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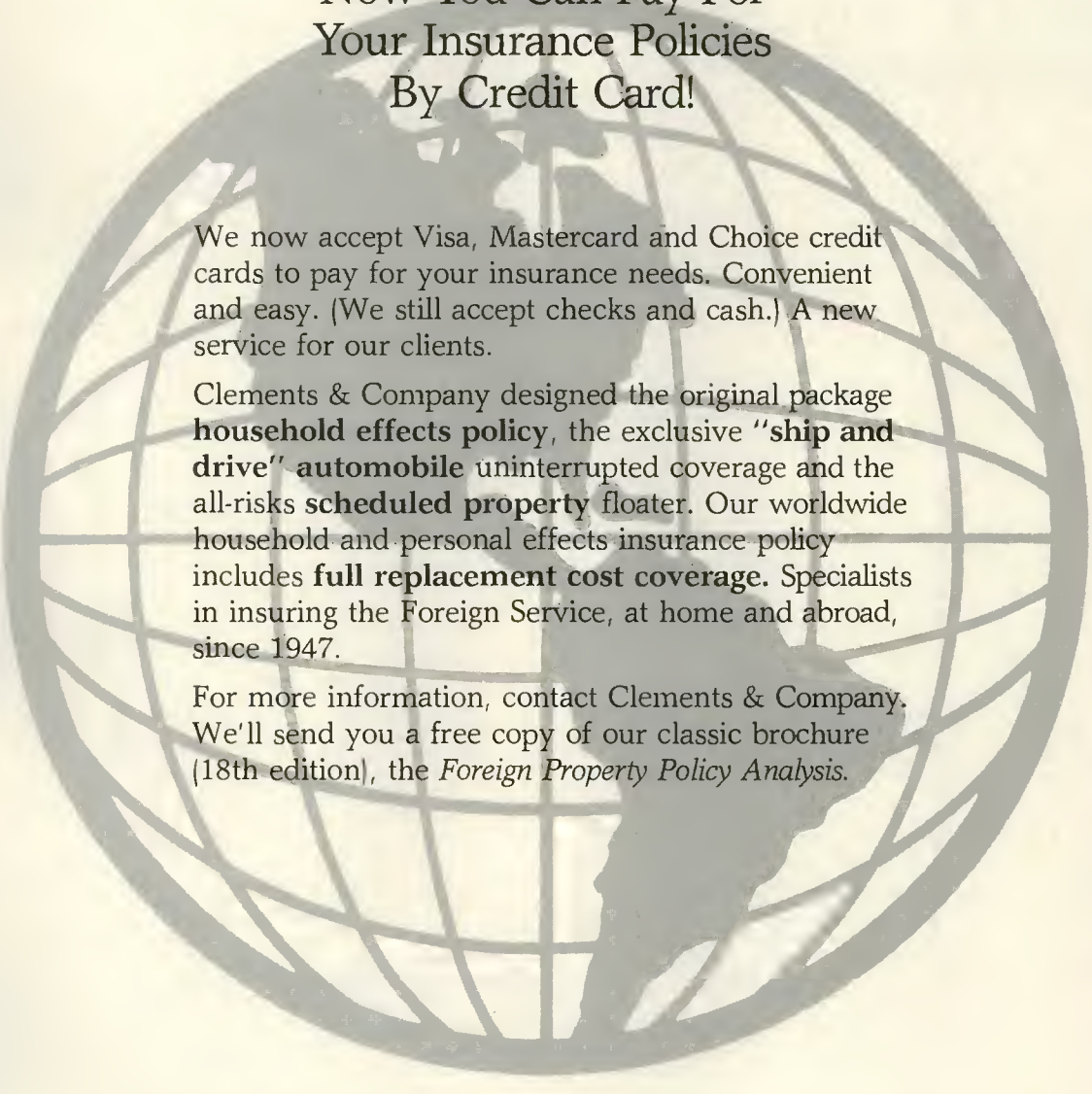

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Cover: The contra war in Central America is mirrored in the battle in Congress over funding the rebels. Starting on page 23, Associated Press State Department correspondent George Gedda presents exclusive material on why former Sandinista Major Miranda Bengoechea defected from Nicaragua and became exhibit A in the administration's case for funding the controversial guerrilla force.
Acrylic by Amy Salganik.

CONTENTS

"The Independent Voice of the Foreign Service"

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AFSA VIEWS

We Need an Office on Capitol Hill

The budget crisis is over. Right?

Wrong! The State Department's leadership sees budget shortfalls as likely to affect the way we do business for some time. The implications should be clear. Change the way we do business, or change our business. We prefer the former.

Budgets come from the Congress, not from the sky. The wrenching pursuit of resources of late last year should have established, even to the most dedicated supporters of executive prerogative, that congressional attitudes are critical. We at AFSA learned the hard way that the department's relations with the Hill were, at best, awful, and on many subjects catastrophic.

Who was more at fault is not at issue. The fact was that at the beginning of the budget exercise the department, and the Foreign Service in particular, elicited very little support from legislators and their staffs. Instead, AFSA representatives found skepticism regarding the Service's funding needs and our abilities to perform as a credible steward of American foreign affairs. Despite these negative views, however, we came back with a sense that we had communicated our concerns to the members and key staffers.

Conventional wisdom tells us that the department will always be at a disadvantage in dealing with the Congress because foreign affairs has no natural constituency. It would follow that Congress has little to gain by supporting State's requests but instead may garner some political benefit by bashing the department.

In AFSA's judgment, conventional thinking is not only wrong but, in this case, an obstacle to progress. We, in fact, found the most effective of constituencies—concerned lawmakers who were eager to help the Foreign Service perform its mission. The problem was that few on the Hill had any clear picture of our situation. Moreover, many were indignant at real or imagined slights during trips or frustrated by failed attempts to elicit information from the department. But when the chips were down, the members (and their staffs) ensured that the department and the Foreign Service came out of the budget process in much better condition than anyone expected.

We have little cause for relaxing, however. The fact is that the department has few friends on the Hill and that the secretary has to expend considerable personal effort to achieve a partially favorable outcome. The lesson to be learned: We have an opportunity to improve our relations with Congress, and we had better take advantage of it or suffer the consequences.

Two proposals come to mind: First, it is time for the department to give serious consideration to establishing a liaison office on the Hill, as the Department of Defense has. Second, the Foreign Service Institute should emphasize congressional relations in its curriculum, particularly in the A-100 course. Officers should learn the "how to" as well as the "why." Our colleagues at Defense certainly have the message.

If we want to stay in the diplomacy business and stay out of the housekeeping business, State should change its ways by mending relations with Congress. Rest assured that AFSA believes diplomacy is our business and will continue to broaden its efforts to reach that critical center of support—the Congress.

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LETTERS

Entitlements

George Gedda is as entitled to his opinion as Wayne Smith is to his on the question of U.S. policy toward Fidel Castro and Cuba [BOOKS, October]. As for myself, I don't find it "difficult to understand . . . how the United States could expend so much energy opposing communism in Central America . . . while casually seeking an accommodation with Cuba." After all, we are seeking better relations with the U.S.S.R. without relenting in our opposition to communism in that country, in Eastern Europe, or elsewhere.

And does the reviewer have to fall into the practice of reminding us how lucky we are to be Americans? Gedda's gratuitous remark that Smith "is fortunate to live in a country where dissidents, such as himself, get published and not jailed" is as intolerant as that old line, "if you don't like it here, you can go to Russia." We don't depend on Gedda's assurances for freedoms; they are our birthright.

ALAN D. BERLIND
Foreign Service Officer, retired
Athens, Greece

Andrew Steigman is fully entitled to give us a shatteringly bad review [BOOKS, November]. He is not, however, entitled to distort our argument. For instance, we did not merely compare South Africa's record with Idi Amin's. We said, "South Africa has not experienced civil wars like those that occurred in Sudan or Nigeria, ethnic massacres of the type that befell the Hutu in Burundi, mass terror of the variety enforced by African dictators like Sekou Toure or Idi Amin." Such views are unpopular on liberal U.S. campuses, but accord with the facts. We also pointed out—among other things—that South Africa has "an oppressive state machinery," and that "the law is unjust"—hardly a ringing endorsement of apartheid. We have, however, shown, with a good deal of documentation, that the state machinery functions effectively. The parastatals, the bureaucracy, the military services operate with much greater efficiency and much less corruption than they do in most black African states. Few Africanists in Britain or the U.S. have the courage to say so; but our views in this regard correspond to those given to us, with regret, by Zambian African National Union and Mozambique Liberation Front officials in private conversation. Mr. Steigman believes that the bulk of the Duignan-Jackson book "is simply not worth reading." In the late Ernest Bevins's words, "I've 'eard different."

L.H. GANN
Senior Fellow, Hoover Institution
Stanford, California

We asked Andrew Steigman to respond:

Dr. Gann's letter vividly illustrates one of my principal criticisms of *Politics and Government in African States*—that the effectiveness and efficiency of South Africa's "state machinery" get far more attention than the uses to which that machinery is put. And Mussolini made the trains run on time.

No Prospects

Please cancel my subscription to the JOURNAL. I have abandoned my 10-year effort to join the Foreign Service. Although I have passed the entire selection process twice, there is virtually no prospect that I would be appointed—given the severe cuts State is facing.

I have always admired the fine work of AFSA. Keep it up. You are needed now more than ever.

It is tragic that the Foreign Service is really no longer a viable career—both in terms of selection and promotion.

KEN BERGSTROM
Minneapolis, Minnesota

VOA, Inc.

Senate Foreign Relations Committee member Peter Galbraith is quoted in the AFSA NEWS [October] as saying, "Some also argue that Voice of America and Radio Free Europe might best operate as independent corporations." Mr. Galbraith very likely knows that Radio Free Europe/Radio Liberty, Inc., is a corporation, the major fund-

"I'm in Washington talking with a Deputy Director in the Defense Department. It's budget time and he's trying to get his part of a $312 billion budget passed through Congress. He's frustrated...and believe me, he's got reason to be. The budget information he needs is coming from computers all over the world that can't talk to each other. It's a serious problem but I assure him Wang has solved it over and over again. I take him through the whole set-up—**add a Wang VS which will bring in data from his IBM mainframe through SNA, access his DEC systems through DDN, and run his UNIX® applications. And... at the same time get his IBM and Zenith PCs talking to each other. He mentions that some of the information is classified so I tell him about Wang's full line of TEMPEST computers and security solutions...** Everything it will take to get his budget passed through the top brass. Well, you'd have thought he'd been given a Presidential Citation or something..."

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ROMAN L. LOTSBERG
Director of Administration
Radio Free Europe/Radio Liberty
Munich, West Germany

Photo Opportunity

In the photograph of Paul Nitze's Policy Planning staff, ["Policy Planning at Its Pinnacle," November], the officers, John Ferguson to Paul's right and Phil Watts to his left, were not Foreign Service officers. The title to the photo identifies all of the group as FSOs.

Keep up your good work.

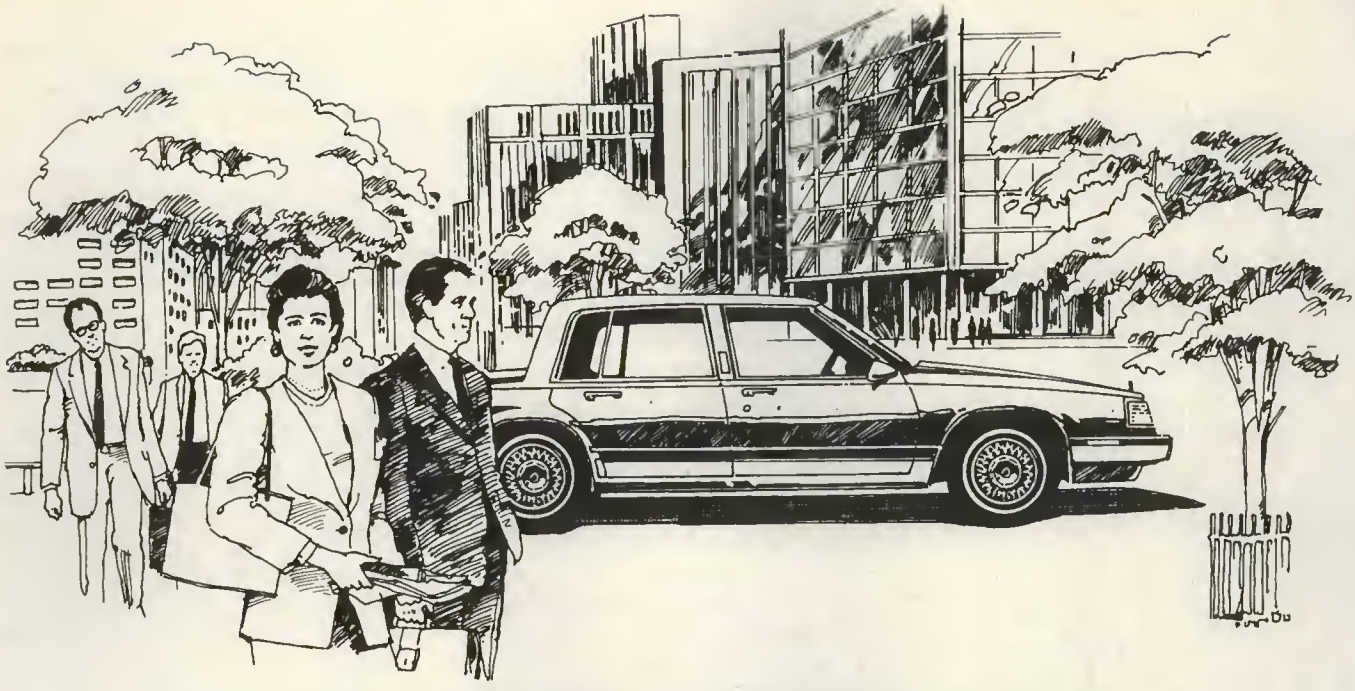
RANDOLPH KIDDER
Foreign Service Officer, retired
Washington, D.C.

Benefit or Detriment

I was shocked—as, I suspect, were many of my retired colleagues—to discover that in 1988 I would have to pay almost $1900 for the same Foreign Service Health Benefit Plan that cost me just $906 last year. No additional benefits, no new features, simply a premium increase of 110 percent in two years! Trying to find an explanation for this startling increase, I have pored over the pamphlet from the Office of Personnel Management describing the 1988 plan. I needn't have bothered; it contains nothing beyond the usual opaque, rather unfriendly legal jargon. What in the world is going on here?

I understand that each year's benefits and rates are set through some sort of negotiations involving the Foreign Service Protective Association, OPM, and Mutual of Omaha, but I have yet to see a clear explanation of this mysterious process. All we seem privileged to know is that our premiums are growing at a rate roughly five times the increase in nationwide medical costs over the past two years.

What makes the situation doubly aggravating is that my wife and I, like many other retirees, are also covered under (and pay for) Medicare. I am thus being asked to pay between four and five percent of my total annuity for a health plan that does little more than fill in the gaps—admittedly wide ones—left by Medicare. Yes, I know I can switch to another health plan during the current open season, but have you looked at them lately? Their premiums have soared just as much.



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EDWARD C. INGRAHAM
Foreign Service Officer, retired
Bethesda, Maryland

Déjà Views

Don't blame the Congress for trying to reduce the deficit at the expense of the Foreign Service. Blame those smart-ass senior FSOs who bad-mouthed their colleagues in 1979–80 to get the latest Foreign Service Act passed. The picture they presented was of toiling, underpaid junior and mid-career officers suffering under the tyranny of fat, inefficient seniors in their bloated numbers.

This impressed enough legislators to get the law passed. They then sold the law to the Foreign Service as raising junior and mid-career salaries, keeping quiet about what it did to the seniors. It was only after the slaughter was well under way that the seniors began to understand what was being done to them.

My hat off to the latest two AFSA presidents, Gerry Lamberty and Perry Shankle, for their efforts to reverse this tide. Congratulations also to Evangeline Monroe and her Statement of Principles [AFSA NEWS, December]. You could, however, find the same arguments in an article I co-wrote with Hank Cohen for the JOURNAL ["Why Are We Dismantling the (Senior) Foreign Service," May 1981]. But even then there was an effort to obfuscate what was happening by two of the proponents of senior "reform" in a "reply" to this article (same issue) in the name of building "excellence."

To paraphrase Churchill, never have so many lost so much by going along with so few. At the same time, one wonders about the instigators. It is hard to understand how such intelligent, successful officers could be lacking in wisdom. One almost wonders if their very success in the Service—some having risen to quick ambassadorships in Africa—is evidence for a need to reform the system!

Yet this process is now embedded. While several of the ringleaders have retired—though not always to the immediate job openings they preached were waiting for senior FSOs in the outside world—others remain, at the "seventh floor," or equivalent, level.

These officers bring pressure on the under secretary for management. He protests that he is acting only to prevent a greater slaughter. But one has to wonder: would this have happened to the extent it has if he had stood up to it from the first, if he had not appeared to admit that the Service was bloated with over-the-hill incompetence?

People on the Hill argue that we did it to ourselves—and, frankly, I believe them. How could anyone imagine that tearing the fabric of a strong, viable organization, dividing class against class, would be a long-term benefit? What happens to the dedication and necessary self-sacrifice when everyone starts looking out for number one? Perhaps it was these very reformers who judged the rest of us in their own image!

Most of us liked promotions—but we liked a life-long career more. It was only certain types of officers, sacrificing everything to get ahead, who argued that all FSOs would be unhappy if they couldn't be promoted every year or two.

But it was precisely the life-long career that convinces so many able, even outstanding officers in the past to wait their turn for promotions. They got their kicks from the nature of the work itself. They didn't see their work so much like the military (train to kill; up or out) but more like civilian professionals dedicated to excellence and practical service to the nation.

Do we really want a Foreign Service whose officers visualize themselves more as captains, colonels, and generals rather than more as negotiators, reporters, administrators, teachers, and traders? Let us think what the Service means. People can be tough and dedicated, and, yes, effective—even if they are not primarily motivated by promotion and self-advancement. A life-long Service, in which one has to live one's career among one's peers, is the best guarantee of that.

