the last of the patronage appointments to a creative writer went to poet James Weldon Johnson. Theodore Roosevelt appointed him consul at Puerto Cabello, Venezuela in 1906; under Taft he was named consul in Corinto, Nicaragua, in 1909.

With the decline of patronage and the establishment of a career system, there was an ebbing of that sense of "responsibility toward writers" which George R. Stewart believed the government once felt. "The lapsing of this tradition may indicate that government service now offers fewer sinecures," he said, "but it may also be taken as an indication of the shrinking respect for the writer." 

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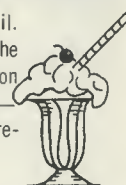
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FINANCIAL REALITIES BEHIND OIL POWER IN IRAN

from page 10

venues to make up for any possible loss in oil income. It is estimated that, with a 5 to 10 per cent utilization of petroleum as petroleum feedstock, Iran will be able to earn an income that will at least equal that earned on crude oil exports. As for natural gas, Iran possesses the second largest reserve of such gas in the world, and expects to spend a substantial amount during the Fifth Plan developing gas-related industries.

In the overall relationships between policymakers of OPEC and those of industrialized countries, the implications of the Iranian experiment in diversification programs should not go unnoticed. By the end of the Fifth Plan period (1977-78), Iran is expected to import nearly \$93 billion worth of goods and services from foreign countries, thereby opening up unlimited opportunities for exports from the western world. The United States ranks first as the

biggest supplier of imports into Iran, and American exports to Iran have been doubling in value each year since 1973. Today, Iran ranks among the fifteen largest buyers of US goods and services, and the United States is the principal supplier of Iran's import needs in the areas of chemicals, fertilizers, pesticides, electronics, food and foodstuffs, petroleum devices, power tools, and vehicles and repair equipment.

The American share in total Iranian imports is expected to reach at least 30 per cent in 1976. The import factor implied in Iran's ambitious diversification plans, combined with Iranian dependence on international private capital markets to raise the needed loans to offset widening current-account deficits, makes Iran an attractive proposition for the international business community.

What holds for Iran holds to a large extent for OPEC as a group. Despite the glamor of petrodollars, the fact is that OPEC economy is still very much a part of the "periphery" of the world econ-

omy, closely tied to the industrial "center" in the trade and investment areas, not to mention the military and technological spheres. The need for a more viable world economy in the years ahead could therefore best be fulfilled by rejecting confrontation-oriented relationships and by paying greater attention to the basic and inherent dependence of oil-producing countries on the western world. The Iranian experience suggests that major oil-consuming countries of the west could absorb much of the impact of higher oil import prices by stepping up exports to fulfill OPEC's insatiable import needs and by opening up additional channels for diversified investment of surplus OPEC funds, which have been contracting in any case and which have been neatly absorbed by international financial markets with minimum disruption. The Iranian situation, then, illustrates the moral of OPEC dependence on the west and suggests a modified continuation, not a total erosion, of the western system of trade and finance.



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LETTERS TO FSJ

Self-Inflicted Wound

 My good friend, Nick Daniloff's article on "Kissinger & The Press" was tough but fair and the JOURNAL should be complimented for printing it.

However, in one respect, I think he has given Henry Kissinger a bum rap when he says that the net effect of Kissinger's policies has been "to unravel the ground rules" used to discuss national security affairs with reporters. In fact, it was the reporters themselves, led by Murrey Marder of the Washington POST, who did most to make the various ground rule definitions vague, and finally meaningless. It was done with the best of intentions, in the belief that codifying the terms ("background, deep background and off the record") would encourage officials who should be identified to retreat behind these shields.

I fought then (in 1973 during my tenure as president of the State Dept. Correspondents Association) against that philosophy and I fight against it still. Nick Daniloff is right when he implies that the public, the press and the nation would be better served if there were fixed, understood rules about attribution. But he errs when he blames it on Kissinger. As far as the press is concerned, it was a self-inflicted wound.

JIM ANDERSON

United Press International
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Alien Nation

 In moving from Washington to Texas, it took me until now to read the January 1976 issue of the JOURNAL, which contained an article by David Fitzhugh on "The Silent Invasion" of the United States by illegal immigrants from Mexico and other Latin American countries. The subject is an important one where I now live and I was pleased to see the JOURNAL deal with it, even though I found the treatment superficial.

In my view, this flood of 6 to 12 million illegals will not be stemmed by better visa-issuing procedures, stricter immigration laws, more employees for the Immigration and Naturalization Service, more de-

portations (six million more, year after year?) or bigger jails, all of which Mr. Fitzhugh seems to advocate. The correctives do not lie in seeking to seal off the border, or even in punishing employers for hiring people when it is mutually advantageous for them to do so, unless the punishment is so drastic as to make legislative enactment impossible. It lies in expanding economic opportunities in Mexico. It lies in effective programs by Mexico to curb excessive population growth. It lies in higher US growth rates, both to deal with our unemployment and to avoid curtailment of Mexican exports to us brought on by our recession. The solution, like that to most deep problems, will take time, and like many other major problems, this one may never be "solved" until overtaken by even more overwhelming problems. Serious scholars—economists, sociologists, historians, political scientists, population experts—are trying to study this problem in the hope of gaining some insights as to how best to alleviate it, and to the extent the JOURNAL can add to this examination, so much the better.

