Foreign Service Journal

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Roy M. Melbourne
From Hofei to Shanghai
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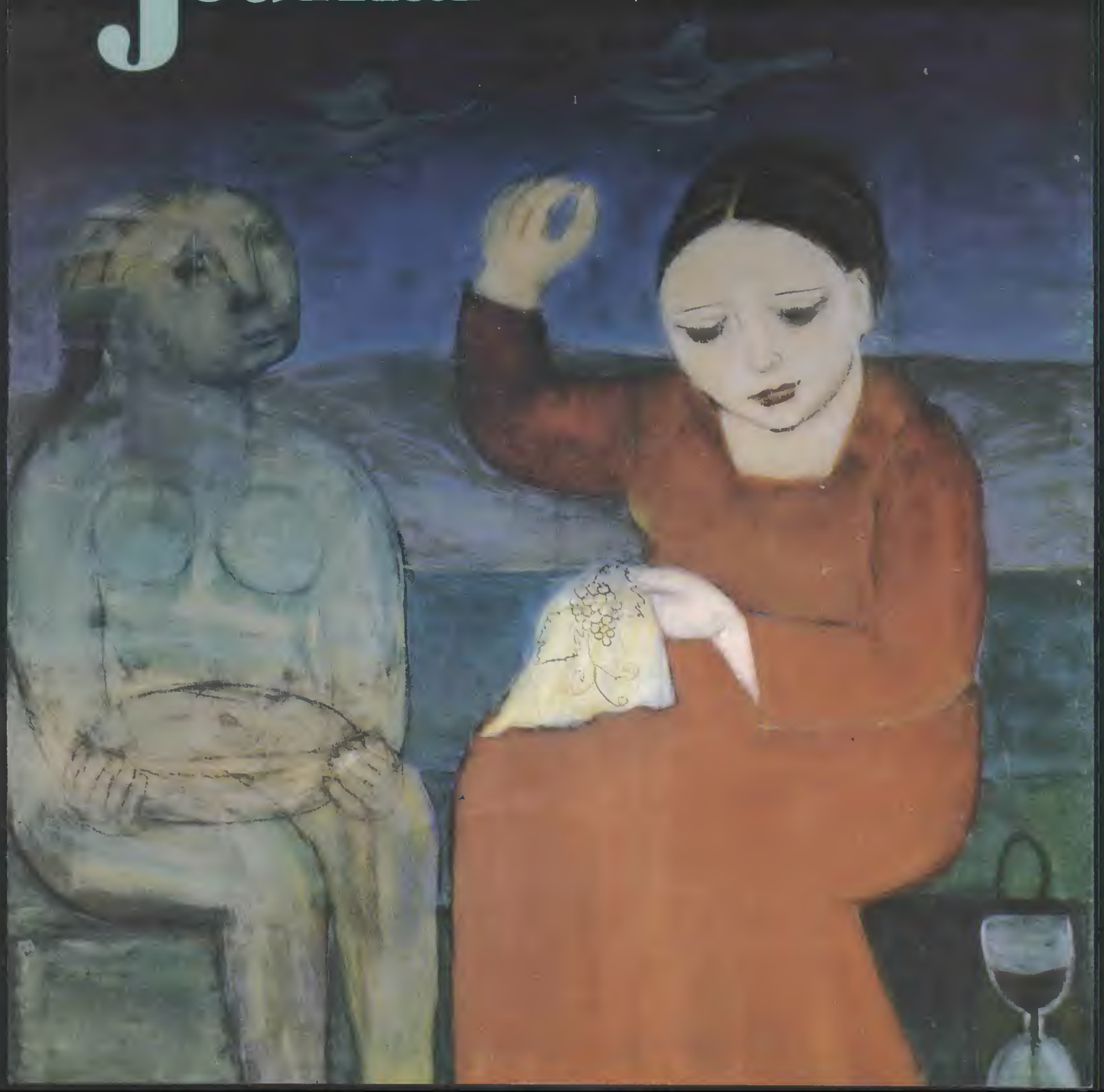
Six Popular Misconceptions About Germans
E. J. Mann



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Letters

Ottawa vs. Quebec

In "Canada's Looming Crisis" (*FSJ*, February 1980), Donald Nuechterlein has given a measured review of the centrifugal forces at work north of our border today. The *Journal* is to be commended for recognizing the importance of this matter and opening its pages to a discussion of it. Pierre Trudeau's return to power may extend the time needed to find a solution acceptable to all concenred.

Admittedly there are more imponderables than the author or any of us can reckon with. These could all have an effect on separatism that we are not taking into account. For example, the Acadians of New Brunswick, who comprise some forty percent of the provincial population and swell the Liberal ranks in the House of Commons in Ottawa, stand in dread of isolation in the event Quebec were to opt out of confederation. The Acadians reason that they would then be a completely helpless French-speaking minority in an otherwise English Canada.

Nuechterlein is correct in pointing out the urgency of the Canadian crisis. Far too long we chose to ignore or at least not to take seriously the developments that have been moving to a head in Quebec. I recall conversations with former Prime Minister Louis St. Laurent, Claude Ryan (now Quebec Liberal leader) and others at the Mount Allison University Summer Institute on "French Canada Today" in 1961. These leaders had only a united Canada in mind, albeit one in which *le fait français* enjoyed equality. Theirs was a reasoning approach. How to define that equality and how to achieve it is what the disagreement is all about. The only difference is that positions on the Quebec side have hardened since 1961.

Finally, I disagree with the author about our involvement in Quebec vs. Canada unless our security or other vital interests are affected. Injecting ourselves into the issue must surely complicate, not simplify the solution. Yes, a Quebecker once told me that the ultimate weapon was the St. Lawrence, which could be shut off to interdict Great Lakes shipping. I replied that neither the Canadian nor the United States government could tolerate such an act for a moment. Short of such overt actions that would automatically trigger intervention, I suggest that all parties and the welfare of North America will be better served at this time if we remain deeply concerned spectators while Ottawa and Quebec try to resolve their differences.

WALTER J. MUELLER
Williamsburg, Va.

Six Angry Women in Lusaka

LET'S PAY a tribute to the staff of our embassy and their families who, while prepared to face an economically stricken hardship post, found, in fact, that the real hardship came as a result of an apparent lack of concern on the part of the Transportation Service of the State Department.

Between June and December of 1979, 13 families arrived at their post: seven from foreign posts, five from Washington, and one military.

- Out of the seven families coming from other overseas posts, all but one received their household effects in very short order, but their consumables, which were ordered in the States, are still not here (January 3, 1980).
- Out of the five families coming from Washington in the summer of 1979, only one received the total shipment by December.
- The Marine, who has been taken care of by his Corps, found his household effects already here upon his arrival. (Unlike Foreign Service families, he and his family had approximately one week's notice prior to departure for this post.)

The general services officer and administrative staff have been diligent in pursuing the department for information about delayed shipments.

- On record, there are numerous telegrams that were sent but needed repeated follow-up before any response was received.
- Also on record are telegrams received which gave wrong and false indications of arrival dates.

Mutual help and support combined with patience and humor around the embassy have helped in facing this unexpected hardship—however, the mood turned sour when one of the cases was suddenly explained:

One family, consisting of employee, wife, and daughter, arrived in Lusaka on June 20. On September 9, they received a liftvan of household effects which was found to contain the effects of an employee in Khartoum. Three months of continuous cable traffic ensued between Lusaka and department, and between Lusaka and other posts in a frantic effort to find the effects. In October, the department cabled that claim forms were in the mail. Meanwhile, unbeknownst to Lusaka, the original shippers in Kentucky had been communicating with the department since June in an effort to get authorization to ship the very same effects. The department kept telling the shippers that they would "get back to them" with the authorization.

The two independent processes became joined when the employee wrote the shipping company direct, and the GSO cabled the department suggesting they check in Kentucky for the effects. The department then contacted the shipper authorizing the forwarding of the effects; while the *shipper* wrote a letter of apology to the employee explaining the reasons for the seven months delay. The ONLY official notification Lusaka has received is the bill of lading that the effects were finally at sea.

The shipper's letter to the employee gave convincing evidence that the Department of State had failed to request the shipment of the family effects which were ready for dispatching in May.

The question is: has Lusaka been singled out or does this happen to all Foreign Service families?

Even if it is true that most of the people of the transportation service have never been posted abroad, they should be aware of the inconveniences their apparent lack of interest brings to those concerned, including the absence of:

1. Christmas tree decorations, and most important, the children's gifts (absolutely unavailable in Lusaka);
2. Consumables (thus jeopardizing the life expectancy of certain items

(Continued on page 45)

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A Diplomat's Viewpoint

JACK PERRY

In that halcyon century for diplomacy between the Congress of Vienna and Sarajevo, it was a truism that good diplomats wrote well. Diplomacy was a profession of the word, spoken and written. Your typical diplomat was often a novelist or poet manqué, and a soundly written despatch was a matter of great pride, and, at times, of great moment. Good language mattered.

Shall we weep together, then, for the state of the English language in the American Foreign Service today. And not only for the state of the language, but for our inability to get our ideas across accurately and effectively?

Before entering the Foreign Service in 1959 I spent three years studying international affairs at Columbia, listening to Jessup, Barzun, Commager and their fellows, studying the classic diplomatic papers presented by Hans Morgenthau, reading Nicolson on the proper usages of sound diplomacy. Getting my expectations raised.

You can imagine my dismay, entering the Foreign Service, when I found that despatches were dying, soon to be dispatched themselves forever ("phased out," *n'est-ce pas*?); that telegrams, the chief means of communication between field and home, were nearly always written in telegraphese, which was a travesty of good English; and that a bastard American creation called an "airgram," combining the grace of a telegram with the speed of a despatch, was being urged upon the poor officer in the field.

Good writing still endured. Under my first three ambassadors, Llewellyn Thompson, Foy Kohler and Chip Bohlen, I found standards very high, thinking clear and receptivity in Washington good. And I saw that Foreign Service officers cared passionately, and still do today about writing well.

> "As a general rule, our embassies are increasingly hard to hear. And despite all the paper, international policy gets made all too often without the leavening of wisdom from other countries."

But as the '60s and '70s wore on, I think you will agree, standards have deteriorated, the quantity of papers has soared, and effective communication of ideas about statecraft has diminished greatly. We are talking more and more about less and less.

A year in the Secretariat reinforced my concern. The quantity flowing towards the secretary of state and his principal deputies is alarmingly great, and much of it says what the principals already know. The quality of the lan-

guage varies hugely, from superb to turgid, but the unprejudiced critic would have to say that recitation and stereotype predominate over insight and fresh thought. (Even so, I would maintain that State Department prose is the best in the United States government with the possible exception of the Supreme Court, and it is better than most journalistic and academic writing today.)

My worst worries, however, are for the state of communication between our embassies and Washington. Of the thousands of daily telegrams, would you want to guess how many reach the secretary or deputy secretary? Even when telegrams reach the higher-ups, their message is ill conveyed, for the type is so small only an eagle could read it. (State secret: Only "Nodises" are printed in legible type, not "airgrams" or "Exdises" or even Department circulars. Imagine how popular "Nodises" are.) In the flood of Washington paper, a message from the field—no matter how fine an exercise in statecraft—gets easily lost. The result, I fear, is that more and more we make policy in Washington with an inadequate understanding (except insofar as this is supplied by the intelligence community, which uses legible print for the view from abroad.) As a general rule, our embassies are increasingly hard to hear. And despite all the paper, national policy gets made all too often without the leavening of wisdom from other countries.

What to do? Abolish airgrams? Bring back despatches? Put a quota on telegrams? Use large print again? Give required lessons in clear writing? I do not know. But I know sound thought requires sound prose, and I worry.

Communication Re:

The Career Dilettante

NICOLE PREVOST LOGAN

[career] **dilettante:** 1. a person who makes a career of loving the fine arts; 2. a person who makes a career of following an art or science only for amusement and in a superficial way; 3. a career dabbler, trifler.

Hardly settled in our latest overseas post, I was sitting, a few days ago, mapping out a new plan of attack in search of a job: once again fill out "Personal Qualifications Form 171," arrange interviews, "network" contacts, bore acquaintances to death with questions about possible openings. This exercise made me feel very sorry for my unfulfilled career ambitions.

Then an idea dawned upon me. Why be depressed, after all I am a career woman: I am a career dilettante!

This idea cheered me up so much that I decided to share a few thoughts on the frustrations and satisfactions of Foreign Service life, with other wives who, like me,

deplored the fact that they were non-career women.

For more than a quarter century, I have followed my husband to twelve foreign assignments all over the world. During those years, I have been a teacher, a banker, a tour organizer, an archaeologist, a photo editor, a VOA news analyst, an interpreter, I have worked in a world organization, on the editorial staff of a newspaper and done many other odd jobs.

This long list could read like the success story of the poor immigrant who worked as a deck hand to pay his crossing to America, washed dishes and slowly climbed the ladder to end up sitting comfortably on millions as one who "had made it to the top." But the difference with us—roving FS wives—is that, each time, we have to start from scratch, in a completely different environment. For us, there is no build-up of a continuous career leading toward executive responsibilities. An enormous amount of imagination, determination, adaptability and sometimes maneuvering, can produce a job, usually cut short by the next move. As our resumes become longer and longer, there is very little to show for it, except the admirative comment from the potential employer: "Dear me, you have had an interesting life!"

In the field of learning experience, the label of dilettante fits the FS wife just as well. The study of the culture, politics, history and other facets of each given country, leads to the discovery of what makes that country unique. We, the FS wives, have become experts at zeroing in on those gems. For me, Punic Archaeology, early icons and architecture of Russia or the study of Bosch, Brueghel and early Flemish painters, are but a few of the subjects which have captivated me. The trouble is that, every time we move on, cherished books of the previous posts get buried under the latest discoveries.

So, on all fronts, we are doomed to this dilettantism.

So, I confess, I have been a dabbler and have enjoyed it. But it has been because of circumstances forced on me, and besides, I am entitled to say, if nothing else: I am a career dilettante.

PERSONAL QUALITIES OF DIPLOMATS

A discussion of the personal qualities a diplomat should possess raises the question of how important the personal factor is in international politics. Over the centuries it has been highly important and it is equally so, today, notwithstanding the rapidity of communication. In attestation of this are the Henry Villards, the David Bruces, the Ellsworth Bunkers and the Llewellyn Thompsons. The latter's calmness, patience and self-discipline in the face of the taunts, insults, vituperation and sarcasm of the Soviet negotiators during the negotiation of the Austrian peace treaty after World War II made that treaty possible. These qualities of this one negotiator gradually created an atmosphere conducive to agreement. They also elicited a Soviet respect for Thompson which made him influential in Moscow when subsequently serving there as US ambassador and in Washington as adviser to President Kennedy. The personal factor is still important when diplomats have the qualities to make it so."—from *The Crisis in American Diplomacy,* by Smith Simpson. (Christopher Publishing House, $8.95.)

Foreign Service Journal

REPRESENTING THE FOREIGN SERVICE

During the first three months of 1980 the Foreign Service has been confronted with: the continuing ordeal of our colleagues in Tehran; the seizure of Ambassador Asencio in Colombia; and committee markup of the most significant legislation affecting the service in 30 years. In addition, administration attempts to place non-Foreign Service people in key jobs in Washington and abroad, a controversial article in the *Journal* on a non-career ambassador and Jody Powell's public calumny of the service all required a firm stance by the Association in defense of the Foreign Service.

At the same time, an extraordinary number of appointments of non-career people in AID, new career development proposals, Selection Board precepts and a proposed new form for performance ratings are indicative of significant ongoing events on which the voice of the Foreign Service had to be heard. In each case the task of aggregating the broadly divergent interests which together comprise the Foreign Service falls to the 12 elected representatives of the AFSA Governing Board—five are elected by the full membership of the Association, the remainder by the separate AID, State, ICA, and retired constituencies.

Now, after more than a year of proposals and negotiations, we have the text of a new Foreign Service Act. It contains most, but by no means all, of the features sought by the Association. It is better for some groups than for others. It is doubtful if we can change it further and would be dangerous to open the legislation to further amendment before a less sympathetic audience than it has had so far. Outright rejection would set back much needed reform—perhaps for years. Acceptance brings many rewards, but also many uncertainties. The Association cannot waffle. If we are to have a hand in our futures we must either give the bill our energetic support or fight to kill it.

The President of the Association and several of the members of the Board who are most familiar with the Act will recommend to the members at public meetings and to the Board that we support the new Act as long as it remains in its present form. However, consistent with the principles of representative democracy, each of the members of the board will exercise his or her individual responsibility in voting on the stance which the exclusive representative of the Foreign Service will take with regard to the legislation.

The leadership of the Association listened long and hard to the informed views of those we represent before arriving at the negotiating positions we announced in the West Auditorium on September 27, 1979. We will be equally conscientious in representing our constituents in our vote on the bill itself. We are aware that some members of the Service have voiced their opposition to the bill even before it emerged from the subcommittee. All major constituencies are represented on the Board. Each member's voice will be heard through his elected spokesman.

The entire Board is also acutely aware that the pay provisions which are so beneficial to officers and senior staff are viewed by some as a "sell out" of the lower staff grades. We also know that the days of ignoring the Staff Corps are over. The Staff Corps, without which we cannot operate abroad, will not permit it. Officers have had their consciousness raised to the point that most now demand equity for all members of the Service. The issue of Staff Corps pay and status will receive heavy weight in our deliberations. However, we must also weigh the considerations that this legislation provides at least minimal increases for all, that it removes the long standing threat to *reduce* Staff Corps pay, that it provides substantial improvement for in-grade pay increases and that, at present, no data base exists which supports higher linkages to the Civil Service at these grades. A thorough study, like the Hay Associates study which was undertaken for the officer-level grades, is an urgent requirement. One way or the other it will be a item of the highest priority for the Association in coming months.

Now more than ever, the Association needs the opinions and the support of its members in order to represent the views of a united Foreign Service as effectively as possible.

AMERICA AND IRAN IN PERSPECTIVE: 1953 AND 1980

ROY M. MELBOURNE

Reality and History

History, like life, is highly complex and subjective, inducing an iconoclastic revision to reconcile the past with the current environment of concepts and actions. So rapid is our pace and so shifting our attitudes that the interval contracts between event and rewrite. Concerned professionals, active witnesses to the Eastern Europe beginnings of the cold war, watched bemused as revisionist historians asserted Stalin's moves were simply defensive against an aggressive America. Now, because of our present problems, there is a predictable cry claiming America was stupid (1980) ever to have meddled and become involved in Iran in 1953.

The fundamental interests of the United States and its allies and those of Iran, despite shifts in political regimes, have not changed. Each has need of the other in an environment that presents a lasting threat to Iran's territorial integrity and development, as well as to the world's energy needs. A basic problem therefore, yesterday and today, was and is to reconcile Iranian aspirations as an emerging modern nation with those vital interests.