Wake up seniors—and you of mid-career. You have little to gain from the new regime—and much to lose.

GEORGE B. LAMBRAKIS
Foreign Service Officer, retired
Providence, Rhode Island

The JOURNAL welcomes letters from its readers on topics of concern to the Foreign Service. We reserve the right to edit submissions for clarity and length. Address letters to: LETTERS, Foreign Service Journal, *2101 E Street N.W., Washington, D.C. 20037.*

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BOOKS

Reviews

China Watch. *By John K. Fairbank. Harvard University Press, 1987. $20.*

John Fairbank, the acknowledged American dean of both China watchers and historians, here gives a strangely organized, but nevertheless compelling look at the origins of our views on this troublesome country. Selecting some of his own writings from 1971–85, he has arranged them so that they give an overview of the American ideas current during that period. With his well-known knack for stimulating overstatement, he adds commentary both on ourselves and on the China scene. The result is a strong reminder of some of our misconceptions as well as our collective ignorance.

In the first few chapters he sets a historical perspective against which, as he insists throughout the volume, every China-watcher must view all modern developments. One of his main themes is that the Asian giant will continue to be strongly influenced by its historical culture.

There are persuasive illustrations of how traditional elements underlie many of the seemingly new innovations of communism: the Confucian emphasis on duties, as opposed to western ideas of individual rights, and the coercive structures of imperial times binding everyone into networks of mutual guarantees and responsibilities that are mirrored in today's network of citizen units.

The author almost appears to justify some of the excesses that are distasteful to Americans, on the grounds that they are native to Chinese culture. But his central theme is certainly valid. Americans have too often been carried away by unrealistic expectations, and then discouraged as a result of our own optimism and misunderstanding. It is instructive to see documented in this provocative and useful volume the repeated interaction of over-ambitious American goals with the hard realities of what China is really like. We have, collectively, wanted to give them the best of our culture, expecting that they would become more like us, while we hoped to benefit financially and strategically from this transformation.

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essays that form a curiously coherent flow of observations about our China watch. We see a progression that on the one hand gives us a retrospective of what many of us thought at earlier periods, and on the other provides useful critiques of the China watchers—including Fairbank himself—who helped us to form our opinions. The result is a valuable as well as provocative view, not only of China, but also of ourselves. —ARTHUR W. HUMMEL JR.

Africa Tomorrow. *By Edem Kodjo. Continuum, 1987. $24.50.*

On one level, this is an awful book. Bombastic in style, repetitious in organization, and specious in much of its argumentation, it cries out for a firm editorial hand. Typographical errors abound and obvious factual errors remain (Africa has not been independent for 50 years; it is not three times larger than the United States and China). The florid and redundant rhetoric reminds one all too painfully of those interminable ceremonial speeches often endured under a hot African sun.

On another level, however, this is an important book. It represents a serious effort to influence the content and direction of the generalized African worldview. Author Edem Kodjo is a former foreign and finance minister of Togo and secretary general of the Organization of African Unity. His analyses and exhortations are directed toward his fellow Africans and only tangentially toward outsiders. It is not surprising, therefore, that so much of the writing resembles a halftime pep talk or a consciousness-raising session. The major themes are well known to Africanists but new to young Africans.

Africa has a glorious history, fabulous resources, and incredible potential, according to the author, but it failed to keep pace with modernization in the West due to its internal disunity and the ravages of the slave trade and colonization. The solution to its temporary weakness lies in "rationalized pan-Africanism," featuring a continental army equipped with nuclear weapons. Success will come with the replacement of the present dependent and highly westernized elite by a truly African group, which will unify the continent and "invent a political system that, by conciliating the pre-colonial democratic institutions of Africa with the European-originated principles of freedom, equality, and justice, would allow all the people and races to feel African, and to live in harmony on African soil." Both capitalism and socialism are to be rejected in favor of economic institutions based on "an

original ideology that is an emanation of a truly African vision of history."

These quotations convey the flavor of Kodjo's message, but his elaboration of the themes contains more than a few interesting insights. For those interested in African affairs, the book is well worth skimming for particular points and for a sense of one of the important entries in the ongoing competition to shape the myths and attitudes that will guide Africa's next generation of leaders. —JOHN COLLIER

The Arab World—Personal Encounters. *By Elizabeth Warnock Fernea and Robert A. Fernea. Anchor Books, 1987. $9.95.*

The Arabs—Journeys Beyond the Mirage. *By David Lamb. Random House, 1987. $19.95.*

"Westerners, and especially Americans, always think you can solve everything by moving. In the end, it doesn't work. The problems are still there in your head." These words of a Lebanese poet, responding to the suggestion of a friend that she escape the terrors of Lebanon by moving to America, typify the insights the Ferneas share with their readers in the Arab world. Elizabeth Warnock Fernea is an able writer who can transport you into another culture. Robert Fernea's scholarly chapters lend depth and historical perspective.

No sweeping generalizations are to be found in this fascinating account of the authors' first visits to Lebanon, Libya, Yemen, Morocco, Egypt, and Nubia, which are contrasted with recent returns to the Arab world. In all cases they stayed long enough to gain insights hidden from the visitor who makes the quick tour. They carefully explore the complications rather than reduce them to a formula. No question is too touchy, no political situation outside the bounds of discussion with their friends and acquaintances.

In *The Arabs*, David Lamb also displays a candid willingness to admit that he has come to see societies in a different way than he did at first introduction. He has done his homework in acquiring historical perspective, and he attempts to synthesize these complex episodes in a readable format. But the level of sophistication does not work; the knowledgeable reader is likely to be bored and the novice confused.

There is no question that you are seeing the Arab world through Lamb's eyes, not the Arabs'. The author also tends to generalize in order to simplify. Although he admits that "in political and human terms, this [Arab] empire is fractured and diverse," he emphasizes and looks for "the common denominators, the threads that wove a larger pattern and the parts that spoke for the whole." Whether the Arab world can be better understood through the common denominators or the striking differences is debatable.

The strongest chapters in the book deal with Egypt, Jordan, and Lebanon. Lamb's brief visits to Libya and Saudi Arabia handicapped him in dealing with those complex and distinctive societies, and his willingness to generalize from single incidents has led to some questionable conclusions. The shocking becomes the sensational with little to demystify it to western eyes.

For the old hands of the Arab world the Fernea book will charm and bring back memories as well as shed new light on current Arab societies. For the novice, it will give a personalized, insider's look at cultures that are mysterious to westerners. Lamb brings a journalist's perspective, but he may reinforce unfortunate stereotypes despite his effective analyses of the caricatures that too often pass for reporting on the Arab world. Lamb's writing has great moments but descends to the prosaic too often. The two books demonstrate in their

differences the wisdom of specialization.

—JERINE B. BIRD

The Life and Times of Menachem Begin. *By Amos Perlmutter. Doubleday, 1987. $21.95.*

The book jacket declares that this work is the first comprehensive biography of the former Israeli prime minister. But throughout much of the book Menachem Begin seems almost incidental to the work. Perlmutter, in an attempt to explain his cold-eyed and unswaying approach, differentiates the personal history of the man from this, a political biography, in which Begin is fit into the story like a piece in a jigsaw. There are no interviews with the subject; the author used archival writings and reliable sources among the prime minister's colleagues and observers.

The resulting book, factual and well-researched as it may be, misses any warmth, humor, or compassion between subject and author. Begin interests Perlmutter only as a man who was in the right place at the right time and so came to lead the Jewish state. The portrait he paints reveals that the author feels that Begin will not measure up to the best and the brightest of its leaders. At its conclusion, one feels that Begin has a responsibility to refute Perlmutter's description.

So obvious are the political differences between author and subject that it becomes painfully clear that Perlmutter is Begin-bashing wherever possible. We are continually shown Begin on the downside, vulnerable, human faults and flaws ruthlessly exposed. After so much critical prose, the reader begins to root for the underdog—aresponse that might surprise the author.

There are contradictions along with the criticism. Early on, Perlmutter assesses Begin's writings: "There is an obvious lack of political and social theory, an absence of dialectic and programmatic challenges. . . . Begin's writings are limited indeed." But later, his success as a leader is attributed in part to his writings: "Begin's writings and billboard proclamations held a great appeal to Jewish youth. The writing was full of bombast, boasting, passion, and sloganizing, but it was effective."

Perlmutter's opening disclaimer sustains his work: "What has emerged will probably please neither Mr. Begin nor his detractors and admirers." In fact, it may please no one, as it often comes across as unbalanced and sometimes mean-spirited. Consequently, the reader ends up unpleasantly immersed in the fray instead of above it.

—NANCY LIGHT

PERIODICALS

By PHILIP ROGERS

The President and the Secretary of State. *By Theodore C. Sorensen. Foreign Affairs. Winter 1987–88, Volume 66, No. 2.*

Sorensen calls for a restoration of the mutual respect that existed between the White House and the Department of State in the '50s. This renewal might mean an increase in the influence of the secretary of state and the department; however, it could never result in a return to the golden age of the Marshall-Acheson years, Sorensen says.

The author argues that "no president is willing to entrust the nation's security and survival (and his own political effectiveness and survival) wholly to professional diplomats or to a secretary of state necessarily lacking his perspective." This necessitates a national security adviser to perform three functions that the secretary of state can not adequately do: organizing the flow of information flooding the president's desk; ensuring a flow of independent analyses and alternative recommendations; and helping the president resolve conflicting recommendations from the various departments. The Department of State contributes institutional memory, area expertise, and potential for in-depth analysis and long-range planning. Also, as Sorensen puts it, "the experienced eye and pragmatic perspective of career specialists are needed to balance White House pressures for quick, dramatic solutions that conform with campaign slogans or popular sentiment."

Personnel changes rather than institutional alterations are the proper means for restoring the secretary of state's influence. Sorensen opposes Senate confirmation of the national security adviser and rejects Secretary Shultz's call for a White House office for the secretary of state.

Sorensen makes a number of recommendations for future presidents. Presidents should select strong-minded secretaries of state who share their view of the world but also have independent stature. The secretary should be viewed as the primary spokesman for foreign policy, and the department should serve as primary negotiator for international agreements. The president should meet with the secretary several times a week in an atmosphere conducive to a frank exchange. No foreign policy activities undertaken by any department should be kept from the secretary. Presidential instructions to ambassadors should be cleared and transmitted through the department.

The National Security Council should review, but not duplicate, the department's cable traffic, Sorensen continues. The president should select a national security adviser who will present his own views but still serve as honest broker, presenting the various departmental positions. Presidents should keep diplomatic political appointees to less than one quarter and dispatch them to countries "more scenic than sensitive." Finally, presidents should respect the department's authority over all personnel including non-career ambassadors and over the information, development, and arms-control agencies, as well as ambassadors' authority over all personnel posted to their mission.

The NSC's Midlife Crisis. *By Zbigniew Brzezinski. Foreign Policy. Winter 1987–88, Volume 69.*

On the fortieth anniversary of the founding of the National Security Council and with the recent Iran-contra affair as a type of midlife crisis, Brzezinski argues that it is time to evaluate the proper role of the NSC. The life of the council thus far has been characterized by three periods, in his view, each representing an overreaction to the mistakes of the previous administration. In the early '50s the NSC was excessively institutionalized, and later it was essentially a paper mill with little possibility for strategic thinking. In the '60s and '70s, it became personalized with the national security adviser assuming a high public profile—excessive and counterproductive, in Brzezinski's view. In the '80s, President Reagan did not properly delineate the responsibilities of his top advisers and permitted a proliferation of specialized committees within the council. The overall result has been a fragmented, degraded NSC and uncoordinated policymaking.

We are now, Brzezinski implies, to learn from the lessons of the past. Although the author does make allowance for differences

in presidential management style, his preferred system is clearly one in which the NSC and the national security adviser are dominant. In contrast to Sorensen, Brzezinski sees long-range strategic planning as the proper province of the council—only this group is capable of a "supradepartmental perspective." Moreover, crisis management must be concentrated in the White House, where diplomacy, military, and intelligence aspects come together. Under this system, "a professional senior diplomat would be the best choice for secretary of state."

Brzezinski opposes Senate confirmation of the national security adviser because the great amount of time and the political pressure involved in this congressional responsibility would, he concedes, remove "the real operational advantage (of the national security adviser) over secretaries of state and defense." Nevertheless, the council should develop more informal consultations with congressional leaders, possibly through a monthly advisory meeting. Finally, Brzezinski wants the NSC to pay more attention to supervising the implementation and coordination of policy. Brzezinski's ideal staff size would consist of approximately fifty, drawn equally from Foreign Service, Central Intelligence, and military personnel. He concludes that the NSC should be the major deliberative policy-making body. Brzezinski does, however, acknowledge that a highly visible national security adviser and a personalized NSC is undesirable.

A New Era for NATO. *By Henry Kissinger. Newsweek. October 12, 1987.*

Kissinger argues that the intermediate nuclear forces agreement has produced a dilemma for the West. On the one hand, the former secretary believes the substance of the agreement—the global elimination of all U.S. and Soviet ground-based, short- and medium-range nuclear weapons systems—is not optimal for the security of the NATO alliance. The removal from Europe of American INF systems would enhance Soviet advantages in conventional forces, while contributing to the European perception of gradual U.S. withdrawal. On the other hand, the failure of the United States to ratify the treaty would give an enormous propaganda bonus to General Secretary Gorbachev and greatly accelerate the already strong anti-American, anti-NATO sentiment in Europe. As a result, non-ratification of the treaty is no longer a viable political option.

Kissinger calls the Reagan administration to task for its unrealistic and politically damaging calls for total nuclear disar-

mament. He suggests that now is not the appropriate time for threatening a reduction of American conventional forces in Europe, even as an incentive for more equitable burden-sharing arrangements. Before negotiating any new European arms agreements, NATO needs to define a minimally acceptable threshold of conventional forces, taking into account the differences in geographic proximity of the Soviet Union and the United States. Finally, the United States should help to foster a stronger European identity in NATO by encouraging greater British-French cooperation on nuclear strategy, greater French-German conventional coordination, and the selection of a European military commander for the alliance.

The Sarajevo Fallacy: The Historical and Intellectual Origins of Arms Control Theology. *By Patrick Glynn. The National Interest. Fall 1987, Volume 9.*

According to Glynn, the wide-spread notion that arms races are a leading cause of "war by inadvertence" is based on a flawed historical analysis of the precipitating event of World War I: the Sarajevo Crisis of July 1914. The inadvertent interpretation suggests that none of the participants in World War I, including Germany, really sought conflict and instead blundered into an unwanted war through an "action-reaction cycle."

Adherents of this position, Glynn suggests, have relied too heavily on older interpretations, based on incomplete records. Glynn argues that more recently released documents support the contrary thesis that Germany did have expansionist designs. It was Germany's perception of the momentary weakness and indecision of its opponents that allowed it to seek to fulfill its hegemonic aspirations. According to Glynn, the inadvertent-war interpretation has exercised an insidious influence on U.S. arms procurement and arms-control decisions. In effect, it has given an unmerited historical legitimacy to fallacious policy prescriptions such as "moderation builds moderation." As Glynn describes it, "The real lesson of Sarajevo was that hegemonic states could be prevented from unleashing war only by ensuring that deterrence and defensive alliances remain unambiguously strong."

Philip Rogers is an assistant professor of political science at George Washington University.

PERIODICALS presents summaries of articles concerning the Foreign Service and the foreign affairs agencies.

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CLIPPINGS

Vanishing Act

"Oil paintings, antique china, Persian rugs, and silver—all thought to be safely stored—have vanished. U.S. diplomats who owned these treasures are fuming, and a chagrined State Department is shelling out millions to ease their distress.

"Just what happened to the valuables is a mystery. All the victims know is that before their foreign assignments, they entrusted goods to Fidelity Storage Company, a local warehousing company recommended by the State Department. Fidelity has since gone out of business, and returning diplomats are finding that many of their possessions have disappeared. When belongings are reclaimed, they are often bashed up, wet, or infested with weevils.

"The disappearances have spawned suspicions that the State Department was inadvertently supplying a thieve's market when it sent things to Fidelity's warehouses. The State Department insists this isn't so. 'Fidelity's management slipped,' says Richard Faulk, deputy assistant secretary of state for operations. Diplomats who visited Fidelity warehouses speculate that thieves walked away with many items. Government officials and former Fidelity employees say the company's record-keeping was so sketchy that it was often impossible to track down what happened to the goods.

"Handling hundreds of claims . . . has become 'a managerial nightmare,' says a State Department official. Although the department doesn't pay any individual more than $25,000 for losses, it has doled out more than $8 million to victims of the Fidelity debacle. 'You expect a support system to function while you're overseas,' says David Bathrick. . . . In this case the support system was negligent. It's quite demoralizing.' Apparently no one at the department has sued Fidelity. 'State Department people are less litigious than the rest of society,' a former diplomat explains.

"Faced with mounting complaints, the State Department removed Fidelity from its list of recommended warehouses in 1985, and the company decided to shut its doors. Under government supervision, Fidelity moved the diplomats' goods to other warehousing companies. It has often proved impossible to determine whether goods were damaged or lost by Fidelity or, rather, by the warehouses they were moved to after Fidelity folded. Meanwhile, the State Department vows there won't be a replay. It is in the process of setting up its own warehouse for traveling diplomats' goods."

Tim Carrington in the Wall Street Journal, January 6

Congressional Apology

"As chairman of the Senate Appropriations Subcommittee on Foreign Operations, I have been concerned with the effect of budget reductions on the morale and welfare of U.S. government employees who serve overseas.

"I understand fully the problems created for programs and personnel as a result of reduced funding for the international affairs budget category. You are the individuals who are daily struggling with the harsh realities of life in developing countries.

"I recognize that budget reductions cannot help but have an adverse impact on employee morale. But I want you to know that we have worked hard to preserve the institutions in which you serve. I and other members . . . believe that those of you who are carrying out our foreign assistance programs . . . are engaged in an important mission on behalf of the American people and the government. You may be assured that your work does not go unappreciated by those of us in Congress responsible for overseeing funding for your programs, even though we may not be able to fund all programs at the level they deserve."

