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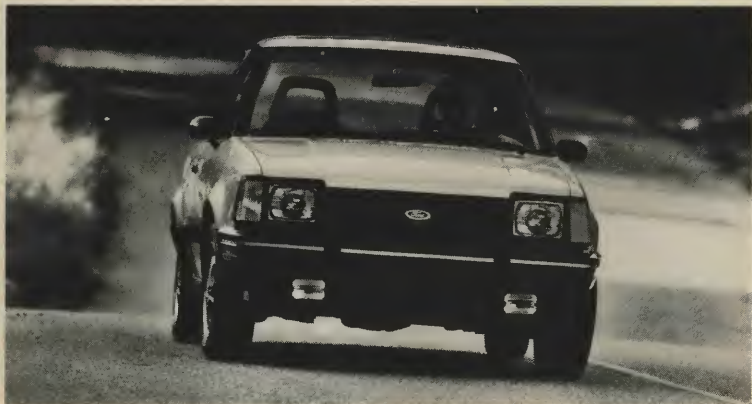
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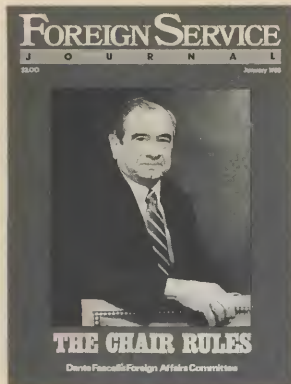
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Dante Fascell has reconstituted the House Foreign Affairs Committee as a force to be reckoned with. Beginning on page 23, Patricia Cohen looks at this dynamic representative and the transformation of the committee since his installation as chair.

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ASSOCIATION VIEWS

KILLED IN THE TERRORIST ACTION IN TEHERAN, DECEMBER 1984

WILLIAM LAURENCE STANFORD
CHARLES FLOYD HEGNA

The American Foreign Service Association extends its heartfelt condolences to the families and friends of our colleagues who were killed in the terrorist action last month in Iran.



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LETTERS

Counting Plums

As we approach the political-appointments season following the November election, the Foreign Service should adopt a more realistic attitude toward the bipartisan tradition of naming political appointees as ambassadors and senior departmental officials. It is completely unrealistic to expect that a president, in addition to making his imprint on foreign affairs by appointing qualified people to key Foreign Service posts, will not want to reward people who have helped him win election. We should not try to remove ambassadorial and departmental jobs from the "plum book" containing the 600-700 positions to which a president can appoint people directly. Rather, the Foreign Service should work to add many more attractive jobs to the book. Aside from the Cabinet slots there are very few jobs now in the book which are as appealing as the 100 plus ambassadorial positions. Moreover, sub-Cabinet positions at the State Department certainly look better on resumes and sound better at cocktail parties than those at the General Services Administration or the Interior Department.

To change this situation, the Foreign Service should initiate a campaign to add more interesting jobs to the "plum book" so that our positions wouldn't stand out so much. For example, we could urge that 10-20 percent of the thousands of general and admiral positions be made appointable by the president. Certainly such positions would be attractive, and with a week or so of training, political appointees could learn how to wear their uniforms, how to take salutes, where to stand during parades, etc. They would have a larger staff than ambassadors to keep them out of trouble, and we are sure that military services would perform this function at least as adequately as the Foreign Service has done over the years. There must be quite a number of these flag-officer positions where loyalty to an incumbent president would be more important than professional qualifications. It would be excessive to ask that 30-40 percent of flag officer posts be made available to politicians, as has been the case with ambassadorships, but a 10-



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20 percent contribution from the Pentagon seems appropriate.

Certainly there must be many party workers who have dreamed of being spies and who would be very happy with CIA positions both out at Langley and overseas. Since the cover requirements of the jobs would be an important dimension, these loyalists could have "flexible" working hours and other less rigid operational requirements. They would be able to tell friends and acquaintances who were suspicious about the long hours they spent at lunches or on the golf course that they were on special assignment and were not at liberty to discuss all of the details of their operations.

Instead of reluctantly accepting those political appointees who still are named to ambassadorial posts, the Foreign Service should move more rapidly to make them feel at home. For example, rather than waiting to give them their security briefing until just before they leave for their embassies, we should have that post-Beirut-bombing briefing scheduled during the first days of their selection process, preferably on the same day that the financial disclosure requirements are explained to them.

In short, it is time that the Foreign Service stop trying to have its positions removed from the "plum book" and take a more positive approach. Of course, we will have to guard against those traditionalists who believe that fighting wars and overthrowing governments requires professionals while any amateur can preserve peace.

GERALD P. LAMBERTY
Foreign Service Officer
Washington, D.C.

Correction

Due to an editing error, a sentence in William Bacchus's statement in the November issue on "how the Foreign Service can remain effective for the next 60 years" read incorrectly. The sentence should have read: "Faced with new challenges, the Service has too often downplayed their importance, and as a consequence either lost functions to others more willing to do them—as, for example, commercial representation abroad, and educational and cultural affairs—or become less desirable, as in international scientific affairs or foreign assistance."

The JOURNAL welcomes letters to the editor but reserves the right to edit for clarity and shorten for space consideration. All letters are reviewed by the Editorial Board.

BOOKS

Reviews

American Diplomacy in Turkey: Memoirs of an Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary. By James W. Spain. Praeger, 1984. \$31.95.

The library of memoirs by postwar American ambassadors is a mixed bag. All of them add something to the understanding of U.S. diplomacy and diplomatic life since World War II, but their contribution is uneven. At one extreme are those few (like George Kennan's) that make an important scholarly addition to the diplomatic history of our age. At the other are those that are little more than personal reminiscences and serve mainly to indulge the author's vanity. In between are memoirs such as this, in which authors have some solid things to say and where a fortunate reader can gain both education and enjoyment at the same time.

This book by Spain, a career Foreign Service officer still on active duty, deals with an assignment to a single country: Turkey during 1980-81. Armin Meyer and Martin Herz have also written notable works in this category of single-country memoirs. A special subgroup includes the memoirs of political ambassadors with a well-developed ego, who, like Chester Bowles, tell how they strived to educate their host government and who, like John Kenneth Galbraith, also include pointers they offered to the president on U.S. policy outside the country of their assignment.

Spain's book will be of particular interest to three types of readers: those who have followed Turkey's history in recent years; those who would like a case study of U.S. policy during the troubled days of a close ally; and those who want a bird's eye view of the U.S. diplomatic system. His essays offer no profound analysis of the troubles that contributed to the takeover by the generals six months after he arrived as ambassador, nor of the military's approach to healing the country's wounds during the following year (Spain left Turkey in mid-1981). Yet his matter-of-fact recounting of the principal factors and events of that period supports his key conclusion that "the Turkish military was

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both committed to and popularly accepted in a role as guardians of the state."

Spain also provides an interesting run-down of the last stages in rebuilding U.S.-Turkish relations after the Cyprus crisis of 1974-75. Following the conclusion of the Defense and Economic Cooperation Agreement in March 1980, he visited the major U.S. military installations in the country and oversaw the revitalization of our assistance programs. Given Turkey's importance as a NATO ally, it was no surprise that Washington welcomed (though only as a bystander) the generals' takeover and then worked to solidify the relationship while stressing the importance of "the promptest possible return to democracy." It is also unsurprising, and gratifying, that a popularly elected civilian prime minister has now been in office for a year.

To this reader, the most satisfying part of Spain's book is that which offers a brief elementary course in diplomacy as practiced by U.S. officials overseas. This account, taking up the second half of the book, uses the setting of Spain's experience in Turkey, but its lessons can be applied to any standard diplomatic establishment and its functions. He deals, for example, with the need for an ambassador in these days of instantaneous communications and jet travel. He also considers the country team and the various sections of an embassy, relations with non-American segments of the diplomatic corps, dealing with Washington (a brief chapter that is exceptionally good), and the care and feeding of visitors. This is a useful supplement to Charles Thayer's classic account, *Diplomat*, of the U.S. diplomatic system as it was a quarter of a century ago. It provides an introduction to the student or the layperson interested in how U.S. foreign policy is implemented and how we conduct our diplomatic business overseas. It will also be helpful to the newly appointed non-career ambassador wishing to learn the ropes. The bulk of the material will be old-hat to Foreign Service professionals with several years' experience, but they too could well pick up a point or two or three.

Spain's style is direct and unpretentious, and makes for easy and pleasant reading. One wishes he had made more of an effort to convey the motivations of key persons with whom he dealt and to tell more of his own reactions and thoughts as he confronted major events. Possessed of a strong personality himself, he seems to have made a deliberate effort to avoid making critical comments about either persons or events. One fairly full chapter on Spain's visits to Turkey's tourist sites (a number of which this reader has had the joy to know) does credit to the country's rich history but

could perhaps better have been left to a guidebook. Yet the total is instructive and good reading, and will reward the reader interested in the range of material which this memoir covers. —SIDNEY SOBER

Murder on Embassy Row. By Margaret Truman. Arbor House, 1984. \$15.95.

This presidential daughter had already produced a respectable body of non-fiction—White House memoirs of one kind or another, a book on *Women of Courage*, a loving biography of her father, and a volume of the Truman family correspondence—before she moved on to fiction and became what one reviewer exuberantly called "the mistress of capital mayhem." She has produced fictional murders in the White House, the Supreme Court, the Smithsonian, and on Capitol Hill.

This, her fifth Washington tale, starts out promisingly enough with the murder of a caviar-addicted British ambassador, disliked by his staff and abhorred by his wife. The action travels from Iran to the United States, thence to London and Denmark. Truman has done her usual thorough on-site research and, at this point, could probably qualify as a consultant on Caspian caviar. Once again, she turns to the Washington Metropolitan Police for her empathetic sleuth—Captain Sal Morizio. He works in tandem with—and makes frequent love to—Connie Lake, his beautiful assistant on the force. (One can imagine Truman's editor saying, "How about a little more sex this time around, Margaret?") The two defy a cover-up by the White House and the entire British establishment to lay bare an ugly truth.

This could have been one of Truman's more glamorous entertainments but, unfortunately, it isn't. She has given her police hero a master's degree from Harvard (actually, he is only a thesis away from his doctorate) and made him a demon chess player and devotee of classical music. But the dialogue is flatfooted (no pun intended) rather than iridescent, and the reader's interest and credibility is taxed midway through the book. An ingenious plot but no page turner this.

—DOROTHY AMES MARKS

Deadly Gambits. By Strobe Talbott. Alfred Knopf, 1984. \$17.95.

Strobe Talbott is a brilliant reporter, as we know from *Endgame*, his account of the SALT II negotiations. *Deadly Gambits*, his latest book, is an informative but ominous account of the INF and START negotiations.

Talbott is a journalist, not an analyst, and he reports the facts. And the facts constitute a severe indictment of the arms control policies of the Reagan administration. Reagan's policies, says Talbott, "contributed to a breakdown in negotiations and a build-up in armaments, Soviet and American." This administration has done nothing to avert the threat of a nuclear Armageddon. If the policies described in *Deadly Gambits* are still part of the administration's views, then *On the Beach* may one day be its tragic epilogue.

There are four principal actors in *Deadly Gambits*: a monarch, two villains, and a hero. The monarch is Ronald Reagan, who reigns but does not rule and whose interest in nuclear arms control seems limited to the speeches he may have to give on this subject. He also believes that more arms are needed to achieve fewer arms. The villains are the two Richards, Perle and Burt. Perle is an assistant secretary of defense, a skilled bureaucrat and a superhawk. His tone is soothing but his message is harsh: he is against arms control. Burt's case is more complicated. As an assistant secretary of state, Burt must take Western European views into account. He is for arms control, but only at a later time after there has been a build-up. Burt argued that the Soviets would not negotiate reductions in the levels of SS-20 missiles until after the United States began deploying Pershing IIs and cruise missiles in Western Europe. He was, of course, dead wrong. The immediate result of the U.S. deployments was that the Soviets walked out of the arms control talks. The unlikely hero of *Deadly Gambits* is Paul Nitze, who had also been a cold war hero, the author of a rearmament program (NSC-68) in 1950, and a chief opponent of SALT II. But in contrast with the others, says Talbott, Nitze wanted an agreement and worked to hatch one during the celebrated "walk in the woods."

Talbott documents that "negotiable" was a dirty word in the first Reagan administration. Anything acceptable to the other side would *ipso facto* be unacceptable to us. The U.S. INF proposal—the zero-zero proposal—required heavy Soviet reductions and none by us. The U.S. START proposal required heavy cuts in their quantitative lead in land-based missiles and no cuts in our qualitative lead in such weapons as MX and Trident D-5.

These proposals were not negotiable, but they did have the appearance of equity. Their purpose was public relations, not arms reduction. Talbott notes, for example, that in a speech in Berlin, Vice President Bush invited Yuri Andropov to meet Reagan at a summit and sign a zero-zero agreement. The Soviets, however, had al-

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ready flatly rejected the proposal, so Bush's invitation was no more than show business. As George Ball has observed, "Talbot recounts in almost week-by-week detail how the interests of a great nation were brushed aside and its policies trivialized, bent, and twisted to suit the exigencies of bureaucratic warfare."

Nitze, who was the chief U.S. negotiator at the INF talks in Geneva, took matters into his own hands. With the Soviet negotiator, Yuli Kvitsinsky, he devised an alternative reduction plan: an upper limit of 75 U.S. cruise missile launchers and 75 Soviet SS-20 launchers; no Pershing II missiles; no account taken of British and French forces. This agreement was highly favorable to the United States since it would leave 300 U.S. warheads against 225 Soviet warheads and no restraints on British and French expansion plans. But Perle found the prohibition on Pershing IIs unacceptable, and Reagan expressed his preference for fast flyers (Pershing II) over slow flyers (cruise missiles). The United States rejected the walk in the woods formula, as did the Soviet Union.

There is much support for the idea that the walk in the woods provided the basis for an agreement. This is doubtful. The Soviets will not accept U.S. superiority in numbers of warheads, the key measure of nuclear capability. And the issue of British and French forces remains difficult and unresolved.

Deadly Gambits is a revealing and disturbing tale. It is a story of failure, of fierce fighting within the bureaucracy, and of no leadership by the president. Will Ronald Reagan now lead us from this madness?