The World of 1953 and Iran

The movement of great forces, while given definition by the vertebrae of power politics, has, since World War II, transformed the earth in a fashion that old historical maps could never convey. The world of 1953, already distant from today, was part of that great change.

Globally the cold war raged, raised to an all-out struggle by Korea, still without an armistice. A malignant senator had convinced his public that China was lost because key public servants were communist dupes, if not crypto-communists. Despite war losses, communist states were thought making a good recovery, helped by indigenous resources and a crucial, short run advantage of centralized priorities direction. Strategically centered, revolutionary communism was regarded as monolithic and as pressing against its worldwide frontiers. A strong America was the keystone of the free world (there was no credible Third World); it was a partner in a threatened NATO alliance not yet four years firm, while Western Europe and Japan were just finding their feet.

In the Mideast there were two

Dr. Melbourne, a Foreign Service officer, Class 1 Retired, was head of the political section in the American embassy at Tehran during and following the Mosadeq regime, and thereafter has followed Iranian developments. He does research and articles in Chapel Hill, North Carolina.

coherent, sizable states: the tough kernel of republican Turkey, being buttressed by America against Soviet demands, and the new revolutionary military government of Egypt. Dynamic Israel was a newcomer, while the others were either colonially plotted land tracts designated as countries or old feudal societies. Iran was a mutant.

A geographic plateau, a long-distant culture, Shia Islam, and the shah as a focal symbol, served to give an identitiy to Iran's core, half the population. The rest included disparate elements sharing some of these features, but stretching, among others, from the Kurds of the northwest, the Qashqais of the south, to the Baluchis of the southeast. Iran, long buffeted by the Anglo-Russian rivalry, had lost significant territories to Russia and in the south, Khuzistan, had seen the British run the great oil fields and refinery essentially for their own benefit. The country had once been divided (1907) into spheres of influence between Russia and Great Britain and militarily between them during the urgencies of World War II. Thereafter British troops left, but it took great American pressure at the United Nations and some Iranian guile to impel the Russians to desert their puppet Azerbaijan regime and evacuate the country in 1946. A 1921 treaty, however, could give them a handle to return if this looked promising. Then, too, a secret clause of the 1939 Hitler-Stalin pact revealed ultimate Soviet aims by giving that country a free hand south in the direction of the Persian Gulf. This artery was seen by the West as the oil jugular of the free world and of nascent NATO.

Nevertheless, accumulated popular resentments toward foreign domination erupted over the issue of Iran's oil. The highly visible British controlled the Anglo-Iranian Oil Company (AIOC), divided between British government and private ownership, and refused to increase Iran's oil royalties at a time when the country was the world's largest oil exporter. Turbulence took over, and, when the smoke cleared, emotional nationalism was embodied in the 1951 coalition government and unilateral uncompensated oil nationalization was its result. The Iranian-British standoff featured a boycott of Iranian oil and deepening financial depression for Iran. To international concern that the deteriorating situation gave fertile scope for communist subversion, Iran's eccentric elderly prime minister merely replied, "Too bad for you." *Time* magazine thus started 1952 by naming him its man of the year. The caption: "He oiled the wheels of chaos." The old man was delighted.

"So most officers looked to the shah, and in their large Tehran club, prominently displayed as a talisman in an upright glass case, was the shah's bloody tunic worn when he was wounded by an assassin's attempt."

Mosadeq and the Shah

Iranian politics by 1953 continued to revolve around the twin pillars of nationalism and monarchy. The shah had not disowned the emotional xenophobia arising from the oil crisis. Prime Minister Mosadeq,* controlling the Majlis, or parliament, had taken care to govern in the name of the shah and not to challenge openly his popular position as a traditional symbol of stability and, despite his youth, as a father figure.

Mosadeq was of the landowner aristocracy, related to the Qajar dynasty, which was superseded by the present shah's rags-to-power war minister father when the son was a small boy. He had a dislike and contempt for the shah as a virtual usurper and there is no doubt his plans, despite his age, admitted of no rival. French-educated Mosadeq eventually had become leader of the Majlis nationalists and, as an old man, prime minister. On occasion he could carry the entire Majlis, even opponents, by his emotional speech, crying and fainting. A doctor who was a Majlis member once reached him, grabbed his wrist, and felt a full, regular conscious pulse. Pleading age and personal security, Mosadeq carried out his duties from his guarded home bedroom, which naturally restricted visitors and, if he played the invalid, the length of visits as well. There were no personal financial scandals. He lived simply, and in conversation could be witty and agreeable. Yet an excellent American reporter, after some interviews with him, exclaimed, "Intellectually he is the most dishonest man I have ever met."

The shah, personable and intelligent, found himself once more in a ceremonial position while the power was wielded by Mosadeq, of whose extreme oil policies he disapproved. As a youth he had been intimidated by his tyrannical father, and it is said that it was his twin sister who inherited the father's hard qualities. He was educated in Switzerland and then during the war was put on the throne when the British deported his father, who later died in South Africa. The new shah was successively subject to guidance in his constitutional role by the British and some old line Iranian politicians, including the military. The nationalist hurricane, exemplified in the coalition government called the National Front, needed him as a substantive symbol of Iranian continuity and nationalism.

It was congenial for the shah to bide his time in his palaces and court circle, keeping informed and in touch with military men. After all, by upbringing and training he had not been encouraged in positive action. Hence, while the man had a certain courage, by temper-

**English spellings of Farsi names had acceptable variations. "Mossaddegh" seemed too scholarly. The British, claiming cultural seniority, preferred "Mussadiq." The American embassy adopted the practical "Mosadeq."*

ament he was indecisive and not ruthless, hesitant to make decisions if there could be forked consequences. Foreigners speculated that he had dreams, for himself and the Pahlavi dynasty, of being a strong leader and builder of Iran, thereby exorcising his father. Meanwhile, he looked like a shah, he enjoyed ceremony, he was a nationalist by virtue of his position and memories, and he had learned, maybe from his early years, to play an appropriate role well whenever on view. The people liked the institution of the monarchy, and to them he was as important a figure as Mosadeq. In the public mind of 1953, they were still linked.

The Front and the Military

The National Front, like most coalitions, had incongruous components within the formal government and as supporters: some wealthy landowners, like Mosadeq; some reasonably competent, foreign-educated ministers and senior bureaucrats; a Majlis majority; Tehran university professors and students; Dr. Baghai and his Toilers party; active Shia clergy such as Ayatollah Kashani, the most politically known and influential with the Tehran bazaar; labor figures like Vice Premier Makki, controlling the oil workers; the Tudeh (Communist) party, and a large groundswell of the peasants, city workers and bazaar merchants. Inevitably opportunists like the foreign minister rode the wave. Such a coalition, as long as it focused on the villainous British and Iran's oil birthright, could have a fragile unity, but eroding time, other important issues and consequences, differing party objectives such as the communists, and personal conflicts could break it apart.

The military, so important a factor for any government, was not rocking the boat, but was looking to the shah. Its officers took their oath of loyalty and generally owed their promotions to him as their chief, not a transient prime minister. Of course, there were significant numbers of Tudeh and Mosadeq sympathizers which the short and long term would reveal. True, there was a constitution which had aspects of parliamentary government, but the professional military cadres in general felt themselves a breed apart. Further, their westernized military training proceeded under the aegis of an American military mission, and quantities of new equipment continued to arrive to bolster the effectiveness of the armed forces, despite the oil embargo and creeping financial difficulties. This shaping of the military Mosadeq hesitatingly approved, while at the same time watching the military closely, and, quietly by inducements, getting some careful supporters there in some useful spots.

Mosadeq could not seriously object to the military activities, for Iran's strategic position, like Turkey's, made it a front line of the non-communist world. Russia, despite the raucous emotions and theatrics of the anti-British syndrome, was the country truly feared as an aggressive neighbor. For American policy too, there appeared small reason in strengthening Turkey if there were not an effort to block, with the cooperation of Iran, its military chief and his forces, the road to the Persian Gulf. So most officers looked to the shah, and in their large Tehran club, prominently displayed as a talisman in an upright glass case, was the shah's bloody tunic worn when he was wounded by an assassin's attempt.

The British, Mosadeq, and Oil Politics

When Iranian oil nationalization came, the AIOC believed that it had an effective weapon in an oil boycott, supplemented by foreign court challenges if any distributor dared run the gauntlet. This proved true. Meanwhile, other gulf states were raising production and servicing Iran's old markets. The desired implication in those halcyon oil surplus days was that the new National Iranian Oil Company (NIOC) might have no place to go. For the Americans, however, the oil impasse, embodying Iranian nationalist frustrations and Britain's desperate need for foreign exchange, was too important an economic, no, strategic, question to fester untended.

Before the issue exploded, the United States had confined itself to fruitlessly urging the British to be more forthcoming on royalties and other disputed matters, warning of the heavy consequences. To starve out the Iranian government and economy was similarly discouraged. When these courses jelled as policies, however, the economists, Americans included, made solemn periodic assessments on when Iran would have to capitulate. Successive crucial dates passed and the National Front, although frayed, was still there. The give in Iran's underdeveloped economy was consistently underrated. There was not much distance to fall.

After the death of Foreign Secretary Bevin, the Attlee Labor government was on unsure ground with his successor, the mediocre Herbert Morrison. Whitehall belatedly recognized that the problem was too serious to be left to the chairman of the AIOC. British embassy personnel also were gradually changed. However, it was not really until the return of the power of Churchill and Eden that Iran was moved to the political front burner.

Along with their economic strategy, the British had to recognize the concerns of their ally and, in hopeful or pessimistic expectations, approve American endeavors as middleman to find a compromise. Washington initially was reluctant to consider the oil issue as anything but an economic problem and resisted the indicators that it was basically a political question. The United States, at any rate, had the confidence of the Iranians, and thus embarked in 1951 on a persistent refuse-to-be-discouraged line, searching for a magic formula. This was punctuated by diverse visitors to Tehran for discussions with Mosadeq and his principal advisers. American senior statesmen, leading financial experts, oil company presidents, politicians, and a variety of scavenging personalities marked the procession. There was, of course, a large Tehran foreign press colony.

Shrewd Iranian politician that he was, Mosadeq talked from the intransigently-proclaimed oil policies that gave his political base. In short retrospect, it was clear that he wanted to use foreign talks to help gain what today might be deemed as not unusual. This included international acceptance of the oil takeover without significant compensation, and freedom of oil production and distribution, perhaps with other oil companies. Proposals were bruited, there were

exchanges between Tehran, London, and Washington, but the gap remained. Mosadeq had even gone to Washington and to the United Nations in New York to press his case, and his colorful presence provided reams of press copy.

If it could mean a settlement that would get the oil flowing, the United States decided it would be willing, both for its cold war concerns and for non-disruption of the gulf oil industry and states, to exempt American companies in the national interest from anti-trust laws so they might participate with others in the Iranian oil industry. The new Republican administration of 1953 followed the same course. There was still no solution.

Despite his theatrics that the West would be to blame and suffer if Iran's disorganization proved a communist field day, Mosadeq had the ego and hubris to believe that he could control the two parts of his situation, the oil issue and domestic politics. He seemed to think that, over time, American intercession with the economically troubled British would become pressure the British could not resist, thereby bringing success without appreciable concessions to the British. Domestically he felt no worrisome challenge from the shah. The congeries represented by the National Front he expected to manipulate.

Pushing a good thing too far or losing proportion are not unknown in Iran, as elsewhere. With his power, Mosadeq had sycophants and politically motivated groups, such as the foreign minister and Tudeh sympathizers, who encouraged him to press. Of the two parts of his situation, America was not on Mosadeq's wavelength.

The US and the Iranian Problem

The United States, sympathetic to its ally's financial problems and aware of the effects upon other oil operations in the Persian Gulf area, was not going to push for a debilitating, no-accommodation deal. It wanted a compromise. In regarding the Iranian flux it could see signs of strain in the National Front and restiveness among the shah and non-Front elements.

The United States was well informed. It had more than the Tehran embassy components and the three consulates at Isfahan, Meshed, and Tabriz. There were two other large operations scattered in the country responsible to the ambassador: the Military Mission and the Point Four Technical Assistance Mission. The former worked, of course, with the military and was most careful to keep that work purely professional, while the latter was the biggest such program in the world, again very prudent in confining itself to agricultural, health, education and like technical help activities, with coordinating suboffices in major areas of the country. The leadership of both missions was excellent.

The shifting situation and operations generated regular requested and voluntary factual and analytical reports to Washington on varied subjects. And in Tehran close liaison among the American elements included joint conferences and evaluations, each element from its respective sphere. With a new team handling affairs in London and the British embassy, eventually by 1952 the American and British governments were getting joint assessments from their Tehran embassies. However, prolongation of the oil crisis finally provoked Mosadeq into breaking relations with Great Britain, and one late autumn dawn its diplomats left by car convoy bound for Baghdad.

As the crisis deepened from 1952 and into 1953, Iranian antipathies and suspicions were fanned against Americans. At the least it was not discouraged by the leadership, by some encouraged, and the Tudeh party (progressively active) and the large Soviet embassy aided its rise. The United States was literally the man in the middle. Since the Iranians were not realizing their oil hopes through America, since it was Britain's NATO ally, and since domestic tensions were growing, the visible Americans became the target. It varied in parts of the country, but there were hostile incidents and demonstrations with something of a synthetic, organized, character about them. Americans became cautious going about in public, while shouts, graffiti, and doorway stickers had the same message, "Yankee, go home."

"The meetings took place, as customary, with the prime minister in his bed. There was one occasion, though, when the ambassador learned the talks were not all that private. The cane habitually used by the foreign minister was on the second floor railing when the ambassador left."

The Final Oil Talks

If all the oil talks over a prolonged span may be considered as serious preliminaries, the Americans decided that late 1952 was time for the finals. In planning its action contingencies as the situation deepened, Washington also analyzed the ranges on both sides and developed proposals. The outlines of the package have been publicly described as having AIOC compensation set by an arbiter or a panel, with the British dropping the oil blockade, while the United States ordered a large quantity of oil and gave a sizable advance to help Iranian recovery.

The American ambassador, whom Mosadeq respected, at year's end returned to Tehran armed with negotiating instructions. For over two months, intensive private discussions ensued between the ambassador and Mosadeq, with only a discreet Iranian staff member of the embassy, who was known to Mosadeq, present as interpreter. The meetings took place, as customary, with the prime minister in his bed. There was one occasion though, when the ambassador learned the talks were

not all that private. The cane habitually used by the foreign minister was on the second floor railing when the ambassador left. Nearby was a door to a room adjacent to Mosadeq's.

There were ups and downs in the sessions, but slowly a structure was taking shape, each agreed point a base for the next. Mosadeq had a small black book in which he would record substantive parts of discussions or agreed points. After some two months (it was now the end of February 1953), Mosadeq disagreed with an aspect mentioned by the ambassador during a session. He, disquieted, reminded the prime minister of his concurrence at an earlier date and suggested, since it had been written down, that he check in the black book. Mosadeq did, only to say that he could find no such reference of his agreement. As he held the book, both knew, without speaking, that it was not the original. The negotiations went on for a bit, but they could not regain their momentum. Americans gradually realized that there was also a domestically vulnerable Mosadeq. Being pressed by his advisers, he was no longer fully in control of the situation.

The National Front Disintegrates

The year 1953 brought some significant domestic shifts. National Front groups and influential adherents were sloughing off at a perceptible pace. The economy and currency were getting to a parlous state, the new middle class was falling away, government measures were becoming unpopular, Majlis members began resorting to that unique Iranian custom of seeking *bast* (asylum) in the Majlis building, and then there were conflicts among and disaffections from the leadership. The chief Shia supporter, Ayatollah Kashani and the religious-political element he represented, had long been alienated. Vice Premier Makki and the idle oil workers could no longer be relied upon. The intellectuals and students were divided. The general populace was seeing no results and it was hard, except for those under orders, to rally with the old fervor.

Showing gains within the Front were the opportunists and the Tudeh, which was burrowing deeper into the government and changing its complexion. Mosadeq was getting increasingly selective information on public attitudes, Front strength, and the elements of his support. Tudeh influence and organization under the eroding conditions of his regime made Mosadeq more amenable to its suggestions than he could have realized.

Mosadeq Goes for Full Power

Back in the summer of 1952 Mosadeq had requested dictatorial powers for six months to govern without the Majlis and to become war minister. Then the shah, fed up with his pressures, was induced to dismiss him as prime minister, as was his constitutional right. At first, he named an old workhorse, Qavam, who had held the position during the Russian crisis in 1946-47. Street mobs, among them the enthusiastic Tudeh, were orchestrated for three days of disruptive pro-Mosadeq demonstrations. The shah renamed Mosadeq, who got what he wished, including his man as army chief of staff. Nevertheless, showing the ambivalence of the situation, when Mosadeq tried to encourage the shah in his wish to leave the country for a vacation, Kashani (not on Mosadeq's side in the power bid) and others not of the Tudeh got out street mobs for the shah to remain. To avoid these demonstrators, Mosadeq had fled to the Majlis and there did obtain a vote of confidence. But the shah stayed. Also, the schism between Mosadeq and the ayatollah had become clear.

Early in 1953, Ayatollah Kashani, Vice Premier Makki and Dr. Baghai objected when Mosadeq sought and finally obtained from the Majlis a year's extension of the dictatorial powers under which he ruled the country. However, May and June brought rebuffs to Mosadeq. Oppositionists killed his close associate, the national police chief. The financially harassed prime minister by private letter, unknown to his own government and carried to Washington by the American ambassador on consultation, appealed to President Eisenhower for economic aid. The end of June the president replied in a published cold-shower negative, whose tenor was that it would be unfair to American taxpayers when Iran, if reaching a reasonable agreement with the British on compensation, could have funds from renewed oil marketing.

Thereafter, feeling more domestically beset, Mosadeq took arbitrary steps. His designee in July opposed Kashani, the incumbent, for election as Majlis speaker and won, but by 41-31—a warning. His efforts to oust the shah, control the army, and maintain absolute rule had created sizable opposition. In a long talk that late spring, Mosadeq's doctor son and confidante had disturbed American diplomats by his evasive and unrealistic picture of the situation. The Iranian people seemed to be going in one direction and Mosadeq another. Still, moving in a classic dictatorial pattern, Mosadeq assumed the shah's prerogative. By summer he dissolved the Majlis and received, by his intimidating control of the state structure, as well as use of supporters and the Tudeh, virtually unanimous approval in a national referendum.

For Mosadeq personally, even with the problems he was creating, many of the public still had a psychological regard. However, he was being opposed by the leader of a rump National Front regime, once overwhelmingly popular, who was shoring up his levels of power by whatever tactic or faction he could claim. By now it was into a seething, hot August.