Senator Daniel Inouye (D.-Hawaii) in the Congressional Record, December 11

Good News/Bad News

"Although serious problems exist in the State Department's foreign building program, the agency was not to blame for the delays, cost overruns, and security breaches in constructing the U.S. embassy in Moscow, two government reports have concluded.

"Despite overall problems with agency building programs . . . the construction

delays were principally because of problems of dealing with Soviet officials and construction contractors, said a General Accounting Office report prepared at the request of the Senate Budget Committee. Skyrocketing construction costs were caused mainly by inflation and increased project requirements ($43.7 million), security enhancements ($36.8 million), and cost overruns caused by Soviet delays in project completion ($20 million). . . . The delay in the completion of the project was due to the delay by the Soviet contractor . . . Soviet construction that required extensive rework, and changes in U.S. security requirements.

"State Department employees said they were pleased that these reports reaffirmed their belief that career Foreign Service people are not to blame for agency management problems. 'It was amazing how quickly people got on the band wagon to sneer at the professionalism and competence of the Foreign Service,' said Perry Shankle. . . . 'People could hardly wait to get into print or on the news to say how dumb the State Department was.' "

Leslie Aun in the Federal Times, January 11

Office Silenced

"The end for the Office of Public Diplomacy for Latin America and the Caribbean came just before Christmas, when Congress ordered it closed in a move members of the office say was 'spiteful and politically motivated. . . . Our role was to explain the administration's Latin American policy to the American people, and we have been silenced.'

" 'If they hadn't broken the law and used taxpayer's money to target members of Congress [for defeat] who disagreed with them, they wouldn't be packing their bags today,' said John Jackley [press secretary to Ronald D. Colman (D.-Texas)]. 'The office was not used to educate, but to advocate.'

"The General Accounting Office charged last fall the OPD had run 'a prohibited, covert, domestic propaganda campaign' in support of the Nicaraguan resistance and other administration Central American policies.

"Members of the office deny they were engaged in a prohibited domestic propaganda campaign or that there was anything covert in their activities. One reason the unit became controversial, said one official, was that it pursued a new concept of information policy in the State Department in that it went directly to the public and the news media."

Richard Beeston in the Washington Times, January 7

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Foreign Service Journal, March 1978: In recent negotiations with AID management, AFSA has sought to reaffirm the importance of foreign language capability. . . . Too often AID's emphasis is on getting the employee to post as quickly as possible. . . . AFSA is continuing discussions . . . to ensure that employees can communicate effectively overseas in a foreign language."

—AFSA News

Foreign Service Journal, March 1963: "The Report [of the Committee of Foreign Affairs Personnel, the Herter Committee] was somewhat less than candid in the failure to discuss openly the likelihood that our new and complex diplomacy sooner or later will require unification of all foreign affairs personnel systems and resources, including the Peace Corps. Viewed in this realistic light, the proposals made by the committee for a family of foreign affairs career services should be looked upon as a way station to complete amalgamation or merger. . . . If that is the ultimate destination then the manner in which the details of the journey are handled at the way station become of far-greater importance and must be treated with more delicacy, discretion, and consciousness."

—Leon B. Poullada

Foreign Service Journal, March 1938: "Our first real line of defense is not the Army nor even the Navy. It is the Department of State and the Foreign Service. . . . On the way the department conducts its difficult and widespread activities depends, in large measure, the preservation of our peace. For the proper performance of its multifarious duties, the department employs a total personnel of 4873 . . . The net expenditure [of $14.7 million under the 1938 budget] represents the barest minimum needed to keep the Foreign Service functioning at an efficient level. . . . To spend over a billion on preparation for war, and something under one percent of that sum to keep our diplomatic service at the highest possible degree of efficiency and usefulness, seems close to being a penny-wise policy."

—Editorial in the Washington Post

THE MAKING OF A DEFECTOR

A former Sandinista major's story sheds new light on the Nicaraguan regime and the controversy over the contras

GEORGE GEDDA

Major Roger Miranda Bengoechea talks to the media after his defection. The former aide to Nicaragua's defense minister said he became disillusioned with the Sandinista regime when he realized the implications of its totalitarian aspirations and learned of the popularity of the resistance.

LAST OCTOBER 25, a Nicaraguan army major named Roger Miranda Bengoechea boarded a presidential jet in Managua and flew to Mexico. The purpose of the flight was to pick up Vice President Sergio Ramirez, who had flown to Mexico City after a visit to Canada. Miranda, 34, went along because he needed treatment from a Mexican specialist for a chronic hip ailment. But he had another purpose in mind: defection. After eight years, he would later say, he had become convinced that the Sandinista revolution was a complete failure. Once an avowed Marxist, he had become increasingly disillusioned, seeing around him economic devastation, a campaign to subvert Nicaragua's neighbors, widespread corruption by the Sandinista elite, a brutal campaign to suppress the peasantry, and a concerted international effort by the government to disguise its intention to create a Marxist state.

After turning himself in to American authorities in Mexico, Miranda was brought to Washington, where he has become an effective spokesman for the resistance, influencing a wary Congress last December to approve $8.1 million in non-lethal aid to the contras. He also was a key player in the administration's losing campaign for $36 million in renewed contra aid in February. According to the *Washington Post*, the U.S. government has agreed to pay Miranda $800,000, an unusually high figure for a defector.

The closeness of the recent congressional contra-aid vote suggested that public opinion on the contra-aid issue is as divided now as it has been at any time since the program was started six years ago, a period marked by frequent shifts in congressional voting patterns. The debate has remained fundamentally unchanged: the administration has argued that the Sandinista government, left unchecked, would become a base for Soviet-sponsored subversion in Central America, while congressional Democrats have contended that the White House has systematically thwarted efforts to achieve a negotiated settlement by backing the insurgents.

To the administration's delight, Miranda has provided some of the most compelling evidence in support of its position. Some of the former major's testimony about a secret military buildup planned by the Sandinistas was subsequently confirmed in a statement by Defense Minister Humberto Ortega.

The defector's first and longest media interview was conducted in early December with reporters from the *Associated Press*, *Time* magazine, the *New York Times*, and the *Washington Post*. Speaking in Spanish, he discussed his reasons for turning his back on the revolution he had fought to bring about. There is nothing to prevent a defector from embellishing his story, and little of what Miranda said could be independently verified. Indeed, the Nicaraguan government said Miranda was motivated in his defection by "deep resentments and personal ambitions." It claimed he became disillusioned when he was passed over for promotion last year.

Most of what follows, taken from that interview, has not been reported previously. Miranda's translated remarks have been edited slightly for clarity. Judgments as to their veracity are left to the reader.

"I decided to come here in order to denounce the situation in Nicaragua," Miranda said at the start. "I want to assure you it was not an easy decision.

"I worked for many years in the Sandinista ranks. I was equivalent to a member of the central committee [of the Sandinista party]. My job permitted me to be the person closest to [Defense Minister] Humberto Ortega, and I was able to learn the nature of the Sandinista regime.

"In the last few months, I felt my thoughts did not correspond to my actions. I stopped believing in what, for many years, were my

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George Gedda covers the State Department for the Associated Press.

A contra soldier unloads supplies from a dugout canoe on the Rio Bocay, a 50-mile river that is used to supply resistance fighters. Miranda said that his tour of the war zones revealed that the contras have the support of the peasantry.

ideals. The Sandinista leadership has betrayed the original program that led to the overthrow of the Somoza dictatorship and around which the majority of the people had rallied: a program of democracy, of pluralism, and of freedom."

The Sandinistas' true goal, according to Miranda, was "the imposition of a communist regime in Nicaragua. This was a matter of principle that could not be negotiated. But a way would have to be sought to disguise this strategic objective and to speak about a program that would be supported by non-communist governments. The bases would have to be laid for making the definitive leap to a communist regime.

"Bayardo Arce—a member of the Sandinista directorate—once defined the strategy as the construction of a communist regime with capitalist dollars. This was a very clever program. They knew how to hide their final objective. I personally was in total agreement with this program. My convictions were communistic."

MIRANDA'S ATTITUDE toward communism began to change when he visited a few of the countries where the system had been long established. "After 1979, I traveled to several communist countries: North Korea, the Soviet Union, East Germany, several trips to Cuba. At the beginning when I took these trips, I was filled with illusions. I remembered Marx talking about a system of abundance, of justice. But after visiting these countries, I began to become disillusioned. It didn't happen overnight. It was a process in which one's convictions clash with reality. I would not want to live in any of these countries.

"I now understand that totalitarian means there is no right to think differently from the governing party. The most minimal individual liberties do not exist. All individual will is suppressed by the will of the party. These are countries where scarcity abounds, even though some are rich like the Soviet Union. Their economies are disastrous; human and material resources are underutilized; the political system asphyxiates the ordinary citizen."

When he was in East Germany, "they showed me the Berlin Wall, and explained to me that the wall had been constructed to avoid West German provocations, to avoid infiltration. I was doubtful and wondered whether that wall was not constructed to prevent citizens of East Germany from going to West Germany." Similarly, in the case of Cuba, "I noticed that many times the frontiers were opened and the people left without thinking about such things as their homeland, their families. In Latin America, no country is worried about its people leaving to live in Cuba, but the Cuban government is worried about its people leaving to live in other countries, especially the United States.

"After getting to know the realities of these other countries, I thought about the program that the Sandinistas had set forth. I felt that I had a moral obligation to fight against that. I had suffered a great disappointment in that my ideas had not corresponded with the reality in those countries. I don't want a communist society in Nicaragua."

As Miranda sees it, the Nicaraguan people are playing against a deck stacked by the Sandinista leadership. There is no way, the defector says, of instituting change by working within

the system.

"The Sandinistas talk about political pluralism. In Nicaragua, there is no political pluralism. They have manipulated the political parties. They let them exist to give the image that political pluralism exists. But the parties don't enjoy the most minimal political liberties. They compete with the Sandinistas under the most disadvantaged conditions. The government has been very clear in saying that not even in elections would they allow their power to be challenged. As in Cuba, there is a fusion of the state, the armed forces, and the Sandinista party.

"The committees for the defense of the revolution have been converted into organs of repression and control of the civilian population," he continued. "They have created an army and security force superior to that in any other Central American country—totally politicized, educated in Marxist-Leninist theory. They have required the peasantry to organize in cooperatives and the workers, technicians, and professionals to organize themselves in structures controlled by the Sandinistas. Professionals either join these organizations or they leave the country. A great many have left."

On one point, Miranda and President Daniel Ortega seem to be in agreement: the Nicaraguan economy is in a shambles. While there has been some improvement in social services since the 1979 revolution, living standards have generally declined, workers are living at subsistence levels, and the national currency has become virtually worthless. Besides destroying the economy, Miranda says of the Sandinistas, "the people are virtually dying of hunger. What they have done is to substitute the leaders who were there beforehand for a new patron, which is the state. And they are bad leaders, bad administrators, squanderers of resources."

THE PRINCIPAL U.S. OBJECTION to the Sandinista government is not its Marxist philosophy. After all, the United States maintains friendly relations with China, Yugoslavia, and other Marxist countries. The main criticism has been to the alleged attempts by Managua to subvert its neighbors. The Sandinistas acknowledge that they gave some assistance to the Salvadoran rebels during the early years of their revolution, but no longer. Miranda believes otherwise.

"The Sandinistas say their government is non-aligned. But in eight years, Nicaragua has been converted into a center of Marxist subversion in Central America. The Sandinista regime thinks it has the right to subvert the other Central American countries. The most obvious case is the Salvadoran guerrilla movement. They would not be where they are today were it not for the direct support of the governments of Nicaragua and Cuba." As late as last fall, "15 Salvadoran Farabundo Marti rebels were finishing training in the use of anti-aircraft missiles. I mention this to show the will which exists to continue escalating the conflict in Central America, to continue to aggravate the situation in El Salvador. And in this way, to continue being puppets of Soviet and Cuban interests in the region."

The Sandinista regime thinks it has the right to subvert the other Central American countries

Miranda also talked about the military aid Managua has been receiving. "From the start of the revolution until October 1987, 252,000 rifles were sent to Nicaragua. North Korea sent 70,000 AKA rifles, the Soviets sent 150,000 rifles, and the rest was made up in small donations from Bulgaria, East Germany, and Greece. But the army has problems," Miranda said. Although 40,000 have been recruited since 1984, "there have been no fewer than 10,000 deserters; the deserters include draft dodgers and those who abandon their units."

Miranda said he became appalled by official corruption in the Sandinista leadership. As a top aide to the defense minister, he was ideally situated to monitor cash flows. As he described it, personal greed in Nicaragua did not end with the ouster of the Somoza family dynasty.

"I also broke with the Sandinistas because of the level of corruption and moral decomposition of the leadership. They have converted Nicaragua into a band of dictators, thieves, murderers, and immoral people. Power has made them sick. Before, Nicaragua had one dictator; now it has nine dictators," the nine-member directorate.

As chief of the secretariat, "I handled between $150,000 and $160,000 as a slush fund for operating expenses. Ortega thinks he ought to have cash on hand and not be looking for money at the last minute. If someone showed up, for example, a Salvadoran rebel leader, Ortega was quite capable of asking that he be given $5000.

"The Sandinista leadership has been opening bank accounts in foreign countries for their personal use," Miranda continued. Defense Minister Humberto Ortega "has a personal dollar bank account in the National Bank of Paris in Switzerland. The number is 58946; the account is in the name of 'Representaciones Multilaterales Del Caribe.' When I came out

What is happening is a bloody civil war, and the Sandinistas don't want to accept that

in October, he had $1,495,596 in it. That is what is known as stealing from the Nicaraguan people." Miranda said that other members of the directorate with access to dollars have their own foreign bank accounts. "I think it's a crime that a people so humble as the Nicaraguan people, a country so poor as Nicaragua, is being looted in this way."

The defector admitted that he too shared in the benefits. "Cars, chauffeur, all expenses were covered by the army. I felt bad to live like that. One doesn't have to pay for a house, phone, chauffeur, gas, food." The Sandinistas accused Miranda of stealing $15,000 when he fled. Miranda said he used most of that money for medical treatment in Mexico. The $15,000 will be repaid, not to the Sandinistas, but to the contras as a donation, he said.

As Miranda described it, no experience was more disillusioning than a visit earlier this year to several war zones around the country. Consistent with the Reagan administration's assessment, Miranda's comments indicate that the rebels emerged as a force to be reckoned with after Congress approved $100 million in aid in the fall of 1986. Contras by the thousands crossed the border from base camps inside Honduras and greatly expanded their military activities within Nicaragua during 1987, carrying out attacks on the transportation infrastructure and other targets.

"Another reason I decided to break with the Sandinistas is the bloody civil war in Nicaragua. The Sandinistas have said the cause is external, the government of the United States, and that the army is up against a mercenary army. I believed this. Many Sandinista leaders believe this." As the years went by, he said, some leaders realized otherwise.

But he was struck with "the ease with which this mercenary army reproduced itself. I remember when we approved the campaign plan at the beginning of 1986, there was talk of 6000 rebels all together. After 1986, a year in which there were 3500 dead, wounded, and captured, we found ourselves with the same number of rebels—6000. I remember this caused great worry. Something was happening."

The clincher occurred last spring, when he decided to see for himself how the conflict was progressing in the countryside. "I personally had my doubts about the nature of the war. I decided to make a visit to the north and south central regions. I went all over to find out what was happening, and realized that it was a true peasant rebellion. Entire families had risen up in arms against the Sandinista government. Not even the Sandinista front during the Somoza era had the support of the peasantry the way that the resistance has it."

When Miranda talked with prisoners of war, "I found humble peasant families that had risen up in arms, the product of all the errors that the Sandinista government had been committing against the peasants. They said the government was something unknown to them, that it never had represented their aspirations. There was a vast network of conspiracy and struggle. And this explained the ease with which the rebels were able to maintain their numbers. Nicaragua is not undergoing a war of aggression. What is happening is a bloody civil war and the Sandinistas don't want to accept that. The Nicaraguan family is more divided than ever."

SOVIET MILITARY AID to Nicaragua has long troubled the Reagan administration. According to Miranda's account, the U.S.S.R. has been generous—up to a point. He said that the Soviets have been deceitful toward the Sandinistas on the question of delivery of jet fighters. Kremlin behavior indicates concern that the U.S. military might destroy any MiGs the Soviets send.

"At the end of 1981, the first Soviet military mission arrived in Nicaragua. It was a six-man mission. Its scope was very limited—to give advice to the general staff. The sale of MiGs was contemplated in an agreement signed between Daniel Ortega and [Soviet Defense Minister] Ustinov in early 1981. The fact that they were not delivered was a great disappointment for the Sandinistas. Even though they were convinced that the MiGs had no use in the fight against the resistance, it signified that the Soviet Union was ready to support 100 percent the political program that they were implementing. The U.S. government had said publicly that it was not going to permit MiGs in Nicaragua. If in spite of this the Soviet Union sent them, it would signify greater Soviet involvement in Nicaragua."

In May 1984, Miranda accompanied Defense Minister Humberto Ortega to North Korea and the Soviet Union, meeting in Moscow with Ustinov. Miranda recalled, "He told Ortega that the MiGs were going to be delivered: 'We have that commitment and we are going to fulfill it.' Before May 1984, the Cubans and others said Nicaragua would have to give up on the MiGs because they had no use in counter-insurgency. Nonetheless, the Sandinistas refused to accept what the Cubans were saying. What's more, pilots and crew

MARKETING MIRANDA

FSO CHRIS ARCOS

Chris Arcos moved from USIA to the White House to help coordinate the public relations campaign for contra aid.

CHRIS ARCOS, A KEY PLAYER in the administration's effort to keep money flowing to the contras, is a career Foreign Service officer now detailed to the White House Communications Office. With the title of coordinator for public diplomacy on Central America, he is the top contra expert on the communications staff and thus the natural choice to handle the administration's public relations campaign built around Sandinista defector Roger Miranda Bengoechea.