—DAVID LINEBAUGH

The U.S., the U.N., and the Management of Global Change. Edited by Toby Trister Gati. New York University Press, 1983.

This volume is a timely addition to the sometimes contentious debate within the United States about our fundamental relationship with the U.N. system, as exemplified by our scheduled withdrawal from UNESCO and the recent critical report by the Heritage Foundation. This book recounts the past and looks into the future.

The most interesting sections are those on U.S. options, the larger North-South economic relations that underlie much of the U.N. debate, and the complex role of the U.N. in the world today. Several of the authors acknowledge the "invisible" but often useful—even vital—nature of the work done by the United Nations' specialized agencies. The former assistant secre-

tary for international organizations, Charles William Maynes, describes the love/hate relationship between the American people and the United Nations—they think it does a poor job but at the same time believe the United States should increase its participation. He notes, for example, the outstanding job done by the U.N. in saving the flood of refugees from Cambodia. He sums up this relationship by noting that the United States supports the United Nations when it “manages” the existing international system but is almost hostile when the U.N. is used to promote change in the system.

Maynes suggests that the United States adopt a three-pronged strategy toward the world organization. First, it should continue to work at resolving the substantive core issues like the Mideast or southern Africa; second, it should be prepared to suspend its membership in bodies where the institutional machinery favors one cause over another; and finally, the United States must do more to re-establish a fire-break between apartheid and other U.N. issues. Maynes also calls for greater involvement in the United Nations by Western Europe, although he is rather pessimistic about its current leadership.

In the final, more optimistic, essay, Donald Puchala suggests that the United States needs the United Nations to legitimize the American ideals and goals embodied in the world organization's founding. Similarly, the United Nations needs the United States as a constructive critic and anchor. Puchala also argues that we can do more to further our aims and interests within the United Nations than outside. Those of us who have labored hard over these problems will find much that is worthwhile in this volume of essays.

—HARRY C. BLANEY III

In Brief

Neither Peace Nor War: Franco-American Relations, 1803–1812. By Clifford L. Egan. Louisiana State University Press, 1983. Most works on the diplomatic background of the War of 1812 understandably concentrate on the course of Anglo-American relations. Clifford Egan has now satisfied the requirement that long existed for a concise account of U.S. relations with France. The author, making excellent use of the available diplomatic archives, intersperses throughout his narrative fascinating vignettes of the leading characters. Thomas Jefferson, for instance, accused by his political opponents of being a French sympathizer, is depicted as worrying about the morals of his countrymen exposed to France's decadence.

—BENSON L. GRAYSON

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PERIODICALS

"Improving Political-Career Relations: A Forum." By Paul Losentzen, et al. *The Bureaucrat*, Vol. 13, #3, Fall 1984. This collection of articles starts from the assumption that relations between the political and career factions of the government are worse today than ever before. One result has been overstaffing, as political appointees who distrust careerists have filled their staffs with more appointees. Another has been so much dissatisfaction in the Senior Executive Service that, claims forum participant Hugh Heclro, any private-sector executive who ran such a personnel system would be fired.

This suspicion is largely due to the tendency of campaigning politicians and high administration officials to denigrate the government, and to the persistence among political and career officials of uncomplimentary stereotypes about each other. These factors could be overcome through education and by improving communication through retreats and other such "team-building" exercises. Abandoning the practice of abusing government and its officials would also be helpful. Some tensions will remain, however, because of the different motivations affecting appointees and careerists. On a personal level, careerists often fear they will be excluded from the process of government, while appointees are afraid they will not be able to control the civil servants. Institutionally, the careerist is likely to favor stability, since he or she is tied to the organization, while the appointee, who has no long-term stake, is more likely to push for change and even disruption to accomplish goals.

The forum participants suggest a variety of remedies for the problem. Heclro argues that the most frequent response—to draw distinctions between policymaking and implementing—is not the answer, for any such dichotomy is false. Several authors recommend having all administrative posts filled with careerists, who have more incentive than appointees to manage an agency properly. Others suggest that a Civil Service commission be established to provide a constitutional umbrella for government employees. Most of the authors, however, place their hopes on improving education and communication as the most realistic means of lessening the tensions.

"Wasting the Propaganda Dollar." By John Spencer Nichols. *Foreign Policy*, #56, Fall 1984. The Reagan administration has enthusiastically thrown itself into the international war of words. Money, personnel, and energy have been channeled into the most overtly propagandistic instruments: Radio Marti, Radio Free Europe, and Radio Liberty. Yet, Nichols cautions, decades of communications research has shown that such one-way communication is not likely to be persuasive, especially when it contains overt political messages. Indeed, many listeners react to such messages just as they do to commercials: by tuning out or leaving the room. On the other hand, the Voice of America, with a very entertainment-oriented schedule, has almost twice as many Soviet listeners as does RL. Communications research has also shown that people absorb much more through audience participation. Therefore, USIA should increase its support for libraries and cultural exchanges, which involve two-way communication. These programs have been neglected during the last few years while less effective means of communication have been emphasized. Finally, because a major goal of propaganda is to reinforce existing opinions, more stress should be put on serving sympathetic audiences in Europe and the Third World.

"Understanding George Kennan." By Thomas Magstadt. *Worldview*, Vol. 27, #9, September 1984. George Kennan has supplied the ideological underpinning for both the administration's policy toward the Soviet Union and the critique of that policy. To understand why Kennan's thought has evolved from containment to "neo-isolationism and a dalliance with unilateral nuclear disarmament," says Magstadt, one must consider his view of contemporary U.S. society. Kennan believes that modern industrial society has not found the answers to today's problems. In fact, the climate of technological advance that makes this society possible is responsible for the greatest danger now facing us: nuclear weapons. Furthermore, pluralistic democracy, with its powerful interest groups, has shown itself unable to formulate and implement a coherent foreign policy. Perhaps more important, Kennan sees both moral and social decay throughout modern society, especially in the deterioration of urban areas. In short, the root of Kennan's shifting views seems to be a belief that American social and moral fabric—upon which that role ultimately depends—has become so weak that our energy should be devoted to its repair, through moral introspection, rather than to pursuing an energetic foreign policy.

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"Breaking All the Rules: America's Debate Over the Middle East." By Daniel Pipes. *International Security*, Vol. 9, #2, Fall 1984. The usual dichotomy between liberal and conservative does not apply to U.S. policy toward the Mideast, writes Daniel Pipes. That region seems removed from the East-West struggle that affects most U.S. policy. Instead, Americans have divided into pro-Arab and pro-Israeli camps, and liberals and conservatives may be found on both sides. Many Americans have strong interests in the region, both financial and emotional, apart from concern over the East-West struggle.

Because people's opinions may be similar on other international issues but diverge on this one, an administration's personnel decisions can have a decisive but arbitrary impact. Officials selected for their ideological compatibility on East-West issues will often demonstrate a variety of viewpoints on the Mideast. A conservative administration, for example, may include both pro-Arab and pro-Israeli officials. This inevitably leads to squabbling and the dispersal of power to the bureaucracy (especially to the State Department's Bureau of Near Eastern and South Asian Affairs, says Pipes) and to the lobbies.

"Changing National Images: International Public Relations and Media Agenda Setting." By Jarol B. Manheim and Robert B. Albritton. *American Political Science Review*, Vol. 78, #3, September 1984. According to this study, hiring a public relations firm can help foreign countries improve their general image among the U.S. media, public, and policymakers. In this study, six countries that signed public relations contracts—South Korea, the Philippines, Yugoslavia, Argentina, Indonesia, and Rhodesia—were observed for a two-year period, and each mention in the *New York Times* was recorded and then categorized as positive or negative. As a control, similar observations were made about Mexico, which had decided not to hire a public relations firm. In all cases, the countries originally suffered from negative images. After the firms were hired, the six countries either appeared less frequently, had positive aspects mentioned more often, or some combination of the two. Mexico, however, had both a more negative and more frequent press. Of course, the media's coverage of each country was determined to some extent by actual events, but it also appears that the countries were able to influence that coverage by restricting information or arranging briefings on more positive material (tourist attractions, for example).

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Too Long

"White House spokesman Larry Speakes, when asked whether President Reagan had read the House Intelligence Committee's report on the bombing of the U.S. embassy in Beirut: 'I don't think he's read the report in detail. It's five and a half pages double-spaced.'" *The Progressive, December*

Solid Gold

"A political appointee's ignorance of his duties is usually outweighed by the diplomatic skill of his underlings, and his access to the president can compensate for a wealth of incompetence. But something went wrong with the traditional safeguards when Joseph Werner Reed set out on the road to Morocco in 1981. The result was a strategic disaster for the Reagan administration: the astonishing union of a supposedly staunch U.S. ally, Morocco, with the virulently anti-American dictatorship of Libya.

"It would be unfair to lay the Morocco-Libyan rapprochement solely at Reed's door....But Reed can certainly bear a large share of the blame....

"For all his claimed intimacy with the Moroccans, Reed is often ridiculed by them....This opinion was shared by Senator Thomas F. Eagleton (D-Missouri), who referred to Reed after a 1982 visit to Morocco as 'a 14-karat nitwit.'" *Jack Anderson, November 19*

Future Embassies

"The National Academy of Sciences, under a memorandum of understanding with State, is starting to design the 'U.S. embassy of the future,' with an emphasis on physical and communications security."

*Don Oberdorfer in the Washington Post,
November 15*

Future Scenario

"If a candidate for the American presidency would tell the American public he wouldn't replace any career ambassador, any career soldier, any civil servant except maybe the deputy secretaries and secretaries of cabinet departments, something

like that, this would start something that would give back self-esteem to those who really do know what they're doing."

*Helmut Schmidt
in the New York Times,
September 16*

Citizen-Diplomat

"When President Reagan appointed Arthur Davis ambassador to Paraguay, nobody would have guessed that the Colorado shopping center developer with no previous diplomatic service soon would be leading a human rights drive in South America's oldest dictatorship.

"I didn't go down there with the idea of being a human rights activist," Mr. Davis says. "But I realized that if I didn't represent what the United States stood for, I wouldn't have their respect." Since arriving in Asuncion two years ago, Mr. Davis has openly supported opponents of the military regime and prodded the State Department to take a tougher human rights stance toward Paraguay....The conservative Republican wasn't even a big contributor to Mr. Reagan's 1980 election campaign. "I'm embarrassed to say I gave less than \$100," he says. But unlike many political appointees who are sent to small nations and are never heard from again, the 66-year-old businessman is an active citizen-diplomat."

*Robert S. Greenberg
in the Wall Street Journal,
September 10*

Vacuum at the Top

"This is one of the extraordinary aspects of the past four years: that two men—Richard Burt, assistant secretary for European affairs at the State Department, and Richard Perle, assistant secretary for international security policy at the Defense Department—should be as powerful as they were from what were third- or even fourth-echelon positions in the government. This came about primarily because their energies filled a partial vacuum at the top....The president himself....This is partly because there are many other aspects of public policy he knows quite a bit about and is more interested in. It's also because he has never in his public career had occasion to master the subject of nuclear weapons policy. He has, in effect, delegated it."

*Strobe Talbott in USA Today,
November 2*

"A Heritage Foundation report urges President Reagan to reduce the influence of the career Foreign Service in the State Department by selecting supporters of his policies for all presidential appointments.

In *Mandate for Leadership II*, to be published December 7 but already under study by the Cabinet, James T. Hackett, formerly a ranking National Security Council and arms control official, recommends seven other changes....

"[The report would] require the Office of Presidential Personnel to limit strictly the practice of placing career Foreign Service officers in non-career, policy-determining positions....

"Over the years, foreign policymaking has been abdicated generally to liberal, internationalist academics, lawyers, and foreign policy "experts," said Mr. Hackett."

Alan McConagha in the Washington Times, November 27

Two on Terror

"As Moorehead C. Kennedy was being led blindfolded down the stairs of the U.S. embassy in Teheran, an Iranian student whispered in his ear, 'Vietnam, Vietnam.'

"The perplexing reference to a decade past lived with Kennedy during the 444 days of the Iranian hostage crisis and prompted him to re-evaluate the tenets of American foreign policy. He began to realize that the hostage crisis was more than a single terrorist act. It was a clash of cultures.

"They were paying us back for all our crimes against the entire third world,' he said.... Kennedy said the effectiveness of American foreign policy has been hampered by an unwillingness to realize that all countries do not see the world through the eyes of Western civilization....

"Kennedy said U.S. foreign policy is doomed to failure because it treats all countries as if they were Americas. And, according to Kennedy, the Beirut bombings this year [*sic*] were the obvious sequels to the hostage crisis of 1979."

*Marc C. Crowe
in the Baltimore News American,
November 8*

"[In a speech, former State Department spokesman Hodding Carter III said that] terrorism is too complex to dismiss as totally evil. 'George Washington would have been a terrorist had the British used our definition in 1776,' he said....

"The government can control how much coverage terrorists get by refusing to play the game. Failing to realize that was one of the mistakes the Carter administration—and Hodding Carter included himself—made during the hostage crisis in Iran."

*Mark Miller
in the Baltimore News American,
November 8*

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Foreign Service Journal, January 1975:
"In recent weeks, the White House has announced that the president has agreed to withdraw the nominations of first Stanton Anderson and then Patrick Flanigan to be ambassadors to Costa Rica and Spain, respectively.

"In both cases, the Association had indicated to the Senate Foreign Relations Committee our concerns with respect to these nominations; in both cases the nominations were held up because members of the Senate shared the same concerns we had expressed; in both cases the individuals finally [withdrew]." *AFSA editorial*

Foreign Service Journal, January 1960:
"The new jets are fabulous... This innovation carries many implications for the Foreign Service. From the operational viewpoint, so-called 'personal diplomacy' may become increasingly attractive. High-ranking diplomats may prefer to 'go there themselves' when no point on the globe is over 20 or 30 smooth hours away by direct flight. Large expensive posts abroad may give way to smaller listening posts backed up by flying squads of highly trained diplomats and experts waiting at headquarters." *Albert W. Stoffel*

Foreign Service Journal, January 1935:
"On August 15, 1935, at Moscow, will be held a unique examination in languages. William C. Bullitt, American ambassador at the Russian capital, and Premier Viacheslav M. Molotov, of the U.S.S.R., will appear before a jury of the diplomatic corps to answer 50 questions, each speaking in the other's language.