Washington Chooses

The oil talks, which Washington and London had considered a reasonable, serious effort, had petered out by early spring. American information throughout Iran was confirming the generally deteriorating picture. The same policy realities influenced Democratic and Republican administrations. Thus, the United States decided it could not stand by while the political fragmentation and economic chaos of Iran continued, giving progressively greater impact to disciplined Soviet-backed forces such as the Tudeh. It was unacceptable to risk witnessing Iran drift into a pro-Tudeh regime that could place the Soviets on the Persian Gulf. Mosadeq, to obtain full Western support for his views, was deliberately pushing the United States into a choice.

During the hectic spring and summer days, the embassy and

consulates had stepped up their brisk pace, working to keep on top of the rush of events and to appreciate their meaning. Other parts of the American official establishment, every possible Iranian source, mullahs, journalists, intellectuals and students, merchants, Majlis members, regional and tribal leaders, the military, politicians, pro-and anti-Mosadeq figures, contributed to the information stream.

Spring into summer the naval attache* singly proved to have the most valuable personal contacts. His unusually pleasant, imperturbable personality had given him close Iranian relationships. He quietly moved among the inner circles of the royal court, was on intimate terms with some of Mosadeq's family and advisers, gambled with the perhaps pivotal Qashqai tribal khans, and even visited opposition General Zahedi in hiding. His reports were an essential part of the embassy's factual base for analysis.

Come August, the ambassador would have headed one of the most complex, large and demanding of American diplomatic misssions for two years. He was an exceptional man and had done his best. **His balanced analyses and recommendations had held the confidence of Washington, both on his trips there and with the procession of influential visitors. Even more difficult, he had the respect of Mosadeq and the shah. Over time, Mosadeq still listened when the ambassador expressed his strong misgivings at Iran's direction and situation, citing also American strategic concerns.

Official policies toward Iran had reached a dead end. In late June, the ambassador, on home consultation, faced with Washington the sober reality. This brought a decision approving a plan for covert action in which the British would cooperate. When notified, the Embassy's chargé (Minister Counselor Gordon H. Mattison) and chief political officer were pleased.

There was a self-imposed condition for the ambassador, who would not return nor talk to Mosadeq while the covert plan was in course. In the event of failure the ambassador might be indispensable to intervene with Mosadeq.

The feasible strategy was to turn to the other of the dual symbols of Iranian nationalism and authority, the shah. Although battered and his military control undercut, he still had a substantial base of support there and with the public, if the issue could be clearly posed as either the shah or Mosadeq, a choice the Iranians had so far resisted. The Americans understood that no covert action against a leader and a regime that would contend to the end could possibly succeed unless there was sufficient approval within the country for the change.

> "Now, in the ambassador's presence, Mosadeq, whose advisers had kept him uninformed of conditions, directed the police chief to seek to curb the rioting."

A personal version of the cooperative planning betwecn Americans and pro-shah Iranians, as well as the coup tactics, has been prepared by the head of the American side of the operation.* Other than the CIA, American personnel in the country carried out their regular duties unaware, aside from two senior officials, that a proposed change was in the offing. These officials, while generally informed of the progress of the CIA effort, deliberately did not seek planning details, tactics, or names of Iranian participants.

The consul at Tabriz, reassigned, was in Tehran to fly out on the very date of the scheduled coup attempt. There was a farewell evening, with one participant privately convinced he would not leave. (The consul had done a remarkable thing. By sheerest coincidence, in a previous incarnation he had acquired a doctorate in electronic physics. As a hobby, tinkering in Tabriz with his own receiving equipment, he had heard an intriguing prolonged sound. After continued checking, he decided the sounds were missiles in flight. Accorded more sophisticated apparatus, he had detected, the first foreigner to do so, the large Soviet missile test center at Kapusin Yar. From a little acorn a great monitoring project grew.)

The consul did leavc the next morning. The coup had been forestalled by the Mosadeq regime.

Crisis and Success

As part of the covert action plan, by unpublicized decree on August 13, the shah dismissed Mosadeq and named General Zahedi, who was in hiding, to be prime minister. However, the Mosadeq regime was alerted by informants on the pace of the movement. Through elements of the military, such as Mosadeq's appointed chief of staff, it disrupted the shah's action by arrests which included the newly designated chief of staff. Discouraged by seeming failure, the shah voluntarily flew his private plane to Baghdad and traveled on to Rome on August 16. Mosadeq seemed to have unchallenged power, the coup effort to have failed.

Mass meetings, Tudeh-managed, celebrated the shah's departure. For the next two days, the Tudeh called for a democratic peoples' republic and "Death to the Shah," while the regime sought to prepare for a republic and to control the Tudeh mobs. These had beon tearing down statues of the shah and his father, as well as painting the hammer and sickle throughout town. Other Iranian locales were experiencing restiveness and confusion. But during August 18 the information fog began to lift as some

*Now Captain Eric Pollard, USN (Retired).

**Ambassador Loy W. Henderson from positions as chargé and ambassador had an extraordinary personal knowledge of the Soviet Union, the Mideast, and South Asia. Since he had been responsible for these areas in the State Department, he also knew the workings of Washington. Combined with experience was an intuitive, wide-ranging mind and unshakable integrity.

*Counter-Coup: The Struggle for the Control of Iran, *Kermit Roosevelt (McGraw Hill). Its delayed formal issuance is scheduled for 1980 and this writer has not yet read it. Mr. Roosevelt had a distinguished career with the OSS in World War II and was that agency's subsequent historian. Then he was a dedicated and valuable public servant with the CIA during the early cold war period.*

papers carried the texts of the shah's decrees.

The ambassador had arrived in Tehran and, finally, the night of August 18, obtained an interview with Mosadeq. The latter stormily denounced the United States for inducing the shah to dimiss him, but the ambassador, who had alone decided on his intention, rejoined that he was not there to assess responsibility. His purpose was to get assurances for the safety of Americans and other foreigners threatened by the rioting street mobs. If not, all but a cadre of essential personnel would be evacuated. To a disconcerted Mosadeq this meant an American abandonment of Iran.

For two days Tudeh-inspired crowds had been bearing communist banners, assaulting foreigners, and pillaging. In demonstrations addressed by, among others, the foreign minister, there had been fiery anti-shah, anti-West speeches. The police, on Mosadeq's orders, had been passive. Now, in the ambassador's presence, Mosadeq, whose advisers had kept him uninformed of conditions, directed the police chief to seek to curb the rioting. Later, the communists would denounce Mosadeq for double-crossing them, even as they resisted the police.

August 19 was the day of the second effort, set before the ambassador's return. From south Tehran and the bazaar, aided by the final CIA galvanizing attempt, the pro-shah supporters streamed. Among them were the zirkaneh (traditional body building) club members, who by their physiques and public respect gave substance to the outpouring. The major cry was "Long live the Shah," and police, soldiers, military units and tanks merged with the swelling crowds.

After the Mosadeq triumph over the shah, there seemed to be a surprising turn of the tide. Embassy officers were around Tehran at suitable locales, phoning reports to an officer acting as city editor. In the confusion, the phone monitoring had subsided, and the reports came in reasonably fast and clear. The city editor passed on developments to officers, who incorporated them with other reports in outgoing immediate factual messages to the State Department. By day's end these totalled nineteen.

Evolving events and the popular tumult for the shah were trending against Mosadeq. Similar information later began filtering in from the consulates. About noon, to some officers in the embassy it seemed that the shah's forces had won, but their chief still deferred the preparation of such a message. As the hot early afternoon wore on until about 2:00 p.m., when the public customarily took refuge from the heat of the day, the fury continued to mount. The supervisor gave the green light and in short order the message was ready.

> "A traditional backlash was to be expected, and this the mullahs, financially restricted by the shah, led in the old religious-political pattern of Islam."

Taking the cable to the ambassador for approval, the supervisor pointed to the previous factual messages, culminating in the present. He added a private opinion. In their two Iranian years, they had witnessed many mob demonstrations, but there had always been something artificial about them. Those previous tumults had tapered off in the afternoon, only to resume later. This day was an exception. Instead of a lapse due to the intense heat, public emotions and anti-Mosadeq activity were increasing. The people themselves fully meant it. Mosadeq was finished. Smiling, the ambassador rejoined, "I agree with you, but we certainly can't tell that [as the reason] to the department!" The message went.

Finally, the public had made its choice. Shaken by the shah's departure, people had become disturbed at the blatant activities of the Tudeh, which had emerged as a real substantive force behind Mosadeq. Thus, that day all cars ran with lights on in celebration. Each too, the people insisted, had to have a picture of the shah at the windshield, even if it was on a banknote. There was an air of festivity and relief throughout Tehran which reports from the consulates confirmed as true also for their areas. Iran had a road before it, uncertain as it might be, not just a roadblock. It was viewed by the Soviets as a great defeat.

Aftermath and Opportunity

Apparently the only real resistance shah supporters met was from the tanks and a military unit at Mosadeq's house. This had been overcome, Mosadeq escaping, only to be picked up later. It should not be forgotten that to many he was still a national symbol led astray into an extremist course, but who, as a person, had a tug on public emotions. After a delayed publicized trial, he was restricted to his home village. Some months after the coup, the foreign minister was found and tried. Not improbable communist connections were alleged and he was executed.

The shah, returning August 22, was overwhelmingly received. His prime minister, General Zahedi, other ministers, and a welcoming host were there. His new government was accorded emergency American aid until oil royalties could enter the treasury. To accomplish this in the new nationalist era, a foreign oil consortium with American participation worked out a 50-50 division of profits in Iran. The oil flowed, and funds became available for shah-determined programs and government operations. A broad opportunity for healthy change and direction within the country lay open to the shah from his fresh position of unchallenged power.

There are numerous post mortems on how the quarter century given the shah was squandered.* A lengthy, essentially idle period was followed by the so-called White Revolution, with mangled agrarian reforms and steps toward women's emancipation. Until his final departure, he gave systematic support for development in two areas, military and industrial. A student of Third World change might see Iran as thereby inevitably subject to

**An American official of the time asserts if in 1951-53 the United States government could have been assured, regardless of whom it supported, of 25 years of a stable non-Communist Iran, it would have leaped at it.*

great strains in the political and social sectors. A traditional backlash was to be expected, and this the mullahs, financially restricted by the shah, led in the old religious-political pattern of Islam. As well, an Iranian revision of history would, from discontent, deny the earlier popular acceptance of the shah and view the Americans, not as catalysts, but as sinister opponents of the national will.

Prolonged full power can corrupt any essentially well-intentioned and irresolute man having expansive private dreams and the solid means for projecting his authority. Postures can substitute for reality. There was no systematic group of prestigious advisers to urge meaningful, well-paced reforms, particularly as to social effects and proportion. Royal family exploitation of the country as its preserve and the rampant excesses of his secret police were widespread knowledge. None can say whether, by turning decisive and using the military machine he had nurtured, the shah might have held on. However, he left and a charismatic figure returned.

Nationalism and Three Leaders

In the enthusiastic surge of national emotion, the Ayatollah Khomeini embodied the successful fruition of implacable resistance to the shah and his royal rule throughout a 15-year exile. Here, once again, was a fresh start.

It is tempting to shape analogies. Mosadeq was the symbol of a frustrated nationalism rebelling against what it deemed foreign dominance by the British and their control of domestic oil. Now, the ayatollah was a nationalist symbol of triumph over an authoritarian rule which repeatedly misused its opportunities and, said its opponents, only stayed in place due to the Americans. Even in the shah's earlier victory over Mosadeq there was a contributing concern over the Tudeh and fear of the Soviet Union. Each of the eruptions revealed a part of the Iranian xenophobia.

Domestic ills had direct relation to the foreigner, who was perceived as going against the national culture by manipulating, as the unseen hand, the regime the people deposed. For Mosadeq and the National Front, the object of obloquy was Great Britain. For Khomeini and his Revolutionary Council, the scapegoat was the United States. The British were assailed as having conspired with every government until Mosadeq to maintain their control. The Americans were condemned as having thwarted through the shah the aspirations of the Iranian people.

To draw the three leaders together as makers of the country's history, the shah seems a centerpiece. Both Mosadeq and Khomeini, one well-nigh fatal to the shah's rule and the other representing its demise, had been spared by the shah himself to pursue their long-range purposes. As a youth he had intervened with his reluctant father to save Mosadeq's life. In 1963, he had so misjudged the depth of Khomeini's hatred as to permit him to go in exile to Najaf, a Shia holy city in Iraq, and then to press for his departure to Europe. From the standpoint of a regime hardly democratic and requiring a strong, if not ruthless, leader to maintain that course, realistically these might be termed haunting errors.

Khomeini is not Mosadeq's clerical clone. Mosadeq also could manipulate men and drove for full power. But where he was worldly and witty, Khomeini is obsessively vindictive and has a medieval disinterest in how today's world works. Yet he and Mosadeq share a distinction. Each in his turn, as a symbol of destructiveness, was *Time* magazine's man of the year.

Supporting groups of Khomeini's junta can draw upon the National Front's techniques, now political tradition, in handling street demonstrations and in timing to gain maximum policy enthusiasm: processions, chanted slogans including death to the contemporary enemy, ways to suppress dissent, clever use of the media, demagogic speeches, rigged national voting referenda, and always the tendency to excess. This last, the bane of Iran, is perhaps understandable when harnessed emotions get their release. Then there are always the Soviet-influenced factions and the Tudeh, encouraging extremism and waiting to pick up the pieces.

Current Realities

While the tactics and events of Iranian nationalism and politics can be compared, they are transitory when viewed against some durable realities. Iran is still the space between the Persian Gulf and the Soviet Union. Along its borders in U formation the non-Iranian elements remain, half of the total people and attracted to autonomy: Azerbaijanis, Kurds, Arabs, Baluchis, Afghans, Turkmen. To survive as a single state Iran must seek to provide security and an economy that serves the mutual interest. To achieve this, Iran must continue to export oil for food and the materials its economic and technological progress require. To protect its interests, a cohesive nation must have effective security forces. Notwithstanding the Ayatolah Khomeini, Iran is a part of the modern world.

For the United States too, the strategic, political, and economic aspects of the Iranian situation still bulk large. The US and its allies are more than ever dependent upon gulf oil. It knows a fragmented Iran, or even one wholly or in part pro-Soviet, could precipitate a world crisis at the gulf. Iran in its upheavals has never yet experienced the form of domestic total war as waged by the Soviets in Afghanistan. The Iranian ferment the world is witnessing requires, as the secretary of state said in another context, that the United States "be alert to the reality that internal tensions present opportunities for outside interference." Cast as the villain and subject to great provocations, which could well be sporadic, America must exercise a restraint it emotionally may not feel. At the same time, it would be foolhardy not to be politically and militarily prepared for any contingency.

Iran, to remain independent, must at some stage of its turmoil turn towards the great free democracies. This does not mean that the United States or any single foreign state would have a preponderant share in helping Iran build its future. That era is gone. If America can work within a partnership to that end, this would be a great accomplishment. Still, one must have a basis to build on and the destroyers, in full cry, have the easier task. World peace indeed may depend upon whether the Iranians alone can pull themselves together. The odds are uncertain.

"The first stern page of life's diplomacy"—Katharine Imbrie

Echo from the Past

AUGUST A. IMHOLTZ, JR.

Close to noon on July 18, 1924, on a street in Tehran, a Persian secret police officer maneuvered his motorcycle to halt the carriage in which the United States vice consul, Major Robert W. Imbrie, was riding. Robert Whitney Imbrie, born in Washington, D.C. and graduated from George Washington University and Yale Law School, had distinguished himself as an ambulance driver with the French army early in World War I. As a scholar and diplomat he had received honors from ten foreign governments and served in the American embassies at Petrograd, Viborg, and Constantinople before coming to Tehran. Emerging from his carriage in front of the military barracks of the Pahlavi regiment of the Persian army, Major Imbrie was struck by a colonel of the Persian Cossack regiment. A street mob, which had gathered around the vehicle, then attacked him and his attendant, Melvyn Seymour. Pursued by the mob, he fled into a nearby building which housed a local police headquarters and hospital. His assailants followed. In the hospital they attacked Imbrie with their swords and with tiles torn from the operating room floor. In spite of his terrible wounds and suffering, Major Imbrie remained conscious after his attackers had left him for dead. At three p.m. he died, with more than 137 wounds in his body. His wife Katharine arrived shortly thereafter, too late.

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Major Imbrie

Why had Imbrie been murdered with the seeming complicity of officers of Persia's crack regiment, commanded by the prime minister, Reza Khan, the father of the present shah? Outwardly Reza Khan's government was friendly to the United States. Indeed, the American economist, Dr. Arthur Millspaugh, was serving as a special financial adviser to Khan's government. On the day before his death, however, Major Imbrie noted in his diary that assassinations might occur soon in the struggle for control of the Persian oil fields. Competition among the Anglo-Persian Oil Company, Standard Oil, and Sinclair Oil intensified as the companies sought to align themselves with various political factions in Persia. A Tehran newspaper early in 1924 charged that the foreign oil companies were bribing Persian officials, and that Reza Khan himself had received a $250,000 bribe to ensure that a certain oil company would be granted a concession. "The editor of the newspaper," Mrs. Imbrie noted in her memorandum on her husband's death, "was promptly murdered. Reza Khan needed an excuse for declaring martial law and proclaiming himself dictator of Persia. (Major) Imbrie believed such an excuse could be found in the assassination of foreigners. Reza Khan subsidized the mullahs to carry religious revivals . . . (which) soon developed into anti-foreign demonstrations directed against Americans."

Mrs. Imbrie believed that the intended target of the officially sanctioned anti-American attacks was Ralph Soper, a representative of Sinclair Oil. Soper had been friendly with the Bolsheviks who controlled the important Baku oil fields and he had gained some influence with members of the Persian parliament. (One of Soper's assistants was responsible for published attacks on Dr. Millspaugh, whose sympathies in the struggle for petroleum concessions lay, as did the State Department's, with Standard Oil. The Commerce Department, however, under Mr. Hoover's leadership, favored the claim of Sinclair Oil.) "Reza Khan," according to Mrs. Imbrie, "felt that his personal and official interests could best be served if Soper were liquidated." The murder plan was set, but the wrong man was killed, as the police and the military looked on.

The United States responded quickly and forcefully. On July 28th, the United States minister delivered a strongly worded note to Reza Khan:

> Immediately after learning of the circumstances under which Mr. Imbrie had been killed and his attendant, Mr. Melvyn Seymour seriously injured, your excellency's government was advised, through its representative in Washington and through the American legation in Tehran, that my government would expect adequate reparation to be made and prompt punishment meted out to those responsible for the killing and to those who by failure to act contributed to make possible this incident unprecedented in recent time.
>
> The maintenance of relations between countries is primarily dependent upon the according of adequate protection to their respective nationals and to their official representatives. Diplomatic usage, treaty provisions, in fact the very provisions of the treaty between the US and Persia of 1856, emphasize

this view. This government feels that the continuance of its diplomatic and consular representation in Persia will be dependent upon the action which the Persian government may take in this case to vindicate this fundamental principle of international law and this foundation upon which international intercourse is predicated. It confidently awaits such action to supplement the steps already taken by the Persian government. It cannot overemphasize the seriousness of the view which is taken of the present situation.