Arcos grew up speaking Spanish and English, graduated from the University of Texas, and later received a master's degree from Johns Hopkins School of Advanced International Studies. He joined USIA in 1973 and served in Portugal, Brazil, and the Soviet Union. In 1980 he was assigned as public affairs officer in Honduras and began his involvement with Central America. Serving at times as chargé d' affaires, he gained an in-depth knowledge of the resistance movement and knew all the players, from U.S. and Honduran officials to contra leaders and American reporters. He also accompanied congressional visitors in their meetings with resistance leaders during his five-year tenure in this key center of the contra war.

He continued his involvement with the contra effort when he became deputy director of the Nicaraguan Humanitarian Assistance Office in Washington in 1985, administering $27 million in aid. One year later he was assigned as deputy director of the now-defunct Office of Public Diplomacy for Latin America. This office was eliminated in January 1988, after members of Congress complained that it had improperly engaged in partisan domestic political activities. Arcos says his duties dealt less with public diplomacy and more with human rights—he managed the $3 million Congress allocated for rectifying human-rights abuses in the contra-aid program.

It was Arcos's eight-year involvement in Central America that caused him to be detailed to the White House in July 1987. "As an FSO, I'm probably one of the very few who have been with it this long," he says. The administration wanted someone familiar with the issues to advise their public relations people on the status of the contra-aid effort. "They did not want a political appointee," Arcos stressed, "but a professional in terms of dealing with foreign affairs and public-relations aspects of these issues. I am strictly a coordinator in the Office of Communications—I get people to talk shows, schedule senior members of the administration with editorial boards around the country, and deal with journalists."

In the weeks before the final congressional vote on contra aid last month, he and Robert Kagen, a political appointee and deputy to Assistant Secretary of State for Inter-American Affairs Elliott Abrams, lobbied hard for continued help. An important spokesman in this effort was Sandinista defector Roger Miranda. After interviewing the former Army major for several hours to determine the authencity of his information, Arcos says, "we appreciated how important this knowledge would be. Mr. Miranda was not just another Sandinista basher, but had solid evidence of a Soviet arms build-up." Coordinating and limiting the defector's press access, Arcos tried to reassure Miranda, who "had never been before the press and was somewhat queasy about the whole process." Miranda has since become a pro, appearing before many groups, including congressional staffers, and taping television shows both here and abroad.

Arcos stresses that he is not now working in a USIA capacity, but as a White House representative. However, he feels his Foreign Service experience made him realize the importance of briefing everyone at State and other agencies before Miranda went public, "so that everyone would have an appreciation of what he was about to say."

Arcos acknowledges that public opinion is very important in many diplomatic issues. He points out that two USIA officers have served as deputy press secretaries in the White House in recent years. He also sees a historical parallel to the present administration campaign: "If you go back in history during the Carter administration, there was a significant effort by Sol Linowitz and others to publize the foreign policy effort to bring about a Panama Canal treaty. The canal-treaty campaign was very similar to this. That previous effort was also done by going to editorial boards, speakers, meetings, and showing films. Key people in the administration were speaking on the canal throughout the country."

Arcos feels that one of his important tasks has been to educate the public on Latin America, as European issues have always tended to dominate the news. He says that the perception of Central America and what goes on there is still reduced to stereotypes. "We must learn to deal with these very serious issues—issues that may not immediately threaten the security of the United States, but certainly will have a long-term effect in terms of our own security." —NANCY A. JOHNSON

Moscow delivered MI24 helicopter gunships, one of the world's most advanced attack helicopters, to the Sandinistas in 1984. They were being used by early 1985 against the contras.

members were being trained for flying MiGs in Bulgaria and Moscow—three and a half years in Sofia and one year in Moscow. Still the Soviets said nothing. Eventually, they told the Sandinistas that MI24 helicopter gunships, not MiGs, were going to be sent."

Miranda said that "when the first MI24s were being unloaded in Corinto, U.S. spy flights overflew the area. This caused a great alert in Nicaragua because the SR-71s have always been associated with an imminent invasion. In any case, the gunships were assembled and were being used in early 1985. The Nicaraguan pilots were trained in Cuba."

THE REAGAN ADMINISTRATION has said that Cuban support for the Sandinistas was evident even early on. When the Somoza government appeared to be in trouble in 1978, Castro quietly offered assistance to the Sandinista rebels. The White House claims that Cuban advisers were flown to Managua on the day of the revolutionary triumph to lend a hand. Havana's involvement was small at the beginning but later grew, eventually reaching about 3000, according to the administration. Miranda said that figure is inflated but insisted the Cuban role in Nicaragua is significant.

"There are now about 500 Cuban military advisers in Nicaragua," according to Miranda. "After Grenada in 1983, the trend has been downward. The highest level of Cubans was during the early years of the revolution—about 1500. They give advice and training. Some have died while accompanying counter-insurgency forces into battle." Miranda stated that Cuban aviators used to fly in the gunships until one crew was killed when a helicopter was hit by a missile.

Miranda said that Nicaragua signed military agreements annually with Cuba and every five years with the U.S.S.R. The second pact with the Soviets was signed in 1985 in Moscow, covering the period from 1986–90. It includes commitments to provide arms, ammunition, and training. The Soviets, however, never send anything to Nicaragua without the participation and concurrence of Cuba.

"Nicaragua used up five years of Soviet military provisions in just two years," according to Miranda. "At the start of 1987, it was apparent that the Nicaraguans, Cubans, and Soviets would have to make some changes. In the first week of October [1987], during a three-way meeting in Managua, a two-part document was drawn up. One part covered what was needed for the remainder of the five years. And the other part covered from 1991–95. In other words, the agreement was to meet the army's needs for an eight-year period. At the time of my departure, a follow-up meeting was to be held in Havana in November and the agreement would be formalized in Moscow in the first quarter of 1988. The document spoke of going from a 250,000-member armed force to 370,000 in 1990. And from 1991–95, the army would be increased to 500,000. This would comprise the regular army, the reserves, and the militia.

"The document also talks again about the MiGs for the 1991–95 period. Humberto Ortega is going to Moscow to sign, to formalize what's already been agreed to. The MiGs signify an umbrella of Soviet protection for the Sandinistas. It's not only a symbol. Besides political implications, the MiGs mean having an offensive capability in the rest of Central America. While Daniel Ortega was speaking about the Central American peace agreement—signed several weeks earlier—the three-way meeting in Managua was also taking place, outlining a plan for creating one of the most powerful armies in Latin America. Salvadoran guerrillas were also then being trained in the use of missiles. For those reasons, I don't think there exists the will on the part of the Sandinistas to fulfill their commitments under the agreement. All the armaments that the Soviets will hand over during the next eight years are counter to the agreement."

The U.S.-led invasion of Grenada in 1983 had a chilling effect on the Sandinista government. With the help of friendly Caribbean states, U.S. military forces toppled the Cuban-backed regime, and a democratically elected government has since been installed. The Sandinistas were worried they might suffer the same fate. President Ortega has repeatedly warned his country about the possibility of an American invasion. Miranda said this is not as unrealistic as it may sound. As he sees it, the Sandin-

istas are actually trying to provoke such a response. His comments raised the specter of an Iran-style hostage crisis in Central America, only on a much larger scale.

"After the Grenada invasion, military doctrine was modified. The Sandinista Assembly in August 1985 was told that from a military viewpoint, it would be impossible to achieve victory over the U.S. army. What was needed, instead, was a political victory. This meant political defeat of a U.S. military intervention."

Miranda recounted the lessons of Grenada. "When the invading forces arrived, after three or four days, all was lost. There was no time to generate an international movement in solidarity with Grenada to force the withdrawal of American forces. It is thought that in Nicaragua, at the hour of intervention, there must be resistance for the longest period possible to achieve broad international solidarity in the U. N. Security Council and other international bodies. There must be active resistance, not a compact front that would permit the U.S. army to use all of its firepower, including air power and artillery. Small units must be utilized to force the U.S. army to introduce ground troops. An effort must be made to try to get a man and his rifle to fight another man and his rifle on terrain controlled by the Sandinista soldiers."

MIRANDA SAID that the Sandinista regime's strategy is to expand such a conflict to the entire region. "It would be a trap to carry out the resistance exclusively on Nicaraguan territory. So at the hour of invasion, plans exist for Nicaraguan forces to cross over into Costa Rica and into Honduras. The Salvadoran guerrillas would increase their military efforts. They know that if the Sandinista government is defeated, they will fall of their own weight. The Guatemalan rebels would suffer the same fate."

The Sandinistas felt that U.S. airpower would be useless in Costa Rica because it would provoke a popular uprising in support of the Sandinista troops. "The United States would have to send troops to Costa Rica. At the international level, this would not be Nicaragua against the United States, but a conflict which has been regionalized and which would be difficult for the United States to deal with. One of the principal objectives in Costa Rica would be the American embassy. Other targets would be economic, such as energy sources to contribute to the chaos in Costa Rica."

Other military strategies to be used in the event of an invasion were chosen for their political value. According to Miranda, "Every effort will be made to capture the largest number of U.S. prisoners possible to have an impact on U.S. public opinion." They would also be used as a bargaining chip in any subsequent negotiations, Miranda said.

"The Sandinistas think a U.S. invasion is inevitable, and that an army must be created to ensure that this invasion carries the maximum political cost. After 1980, they began three major tasks simultaneously: Supporting Central American guerrillas to export the revolution, betraying the original program, and creating an army to maximize the political costs of an American invasion. The Sandinistas do this because it is clear that the first two things are going to provoke the attention of the United States. What they have been doing for these eight years is to provoke a larger conflict."

Despite the large-scale aid from the Soviet bloc, the contras are continuing to hold their own on the battlefield. But their fate, according to Miranda, will depend largely on what happens in Washington. "In 1985, Humberto Ortega began to talk about the strategic defeat of the contras. In 1986, he spoke of deepening the strategic defeat. 1987 arrived and he talked about accelerating the total defeat of the mercenary forces. I don't know what he'll say in 1988. After six years of war, I can say that a balance exists on the battlefield. But this balance can be broken easily in two ways. One could favor the Sandinistas and the other could favor the contras. If the U.S. Congress cuts aid to the resistance, they are condemning the resistance to failure. However, if the resistance became a catalyzing influence of the popular discontent in the major cities, this would put in grave danger the Sandinistas' hold on power. As long as the contras stay in the mountains, in the rural areas, they will not represent a genuine threat.

"Right now," Miranda concluded, "there is popular discontent in the cities, but the contras have not been able to organize that discontent. Nonetheless, Humberto Ortega once said he's beginning to feel the rope tightening around his neck. It was a way of saying that with the passage of time, continuing to support the war is difficult. If there is anything they are interested in, it is eliminating the contras. They don't feel pressure from the opposition political parties. They don't feel it from the urban discontent, which has not been organized. The greatest pressure they feel is from the contras." □

The Sandinistas think a U.S. invasion is inevitable, and that an army must be created to ensure that it carries the maximum political cost

Poetry in Motion

ERNEST G. WIENER

THE SEVEN OF US sat elbow to elbow in a dimly lit kitchen in Moscow in the summer of 1966. Light blue smoke from Yevgeni Yevtushenko's cigarette drifted toward the ceiling as Josip Brodsky reached for a boiled potato from the saucepan on the table. How had my wife and I, two Americans, ended up sharing wine and potatoes with five Russians, two of them the outstanding poets of the Soviet Union?

My day at the U.S. embassy had been progressing uneventfully when I received an urgent telephone call from one of the Russian employees who worked in USIS. She informed me that Yevtushenko was downstairs and wanted to speak to me. Our library was freely available to the local populace, but rarely did a visitor defy the Soviet guards and enter the embassy compound without an official invitation.

Yevtushenko, well known for his outspokenness, was the idol of young Soviet intellectuals; my wife and I considered ourselves fortunate to have made his acquaintance at many official functions. The tall, slender poet was talking to the obviously thrilled librarian when I entered the room. He greeted me and pointed to the books. "Is this the material you use to subvert our faithful communist people?" he asked.

Knowing his pride in his knowledge of American jazz, I smiled and replied, "We also have subversive music." He selected two records and asked if he could borrow them, then he leaned close and whispered, "Ernest, I want to talk to you."

I suggested we go up to my apartment for a drink. He grinned his acceptance, shook hands with the excited local staff, and followed me to the elevator. Peggy, my wife, was delighted to see him again and prepared snacks while I fixed his favorite drink, gin and tonic, heavy on the gin.

Our conversation was so inconsequential that I wondered why the poet wanted to speak with me. I finally understood when he pointed to the ceiling and walls and then to his ears; he then suggested we take a walk.

We strolled in the embassy courtyard as he talked. "I'm in a mess," he said. "I've had a fight with my wife—a terrible one. I forget what started it, but I let my anger about the cancellation of my trip to New York fuel it. I was supposed to be part of the group of writers attending an upcoming PEN Club meeting, but the trip's been called off. Nothing is going right this week, and I guess I wanted to unload on someone. Actually I'm afraid to go home alone; Galya will calm down if I bring you and Peggy home with me." I agreed to the visit, wondering if his trip had been canceled as a Soviet reaction to the West's outrage at the severe sentences just handed down to the two Soviet dissident writers.

We collected Peggy in the family station wagon and headed for Yevtushenko's apartment. He pointed the way to a special apartment block reserved for the Soviet elite. His door was locked and only opened when his wife heard we were with him. Galya welcomed us and prepared tea and snacks, and Peggy tried to lighten the tension by commenting on a Picasso drawing of the Dove of Peace that the artist had inscribed to Yevtushenko hung prominently above the front door. But the couple's strain remained evident, so when the poet suggested a visit to a friend, we agreed. As we departed the apartment, he and Galya each carried a large bottle of red Georgian wine.

"We'd better go in my car," he said. "Your American monster is a bit too conspicuous." The four of us squeezed into his small Volga. We shot out of the parking lot and proceeded down one street after another at a breakneck speed. He laughed at our obvious anxiety and assured us he was an excellent driver. His wife didn't look totally convinced, and I hoped the sudden turns and stops weren't an attempt to lose the KGB but rather too many gin and tonics. Gayla, noticing my wife's white knuckles, assured us her husband usually got where he was going. "Particularly," she added, "if it's somewhere he wants to go. He wants to

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of Foreign Service Life

see his two friends; one's a painter, the other a poet." I cringed as Yevtushenko turned around to face me, "A very good poet," he said.

"Watch the road," said Galya, then she smiled at us and said, "Perhaps the best poet in the Soviet Union." I crossed my fingers, hoping her comment wouldn't make the driving even more reckless. Fortunately, we'd arrived at our destination. Yevtushenko parked, and we climbed several flights of rickety stairs. A short, stocky man with a receding hairline answered the poet's knock. They greeted one another with kisses and embraces, and we were led into the kitchen. His wife was placing a pan of potatoes on the table in front of a young man with a scraggly, reddish beard, who was introduced to us as Josip Brodsky, the same poet who 21 years later would win the Nobel Prize. Although I didn't know it at the time, Brodsky was in Moscow illegally. He was supposedly confined to Leningrad after a forced labor stint in the north.

The wine the Yevtushenkos had brought turned the sparse meal of potatoes into a feast. Brodsky told us in halting but correct English that he could read and translate the language, but he had very little practice speaking, so he was delighted to have an opportunity. Yevtushenko was pleased that we were getting along so well. Galya toasted all Russian artists and suggested Brodsky and her husband recite some of their poetry. Brodsky, after an initial reluctance, recited some of his work in melodious Russian. The room stilled, there were no feet scuffing the floor, no hands fingering cigarettes as we listened. His tender, moving poems made an unforgettable impression. After his own poetry, he wanted to share with us some of his favorite English-language poems. His memory was phenomenal, and his knowledge broad. He quoted long passages from Shakespeare, John Donne, and W.H. Auden, as well as from the American poet Stephen Crane.

When Brodsky heard we would be leaving the Soviet Union in two weeks, he said he wanted to write a poem for us, and he hoped we would give his heartfelt thanks to all the people in the West who knew his work and were trying to help him. I had a piece of paper in my pocket, which I handed to him with my fountain pen. He wrote,

"Please take my verses/Where ghostly horses/ Are flying like Air Forces.

"From Russia with love, Joseph Brodsky."

Yevtushenko recited some of his own poems, and we ended the evening in true Russian fashion with tearful embraces and kisses. The evening had mellowed the Yevtushenkos; we all piled in their car and somehow made it back to our station wagon. Peggy drove the rest of the way back to the embassy, while Air Forces, like ghostly horses, flew through my befogged brain.

Ernest Wiener is a retired Foreign Service information officer who served in Moscow from 1964–66. He is now living in Florida.

Behind the Veil

JERINE BIRD

THE STREETS OF Jiddah were eerily dark and empty as we sped down the broad one-way avenue to Queen Iffat's dinner party. In 1974, it was unusual for the queen to meet state visitors, but Pat Nixon had to be entertained while the president was feted at a state dinner for men only. The queen's dinner, of course, would be a traditional women's affair, elaborate, yet intimate, as the palace—actually a modest stucco villa preferred by the queen—was suitable only for small affairs.

Pat Nixon and Marney Akins, the wife of our ambassador, were in King Faisal's limousine, followed by a car of American Secret Service men, then a jeep with a machine gun mounted on it, all preceded by a police car with its siren wailing. Nuhad Ruggiero and I, two Foreign Service wives, were in the last car, almost as an afterthought. In our long-sleeved formal gowns and modest jewelry, we found ourselves wondering who would attend, what would be served, and how the queen and the first lady would handle this unusual evening.

When we arrived at the Medina Road palace, we were greeted at the steps by six former slave girls—slavery existed in the kingdom until 1962—dressed in long silver lamé gowns, holding enormous incense burners—a scene right out of Cecile B. Demille. The queen's lady-in-waiting greeted us inside the door, and we were led into a long, narrow reception room lined with huge, overstuffed chairs. The guests, including four of the older, traditional princesses (from the Saud wing of the royal family), two of the younger, more modern princesses (the Faisal clan), three wives of ministers, and a few others from prominent families in government and business, were already assembled and were standing to meet the president's wife.