"The test came about as a result of a bet between the two officials. Premier Molotov had maintained that Russian was easier to learn than English. Mr. Bullitt argued to the contrary. It was decided to settle the argument by having Ambassador Bullitt learn Russian and Premier Molotov study English.

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SEEING BEYOND THE VEIL

For too long, FSOs have ignored the changing role of Saudi women and the impact those changes may have on Saudi society

JARINE B. BIRD

SAUDI ARABIA HAS BECOME a vital element in U.S. policy in the Mideast—indeed, in the entirety of our foreign policy. Its vast reservoirs of oil and its position as a firm bulwark against communism have made the desert kingdom a valuable asset to the United States. Yet, many policymakers are displaying growing concern over Saudi Arabia's domestic stability, which they see as threatened by Islamic fundamentalism and by social and political unrest created by its swift move into the modern world. An understanding of the changes in Saudi society is obviously crucial to the success of U.S.-Saudi relations. Yet, U.S. observers of the king-

dom—including Foreign Service officers—commonly ignore one of the most rapidly changing and influential elements of that society: Saudi women.

The kingdom is one of the few truly mysterious countries remaining in the world. Even Foreign Service Mideast specialists, knowledgeable about the history, economics, and politics of the area, find themselves outside a wall of privacy surrounding the heart of the society—the family. Public life is limited to the market place, hotels, and restaurants. There is no public entertainment except for sports events, attended solely by men and occasionally a few foreign women. Saudi women are seen in public as silent, black-garbed figures, covered from head to toe.

The American visitor to the kingdom brings along some academic knowledge of the region, but also stereotyped expectations and emotional reactions.

Jarine B. Bird is a Foreign Service spouse who lived in Saudi Arabia for 10 years and is currently working on a book on the changing role of women in Saudi Arabia.

This sharply different culture produces strong emotions to such events as chopping off a head as criminal punishment. But the American's emotional baggage centers on the nagging issue of the appropriate role for women.

The FSO who enters specialist training before serving in Saudi Arabia will find that the Foreign Service Institute offers a comprehensive area training program covering the political, economic, and military concerns. It offers little, however, to prepare the officer to understand the society and its cultural and religious values. When a group of predominantly male FSO Mideast specialists had the opportunity to ask questions about the changing role of women in the kingdom, their questions focused on superficialities, such as how their own female dependents should dress and what they should be allowed to do. The world of Saudi women evinces a certain curiosity, but since the professionals assume that power in the country resides solely in the world of men, they comfortably regard any reporting on the world of women as an extracurricular activity.

One has to question the wisdom of neglecting such a large element in any society, but the omission is particularly egregious when that social group is undergoing changes as rapidly as are Saudi women. An embassy officer cannot pretend to have analyzed the workforce resources of a society when that analysis is based on assumptions including only half the available workers. Nor should any evaluation of the economic strengths and weaknesses be considered complete when it ignores those who control approximately half the economic resources. And surely a study of a nation's political stability should include some understanding of the expectations of more than half the citizens.

One Saudi deputy minister has remonstrated: "You have such well-educated citizens, and we have begun only recently to establish formal educational institutions, yet we know much more about your society than you do about ours." The United States cannot expect to forge a positive relationship with the kingdom when its understanding is based on such ignorance and all too often on gross stereotypes and misinformation. Admittedly, it is not easy to surmount the barriers that protect the privacy of Saudi society, but an awareness of the enormous changes affecting these women during the past 30 years would give the Foreign Service some perspective and understanding.

DESPITE THE APPARENT PREPONDERANCE of men because they are publicly visible, women compose at least 50 percent of Saudi Arabia's population. More important for the future, half of them are under 16. In 1980, 35 percent of the total student population was female, and the number of girls attending school rose by 10 percent in 1980-81 alone. Today, Saudi women are working as doctors, nurses, technicians, teachers, bankers, social workers, office employees, administrators, and even occasionally as engineers. The beginning salary for a woman bank employee in 1980 was \$18,500, a substantial sum even in the kingdom of oil. By very conservative estimates, more than 40

percent of the country's wealth is held by women.

There was no public education for girls even in the early 1950s, but there was none for boys, either. Mosque schools taught the elements of Arabic to boys for the purpose of religious education, but much of this was simply rote memory and did not produce literate students. The first schools for boys that offered some general education opened in 1953.

By 1960, King Faisal had approved government schools for girls. In a Saudi version of Little Rock, troops were stationed around one of the first such schools to safeguard the female teacher and her one student from the angry town elders. But within a few years, the same town elders requested that additional schools be opened in their area since demand was so great. Not only were the young women enthusiastic about this new opportunity, but their families quickly saw the economic advantages: school teachers earn very good salaries and an educated daughter could make a better marriage.

Thirteen years later, the first Saudi women completed the requirements for a university degree in the kingdom. The men graduating that year numbered in the hundreds, and the women numbered about 12. They knew they could not attend the graduation ceremony but were incensed to learn that their names were not even included on the program. The telephone was in common use by this time, and women could telephone men even if they could not go to a public office without creating a stir. The chancellor of the university was besieged with calls from irate students, aunts, cousins, mothers, and even male relatives, who felt that such an achievement should be recognized. A special ceremony was arranged on very short notice. The young women graduates, robed in traditional cap and gown in Saudi green, followed their female professors down the aisle in an outdoor ceremony attended by some 2000 proud women. The all-female audience filled the air with traditional undulating cries of joy.

This event was a forerunner of the pattern of dual institutions that developed over the next decade. Today there are not only schools for girls, but separate hospitals, stores, and banks for women, and separate sections for women in government ministries, airport waiting rooms, and on buses. Americans in the kingdom observed this development through western eyes and usually regarded it negatively. The separate section for women on buses was quickly tagged as a form of Jim Crow, and banks for women were scorned as just window dressing. Such a dual system, however, whether by accident or design, has provided just the measure of protection needed by the Silent Half as it emerges from its traditional seclusion. Before engaging in direct competition with men in the market place or professions, these women need some experience of working together, developing skills and confidence without the additional tension of dealing with the world of men unfamiliar to them. They have that with the transitional dual institution system.

There has already been some movement away from the system of dual institutions. Some ministries hold integrated group meetings. The telephone is sexless and women use it effectively for business. They are also learning the power of the press and, when thor-

Since FSOs assume that power in Saudi Arabia resides solely in the world of men, they regard any reporting on women as extracurricular

By very conservative estimates, more than 40 percent of the country's wealth is held by women

oughly frustrated, have begun to write letters to the editor that are usually published. But formal channels need to be set up both inside and out of government to facilitate communication between the dual public worlds of men and women.

The experience of education has demonstrated the high motivation of Saudi women. The graduating women took the same comprehensive examination as their male counterparts, and students of both sexes were ranked together. The top five places were earned by women, even though they were outnumbered by men some 30-1. Today in hospitals where both men and women interns are working under the supervision of American doctors, Saudi women have the reputation for superior performance. Though they almost uniformly deny any desire to compete with men, it is apparent that they take great pride in outperforming their brothers academically.

With the advent of the 1980s, Saudi women have 20 years of public school tradition and a decade of university tradition. To assume, as do many Americans, that they are now dutifully shuffling behind the veil to serve husband and children is totally unrealistic. Education has opened many doors for women. In the workplace, the system of dual institutions has meant that women have opportunities in many areas. Since no men are allowed in the banks reserved for women, Saudi women staff them from top to bottom. They work as teachers at all levels from university to nursery school. They are doctors, nurses, and technicians. They are also being trained as administrators in these areas, and in computer science and for the civil service. Saudi women have established their own businesses and manage them using a male employee only for negotiations with men.

Women are learning how to manage their own money, and with the advent of the banks, they now have the financial tools to implement their decisions. This is more significant than it might initially appear because of the control the Islamic legal code gives women over inherited wealth. A woman inherits from her father, for example, half as much as her brother. However, the woman is never to use the money for her needs; it is entirely discretionary income. Islam requires the man, whether brother, father, uncle, or cousin, to be responsible for the everyday requirements of female relatives and for children. Women are therefore free to use their money in whatever way they choose, and as more of them learn to invest, their importance to the banking community grows.

The attitudes of young, educated Saudi women are an indication of further changes in the future. They recognize the dangers sudden and drastic changes could bring to their fragile, traditional society. They realize that the veil is not a religious requirement but a cultural one, and it is not, for them, oppressive. They regard their primary role as that of wife and mother, but they see no reason why this should exclude them from participating in the development of their country. Most surprising, they do not envy American women, for they tend to see them as victims, as sex objects in a society which offers little protection to women and the family.

These are surely not descriptions of demure, retiring creatures who have supposedly been virtual slaves

for centuries. In fact, of course, they never were as dependent as has been imagined. Just because women did not participate in public life does not mean that they had no power or influence. Saudi women remind one of the enormous influence which Khadija had upon Mohammed. King Abdul Aziz, founder of the kingdom, openly acknowledged his dependence on his sister, Nura, whom he consulted whenever possible before making a major decision. And Saudis laughingly acknowledge that the power of marriage and family alliance have been in female hands for generations, for who could do the delicate negotiating, the preview of the bride, except another woman? Today power for the women of Saudi Arabia is assuming a new guise. The power base of the past is eroding—certainly the influence of the harem has been undermined—but Saudi women are exploring their rights under both Islam and Saudi administrative law.

Education has enabled them to study the Koran, and therefore, in Wahabi tradition, they have the obligation to determine the true intent of the Prophet Mohammed for themselves. As a result, they are asserting their rights under Islam as never before. For example, Saudi women are quick to suggest, when the subject of the right of a man to four wives under Islam is brought up, that Mohammad specified that all four wives must be treated equally. Since that is not humanly possible, modern Saudis suggest that multiple marriage is not really a tenet of Islam. Such rationalizations have deep implications for the kingdom's future religious and cultural life.

Saudis point out that marriage is a legal commitment, not a religious one, and the contract can and should include protections for the woman. She or her family can insist on anything she wants as long as it does not negate a basic tenet of Islam. Today, women are stipulating that they be provided with a home separate from the joint family, be allowed to continue their education, and have the right to pursue a career so long as they do not neglect their obligations to husband and children. They may also specify the right to a divorce should the husband take a second wife.

Saudi law also bolsters the position of women in the workplace and as mothers. A woman is guaranteed equal pay for equal work with equal educational qualifications, and the law is enforced. She is guaranteed maternity leave, both before and after the birth, and the employer is required to permit the woman to nurse her baby on the job. Governmental organizations are encouraged to offer child-care facilities for female staff members especially in the public school system.

SUCCESS IN THEIR NEW WORLD of academics and the professions is very important to Saudi women, for they know they will be regarded as role models. At the same time, they face family obligations that are much more extensive than those in the United States—obligations they want to meet because they value the strong family-based system that offers them both respect and security. In some ways, the Saudi family has survived the changes in good form. Most women credit their fathers, for ex-

ample, with the foresight and courage to offer them new roles. They required only that the daughter uphold the honor of the family, which even today imposes many restraints on public behavior. Saudi women are willing to forgo physical freedom of movement or changes in lifestyle that might be attractive but would embarrass the family and therefore jeopardize the educational opportunities of a younger sister or cousin.

The institution of marriage, however, is evolving from a traditional dependent relationship to much more of a partnership. Forging new patterns of marital relations is made more difficult because in Saudi society the entire family is involved rather than just the husband and wife. Today, the first wave of Saudi professional women who earned their advanced degrees with great personal sacrifice before marrying face another problem. Few Saudi men are willing to take the personal risk of marrying a woman who might challenge or outshine them, and many worry about the difficulties of developing an acceptable relationship between husband and wife after she has tasted independence, often in foreign cultures. As a result, many educated Saudi women find themselves closed off from any prospect of marriage, which is a mainstay of Saudi society and an essential part of every woman's life. Today young women are often encouraged to marry first and then continue their education.

This world of Saudi women, however, with all its opportunities and dilemmas, has not been paid much attention by Americans. The American consultants employed to design the Saudi government administrative system did not anticipate such an early emergence of women as replacements for foreign workers. A very high-level female Saudi official complains bitterly about the reluctance of U.S. advisers—all male—to cope with this subject. She rejects the suggestion that these advisers were simply trying to avoid imposing Western standards on a traditional society. "You are already involved," she says. "You have an obligation to speak out when efficient operation of the government is at issue and when the concerns of half of the population are not being addressed. I need an official channel to be heard." Americans should, of course, be sensitive to cultural strictures, but they should not close off opportunities for any group by unquestioningly accepting stereotypes.

This Saudi woman's charge—that half the population is being ignored—epitomizes the dilemma of American men in Saudi Arabia, both official and unofficial. They deal only with men. They are warned against even politely asking after the health of female family members. They seldom see female bank officials or government officials. When they do meet an educated Saudi woman, they are likely to ask silly and patronizing questions out of sheer ignorance. Inevitably they ask about the veil and about the prohibition on driving. They might spend an evening over dinner, assuming that the English-speaking Saudi women are all homemakers and never learn of their professional lives. If they are among the enlightened few, they find it awkward and intimidating even to approach the subject of the changing role of women. Most U.S. businessmen still assume that women are not allowed to work in Saudi Arabia. The prohibition

against female American dependents taking jobs in the kingdom reinforces their limited understanding of the role of women there. In fact, it is required only that women work in situations acceptable to Islamic tradition, which basically means that women must not work side-by-side with men.

WHEN AMERICANS GO to Saudi Arabia, even if they have had little or no cultural sensitivity training, they are likely to make every effort to accommodate themselves to local custom and avoid being offensive. For the many men who are disposed to being sexist, the adjustment is very easy—they need only drop the facade of accepting equality between the sexes, a facade that is regarded as a working necessity in the United States today. He may take pleasure in assuming the role of protector in this strange and therefore somewhat threatening culture. His wife may even welcome his protective role and is likely to retreat from the independent style that was formerly typical of her life. Her husband need not worry about her because she cannot go anywhere without the transportation he provides. If there is a murmur about using the bus to go shopping, he need only remind his wife of the latest wild story about the religious police and she is afraid to move. This readiness to accept a stereotypical view of Saudi Arabia does little to increase our understanding of that society.