SIDNEY WEINTRAUB
Dean Rusk Professor

Austin

1949 Suggestion Revisited

 George Wynne's "The British Are Coming . . . Without Travel Vouchers" in your May issue reminds me of the dim distant 1949 when an eager, cost-conscious, junior FSO suggested what the British do now.

The suggestion box operators referred that officer's suggestion for comment and possible action to the very people earning a living by auditing travel vouchers. A copy of the rocket from those threatened auditors to that young FSO was not placed in his performance evaluation file, fortunately. Hence, the Selection Boards never knew how ridiculous and silly the auditors considered him to be.

After all these years and many bureaucratic battles on other matters, I still think my 1949 suggestion (which, I am sure, has been made by many others probably before and surely since) is a good idea.

ALEXANDER J. DAVIT
Amsterdam

US, UN, AFL/CIO and ILO

 The June issue of the Department's NEWSLETTER includes a major article by Assistant Secretary Lewis on the real stakes the United States has in the United Nations system. The article is based on the speech he gave at the Governors Conference in Milwaukee last month to promote grass roots support for American participation in the UN. The crux of Mr. Lewis's arguments, a line of reasoning often used by myself and others when defending our commitment, ran as follows, as expressed in his own words:

"The United Nations continues to serve direct US national interests in a thousand concrete ways. It serves these interests imperfectly at times, but surely our challenge is to make it work as well as possible, not to weaken or destroy it. It would be tragic to take unilateral steps which could jeopardize the UN's survival."

What is true of the UN itself applies of course to the system as a whole which includes these specialized agencies—the International Labor Organization (ILO), the World Health Organization (WHO), the International Telecommunication Union (ITU) and the World Meteorological Organization (WMO).

Last fall the United States gave formal notice of its intention to withdraw from the ILO largely because its meetings are used as a sounding board for hostile rhetoric irrelevant to the work of the organization. The increasing politicization of UN meetings is of course a fact of life. We are unhappy about it but it is highly unlikely that the Department, motivated by the sentiments expressed by Mr. Lewis, would have taken this initiative instead of working within the system to bring about desired reforms. It is generally conceded that the AFL/CIO and particularly its President, George Meany, calls the shots as far as the Department's attitude towards the ILO is concerned. The notice of US intention to withdraw states that "the ILO which this nation has so strongly supported appears to be turning away from its basic aims and objectives and increasingly to be used for purposes which serve the interests of neither the workers for which the organization was established nor nations which are com-

mitted to free trade unions and an open political process." The letter leaves the door to withdraw the intention to withdraw slightly ajar.

Against this background it is more than a little ironic to note that the head of the German Trade Union movement—Heinz Oskar Vetter, chairman of the German Confederation of Trade Unions—is using the same line of argument on the AFL/CIO as the Assistant Secretary of State is using on the American people. In a speech last month, Mr. Vetter said:

"The DGB, just as the AFL/CIO, is opposed to the increasing politicization of the ILO and to the dilution of its tripartite character. But unlike the AFL/CIO, we see no solution in giving notice of termination of membership in the ILO as was done by the US Government last year when it submitted its letter of intention to withdraw from the organization after two years. We appeal urgently to the AFL/CIO to re-think its position and to *join us in returning the ILO to its original constitutional tasks. The ILO is too important for us simply to leave it, (italics added)* and, despite its politicized world conferences, it performs an overwhelmingly important task of technical assistance for the developing nations."

If Mr. Lewis and Mr. Vetter are both right, who is wrong?

GEORGE G. WYNNE
Washington

Thoughts of Ambassador Meloy

 When I think of Frank Meloy I invariably associate him with Paris in the '60s. It was when he was assigned there, or later passing through, or on the other end of the phone in Washington that I worked with him most. And what a cooperative colleague he was. I still envisage his warm smile, his cheerful air, his graceful manner; loyal friend, able diplomat and finest of FSOs.

One can't think of Paris in those days without the shadow of General de Gaulle. I remember one of his assistants telling that "le grand Charles" was a bothersome security problem for if the General were told that a plot to assassinate him at some ceremony which he was scheduled to attend had been discovered he would throw his shoulders back, rise to his full height and proceed calmly to the ceremony. Then there was the instance at Petit-Clamart where his limousine, ambushed, drove through a cross

fire of machine guns coming from both sides of the square.

His son-in-law, General Bois-sier, who was sitting in the front seat yelled: "Lower your head, mon General."

He should have known better. General de Gaulle merely drew himself up straighter. The roof of the tonneau was pierced by bullets only a few centimeters from de Gaulle's head.

And so I like to think of Frank Meloy, after the arduous trials of Guatemala, when he was told he was to be assigned to Lebanon, throwing his shoulders back, drawing himself up and going forth to face the music, as a good Foreign Service officer, proud to have been selected for that difficult, delicate and dangerous assignment.

As the best type of Foreign Service officer Frank Meloy met this challenge in a manner which we all admire and some of us in our heart of hearts envy.

CECIL B. LYON
FSO retired

Hancock, N.H.