Female servants brought orange juice in gold-encrusted crystal goblets, and the traditional cardamon-laced Bedouin coffee was served in thimble-like cups without handles. The queen quickly put everyone at ease with her warm, outgoing manner and quick sense of humor. We knew that she could speak English but rarely did in public, turning instead to her friend of many years, Cecile Roushdy, who hovered at her side to translate.

We were led into the dining room by the same silver lamé-clad girls who had met us at the door. The room was just large enough to seat the 22 of us. The queen, petite, red-haired, with a distinguished, husky voice, sat in the middle, with Pat Nixon opposite her.

Although the queen had no public role in Saudi Arabia, her influence had been evident for many years. Amirah Iffat (the title roughly translated princess, but with none of the western connotations of pomp and circumstance) had promoted education for women and was responsible for the establishment of the first school for girls, which opened in 1956. Cecile Roushdy was the founder and current headmistress of Dar Al Hanan, now the largest and most prestigious private girls' school in the kingdom. The royal family was also deeply involved in women's social issues. One of Iffat's daughters established the Women's Social Center, the first in a nationwide network of centers that had become the focal point of adult education for women, with day-care centers, mother and child health-care projects, and

simple meeting places for women from all economic levels. Thus, I knew many issues and achievements were hidden beneath this very traditional dinner.

The queen gracefully led the conversation. Seeing her vibrant personality, I found it easy to believe the story of her helping to sew the uniforms for the first class of pupils for Dar Al Hanan, so committed was she to demonstrate by personal example her belief in the value of modern education for women.

During the dinner the queen repeatedly urged her American guest to try her yogurt drink, a favorite in the Middle East, but Pat Nixon ignored the suggestions, probably remembering the Secret Service's dire warnings about dairy products. The yogurt drink, however, was not forgotten, and Princess Fawzia suggested that it was a very healthy drink. The president's wife then looked at her and said very slowly, "You remind me of my mother—always telling me to drink my milk!" The queen laughed and the offensive glass was finally removed.

The many courses of the dinner continued, served by uniformed male servants, until finally platters of fresh fruit indicated that this fairy-tale scene had come to an end.

Less than a year later, I accompanied the wife and sisters of Senator Ted Kennedy to a much different meeting with the queen. Iffat was in mourning for the loss of Faisal to an assassin's bullet but agreed to see the American visitors in the palace at Riyadh. The Kennedy women were concerned about meeting this traditional woman and asked if we would sit on the floor, what could they talk about, and if English would be understood.

At this visit, with much less formality and pomp, we were simply received in a beautifully furnished living room. Animated discussions in English covered a wide spectrum of issues, especially the social and educational projects sponsored and personally initiated by the queen and her daughters. The Kennedys found much to admire in this gallant, vital woman, who with wisdom and dignity was bridging a period of enormous cultural change in her kingdom.

As we returned to the hotel the Kennedy women were quiet and restrained. The visit with the queen had given them, as it had Pat Nixon, a personal glimpse of the hidden world of women in Saudi Arabia—a world that could be as vibrant and vital as any in the west.

Jerine Bird, who lived in Saudi Arabia ten years between 1961–81, is working on a book on the changing world of Saudi women.

Eleanor's Visit

MARIA BAUER

IN IRAN THE MANY ETHNIC and religious minorities—Armenians, Bahais, Zoroastrians, Assyrians, Jews, and Christians—had lived, worked, and feuded with their Moslem compatriots for centuries. The Armenians were the largest, known and envied for their intelligence, hard work, and efficiency. The American embassy, criticized by the Iranians for employing too many Armenians, was often referred to as the "Armenian embassy." When, in the late '50s, my husband served as director of the Iran-America Society and its binational educational and cultural centers, his driver Leon, an Armenian, became our indispensable adviser. Whether we needed a reliable laundry or drycleaner, a good plumber, electrician, or watch repairman, Leon knew where to find them. And they always happened to be Armenians.

Many other minorities were among the employees of Tehran's binational center, and their feuds with their Moslem colleagues created frequent problems. Mr. Alavi, the Moslem administrative assistant, was not on speaking terms with Mr. Avedian, the Armenian bookkeeper. The membership chairman, Mr. Besharati, a born Moslem converted to Christianity, was only tolerated because of his remarkable ability to greet guests in 33 different ways, according to their position, social status, and education. And the shy assistant who always signed his letters and office memos "MR. TABIB, in charge of Games, Supplies, and Refreshments," cryptically referred to himself as a Christian Jew; he was shunned by all.

When the Iran-America Society was involved in an important event, however, the jealousies and feuds stopped and all employees became united in harmonious collaboration. One of these occasions was the arrival of Eleanor Roosevelt in October 1959, on her way to visit her daughter Anna, whose husband, a Fulbright scholar, was teaching at the University of Shiraz. During her brief stop in Tehran, she was going to visit the Iran-America Society and be given an honorary life membership. President Roosevelt had been very popular among Iranians, many of whom still remembered the Tehran Conference and the meetings with Churchill and Stalin. And Eleanor Roosevelt was greatly admired in her own right, especially by the minorities, who considered her a champion of the oppressed and the poor.

There was great excitement at the society about the honor Roosevelt was about to bestow by her visit. Leon talked about little else during the preceding weeks. The society's buildings were scrubbed from top to bottom, elaborate welcoming posters decorated the walls, and the halls were filled with flowers. Everyone, even the porters, cleaners, and gardeners, brought their treasured carpets from their homes and laid them, one next to the other, on the entrance path.

It was decided that it wouldn't do for the great lady to straddle or jump the jube, an irrigation ditch running between the sidewalk and the entrance to the society's compound. A steel bridge was constructed and laid across the jube so that the ambassador's car could drive over it, through the compound's gate, right to the entrance of the building.

The long-awaited event finally arrived; it was a sunny, crisp autumn day. The Iranian employees lined up in the entrance hall and my husband and I waited in front of the building for our distinguished guests. The police had redirected traffic and crowds of people were assembling on the sidewalk, anxious to catch a glimpse of the famous visitor.

At exactly 11 a.m. the ambassador's limousine appeared, its American and ambassadorial flags proudly flapping in the breeze. With a sweeping turn it drove toward the society's entrance and then—a crashing noise, screeching of brakes, screams from the bystanders. The bridge tipped and the rear of the car dropped into the jube.

I froze. Dreadful thoughts crossed my mind; we were responsible for the disaster. I saw us shipped home, immediately and in disgrace. Not only were our ambassador's and Roosevelt's safety at stake, but also their dignity and the honor of two countries.

My husband, white as a sheet, rushed to the car and pried its door open. Roosevelt slowly squeezed her tall and dignified figure out of the car, stepped down into the jube (which, it being fall, was dry), then awkwardly climbed out and up onto the sidewalk. On the other side, the chauffeur helped the ambassador extricate himself. A sigh of relief could be heard when the two honored guests, unharmed, walked into the compound. My husband's profuse apologies were cut short by Roosevelt's laughter. "I have always wondered what it would be like to fall into one of those Persian ditches. I am glad I finally had the experience."

While approaching the building, Roosevelt asked to be introduced to each employee and was briefed about their specific duties. Then, walking along the line and shaking hands, she made a personal remark to each one: "Mr. Alavi, I have heard about your efficiency . . . Mr. Besharati, your popularity with the members must give you great satisfaction . . . Mr. Avedian, the steadily growing enrollments must keep you very busy . . ." The people blushed and stammered, bursting with pride. Over a cup of tea in his office, my husband briefly explained the history, role, and activities of the society, and when Roosevelt delivered her speech to a packed auditorium, she talked about the past and the importance of the society as though she had spent her life studying it. Her speech was a rousing success; the audience was completely captivated by her personality and wisdom. During the reception that followed, she tirelessly insisted on meeting and talking to as many of the Iranians as possible.

Leon, smiling all through our drive home, kept repeating, "Mrs. Roosevelt, she great lady. She make everyone happy." And the glow of that afternoon lingered on in the offices of the Iran-America Society for a long time.

Maria Bauer, a free-lance writer and wife of a former Foreign Service officer, published a book Beyond the Chestnut Tree *in 1984.*

A Debt Repaid

ALBERT CIZAUSKAS

IN THE LATE '40s, I was fortunate to have served under several of the old Far East hands who, with their distinctive personalities, were equal to anything that Somerset Maugham contrived in his tales of that region.

One of the most beloved Foreign Service officers of that time and place was Uncle Billy Foote, whose name I altered slightly in a fictional story that appeared in the JOURNAL ["The Dilemma," November]. A true account of Uncle Billy, the consul who always wore white linen suits and a ten-gallon hat, follows.

It seems that Uncle Billy faced a daunting task when he was sent in October 1945 to reopen the consulate general in Batavia (now Jakarta), shortly after the Japanese surrender. He found the premises of the consulate in a shambles, everything of value missing. One morning, thoroughly discouraged, he opened the door of the office to find a Japanese captain standing reverentially before him. Much to the consul's surprise, the man offered him the consulate's old coat of arms. Puzzled but grateful, Uncle Billy accepted the emblem.

Much to his amazement, the Japanese officer returned several times over the following months, each time revealing where another piece of furniture, file, or library item from the pre-war consulate could be found. The officer had apparently saved and hidden these items, at great risk to himself, when the consulate had been looted.

The last act of this curious drama took place when the captain arrived, and with a bow as always, made an unusual presentation to Uncle Billy. He handed him the samurai sword that had been in his family for 250 years, saying that he feared it would be taken from him by the allied soldiers.

Uncle Billy reluctantly accepted this singular gift with the understanding that he would return it when the Japanese officer was safely back home. Uncle Billy thanked him for his invaluable help and his many kindnesses to the American consulate. The captain then broke down, and with tears in his eyes, said, "Mr. Foote, don't you remember me from America?"

The consul general stared with amazement at the Japanese officer, but admitted he did not remember him. Bitterly disappointed, the captain explained that he had been a correspondent in Washington before the war where Uncle Billy, then assigned to the department, had treated him with great kindness and courtesy. The officer resolved to reciprocate this kindness if ever the opportunity presented itself. His painstaking efforts at preserving the consulate's property, at considerable danger to himself, was his humble way of fulfilling that promise.

When he saw Uncle Billy in Batavia after the war, the captain was determined to return the property directly to his former benefactor. But although the officer was thus able to repay in person Uncle Billy's kindness to him, Consul General Foote never again heard from the man, and was unable to return his sword to him. Truth, in the case of Uncle Billy, was as strange as fiction.

Albert Cizauskas, a retired Foreign Service officer, is now a free-lance writer.

A Conversation with Sol M. Linowitz

The Essentials of Negotiation: Truth, Clarity—and Humor

SOL LINOWITZ HAS COMBINED *three careers as lawyer, businessman, and diplomat. In 1966, he was appointed U.S. ambassador to the Organization of American States; in the '70s he served as co-negotiator of the Panama Canal treaties and personal representative of the president to the Middle East negotiations. Today, he is chairman of the American Academy of Diplomacy and co-chairman of the Inter-American Dialogue, as well as senior counsel of the international law firm of Coudert Brothers and chairman of Pan American World Airways International Advisory Board. He is also the recipient of 38 honorary doctoral degrees.*

The following interview was conducted by David A. Sadoff, a presidential management intern in the Department of State.

In your experience, which skills, tactics, or approaches have you found contribute most to successful negotiations?

I think a sense of mutual trust, of mutual respect, needs to be developed before you can really make progress on substantive issues. You can sit at that table day after day, week after week, month after month, and if you're separated by a wall of distrust, it's going to be very difficult to make progress on anything significant. That doesn't mean you have to agree on issues; it means that you have to level in the sense of saying: this is our position.

One of the things I recall with the greatest satisfaction about the Panama Canal negotiations was a conversation after the treaties were signed. The Panama negotiating team said to me that there was one thing they wanted me to know: that they'll never forget I always told them the truth. And that to me was very important.

Precision and clarity are necessary to avoid misunderstanding. I don't side with those who say ambiguity is a good thing. You also have to take into account that very often you are negotiating with people who are not using their first language. For example, in the Middle East, when I sat with Sadat and Begin, they were using English, but very often they misunderstood nuances. On one occasion, I thought Mustafa Khalil, the head of the Egyptian delegation, had come to terms with Yosef Burg, the head of the Israelis, on an important issue. I thought it was important enough to call for a press release. But when I read it to Khalil, he said, "I never agreed to that."

I also think you need a sense of humor. The worst thing in the world is to have this deadly serious, somber kind of thing day after day, without any let-up. You can always break tension with a sense of humor.

As a lawyer, I have learned to search for a piece of common ground, to seek some area of agreement upon which you can build, to have the patience to keep at it day after day. It's those kind of things that I think makes negotiations succeed or not.

Do you agree that what gives a negotiator his chance of success is not so much skill or sincerity as visible authority?

Unless you have your government's authority, you're not going to succeed. For example, I went to the Middle East as special representative of the president. Thus, when I spoke, they had to believe that I spoke on behalf of the president. Also, whenever I came to the Middle East, I flew in one of the Air Force One planes. Just coming down in that plane, which was known to be in the presidential fleet, in itself conveys a sense of a guy coming from the top.

To what extent do you think diplomacy ultimately stands or falls on personal dynamics? Do you agree that the chemistry that developed among Menachem Begin, Anwar Sadat, and Jimmy Carter was essential to the success of Camp David?

I do believe that what happened at Camp David finally happened because of the personalities of the three people involved. They were able to find common ground when there

'It used to be that we had a group of distinguished negotiators of achievement and competence; we don't have that anymore.'

was very little reason to think they could reach agreement. What ultimately happened was that Jimmy Carter knew the right buttons to push. Sadat responded to certain impulses; Begin, being the kind of man he is, needed the right kind of sensitive approach.

In my own experience, I make it a habit to learn everything I can about the fellow who's going to sit across the table from me. I want to know all about him: his personal life, his background, what he's done, where he went to school, the people who are his friends, what he reads. This becomes very useful when deciding how to approach a man.

I remember when, in the middle of a very serious conversation with Menachem Begin, I suddenly asked him, "Who are your heroes?" It took him off guard a bit, but put him into a position where he was telling me about himself. He told me that he did have a particular figure—Garibaldi—as his greatest hero. To me that meant that I should read all I could about Garibaldi, get the volumes by Trevelyan from the library, and thus learn about Menachem Begin from a man whom he told me he admired. In other words, knowing the personality and having a personal relationship are of great importance.

Do you believe that diplomacy in the Middle East is more highly personalized than in other regions of the world?

I guess that might be true. In the first place, almost all of the Middle Eastern countries are not democratic. You don't have a composite consensus group. Instead, you have a leader who speaks for the country, whether it's King Hussein or Assad or King Fahd. You're always dealing with a man who undertakes to represent his country's position. So you tend to personalize in those terms.

Israel, of course, has had a group of very interesting, exciting, and different people who have assumed leadership. And, again, it makes a difference if you're dealing with a Shimon Peres or a Yitzhak Shamir. The media, too, tend to look to the leader to get a fix on what the policy is.

I think that democracy will grow in the world, and there will be many who will look to the United States for encouragement and championing their causes

A lot of that's also true in other parts of the world. During my experience in Latin America, I did an awful lot of dealing directly with men who were the leaders and who epitomized their country's position.

Which is the most serious threat you ever issued in a negotiating session, and what prompted you to issue it?

In both the Panama Canal and Middle East talks, I threatened to leave the negotiations. I did not threaten what the United States would do if the Panamanians did so-and-so; I never did that kind of thing. I always believe that's counterproductive, because it causes a reaction against you. But I did say that I was ready to go home, that I saw no point in continuing discussions if this was the attitude. In each case I think it had an effect, because there was a feeling that if I left, it would take time to get a new negotiator, and it might mean a different approach. At least they knew me by then.

Former National Security Adviser Zbigniew Brzezinski has reportedly claimed that both he and President Carter rarely took account of domestic politics when making foreign policy determinations. Do you think this claim is accurate?

I have no reason to doubt what Zbig Brzezinski said. In my experience with Jimmy Carter, only very rarely would he even indicate that he was cognizant of political considerations. He had to, to some extent, when we were involved in the Panama Canal negotiations and then the ratification fight, which aroused so much domestic reaction. But if Carter had wanted an issue which would help him domestically, he would not have picked a new canal treaty. All of the polls showed only five percent support for a new treaty.

When he got into the Middle East, his advisers all cautioned him against going to Camp David. "Don't stick your neck out," he was told, "because if you do and you lose, it will have a devastating effect at home. If you are tough on Israel, for instance, you'll antagonize the Jewish community." But, he proceeded, I think, because he felt it was right.

In 1980, you were chosen as chief U.S. negotiator in the religiously sensitive Arab-Israeli talks that followed the Camp David accords. Can you recount any moments in the course of these negotiations when, as a result of your Jewish identity, you felt your credibility as a mediator was questioned or your effectiveness undermined?

Not really. I made up my mind when I first got into the negotiations that I would get out in front the fact that I was Jewish; I knew that there was suspicion in some Arab states that I would be coming with predilections.

When I went to Saudi Arabia, I said right at the beginning, "You know I'm Jewish; you know I'm a supporter of Israel; you know I've been involved in a number of Jewish causes and in leadership in those causes around our country. But I also want you to know that I am here in my capacity as a representative of the president of the United States, and in that capacity, I will be fair; I will be honest with you; I will be objective; I will do exactly what I'm supposed to do. I have a charge, and my charge is not to indulge my personal preferences but to carry out the desires and needs of the president."

President Nixon avoided such potential antagonism initially, by not choosing Henry Kissinger as the lead for U.S. Middle East policy, using instead William Rogers.

Kissinger made it easier for me, and I had just succeeded Bob Strauss. The big difference between these two and me, as I told Carter—because at first I was very hesitant to take the negotiations on—was that I was very active in Jewish affairs. The only thing to do was to put it right out on the table first. And the Arabs responded to that. I cannot think of a situation where I had a problem.

Which negotiator do you most admire?

Well, Ellsworth Bunker, of course. Henry Kissinger was certainly a foremost negotiator; I didn't work with him, but I base this on his books and on what I know went on. And I saw his fingerprints on things in the Middle East that I was involved in.