Not just American men, but American women as well often find it difficult to relate to Saudi women. Too often her efforts to get acquainted and establish some common bonds sound patronizing. A well-intentioned, "What amazing progress you have made," may seem condescending to the Saudi woman, who is well aware of how Americans view the kingdom. In return, the Saudi woman's vehement defense of her situation is met with open doubt by her American sister, who can't imagine why Saudi women don't place much importance on casting off the veil.

Often, even very well-traveled western women cannot overcome their own personal baggage. The columnist Georgie Anne Geyer wrote recently of her visit to Saudi Arabia, "Everywhere, I, as a single western woman, was treated with impeccable manners. And yet, I could feel the fear. Why, I kept asking myself—what is the fear?" Although she imagined that the fear permeated the society, in reality, the fear was her own reaction to her image of Saudi society as oppressing women.

Judith Miller, who served as chief of the *New York Times* Mideast bureau, insisted that being a woman provided her with insights she could not have gained as a man. But she also admitted that "I had been aware, before leaving the United States, of the Arab charge that western reporters imposed their own cultural values on Arab society, and I had told myself I would not do that. But after several weeks in Saudi Arabia, U.S. feminism could not be denied."

There are undeniably difficulties in the relationship between American and Saudi women. Although American professional women are accepted by Saudi men, they may be viewed as a threat by Saudi women who assume Americans are sophisticated and compe-

A pattern of dual institutions has developed, with separate schools, hospitals, stores, and banks

Saudi women realize the veil is not a religious requirement but a cultural one, and for them it is not oppressive

ment in the world of men in a way they can never be. For example, one young American who grew up in the Mideast, knew Arabic, and was working in the kingdom on a professional level met regularly with a group of female Saudi friends for coffee and visiting. One woman told the group every week of a recurring dream in which her husband leaves her for a foreign woman. It finally dawned on the American that this might be a very direct reference to her, since she worked in the same organization as her friend's husband. When she asked directly, the Saudi woman admitted that it had occurred to her. "Why not," she said, "you are attractive, competent, and feel comfortable in his world, one that I scarcely know and even fear. It would be only natural."

Saudi women can admire American women for their sophistication and competence, feel sorry for them because they are neither respected nor protected by their families, and fear them in a competitive sense—all at the same time. Yet the two groups of women share many common concerns: child care, equality in the workplace, and the difficulties brought on by the pressures of family and job responsibilities, among others.

Furthermore, the western stereotypes of Saudi society affect not only the Saudi women, but also the American women who seek to work in the kingdom. A recent General Accounting Office report related the Interior Department's decision to withdraw its consideration of a woman to fill an advisory position with the Saudi Ministry of Agriculture and Water. The woman was told that "to pursue this matter would not be in the best interests of your career." This was reported in the *Nation* magazine as indicating the Saudis' limited tolerance of working women. There is no indication that U.S. officials consulted the Saudis before making this decision. If they had asked American professional women who have worked in Saudi Arabia, they might have arrived at a different conclusion. For example, the executive director of the U.S.-Saudi Joint Commission, which provides experts in a variety of fields to assist the Saudis, is a woman who has functioned effectively in the position for several years.

Jo Franklin-Trout, producer of the series on Saudi Arabia aired last year by the Public Broadcasting System, personally interviewed many Saudi leaders in business, education, and government. She believes her job was not made more difficult because of her sex. Appointments were made and kept and she was always treated professionally.

The few female American Foreign Service officers who have served in Saudi Arabia have generally found that American men assume limitations to their effectiveness that in fact do not exist. When a female officer receives an invitation to a function where wives of male officers are not invited, she is discouraged from accepting with the comment that it would be awkward. Whenever that judgment has been defied, these women found that the awkwardness was displayed only by their own countrymen. In dealing with police officials as consular officers, women have been accorded thoroughly professional treatment. Of course, there are some special frustrations facing women FSOs in the kingdom. For example, since

women do not drive in Saudi Arabia, they are forced to rely on the motor pool. Yet embassy administrative policies seldom have been modified to accommodate this situation, even though it would be a relatively simple matter.

The assumption that women officers are of only limited effectiveness in such Third World cultures should be re-examined. Our system has failed to recognize that in traditional societies the American professional woman is often accorded a unique position that gives her entre into the worlds of both men and women—a "man for a day" role. Rather than restrict her reporting to the traditional areas of politics and economics, female officers should also be used to enhance the understanding of a hidden world: the world of women. And they should be assured that their own government will allow them equal access to both worlds.

EVER SINCE THE DISCOVERY of oil in Saudi Arabia, the United States has been deeply involved with that country. Even before there was a significant diplomatic presence, Aramco was well established. It not only developed the kingdom's major natural resource, but participated, at Saudi request, in the development process. Almost from the beginning, the ruling House of Saud used Aramco as a force for change. Today, U.S. firms continue to be active in Saudi development projects. Equally important are the large number of Saudi students who completed their education in the United States. There are more American university graduates proportionate to the population than in any other country in the world. These technocrats—who are now leaders in business, education, and government—have enormous influence on the direction of change.

There is probably no other comparable contemporary example of mutual international cooperation which has worked so much to the benefit of both parties. Certainly, the United States cannot disavow its continuing responsibility for the course of development in Saudi Arabia. Charting the course of cultural change, however, is a hazardous undertaking that the Saudis must do for themselves. But the subject should not be taboo among friends. At the very least, the United States is obliged to look at the changes that are occurring and assess their impact on the society. The discreet channels of the Foreign Service are ideal vehicles for understanding the nature of Saudi change.

The Saudis are bringing down the walls, even in a physical sense. In 1980 the mayor of Jeddah imposed a ban on the high, solid walls that formerly surrounded every home. Now the walls may be only waist high. The old walls remain, but the gates are ajar. The world of Saudi women is more visible and more important than ever before. It is time for reporting on that world to be regarded as an important assignment rather than as an extracurricular activity. It is also time to stop using our stereotypes of Saudi society to limit the careers of female FSOs. With some humility and caution, we should accept the challenge and work to gain a more accurate and comprehensive view of this fascinating part of the kingdom. □

FASCELL & THE COMMITTEE

*The new chair saw Foreign Affairs' credibility
on the line—it had to pass a
foreign aid bill or become irrelevant*

PATRICIA COHEN

A COUPLE OF MONTHS after Dante Fascell took over the House Foreign Affairs Committee, he gathered the 24 Democratic members and about a dozen staff aides into a hearing room to discuss the 1984 foreign aid bill. Standing below a large portrait of its late chair, Clement Zablocki, the 5'5" representative faced the group and declared, "I want to pass this bill." It wasn't as much a request as an order.

After failing in 1982 and 1983 to pass a foreign aid measure, the House risked leaving itself without any mechanism to influence U.S. policy overseas. Unlike the Senate, the House does not vote on treaties or approve presidential appointments. Its primary foreign policymaking vehicle is the aid bill. When Fascell became committee head after Zablocki's death in December 1983, he feared that Foreign Affairs was losing its influence and turf to the Appropriations Committee. So he turned the bill's passage into a test of his own leadership ability and the committee's credibility. "We're an authorizing committee, we better have an authorizing bill."

His success at getting the House to pass the foreign aid bill last May was proof that Foreign Affairs has indeed changed and that the new chair is the cause. Fascell shepherded the bill through three days of impassioned debate in the House and, except for the controversial provisions on Central America, all the committee's recommendations were approved. Republicans and Democrats praised his determined leadership and political savvy. As subcommittee chair Michael Barnes has said, "He has an instinctive sense of where the middle lies and how to get there."

The experience of the foreign aid bill, however, reveals not only Fascell's masterful negotiating skills, but also the bitter political disputes within the committee. Some of the more liberal and more conservative members do not necessarily want to reach the middle. Fascell's skillful compromises can exclude these partisan advocates, who would rather pursue their own policies than reach a centrist agreement. Ironically, Fascell may find that his own political acuity is a new threat to the committee's cohesiveness. His willingness to compromise has disenchanted some liberal members of his own party, and his readiness to push what he wants over Republican objections may damage the committee's bipartisanship.

Nevertheless, members on both sides of the aisle credit Fascell with an impressive victory in passing the foreign aid measure. "He is the smoothest, shrewdest parliamentarian on the Hill. If it weren't for him, the bill wouldn't have passed," says subcommittee chair Steven Solarz. And William Broomfield, the committee's ranking Republican, freely admits, "He's one of the best."

The successful vote is only the most visible example of the difference between Fascell's leadership and that of Zablocki. In his first year as its head, Fascell changed the committee's style, boosted its morale, and increased its influence. The difference is "dramatic," says one committee staffer. With few legislative handles and little decision-making power, Foreign Affairs is only as effective as its members—particularly the chair. Fascell decided his committee would be strong by sheer force of his personality, if nothing else.

Fascell's personality is, in fact, responsible for much of the committee's transformation. The solid, square-shaped legislator looks more like a Miami boxing promoter than the state's savviest pol. But Fascell is as congenial as he is canny. He is a gregarious joketeller, a garrulous schmoozer, a tough but likeable insider. Asked how he liked being chair, Fascell responds, "I like it fine."

That answer is undoubtedly an understatement. He has a keen interest in everything that happens in his committee. Zablocki left much of the day-to-day running of Foreign Affairs to his staff director, John J. Brady. A 17-year veteran, Brady was so powerful that some freshmen on the panel "were intimidated to call Brady [and] treated him like a member," according to a Democratic staffer. Fascell, too, relies on his staff but doesn't delegate control to anyone. A masterful political negotiator, he takes painstaking care to involve himself in legislative detail. He spent hours learning the foreign aid bill line by line, for instance, determined that the chair would understand every word.

Fascell is also more approachable. In a place where a bill's passage may depend on the personal appeal of a friend, Fascell has a lot of friends. The introspective Zablocki did not enjoy the camaraderie of his colleagues. He was uncomfortable with large groups and did not enjoy chatting with the staff. Republican member Robert Lagomarsino says he heard that some Democratic members had even contributed to the campaign of Zablocki's opponent.

Patricia Cohen is a Washington writer and a contributing editor of American Politics.

THE MEMBERS of the Foreign Affairs Committee are as varied as they are numerous. Nonetheless, a few can be singled out for their exceptional influence, either through their subcommittee assignments or because of their sway within the House at large. Starting on this page, our author profiles 11 of the most important committee members.



Dante Fascell
(D.-Florida)

HANGING FROM THE WALLS of his private office are framed pens used to sign bills that Fascell has worked on. It is a small but appropriate symbol of his successful career. After 29 years in office, the 67-year old legislator has run out of wall space and now keeps the rest of his trophies down in the storeroom.

As chair of the committee, Fascell displays legislative skill, complemented by a clear understanding of the committee's mechanics and a definite view of its role. He believes that Foreign Affairs can write itself into the foreign policy process in only three ways: by withholding money from the president; by using the foreign aid bill to write guidelines into the law; or by finding an impeachable offense. This constrained view governs the chair's approach. For instance, other Democratic members criticized Reagan because he dodged required approval of arms sales and

sent 400 Stinger missiles to Saudi Arabia in April. But Fascell believes that Congress was not left out of the decision. "Congress passed the law that gave the president the power to do what he did. If we want to revoke that power, we can. But it's not true that we didn't have any involvement."

A one-time chair of the Western Hemisphere subcommittee, Fascell has focused much of his talent on constructing compromises on Latin American issues. His district, which runs from southern Miami to the Florida Keys, is the landing point for thousands of refugees from Central America. Almost a quarter of its population is Hispanic. This constituency accounts for much of his conservative approach to Central America as well as his ardent anti-communism. Robert Lagomarsino says that no other Democrat on the committee except Andrew Ireland (who left when he switched to the Republican party) would go further in accommodating the administration position on Central America than Fascell. Indeed, Fascell has supported efforts to stop arms shipments from Nicaragua to Salvadoran rebels and to establish Radio Marti.

Foreign policy is a concern of his district, and Fascell has always devoted most of his legislative time and energy to it. But his new prominence as chair has brought charges that he is out of touch with his constituency. When Fascell voted to cut off money for a wasteful Florida canal connecting the Atlantic Ocean to the Gulf of Mexico, another Florida colleague attacked him for ignoring his district. Nevertheless, he won the November election with an impressive majority.

Fascell, however, likes to "bat the ball" with Brady and will occasionally comment on a "jerk" or a "disaster" within the administration. His chumminess helps him with his colleagues as well. For a wavering congressman, Fascell is there with a hand on his shoulder and a whispered assurance, "I know you'll do the right thing."

FASCCELL HAS KEPT so many friends after 30 years in office because he knows how to accept the answer "no." He will use every argument and deal he can think of to persuade someone, but he knows when to stop asking and he doesn't hold grudges. As one Democratic staffer says, he "never attacks you personally." Fascell himself says, "The name of the game is to include everyone. You can't go crossing off people; it won't work." Instead, he will simply save the request for a future vote.

This type of smooth negotiating has helped craft Fascell's reputation as a legislator's legislator. Unlike many representatives, he rarely gives personal interviews to reporters, preferring a backroom of politicians to a hearing room filled with photographers. When he wants something done, he doesn't call a press conference, he schedules a private meeting and searches for common ground. "You're never sure of what he wants when he goes into caucus, but he always gets it," says committee member Gerry Studds. A Democratic staffer agreed. "He gets a lot of what he wants without saying anything."

Fascell equates success not only with smooth negotiation but with tenacity. Looking for a compromise on the controversial issue of aid to Turkey, Fascell said, "Fellas, let's resolve it." And, he concludes: "We dug our heels in and did." One magazine wrote that Fascell locks all the members in a room until they agree on a solution, but the chair scoffs at that version. "There is no way you can lock people in a room and expect a decision; it takes a long time. You got to think about it, re-write it, meet again. It took weeks." To Fascell, a legislator must "hammer away." The phrase came up again and again in conversations about his strategy. Fascell performs his legislative miracles with systematic redium. There are memos and meetings, and memos on the memos, and more meetings.