In the meantime, Mrs. Imbrie had been attacked by another Persian mob. Two men jumped on the running board of her car and grabbed her by the head and throat. Dr. H. P. Packard, who was driving, managed to fight off the men. A crowd that gathered around the car began hurling stones at the two Americans and pursued the car until it reached the safety of the American consulate.

Five specific avenues of redress were demanded by the United States government in the Imbrie incident: an indemnity of $60,000 to the widow of Major Imbrie; full military honors to the body of Major Imbrie while on Persian soil; punishment of the guilty; an indemnity for the injured American; transfer of Major Imbrie's body to the United States in a man-of-war.

Persia's government acceded immediately to the demands, for Reza Khan in 1924 had hopes of introducing in Persia westernizing reforms like those Kemal Ataturk was carrying out in Turkey, and to do this, he required American and British assistance. The indemnities, after further exchange of diplomatic notes, were paid. A Persian martial law tribunal was convened for prosecuting and punishing the guilty and by October 2, 1924, had carried out the first of three death sentences. Some thirty additional judgments were handed down against Colonel Hassan Agha Ismali, commander of the Pahlavi regiment, and his officers, together with members of the police guard at the combined hospital and police headquarters. Only the fifth demand, transport of the body back to the United States aboard a warship occasioned difficulty: Persia had no warships. So the Persian government agreed to pay the United States to transport the body back aboard the *USS Trenton*. The expenses amounted to $110,000, and that sum was deposited in a special treasury account. But what was to become of it?

President Coolidge suggested to Congress in his message of February 17, 1925, that it "authorize the setting aside of all funds received from the Persian government, not to exceed $100,000, to be spent for educational purposes as the secretary of state may prescribe." Congress failed to act. On January 6, 1926, Coolidge, still seeking legislative action on the disposition of the Persian fund, transmitted to Congress a letter from Secretary of State Kellogg urging the money be used for educating Persian students in this country. Again Congress took no action. Mrs. Imbrie filed a series of unsuccessful claims on the money. Various legal and administrative questions were raised about the disposition of the fund. So the matter languished until 1949 when a bill was introduced in the House to employ the fund as President Coolidge had suggested. A year later the proposal became Public Law 861. Its supporters, no doubt, shared the hope President Coolidge expressed in 1925, that the use of the fund for educational purposes "would foster friendly relations between the United States and Persia."

Thus the crisis caused by the murder of Major Imbrie was resolved through diplomatic channels and the final indemnity payment made by Persia was turned into a good will gesture by the United States twenty-five years later.

A positive "Marseille Connection"

CHEZ BRUN

HOWARD R. SIMPSON

Most tourists avoid Marseille. They head for the Cote d'Azur and the pleasure palaces of Cannes or Nice, the crowded topless beaches and boutiques of Saint Tropez and the gaming tables of Monte Carlo. Marseille conjures up a number of negative images: somber docks; labor disputes; gang wars and, most recently, "the French Connection" with its psychological fallout of narcotics traffic violence and corruption. It's a shame because this colorful Mediterranean city with its Vieux Port and its turbulent history has more life and pure guts than many of its coastal neighbors.

Howard R. Simpson retired from ICA last year after serving in Saigon, Lagos, Marseille, Paris, Canberra and Algiers. He is the author of several books, with another in the works, and a frequent contributor to the Journal. *His retirement home is in Ireland.*

True . . . there is a current rise in gang killings among members of the Corsican "families" who, having served several years for narcotics offenses, are now claiming their share from the colleagues that replaced them during their incarceration. Unfortunately, their share is more often in the form of several well-placed 45 calibre slugs rather than a briefcase full of high denomination French francs. True . . . the narrow, one-way streets of the city have produced a perpetual traffic disaster and the new high rises cluttering the fringes of the old city are nibbling away at the ancient skyline. But despite all this the flavor of the old Marseille, the domain of Pagnol's Marius, Cesar and Escartefigue lives and is there for the discerning visitor to explore.

The Restaurant Brun is a symbol of this tradition. Since 1936, when the establishment was founded by Maurice Brun, the strictly Provençal menu has not changed. A small, unobtrusive sign hanging from the second floor is easy to miss if one walks along the Quai de Rive Neuve at an American pace. But the atmosphere of the Vieux Port with its small, white "ferry boats" plying the sun-struck water from quai to quai, its working fishing fleet sharing space with sleek, ocean-going yachts and its general air of indolence scented with the bubbling "soupe de poisson" of at least thirty waterfront restaurants is guaranteed to slow the pace of even an ulcer-plagued stockbroker.

Chez Brun is not that hard to find. Any fisherman, recovering from his before dawn efforts with a small glass of pastis will be glad to point the way. If the eager tourist overshoots the mark he can always enter the "Bar de la Marine," the setting of Pagnol's immortal game of cards in the film "Marius" and the solicitous barman will put him on the proper path.

Entering the narrow door of 18 Quai de Rive Neuve and climbing the old stairway the visitor receives his first impression. The perfume of Provencal cooking, herbs and the best quality olive oil, guides him to the small dining room. The old, waxed Provencal furniture, the crackling fire under the spit and the warmth of the reception give one the feeling of entering a private home. The second impression is one of quiet. The clients are there to enjoy their food. No subdued music, no clatter and rush of waiters, no shouted orders to the kitchen.

Chez Brun has one menu . . . and that is what you get. The "Maison" also frowns on the between-course smoker. Both of these rules have put a number of people off in the past. It is, without a doubt, their loss.

Greeted by Frederick Brun, the son of the late founder, and comfortably installed, the gourmet can relax and prepare for a meal that will run its relaxed course in a minimum period of two hours.

To prepare for the four Provencal wines that accompany the meal and to insure that the hors d'oeuvres and the main courses are digested with the minimum of

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Extended family, Peking

From Hofei to Shanghai

LAWRENCE J. HALL

How do Americans on a packaged tour of the new China react to the country and the people? What do they think of China's future? US relations with China? And are there any lessons Americans should learn from the Chinese?

I asked myself these questions last spring when my wife, Ruth, and I were mid-way through a commercial 10-day, three-city tour of the People's Republic along with 23 other Americans. To get some answers I decided it might be revealing to interview my fellow travelers. After putting together a short questionnaire, I made a proposal to the group: If they agreed to the interviews, I would analyze the results and brief them on their responses before the end of the tour. They agreed. Since we were on a long train trip at the time and confined to one coach, the logistics were simple.

We had spent four days in Peking and three in Hofei, capital of largely agricultural Anhui province and a city of 600,000 population. We were on our way to Shanghai. Our group consisted of 10 men and 15 women, almost all over 50 and moderately well off. Our members included a working journalist, a travel agent, a government statistician, a recent college graduate, an opthalmologist, a dentist, a lawyer-banker, a retired businessman and philanthropist and a land developer.

In our first week in China the group had visited the Great Wall and Ming tombs by train and bus from Peking and had toured the Forbidden City and other ancient sites in and around the capital. We had strolled around Tien An Men square and the shopping areas of Peking and Hofei. We had spent an afternoon at a commune and a morning with university students and faculty members. We had been entertained by songs, playlets and a ballet by six-year-olds-and-under in a kindergarten. We had browsed up and down city streets, frequently drawing crowds of smiling Chinese eager to look at the foreigners, especially in the provincial city. We had walked through the studios of an arts and crafts factory, watching Chinese artists create delicate paintings from designs originated hundreds of years ago. We had been briefed and held question and answer sessions in connection with almost all such visits. In the evenings we had seen a puppet show, a feature film made in Hong Kong and a 100-year-old Russian musical farce—in each case along with the usual Chinese audience for such events (always a packed house). We had cross-questioned our six Chinese guides, not only during the visits but on the trains and buses getting from place to place, from early morning until quite late at night. Two of the China International Travel Service guides stayed with us for the entire tour and were joined in each city by two local CITS representatives.

Now we were relaxing in the cushioned comfort of a deluxe railroad coach, with tables between each pair of seats, for the 12-hour daylight rail trip from Hofei to Shanghai. Lunch was long past and the first tea service of the afternoon was underway. Before Nanking on the Yangtze flashed by the windows, I was well into the project, interviewing each in turn and privately, to assure spontaneity.

The first question was how they characterized the Chinese and China after a week in the country. Virtually all of them were impressed with the friendliness of the Chinese people, in large measure

Lawrence J. Hall is a retired FSIO who served in Paris, Ankara, Beirut, Baghdad, Rabat, New Delhi, Tehran and Saigon. He also served as chief of USIA's research service.

Photos by Arthur Lezin

because they had expected them to be unapproachable and unresponsive.

The next largest cluster of descriptives used by the group revolved around concepts of work, dedication to national goals and China's prospects for the future. They said the Chinese "are building their nation," are capable of a "renaissance," an "awakening." They said the Chinese were "putting their best foot forward," can "do anything they wish" and have "great potential." They are "progressing," others said, and can be "proud of their accomplishments."

A small minority of the group provided a cluster of negative descriptions, like "slow," "backward," "docile," this last modified by "because of the regime." A couple of our group objected to what seemed to be a rather widespread habit of spitting in public.

A few volunteered the thought that communism is right for China. One attributed his conclusion to the overwhelming population problem and consequent need for discipline. One said too much individualism would be disastrous. Another was impressed with the pervasive importance of the Communist Party in China.

The next question was an attempt to let the individual group members say what was most salient to each. I asked what was the most important thing they had learned in China.

Performance by Peking's future leaders

The presence of piles of bricks along city streets, of cranes, of many buildings under construction, some covered with bamboo or other wood scaffolding; the sound of hammers, saws, wheelbarrows and heavy earth-moving equipment—all of which was so visible and audible in Peking and to a lesser degree in Hofei and from the Hofei-Shanghai train—made a deep impression on the group.

They were equally impressed by the amount of terracing they saw, of gardening in empty lots in city suburbs, of the many farm workers and the vast stretches of cultivated land, uninterrupted by forests or wastelands, visible along all the hundreds of miles we traveled on the ground (rail and bus), all of which fostered the idea of a high degree of land utilization.

In the fields of Chinese foreign policy and politics, slightly less than half of the group volunteered the idea that the Chinese "want the US as an ally," or that they are "moving toward the west," (and that they have become "anti-Russian"). On Chinese internal politics one member said the most important thing he had learned was the importance of the Communist Party in the total scene. Another said he had come to believe that communism was right for China and seemed to work here, "which is not the case in the Soviet Union." One member said he had not realized how eager the Chinese are to learn from the United States. Two others felt they had become aware on the trip of how little Americans know about China and the Chinese.

To get an idea of how members of the group viewed China's future, I asked if they felt the Chinese have a good chance of improving their living standard. Although we had not yet been inside Chinese living quarters (that was to come in Shanghai) the group had had ample opportunity to observe modes of dress and costs of cloth and clothes. From briefings, conversations and city strolling they knew quite a bit about earnings, rents, medical costs, the availability of food-stuffs and even the prices of bicycles and sewing machines. The stores we had shopped in, frequently with the help of friendly crowds who followed us in from the street, had many household items on display. And some members of the group had bought clothing and other standard items as souvenirs. While the Peoples Republic does provide special Friendship stores for tourist shopping, we also made frequent visits to the shops and department stores open to the Chinese.

The entire group was convinced

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Ballet class on Shanghai street

Association News

THE FOREIGN SERVICE ACT OF 1980

A "clean bill" seeking to preserve and strengthen the Foreign Service emerged from House subcommittees March 5. In agreeing to report out identical language, Subcommittee chairmen Dante Fascell and Patricia Schroeder increased the chances of the bill completing the legislative process without damaging amendments. The full committees were expected to take up the legislation by early April and it is likely to go to the House floor by May. The Senate has not yet scheduled debate on it. If implemented, it would be effective October 1, 1980.

Following completion of subcommittee markup, the Association scheduled a series of open meetings to give all members of the Foreign Service an opportunity to examine it in detail. The legislation now is considerably different from the seriously flawed proposal submitted by the administration last May. Meetings were scheduled in mid-March to discuss various aspects of the bill, including:

Pay and allowances;
Role and structure of the New Foreign Service;
Safeguards—will they work?
Summation—aggregating the reaction of the membership at home and abroad;

The Governing Board planned to present at each meeting and circulate overseas an analysis of the advantages, disadvantages, omissions and risks of each provision of the new Act. After collecting opinions throughout the Foreign Service the Board will vote whether to support or oppose the Act as it is reported out of the full House Committees.

The new Act runs over 200 pages plus legislative history and covers every aspect of Foreign Service life. Any members who have not had access to the Board's detailed analyses may obtain them by contacting the AFSA office. The most significant revisions to the legislation as originally proposed by the administration are: much stronger language on the importance of role and functions of the Service; $45 million in additional pay and allowances for the Service; a requirement for long range planning of intake, promotion and attrition in the Foreign Service with the full participation of employee representatives; a clear delineation of Foreign Service versus Civil Service and legislated bargaining authority for the exclusive representative.

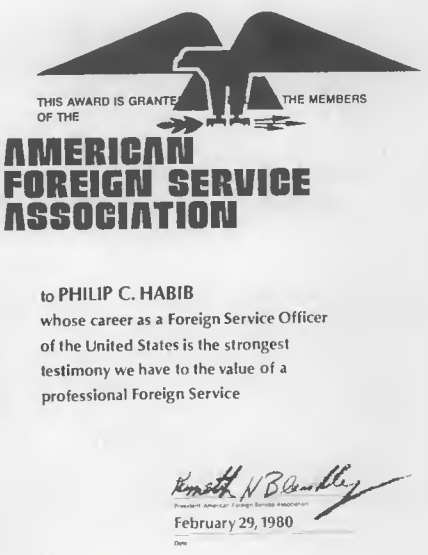
MORE ON PAKISTAN EVACUATION

Last month the *Journal* contained excerpts from AID management's response to AFSA inquiries concerning treatment of a Foreign Service secretary during and after the Pakistan evacuation. We are pleased to report that this employee has been given a Meritorious Honour Award in recognition of her unusual devotion to duty under adverse conditions.

RETIREMENT OF PHILIP HABIB

Ambassador, former Under Secretary and former President of the American Foreign Service Association, Philip C. Habib retired from the Foreign Service on February 29. In a moving ceremony in the Thomas Jefferson Room, Secretary Vance spoke and read a letter of appreciation from President Carter, Robert Gershenson presented him with the United States and ambassadorial flags and Ambassador Charles Whitehouse told the audience about "the real Phil Habib." The Association believes that Ambassador Habib's singular contribution to the Foreign Service is summed up in the certificate reprinted below which President Ken Bleakley presented to him during the ceremony. We will continue to look to Phil Habib for advice and counsel.

Secretary Vance, Philip Habib and AFSA President Ken Bleakley at the retirement ceremonies for Habib on February 29.



THE FSO AND THE INCOME TAX

All Foreign Service employees are urged to read the article in the February 1980 issue of the *Journal* on tax deductibility of home leave expenses. As explained in that article, AFSA and the Thomas Legal Defense Fund are jointly sponsoring an appeal of two recent decisions of the Tax Court which disallowed claimed income tax deducations representing expenses incurred by the Foreign Service employees while complying with "home leave" travel orders.

Help us defray the legal expenses of this suit by making a generous donation either to AFSA at 2101 E St., N.W., Washington, D.C. 20037 or to the Thomas Legal Defense Fund, P.O. Box 19443, 20th St. Station, Washington, D.C. 20036. If you are an AFSA member, clearly state this fact when making your donation and indicate that you are interested in supporting the home leave tax case. Contributions to the Thomas Legal Defense Fund are tax deductible.

Section 933 of the Foreign Service Act requires all Foreign Service employees to return to the United States for "home leave" as soon as possible after completion of three years of service abroad or before. The purpose is to insure that Foreign Service employees periodically renew and enrich their fund of information and understanding of United States cultural, political, and economic developments. Home leave must be taken when the agency so orders and shall be taken in the United States, its territories or possessions. Because home leave is granted for the purpose of improving job performance it is quite distinct from a normal vacation. The expenses incurred by the employee while on home leave are therefore legitimate business expenses as that term is used in the Internal Revenue Code and can be claimed by the employee.

AFSA's position on deductibility of home leave expenses has been upheld by Circuit Courts in the Fourth and Ninth Circuits. Attorney Murray Belman who won the Hitchcock case in the Fourth Circuit has already submitted a persuasive pre-hearing brief on the current Teil/Brewin case to the US Circuit Court of Appeals for the District of Columbia. We believe Mr. Belman will win again. However, the legal costs involved are heavy. We urge all Foreign Service employees to join together in support of this appeal. A win here will help insure that in the future every employee will be able to enjoy significant savings for each home leave taken. Contribute generously.

WIL CHASE RESIGNS

Wilbur P. Chase, the Association's counselor for the past four years, resigned that position at the end of February. Wil's service to the Association was commemorated by a certificate signed by President Ken Bleakley for which the citation read: "For the invaluable service he provided to the Association as its counselor and acting executive director from September 1976 to February 1980. The sympathetic and expert support he gave to individual employees and the guidance he provided to the Association was outstanding."

The Governing Board and the staff of the Association, as well as all of the Foreign Service employees he so ably counseled, will miss Wil Chase.

DOCUMENTING REPRESENTATION EXPENSES

A member has reported to us that he has successfully challenged an IRS contention that he was required to submit documentation other than official certification that he incurred non-reimbursed representation expenses in order to claim them as a business expense.

An IRS national office technical advice memorandum dated December 20, 1979 concludes: "_____ may deduct the representation expenses _____ incurred in _____ while a Foreign Service officer at the United States embassy that were certified as reimbursible by the Department of State but were not reimbursed because of insufficient funds."

Copies of the full memorandum are available through AFSA headquarters.

FOREIGN COMMERCIAL SERVICE

A small group of E/C officers, in cooperation with AFSA, are continuing the efforts begun last summer to examine the situation now facing the Foreign Service in the Economic/Commercial area. We are proceeding on several tracks. One avenue is to present management with a list of hard questions concerning the employment conditions both in State and Commerce as a result of the transfer of most of the commercial function. AFSA will be asking M to respond to these questions so that it can then recommend (or not) that E/C officers transfer to the Foreign Commercial Service (FCS). AFSA will urge the Department to request that Commerce postpone opening its "window" until this fall and leave it open for a reasonable length of time. Further, even after the window is shut, State officers should be given an equitable chance of entering the FCS should they choose to apply. We will report management's replies by cable as soon as they are obtained. We appreciate the thoughtful cables sent in by some of the EUR posts following the Commercial Officers Conference in the Hague last month and have drawn some of our questions from them. Please keep them coming.