Cyrus Vance had real ability in negotiation. We worked together on a couple of things. He had one quality in particular that I should mention: empathy for the other guy—the ability to understand the other fellow's position, so that you know what it is he must have, what is vital to him that may not be vital to you.

I think Phil Habib was a good negotiator. Habib also has empathy and tries to understand other positions. He's bright, he's quick, he's relaxed.

I'm personally disturbed that we don't have what I used to call a stable of negotiators in this country. It used to be that we had a group of distinguished negotiators of achievement and competence—David Bruce, Averell Harriman, Llewellyn "Tommy" Thompson,

Ellsworth Bunker—to whom we could turn at any time. You could put them against anybody in the world. We don't have that anymore; we have an almost empty stable.

What about the Nitzes, the Rownys, the Kampelmans?

I don't think of them in that category. Paul Nitze knows one area of negotiations—arms control. So does Rowny. These greats of the past could be sent to do anything. Harriman could go negotiate on Vietnam, or you could send him over to Indonesia, or you could send him to Latin America. The fact is that there was a wealth of experience. And we had some of the very best; the kind the world would salute. We don't have that today.

Do you have any interest yourself in returning as a negotiator, perhaps in a different administration?

If I were asked to do a particular assignment like I did in Panama, I would be interested in talking about it. But not beyond that.

Do you suspect that the United States will command greater respect 25 years from now, or appear weaker and more alienated than it does today, as measured by prevailing international opinion?

Greater respect—yes. Much greater respect, if we come to terms with the world as it is, if we're no longer trying to be the dominant nation in the world. We're going to have to accept the fact that we live in an interdependent world, where we are all bound up with one another, and what happens thousands of miles away is going to affect us as immediately and as directly as something that happens ten miles away.

It really is one world at long last. Peace is indivisible, the welfare of the world is indivisible, we have a responsibility for one another, and the United States can, with great dignity and, indeed, majesty, set the course for how nations deal with one another and move toward a better world.

I don't see a war with the Soviet Union; I think the Soviets are increasingly going to realize that we have to survive in this world together and will modify their policies so that we don't have to worry about co-extinction. I think that democracy will grow in the world, and there will be many who will look to the United States for encouragement or championing of their causes. I see a world that is better and safer.

The signing of the new Panama Canal Treaties in 1977. Linowitz (behind President Carter) had once threatened to walk out of the negotiations.

Veterans of life, like yourself, often tend to perceive the world as becoming increasingly uncertain, unstable, even dangerous. You strike me as surprisingly optimistic.

You have to start with the recognition that the world is a dangerous place, and will be. Professor Alfred North Whitehead said, "It is the business of the future to be dangerous." I agree. So to say it is a dangerous world doesn't tell you anything. It's how you encounter that danger, what you do about it, how you stand up to it, what responsibility you assume: that's what makes a difference. Yes, I'm an optimist. I believe it's going to work out. □

Hanging Loose

An art exhibit's invisibility prevents a cultural crisis at the Sapporo American Center

MARJORIE SMITH

THE YOKOHAMA International School was not known for athletic prowess. The cramped campus in the city's priciest residential neighborhood allowed little room for sports, and students had to be bused through three miles of narrow, meandering lanes and alleys to the posh Yokohama Sports and Recreation Club for their physical education classes. But YIS was known in the large foreign community for its cultural accomplishments. The high school drama department presented creditable renditions of Shakespeare every year, and an American composer whose name was known to aficionados of post-serialist music led the music classes. He had persuaded the school board to purchase an impressive assemblage of synthesizers upon which he taught students of all ages the fundamentals of composition.

Then there was the art department. And Stelarc.

Stelarc was Hungarian by birth, Australian by citizenship, an avant garde artist by vocation, and a teacher by financial necessity. A small, swarthy man with masses of tangled black hair that bounced about his shoulders, he had forgotten his given name, lopped several syllables off his surname, and was known by his artist's signature: Stelarc. Close friends, his wife, and the headmaster were allowed to call him Stel.

Marjorie Smith lives in Montana, where she does free-lance writing and directs educational and amateur theater.

After her first day of classes, Kim, who was in sixth grade, announced that the best class was art because it had such a crazy teacher. This was early in her residence in Japan, before the Japanese passion for conformity had combined with her own latent tendencies to make her wary of all things bright and unconventional.

Like the music teacher, Stelarc had also persuaded the board to invest generously in his department. The fourth-floor art studio boasted, among other things, pottery wheels and a large kiln. To demonstrate its community spirit, YIS encouraged Stelarc to teach a pottery class for adults one night a week during the autumn semester.

I decided to take the course. I was now into my third year of full-time, intensive language training in less than five years and wanted something tangible in my life to balance the hours spent trying to pin down the insubstantial vagaries of language. What could be more tangible and therapeutic than kneading, rolling, and shaping clay? However, for me, pottery turned out to be like Japanese: something I wasn't nearly as good at as I intended to be. Not that Stelarc wasn't a good teacher. In the final weeks of the class, when we moved into the world of Japanese raku pottery, where natural forces have as much control over the ultimate result as the potter, I even produced a piece or two that won Stelarc's praise. But I had to admit that making pottery would not play a major part in my future.

Stelarc had mentioned that pottery was not his major pursuit in art, but I was vague as to what was. Something very modern, surely. The pottery class ended at Christmastime, and I moved on to try my hand equally ineptly at Japanese calligraphy, so I seldom saw Stelarc. Then one Saturday in early spring, at the annual YIS Parents' Day, I watched him struggle in a faculty-student tug-of-war and realized I'd missed his wild enthusiasm. Next to me, a woman missionary sniffed loudly. "It's a disgrace that this school continues to employ that man." She had already let me know that life in Yokohama was difficult for fundamentalists. The other international schools in the city were Catholic, and YIS was so determinedly secular.

"My daughter loves Stelarc," I objected. "I took a class from him and he's a fine teacher."

She turned to face me head on. "Do you know what he does in those one-man shows of his in Tokyo galleries?"

"Not exactly," I confessed.

"One man shows all!" she snorted. "He hangs himself. That is his so-called art. He is completely naked, and

he puts fishhooks through his skin and suspends himself from the ceiling; he hangs there like that, naked, and people walk around and stare at him. This he calls art!" She shuddered in a way that 19th-century novelists used to term "delicious."

My imagination provided a picture: Stelare, crucified. I wasn't sure of its artistic merit but it was certainly arresting.

"Have you seen him?" I asked.

She looked as though I had slapped her. "Of course not! But I have heard from people who have talked to people who have seen him. And what happens when the children hear? You know how the Japanese are: No laws to keep children from buying pornographic magazines from vending machines. I'm sure the galleries would be happy to let our children in to see their teacher." She was rendered speechless by her own mental image. Finally she snapped, "Those of us with a sense of moral duty must get him out of this school." I suspected that she had identified me as one without the necessary moral sense.

Later in the spring, Stelare and his wife moved to a neighborhood near ours, and I would sometimes overtake him hiking up the steep road that led to our respective subdivision. I would offer him a ride and we would chat. He was intrigued by my new job in Sapporo, where I would be going in the autumn. As director of the Sapporo American Center, would I ever put on art exhibitions? I told him that I expected I would, but that I would be limited to using American artists.

"Ah, well," Stelare said in his wonderful Australian twang, "story of my life, ain't it? The bloke who's always in the wrong country."

I gave him a ride up the hill just the week before we were to leave for Sapporo. When I let him out he said, "Say, would you like to see some of my press notices? You've never seen the sort of work I do."

"I'd love to see them," I said, remembering the missionary lady's description.

"Good-o." He leaned through the open window after he shut the car door. "I'll send a packet home with Kim and you can see what I'm really about. Don't worry about returning the stuff. I'll just send spares." He bent to pick up a fallen persimmon from the road, wiped it on his shirt, and handed it to me. "Good kid, Kim," he said. "I like her."

Amy Salganik

When I picked Kim up on her last day of school she had an armload of papers, notebook, artwork, and gym clothes balanced atop a huge transparent plastic portfolio which she handed to me. "For you from Stelare. Boy, is he ever weird!"

Obviously she had peeked into the portfolio. It held a generous collection of photographs, postcards, photocopies of newspaper articles, and critical art reviews from publications in Australia and Japan.

The missionary lady had been right. He did suspend himself from the ceiling of the gallery by means of fishline and hooks. But he didn't look like a Christ figure. He actually resembled a happy, extremely hairy, human airplane. He was suspended parallel to the floor and the hooks pulled the skin of his back, buttocks, upper arms, and calves into sharp peaks. Below this range of excruciating mountains floated Stelare, smiling serenely, his wild black hair draped down on either side of his face. Stelare had said not to worry about returning the packet. All my life I have hoarded memorabilia of wonderful, collectible characters. I took the portfolio to Sapporo, even though on moving day I was a thousand pounds overweight. When I unpacked, I tucked the Stelare materials away in my huge bedroom closet. Then, in the excitement and extreme busy-ness of my new life, I forgot all about him.

OUR SECOND AUTUMN in Sapporo, I had to make a business trip to northern Honshu. Kim was tired of being sent to stay at the consul's residence during my trips and begged for permission to stay at home, alone. I was dubious. Her Japanese was not good enough to get her through a crisis.

"Couldn't Anita stay with me? She

can handle emergencies in Japanese."

"Or Spanish, for that matter," I admitted. Anita was the daughter of my Mexican-Japanese friend, Ana Maria. She was one grade ahead of Kim at Hokkaido International School and several years ahead of her in sophistication. Recently Kim had taken to drinking black coffee, practicing Anita's savoir-faire for their next shopping trip together.

"Anita says her father would come by and drive us to school in the mornings to be sure we get there." Kim had taken care of my final doubt: Could two young teenagers get themselves up and off to school after a long night of gossip and listening to music?

"Okay," I agreed. "You can stay here. I'll let Kuroda-san know you'll be here to feed the cats."

Kuroda-san was my administrative assistant, a tiny man who looked like one of Dr. Seuss's whos, those gentle creatures from whom the Grinch stole Christmas. Kuroda-san's sense of responsibility to his job was so great that I spent much of my time trying to persuade him to stop worrying.

On the morning of October 1, as I gathered materials together for my trip to Aomori, I told Kuroda-san not to worry about the cats or anything else at the residence because Kim would be staying there with her friend Anita. Like most Japanese, Kuroda-san was scandalized by the amount of responsibility I gave my child. He nodded uneasily. "But I am afraid we must invade Kimi-chan's privacy," he said. "Naganuma-san is coming from Tokyo today for the annual inventory."

Good, I thought, I'll miss it! It was policy—or law, for all I knew—that all USIS-Japan property be inventoried on the first day of the fiscal year or as soon thereafter as humanly possible.

"We will do the property here in the center this afternoon," Kuroda-san said. "Tomorrow we will do your residence. But we will wait until Kimi-chan and her friend have gone to school so we won't disturb them." I hoped that Kimi-chan and her friend would not leave the house in such disarray that Kuroda-san's orderly Japanese mind would be disturbed.

When I returned from Aomori two days later, I came directly from the airport to the American center. Kuroda-san stood at attention as I entered the main office.

"How'd the inventory go?" I asked, to be polite.

"Fine. At first we couldn't find the second dining table but then we located it, disassembled in your bedroom closet."

I told myself this was a price I paid for free government housing and furnishings: Japanese men poking about in my closet.

The program adviser, Oue-san, the top Japanese on the staff, heard us and came to the door of his office. "The conference was a success, kancho-san?"

"It was very successful," I said.

Oue-san has the most inscrutable face of any Japanese I have ever known. Now his voice was as bland. "Mr. Kuroda was not comfortable going to your house with you gone," he said. "So I accompanied him as chaperone. If you should find anything missing, please consult me."

I went into my office to tackle my in-box. I was puzzled. Why would anything be missing? Then it occurred to me that they must be afraid Anita had taken something and that Kuroda-san would be blamed. The Japanese are generally distrustful of other people's children. The idea of inviting an unrelated teenager into one's home to babysit is incomprehensible to most Japanese.

WHEN I GOT HOME that evening, I found Kim sprawled in her favorite perch on the staircase landing, doing her homework. I lugged my suitcase past her, stepped into the bedroom, and stopped. There, covering my double bed, were the entire contents of the Stelarc portfolio, spread out so that everything could be viewed at once, innumerable photos of a small, hairy man suspended naked from the ceiling by fish-hooks in his skin.

"Kim!" My voice cracked. "Will you come here a minute?"

She joined me in the bedroom doorway. "Whoops! I forgot to put them away. I was showing them to Anita. See, I was telling Anita how different YIS was from HIS. I thought Stelarc was the best way to demonstrate."

An alarming thought was born as Kim chattered on. "When did this—uh—art exhibit take place?"

"Let me see. Last night Anita's folks took us out for dinner so we didn't even watch television in your room. It must have been the first night you were gone."

"The first night," I repeated. And the next morning, Kuroda-san, my devoted administrative assistant who was so obsessed with details he could not let a ten-yen deficit go unbalanced, along with Mr. Naganuma from the supply section in Tokyo, had come to take inventory. And spent a bit of time in my bedroom, looking for that other table. And Oue-san had been here, too! Oue-san, my wise adviser, who orchestrated the entire staff's support of me in this job. And how had they gotten here? Inoue-san, the driver, would have brought them. Inoue-san, whom I had designated staff morale officer, the gifted wheeler-dealer who could accomplish anything though his web of connections and favors. What did they think, those four Japanese men in their dignified business suits, standing in my bedroom doorway, just as I stood now? What kind of tales would Naganuma-san take back to Tokyo? How could I ever face a Japanese staff member again?

After a moment, my panic subsided. The Japanese have cultural customs for this sort of crisis. A drunken businessman throwing up on a late night commuter train is dealt with under a cultural imperative of invisibility: His plight is so embarrassing that he is unseen by the passengers around him. Surely I was covered by the same law. The photographs and clippings strewn across my bed would certainly be invisible to the Japanese. Kuroda-san and Oue-san would never say a word, even to each other. And if Inoue-san, in a state of exuberant inebriation, should someday tell other staff members what was on kancho-san's bed, at least I could be confident that no one would ever mention it to me.

I tucked the postcards and clippings into the portfolio and stashed it back in my closet. And at the Sapporo American Center, the inventory of 1981 was never mentioned again. □

PEOPLE

The Violence of Fire

By DAVID C. HUTCHINSON

You suddenly awaken in your hotel room to a crackling sound. Next, you and your spouse are startled by the high-pitched wail of your portable smoke detector. You suddenly realize that your hotel is on fire. Jumping out of bed to assess the threat, you begin to recall key phrases from safety classes you've attended: stay calm, confine the fire, protect yourself, look for escape routes. Your thoughts shift to survival, your actions aimed toward self-protection. Observing few signs of immediate danger, you dress, protect your belongings, and take steps to seal out the smoke seeping into the room around the door. Looking out the window at the same floor level, you notice a significant amount of smoke pouring from the building. Thankfully, you note the arrival of the fire department; within minutes they are raising ladders to people more directly threatened by the heat and smoke. A few more minutes pass, a ladder is placed at your balcony and a firefighter assists you and your spouse onto the ladder.

Sounds a lot like a film narrative on fire safety or a script cut from a television show, yet for Kenneth Parent and Ruth Bright, Foreign Service officers married for just eight months, it was real. On May 22, 1987, in a Paris hotel, a fire started in a utility room on the floor they were staying on, an hour and a half after midnight. "Our portable smoke detector and previous training and experience prevented a possibly life-threatening situation," Parent says. Heavy smoke damage to the hotel forced its closure for several months, but the two guests only suffered bruised feet and a brief loss of memory: "I couldn't remember how to say 'hook and ladder' in French," Parent recalls.

Parent attributes his exposure to fire safety education as key to his safety-conscious behavior. "I recall taking the 'Coping with Violence Abroad' class where basic safety rules, such as 'conceal yourself from fire' and 'avoid the smoke,' were emphasized. The fire education portion of the program has vital safety information for each of us. I'll attend again to keep myself prepared."

The Foreign Building Operation's fire-protection program stresses personal preparedness in its presentation during the seminar. Fire-education officers continually emphasize that during a threatening situation, survival can depend on preparedness. In many cases the threat of fire abroad is compounded by practices and conditions at overseas facilities. Among the problems are substandard electrical service, a lack of fire and building codes, improper use of inflammable liquids and heating devices, and, in some locations, minimal or non-existent fire department protection. Though much is being done to address these deficiencies, the vital link to fire safety is individual education in fire prevention and emergency action.

Establishing a personal safety plan is the first step to minimizing the risks. A plan must be continually evaluated and updated, however. Changes in residence, work assignment, and travel all create new problems. Take advantage of programs designed to increase your knowledge of fire hazards, and then regularly practice escape techniques, using portable extinguishers, maintaining smoke detectors, and most of all, identifying potential fire sources.

Fire is violent, at home and abroad. It can strike anyone, anywhere, at any time. Personal preparedness and fire-safe behavior are the best measures to minimize this threat, to you, your family, and your coworkers.

David C. Hutchinson is a fire education officer with the Office of Foreign Building Operations.

Deaths

ARCHIE DAVIS, who spent 35 years with USIA, died January 22 in Fairfax, Virginia. He was 69.

Mr. Davis was born in Great Britain and was raised in Scranton, Pennsylvania. During his career with USIA, Mr. Davis's overseas assignments included posts in Egypt, Greece, Turkey, and Bangladesh. He was also an area personnel officer for the Near East and South Asia Bureau.

Survivors include his wife, Lillian, of Annandale, Virginia; two sons, James, of Forest Heights, Maryland, and Mark, of Herndon, Virginia; two daughters, Megan Droegemeyer, of Bowie, Maryland, and Nancy Davis, of Annandale, Virginia; two sisters; and four grandchildren.

GORDON O. FRASER, a former assistant administrator with the Foreign Agricultural Service, died of cancer December 3 in Irvine, California. He was 70.

Mr. Fraser was born in Moro, Oregon. He was graduated from Oregon State University and received a master's degree from Purdue University. During World War II, he was an artillery officer in North Africa and Europe and attained the rank of major. He later served with the occupational forces in Europe.