Fascell has used this negotiating skill and perseverance to unify a committee that had splintered under Zablocki's benign neglect. Previously, individual chairs had run their subcommittees like independent duchies. Fascell permits the subcommittee chairs to operate with autonomy, but he continually confers with his ensigns and coordinates strategy and policy. The result? Last year Foreign Affairs finally began operating as a committee should, something that even the members were beginning to doubt was possible. "I had thought the committee could not be effective at all," says Lagomarsino, "but the foreign aid bill changed all that." One Democratic staffer commented, "I'm not always happy about the outcome, but I am more optimistic about the committee's ability to have an impact on policy."

Fascell knew that the foreign aid bill could easily founder on the bitter disagreements over individual

provisions, so he planned his legislative strategy carefully. He analyzed the psychology of the upcoming floor fight and knew that most legislators were interested in the battle over aid to Turkey and Central America. He therefore scheduled those controversial provisions at the end of the three-day debate so the rest of the bill would pass quickly. He even circulated a letter to one hundred Democrats asking them to promise to support the bill no matter what the final version contained.

When Fascell urged his colleagues to support the bill regardless of what was in it, he knew that the bitter dispute over Central America threatened to torpedo any hope of passing it this year. Foreign Affairs and the White House have battled over Central America since President Reagan took office. Congress initially required the administration to certify that the Salvadoran military was curbing its human rights abuses and implementing land reforms before it could send military aid, but these conditions expired in 1983.

In 1984, committee members were even more polarized on Central America. Democrats were aware that their insistence on certification once again threatened chances for an aid bill. But they were disturbed by the continued rights violations in El Salvador and were unwilling to give the administration carte blanche in the region. They therefore found Fascell's single-minded determination to pass the bill troubling. "It is absurd to think that any bill is better than no bill," says Studds.

When the foreign aid bill was reported out of committee, it contained a compromise on the sensitive issue of aid to El Salvador: \$124.8 million of the authorized \$429.3 million in military and economic aid would only be appropriated when the Salvadoran military had made some progress on human rights, land reform, and negotiating with the guerrillas. Studds sponsored an amendment that imposed even tighter restrictions, reducing aid levels and withholding all military funds until Congress was satisfied that the reforms had been achieved. Yet the Studds amendment had little hope of success; its supporters may have been disappointed when it failed to pass, but they could not have been surprised.

WHAT DISTURBED THESE DEMOCRATS even more was the defeat of the provisions on El Salvador put forward by the committee itself. It lost by a narrow, four-vote margin to an amendment supported by the administration and presented by committee member William Broomfield. That amendment, which became part of the foreign aid bill as passed by the entire House, did not attach any significant conditions on aid to El Salvador.

A number of Democrats placed at least some of the blame for the administration's victory on Fascell. He knew that the president had instructed House Republicans to oppose the bill if the committee's provisions on El Salvador remained. Reagan had also promised to veto it if the bill passed with that language. Fascell usually lobbies for his legislation with the ardor of a cheerleader. Bobbing up and down, slamming his fist

ALTHOUGH Broomfield is the committee's ranking Republican, his soft-spoken and gentle nature makes him an unlikely leader in the often bitter and acerbic partisan conflicts. In Congress almost as long as Fascell, he still lacks a negotiator's skill and determination. Nonetheless, Broomfield was in the front line during the congressional tussle over El Salvador and helped win an important victory for the president.

Broomfield says he worked with Democratic majority leader Jim Wright on the Central America amendment before presenting it to the White House, adding that the amendment won without administration involvement. But despite his victory, the battle over Central America left the Michigan Republican with serious doubts about the future of Foreign Affairs. Broomfield speaks with despair about the committee's deteriorating bipartisanship.

Broomfield had an "excellent relationship" with Carter and complains that congressional antagonism toward Reagan is stronger than against any other president he can remember. Acerbic exchanges between Reagan and Speaker of the House Tip O'Neill have particularly upset Broomfield. He criticizes what he calls O'Neill's disrespectful attitude toward Reagan and speaks nostalgically of the changes from when President Eisenhower met with the congressional leadership and decided policy over "bourbon and branch water." Further, Broomfield believes that Congress has become too involved in foreign policymaking. The congressional reforms of the 1970s have "gotten out of hand," he says, handicapping the executive.

Although he is a faithful supporter of the administration, Broomfield's strong pro-Israel views caused him to oppose the 1981 AWACs sale to Saudi Arabia. Yet the 1984 sale of Stinger missiles to the Saudis did not rouse Broomfield's opposition.

The 62-year-old legislator moved to Foreign Affairs from the Public Works Committee, an assignment he "detested from the first day."

THE PHOTOGRAPH in *Politics in America* pictures a broadly grinning Don Bonker, but a Democratic legislative assistant characterizes the lawmaker from Washington state as someone who "never smiles." Earnest and aggressive, Bonker is somewhat a loner. He does not make chummy personal appeals to other members. But the thoughtful, hardworking legislator is one of Foreign Affairs' most eloquent human-rights advocates. He has frustrated the administration time and time again with his opposition to aiding right-wing dictatorships, such as in Guatemala. And he was one of the few congressmen to denounce the president's invasion of Grenada.

Human rights, however, has been a dead letter since Reagan's entrance into the White House. Although Bonker is still deeply committed to the issue, in 1982 he switched his focus to international trade, a topic of more direct concern to the lumber and maritime industries in his district. But even as chair of the International Economic Policy and Trade subcommittee, he still battles with the administration. Bonker believes restrictions on trade damage U.S. businesses and relations with other countries. He also disputes the administration argument that the U.S. must vigilantly guard its technology from the Soviet Union. He wrote most of the 1983 amendments to the Export Administration Act that loosened restrictions on the types of products U.S. businesses can export.



William Broomfield
(R.-Michigan)



Don Bonker
(D.-Washington)



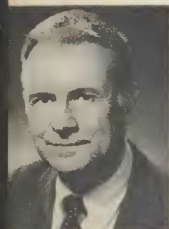
Gus Yatron
(D.-Pennsylvania)

ALTHOUGH Yatron was a professional heavyweight boxer before coming to Congress in 1968, he avoids political fights and rarely challenges the administration. The former pugilist has a surprising lack of political aggressiveness. He is critical of human-rights violators but prefers to let other members take on the White House.

Yet Yatron was unable to stave off controversy in his own subcommittee. His conservatism, coupled with doubts about his competence, caused the liberal members of the Western Hemisphere panel to dump him as chair after four years in the post. Critics cited his noticeable silence during the major debates on the Panama Canal and aid to Nicaragua. Although Yatron was hurt by his deposition, he did not withdraw from the committee.

He now presides over the Human Rights subcommittee, a panel with little legislative power. But even if Yatron is not an influential congressman, his friendly disposition makes him a well-liked one.

Yatron's constituents do not seem to mind that their representative is neither a vocal nor visible member. The well-entrenched Pennsylvanian maintains excellent constituent services and, as one Democratic foreign policy legislative assistant said, "He's good at sending the Christmas cards."



Lee Hamilton
(D.-Indiana)

TALL AND STERN, taciturn and soft-spoken, Hamilton is one of the most respected members of the committee as well as the House. Assigned to the Europe and Middle East subcommittee as a freshman 20 years ago, the Indiana congressman is now its chair. That position has forced Hamilton to use his negotiating skill on highly emotional issues. He often plays the role of compromiser, whether with the administration or the liberals. He helped construct the plan that kept the Marines in Lebanon and brokered last year's compromise on a \$85-million foreign-aid cut to Turkey. And although Hamilton's subcommittee would seem to be a magnet for interest groups, Hamilton says Foreign Affairs as a whole experiences less special interest pressure than most House committees.

A strong advocate of bipartisanship, Hamilton says he maintains a good relationship with his Republican colleagues, the administration, and the State Department. He holds monthly meetings with the assistant secretaries for Europe and the Near East. Calling the committee "the focal point for building consensus in the country," Hamilton says Foreign Affairs should cooperate with and support the president. But he adds that it must "bring forward alternative proposals...where the administration is off the mark."

Unlike most members, Hamilton does not accuse the president of failing to consult Congress on major foreign policy decisions. Yet he does believe the president sidestepped congressional approval of arms sales when, for example, he sent 400 Stinger missiles to Saudi Arabia. Such actions, he says, threaten to rob the president of his credibility.

By nature a thoughtful and careful legislator, the 53-year-old representative is sometimes vexed by the way Congress is forced to "go with the headlines of the day." That view is not surprising, given Hamilton's almost academic approach to the issues. He sends a monthly foreign policy newsletter to his constituents, which discusses such matters as the meaning of Islamic fundamentalism. His attempts to explain complex issues are mostly successful, and a staffer on a different subcommittee said that Hamilton's panel has best fulfilled Foreign Affairs' role as public educator.

on the podium, he barks out his support. But critics charge that the chair only gave the amendment limp support because he feared the entire aid bill would fail if any conditions were attached to assistance to El Salvador. "I don't know where the chair was coming from," says Studts, referring to Fascell's speech supporting the committee's version. He added that Fascell was only "nominally in support" of the amendment. Broomfield smiles quietly when he notes that Fascell didn't vote for the Republican provision, adding that the chair "did not hurt the operation when my amendment came up."

Fascell's leadership is more likely to cause uneasiness on the Republican side of the aisle than on his own. Despite the tension over Central American aid, Fascell is considered a party loyalist. "He won't just go along with the administration and call it a compromise," says George Stefanopolis, committee member Ed Feighan's legislative aide: "It's a real compromise." Fascell is closer to Speaker of the House Tip O'Neill and the Democratic hierarchy than Zablocki was. He is also more willing to criticize the president and aggressively advocate the Democratic position. Although Fascell's ideological beliefs are very similar to Zablocki's, he is much more responsive to the Democratic caucus. Zablocki's coalitions would often include a majority of Republicans and a minority of Democrats. Fascell tries to build a consensus in his own party's caucus first.

Central America is a prime example. After weeks of fruitless negotiation in committee, Fascell realized that any compromise among Democratic and Republican members was impossible. Rather than send a foreign aid bill to the floor that omitted any reference to El Salvador, Fascell tried an unusual gambler's bid. He scrapped the bill approved by the entire committee and replaced it with a version that included Central America provisions hammered out between moderates and liberals in the Democratic caucus. His bid worked, and he got a bill to the floor that would pass.

But this sort of partisan advocacy has liabilities. Foreign policymakers like to think that "politics stops at the water's edge." Fascell's procedural machinations on Central America outraged a lot of Republicans. Lagomarsino, the ranking Republican on the Western Hemisphere subcommittee, calls the procedural sleight "underhanded." Yet even he had to admire the skillful manipulation of House rules: "It was an imaginative way of working out...a tricky issue." Most members would agree that the gamble was an exercise in political pragmatism. Any compromise that would have gained Republican votes would have lost a majority of the Democrats. In Fascell's mind, he had no choice.

As for bipartisanship, Fascell says he must weigh his commitment to his party and that principle. When compromise is impossible, he "stakes out the differences." That is exactly what he did on Central America. He convinced the Rules Committee to send three different versions of the authorizing legislation to the House floor—Broomfield's amendment, Studts's amendment, and the committee bill. "We identified the major bodies of opinion and gave the Congress the opportunity to vote on it. That's what you do when you can't reach a bipartisan position."

Yet reaching a bipartisan consensus may be more difficult than Fascell is willing to admit. Foreign Affairs was previously composed of moderate, internationalist Democrats and Republicans. The committee now has a majority of young, activist liberals who staunchly oppose the administration's aggressive foreign policy, and a conservative Republican minority that promotes the president's line. The chair, along with a few other experienced moderates, is caught between the two.

Lagomarsino says that bipartisanship started to deteriorate during Zablocki's reign, a development the former chair found "traumatic." By the time Fascell took control, it "already [had fallen] apart." Ranking Republican Broomfield commented on "how bad and bitter the relationship has become," adding that "this is the worst."

As the minority party in the House, Republicans seem to feel the breakdown of bipartisanship more acutely. They complain that the 24-13 ratio of Democrats to Republicans on the committee is grossly out of line with the 266-166 partisan make-up of the House. (It is seven percent lower.) "We are overwhelmed in terms of numbers and ideological fervor by the Democratic majority," says Henry Hyde, one of the committee's most conservative members. Republican members feel the staff ratios are similarly skewed. Broomfield says the Democrats have approximately 70 staff members (including support staff) while the Republicans have only 16.

Broomfield and Lagomarsino also complain that, when it comes to major foreign policy issues, the Democrats make decisions behind closed doors. The Republicans say they were not invited to the negotiations on aid to the Nicaraguan contras, for instance, or the nuclear freeze. "We're treated terribly," says Lagomarsino. "The majority staff determines what is going to happen," says Jake Dunman, Lagomarsino's legislative assistant. "I feel lucky if I'm informed."

Broomfield further claims the Democrats use hearings, such as those held on the controversial anti-satellite weapons, to promote political views rather than spotlight issues and educate the public. A senior Republican staff person adds that only half of the Republican requests for witnesses are usually granted. Broomfield blames politics, "Everything is done to embarrass the administration." Henry Hyde agrees: "If Reagan said the law of gravity is still operating, the Democrats would propose a resolution condemning his simplistic approach to physics."

Broomfield accuses O'Neill of creating a trench warfare mentality on the floor and in the committees. He claims the speaker's partisanship has unified Republicans. Even Jim Leach, a GOP moderate who has been characterized by a Democratic staffer as "one of us," complains of the way the majority runs "roughshod over the Republicans."

But the Republicans have not been without their victories, as the experience of the foreign aid bill demonstrates. Although they complain of their limited role in the committee's decision-making, they advocate the administration viewpoint and do bring issues before the entire House. Since the House as a whole is generally more conservative than the committee, Broomfield can accurately claim that the Re-

A DEMOCRATIC STAFFER describes Wolpe as a "professional liberal, the kind of person that conservatives love to hate." Rushing up and down the halls of Congress, papers flying, Wolpe fits the image of the dedicated, absent-minded, and sometimes humorless man of principle.