A Link in Chain Reaction

 The Department of State has revised time-in-class regulations so that officers of class FSO-1 will no longer be required to retire after 12 years in grade. They may now remain for a maximum of 22 years in classes 2 and 1 combined, which will virtually abolish time-in-class retirement from class 1.

This change is ill-advised. Generally speaking, which officers after 12 years in class 1 will neither have been promoted to career ministers nor be serving as presidential appointees? Certainly, for the most part, those whose energy, creativity, and leadership strength have waned. In short, those very officers whom the drafters of the Foreign Service Act wisely planned to have retire with honor. Each retirement from class 1 opens by chain reaction seven promotions below for younger, more vigorous talent. Each top-salaried officer in class 1 who is no longer serving the United States at full effectiveness is *blocking* the advance to responsibility of seven officers beneath.

I am disappointed that the Department has abolished the 12-year rule. I am even more disappointed that AFSA should have gone along

with such a change. I urge both to reconsider.

WILLIAM C. HARROP

Conakry

NOTE: Management claims the change is non-consultable. The AFSA State Standing Committee is gathering information on the impact of the change on promotion rates, and deliberating as to whether to challenge the Department either on grounds of consultability or substance. We welcome further comments.

Scholarship Established

 Enclosed is a US Treasury check #3,196,909 in the amount of \$2,500.00. These are profits from sale of personally owned property realized upon completion of my assignment in Moscow.

As you may be aware my wife passed away in the Soviet Union. I wish to establish a fund to be known as the Hope Rogers Bastek Memorial Scholarship. This scholarship is to be made available to sons and daughters of any officer or support staff employee who may be in need of financial aid for a college education.

I realize this is a small beginning but it is all I can afford at this time. It is, however, an important step in the right direction. Members of the Moscow Embassy staff and other friends have indicated to me that they will contribute to this fund when established.

Hope, as I, always felt strongly on the importance of a college education and I am certain she would be proud of this gesture made in her name.

JOHN A. BASTEK
Washington

Bookfair '76:

At this writing (late July), Bookfair '76 is acquiring donated books at a highly gratifying rate. Acquisitions range from single copies dropped, thoughtfully and anonymously, into book bins at State, USIA, and FSI, to gifts of the major parts of personal libraries, typified by recent donations by Mrs. Fairfax Puhan and by Mr. Ernest K. Lindley.

To arrange for pickup of any books, *objets d'art*, or etc., telephone 598-5946 or 363-1831. If you are at a post abroad, please send your donation to Chairman, Bookfair '76, Department of State (Room 8326), Washington, D.C., 20520.

AFSA NEWS

Members wishing to send letters on employment, working conditions or AFSA affairs should get them to AFSA by the 10th of the month preceding desired publication.

Alford W. Cooley, Editor

REFERENDA RESULTS

The results of the referenda solicited in January (March FSJ), whose texts were spelled out and argued in the May FSJ (pp. 34-37) are finally in and tallied. They reveal:

Question 1. 1975/76 "Selection Out" Precepts: Proposal to deny ratification by AFSA on grounds that precepts lack basic safeguards.

Yes—26 No—233

Question 2. F.S. Promotion System: Requirement that AFSA President and Board submit various proposals to membership for total reform of all aspects of the F.S. Promotion system.

Yes—27 No—231

Question 3. F.S. Grievance Board: Approval by AFSA Membership, prior to permanent action, of composition, regulations, and antecedent AFSA Grievance Committee actions.

Yes—234 No—25

Question 4. Monthly President's Report. Requirement that AFSA President report monthly to membership in FSJ without Board censorship.

Yes—54 No—203

The number of timely and valid returns amounted to about 4% of the total membership.

GOVERNING BOARD

Since the meeting of June 15 the Governing Board has met but once, meetings called for June 17 and 22 failing for lack of quorum and one on July 6 having been canceled by the President.

July 13—New retirement bill; Counselor search committee report; Resolution and letter to the Secretary on career status for AID; Terrorism committee report; Interim recall committee report; Bylaw amendments committee formed; Action on proposed Board of the Foreign Service appointments; Tom O'Connor appointed AID rep.

MOSCOW RADIATION

AFSA continues to press the Department to carry out a medical study of employees who served in Moscow to determine whether they have been affected by low-level microwave radiation. We hope that the Department will soon announce the start of the study, to be undertaken by an independent outside group with AFSA participation.

Management, with our urging, has agreed to give a choice to employees who are assigned to Moscow or are already there to refuse the assignment or leave without prejudice to their careers.

On July 8, they further announced the awarding of a contract to Johns Hopkins University to conduct a study of past and present medical records of Moscow Embassy employees to determine any possible connections between exposure to radiation in Moscow and later medical problems. With the public disclosure of continued radiation in Moscow, AFSA agrees with the statement of the Department that all radiation, no matter how minor, must be terminated immediately.

Finally, management has, in a letter of May 25 from Deputy Under Secretary Eagleburger to the Extraordinary Dangers Committee Chairperson, agreed to institute a general policy of informing employees about any extraordinary dangers at posts, saying, in part, that:

I have already discussed AFSA's concern . . . with the Director General and the Office of Personnel. I have indicated to them that should circumstances analogous to the situation in Moscow occur again, it is the Secretary's intention and the intention of Management to inform employees as expeditiously and as thoroughly as possible regarding the nature of the problem and the steps that the Department would plan to take to protect their interests and well-being. In addition, I have asked the Deputy Assistant Secretary for Personnel to insure that those involved directly in the assignments process are aware of this commitment on Management's part.