After the war, he joined the Foreign Service as agricultural attaché in Bonn. Mr. Fraser transferred to the Foreign Agricultural Service when it was formed in 1953. In the late 1950s, he was secretary general of the International Wheat Council in London. He also served in Washington and Jakarta before retiring in 1982.

Survivors include his wife, Mariyati Fraser, of Garden Grove, California; three sons by his first marriage, Richard Fraser of New Berlin, Wisconsin, Steven Fraser of Columbus, Ohio, and Gordon Fraser Jr. of San Bernardino, California; his mother; and two brothers.

SPENCER KING, a former ambassador to Guyana and member of the AFSA Governing Board, died January 20 from a heart attack in Washington, D.C. He was 70.

Mr. King was born in San Juan, Puerto Rico, and was graduated from Yale University. He later studied economics at the University of Chicago. During World War II, he served in the Army in the Pacific and received the Silver Star.

Mr. King joined the Foreign Service in 1946 and served for two years in Bolivia, then transferred to Washington in 1948. From 1951–54, he was chief of the economic and political sections at the embassy in Prague. After several assignments in Wash-

ington in the late '50s, Mr. King was posted to Ecuador and the Dominican Republic in the early '60s. He was deputy inspector general of the Inspection Corps before being named ambassador to Guyana in 1969. He retired in 1974.

Mr. King was a retired representative on the AFSA Governing Board and was a member of Diplomatic and Consular Officers, Retired.

Survivors include his wife, Josephine, of Washington, D.C. and two stepsons, Sheldon Smith, of La Crosse, Wisconsin, and Richard Smith, of Sandy Spring, Maryland.

KNOX LAMB, a retired Foreign Service officer, died December 9 in Denver, Colorado. He was 85.

Mr. Lamb was graduated from Vanderbilt Law School and practiced law in Mississippi before World War II. During the war he served in India and Northern Burma as a major in the Army air corps. Later he was a prosecutor at the Nuremberg war crimes trials.

After the war, Mr. Lamb remained in Germany to serve on the U.S. occupation courts, and as general counsel for the U.S. High Commissioner. He later became principal officer at the consulates in Barbados, West Indies, and Brisbane, Australia.

Mr. Lamb is survived by his wife, Jacqueline Alward Lamb, of Denver, his son Alan Lamb, of Rochester New York, his daughter, Corinne A. Lamb, of Denver, his sister, Elginia L. Jones, of Coffeeville, Mississippi, and one grandson.

ALAN M.G. LITTLE, a retired official of the Foreign Service Institute, died November 22 in Washington, D.C. He was 86.

Mr. Little earned his bachelor's and master's degrees from Cambridge University in his native Great Britain. He came to this country in the late 1920s and earned a doctorate in classical languages and literature at Yale University. He later taught at Yale and Harvard universities before serving with the Office of Strategic Services in World War II.

Mr. Little joined the State Department in 1945, and was a press attaché at our embassy in Moscow from 1946–49. He then became a professor at the Foreign Service Institute. He retired from FSI in 1964 after serving since 1958 as a department head in its school of foreign affairs.

He was also the author of a book entitled *Myth and Society in Attic Drama*, and articles on the subject of Roman painting. Mr. Little received an award from the Italian government for his cultural work.

He is survived by his wife, the former Catherine Corson, of Washington, D.C.

F O R E I G N

EXCHANGE

REAL ESTATE

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DOMESTIC POSTINGS

Your guide to Real Estate services in the Washington Area

Notes on Real Estate

By Dorothy Clunan

Under the new tax law, if you purchase another personal residence of equal or greater cost within two years before or after the sale of your present personal residence, you may still defer the gain made on the sale. For those overseas at the time of the sale, or shortly thereafter, the period may be extended to four years.

To minimize the amount of taxable gain on the sale of your home you should keep the following records:

- the settlement costs on the purchase of the home;
- costs of capital and partial improvements, e.g., additions, replacement of an appliance with one of superior quality, installation of deadbolts, etc.;
- costs for the exact three months prior to the date of a signed sales contract that settles for fixing up the house, e.g., repairs, cleaning rugs, painting;
- selling costs, e.g., real estate commissions, legal and recording fees, loan points paid for the purchaser.

Careful record keeping of these items can substantially reduce the taxable gain on the sale of your home. This is especially worth doing for those who wish to buy a house for less than the sales price of your present residence. Consult your tax adviser or write to me for further information or help in selling or buying property.

AFSA NEWS

Negotiations near end on obstetrics

Negotiations are nearing completion on a State Department proposal to establish a new policy governing obstetrical medical evacuations. Management originally proposed these changes in January 1987 but withdrew the proposal several weeks later. The proposal—which would allow obstetrical patients to evacuate to the continental United States during the final trimester of pregnancy—has since re-surfaced, and an agreement should be signed shortly.

AFSA believes that the department's proposal is an improvement over current policy, which calls for delivery overseas whenever possible. The wording of the proposal, however, leaves several important questions unanswered, and AFSA has attempted to clarify these points during the course of negotiations.

AFSA was concerned, for example, that the proposal could prevent patients from electing the option of overseas delivery should they prefer not to return home to the United States. The Association has obtained assurances that patients will not be denied this option, and is seeking similar assurances regarding the payment of per diem and medical expenses during obstetrical medical evacuation.

Professional issues coordinator added to staff

Richard S. Thompson has been hired to be AFSA's first professional issues coordinator, the Governing Board has announced. The new position reflects the board's renewed emphasis on issues of concern to the profession beyond labor-management relations.

Dick is a retired officer who joined the Service in 1960. A graduate of Washington State University who has also studied at Oxford University and Georgetown University, Thompson has served in Aruba, Curacao, Niger, Saigon, Paris, and Algiers. His Washington assignments include a tour with ACDA, planning officer in the East Asia bureau, and desk officer for Ireland, Sweden, and Greece. He most recently was deputy director of the Office of Regional Political Programs in the Latin America bureau.

If you move, please report new address

If you're moving, let AFSA know. Often, it is assumed that your agency will notify us when you move from one post to the next, or back to Washington. Unfortunately, this is not the case.

Changes of address can be made by writing to the address at the bottom of the masthead on page 3 of each issue, using the coupon that will appear in most issues, or using the address change station in the Foreign Service Lounge.

Shankle cites importance of diplomatic security in speech

"Our security is vital. We must have security to do our jobs. Our lives and secrets are at stake," said AFSA President Perry Shankle in a speech before dozens of diplomatic security officers on Security Awareness Day at the State Department last January. "I know this, and this is AFSA's position," Shankle continued, "and anyone who suggests differently is playing with the truth."

The AFSA president has also stressed the importance of security while defending the work of the State Department's security officials in other forums. In regard to the allegations that laxity by State officials contributed to problems at our new and old Moscow embassies—allegations found to be largely unwarranted according to two government reports and numerous press accounts; see the AFSA VIEWS section for details—he told a Washington newspaper that "it was amazing how quickly people got on the band wagon to sneer at the professionalism and competence of the Foreign Service. People could hardly wait to get into print or on the news to say how dumb the State Department was."

At Security Awareness Day, Shankle stressed the role of Security in the diplomatic corps by saying, "The Foreign Service is proud of you and I am sure you are proud to be part of the Foreign Service. We have pride in what we do and we do it well."

State and those cutbacks: A quote without comment

The following is excerpted from an article in the January 16 issue of the *National Journal*:

"Ronald I. Spiers, a career Foreign Service officer and under secretary of state for management, sees a smaller Foreign Service as the inevitable effect of continued budget woes. 'The United States has got to get its deficit under control, and there's no way of exempting the Department of State,' he said in an interview. 'We have to cut down on the demand for our work so we can draw down our work force—we have to retailor the institution....We've got to identify our most important functions and staff them adequately.'...

"At one point in the [1987 congressional] budget summit, [congressional sources said], there was talk of funneling an additional $150 million to State for 1988, a move that would have clearly taken the pressure off. But Shultz and other officials rejected this is the belief that the pressure of a tight budget was needed to pave the way for reforms later this year and next.

"Instead, the $150 million was earmarked to help make up the U.S. payment to the United Nations, which is in arrears."

State Standing Committee
Whose Foreign Service is It?

By Evangeline Monroe, State Vice President

In an old French film, the name of which I have long forgotten, Yves Montand, who plays a police detective, asks Simone Signoret, "And what does a minor bureaucrat look like?" Simone Signoret, with that cynical, worldly look in which she excelled, smiled, shrugged and proceeded to describe the police detective. A minor bureaucrat was somewhat tired looking, modestly dressed, and his trousers were shiny. I know some who would like to think of the members of the Foreign Service in the same way. That school of thought would grant the Foreign Service job security but cap most grades at the GS-12 level, thus saving the top jobs and grades for the political appointees. Unthinkable at first blush, the notion seems less far fetched as we reflect on the Service's declining role abroad. Following that logic, we should be preparing to satisfy a new mandate—caretaker and coordinator for an array of domestic agencies pursuing real or imagined international agendas.

Recently Secretary Shultz described the entering class of Foreign Service officers as the "top cream." Yet ten years from now, if experience is any guide, some of those bright young officers will be referred to as "turkeys," and in 20 years half of them will be "dead wood"—an impressive organizational accomplishment.

Where will all the promise go? What is there about our value structure that will squander so much potential? How constructive are the attitudes and behavior of the single-minded careerist pursuing a carefully charted road to an embassy; the political appointee who insists on hand picking his staff to meet the exigencies of a private agenda; or, even more inexplicable, the career principal who so mistrusts his or her own Service that he also insists on hand picking his associates. What about those who view the Service as a fungible pool of resources from which a super elite—a few good men for the secretary—will emerge? (How we recognize that elite is another compelling issue.)

Many of us are concerned about these Service realities. Many of us wonder how so many anti-institutional impulses and pressures can lead to a healthy Service with recognizable professional goals.

How do we create an image? In part we do it by the personnel policies we develop and tolerate. Promotion and evaluation policies can favor one group over another, reward the safe and penalize the daring, and turn us into a service of punctilious androids. Our image suffers through neglect and lack of understanding. If we do not know what the Service represents, if we have not taken a good look at ourselves, we cannot expect Congress or the public to fill in the blanks.

Several ongoing activities will help influence the future Foreign Service and determine whose vision of the Foreign Service will prevail.

■The decisions of the Grove steering group will reduce the size of the Service, slow promotions, and reallocate resources;

■The new studies of the Foreign Service mandated by the State Authorization bill may influence the new administration;

■The precepts for promotion which are currently being negotiated by AFSA's State Standing Committee will determine whether people try to mold their careers along specialist or generalist lines; and

■The open assignments system will operate on several levels of fiction and reality.

Some of our members will respond to the need to help devise a credo that will give the Foreign Service a clearer sense of identity. Others will try to influence the decisions of the steering group, express opinions on promotion precepts, or simply try to survive the next round of assignments. Those who participate will help answer the question, "Whose Foreign Service is it?" Those who do not should not be surprised at the "new Foreign Service."

The physical state of State

By the time some of our members are transferred back to the department the physical state of State may have improved, but we doubt it. The following are some of the problems in our work place:

■Restrooms are dirty since they are scheduled to be cleaned once a day but the schedules are not adhered to;

■Trash and unclaimed furniture are left uncollected in the hallways;

■The escalators between the second and first floor near the cafeteria do not function;

■Trash is hauled in the passenger elevators, and they are frequently out of service;

■The shuttle bus between Rosslyn and the department runs only every half hour, forcing employees to waste up to one and a half hours in travel time (or more if the shuttle is full) when they have business across the river; and

■Offices are erratically heated, sometimes as high as 85 degrees.

The difference between the seventh floor offices and the rest of the department is as shocking as the transition between Grosse Pointe and Detroit. Even in a period of budgetary restrictions, we not not agree that the department should be turned into a slum. We know that many of our members work overseas in equally distressing conditions, but then this is not a third world country.

Changes proposed in precepts

The State Department's promotion precepts have followed the same general outline since 1978, with major changes occurring only after the passage of the Foreign Service Act in 1980 and the introduction of the multifunctional promotion program in 1986. As a result, AFSA's State Standing Committee has decided to review the precepts in their entirety this year. The Association has cabled the field to obtain input on the precepts, soliciting comments on management's proposed revisions and suggestions regarding possible AFSA proposals.

Significant management proposals include the following:

■All FS-1 generalists who have requested senior threshold review would compete both in a multifunctional competition group and within their cone. They would not have to elect to compete in one category or the other;

■Qualified officers at the FS-2, FS-1, and Senior Foreign Service levels could apply forpromotion in a separate generalist occupational category for science and technology officers;

■Selection boards could criticize review panels for failing to make reports which do not comply with regulations and instructions concerning Employee Evaluation Reports and instructions. In such cases, the official performance folder of the chairperson of the review panel would be documented; and

■Secretaries appointed or promoted to class FS-4 prior to last July, but who are ineligible for promotion, could be considered for a merit within-grade increase.

AFSA is still reviewing the input from the field on management's proposals, but one trend is already clear: employees overwhelmingly oppose the proposal allowing selection boards to criticize review panels. Reaction has also been negative regarding an on whether AFSA should recommend that promotion across the senior threshold be made without regard to cone or multifunctional consideration; most oppose class-wide competition for entry into the Senior Foreign Service.

How to request repayment waiver of mistaken annuities

During the past year AFSA received several requests for assistance from retirees who had been notified by the State Department that their annuities were being reduced. The reason: The annuity had been miscalculated by State, resulting in overpayment. In many instances the annuitant was informed that he or she had to repay the erroneous amount—in one case more than $20,000.

The reaction from retirees receiving such notification is usually shocked disbelief followed by righteous indignation. Attempts to call the Retirement Accounts Division are frequently met only with a busy signal; letters result in delayed or no responses.

AFSA has found that few retirees know that specific procedures for requesting a waiver for repayment exist, or are unclear on the procedures to follow. The following are some general guidelines for annuitants who either suspect overpayment or have received notification from the department:

Retirees who become aware of an overpayment relating to their annuity should immediately write the department to inform it of the problem. This act of good faith will help if State seeks repayment. When the department discovers on its own an overpayment, which may occur years later, a letter to the retiree will go out stating its intention to reclaim the excess. Either way, it will be helpful to know the procedures for filing a waiver of overpayment and appealing a negative decision.

When an overpayment is discovered, either by the retiree or the department, the Office of Finance sends the annuitant a detailed written notification spelling out specific aspects of the case and outlining the process of appeal. If the annuitant disputes the department's claim or requests a waiver of overpayment, the comptroller's office then prepares an administrative file on the case. On the basis of the file and on any comments and documents solicited from the annuitant, the comptroller will make a finding. If the retiree is denied a waiver, the case can be appealed before the Foreign Service Grievance Board. Decisions of the board are final.

The department's waiver of overpayment decisions may be based primarily on the following criteria:

■No Fault: Clear and convincing evidence that the annuitant did not cause, or was otherwise responsible, for the overpayment. This includes evidence that the annuitant did not provide incorrect information; did not know that the payment was erroneous; did not withhold material facts or could have determined that the payment was erroneous; and

■Equity and Good Conscience: Waiver of overpayment may be granted where the individual consistently acted in good faith or where as a result of the overpayment the individual "relinquished a valuable right or changed his or her position for the worse."

AFSA is unaware, however, of cases where a favorable decision was reached by the department even where the above criteria applied. Annuitants may have a better chance on appeal to the Foreign Service Grievance Board.

Retirees who have annuity questions or problems or want copies of the applicable regulations should contact Neal M. Callander in AFSA's Member Services Department.

Professional Issues
An Initial Agenda

By Richard S. Thompson, Coordinator

I am delighted to join AFSA as the first person to hold the position of professional issues coordinator, designed to enhance AFSA's role in the professional arena. Current top priorities are:

■Strengthening the AFSA Awards Program in support of Awards Committee Chairman Bruce Laingen. The number of nominations already received considerably exceeds last year's total. An important part of this effort will be to ensure an impressive awards ceremony; one way to accomplish this, currently under discussion, would be to present the awards as part of Foreign Service Day activities on May 6;

■Organizing the role of AFSA in Foreign Service Day, including the Memorial Plaque Ceremony, which honors those who died in their country's service, and the traditional Saturday brunch;

■Publishing a profiles-in-courage booklet that will remind us of the tradition of sacrifice in the Foreign Service and can also be used with various audiences to enhance awareness of the Service. Anyone who can write an item or knows of an incident worthy of inclusion is encouraged to contact the professional issues coordinator;

■Organizing a series of discussion groups on professional issues;

■Canvassing all AFSA members in the Washington area, including retirees and associate members, to establish a list of those who would be willing to take part in activities directed at their senators and representatives. It will be especially valuable to develop links with members of Congress outside the Washington area;

■Assisting AFSA staff member Robert Beers, a fellow retiree, in organizing support for the Foreign Service among retirees who are willing to help educate their local neighbors, the media, and congressional representatives about the Foreign Service; and

■Compiling papers on Foreign Service issues that can be used with congressional contacts and the media to clarify the contribution of the Foreign Service to the defense of U.S. interests.

Comments from the membership on professional issues to be addressed, and methods of addressing them, will be most appreciated. I will attempt to address some of those concerns in future issues.

Action Fund total tops $15,000

AFSA's Legislative/Legal Action Fund collected $15,000 from 175 donors in its first two months. The money will fund a coordinated campaign to enlist greater support and understanding of the Foreign Service and to ensure that management's reorganization efforts to not weaken the Service.

The names listed below are those of all donors from mid-December till mid-January. AFSA thanks you. All donors will be listed except for those who wish to remain anonymous. If you have not given to the fund, please make donations to:

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1987 Foreign Service Tax Guide—II

By David Cohen, Member Services Representative

State taxes on pensions and annuities

While the new tax law has not changed how individual states tax Foreign Service annuities, the tax levels nonetheless do vary from state to state. In addition to the 11 states with no income tax or no tax on personal income, there are four states that do not tax income derived from Civil and Foreign Service pensions and annuities.