The Michigan legislator's liberal voting record (100 percent from the Americans for Democratic Action in 1982 and 95 percent in 1983) and sympathy for black nationalist movements engendered vocal opposition from Republican members of the Africa subcommittee when Wolpe was voted chair. He has lived up to their expectations, opposing administration efforts to increase military aid to dictatorial African regimes, to normalize relations with South Africa, and to repeal the Clark amendment, which bans aid to factions in Angola.

Nonetheless, Wolpe is the recognized expert on African affairs. The accolade is not simply a result of his title. He has taught college courses on African affairs, lived in Nigeria for two years, and written two books on that country's politics. His straightforward style, effectiveness, and intelligence have earned him the respect of his colleagues.

Wolpe is also a strong advocate of nuclear non-proliferation and proposed an amendment to the Export Administration Act to prohibit export licenses for countries that do not adhere to International Atomic Energy Agency safeguards.



Howard Wolpe
(D.-Michigan)

HE LEANS BACK in his chair and tilts his head slightly, searching the space above his desk for inspiration. When the situation calls for a biting phrase or a trenchant comment, the quotable Henry Hyde will find it. Nor is he ever at a loss for targets at which to aim his verbal barbs. As one of the committee's most conservative members, he certainly matches the ideological fervor of his Democratic committee-mates, about which he frequently complains.

He characterizes his own role as a "devil's advocate to liberal initiatives." According to Hyde, "hearings are a ritual to confirm the predetermined decisions of the [Democratic] majority." Although he is only the ninth-ranked Republican, a mere "foot soldier," as he puts it, he is an articulate and prominent spokesman for administration policies. A *U.S. News and World Report* survey of House members named Hyde as the leading Republican authority on foreign affairs.

He accuses the Democrats of trying to weaken every weapons system from the MX missile to ASATs and says they continually cave in to the Soviet Union, a trend that "started at Yalta." On Latin America, Hyde is less concerned about aiding human rights violators than combating communist influence. Yet unlike other conservative House members, Hyde is a dependable supporter of foreign aid programs.

Despite his obvious pleasure at his committee post—he switched from the Banking and Urban Affairs Committee because it was "boring, boring, boring" and describes his experience on Foreign Affairs as exhilarating although sometimes frustrating—Hyde is critical of the way Congress tries to make "foreign policy on an ad hoc basis." According to Hyde, Foreign Affairs was set up to advise the president, not challenge his "ultimate authority." Decrying the polarization between Congress and the administration, he says that "we need a more mature understanding." Although the Foreign Affairs assignment has not been particularly helpful in his district, Hyde was re-elected with more than 70 percent of the vote.



Henry Hyde
(R.-Illinois)



Robert Lagomarsino
(R.-California)

ALTHOUGH Robert Lagomarsino is the committee's fourth-ranked Republican, his loyalty to the administration and his ranking position on the Western Hemisphere subcommittee has made him Foreign Affairs' leading GOP advocate. The five-term legislator complains loudly about the way Democrats control the committee and says the Republicans are reduced to raising issues and voting against liberal positions. He does the latter with unwavering regularity. He earned a liberal rating of zero from the Americans for Democratic Action by supporting the MX missile and chemical and anti-satellite weapons.

Lagomarsino's subcommittee assignment gives his positions on Latin American affairs the most prominence. Keen to the threat of communist influence in Central America, he opposes any conditions on aid to El Salvador. He angrily denounced leaks about the administration's covert aid to the Nicaraguan contras, saying they were a purely political ploy designed to torpedo the president's policies. But the California Republican does not concern himself only with such highly partisan disputes. He has put Latin America's debt crisis high on his list of priorities.

Lagomarsino credits the administration and the Republican leadership for the greater cohesiveness among committee Republicans last year. In 1983, the GOP carelessly took Republican votes for granted, he says, and thus was surprised when some of the moderate members voted with the Democrats. As part of the campaign to re-establish Republican unity, some of the moderates like Edwin Zschau and Olympia Snowe were chosen to go on a fact-finding trip to El Salvador. Both later supported the provisions on Central America backed by the administration in the foreign aid bill. Lagomarsino downplays complaints that the administration does not consult with Congress enough, adding that, if anything, the "administration works too much with the Democrats."

The California legislator says he accepted a place on the committee because the assignment was so different from what he had been doing as a state senator. Some of his young, activist constituents have criticized his hardline positions, but Lagomarsino believes there is a silent majority in his district who support the administration. Whether there is or not, he was recently returned to the House with 68 percent of the vote.



Daniel Mica
(D.-Florida)

DANIEL MICA has a tough act to follow. Filling the chair's seat on the International Operations subcommittee after Dante Fascell is like coming on stage after Michael Jackson. Mica will have to work hard at building a store of knowledge and expertise about the foreign affairs agencies and others that the subcommittee oversees.

Mica would prefer to be chairing the Western Hemisphere subcommittee. He is concerned about the waves of Cuban and Latin refugees that pour into his conservative Florida district. Fearful of Soviet influence in Central America, he supported covert aid to the Nicaraguan contras and opposed an aid cutoff to El Salvador and other Latin American countries because of human rights violations. Because of such votes, the liberal members of the Western Hemisphere subcommittee passed over Mica just as they did Yatron in favor of the more liberal Barnes.

Despite ideological differences, Mica is personally well-liked by his colleagues. Yet what some call his flexible approach to the issues others label gutless. He is willing to accommodate the administration and has often teamed up with the Republican minority on Mideastern and Central American policy initiatives.

Mica is a solid and hardworking legislator, if not a particularly creative one. And although he faced a tougher challenger this year than in 1982, he was re-elected to a fourth-term.

publicans are often able to win on the floor when they lose in committee.

FASCCELL IS SURPRISED to hear the Republicans' catalogue of complaints. He says no Republicans have complained to him or to his staff, and he accuses the GOP of trying to give the Democrats bad publicity. Fascell claims the staff serves all the members and said committee ratios were set by both parties in relation to the overall partisan breakdown. "You can complain there's not enough Republicans in the world or in the House...but the ratio is very fair."

Fascell also objects to the charge that the committee's hearings are overly politicized. Staff Director John Brady says he can't remember any Republican request for a witness that has not been granted. And, although the chair says the Democrats do meet in private, he denies they keep any secrets from the Republicans. "We don't get invited to all of their meetings," counters Fascell. He adds that Republican dissatisfaction stems from minority status.

Fascell says he seeks Republican support whenever possible. "I can't agree that bipartisanship is breaking down altogether." Referring to the aid bill, he explains that most of the controversial matters were resolved before going to the floor, such as the amount of military aid to Turkey.

Most Democrats agreed that the bitter controversy over Central America was the exception to the usual smooth cooperation between the two parties. "Europe, Japan, NATO, the Mideast—with the exception of Greece and Turkey—are...areas of broad bipartisan support," says Lee Hamilton, chair of the subcommittee on Europe and the Middle East and one of Foreign Affairs' most respected members. He adds that his subcommittee was ultimately able to work out a compromise on Greece and Turkey. Although Hamilton does not believe a partisan majority is sustainable, he believes bipartisanship must be put in a regional context. "It is unrealistic to think we'll always have bipartisanship," he concludes.

Steven Solarz views his Asia and Pacific Affairs subcommittee as a model of bipartisanship. He cites his "close relationship" with Joel Pritchard, a moderate Republican who was the ranking minority member before deciding not to run for re-election last year. Says Solarz, "There is no sense of partisanship." The New York Democrat adds that many of the foreign aid bill's provisions were supported by bipartisan coalitions. Every member of his committee except Gerald Solomon voted to convert the Philippines' \$60 million in military aid to economic aid. He also cites his amendment to establish a presidential commission to preserve American cemeteries abroad as a "perfect example of bipartisanship."

Despite the Democrats' tendency to downplay partisan antagonisms, committee members recognize that relations between the parties are strained. But if the Republicans blame the Democrats, the Democrats blame the White House. "We forget that the president of the United States is Ronald Reagan," says Gerry Studds. "Right-wing ideologues are in control...there has been a sea-change [in foreign poli-

cy)." The Massachusetts legislator believes that the president's pleas for bipartisanship in foreign policy are merely an attempt to suppress criticism. "To suggest that the president should not break the law is not partisan," says Studts, of the administration's covert aid to the Nicaraguan contras. "What's liberal about saying... you ought not to murder innocent people [in El Salvador]?"

Central America is just one example of how the administration responds to criticisms of its foreign policy with calls for bipartisanship. President Reagan, Secretary of State Shultz, and outgoing U.N. Representative Jeane Kirkpatrick have all blamed the failure of administration policy in Lebanon on congressional objections and called for Democratic and Republican legislators to rally round the president. Yet many Democrats, especially the young liberals, think the president's policies are unworthy of support. "Bipartisanship is not a god before whose altar we should genuflect," says Solarz.

This hostility to the administration has filtered down to the State Department. The Democrats tend to view State staff—especially high-level political appointees—as little more than administration mouthpieces. Fascell jokingly says the committee must check on the department to see "what they are doing to screw up policies."

Committee staff members were more serious about their complaints. "Their view is that the struggle for Central America is waged in the halls of Congress. We are the communist dupes," says a committee staffer of State's Latin America specialists. Another Democratic legislative aide adds, "You can count on them to mislead you. I call to get their lies on the record."

Most of the congressional staffers agree that lower-level officers are more likely to give accurate responses. A Democratic subcommittee aide says desk officers are "cowed by their superiors," while another claims it's all a matter of asking the right questions: "There ain't nobody going to volunteer anything." Staff members usually rely on a personal contact within the department when they need information.

Fascell is aware of the tension between his staff and the department and that some Republicans resent the Democrats' control of the committee. But he is not alarmed about the implications of this rivalry for bipartisanship or foreign policy. Although he criticizes the administration's failure to consult with Congress, he describes the Democrats' relation with the administration as "normal. They do what they want to do and we do what we want to do." Fascell has been around Congress long enough to know that positions are often polarized, but persistence and politics can go far.

This type of experience and determination promises to make Fascell a powerful chair and Foreign Affairs a more effective committee. And while his tough political dealing ruffles some Democratic and Republican committee members, it has also gained their respectful affection. Lagomarsino may have most aptly described the new chair. "He won't run over you and laugh at you like some other committee chairs. He'll run over you, and then pick you up and brush you off." □

WHEN FACED with the opposition of liberal freshman Democrats over Central America in a hearing, a State Department officer wryly asked whether they all thought they were Steven Solarz. The 44-year-old legislator with a New York twang has become a model of the young, activist liberal, crusading for a more coherent policy, whether in Zimbabwe or El Salvador. He has also cultivated a reputation as a brash, aggressive know-it-all. He irks the administration, he irks the State Department, he irks the Republicans, and he even irks some of the Democratic committee members. But Solarz is unquestionably bright and knowledgeable. As chair of the Asian and Pacific Affairs subcommittee, Solarz seems like an amiable master of ceremonies during hearings. After his opening remarks, he tells a few jokes and kids with the witnesses. But he is also known for asking the most sophisticated and detailed questions.

Solarz moved his chairmanship from the Africa subcommittee to the Asia subcommittee in 1981. The primary reason was boredom: "I knew what the witnesses were going to say before they said it." The New York representative may be reaching a similar breaking point in his current position. Although he says he is "happy to stay," Solarz seems ready for a new challenge. Openings on the subcommittees on Europe, the Western Hemisphere, or International Security and Scientific Affairs could entice him to relocate yet again. But the subcommittee chairs who currently preside—Hamilton, Barnes, and Fascell—are not about to leave.

While Solarz is respected for his intelligence and eloquence, his influence is debated. Ranking Republican William Broomfield says he "gets his point across but doesn't win." Yet Solarz helped former chair Clement Zablocki lead the debate on the nuclear freeze and was a key architect of the certification requirements on aid to El Salvador.

Solarz has been quoted as saying that "to most people in my district, Zimbabwe sounds like a new Baskin-Robbins flavor." But as long as he supports Israel, his predominantly Jewish constituency in Brooklyn is content to let their representative pursue his other international interests.



Steven Solarz
(D.-New York)

THE THREE-TERM CONGRESSMAN from Maryland found himself pushed into the foreign policy limelight after taking control of the Western Hemisphere subcommittee in 1981. Barnes was the third-ranked Democrat on the committee, but in the wake of Reagan's militaristic approach to Central America, the more conservative Gus Yatron and Daniel Mica were denied the chairmanship by rebellious liberal Democrats. Barnes is still not quite as liberal as the other Democratic committee members would like but, as subcommittee chair, he shouldn't be. He is aware that many of the positions the liberals advocate, such as a total cut-off of aid to El Salvador, could not be sustained on the House floor. As one staffer says, he must "walk a tightrope to try to produce alternatives that people can get behind." But despite ideological or policy differences, subcommittee members respect Barnes for his fairness and thoughtfulness. According to a subcommittee staffer, if there is tension among the panel, it is creative and friendly.

The tension between Barnes and the GOP may not be as cordial. Barnes was one of the key Democrats who helped design the initial aid plan for El Salvador, which required the president to certify that human rights violations had lessened. He later criticized the administration for unjustifiably certifying that such abuses had been curbed. Nevertheless, Barnes has managed to maintain a working relationship with Assistant Secretary for Human Rights Elliot Abrams and Assistant Secretary for Inter-American Affairs Langhorne Motley.

Barnes focused his energy last year on a passionate campaign to pass the committee's provisions on El Salvador in the foreign aid bill. Although obviously disappointed with the administration victory, Barnes voted for the final bill and later said he agreed with Fascell that the credibility of the committee was at stake.

Unlike some other legislators, the 41-year-old Maryland representative has not been hurt by his interest in foreign policy. His affluent, well-educated suburban district cares about human rights and foreign affairs, and his large Jewish constituency is pleased with the support Barnes can throw behind Israel.



Michael Barnes
(D.-Maryland)

THE ARABIST MYTH

Accusing FSOs of controlling U.S. Mideast policy does nothing to advance our understanding of the Arab-Israeli issue

LAURENCE POPE

AMERICAN POLITICS is remarkably transparent. The foreign diplomat in Washington who sends a regular report to his capital on the inner workings of the U.S. government has an easy task compared with his colleagues in other places. If there is a feud between the White House and the Pentagon, for instance, sooner or later it will be in the press. This makes the conduct of foreign policy difficult at times, but it is also one of our strengths, and, despite occasional excesses, we wouldn't have it any other way.