We also are deeply concerned about the implications of the decisions to set up an FCS as well as those giving more responsibilities in the trade policy area to STR. What do these trends auger for the economic function? Our group is thinking about the various alternatives facing us in the future. We are concerned that no one on the Seventh Floor, or even on the Sixth Floor, appears to be considering this problem in any comprehensive or serious way. We hope to be meeting soon with EB Assistant Secretary Hinton to present some of our ideas and discuss the question of what should State's Economic role be in the 1980s and beyond. Again, we will be reporting any "progress" in this area and would welcome any thoughts or suggestions.

COMMISSIONING AID FOREIGN SERVICE

Readers of last month's note in the *Journal* will recall the importance which the AFSA/AID Standing Committee attaches to the commissioning of AID Foreign Service employees, as provided in a draft amendment to the 1979 Foreign Service Act. It is sad to report that the heads-in-the-sand crowd seems to be triumphing on this issue as well, again at the expense of AID's career Foreign Service. Pleading lack of adequate time for preparation and intimating that it would restrict administrative flexibility, Administrator Bennet refused to support this amendment. The AFSA/AID Standing Committee lobbied long and hard in support of the amendment, which had also attracted strong support from the State Department and the Hill. While strong report language may still emerge from the hearings, it is doubtful—in view of the administrator's conspicuous opposition—that we will see much progress on this costless and long-overdue reform for some time to come. The opposition to commissioning by AID management and the administrator clearly shows how out of touch they are with AID's Foreign Service employees.

CHAPTER NEWS

The Warsaw embassy staff sponsored an ecumenical service of prayer on December 13 for the well-being and safe release of the hostages being held at the embassy in Tehran. The service, held at St. Anne's University Church, was attended by 900 people who filled the church to standing room capacity. Roman Catholic, Methodist, Baptist and Lutheran clergy, as well as the American ambassador, took part in the ceremonies. Those on hand included a number of ambassadors (mostly western) and other members of the diplomatic corps and a large turnout of the American embassy staff, both American and Polish. It is noteworthy that ordinary Poles comprised the overwhelming majority of the congregation, thus reflecting the strong currents of public support in this country for the release of the hostages.

OUR THANKS TO CANADA

On January 31, the American Foreign Service Association sent the following message to Canada's Secretary of State for External Affairs, Flora MacDonald:

On behalf of American Foreign Service personnel around the world, please accept our gratitude to the government and people of Canada for their actions in support of our hostages in Tehran. Our diplomatic association especially requests that you convey to Ambassador Taylor and his staff our thanks and admiration for the heroism they displayed in putting themselves at personal risk in order to rescue the six American diplomats.

Gratitude was also expressed to the Canadian Foreign Service Association (PAFSO) at that time.

The Association has now received the following gracious response to our message from Flora MacDonald.

Thank you for your kind message concerning Canadian assistance to American diplomatic personnel in Tehran. I have brought it to the attention of Canada's Ambassador to Iran, Kenneth Taylor.

We in Ottawa have relied heavily on Mr. Taylor's invaluable advice. As you know, his work was supported by a group of equally dedicated and courageous people. Their contribution in potentially dangerous circumstances has been consistent with the best traditions of Canada's Foreign Service. I am convinced, however, that no more was done for our American colleagues than they would have done for us had Canadians been in need of help.

In rejoicing at the safe departure from Iran of six Americans, we are, of course, reminded of the circumstances of their fellow countrymen who remain hostage in Tehran. The Canadian government, as an expression of the views of all Canadians, will continue to do what it can to the end that all Americans in Iran return safely home.

Ambassador Kenneth Curtis presented a leather-bound book of signatures thanking Canada for its assistance to members of the United States Foreign Service in Tehran to Under Secretary of State for External Affairs Allan Gotlieb at a brief ceremony on March 3. Ambassador and Mrs. Kenneth Taylor, Ottawa Deputy Chief of Mission Robert Duemling and AFSA representative Paul Clappin also participated in the presentation ceremony.

The leather-bound book was commissioned by the American Foreign Service Association as a small token of thanks and circulated among members of the Foreign Service, other State Department personnel and their families. Secretary and Mrs. Vance, other seventh-floor principals, AFSA President Kenneth Bleakley and those whose escape was made possible by our Canadian colleagues were among the first signers, as were members of the families of the hostages.

At the ceremony Under Secretary Gotlieb repeated thanks to Ambassador Taylor, but added that there were many others involved. Among those given special mention were E. P. Black, Deputy Under Secretary of State for External Affairs, and Michael Shenstone, Director-General of the African and Middle East Affairs Bureau.

Ambassador Taylor noted that the Tehran episode shows how much the American Foreign Services are willing to help each other. "I would hope," he said, "that in one way or the other, we may do it again."

NEW TREASURER

Larry Ingram, AFSA's new treasurer, is pictured above. His photograph was omitted from the March issue through a production error.

Larry replaces Dale Coleman who retired from AID to join the firm of H. B. Hill, Certified Public Accountants, in Bellaire, Texas. Dale retains his membership and his interest in the Association and writes that he misses the 40-hour work week in AID.

IMPLEMENTATION OF OBEY AMENDMENT

Specific cases of violations of the spirit of the Obey Amendment (which led to last year's reclassification of AID/W positions into Foreign Service and General Schedule) continue to crop up. The AFSA/AID Standing Committee recently protested management's advertisement of a GS-15 appointment to fill an office director position in the Asia bureau, even though the position was classified Foreign Service. AID management claimed that, even though the position had been vacant for ten months, there had been difficulties in identifying a Foreign Service officer for the slot. It was further maintained that the GS appointment would be "temporary" (and we recall that AID has also been "temporary"—for 31 years!). Another advertisement was protested, this one for the part-time (32 hrs/week) position at GS-15 level of chief of PPC's human resources division. The job description indicates that the incumbent will make policy and supervise eight persons—a big order for a 32-hour week! AFSA lost on this one too, but has brought these and other examples to the attention of appropriate staff on the Hill, and will continue to monitor recruitment activities very closely.

REPRINT "TALES"?

As some readers of the *Journal* are aware, *Tales of the Foreign Service*, edited by Ralph Hilton (1978), was a sell-out, and is currently out of print. The University of South Carolina Press has told us that they will reprint if there is sufficient demand.

We recommend the book, and would like to see it back in print. The price of a hardcover edition would probably be about $12.95 and paper would be about $4.95.

Any *Journal* readers who are interested in buying this book are asked to contact us, and we will then talk to the publisher. A note or postcard addressed to the Editor, *Foreign Service Journal*, 2101 E Street, N.W. Washington, D.C. 20037 or to the AFSA office will do.

MESSAGE TO COLOMBIA

Members of the American Foreign Service Association are chagrined by the seizing of our Ambassador Diego C. Asencio. The latest act directed against diplomats comes at a particularly painful time, as we continue to agonize over the plight of our colleagues held hostage in Tehran.

These attacks are all the more unfortunate as they strike not only against individuals—or even nations—but at the very fabric of diplomacy, an important and, at times, crucial means of communication between nations and peoples.

We are deeply concerned over the safety and well-being of Ambassador Asencio and his diplomatic colleagues, and can only express our deepest wish that they be released immediately and unconditionally. The Association's message follows:

Your colleagues throughout the Foreign Service join me and the Governing Board of the Association in our desire for your and the other Bogota hostages' early release from captivity. Your professional conduct throughout this affair has been the cause of great pride for the Service. You are demonstrating qualities of strength and competence which are in the highest traditions of the Foreign Service of the United States.

FITNESS, ANYONE?

As many Foreign Service personnel know, there are men's and women's physical fitness rooms in the basement of the department, maintained by the Foreign Affairs Recreation Association. There is, however, limited space, and the waiting list for a locker (without which the facility cannot be used) is long. We suggest that personnel planning to return to Washington for an assignment who will want a locker request that they be put on the waiting list. Indicate whether you want a large or small locker and your ETA. Don't send money—the fee is payable when the locker is assigned. To be put on the waiting list, or for further information write to: Steve Feldman, Foreign Affairs Recreation Association, Room B 727, Department of State.

NOTICE

The effective date of all membership transactions—enrollments, renewals and dues payments—is the date all such notices and payments are received at AFSA Headquarters in Washington, *not* the date they are received or forwarded by AFSA Reps.

COME TO AFSA'S BUFFET/BRUNCH SATURDAY, MAY 3

Foreign Service Day is being held on Friday, May 2, 1980. As in previous years, there will be a buffet/brunch at the Foreign Service Club on the day following, Saturday, May 3, 1980, at 10 A.M.

This is an opportunity for AFSA's retired members to visit with their colleagues, to hear about AFSA's activities during the past year, and to discuss plans for the future with President Kenneth Bleakley and other members of AFSA's Governing Board.

If you wish to attend, send your reservation request directly to AFSA at 2101 E Street, N.W., Washington, D.C. 20037, and enclose your check for $6.00. Reservations, which are limited, will be accepted in order of receipt, and checks will be returned to anyone who cannot be accommodated.

CORRECTION—HARTER v. AFSA

The *Journal's* January article entitled "Complaint Against AFSA Dismissed" (p. 24), may have given the impression that John Harter's complaint against AFSA was dismissed in November 1979. In fact, the complaint against AFSA was dismissed in November 1979. In fact, the complaint is currently being adjudicated by the Employee Management Relations Commission (EMRC).

In making its decision the EMRC must consider the case record, Administrative Law Judge Rhea M. Burrow's Recommended Decision and Order and any written exceptions to the judge's recommendations.

FROM HOFEI TO SHANGHAI
from page 22

the Chinese will improve their living standards and three-fourths of the members were especially emphatic about it. Some foresaw a bright future for China. One said it will "become a mighty power." Another: "In five, ten years there will be radical improvement." The Chinese "can change the picture overnight." Said one: "They will get there."

When I asked about what the United States can learn from the Chinese, about half the group felt our country could take a lesson in dedication to community or country, or in willingness to work, or in self-discipline or in having a sense of responsibility. It looked like a solid vote for the Chinese work ethic. We were impressed, I believe, with the responses we received on numerous occasions from our guides or workers or leaders in one of the enterprises we visited when we asked about their personal ambitions or career plans. Invariably they answered they would work wherever they were needed and at whatever job they were assigned and always put their answers in terms of "service to the people" or "country." While we were all sophisticated enough to realize much of this was from the dialectical liturgy and came to the tongue easily, some of us felt that a good deal of personal commitment supported the sloganistic responses. One of our guides was on leave for a year from his permanent job as a teacher of English and of western literature. He was fairly well read and quite eager to discuss American and British writing. However he told a member of the group with what seemed like absolute sincerity that he envied construction workers because they could see and touch their contributions to society.

In suggesting the United States can learn social responsibility from the Chinese, one group member recalled the kindergarten director in Hofei who said her work was to serve the people. Another member contrasted the Chinese attitude toward society with that of some Americans who are out for all they can get. Other answers as to what the United States should emulate were: "working for a living," "working for the good of the country," "discipline," "responsibility" and "a good attitude toward a tough situation."

Entrance to the palace in the Forbidden City, Peking

These other perceived aspects of Chinese life were mentioned: courtesy, honesty, decentralization of control, crime control, reverence for age and old things, and few bars, no intoxication, early rising, exercise, less meat and more vegetables.

Although we saw no Chinese intoxicated or even very much drinking, many group members were favorably impressed with the quality of the different kinds of beer made in China and widely available. Others, including Ruth and me, felt the dry white wine of Peking was excellent, but at $3 or $4 a bottle obviously made for tourists or official entertaining. We also enjoyed the vodka and ginseng brandy.

One member suggested Americans would do well to adopt China's enthusiasm for education. His source of inspiration may well have been the afternoon we spent at Anhui University in Hofei, to my mind the most rewarding event of the trip. We were welcomed by a number of deans, vice-deans and

Senior citizens of Hangchow

administrators, including the Communist Party's chief representative at the university. Vice Dean Wu of the foreign language faculty gave us the basic statistics: faculties of foreign languages, political science, Chinese, physics, chemistry, electronics, mathematics and biology; 2,300 students, 40 professors, 200 lecturers and about 400 teaching assistants; a library of 600,000 volumes; 55 laboratories; three "factories"—electronics, machine shop and print shop; founded in 1958 and dedicated by Chairman Mao himself. Average wages of professors—70 Yuan ($40) per month.

Wu told us that the "Gang of Four" had sabotaged the university to a great extent and that the administration was seeking to overcome its shortcomings and learn new methods from foreign countries, including the United States.

Wu's reference to the "Gang of Four" was one of many we heard,

Last Night I Dreamed of Chairman Mao

ARTHUR LEZIN

Early morning in Hangchow

We are seated at a long table in the dining room of Peking's Hsinchiao Hotel. It is our first meal in China and we are excited. We also are exhausted having come here directly from the airport. Our six hour non-stop flight somehow expanded to 22 hours, most of which was spent in the sleep-defying departure lounge of the Karachi airport.

All that is foregotten though. We have served our apprenticeship on egg rolls and wonton soup and are prepared to sample a level of cuisine unknown in Bethesda and Arlington. For once it won't be necessary to check, unobtrusively, on what Chinese families are eating and convince the waiter that their fare—rather than the "Occidental Special"—is what you want. While we are waiting, dishes with enticing odors are carried past our table to other diners. Suddenly it is our turn and several waiters appear with—can it be?—plates of sliced white bread. An ominous sign. They are followed by other waiters with soggy wiener schnitzel and even soggier french fries. How does one say, "There has been a terrible mistake" in Mandarin? Mutiny in the Hsinchiao Hotel. A conference with our tour leader and Chinese hosts reveals that they thought this is what we wanted. We clear up the misunderstanding and for the rest of our stay are offered only Chinese food morning, noon, and night.

On one side of Tien An Men Square in Peking are huge portraits of Nixon and Stalin. I remark to one of the friendlier and more outspoken China Tourist Service guides that there aren't too many places in the world where these two personages would be considered heroes. "Why not?" he says. "Nixon changed US policy toward China, a great man."

"And Stalin?" I ask. "I thought you perceived the Russians as trying to gain control over various parts of the world."

"True, true," he replies, "but their aggressive behavior was manifest only after Stalin."

Unable to resist one more shot on this subject, I ask, half seriously, "But how do you explain the 1948 coup in Czechoslovakia, five years before Stalin's death?"

He breaks into a broad grin. "Nobody's perfect!" he says.

We decide to spend the day walking around Shanghai rather than accompany the rest of the group to an Industrial Fair. This is fine with our Chinese hosts. The Peace Hotel is in the center of town and we start down the main street. What we do not anticipate is the big commotion our presence generates. Soon there is a crowd of several hundred following us, squeezing into the stores we choose to enter, and crossing the street when we do. Small children clutch their mother's hands at the sight of the strange blond creatures.

We find ourselves in a department store, head for the record counter, and purchase a medley of current favorites. Typical titles are: "Our Political Evening School is Brightly Lit" (sung in unison); "Last Night I Dreamed of Chairman Mao"; "The Party Secretary Comes to Our Team" (female singing with acting); and "Fresh Flowers of the People's Commune" (male and female duet). My wife asks if by any chance the clerk knows the title of the song that is playing on the store's loudspeaker. "Happiness is giving your grain to the State," he replies. "Why, that's terrible," she says. "Would you mind repeating that?"

"Oh," she smiles, the second time around. "I thought you said, "Happiness is giving your *brain* to the state.' "

It is 6:15 a.m. in downtown Shanghai. The sidewalks, side

For the past seventeen years Arthur Lezin has served in AID missions in Guatamala, Chile, Uruguay, Colombia and Pakistan. While in Islambad, he and his wife and three teen-age children traveled extensively in northern Pakistan and neighboring countries.

All photographs are by the author.

all referring to the period from about 1966 to Mao's death in 1976. The wounds are deep among those who have regained their previous positions of authority and the vituperative phrase "Gang of Four" is their way of denouncing with safety the head of the regime which permitted their persecution.

We pressed Wu on what specifically the "Gang of Four" had done to the university. He said "they"—presumably meaning Red Guard units who were organized on most campuses—prevented teachers from teaching and students from learning. The educational system and discipline were destroyed. University leaders were called "capitalist rulers" and teachers, "stinking intellectuals." Eventually the university closed for six years.

When we asked Wu what was the basis for admission now, he answered proudly:

"Entrance examinations."

streets, and open ground are the scene of an astonishing amount of activity, which we find typical, at this hour, of every city visited. The streets are filled with men, women, and children participating or watching *wu shu* (a sort of group martial ballet with sticks instead of weapons), calisthenics, classic dance, and something that resembles arm wrestling. The "performers," even the obviously inexpert ones, are completely unself-conscious. The crowd is good natured and drifts from one activity to another. No one seems to be in a hurry to get to work. There are pick-up badminton and basketball games. A Western observer is encouraged to join in, but to the disappointment of the huge crowd that gathers, he is out of his league.

Our last afternoon in Shanghai we are scheduled to visit the Children's Palace, a showplace for talented students in dance, music, and fine arts. As we enter, each Lezin child is taken by the hand by a Chinese child of similar age and gender—a personal escort for the rest of the day. Adults are ushered from room to room where there are first quality performances of puppet shows, ballet, and song. We ask a number of children (separately) what they want to be when they grow up. The invariable reply, expressed with complete sincerity, is "Whatever the government wants me to be." The children are adorable, have great poise, and are not the least bit self-conscious in speaking or performing for this group of important visitors. Even at the age of five or six, though, they are thoroughly imbued with the evils of the Gang of Four; a sobering indication of the price paid in indoctrination—at the earliest age—for the country's obvious and impressive accomplishments.

We are strolling along the bank of Hangchow's lovely West Lake. A young man approaches a member of our group and says, nervously, "The musk ox is fine." The touring visitor looks bland and doesn't know what to respond. The statement is repeated. The only thing visitor can imagine is that he has been mistakenly singled out for a coded message and he is expected to provide an equally inscrutable phrase to identify himself. After an awkward pause the tourist, in desperation, realizes what his Chinese "friend" has in mind. The musk oxen were the United States' gift to China when the great pandas were given to President Nixon in 1972. "The pandas are doing just fine, too," the tourist says. Smiles all around.

First grade rendition of "Last Night I Dreamed of Chairman Mao."

We are seated in the conference room of Hangchow's largest silk factory, where the manager is giving us the briefing which precedes any and every visit. There is considerable similarity in content to the briefings, even for places as distinctive as an agricultural commune, a high school, and, in this case, a silk factory. The manager tells how the owners exploited the employees prior to the revolution and how great strides were made, post-1949, until the Gang of Four insinuated themselves into the factory management. Production fell (the counter-revolutionaries were responsible for acts of sabotage) and opponents of the Gang were either demoted or transferred. It has only been in the last year under the leadership of Premier Hua that these evil elements have been identified and eliminated from the factory. He reads the production figures month by month; they have broken all records.