TERRORISM

MORE F.S. PEOPLE KILLED: AFSA'S RESPONSE

AFSA's protest of the meeting between President Ford and President Nimeiri of the Sudan based on the latter's release of the convicted murderers of Ambassador Noel and DCM Moore appeared in the June FSJ, (p. 25). As we went to press terrorists struck the Foreign Service again as Ambassador Francis Meloy, Econ Counsellor Robert Waring and Embassy driver Zoheir Mohgrabi fell in Beirut. National attention turned briefly to our particular problem, AFSA President John Hemenway and Extraordinary Dangers Committee Chairperson Harry Blaney telling of AFSA's efforts against terrorism on a special NBC (WRC) TV presentation.

That Committee has been briefed on the killings by Department management and, while the factual situation is at present murky, the Association is, *inter alia*, focusing on the treatment to be accorded the apprehended men if they prove to be the killers.

Further, the Committee will be pressing for a high-level review of our over-all terrorism policy in the coming months. We believe that implementation of the present policy is weak and contradictory in that it assumes that terrorists will be punished, when in fact the government is unwilling to assure that this is the case.

NEW AID REPRESENTATIVE

On June 13 the Governing Board appointed Tom O'Connor of AID's ASIA/DP office to replace Roy Harrell as one of the two AID constituency representatives. We will run his bio and photo in the next FSJ. Roy, who resigned on July 7 because of his assignment to Niamey, was a member of the previous Board and had worked on the Insurance and Legal Committees. He is best remembered for his tireless and vigorous chairmanship of our Interagency Members' Interests Committee.

AID AGAIN MUST ACKNOWLEDGE EMPLOYEES' RIGHT TO ORGANIZE

As resolution of an unfair practice charge brought by AFSA against the Agency for International Development, AID has issued a notice to its Foreign Service regarding employee rights under Executive Order 11636. The notice informs supervisors of employee rights to work for AFSA in various capacities, including the presentation of Association views before Congress and other fora. In accordance with the Executive Order, the notice also makes clear that management cannot harass or intimidate employees because of their AFSA activism, nor can comments regarding their participation be noted or considered in annual personnel performance evaluations.

Because the Executive Order rights enunciated by AID are equally applicable to all Foreign Service employees and their supervisors, the notice is reproduced below:

This notice is intended to clarify for Foreign Service employees and those who supervise their activities certain points concerning employee rights under Executive Order 11636 and its implementing regulations:

1. Each employee has the right, freely and without fear of reprisal, to form, join, and assist an employee organization as defined in the Order or to refrain from any such activity, and each employee shall be protected in the exercise of this right.
2. Except as otherwise expressly provided in the Order, the right to assist an employee organization extends to participation in the management of the organization and acting for the organization in the capacity of an organization representative, including presentation of its views to officials of the Executive Branch, the Congress, or other appropriate authority.
3. Agency management may not interfere with, restrain, or coerce an employee in the exercise of rights assured by the Order, nor may it encourage or discourage membership in an organization by discrimination in regard to hiring, tenure, promotion, or other conditions of employment. Thus, for example, comments concerning membership or non-membership in an employee organization or of participation or non-participation in its activities may not be noted or considered in an employee's Personnel Evaluation Report (PER).

The Agency is thoroughly committed to good faith implementation of the Order, and its implementing regulations, and believes such commitment will serve the best interests of the Agency and its employees. Each person who is responsible for the direction of Foreign Service employees shall recognize and accord to employees the full exercise of their rights as set forth in the Executive Order.

Management officials, confidential employees, and supervisors carrying out certain management functions should address any questions they may have concerning the rights of employees or the Agency's responsibilities under the Executive Order to the Office of the Special Assistant for Labor Relations, Bureau of Program and Management Services. Members of the bargaining unit should feel free to consult their exclusive representative.

"INDEXING" DUES UNDER STUDY

For some time the Association has been pondering the fact that with dues pegged at a constant rate since 1969, AFSA's real receipts from them have, through inflation, fallen by 33%. While there has been talk in the past of raising the dues, that requires the assent of the membership by majority vote. Now, however, it appears that another route may be sought, as Paul Ward, our new Treasurer has pledged in a pre-appointment speech to consider "Indexation." Indexation is the process of fixing dues as a proportion of a member's income, so that when s/he is promoted or gets a step-increase or a cost of living raise, the dues to AFSA rise accordingly.

Paul will be inquiring into whether any legal or procedural impediments stand in the way of this proposal. In addition—to in some way recoup the 33% loss on income and to more adequately cover our employee-representative function we are considering a raise in dues. Two AFSA staff positions have been created in the past few years to handle members' representation, the Staff Attorney and the Counselor. However, the Association has been saving money, \$12-25,000 on the Counselor position, through volunteer effort by Board and Committee members. This will cease soon when we hire a new Counselor, but the funds must

be there to pay the person. Please send your views on indexation/dues increase to the Treasurer, AFSA, Room 3644, New State.