Unfortunately, there are also four states—Alabama, Iowa, Kansas, and North Dakota—that currently tax Foreign Service annuities while exempting those of the Civil Service. For the past two years, AFSA's legal staff has corresponded with officials and retired members in each of these states, lobbying for legislation that will redress this unequal treatment.

All of the other states tax Foreign Service and Civil Service annuities and pensions to various degrees. There is no indication at this time that conversion to the new Foreign Service retirement fund will have any effect on taxation of Foreign Service pensions and annuities by individual states.

The following list provides an overview of the latest information available on Foreign Service annuities and State income tax exemptions and the amount of exemptions.

Alabama: Fully taxable.

Alaska: No personal income tax.

Arizona: $2500.

Arkansas: $6000.

California: Fully taxable.

Colorado: $20,000.

Connecticut: No personal income tax.

Delaware: Two exclusions. (1) $2000 if earned income is less than $2500 and Adjusted Gross Income is under $10,000; if filing jointly, $4000 if earned income is less than $5,000 and AGI is under $20,000. This is applicable if 60 years or older or totally disabled. (2) Amounts received as pension exempted up to $2,000.

District of Columbia: $3000 for 62 years and older for federal and district retirees.

Florida: No personal income tax.

Georgia: $4000 for 62 years and older and permanently or totally disabled.

Hawaii: Full exemption.

Idaho: $9120, single return; $13,680, joint return; $9120, unmarried survivor of annuitant. Must be 65 years or older, or 62 years or older and disabled. Amounts reduced by Social Security benefits.

Illinois: Full exemption.

Indiana: $2000 exemption if 62 years or older. Amounts reduced by Social Security benefits.

Iowa: Fully taxable.

Kansas: Fully taxable.

Kentucky: Retirement annuities from a federal retirement system excluded from gross income for persons 50 years or older subject to the following limitations of earned income and maximum annuity exclusion: $3000 or less, $4000 excluded; $3001 to $4000, $3000 excluded; $4001 to $5000, $2000 excluded; $5001 to $6000, $1000 excluded; over $6000, no exclusion.

Louisiana: $6000 if 65 years or older.

Maine: Fully taxable.

Maryland: Exclusion if 65 years or older, or if totally or permanently disabled. Amounts reduced by Social Security benefits.

Massachusetts: Full exemption.

Michigan: $7500, single return; $10,000, joint return.

Minnesota: Fully taxable.

Mississippi: $5000. An additional $1500 for 65 years or older.

Missouri: Fully taxable.

Montana: $3600.

Nebraska: Fully taxable.

Nevada: No personal income tax.

New Hampshire: No personal income tax.

New Jersey: If 62 years or older, $7500 single return. $5000 if married and filing separately. $10,000, joint return. Additional amounts ($3000, single or married but filing separately; $6000, joint) can be deducted if ineligible for Social Security.

New Mexico: $3000 if under 65 years of age. $6000 if 65 years or older within specific income limits.

New York: $20,000 if 59-1/2 years or older.

North Carolina: $3000.

North Dakota: Fully taxable.

Ohio: Retirement income credit in graduated amounts ranging from $0 if yearly annuity is less than $500 to $200 credit for annual annuities exceeding $8000. In addition, there is a $50 tax credit against total tax liability if 65 years or older.

Oklahoma: $4000.

Oregon: $5000 until income reaches $30,000; then the exemption phases out $1 for $1 until $35,000, after which there is no exemption.

Pennsylvania: Full exemption.

Puerto Rico: $2500 if under 60 years of age. $4,000 if 60 years or older.

Rhode Island: Fully taxable.

South Carolina: $3000.

South Dakota: No personal income tax.

Tennessee: No personal income tax.

Texas: No personal income tax.

Utah: $4800 if under 65 years of age. $6000 if 65 years or older.

Vermont: Fully taxable.

Virginia: All taxpayers 62 years or older get a tax credit of 5 percent of the following base amounts: $7560 at age 62; $8580 at age 64; $8028 at age 63; $9120 at age 65. The base amounts are reduced by Social Security benefits and further reduced by twice the amount of federal AGI in excess of $12,000 computed separately for husband and wife. Tax credit unavailable to persons whose federal AGI is $16,560 or more.

Washington: No personal income tax.

West Virginia: Fully taxable.

Wisconsin: Fully taxable.

Wyoming: No personal income tax.

State income tax provisions

Many Foreign Service employees posted overseas have questions about their liability to pay state income tax. Foreign Service personnel must continue to pay taxes to their state of domicile or the District of Columbia while residing outside the state or the District, including assignment abroad.

Domicile is your permanent, legal home in one of the 50 states or the District. Typically, it is the state from where you entered the Foreign Service; where your parents may still reside; where you are registered to vote; where you may own some property or investments; where you bank; where you have been paying state income tax; and where you intend to return after leaving government service.

Many state income tax forms define residents who are liable for taxes. There are usually two categories of residents: those who are domiciled in the specific state, and those who are living in the specific state (usually, at least six months of the year) who are not domiciled there. A nonresident is, according to most states' definitions, an individual who earns income or interest in the specific state but does not live there or is living there for part of the year (usually, less than six months of the year). You are a resident if you are living in a specific state even if you are a domiciliary of another state to which you pay taxes.

In addition to paying tax to their state of domicile, Foreign Service employees residing in the metropolitan Washington area are also required to pay income tax to either the District, Maryland or Virginia. However, most states allow a credit so that you only pay the higher tax rate of the two states, with each state receiving a share. California specifically exempts all Foreign Serv-

ice domiciliaries from state income taxation if they reside outside the state. [Please refer to the next section for further information concerning the District and California.)

Currently there are seven states with no state income tax: Alaska, Florida, Nevada, South Dakota, Texas, Washington, and Wyoming.

In addition, the following states have no income tax on personal income but do tax profits from the sale of bonds and property: Connecticut, New Hampshire, and Tennessee.

There are also six states which under certain conditions do not tax income earned outside of the state: Missouri, New Jersey, New York, Oregon, Pennsylvania, and West Virginia. Please note that these states require the filing of non-resident returns for all income earned from in-state sources.

The following list gives a state by state overview of the latest information available on tax liability. For more specific information contact AFSA's Member Services Department.

Alabama: State income tax on all sources of income.

Alaska: No state income tax.

Arizona: State income tax on all sources of income.

Arkansas: State income tax on all sources of income.

California: Exempts career Foreign Service members living outside California from taxes on out-of-state income. No filing is required. Personnel with California-source income must file form 540 NR. The exclusion is currently under review; see next section.

Colorado: State income tax on all sources of income.

Connecticut: No personal income tax but tax liability on profits from in-state sources including the sale of property and bonds.

Delaware: State income tax on all sources of income.

District of Columbia: State income tax on all sources of income.

Florida: No state income tax.

Georgia: State income tax on all sources of income.

Hawaii: State income tax on all sources of income.

Idaho: State income tax on all sources of income.

Illinois: State income tax on all sources of income.

Indiana: State income tax on all sources of income.

Iowa: State income tax on all sources of income.

Kansas: State income tax on all sources of income.

Kentucky: State income tax on all sources of income.

Louisiana: State income tax on all sources of income.

Maine: State income tax on all sources of income.

Maryland: State income tax on all sources of income.

Massachusetts: State income tax on all sources of income.

Michigan: State income tax on all sources of income.

Minnesota: State income tax on all sources of income.

Mississippi: State income tax on all sources of income.

Missouri: No tax liability for out of state income if the individual has no permanent residence in Missouri, has a permanent residence elsewhere, and is not physically present in the state for more than 30 days during the tax year. Must file a return yearly and attach an affidavit of non-residency. Filing also required on Form 40, Schedule NRI, for income of more than $600 from Missouri sources.

Montana: State income tax on all sources of income.

Nebraska: State income tax on all sources of income.

Nevada: No state income tax.

New Hampshire: No personal income tax, but tax liability on profits from in-state sources, including the sale of property and bonds.

New Jersey: No tax liability for out-of-state income if the individual has a permanent residence elsewhere and is not physically in the state for more than 30 days during the tax year. Not required to file a return, but recommended to in order to preserve domicile status. Filing is required on form 1040 NR for revenue derived from New Jersey sources.

New Mexico: State income tax on all sources of income.

New York: No tax liability for out-of-state income if the individual has no permanent residence in New York, has a permanent residence elsewhere, and is not present in the state for more than 30 days during the tax year. Not required to file a return, but recommended to preserve domicile status. Filing is required on Form IT-203-I, or IT-203-P or revenue derived from New York sources.

North Carolina: State income tax on all sources of income.

North Dakota: State income tax on all sources of income.

Ohio: State income tax on all sources of income.

Oklahoma: State income tax on all sources of income.

Oregon: No tax liability for out-of-state income if the individual has no permanent residence in Oregon, has a permanent residence elsewhere, and is not physically present in the state for more than 31 days during the tax year. Not required to file a return but recommended to preserve domicile status. Filing is required on Form 40 NR for income derived form Oregon sources.

Pennsylvania: No tax liability for out-of-state income if the individual has no permanent residence in the state, has a permanent residence elsewhere, and spends no more than 30 days in the state during the tax year. Not required to file a returned but recommended to preserve domicile status. Filing is required on Form PA-40 NR for all income derived from Pennsylvania sources.

Rhode Island: State income tax on all sources of income.

South Carolina: State income tax on all sources of income.

South Dakota: No state income tax.

Tennessee: No personal income tax, but tax liability on profits from in-state sources, including sale of property and bonds. Texas: No state income tax.

Utah: State income tax on all sources of income.

Vermont: State income tax on all sources of income.

Virginia: State income tax on all sources of income.

Washington: No state income tax.

West Virginia: No tax liability for out-of state income if the individual has no permanent residence in West Virginia, has a permanent residence elsewhere, and spends no more than 30 days of the tax year in West Virginia. Not required to file a return but recommended to preserve domicile. Filing is required on Form IT-140 NR for all income derived from West Virginia sources.

Wisconsin: State income tax on all sources of income.

Wyoming: No state income tax.

Exclusion prohibited in D.C., possibly California

Section 179 of the State Department authorization act for fiscal years 1988 and 1989 amends the Foreign Service Act to make career members ineligible for District of Columbia or other state income tax exemptions on the basis of serving in an appointment whose tenure is at the pleasure of the president. The amendment was introduced by Senator Jesse Helms (R.-North Carolina). It takes effect in the current tax year.

Although District law exempts elected officials of the federal government, employees on the staff of an elected officer in the legislative branch, and other executive branch officers subject to Senate confirmation from income taxation, Foreign Service members were the only group to have their exemption repealed.

AFSA fought the amendment during congressional consideration of the State authorization bill and is currently examining whether a legal challenge to the amendment is possible.

Previously, commissioned Foreign Service officers were exempt from District income tax if they resided in the District but maintained a U.S. domicile elsewhere. (They were and are liable for any income tax imposed by their state of domicile). Because of the workding of the California law, the measure appears not to affect Foreign Service officers domiciled in California, the only other state which has a specific exclusion from income tax for all Foreign Service personnel whose legal residence is in California.

The text of the legislation reads as follows. "Section 301(d)(3) of the Foreign Service Act of 1980 is amended by adding at the end thereof 'Foreign Service employees serving as career candidates or career members of the Service shall not represent to the income tax authorities of the District of Columbia or any other state or locality that

they are exempt from income taxation on the basis of serving in an appointment subject to Senate confirmation or that they are exempt on the basis of serving in an appointment whose tenure is at the pleasure of the president."

Those affected should immediately contact their personal tax advisers and their payroll technician to inquire about tax withholding procedures.

Favorable ruling on OREs

AFSA has received a favorable ruling from the Internal Revenue Service that will enable officers to receive full credit under the new tax law for official residence expenses. The ruling was necessitated by the State Department's refusal to exclude the mandatory five-percent salary deduction for the ORES from employees' gross income on the W-2 form for the 1987 tax year.

In 1984 the IRS issued Revenue Ruling 84-86, which mandated the exclusion. The department's refusal to go along with the ruling did not matter until changes in the tax law eliminated a full credit for employee business expenses. Under the new law these expenses must be itemized, only 80 percent is deductible and only to the extent they exceed two percent of adjusted gross income. In dollars and cents this means that an eligible employee with gross income of $60,000 and adjusted gross income of $55,000 can only deduct $1300 for a $3000 ORE contribution.

Back in 1986, AFSA had asked the department to change its payroll procedures and W-2 reporting in compliance with the IRS ruling. Last summer we were informed that for budgetary reasons State would be unable to comply until the 1988 tax year.

To ensure that affected officers would not be disadvantaged for the 1987 tax year, AFSA requested the IRS issue an informal ruling, permitting eligible officers to deduct from gross wages the amount withheld for ORE contributions.

"If the employee is not furnished a correct W-2," the IRS has responded, "then we would suggest that when the employee files his or her 1987 return, the employee should attach an explanatory note explaining why the amount of wages shown on the form W-2 is incorrect and why any adjustment was made on the form 1040 (or 1040A or 1040EZ) for the exclusion claimed from income by the employee. It may also be helpful to attach a copy of Revenue Ruling 84-86 and a copy of the letter from the employer which allegedly indicates that the employer is including incorrect information on the forms W-2."

Copies of the IRS letter and the ruling may be requested from AFSA in Room 3644, State, telephone (202)647-8160. We suggest that affected members obtain a statement from their post or bureau certifying officer indicating what amounts were withheld from salary in 1987 for mandatory ORE contributions.

DC-VA-MD: A taxing question

Members frequently contact AFSA for advice on where in the Washington area they should purchase a residence. Important factors to consider when choosing a local jurisdiction include school systems, proximity to work, public transportation, state and county services, and the tax rate (which varies considerably not only between states but between counties).

Recent reports indicate that families in Alexandria and the district paid far higher amounts in state and local taxes at all income levels last year than elsewhere in the metropolitan area. The tax burden in Arlington County, on the other hand, was among the area's lowest. The county had the lowest property tax rate in the metro area (when adjusted for average assessment levels), while Prince William County and Alexandria had the highest. In the district, income and sales taxes are high, while the effective tax rate on residential property is rather modest.

The reports, which factored in income, real estate, sales, and automobile taxes, also indicated that the tax burden in the district is fairly high compared with 50 other large cities, but not as great as that of several, including New York and Philadelphia.

The studies, conducted by the D.C. Department of Finance and Revenue, are based on hypothetical dual-income families of four at income levels ranging from $20,000 to $100,000 a year. The families also own their homes.

The divergence of tax assessments increased progressively with family income in each of the counties. For example, a family of four with an income of $35,000 a year paid $3678 in state and local taxes in Alexandria, $3565 in the district, and $2849 in Arlington. In comparison, a similar family with a $100,000 income paid $11,546 in taxes in the district but about $3000 less in Arlington and about $2000 less in Montgomery, Prince Georges, and Fairfax.

Due to cuts in federal income taxes that take place this year, income tax rates and deductions for the district, Maryland, and Virginia have undergone major changes. It is expectged that the changes will lower the tax burden for both low and high-income families, but may result in increased taxes for the middle class.

Questions on taxes may be addressed to the Member Services Department.

FSI reimbursement snafu untangled by AFSA action

AFSA recently assisted a State Department employee who had not been paid $155 for a work-related correspondence course for which the State Department should have provided reimbursement. The employee had submitted the paperwork and received the necessary approval more than three years earlier.

After investigation, AFSA discovered a severe backlog in processing education reimbursement claims. The department official in charge of the area admitted to delays of at least 18 months.

AFSA will monitor this problem and insist that the department catch up on its processing as soon as possible.

State refuses cables on membership

State Department management recently refused to transmit 15 AFSA cables relaying basic membership information to various posts. As a result, AFSA is greatly hampered in its ability to provide timely responses to post queries on how to join the organization, change addresses, obtain membership benefits, etc.

In response to recent requests for membership lists and dues information, the Membership Department attempted to prepare the cables transmitting the requested information by use of the department's telecommunication system. In refusing to transmit the cables, the department contended that the cables dealt with "internal union business" and were not permitted under the collective-bargaining agreement between AFSA and State.

A recent Federal Labor Relations Authority decision (FSRA No. 101 1986) found that a union must be able to communicate with bargaining unit members if it is to adequately represent them. Given the delays that are endemic to the use of air pouch facilities, the department's refusal to transmit membership information via cable severely restricts AFSA's access to its membership. In many instances the Membership Department receives angry follow-up cables from posts complaining that the information that was requested has not been received. Unfortunately, membership information can take up to six weeks to reach the post by pouch. By this time, some of the information is out of date and unacceptable.

Post representatives should be aware of these problems when requesting information. In no way should this problem affect the amount of information relayed to and from the post. Post representatives and members are encouraged to notify the Membership Department of all address and membership status changes, and we will respond promptly by APO/FPO, international air mail, or air pouch until the full use of cables is reinstated.

TRUE GRIT

Can you write the great American tale of courage in the Foreign Service? Do you know of someone who has exhibited fortitude, dedication, and bravery in the course of his or her duties? Then you can help AFSA get the true image of the Foreign Service across to the American people.

We are compiling brief articles describing acts of courage by Foreign Service employees and their families as a part of the Foreign Service Day activities. We will print the best of these accounts in a publication to be issued on that day (May 6). This volume will serve to reinforce our sense of dedication and, at the same time, increase public awareness of the Service's contribution to our country's interests.

AFSA members—or anyone else in a position to know—are encouraged to write a brief account of valor demonstrated by Foreign Service members or their families *during the past ten years*. This may be the immediate physical courage demonstrated in a dangerous situation, or the type of fortitude needed to persevere and perform beyond the call of duty in adversity.

If you are aware of an incident or situation worthy of inclusion but you do not have all the facts or lack the time to draft it let us know about it, including the names of individuals familiar with it, and AFSA will attempt to find a way to get an article written.

Contributions or information about situations worthy of inclusion should be sent to:

Professional Issues Coordinator,
AFSA, 2101 E Street NW
Washington, D.C. 20037
Telephone queries are also welcome (202)338-4045.

To permit publication by May 6
manuscripts should be received by April 1.

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