We try to pay attention, but it is difficult. It would please our hosts if we ask an intelligent question, but none comes to mind. Finally we are released to visit the plant. Everyone is hard at work and the atmosphere is serious. Then we are bused from the factory to a tea plantation on the hills outside of town. Here we learn it was two landlords who kept the workers in abject misery before the revolution. "What happened to them?" one of our group asks.

"One landlord was unrepentant and had to be eliminated," the manager tells us. "The other is working on the plantation, grateful for deliverance from his evil days as a 'capitalist roader.' "

We then asked if students were ever assigned directly from farms or factories without preparation.

"Formerly; but not now," he replied, swelling with restored dignity.

The course is four years. Tuition is free. Most students live on campus and come from Anhui province. Average age is 22. In 1978 60 percent of the students were male. There are 460 English majors in the foreign language school and 20 French majors. No one is studying Russian although the faculty has the capacity to teach it. The university is considering adding German and Japanese. Many of the students in the other disciplines also study English.

"But the students are waiting eagerly to meet with you," said Wu. Whereupon a group of students entered the room, deployed among the tourists and led them away by ones or twos to 15 different classrooms.

Mine contained 14 first year students and their instructor. I joined the circle of lecture chairs and after a brief introduction the questions began to fly. First the economics of US society—wages, cost of housing, food, cars, amusements, vacations. Then social aspects—dating, marriage. And always where do the blacks fit in? Can a black be a lawyer? Do blacks and whites go to the same schools? What about medical services for blacks?

They were friendly. They were eager. Their command of English was excellent. They wanted to know everything about the United States. And about me. Among other things, did I like to sing? Well, yes, but it's a case of enthusiasm without talent. Nonetheless we will sing. You choose. No, you choose. We settled on the song which is sweeping China—played on cassettes in buses and trains, hummed constantly by our guides—"Do, re, mi"... from "The Sound of Music." (This may well be a direct result of the influence of the notorious Chiang Ching who arranged through Roxanne Witke, her American biographer, to import a copy of "Sound of Music" in 1973, in part at least because of its anti-fascist theme.) Then we went on to "We Shall Overcome" which appears to enjoy a certain popularity along with other US protest songs and labor union songs. Then by acclamation I was forced to sing a solo. The class chose "Old Man River" for me, permitting me to pay an extended tribute to Paul Robeson, extended to delay the terrible moment of musical truth. I survived the test. Then a pretty young woman student responded with a precise, bell-toned rendition of "Red River Valley." We were discussing the next number when a student appeared at our door to say the session was over and would I join my group. Goodbyes were almost tearful and we prolonged them by common design.

That evening at dinner each of us who had met with a class briefed the group on questions asked and information received. One member learned the classes listen regularly to the Voice of America and have access to *Time, Newsweek* and the *National Geographic.* (We had previously been told by two of our CITS guides that they had listened to the Voice as part of their language training.) Some questions the students asked:

Does it bother President Carter when he is criticized publicly? Probably sometimes, but then he expects it in a free society.

Were there any other scandals like Nixon-Watergate involving the White House? Not of the same kind but Teapot Dome was mentioned.

Do Americans approve of China-US rapprochement? Most but not all because of Taiwan.

Do the Chinese in San Francisco celebrate American holidays? Yes, and some Chinese holidays too.

And about the movement of Americans from farms to cities as a result of scientific farming. About mass transport. Drive-in movies. Women's rights. Nathan Hale. Abraham Lincoln. Dancing and smoking. Pensions and political parties. Private enterprise and computers. Cowboys and Indians.

A Texan told his group about his childhood in a farmhouse with a dirt floor and no indoor toilet. And the history of his community in the Panhandle to its present-day prosperity. An Ohio woman told her group about the early settlement of her state by Revolutionary War veterans.

The whole experience supported the idea that enthusiasm for education is indeed a Chinese trait and well worth emulating.

One of our women members was much taken, as I was, with the fact that all teacups in China are deep and come with a lid which pro-

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Recital in Children's Palace, Shanghai

"The Germans are like women, you can scarcely ever fathom their depths—they haven't any."—Nietzsche

Six Popular Misconceptions About Germans

E. J. MANN

Misconceptions regarding various peoples and nations become established and accepted over a period of time. Nowhere is this more true than of the West Germans who are described as hard working, healthy, vigorous, loving toward children, easily swayed and led, and lovers of classical music. Thirty-five years have elapsed since the end of World War II. In that time, vast changes in attitudes and mores have taken place in West Germany. The Nazi terrors, the super-efficient German staff, the patriotic citizens cleaning up rubble after bomb devastation, are now half forgotten as the Federal Republic frets over the possibility of nuclear war. Hence, popular shibboleths about West Germans can stand re-examination.

1. *Germans are hard-working people.* Undoubtedly this statement was true back when Germans lived to work; now they work to live. The change took place sometime in the mid-1960s. During that decade, the "German Miracle" recovery from war's devastation, supposed to require about fifty years, was completed in twenty. Today, the average German worker is hardly more industrious than any other western European. His holidays are legion—eleven are official, plus eighteen vacation days a year during his first year of work. Religious holidays, particularly in the Catholic Rhineland and Bavaria, dot the calendar. Holidays are piled on at Christmas, Easter, Carnival time, and similar festive occasions. For those with real or imagined illnesses, there are six weeks of sick leave.

Banks close at midday for a two hour lunch break; postal workers put in six-hour days plus three hours on Saturday. Small shops bang down shutters at noon for lunch and for the weekend on Saturday. By law, the larger ones must close not later than 2 p.m. on Saturdays, and with few exceptions at the end of the year, not later than 6:30 p.m. After the last sip from a beer stein, Germans are off and running for winter vacations in the Alps or for summer sun exposure around the Mediterranean.

How then does it happen that West Germany piles up those huge trade surpluses with the rest of the world? Here credit must be given to German engineers and to *Gastarbeiters,* (guest workers) who come predominately from Turkey, Italy and Yugoslavia. The latter do the menial work, collect the garbage, sweep the streets, and perform monotonous tasks on the assembly line—tasks that affluent Germans avoid.

After growing up in sun-baked villages, assaulted with insects and disease, the guest workers do not strike or protest over production line speed ups. As guest workers gain greater status and rights, including citizenship after ten years of residence, the situation may change. Attitudes of their numerous children may be quite different in another generation.

2. *Germans are health nuts.* They're healthy, all right, these Germans. They should be. On almost every street corner is an *Apotheke,* dispensing not the usual potpourri found in an American drugstore, but only drugs and unguents. Amid a sterile atmosphere, surrounded by well-scrubbed walls, knowledgeable clerks stand in white smocks, backed by an array of shelves holding tall jars of miscellaneous pills and medicaments.

Advertisements in newspapers, magazines and stores, for every

E. J. Mann is a retired Foreign Service Reserve officer who has just returned from Germany where he was teaching accounting and related subjects to military personnel.

product ranging from hair tonic to reclining chairs, plug the theme, "It's good for your health." One enterprising American Casanova reportedly had great success in seducing German girls by telling them that sex was good for their health. Throughout West Germany, there are 600 spas where one can get treated for various ailments by drinking or bathing in magic mineral waters.

Truth is that Germans are hypochondriacs, treating themselves for liver and similar interior ailments brought on by their consumption of heavy meats, excellent sausage, beer, and the freely flowing wines of the Moselle and Rhine. What few vegetables are eaten, save for the abundantly available lowly potato, are imported from Spain and Italy. As mentioned earlier, German *malaise* is further encouraged by those tempting six weeks of paid sick leave.

A few healthy and vigorous Germans have brought their mystique to the United States by establishing "European Health Spas" and reaped substantial profits from promoting the German way to joy through health. However, for most Germans, athletic endeavors, aside from walking, consist of watching soccer players kicking a little ball back and forth on a football-sized field.

Anti-smoking campaigns would make little headway among Germans whose favorite avocation, shared by the entire family from grandma to grandson, is sitting around evenings making the air poisonous with heavy cigarette smoke while watching television or chatting while quaffing beer, or, in more elegant households, wine.

3. *Germans love children. Kirche, Kuchen, und Kinder* were the traditional interests of the German *Hausfrau* in caring for her often large family. No more. Germans are not even reproducing themselves. At 9.4 per thousand, their birthdate is one of the world's lowest. So low, in fact, that extrapolating these figures until 2080 will mean *Götterdammerung* for the German nation, East as well as West.

Young women prefer to work outside of the home, proving perhaps that they never were excited about children, or, given an alternative, they prefer comfort rather than *Kinder*. After all, a well-furnished apartment, a car, and frequent vacations can be more appealing than a house full of children.

A German couple with young children find an additional roadblock in renting an apartment. No landlord wants to hear squalls in the middle of the night. On the other hand, a couple dragging along a wee dachshund or even a ferocious doberman, will see the light of acceptance in the otherwise cold eyes of the landlord. Dogs can be trained to be restrained. Without a decent place to live, how can people raise children.

For guest workers, alien corn, the situation is different. They proliferate without restraint. With their families they now number four million out of a total population of 61 million and have been called Germany's "social time bomb." Living in "ghettos" mostly by choice, to be with their own people, guest workers receive the same social benefits as native-born Germans, including cash benefits based upon the number of children.

> "Despite their preference for pop music and general disinterest in more artistic endeavors, Germans are paying heavily to keep alive the tradition of the three B's."

If extrapolations have any validity, descendants of today's guest workers will by 2080 make up the entire population of Germany. In a century, an entire nation theoretically may be transformed completely as to race, language and character. By the natural act of breeding, today's aliens will conquer peacefully a land which their ancestors over a period of 2,000 years were unable to subdue by armed invasion.

Strange and unpredictable results may emanate from a leisure oriented society, aided and abetted by social legislation.

4. *Germans are easily manipulated and led.* Aside from differences among political parties, this is not true today. Germans flaunt their individualities. Watch them on the autobahn, barreling along at 100 miles an hour (or more), tailgating, flashing their lights impatiently, commanding other drivers to move out of the way. Every one a potential Luftwaffe pilot, their badges of honor not the Iron Cross, but rather expensive Italian-made gloves; their conveyances, big Mercedes or the even speedier BMWs; their look: arrogant and contemptuous of the driver behind the wheel of a Ford Fiesta or Volkswagen; their annual kill: 15,000, small beside war's casualties.

Watch them on the streets . . . the ever-present pedestrians. Powerfully-built old women lugging heavy shopping bags in either hand, plowing straight ahead, daring anyone to get in their paths. Observe their behavior in crowds, pushing to get off or on buses or streetcars, swinging elbows and purses, shoving their way to counters ready to seize bargain merchandise. As cyclists, they pedal nonchalantly down the middle of the road, while autos and heavy trucks surge around them.

Clerks at the post office bolster their egos by throwing stamps at customers or handing out change along with surly looks. Clerks in retail stores, generally accommodating, turn sullen when a customer purchases only a small item. At noontime their attention wanders as they await the moment when a nearby church clock chimes the hour of twelve.

Clothes of the well-to-do are elegant and unusual, both in fabric and design. Furs are especially favored and although mink is still the most popular, the skins of wild beasts of many lands help keep the fashionably dressed warm. Both men and women wear fur coats, but milady's svelte appearance is generally topped off with an expensive handbag, fashioned from alligator, lizard, or snake skins. No expense is spared in keeping up with the Schmidts.

5. *Germans are lovers of classical music.* In the homeland of the three B's—Bach, Beethoven, and Brahms, music of these masters

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Book Essay

Princes and Prophets

CRUSADERS AND PRAGMATISTS, *by John G. Stoessinger. W. W. Norton & Company, $16.95.*

Defeat in Vietnam turned us away from such heavy involvement in the affairs of other countries. We reverted to a more pragmatic approach in foreign policy.

The crisis in Iran and the deterioration in our relations with the Soviet Union, especially because of the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan, may again result in a change of direction. We may become a nation of crusaders.

America's place in the world, our self-esteem, and the respect due us from others are at stake in Iran. The world is even more dangerous than we thought, and we are unexpectedly vulnerable.

Henry Kissinger thought the United States needed to display its manhood after the defeat in Vietnam. Force was recklessly used to rescue the crew of the *Mayaguez* with a needless loss of American lives.

After the resolution of the crisis in Iran, we may again feel the need to display our manhood, this time across the whole range of American foreign and defense policy.

Whether we should or should not militarize our policy across-the-board may be the central issue of foreign policy in 1980. This issue will involve the size of the defense budget over the next five years, the ratification of SALT II, new nuclear missile deployments in Europe, and the creation of a mobile strike force for use in the Persian Gulf or elsewhere. And these military programs will set the tone for our policy toward the Soviet Union and toward many of the countries of the Third World.

John Stoessinger, professor of political science at Hunter College, believes the outcome of this issue will be determined in no small measure by whom we elect president in 1980 because "the president holds our future in his hands. *His* personality may be *our* destiny. His character may spell the difference between war and peace, destruction and survival."

Stoessinger would like us to elect a pragmatist as president, not a crusader. A pragmatist, guided by the facts and awareness of the alternatives, will be better able to look after the nation's interests in a realistic way. Stoessinger is wary of charisma, a trait he associates with crusaders. And he says the crusader is generally unwilling to admit a mistake; once a course is set, there is no turning back.

Stoessinger reaches these conclusions on the basis of eight provocative case studies: Woodrow Wilson and the League of Nations; Franklin D. Roosevelt and the conference at Yalta; Harry Truman and the war in Korea; John Foster Dulles and the Suez crisis of 1956; John F. Kennedy and the Cuban missile crisis of 1962; Lyndon Baines Johnson and the Vietnam war; Nixon and Kissinger and the SALT I agreements with Russia and the opening to China; and Jimmy Carter and human rights. (Stoessinger, curiously, does not include a case study of Dean Acheson or Dwight Eisenhower, although they were both outstanding pragmatists.) I will not give away all the secrets by telling you how Stoessinger classifies all of these presidents and secretaries of state (only one of the presidents is both prince and prophet), but I will mention two—Lyndon Johnson and Henry Kissinger—because of the relevance of their experience to the 1980s.

Lyndon Johnson was certainly a canny and adroit politician, a master manipulator of men and a pragmatist of the first order. But Stoessinger classifies Johnson as a crusader because of his swift escalation of our involvement in Vietnam, blind to the mass of evidence that America could not "win" this civil war for the South Vietnamese. Stoessinger's definition of the crusader does seem to fit Johnson on Vietnam:

"The crusader tends to make decisions based on a fixed idea rather than on practical experience. Even though there are alternatives, he usually does not see them. If the facts do not square with his philosophy, it is too bad for the facts. Thus, he becomes rigid and finds it impossible to cut his losses. He sets out to improve the world, yet often leaves it in worse shape than before." (These generalizations, no longer applicable to American policy in Indochina, are still an accurate description of the continuing tragedy in Vietnam, Laos, and Cambodia, where tyrannical Indochinese crusaders seem to abound.)

In office, if not today, Henry Kissinger was the supreme pragmatist on the great issues of our time—nuclear weapons, relations with Russia, and relations with China. Stoessinger gives Kissinger his due: "It seems that Henry Kissinger was right when he declared that the overriding reason for détente with Russia was the avoidance of a nuclear catastrophe. It also appears that if such a world cataclysm has become less likely, this in no small measure is to be credited to Kissinger." And on China, Stoessinger says: "The opening of China was probably Kissinger's most uncontaminated triumph . . . Once he perceived the depth of the rift between China and the Soviet Union, he became convinced that rapprochement with China might make the Soviet Union more receptive to a genuine détente. In short, China, in his view, had become the key to Russia."

On the other hand, Kissinger opposed Communist expansion with the crusader's zeal—in Indochina, Western Europe, Angola. But this crusading zeal against communism coexisted with limited détente with Russia, and Stoessinger notes that "The great paradox of Kissinger's conception of détente was in his relative tolerance vis-à-vis the Soviet Union, still the fountainhead of communism, and the combativeness toward local communistic movements in peripheral areas." Kissinger was highly pragmatic; he did not then link SALT I to Russian good behavior elsewhere, for example, in Vietnam, even though we were involved there in a costly and bloody war and the Russians were aiding our enemy. Indeed, Kissinger asserts in his memoirs, *White House Years* (page 1254), that "For as far ahead as we can see, America's task will be to recreate and maintain the two pillars of our policy toward the Soviet Union that we began to build in Moscow (at the summit meeting of May 1972): a willingness to confront Soviet expansionism and a simultaneous readiness to mark out a cooperative future."

The pragmatists of the Carter

administration face a dilemma: Should they follow Kissinger's advice and while opposing Soviet expansionism in Afghanistan, still seek nuclear stability with the Soviet Union—and limitations on Soviet power—through SALT? Should these pragmatists follow a precedent set by John F. Kennedy who faced down the Soviets in the Cuban missile crisis in October 1962 and soon thereafter signed the limited test ban treaty with the Soviets in August 1963?

The world has changed in a radical way in the last two decades. Afghanistan, Iran, Cuba, Vietnam, Ethiopia, Angola have demanded our attention—no longer Berlin, East Germany, Poland, Hungary, Czechoslovakia.

A high degree of stability has prevailed in Europe at the historic center of world affairs, in part because of the triangular balance between Russia, China and America. A high degree of instability has prevailed in the developing nations where militant nationalism has stood as a powerful barrier against excessive influence by either the Soviet Union or the United States.

Will we have the imagination and restraint in the 1980s to adapt ourselves to the world as it is, to maintain even-handedness in the conflict between Russia and China, and to pursue a pragmatic course with allies and adversaries, a course which neglects no opportunity for accommodation but which also resolutely protects our interests? Or will we embark on a militant crusade to remake the world? There is no doubt which course Stoessinger would recommend.

—DAVID LINEBAUGH

Bookshelf

An Officer of Character

CHINA SCAPEGOAT: *The Diplomatic Ordeal of John Carter Vincent, by Gary May. New Republic Books, $15.95.*

As one of the celebrated China Hands for almost three decades, John Carter Vincent strove intelligently and courageously to shape a sane American policy toward China. When that country's long-standing Nationalist regime toppled in 1949, he came under the fire of the McCarthy-McCarran-Nixon-Budenz-Kohlberg crowd as a "communist," "spy," "traitor"—you name it—and thus, with some other Foreign Service officers specializing in China, became a whipping boy for a strange coalition of ignoramuses, neurotic politicians and China Lobbyists who included a lot of otherwise respectable people like Henry Luce. Many in this strange group were as wild, suspicious and uninformed as the Ayatollah Khomeini in our present crisis.