AFSA'S TREASURER

Paul Ward joined the Foreign Service in 1965 and has served in the American Embassy in Paris, France as Political Officer and Assistant Conference Attache, the American Consulate in Martinique as Economic/Commercial Officer and Vice Consul, in Freetown, as Administrative Officer, in Santo Domingo, as Chief of the Joint Administrative Organization, and in the Department's Bureau of Personnel as Chief of the Analysis and Research Division and member of the Director General's Coordination Staff.

He is currently assigned as Deputy Director of the Office of Policy and Plans in the Bureau of Educational and Cultural Affairs.

During 1975-76 Paul served as Vice-Chairperson of the Open Forum. He was an early supporter of COA and 2000+ as organizations concerned with the issues of professionalism in their respective functional areas of the Department. He has been an active supporter of AFSA activities, although serving in positions designated as "management" for the last two years has prevented his involvement for AFSA in areas covered by the Executive Order.

CONGRESSIONAL FOREIGN TRAVEL ABUSES SCORED BY THE POST

In the course of a series of articles on possible institutional reforms for the Congress following the Wayne Hays exposé the Washington Post has turned its attention on the more questionable voucher practices of some of the "Codels" which we meet and greet. The specific expense account items not available from the Congressional committees' lumped-together figures were obtained by the Post from State under the Freedom of Information Act. The articles also mention nascent reform measures under discussion among members of that body. Interested AFSA members abroad may write in for the more intimate details from AFSA News, 3644, N.S.

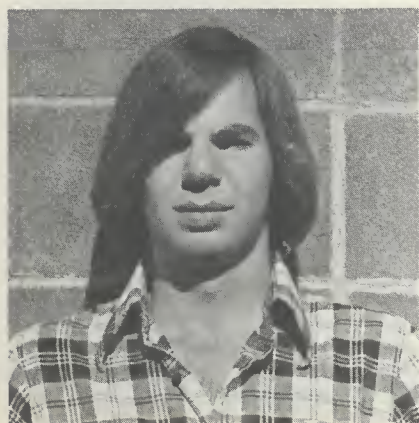
AFSA's Merit Awards for 1976

The awards this year are being named in memory of Ambassador "Tom" and Cornelia Wailes. The Waileses had no children of their own but gave a great deal of money to the AFSA Scholarship Fund both directly and through a matching funds program, and Mrs. Wailes worked for many years for the AAFSW Book Fair.

The 20 Foreign Service juniors who received this year's merit awards appear, in photo and brief biography, on these pages.

Frank C. Bennett, III. Son of Mr. and Mrs. Frank C. Bennett, Jr., State, FSO. The Thacher School, Ojai, California. University of Virginia (Echols Scholar) (projected major in biochemistry). Lived in Manila, Medan, Jakarta, Hong Kong and Kuala Lumpur. National Merit Semifinalist. Interests: political science, anthropology, medical immunology, long distance running, electric guitar.

Henry E. Bovis, Jr. Son of Mr. and Mrs. H. Eugene Bovis, State, FSO. Fairfax High School, University of Virginia (Echols Scholar). Interested in math and science. Honors: National Merit Finalist; Class Valedictorian; National Honor Society; Ariston Honor Society; Mathematics Association of America Award 1975; Fairfax City Mayor's Award 1976; Governor's School for the Gifted, summer 1974; Naval Academy Engineering and Science Seminar, June 1975; Fairfax High It's Academic Team 1976-76. Activities: Student government, chess, math squad, Chairman, Principal's Student Advisory Board, N. Va. Astronomical Society.



Frank C. Bennett, III



Gregory E. Coxson

Thomas J. Cizauskas. Son of Mr. and Mrs. Albert C. Cizauskas. State, FSO-ret. Bishop Denis J. O'Connell High School. University of Virginia (pre-law). Washington Classical League Award for Excellence, National Merit Letter of Commendation. Interests: chess, piano, school newspaper, drama.

Gregory E. Coxson. Son of Mrs. Richard J. Dols and the late Emmett M. Coxson, State, FSO. T. C. Williams High School. University of Virginia College of Arts and Sciences. Lived in Khartoum, Bucharest, Prague. National Merit Finalist, National Honor Society, Quill and Scroll, Boys' State. Interests: Genealogy, math, school newspaper and literary magazine, chess.

Elizabeth M. Dwyre. Daughter of Mr. and Mrs. Michael deH. Dwyre, AID, FSR. Einstein High School. Montgomery College (interested in the sciences, engineering or marine biology). Lived in S. Vietnam, the Philippines, Laos and Thailand. Interests: Theater, debate, swimming, school literary magazine.



Henry E. Bovis, Jr.



Elizabeth M. Dwyre

Nancy C. Eiselt. Daughter of Mr. and Mrs. Raymond W. Eiselt, US Trade Center, US Cons. Gen. Frankfurt, Dept. of Commerce. Frankfurt American High School. College of William and Mary. Interested in working for the National Park Service. Lived in Tokyo, Kobe, and Frankfurt. National Honor Society. Interests: Drawing, Keyettes International, International Club Frankfurt.