There is, however, a curious exception in the area of Mideast policy. A foreign observer might easily be misled if he or she believed what can be read in the papers, magazines of opinion, and even the scholarly journals about the existence of a mysterious cabal at the State Department. Jack Anderson, for example, reported on September 16 that "lately there have been signs that 'Arabists' have gained the ascendancy in the interminable search for a workable U.S. policy in the Middle East." *New Republic* editor Morton Kondracke, writing on October 1, reported that "the Reagan campaign wants it thought that Mondale...will cave in through weakness of character to Jesse Jackson and confirmed *arabists* from the Carter State Department." In the Fall 1984 issue of *International Security*, Daniel Pipes noted the "homogeneity of the so-called Arabists at the State Department, as well as their legendary hold over department policy." In the November issue of the neoliberal *Washington Monthly*, David Ignatius tells us that the trouble with U.S. Mideast policy is that "the State Department 'Arabists' simply aren't a match for the pro-Israeli lobby and its supporters in the Congress."

Clearly, there is some disagreement about the effectiveness of these Arabists. The observers quoted here seem to regard them as a cabal, diligently working behind the scenes to guide U.S. policy in some particular, if undefined, direction. More to the point, if their intentions are undefined, so are the Arabists.

The origins of the word are innocent enough. In the Middle Ages, it referred to physicians in the West who had a grounding in Arab medical science. In more recent Anglo-American usage, an Arabist was a student of the language, on the model of hellenist, or

latinist. This is still the definition given in some dictionaries, but with time the term has taken on the extended sense of one who has experience of the Arabs, as well as a knowledge of Arabic. In the 19th century, it was applied to people like Sir Richard Burton and Charles Doughty, and later to such servants of empire as T.E. Lawrence. In that sense, the term belongs to the era of colonial expansion.

In the American political lexicon, however, the word has recently taken on a connotation that is primarily political, not linguistic. In an influential 1971 article in the *New York Times* magazine about State Department officers who had studied Arabic, Joseph Kraft suggested that because of their professional preoccupation with the Arab point of view, the Arab linguists at State had a built-in pro-Arab bias. The article went on to hint at worse sins, quoting a charge in President Truman's memoirs that some State Mideast specialists "were inclined to be anti-Semitic." This label has stuck to the present day in some circles.

The most sweeping use of the term to date may be found in the recent memoirs of former Secretary of State Alexander Haig, *Caveat: Realism, Reagan, and Foreign Policy*. In the process of justifying his relatively understanding view of Israeli threats to invade Lebanon in the spring of 1982 (he insisted that Israel not act without provocation, he says, but seems to have accepted Israel's right to respond to terrorist attack with a full-scale invasion), Haig asserts that the foreign policy bureaucracy as a whole was "overwhelmingly Arabist in its approach to the Middle East and its sympathies." There is an unpleasant implication in the dangling phrase "in its sympathies" of a pro-Arab and anti-Israeli bias in the bureaucracy, but this is not Haig's main point. He means that the foreign policy bureaucracy tended to focus on the urgent need for a settlement based on U.N. Security Council Resolution 242, instead of on the creation of an anti-Soviet bloc with Israel as the linchpin. In other words, Haig's definition of Arabist would probably encompass former Presidents Nixon, Ford, and Carter, and perhaps President Reagan too, since he approved the Mideast peace initiative of September 1982.

Is there a conspiracy at work in the State Department to push Mideast policy in a pro-Arab direction? The citations above indicate that at least a few people think there is. But this is a serious charge, and before accepting it as credible and accurate, we should examine the facts. (At this point the author must declare an

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interest, as he has studied Arabic and worked in Mid-east-related positions in the State Department.)

IT IS PROBABLY TRUE that during the 1960s, the State Department and the Bureau of Near Eastern and South Asian affairs played a central role in the formulation of U.S. Mideast policy, and State as an institution tended to identify the national interest with what used to be referred to as an "even-handed" approach. This policy was intended to set the Arab states and Israel on roughly the same footing and sought to position the United States in the middle as an impartial arbiter. The high point of this approach was perhaps the 1969 Rogers Plan (named after then Secretary of State William Rogers), devised in NEA. But the Rogers Plan is the textbook example of the limits of a Mideast policy made in the State Department without the full support of the White House. Undercut by then National Security Adviser Henry Kissinger and opposed by Israel, it collapsed.

In 1971, however, a new broom arrived in NEA in the person of Joseph Sisco, a career civil servant with a background in U.N. and Soviet affairs. Sisco did not speak Arabic, nor had he lived in that region, but he did have a very keen sense of the domestic political environment in which Mideast policy was made. Shortly after his arrival, a number of able officers with area expertise who found themselves uncomfortable with his methods left for greener pastures overseas. With Kissinger as secretary of state, the NEA bureau flourished as an institution. He used its expertise effectively, if idiosyncratically, but Mideast policy ceased to reflect the advice of the old hands. Given the changed environment, this was probably inevitable in any case. During the next few administrations, the United States stopped striking the pose of an impartial referee, and, by the time of the Camp David phase, became engaged as a full partner. In the Carter and Reagan years, it shifted from supporting the maintenance of an Arab-Israeli arms balance to supporting Israeli military superiority. It was a new ball game, with policy made in the White House, not the State Department.

Peter Grose, director of Middle Eastern Studies at the Council on Foreign Relations, provides some useful perspective in his new book, *Israel in the Mind of America*. He writes that "a new breed of diplomat had taken charge in the 1970s. No longer was NEA a backwater of the State Department; its officers were among the most dynamic and competent—and politically sensitive—of any in the Foreign Service. They enjoyed an access to the White House that few others in the department could claim. They had freed themselves from the bigotries of earlier generations; propagandists occasionally dusted off the old image of 'State Department Arabists'—or even anti-Semites—but the description no longer fit."

Grose suggests that there was some validity to the image in the bad old days. Whether or not that is true, the point is that the Arabist charge obviously ceased to have any basis in fact years ago—if it ever did. The last decade of U.S. Mideast policy has seen the shuttle diplomacy of Kissinger, the high-wire performance by President Carter at Camp David, and

In the torrent of words written about the Mideast in the last ten years, there is no shred of evidence for an Arabist conspiracy based on a split between the White House and State

the agony of Lebanon, all played out to a rapt audience in the United States and abroad. In the torrent of words written about the Mideast during this period, by insiders and outsiders alike, there is not a shred of evidence for the Arabist conspiracy theory based on a split between the State Department and the White House.

Nevertheless, this anachronistic notion has had a long life, and, even today, serious and reasonably well-informed people continue to repeat it. It may well fill a need in American political life, especially for American supporters of Israel. They want to believe that U.S. support for Israeli policies is always in the national interest. But from time to time, they are disappointed by the direction American policy takes. In the last three administrations, for instance, efforts have been made to sell advanced weapons to Arab countries despite Israel's bitter objections. President Ford announced a "reassessment" of Mideast policy to signal U.S. displeasure with Israel. President Reagan announced a Mideast peace initiative that Israel opposed. For many Americans who care deeply about Israel, the explanation for these actions cannot be that U.S. interests sometimes conflict with Israeli policies. Instead, someone must be giving the president bad advice, and the logical candidates are those faceless bureaucrats at the State Department—always a convenient scapegoat for policies that displease one interest group or another.

IRONICALLY, SUPPORT FOR the Arabist thesis also comes from some on the other side of the argument: those who think U.S. policy has been too favorable to Israel for the good of U.S. interests in the Arab world. They cling to the illusion that there is a group of objective area specialists in the State Department who stand as a bulwark against a policy dictated by politicians obsessed with electoral concerns. But while the pro-Arab group laments the supposed outgunning of its imaginary bureaucratic champions, supporters of Israel believe the Arabists are a formidable force that often comes out on top.

How have the hundred or so FSOs who have studied Arabic managed to influence Mideast policy when Nixon, Ford, Carter, and Reagan have all taken a strong interest in the area?

Aside from this confusion as to whether or not the Arabists control U.S. policy, the conspiracy theory lacks plausibility. How have the hundred or so Foreign Service officers who have studied Arabic at one time or another in their careers managed to influence Mideast policy when Nixon, Ford, Carter, and Reagan have all taken a considerable interest in the subject? The number of officers with Arabic training who are actually in policy positions can be counted on one hand. Furthermore, the pro-Israel lobby is supposed to have a certain clout in Washington and could be expected to bring these bureaucrats to public attention if they really are frustrating the will of the people and elected officials. Surely the politicians who seek the support of the Jewish community so passionately when they are running for office would not let the bureaucrats obstruct their intentions. On the other hand, if we suppose with the pro-Arab lobby that the Arabists wage a gallant but constantly losing fight, how do they continually survive to fight again?

Daniel Pipes's article, noted briefly above, is a serious attempt to come to grips with these questions, and his thesis seems likely to be influential in neo-conservative circles. Pipes argues that career bureaucrats have a disproportionate influence over Mideast policy because the Arab-Israeli conflict is a foreign policy issue that cuts across the ideological divide separating liberals and conservatives. As a result, even in an ideologically homogeneous administration, there will be divisions at the political level between those who favor a pro-Arab policy and those who favor a pro-Israel one. The effect of this, according to Pipes, is that "the power of careerists increases relative to that of political appointees." From there it is only a short step, easily taken, to believing in the State Department Arabists (in the political sense) and their legendary hold over department policy.

This model, however, does not explain why the pro-Arab group would always win policy battles, as the "legendary hold" suggests. Nor does it leave any room for considerations involving the national interest or pressures in the real world brought by real Arabs and Israelis, as opposed to their proxies in the

Washington bureaucracy. It is, nevertheless, an improvement on raw conspiracy theory.

It is true that NEA is now the only area bureau at the State Department headed by a career officer. In fact, the incumbent, Richard Murphy, is one of that handful of officers in policy positions who have studied Arabic. But the reason for this situation—remarkable only in the context of the creeping politicization of the foreign policy apparatus—is not that there is an ideological stand-off within the administration as far as the Mideast is concerned. That has not prevented political appointees from being put in other positions where there is no clearly defined consensus within the administration—arms control and Central America, to name two. Why has NEA remained relatively immune from political intrusions, despite the sensitivity of the issues and those justly celebrated domestic political considerations? It seems unlikely that officials at the political level have not taken an interest in Mideast personnel. Perhaps there are other explanations for what might appear to be a surprising state of affairs.

Indeed, Pipes has this argument more or less backwards. It is in large part because the interest of politicians in Mideast policy is so all-consuming, and the domestic political stakes so high, that NEA has not been seeded with political appointees. This is not to say that the State Department's Mideast hands are uniquely competent and knowledgeable. Years of 12-hour days and six- or seven-day weeks in an atmosphere of frequent crisis occasionally produce bad advice and lousy decisions, and even bureaucrats sometimes have axes to grind. But Foreign Service officers are relatively more willing to subordinate their own views to those of their political masters than are outside appointees from what has been called the "professional elite" of foreign policy experts from the universities, the think tanks, and the foundations. For a variety of reasons—a sense of duty, the desire to be at the center of things, institutional ambition—Foreign Service officers are more reliable and discreet than outsiders, whose object is often to vindicate an ideological approach, enhance personal credentials, or gather material for a book. Senior FSOs generally have the classic bureaucratic virtues of pragmatism, reliability, and discipline, and in the overheated environment of Mideast policymaking these are the qualities secretaries of state want in their advisers. The fact that these career diplomats are often willing to work killing hours and frequently have a useful amount of institutional memory, not to mention competence in the often complex subject matter, is a bonus. As for the predominance of career officers among ambassadors to Mideastern countries, no explanation is needed. Terrorism may be the last ally of the career Service.

THE RESULT HAS BEEN a generally happy marriage of convenience between the Foreign Service and secretaries of state. Since Kissinger's time, assistant secretaries in NEA have all been FSOs, with the exception of Harold Saunders. Under Secretary Haig, there was some back and forth between NEA and political appointees

in other bureaus who were inclined to Haig's view of the Arab-Israeli conflict as a secondary matter. Since then, however, the chain of command has run from the president through the secretary of state, and on to the assistant secretary for NEA. The appointment of a series of presidential emissaries has complicated the picture, but relations between the bureau and the National Security Council staff have generally been close, despite the endemic rivalry between national security advisers and secretaries of state. This arrangement has meant that decisions made at the political level can be implemented with a minimum of bureaucratic fuss and relative dispatch. The papers are done, the telegrams are sent, the foreign ministers set straight, confidentiality is maintained, and the trains, metaphorically speaking, run on time. And even when there is no policy at all, as occasionally happens, to no one's surprise the illusion that one exists is sustained more or less credibly. Foreign Service officers are known for their flexibility in such circumstances.

Like other marriages, this one has required a degree of adjustment on both sides. Naturally, it is the Mideast experts who do most of the adjusting, which is as it should be. To serve the secretary and give him the kind of advice he needs, they must be aware of the political constraints under which he operates. They will not be of much use, nor last long, if they persistently urge adoption of a policy the political traffic will not bear or provide briefings that imply that the national interest is being sacrificed on the altar of expediency. If this goes on for long, the secretary will find other advisers. There will be times, of course, when the policy approach that plays best in domestic terms is damaging to the national interest, and sometimes this will have to be said, even if the advice is not always followed. Ideally, there should be a creative tension between the political elements of an administration and the career bureaucracy, in which both sides learn something and adjust to the other point of view, and the product is a sensible and politically sustainable policy. This depends, however, on the two unequal partners both keeping their side of the bargain—something that does not always happen. Nevertheless, this model of a sort of symbiotic relationship between the politicians and the bureaucrats is closer to reality than the unlikely notion of a pro-Arab cabal with disproportionate influence on innocent politicians.