Vincent emerges in this superb biography as a skilled, unflappable diplomat with an "intuitive comprehension of people," gentle, cultured, with an "unbreakable moral fibre." Born in Kansas, reared in Georgia in an intellectual, Bible-reading family, nurtured on the Baptist injunction to "do good, seek justice, correct oppression," he graduated from a southern college vacillating between missionary and consular service. Opting the latter, he took the written examination in 1923, failed it, took it a second time the following year, passed and was dispatched to Ch'ang-sha, having expressed a preference for Copenhagen.

From then on, Vincent became a China specialist. He went through the anti-foreign riots of the 1920s; the Japanese take-over of Manchuria in the 1930s; the civil war of the 1940s. Largely on the basis of Alfred Kohlberg's scurrilous distortions he came under fire as a "communist," "traitor," etc. and after surviving four State Department Loyalty Board hearings, found himself confronting a viciously manipulated Appeals Board reversal of his clearance. In 1953, Secretary Dulles had the gall to request that Vincent and his lawyer come to his home and enter by the back door for a final interview. Then to pile mockery upon gall, the secretary, after advising Vincent he would be dismissed for poor judgment—not for disloyalty—if he did not resign, asked him: "What are your views on China now? You know the situation there better than just about anybody." Professor May quotes one Foreign Service officer remarking when he heard of this: "I would have said 'why you son-of-a-bitch!' and promptly left," but Vincent, self-disciplined, unflappable, courteous and patriotic to the end, gave his considered views. Thus, ironically, a diplomatic officer who knew China "better than just about anybody," at age 52, after 29 years of service to his country, with the rank of career minister, was ruthlessly cut adrift. Dulles's successor refused to render any assistance to correct the injustice. Little wonder that we are somewhat allergic to secretaries of state.

It took a man of character to suffer this kind of ordeal unembittered and Vincent did. He was philosophic and as May says, he had an "unbreakable moral fiber". He tried to carve out a new career as a lecturer but his disgrace dogged him. He lived the rest of his life in what one can only view as cruel desuetude. He died in 1972, a grossly wasted resource of American diplomacy.

Seven years in the making and winner of the coveted Alan Nevins Prize in history, this first full-length

biography of a China Hand is as skillfully written as it has been thoroughly researched. May has not only drawn upon Vincent's private papers and diaries and newly available FBI and State Department records but had the advantage of interviews with Vincent, his family and others involved in his career. We have had from John Service *The Amerasia Papers*, and *Lost Chance in China*, from John Paton Davies, Jr. *Dragon by the Tail*, from O. Edmund Clubb *The Witness and I*, from John K. Emmerson *The Japanese Thread* and from E. J. Kahn, Jr. *The China Hands*. To this illuminating literature Gary May adds a brilliant biography of a Foreign Service officer of character.

—SMITH SIMPSON

Learned Hand's Advice

TAKE IT OFF, *by Robert S. Holzman, Ph.D. Thomas Y. Crowell, $5.95 paperback, $10.95 hardcover.*

Each January, newsstands are filled with books and publications containing advice on how to complete income tax returns. Most provide detailed instructions on how to fill out the numerous forms, provide samples and include hints about possible deductions. *Take It Off* can be a helpful supplement to the more conventional how-to instruction books. Arranged in a dictionary-like format, it boasts a list of "1414 different tax deductions most people overlook." Written in readable prose, its advice begins with "Abandonment Loss," "Abnormal Retirement" and "Abortion" on the first page and ends on page 305 with "Yacht" and "You." The information appears to be correct and reliable and cites numerous pertinent IRS tax rulings and court decisions for those who are research-bent. If entitled to a tax deduction, Holzman recalls the advice of the late Judge Learned Hand who wrote that a person does not owe a patriotic duty to pay one cent more in taxes than he or she is required to. Holzman adds, "But if a deduction is not proper in your situation, don't take it." The taxpayer and possible consultants (including Holzman) are thus left with the "easy" question of resolving whether the deduction is "proper" or "not proper."

—WILBUR CHASE

Saintly but Worldly

GANDHI: *A Memoir, by William L. Shirer. Simon & Schuster, $12.95.*

William L. Shirer, the journalist and historian (*The Rise and Fall of the Third Reich*) was sent to India by the Chicago *Tribune* in 1930 to report on the civil disobedience movement of Mahatma Gandhi that eventually freed the sub-continent from British rule. This belated account, written from the viewpoint of "an ignorant young American foreign correspondent" is an attempt to recapture an episode of Shirer's youth, when for a few brief months he was favored with Gandhi's personal friendship.

As a tribute to the extraordinary accomplishments of this saintly but at all times worldly political figure, *Gandhi* is perceptive, sensitive, and enlightening. As history, however, the book suffers from inexplicable lapses in background and context, leaving the reader with a sort of midwestern, child's version of two centuries of British rule in India. Mr. Shirer leads the reader to assume that eighteenth century India was a "country" that Englishmen "conquered." It was, of course, a sub-continent containing thirty different nationalities, six major religions, and a hundred powerful native princes, some of whom collaborated with a handful of British traders and company troops to expel the French and bring order to a chaotic political landscape. In the early nineteenth century British hegemony—mostly indirect—was extended over the whole of India through the help of native allies, after battles in which British weapons were seldom better, and its forces always numerically inferior, to the forces opposing them.

Even after the Indian Mutiny of 1857, and until the end of British rule in 1947, no more than 75,000 British regular troops in scattered garrisons and 2000 British members of the Indian Civil Service maintained order over 250 million Indians. In the process they brought impartial justice, some degree of sanitation, and total protection from internecine religious and tribal conflict. When the British departed in 1947, communal slaughter quickly took the lives of nearly two million people.

Mr. Shirer is at his best in reciting his lengthy conversations with Gandhi, which reveal an extraordinary mixture of piety, humor and political realism. His portraits of vice-regal officials during the latter years of British rule are a salutary corrective to the notion that England sent her best public servants to India.

On the other hand, he ignores the extraordinary sacrifices of British doctors, engineers, and teachers in trying to improve the health and well-being of a vast population that at any moment could have swept them into the sea.

—CHARLES MAECHLING, JR.

Play It Again, Indira

INDIRA GANDHI: *In the Crucible of Leadership, by Mary C. Carras. Beacon Press, $13.95*

Professor Carras has done an excellent job of abstracting the politically important from the welter of information and propaganda surrounding India's most fascinating political personage. Written before the political wheel had come full circle, this book delineates the problems Mrs. Gandhi faced, offers a very believable political explanation of why the Congress Party fell apart over her political sins, and identifies some of the reasons why Indira Gandhi was able to return to power.

Carras's discussion of events surrounding the imposition of Emergency Rule and the concurrent social changes taking place in India are an example of what political scientists at their best can do. Particularly appealing to Foreign Service officers as well as those interested in Indian evolution will be her interview with Indira Gandhi in the summer of 1978 which is reproduced as a final chapter. While Indira remains unrepentant about much, it is clear from her comments that she had given some serious thought to the problems that led up to her political demise. Also foreshadowed here are the resentments against some "foreign agencies" (p. 253) which may be seen again on the public stage.

A timely book, of definite interest to professionals.

—JOHN D. STEMPEL

Another Aspect of the Holocaust

THE FOUR FRONT WAR, *by William R. Perl. Crown, $12.95.*

William Perl's *Four Front War* is a fascinating account of the desperate efforts of a small group of young men trying to save Jews from their otherwise certain death in the Nazi camps by transporting them "illegally" to Palestine—today's Israel.

Perl and his people were forced to fight the Nazis, the British, the elements and the Jewish "establishment"—all at the same time. They did it with imagination, daring and plain chutzpa.

The aim of the Nazis at the period of the *Anschluss* in 1938 was to make all German occupied territories *Judenrein* (clean of Jews) by either forced immigration or concentration camps. The decision to totally annihilate European Jewry was still a couple of years away.

The free world reacted to Hitler's openly announced policies with supreme indifference. Even the United States declared itself unable to increase its quotas which were, of course, hopelessly oversubscribed.

The only country which seemed a natural haven was Palestine, ruled by Great Britain under an international mandate, the substance of which was to help build a "Jewish National Home." Britain, however, was afraid that a massive influx of Jewish refugees would cause unrest among the Arabs and thus further endanger its already precarious military situation. The British government consequently decided to curtail almost completely Jewish immigration, thus cutting off one of the last escape routes for the entrapped Jews.

Perl describes vividly the adventures under which ships under Greek, Turkish or Panamian flags were leased and then crammed with Jewish refugees assembled along Danube ports in Rumania and Yugoslavia. Ships at wartime were at a premium and those that could be obtained were hardly seaworthy. These boats had to confront overcrowding, storms, rough seas, sickness, lack of water and food and German minefields. Above all they had to sneak through the blockade of the British navy before being beached on the shores of Palestine, helped by *Irgub* detachments and at later phases also by the *Hagana*. Many Jews perished, but some 40,000 made it to Palestine and survival.

Perl's narrative is certainly not cool and detached. It is a passionate *J'accuse* against the indifference of the free world, but mainly against the British, who by their actions prevented the rescue of the few who could have been saved. In describing his encounters with Eichman and his henchmen, Perl takes little issue with the Nazis and their crimes. As the incarnation of all evil he sees them as beyond the pale of humanity.

The author has also bitter words to say against the official Jewish leadership in Great Britain and the United States. He accuses them of passivity in not bringing pressure to bear on Great Britain, which was at that time strongly dependent on public opinion in the United States. He considers Chaim Weitzman,

then head of the World Zionist organization and the future first president of the state of Israel, as particularly responsible.

The book, preceded by an emotional foreword by Menachem Begin, makes often for heart-breaking reading, but it is also interspersed with hard-to-imagine episodes told with earthy dry humor. It is based on documents recently made accessible by the British Foreign Office and on interviews with numerous survivors of the tragic odyssey. *The Four Front War* is thus a source of great value to all those who want to study the Holocaust and its lesser known aspects.

The book should, however, also be recommended to people who want to look beyond the headlines of the Arab-Israeli conflict. It might help them to better understand the deep scars inflicted on all Jews by Hitler's genocide, thus making Jewish unity behind Israel more comprehensible. The world let the Jews down a generation ago. They can ill afford to risk disaster a second time.

—EDMUND SCHECHTER

Serving the People

CHINA CALLED ME, *by Percy Chen. Little, Brown, $15.*

Subtitled "My Life Inside the Chinese Revolution," this is really an absorbing account of the author's life inside two Chinese revolutions. The first was the *Kuomintang* (Nationalist) revolution, led by Dr. Sun Yat-sen. The second was the Communist revolution, led by Mao Tse-tung.

As the son of Eugene Chen, close associate of Dr. Sun and Foreign Minister in the early years of the KMT government, Percy Chen knew intimately leaders in the revolution and regime.

In April 1927, when Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek ended the KMT-Communist coalition and arrested Communists and left-wing KMT members, Eugene Chen (who planned to escape down-river from Wuhan) instructed his son to escort the chief Soviet political adviser, Borodin, to Russia: " . . . take Borodin and see him safely to Russia . . . travel through the interior of Siberia." In his chapter, "Escape to Siberia 1927," he tells of a dangerous journey to safety.

From 1927-1935 he lived in Moscow and met many Soviet personages. In view of the great obscurity that has shrouded the long sojourn of Chiang Ching-kuo (now Chinese Nationalist President) in the Soviet Union, his comments are of special interest.

"In 1930 I learned that Chiang Kai-shek's son, Chiang Ching-kuo, was in trouble with the Russian authorities. I felt it necessary to make inquiries at the Narkomindel.

"Sometime in 1925-1926 Chiang Kai-shek had sent his son to study in the Soviet Union. At the time of the betrayal of the Nationalist Revolution by Chiang Kai-shek, the young Chiang Ching-kuo denounced his father in a letter published from Moscow. When I arrived in Moscow, I heard that Chiang Ching-kuo had been involved in Russian politics and had taken the side of Trotsky against Stalin. In 1929 or 1930 a report

came to me that Chiang Ching-kuo was in a prison in Leningrad and that the treatment being meted out to him was not good.

"From the inquiries I made at the Narkomindel through Chrisanvov, I learned that Chiang would be transferred from the inhospitable climate of Leningrad to a place in Central Asia. I insisted that he should be allowed to return to China. But I was told that he did not want to do so."

In 1935 he (and his Russian wife) returned to China, spent some of the war years in Chungking and, after a trip to the United States, in 1948 resumed his law practice in Hong Kong. Premier Chou En-lai had charged him with representation of Peking's interests in the British Crown Colony.

In 1955 Percy Chen went to Peking and asked Premier Chou if he might retire. The premier said: "No, you cannot retire. . . . You are needed because, as the old Chinese saying goes, 'The old horse knows the way home.' So Percy Chen returned to Hong Kong—"to serve my people as long as I am able."

This is a marvelous book. It is an invaluable historical document—with information that only the author could provide. It is a charming memoir of an adventurous life. It is replete with observations about Chinese attitudes, customs, law, food, and living arrangements.

Early Middle East Specialist

AN AMERICAN CONSULAR OFFICER IN THE MIDDLE EAST IN THE JACKSONIAN ERA: *A Biography of William Brown Hodgson, 1801-1871, by Thomas A. Bryson. Resurgens Publications, Inc.*

The United States and the American people have had a long-standing interest in the Near and Middle East. It seemed clear enough in the Tripolitan war (the Barbary Pirates, 1801-1806) that American interest was enduring in character. Thomas Jefferson expressed the hope that there would always be an American naval presence in the Mediterranean and, indeed one was maintained—a kind of predecessor of the American Sixth Fleet in the Inland Sea.

In 1826, Secretary of State Henry Clay proposed to put "a midshipman or some other youth" under the care of the four American consuls in the Barbary States—Tunis, Tripoli, Algiers and Tangier—for several years to learn Turkish, Arabic and other languages. John Quincy Adams appointed William Brown Hodgson, of Savannah, Georgia, scion of a well-to-do family, to go to Algiers, to serve under Consul William Shaler, and to devote himself primarily to language study. Hodgson called on President Adams prior to leaving for Algiers, and Adams noted in his diary that Hodgson had "a fondness and a facility for acquiring languages quite uncommon." When he left Algiers in 1829, having laid the foundations for the study of the Berber language, Hodgson made a very favorable impression at the Department of State. Martin van Buren commended him very highly. Among other things, Hodgson was assigned to Commodore David Porter, the first American charge d'af-

faires in Constantinople. He was to serve as dragoman at the American legation. While Porter initially was much pleased with Hodgson's work, within five months Hodgson asked to be relieved and sent to the consulate in Algiers. When Hodgson was finally withdrawn from Constantinople, he was sent to Egypt to study the feasibility of a commercial arrangement and then to Washington. He was posted to London as consul general in 1836, to Washington in 1837 and to Tunis in 1841. He resigned from the service in 1832, married and settled down in Savannah, where he lived a life devoted to scholarship.

Professor Bryson has done a very good piece of biographical writing on an almost forgotten character who, like John Porter Brown, of Chillicothe, Ohio, did much to cement relations between the United States, North Africa and the Ottoman Empire. This is a brief account of Hodgson's life and work, well-written and backed up with excellent notes and bibliographical references.

—HARRY N. HOWARD

Life in Tangier

"When we went to call on our American Consul-General, today, I noticed that all possible games for parlor amusement seemed to be represented on his center-tables. I thought that hinted at lonesomeness. The idea was correct. His is the only American family in Tangier. There are many foreign consuls in this place; but much visiting is not indulged in. Tangier is clear out of the world, and what is the use of visiting when people have nothing on earth to talk about? There is none. So each consul's family stays at home chiefly, and amuses itself as best it can. Tangier is full of interest for one day, but after that it is a weary prison. The Consul-General has been here five years, and has got enough of it to do him for a century, and is going home shortly. His family seize upon their letters and papers when the mail arrives, read them over and over again for two days or three, talk them over and over again for two or three more, till they wear them out, and after that, for days together, they eat and drink and sleep, and ride out over the same old road, and see the same old tiresome things that even decades of centuries have scarcely changed, and say never a single word! They have literally nothing whatever to talk about. The arrival of an American man-of-war is a godsend to them. 'Oh, solitude, where are the charms which sages have seen in thy face?' It is the completest exile that I can conceive of. I would seriously recommend to the government of the United States that when a man commits a crime so heinous that the law provides no adequate punishment for it, they make him Consul-General to Tangier."—Mark Twain, *The Innocents Abroad* Volume I, Chapter IX.

—contributed by Leland Barrows

CHEZ BRUN

from page 20

strain on the human organism you are first served small pieces of toast spread with solidified olive oil. This may bring frowns of incomprehension to the uninitiated but the quality of oil from the first pressing is nutty flavored and smooth and only serves to whet the appetite for the surprises that follow.

The hors d'oeuvres are served individually on colored Provencal plates. They include fresh melet (sprats) au poivre, tartines de poutarge (mullet eggs on toast), timbale de boeuf en daube (a highly spiced beef stew) and an assortment of other dishes utilizing the best products of the nearby sea and farm country, all washed down with a clean and cool Clairette de Die.

The fish course depends on the season and the morning's catch. Daurade, rougets de roche, sole or loup de mer are grilled uncleaned and unsalted, a coastal fisherman's secret that, according to the French food writers Gault and Millau, "teaches one the true flavor of seafood." The sizzling fish are accompanied by small, mushroom-stuffed artichokes and the dry, crisp white wine from the sunny hills of Cassis, a small coastal town to the southeast of Marseille. Halfway into the fish course you may be warned by Frederic Brun that your consumption of the crunchy French bread is too high. Don't take offense. Slack off a bit. He knows his business and the capacity of his clientele.

When the fish plates have been cleared you have a moment's calm to watch the maritime traffic of the Vieux Port. The birds are now removed from the spit and brought to the table. Depending on the market's offerings you may be served a plump guinea hen or a small, grain-fed chicken basted with ham fat, the skin brown and glistening. Here a choice is offered of red wine. Either the robust, smooth product of Chateauneuf de Pape or the warm, slightly rougher texture of a ruby-tinted Gigondas.

A fresh salad follows with a light touch of garlic, wine vinegar and, once again, full use of the light, delicate olive oil that makes lesser pressings taste like crankcase fluid. The last of the red wine goes well with the creamy banon, a goat cheese "bien fait" or ready for eating . . . not too fresh and not too dried by the mistral winds.

The arrival of a bottle of amber muscat heralds the dessert: fresh fruit, almonds, raisins, nougat and iced sorbet. Hot, strong coffee and a glass of clear Marc de Provence provide an honorable conclusion to your adventure in Provencal cuisine. Now, as the limited number of customers tend to begin and end their enjoyment within roughly the same time frame, you can push back your chair and enjoy a cigar without drawing disapproving glances from your neighbors.

Even for the true Marseillais Chez Brun is not a restaurant that one visits weekly or monthly. It is a culinary haven where one returns every six months to be reassured that Provencal cooking is a true art and that, despite invasion, liberation, gang wars and the advent of high rises, some of the better things in life survive.