Rosemary Fei. Daughter of Mrs. Edward C. Fei and the late Edward Ching-Tien Fei, AID, FSR. Bethesda-Chevy Chase High School. Wharton School of Finance, University of Penn. (business career). Lived in Monrovia and Paris. National Merit Finalist. Interests: modern dance, piano, art.

Debra Ann Hughes. Daughter of Mr. and Mrs. Freddie J. Hughes, State, FSSO. Wakefield High School. University of Virginia (majoring in physics). National Space Club Award for Outstanding Achievement in Science, National Honor Society. Lived in Ottawa,



Thomas J. Cizauskas



Nancy C. Eiselt

Addis Ababa and Rabat. Interests: science, drawing, Keyettes Service Club.

Rachel W. Jourdin. Daughter of Mr. and Mrs. Willis W. Jourdin, OPIC (formerly AID FSR). Sidwell Friends School. University of California, Santa Cruz (International Law). Lived in Tunisia. National Merit Finalist, Cum Laude Society. Interests: Piano, classical music, fencing, politics, school literary arts magazine.

Stephen W. Milton. Son of Mr. and Mrs. Harry J. Milton, State, FSS Ret. John F. Kennedy High School. Harvard University (major in biomedical engineering). Lived in Paris and Lagos. National Merit Finalist, Captain of School's It's Academic Team, Life Scout, participant in 16th Research Participation Program for High Ability Students, sponsored by American University. Interests: school newspaper, soccer, tennis, drama, bridge and chess, war games.



Debra A. Hughes



Rosemary E. Fei

Marie R. Moore. Daughter of Mr. and Mrs. Alvin Moore, Jr., Library of Congress, US Cons. Gen. Karachi. Karachi American School. Thomas Aquinas College, Calabasas, Ca. (interested in law). Lived in New Delhi and Bangalore, Nairobi and Karachi. National Honor Society. Interests: Sports, drama.

Elizabeth Morefield. Daughter of Mr. and Mrs. Richard H. Morefield, State, FSO. Lake Braddock Secondary School. University of Virginia (Engineering Science followed by law). Lived in Barranquilla, Oslo, Montevideo, Bogota. National Honor Society, Spanish Honor Society. Interests: math and debate teams, Smithsonian docent at the Museum of Natural History.

Carey Rappaport. Son of Mr. and Mrs. Paul J. Rappaport, USIA, FSIO. Walt Whitman High School. MIT (Major in mathematics). Lived in Tokyo and Rome. Mathematics Honor Society, C. W. Post Mathematics Competition for the Eastern US-tied for first place, Eagle Scout, National Merit letter of commendation. Interests: chess, swimming, computers.



Rachel W. Jourdin



Stephen M. Milton



Marie R. Moore



Elizabeth F. Morefield



Carey M. Rappaport



Marlene J. Sakaue



Alfred K. Schlomann



Sylvana V. Smith



Siobhan M. Sullivan



David R. Turner

Marlene J. Sakaue. Daughter of Mr. and Mrs. Muneo Sakaue, State, FSO. Frankfurt American High School. Georgetown University (modern languages). Lived in Tokyo, Kobe, Frankfurt. German Honor Society, National Honor Society. Interests: Red Cross Volunteer, graphic arts, school yearbook, International Club.

Alfred K. Schlomann. Son of Mr. and Mrs. Ernst A. Schlomann, FSR-ret., AID. Onteora Central High, Boiceville, N.Y. Cornell University (engineering major). Lived in Haiti, Brazil, Costa Rica. N.Y. State Regents Scholarship, National Honor Society, National Merit Letter of Commendation. Interests: art (painting), theater arts, track, football, rugby, swimming and tennis.

Dwight W. Sippelle. Son of Mr. and Mrs. Dudley G. Sippelle, State, FSO, grandson of the Honorable Sheldon T. Mills. St. Andrews School. Williams College (law, medicine or international affairs). Lived in Colombia, Sweden and Turkey. National Merit Finalist, Cum Laude Society. Interests: stamp collecting, school newspaper, soccer, football, basketball, baseball and judo.

Sylvana V. Smith. Daughter of Mr. and Mrs. Jack M. Smith, Jr., State, FSO. J.E.B. Stuart High School. Carnegie-Mellon University (design). Lived in Bern. National Honor Society. Interests: art, riding, school art and literary magazine.

Siobhan M. Sullivan. Daughter of Mr. and Mrs. Roger W. Sullivan, State, FSO. Radford High School, Honolulu. Reed College (Merrill Scholar). Lived in Japan, Taipei,



Dwight D. Sippelle

Singapore and Indonesia. National Merit Finalist, Principal's List, Outstanding Math Student, National Honor Society. Interests: chorus, hiking, bicycling, swimming, math.

David R. Turner. Son of Mrs. Allen R. Turner and the late Allen R. Turner, State, FSO. Midland High School, Texas. Austin College (political science, leading to international law). Lived in Windsor, Havana, Caracas and London. National Merit Finalist, National Honor Society, National Forensic League, Class Salutatorian. Interests: drama, debate and chess.

Lesley A. Wang. Daughter of Mr. and Mrs. David W. T. Wang, USIA, FSIO. Hong Kong International School. Williams College (mathematics and economics preparing for business administration). Lived in Vientiane, Manila, Hong Kong and Munich. National Honor Society, class Valedictorian. Interests: track, skiing and piano.



Lesley A. Wang

Foreign Service People

Marriage

Sweeney-Habberton. Eugenia F. Sweeney, an economist with the Department of Labor, was married to John Habberton, President of the Business Council for International Understanding, in June.

Births

Griffin. A daughter, Tara Ann, born to FSO and Mrs. James Griffin on May 23, in Fukuoka, Japan.

Strickler. A son, Jason Edward, born to FSO and Mrs. Theodore Eugene Strickler, on May 24, in Munich.

Deaths

Coote. Wendell B. Coote, FSO, died on July 1, in Washington. Mr. Coote

joined the State Department in 1950 and entered the Foreign Service in 1954. He served at London and Nairobi and was serving as Director of the Office of East African Affairs at the time of his death. Mr. Coote received the meritorious honor award in 1966 and the superior honor award this year. He is survived by his wife, Geraldine, 1531 Longfellow Court, McLean, Va. 22101, three sons, Wendell B., Jr., of Rockville, Robert and Richard of the home, and a sister, Barbara Coote of Wilbraham, Mass.

Hawkins. Ruth Spencer Hawkins, wife of FSO-retired Harry C. Hawkins, died on May 21, in Santa Rosa, California. Mr. Hawkins was Secretary Hull's principal economics adviser and the first Economic Minister, assigned to London, in the history of the Foreign Service. Mrs. Hawkins is survived by her husband, 352 Belhaven Circle, Oakmont, Santa Rosa, Calif. 95405 and two daughters, Mrs. Warren Bovee of Lewisburg, Tenn. and Mrs. L. M. Loeb of Sacramento, Calif.

Meloy. Francis E. Meloy, Jr., Ambassador to Lebanon, was killed by assassins on June 16 in Beirut. Ambassador Meloy entered the Foreign Service in 1946 and served at Dhahran, Paris, Saigon, Paris again with USRO, London (Imperial Defence College), as director of the Office of West European Affairs, as DCM in Rome and as Ambassador to the Dominican Republic and to Guatemala. He was appointed Career Minister in 1964. He is survived by a brother, Daniel Meloy, 44 Gramercy Park, North, New York, N.Y. 10010. Contributions in memory of Ambassador Meloy may be made to the American Foreign Service Association Scholarship Fund.

Merchant. Elizabeth Stiles Merchant, widow of retired Ambassador Livingston T. Merchant, died on June 16, in Washington. Ambassador Merchant died on May 15. Mrs. Merchant is survived by a son, the Reverend Livingston T. Merchant, Jr., of Lewisville, Texas, a daughter, Mary Merchant Jasperson of Santa Cruz, California and a sister, Ruth Stiles Johnson, Highstown, N.J., six grandchildren and one great-grandchild. Contributions in memory of Ambassador and Mrs. Merchant may be made to the Livingston and Elizabeth Merchant Memorial Scholarship, c/o American Foreign Service Association.

Plummer. Richard Wentworth Plummer, FSR-retired, died on May 16 in Sharnbrook, England. Mr. Plummer joined ICA in 1954 and served at Karachi, and later in San Jose and La Paz with AID. He is survived by his wife of East Wing, Ouse Manor, Sharnbrook, Bedfordshire MK-44 IPG England and a brother, John, 140 Fed-

eral St., Boston, Mass. 02110.

Waring. Robert O. Waring, FSO, was killed by assassins in Beirut on June 16. Mr. Waring entered the Foreign Service in 1944 and served at Casablanca, Rabat, Salonika, Athens, Berlin, London, Vienna and again at Berlin before his assignment as economics officer in Beirut in 1972. He is survived by his wife, Irene, c/o Munro Jones, 1712 Margie Dr., McLean, Va. 22101, and four children, Richard, Karen, Michael and Nina, and a brother, Father Olaf Waring. Contributions in his memory may be made to the American Cancer Society, 1825 Connecticut Ave., N.W., Washington, D.C. 20009.

From remarks by The Honorable Philip C. Habib at the Service for Ambassador Meloy and Counsellor Waring at the National Cathedral

Frank Meloy's career brought him a short time ago to serve as Ambassador to Lebanon. He moved from working to help a nation battered by nature to one ravaged by man.

This year—as for the past four years—found Robert Waring pursuing his career in Beirut. There, through two tours of duty, he had unswervingly committed himself—under ever-worsening conditions—to offer his deep understanding of the economic and political forces at work in Lebanon in the service of the United States.

The fate these men shared saddens us. Their paths crossed as paths so often cross in a wandering profession. Like all of us their lives touched thousands of others and finally touched each other. . .

These were men of great personal courage. Within days of his arrival, Frank Meloy died seeking to carry his negotiations into the most dangerous areas of the city—areas into which Bob Waring had repeatedly and valiantly ventured time and again to carry out his official missions.

And these were men of great principle. Their lives tell us they knew that freedom is precious for its own sake; that truth is infinitely valuable; and that only when people are prepared to devote their very being, are the forces set in motion by which peace may prevail.