MISCONCEPTIONS ABOUT GERMANS

from page 32

is heard, but not very often. Mozart, whose father was born in Germany, and German-born Richard Wagner, are today's most popular classical composers. Winners of any popularity contests among youthful Germans are the American and British rock stars whose raucous sounds and screamings fill up German air waves.

Opera and music, heavily subsidized by German taxpayers to the tune of half a billion dollars annually, are heard in sixty different theaters and opera houses throughout the Federal Republic. Yet only a few of the educated and elite benefit from this largesse. In any opera house in the smaller cities, the hall will be nearly half empty for most productions. Only a Wagnerian opera will bring forth a full house.

From all over the world, hopeful singers arrive in Germany, attempting to gain a foothold as well as training in this highly competitive field of the arts. On merit, they gain the same acceptance as the native-born. Thus, the German taxpayer is subsidizing foreigners who dream of returning to fame and fortune in their native lands. Despite their preference for pop music and general disinterest in more artistic endeavors, Germans are paying heavily to keep alive the tradition of the three B's, plus Mozart and Wagner.

6. *Germans are the world's best bakers.* Indeed they are if one confines the definition of baking only to breads. These are produced in multitudinous varieties ranging from dark brown pumpernickel to special toasting breads, and include numerous stollens, a holiday specialty bread, laced with nuts and candied fruits. Cookies fill the windows of the Konditoreis, as varied in shape and flavor as Christmas ornaments on a tree. Favored particularly are the traditional *Lebkuchen,* or the gingerbread which so bewitched the children in that immortal Christmas operatic classic, *Hansel Und Gretel.*

As for pastries, alas! In shop windows they look so appetizing, topped with shaved chocolate or berries, filled with nuts, cherries and oozing whipped cream. As the eager eater dips his fork into one of these saccharine delicacies, his smile of anticipation turns to a grimace of disappointment. Despite all the loving care lavished upon these fragile sweets, they turn out to be rather bland and tasteless.

Give the Germans pluses for their breads, but no great kudos for their cakes which, however, delight little old ladies, whose number is legion. Each afternoon they trek, felt hats securely down over their ears, to local *cafés* to consume quantities of the pastries, their digestion aided by strong coffee and gossip with their friends.

In summary. The malleable Germans, who have adapted so well to the cultures of other countries, have changed their stolid ways to conform to the mores and customs of the remainder of the western world. This is the prosperous world, becoming increasingly leisure-oriented, with what results or consequences time alone will evaluate.

FROM HOFEI TO SHANGHAI
from page 30

motes steepage and keeps the tea hot. She suggested the US adopt covered teacups.

Another question was whether the group members had changed radically any impressions of China formed in the first two days. Only about half the group had done so but their answers illuminated some aspects of the trip. It was raining when our plane arrived in Peking. There were a few warplanes of an early vintage visible as we crossed to the terminal. The bus trip to the Friendship Hotel, where we were housed in Peking, was through dreary streets on the edge of the city. The hotel itself consists of several buildings in a compound quite a distance from the center of the city. After the splendor of the Imperial Hotel where we stayed in Tokyo, the Russian-built box-like buildings with minimal style and decor appeared rather bleak. These elements combined to cause some early misgivings. The warplanes indicated a militaristic society. The distance from downtown meant we were being isolated. The inexpressive faces of thousands of Chinese intent on driving their bicycles home at the end of the work day through the rain made them seem inhospitable and distant.

These initial reactions were eroded rapidly in the following days as we saw we could wander at will, even getting a cab and going to the city's center if we chose to do so. Nothing happened to add to the militaristic suggestion of the ancient planes. The hotel seemed to improve, the food was good. The rooms were large and clean, albeit in an antiseptic way. We got to know the hotel employees and our guides, all of whom smiled handsomely whenever smiling was appropriate. And when we strolled through Tien An Men square if we smiled at passers-by, they smiled back. And if we took instant photos of anyone or anyone's child—having duly asked permission, of course—we created instant pandemonium as Chinese came flooding in from all directions to watch the pictures emerge.

As we became used to the monotony of style and color in adult clothing—Mao jacket and trousers in solid black, gray, blue or khaki—we began to note differences in the quality of cloth from one individual to another. We began to notice some wore good-looking leather shoes, some simple cloth shoes. Some caps were of good gabardine, some of shoddy material. And every so often a woman would pass sporting a slightly figured jacket or one nipped in at the waist or with tailored trousers. Scarves, pins and other embellishments became more apparent. And we began to see and notice children—almost always dressed in bright patterned colors, possibly a way of compensating for the sameness of adult garb.

One person in the group felt the quality of the cultural offerings picked up sharply after a dull, tedious puppet show in Peking when we saw the film "Three Smiles" and a Russian musical play on two nights in Hofei.

Some of us were surprised to note in the movie and the musical

that the characters—heroes, heroines, all—were drawn from the upper classes, and their servants, of China and of Russia in bygone days and that the theme of both these popular presentations—seen in the company of enthusiastic Chinese audiences—was romantic love.

I asked what aspect of US life China can most usefully adopt or adapt. Half the group opted for one or another kind of technology—specific applications as well as industrial and agricultural know-how in general. They included: operation of a back hoe and of a jackhammer; technical assistance in oil, power and mining, in making prestressed concrete and in sanitary engineering; modern agronomy, and the production of labor-saving machines for the home—such as washers and dryers—"to improve living conditions."

To explain their emphasis on technical assistance, two members of the group said it is a way to "free people from backbreaking work," and especially "women doing the same heavy work as men." We had seen several instances of hard physical labor—women in the water-filled rice fields of the commune transplanting the young shoots into straight rows; men pulling handcarts carrying sections of concrete pipe weighing several hundred pounds; young women hauling wheelbarrow loads of crushed rock to the cement mixer.

Another group member who recommended the application of agricultural know-how cautioned against an influx of tractors. He had in mind the fact that China's is a labor-intensive economy, especially in agriculture, and that the introduction of numbers of high-powered tractors might well create enormous problems of labor dislocation. The commune we visited outside Hofei had 3,000 acres under cultivation, largely to grow rice and wheat. The "peasants" (the word used by the translator) who worked this land—about 2,000 families organized into 12 production teams—had at their disposal 14 tractors, five trucks and 126 "walking tractors," motor-driven single-wheeled cultivators which one walks behind and steers with handlebars. According to the commune leader, a proud forceful man named Wong, who seemed to be well-liked by the commune members we encountered, production had increased from 150 kilos per mu (6 mus to 1 acre) to 604 kilos since the commune was organized in 1958. The commune was prospering, having earned a profit of 600,000 Yuan ($348,000) in 1978. Wong said it had always earned a profit even when the "Gang of Four" interfered with operations.

Several members of the group chose political or organizational aspects of US society to pass along. One said flatly the workings of democracy and capitalism would be his choice. Another felt the free play of foreign influences would be most useful and another opted for freedom of movement and ability to change jobs. One felt the concept of delegation of authority should be adopted. (However, another member, in a different context, lauded the Chinese for their "decentralization" of control.)

Three members of the group saw

religion as the most useful aspect of US life which could be adopted in order "to give them hope for the future," "to give them goals and meaning to life" and "to provide the young with idealism."

Three other members saw modern educational methods and materials as most useful, one mentioning educational TV in general and another singling out "Sesame Street."

Among other aspects of US life mentioned were these: more grace in building design, more initiative—although the youth seem eager to change—and fewer spittoons.

Asked if the United States should extend aid to China—economic (capital), or technical assistance or educational assistance—three-fourths of the group were emphatically in favor of one or the other kind and half the group favored all three in combination. However one person warned against offering aid "if it discourages Chinese initiative." This was symptomatic of a feeling many of us gained from the trip that the Chinese are not only able but are applying their abilities with good effect and with enviable spirit.

A few of the travelers cautioned against the United States taking the initiative by offering aid to China but felt we should be forthcoming if it is requested. Among the minority opposed to US aid, one said "too soon; later" and two others felt the US needs to solve its own economic problems first.

About one-third of the group opposed economic assistance but favored technical assistance and/or educational assistance. One person added: "But let's make sure the students go home when their education is finished and not hang on to make trouble like the Iranian students did." Of those favoring economic aid, two said it should be in the form of repayable loans and a third said any aid should be contingent upon China's cooperation with the United States.

Several members recommended "Peace Corps-type" assistance, one of them adding, "it would also be good for us."

Several others felt the emphasis in an aid program should be on increasing agricultural productivity, either through mechanization or through technical assistance, including the development of high-yield seeds. One person favoring agricultural help ruled out big machinery, while another favored sending tractors and trucks.

One or two members recommended the technical assistance emphasis be on population control, on medical facilities and on religion, specifically "the gospel."

One member said he'd like to see the US private sector, "like Coke," offer China some kind of assistance. Another member said "I plan to do something myself—something small."

By Shanghai I had covered several dozen lined sheets of paper. During odd moments during the next three days, I managed to organize the material. On our last night together I kept my promise and briefed them on their reactions. Rarely have so many occupied space in a Japanese hotel room designed for so few.

LETTERS *from page 4*

and the money invested in those items);
3. Medical supplies and records;
4. Very important papers (insurance, tax and school records, etc.).

Another "inconvenience" results from the fact that what meager and poor quality of food can be found in this country is so expensive that the average state employee cannot afford to replace the bare necessities to maintain a household, even if those necessities could be located in the shops. A few examples: A roll of Kodacolor 20 exposure film costs $12.50; six regular candles cost $15; four tennis balls cost $15; a coffee pot is $125; an ordinary plastic toothbrush is $9.

Flour, salt and sugar have been off the market for three months, and laundry and bath soaps haven't been seen by anyone in six months! Clothes and shoes are nonexistent.

And here we are, drooling at the recipes published in the December *Newsletter,* which we can't even hope to imitate!

Despite all of the above, the morale of the embassy is enthusiastic, warm, and high: everybody is willing to welcome to Lusaka any of the transportation service employees and would be proud to show them how these kinds of problems are survived. Nevertheless, we still believe that with a bit more good will, concern and support, families could do better at the jobs they are sent to do.

We hope that this letter will stir to action those who are living in even more difficult circumstances, and who have hesitated to ask for a little more consideration from our people at home.

CHRISTINE WISNER
Lusaka

AFSA Comment: AFSA has been actively insisting that the department take appropriate steps to improve the entire process of transporting household effects and similar employee shipments. The Lusaka case described above is only one example of a worldwide problem that became especially serious during the middle of 1979. The department has given AFSA assurance that it will take the necessary steps to handle these responsibilities effectively in the future. The appropriate staff in the department has been increased and is now moving toward insuring that the dispatch agency and shipping companies handle shipments more expeditiously. AFSA will continue to monitor these developments.

Toward Esprit

REPLYING to Patricia Ryan's comments, in the January issue of the *Journal,* on an article by me appearing in the November issue:

That article was by no means intended to be an objection to the courageous efforts of the Association of American Foreign Service Women to obtain annuities for divorced widows of Foreign Service officers. Judy Mann's "Foreign Service: What price service?" was only the final thrust that pushed me into writing "What is there in it for me?"

On July 1 there appeared in the Chicago *Tribune* a half-page, three-picture article by Leslie Bennetts, entitled "Foreign Service Choice. Wives refuse to take his transfer." Her vivid description of the refusal of Service wives to accompany their husbands to foreign posts confirmed observations I had been making for some time: the "new rules" were impairing the dedication which is so essential to representation. My primary purpose in writing was to deplore attitudes that reject the performance of essential entertaining and volunteer work, or set monetary value on those activities.

The subject of wives who refuse to accompany their husbands, either in order not to leave lucrative work here, or because they cannot find employment abroad, needs no elaboration.

Of course there is nobility in the Service today! The trauma of *enforced* separation endured by many devoted wives cannot be held lightly. Nor can one do less than grieve with the families of the fifty hostages, victims of unprecedented international lawlessness. The sufferings so bravely borne by those valiant women only accentuate the much-publicized erosion of that *esprit de corps* which should permeate the entire body of public service.

JEANNETTE B. L'HEUREUX
Washington

Overhoused?

I find the new housing policy statement mentioned on page 24 of your January issue hardly creditable.

I moved into a difficult situation in Milan, Italy, where apartments are very scarce and expensive, and after a five month search located an apartment with one bedroom each for my 13-year-old son, 8-year-old daughter, and 14-month-old baby. I had insisted on the one room principle mentioned in the article.

Embassy Rome's comment was that I was possibly "overhoused," and since November, 1979, I have been paying more than $240 out of pocket for rent each month. That is how the department's housing policy has worked for me.

ANTHONY C. PERKINS
Consul
Milan

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Foreign Service People

Marriage

Long-Arneson. Nancy Katherine Long was married to R. Gordon Arneson, FSO-retired, on February 23. in Lancaster, Pennsylvania.

Deaths

Berger. Samuel D. Berger, retired ambassador, died on February 12 in Washington. Mr. Berger joined the Foreign Service in 1945, after serving as a labor, manpower and production specialist with other government agencies. He served at London, Tokyo, Wellington, Athens, as ambassador to Korea and as deputy ambassador to Vietnam. Mr. Berger was named Career Minister in 1962. When he retired in 1974 he was special assistant to the director of FSI. Ambassador Berger is survived by his wife, Elizabeth, of 2911 33rd Place, N.W., Washington, D.C. 20008, three stepdaughters, two brothers, a sister and two step-grandchildren. Contributions in his memory may be made to the DACOR Education and Welfare Fund, 1718 H St., N.W.

Blackman. Charles F. Blackman, FSR-retired, died on February 12, in Washington. Mr. Blackman joined the Foreign Service in 1949 and served at Frankfurt, Bad Nauheim and Bonn before transferring to USIA in 1953. He then served at Rome, Berlin and Canberra, before joining AID in 1970. After retiring in 1975 he was a population resources consultant with the Baruch Foundation at Clemson University. Mr. Blackman is survived by his wife, Martha, 3615 Raymond Street, Chevy Chase, Md. 20015, a son Charles, Jr., and a daughter Barbara, both of Seattle, three other daughters, Nan, of San Francisco and Susan and Rebecca, both of Chevy Chase,and one grandchild. Contributions in his memory may be made to the AFSA Scholarship Fund.

England. Frank England, FSS-retired, died on December 12. Mr. England began government employment with OWI in 1944 and joined the Foreign Service in 1946. He served at London, Seoul, Vienna, Kabul and Paris before his retirement in 1970. He is survived by his wife, of Karma Killick, Headley Road, Grayshott, Surrey, England.

Prince. Edward P. Prince, FSO-retired, died on January 11 in Hanover. Mr. Prince joined the Foreign Service in 1946 and served at Budapest, Montreal, Wellington Helsinki, Dublin, Ankara and Tehran before his retirement in 1973. He is survived by his wife, Dorothy, of Great Hill Road, Tamworth, N.H. 03886, three sons, Jonathan, of Sacramento, Anthony, of San Antonio, Philip, of Atlanta, a daughter, Noelle of Cleveland and one sister. Donations in his memory may be made to the St. Andrew's Building Fund, St. Andrew's Episcopal Church, West Ossipee, N.H. 03890.

van den Arend. Frederik van den Arend, FSO-retired, died on October 8, 1979, in Pennsylvania. Mr. van den Arend joined the Foreign Service in 1923 and served at Leipzig, Pernambuco, Amsterdam, Surabaya, Lourenco Marques, Beira, Batavia, Chungking, Rotterdam and Amsterdam before his retirement in 1954. His last address of record was c/o Philip C. Herr, II, 1701 Arch St., Ste. 300, Philadelphia, Pa. 19103.

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EDGED WEAPONS WANTED

SWORDS AND DAGGERS: Keen but relatively impecunious collector interested purchasing at nominal price any such items. Please describe any you no longer want, include photo if available and state firm price. Reply: Retired FSO, P.O. Box 511, McLean, VA. 22101.

COVER ARTIST

Christina Savalas has been painting for over fifty years and has exhibited in California, Washington, New York, Libya, India and Greece. She is the mother of four sons and one daughter and two of her sons, Telly and Gus, have been in the Foreign Service. Gus, who retired from ICA last year, is now with Universal Pictures. He called the *Journal*'s attention to her work, an example of which adorns this month's cover.

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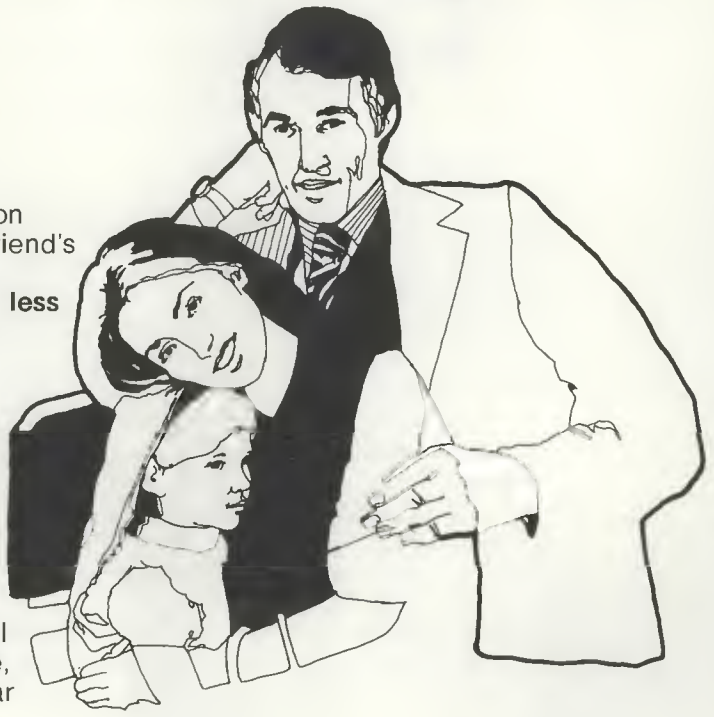

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ANNUAL REPORT FOR THE INSURANCE YEAR ENDED FEBRUARY 29, 1980

OPERATIONS

		As of March 1	
		1980	**1979**
Members carrying Group Life		2593	**2693**
Group Life in Force		$47,367,050	**$50,527,800**
Enrolled in Foreign Service Benefit Plan		11,126	**11,054**
Claims paid during year:			
Group Life,	Number	40	**28**
	Amount	$ 501,750	**$ 347,500**
Family Coverage,	Number	17	**13**
	Amount	$ 47,500	**$ 35,500**
Accidental Death,	Number	1	**0**
	Amount	$ 37,500	**0**
Foreign Service Benefit Plan		$ 7,977,500	**$ 6,791,708**

Changes in Foreign Service Benefit Plan

Under Special Benefits, the Plan now pays 100% of reasonable and customary charges by a doctor for emergency treatment within 72 hours of an accident.

Under Special Benefits, the Plan now pays benefits the same as for illness or injury for the initial reconstruction of a breast which was removed or partially removed while covered under this Plan.

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