And let us pay tribute to another brave man—one whose dedication and loyalty lost him his life with Frank Meloy and Bob Waring. I speak of Zohair Moghrabi. His long and committed service to our Embassy in Beirut, and his ultimate sacrifice, stand as a symbol of the thousands of Foreign Service local employees who have helped America in their native lands and for whom the Foreign Service feels a special gratitude and affection.

FSJ SPECIAL SERVICES

Listings in this Special Services column are 40c per word, less 2% for payment in advance, minimum 10 words. Mail to Special Services, FSJ, 2101 E St., N.W., Washington, D.C. 20037.

POSITION OPEN

PROGRAM ASSOCIATE INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS CHARLES F. KETTERING FOUNDATION. The Charles F. Kettering Foundation is seeking a person for the new position of Program Associate, International Affairs and Assistant Administrator, Dartmouth Conference, starting on or after September 1, 1976.

The primary responsibility of the Program Associate will be to provide administrative support for the Dartmouth Conference, an on-going series of unofficial meetings between leading Soviet and American citizens. The conferences rotate between the USSR and the USA. Other assignments will be varied to include research, program development, organization of conferences and workshops.

Qualifications: An advanced degree in one of the following areas—social science, history, or language and area studies. At least five years of professional experience in the international field, including study or work abroad. Extensive knowledge of the Soviet Union is required and fluency in the Russian language is desired. Candidates should also have abilities in intercultural and interpersonal relations, social research and analysis and writing.

Salary & Benefits: Starting salary will be based on qualifications and experience. Benefits include an excellent supplemental benefits program.

Send resume detailing qualifications and experience, present salary, and include names, addresses and telephone numbers of at least five references. Resumes should be addressed to: Elinor M. Shubick, Manager, Personnel Services, Charles F. Kettering Foundation, 5335 Far Hills Avenue, Dayton, Ohio 45429

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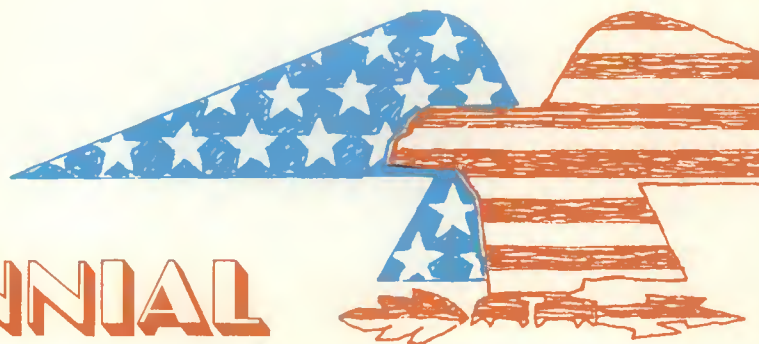
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FOREIGN SERVICE JOURNAL



BICENTENNIAL CONTEST

for the David K. E. Bruce Awards

The FOREIGN SERVICE JOURNAL is pleased to announce that Ambassador David K. E. Bruce has generously funded a contest to stimulate contributions to the JOURNAL from members of the Foreign Service and the American Foreign Service Association. Information and contest rules follow:

PRIZES: \$500 first prize, \$300 second prize, with two additional prizes of \$100 each.

ELIGIBILITY: All members of the Foreign Service of the United States (Department of State, United States Information Agency, Agency for International Development) and all members of the American Foreign Service Association, except for members of the JOURNAL Editorial Board and employees of the American Foreign Service Association, are eligible.

There is no limitation on the number of manuscripts which an entrant may submit.

SUBJECT MATTER AND LENGTH: Manuscripts may be either factual or fictional but should deal with some aspect of Foreign Service life, foreign policy, or diplomacy and its operations. Manuscripts must not have been previously published. Length should be 2500-3500 words.

FORMAT OF ENTRIES: Entries should be typed, double-spaced, one side of paper only. Cover sheet should carry author's name, Foreign Service rank and assignment, title of manuscript and the notation that it is submitted for the David K. E. Bruce Awards. An author wishing to use a pseudonym may do so by submitting a separate letter which will be held in confidence by the JOURNAL staff.

JUDGES: The Editorial Board of the JOURNAL will serve as the contest judges. Determination of the winners will be by majority vote of Board members.

USE OF CONTEST ENTRIES: It is understood that the JOURNAL may retain any non-prize-winning manuscript for publication at regular rates. Payment will be made on publication. Authors of prize-winning entries will receive their prizes in addition to the regular rates. Any manuscript which the JOURNAL does not plan to publish will be returned to its author.

CLOSING DATE: All entries must be received by close of business September 30, 1976, at the JOURNAL's office, 2101 E Street, N.W., Washington, D.C. 20037.

ANNOUNCEMENT OF AWARDS: The awards will be announced in the December 1976 issue of the FOREIGN SERVICE JOURNAL. Publication of winning entries which have not already been published will follow as quickly as possible.

AWARDS: The funds for the awards donated by Ambassador Bruce are on deposit, in escrow, in a special AFSA Fund. The awards will be mailed immediately upon the final determination of the judges which will be no later than November 15.

MAILING ADDRESS: David K. E. Bruce Awards, c/o FSJournal, 2101 E Street, N.W., Washington, D.C. 20037

The JOURNAL hopes to see this evolve into a yearly contest.