In a sense, perhaps, the Mideast specialists at State do have a degree of potential influence by virtue of their access and the trust they have gained over the years. But it is highly circumscribed, limited, and derivative. Career Mideast specialists who would advise politicians are themselves well advised to keep firmly in mind that they are of value not primarily because of their unique expertise, but because of their discipline and discretion. Nobody elected them, and they are not the only people in Washington who can tell Likud from Mapam, and Abu Ammar from Abu Nidal. At the same time, though, one must guard against the danger of becoming just another Washington hired gun. This is not an easy balance to strike, and different people deal with the conflict in different ways.

Career Mideast specialists who would advise politicians are themselves well advised to remember that they are of value not because of their expertise, but their discipline and discretion

The Arabist myth is not simply unfounded, it is highly mischievous. It falsifies the terms of the Mideast debate by adding an element of character assassination to an issue that is already heated enough. For people who should know better to perpetuate—even for polemical purposes—the notion that unnamed Arabists in the State Department are undermining U.S. policy toward the Mideast does a disservice to American supporters of Israel by exploiting old fears that have no place in today's society. It is deeply divisive.

The less prevalent view that attributes a beneficial influence to a pro-Arab group at State is even worse. The Arabs sometimes convince themselves that U.S. Mideast policy is the product of an ongoing "Zionist conspiracy"—a modern version of the ancient anti-Semitic libel. The notion that the only institutional barrier to a policy dictated by the Israeli lobby is a group of Arabists in the State Department—a misconception not limited to Arab circles—is a corollary of that conspiracy theory, and just as mistaken.

We will continue to debate our purposes and objectives in the Mideast. There is much to criticize in U.S. Mideast policy, and if we have learned anything from recent history, it is that we cannot sustain a consistent foreign policy approach—in the Mideast or elsewhere—without a domestic consensus. The choices ahead are likely to be difficult ones, and the terms of the debate need to be widened and deepened if we are to avoid unpleasant shocks. The U.S. relationship with Israel may be in for some hard times, and the Arabs may have some unpleasant surprises in store for us. The Soviet Union, meanwhile, waits to pick up the pieces. A lot of passionate ink will continue to be spilled on both sides of the debate, which is fine. Americans care too deeply about the issues involved to delegate the management of the Arab-Israeli conflict and the U.S.-Israeli relationship to foreign policy mandarins whether they be in or out of the State Department. Individual officials in policy positions are fair game for criticism. Nevertheless, there should be limits. Even when the polemics fly, we should leave out the hoary myth of those State Department Arabists. □

Birth of

Last summer, while watching the Simpson-Mazzoli bill progress and then finally stall in Congress, I recalled how I first learned of those unfortunate Mexicans who try to enter the United States illegally. I remembered two whom I had met when my husband was chief of the U.S. consulate just below the Mexican border. I wondered what had happened to them in the 35 years since then.

DAGMAR KANE

THE POST REPORT for Eagle Pass and Piedras Negras described the two cities as "sleepy little towns lost in the middle of a desert." The geographic depiction was correct but, to our surprise, our life there was filled with many unique and stimulating experiences. It was a place of poetic beauty. Masses of six-foot red poinsettias displayed their blazing beauty above the parched sand. Nearby, the slow, hazardous Rio Grande became a metaphor for the dramas that took place there. I felt the vibrations of the exposed hearts of people whom the hot sun, isolation, and the hard hand of destiny made so vulnerable and so lovable.

During our stay, the story of Ricardo and Mercedes unfolded before my eyes, revealing aspects of a life that, until then, I was unaware of. They came from the interior of the country, seeking refuge. A truck usually would bring a group of 10, 20, or even 30 of them to Piedras Negras, where in the darkness of the night, they crossed the shallow waters to the United States. Then another camouflaged truck would bring them to the ranches or cities to work. That is, if they were lucky enough to reach the truck. Some did not. Every night, every time in a different location, the border patrol would round up some and deport them back to Mexico.

Everyone agreed that the situation was

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sad, but no one knew what to do. And while everyone debated, the piles of police records grew ever thicker. Ricardo and Mercedes were identified in these records as "notorious repeaters" who continually entered the country illegally and, each time, were deported.

He was 20, she 18. They first met when the agents recruited them for post labor on a ranch in Texas, near Crystal City. There were 30 others on the truck that took them to the Rio. They were caught by the border patrol and, after a day of exhausting interrogation, were packed into another closed truck and hauled back to where they had come from. They had to stand because there were too many to sit in the small truck, and they almost suffocated after a whole day without food or water in 105-degree heat.

Mercedes was a small, slender woman, with long raven hair. When she stepped down from the overheated truck, she was so pale and limp that Ricardo had to reach for her shoulders to support her. Her pretty face was ashen and drops of sweat ran down over her lips. Her blouse was soaked and dirty and her hair hung in sticky clumps. Her big eyes were resigned, blank looking, unseeing. She did not speak. She only stood, numb and drained.

"Mercedes," whispered Ricardo, and his voice cracked with suppressed emotions of sadness, anger, and sympathy.

"¡Vámanos, vámanos!" called the impatient truck driver who, after unloading there, had to transport some people still further to the south.

"Adios, Ricardo. I have to go now," whispered Mercedes.

"But you cannot, Mercedes. You are exhausted. Look, you can't even stand straight."

"I have no place to stay, Ricardo, except with my mother, and she lives 30 miles from here. I have to go with the truck driver. I will come again next week. The agent said he will take us again."

"Mercedes, this trip has been too much for you. I cannot let you travel another 30 miles today in that oven of a truck. Come with me to my parents, at

least until you rest a little. We don't have much space, but you will be like one of the family. Come, Mercedes."

His parents and his eight brothers and sisters lived in a one-room adobe hut with a dirt floor and thatched roof. They had one tree and one goat. When Ricardo's family saw Mercedes, he did not have to explain. They understood. Their hearts were moved, seeing her haggard appearance. The family crowded around, as did many other people from the village. They wanted to know what had happened, why they had returned, and all nodded with sympathy, for the story was not a new one. Somebody must have tipped off the border patrol.

"Do you have to go?" Ricardo's mother asked Mercedes. "The work will be hard and you are so delicate."

"Yes, I must," she replied. "My mother is a widow. She has four more children, all very young, and our blind grandmother lives with us, too. My mother can't find work. Sometimes she helps weave baskets and she has two chickens, but we only eat once a day, sometimes once in two days. She really needs some money. If I go, I can send her some, but if I stay she has one more mouth to feed. Yes, I have to go."

"I will watch over you, Mercedes. Always," said Ricardo after a long silence.

A FEW DAYS LATER, they tried again, and two weeks later, and two months later. Each time they were turned back. Then one night, Mercedes could not sleep. It was so hot inside that the smell of garlic and all the sleeping bodies turned her stomach.

"Ricardo," she whispered, "I am sick."

"Shh, don't wake up the others," whispered Ricardo and took her outside.

"Ricardo, I think I am pregnant. What are we going to do? The agents will not take me like this," she cried.

"I will not go alone. We have to get married. Maybe they will let you go then," said Ricardo. "But to get married we need money. Fourteen pesos for the license, four pesos for the bus to Villa

a Citizen



MAGDA FRENCH

Acuna, and at least five pesos for the justice of the peace. That is a lot of money.

"We will go to Piedras Negras first. There I will ask the agent if he can lend us some money for the license. We will pay him back later from the wages we will make."

So they went, but the agent refused. "What do you want to get married for? Nonsense. I can't lend you money for that. Besides, I already have had too many extra expenses because of you. Don't forget, you were turned back four times. You are not smart enough to cross the river. For half of your first year's wages, do you think I am going to get rich? I might take you again, but only if you promise to pay me three-quarters of the first year. But as for marriage, no."

"Then we will try ourselves," Ricardo decided.

Mercedes pictured the two of them on the other side of the river, living in a nice clean room all by themselves, the baby in a hammock, Ricardo going to work every day, bringing home money. They would eat frijoles every day and arroz con pollo on Sunday. She would wear real shoes.

So they dreamed for another six months. Ricardo insisted that he first

had to make enough money for the marriage license. He took jobs on the road, loading or unloading trucks of vegetables or fruits from the interior. He finally accumulated 15 pesos, and they took the bus to Villa Acuna. There they found they were short 10 pesos, and Ricardo had to pluck chickens on the market for four full days to make that much. But they got married.

Next they took the bus to Piedras Negras. Every night, Ricardo went to the river, but each time he encountered the same desperate situation. From where he stood, he saw aliens being apprehended all the time, and he never saw one escape. He realized it was impossible to cross where the water was shallow—a border patrol was behind every bush. Finally he discovered a narrow part of the river where no one watched, and most of the Mexicans were lucky, but the water was deep and dangerous, and a few drowned. Mercedes did not know how to swim, and he would not have let her in her condition anyway. He could make it alone, but he would never go without her.

Each night now they had to spend three or four pesos on lodging, and they had to eat, too. All that Ricardo made

disappeared on daily needs. Sometimes they were forced to sleep on the street.

Mercedes was getting big and very tired. Worry and despair made her look like an old woman. And then her time came. We never found out what went through her head to make them come to the U.S. consulate that morning. By the time the office opened at nine, the lines were long, and the sun was hot. Mercedes finally could stand it no longer, and she fainted into Ricardo's arms.

Willie, my husband, was just stepping out of his car. "What is going on here?" he asked, seeing the commotion.

"This woman fainted," someone explained. "The baby is coming."

"Hurry up, put her on the bench inside. Put a blanket under her and call the doctor," he ordered. A short time after the doctor arrived, the baby was born.

"We have a brand new American citizen on our hands. A baby born on U.S. soil, including the U.S. consulate in any country, becomes a U.S. citizen by right," announced Willie with pleasure to the audiences of applicants, officials, tourists, and professionals crowding the office.

"Great! Bravo!" they shouted with delight and excitement, "*¡Ole!*" They were proud to be witnesses to the event.

"Mercedes, you have an American son!" said Willie.

She looked happy with her silent smile, her hand reaching for Ricardo's.

Ricardo repeated, "*Si, señor, si, señor consul.*"

Willie signed the birth certificate, made out to the name Alexandro. The case then had to go to Washington, where the Senate issued a special permit to Mercedes and Ricardo to enter the United States as guardians of their American son. We later heard that they ended their journey in San Antonio where, in time, Mercedes got her real shoes. Ricardo came home from work with money, the baby slept in a hammock, and they ate frijoles every day, even had arroz con pollo on Sunday. Mercedes could finally help her mother, too.

The news about Ricardo and Mercedes spread fast throughout the newspapers and started a new trend, an epidemic of babies born at U.S. consulates everywhere. All of a sudden, hundreds of expectant mothers appeared in the waiting rooms and halls just like Mercedes. The timing was not easy, but many succeeded. They are forever thankful. "Gracias, Mercedes," they whisper many times a day. And I, too, cannot forget. □



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PEOPLE

Deaths

INGER BUGGE-ASPERHEIM HVOSLEF, a retired Foreign Service officer with AID, died November 1 at a hospital in Oslo, Norway, of complications of elephantiasis. She was 67.

Ms. Hvoslef fought in the Norwegian underground in World War II and began work in 1946 at the U.S. embassy in Copenhagen, where she helped repatriate Norwegian refugees. For the next 16 years, she served in posts in Paris, Kuwait, Cairo, Rome, and Palermo. In 1962, she joined AID and served as a program and training officer in Madagascar, Guinea, Tunisia, Nigeria, and Chad. She retired in 1979.

Survivors include a twin sister, Ellen Wishman of Oslo.

MARIO CALVANI, a retired Foreign Service officer, died October 21 of cancer in University General Hospital in Seminole, Florida. He was 67.

A graduate of Boston University, Mr. Calvani began work at the State Department in 1950. He later entered the Foreign Service and his assignments included Turin, Rome, Seoul, Tijuana, Managua, and La Paz. He retired in 1973.

Mr. Calvani was a veteran of World War II and a member of the American Legion and the China-India-Burma Veterans Association.

Survivors include his wife, Eleanor A. Burnett, a retired Foreign Service officer, of Largo, Florida; two sons, Mark W. and David S.; a brother, William, of Lynnfield, Massachusetts; a sister, Edith Giuffreda, of Clearwater, Florida; and a granddaughter.

KATHERINE ALLEN, widow of Ambassador George V. Allen, died in Washington September 27 of pneumonia. She was 78.

Mrs. Allen was married in 1934 and

served with her husband on assignments in Iran, Yugoslavia, India, Nepal, and Greece. She was the author of a book on her Foreign Service experiences entitled *Foreign Service Diary*.

She is survived by three sons, George V. Allen Jr., of Washington, John M. Allen of Anchorage, Alaska, and Richard A. Allen, of Chevy Chase, Maryland; and six grandchildren.

CHRISTIAN M. RAVNDAL, former ambassador to Uruguay, Ecuador, and Czechoslovakia and a second generation career Foreign Service officer, died October 18 of heart failure at his summer home in Vienna, Austria. He was 85.

Mr. Ravnald attended Robert College in Constantinople and was graduated from Luther College in Decorah, Iowa. He served in the Army from 1917-19. His first assignment as a Foreign Service officer was to Vienna in 1920. Other posts included Frankfurt, Cologne, Toronto, Vancouver, Buenos Aires, and Stockholm. He became a career minister in 1947 and served for two years as director general of the Foreign Service.

Mr. Ravnald was appointed ambassador

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to Uruguay in 1949. He subsequently served as minister to Hungary from 1951-56, ambassador to Ecuador (1956-60), and ambassador to Czechoslovakia (1960-61). He retired in 1961.

Survivors include his wife, Alberta, and a daughter, Inga, both of Vienna; a brother, Eric, of Orlando, Florida; a sister, Sarah R. Smith, of Kerrville, Texas; and a son, Frank, a Foreign Service officer currently serving as executive director of the Foreign Service Institute.

EDWARD H. SCHULICK, deputy director of USIA's Office of International Visitors, died of cancer July 23 at Georgetown University Hospital. He was 52.

Mr. Schulick, a graduate of the Merchant Marine Academy, served with the Navy in Vietnam. He began his career with USIA in 1959 and entered the Foreign Service in 1963. He was appointed to the Senior Foreign Service in 1981.

His overseas assignments included Rangoon, Udorn, Bangkok, and, most recently, deputy public affairs officer in New Delhi. In Washington, he served as deputy director of USIA's Office of Program Development and Coordination.

Survivors include his wife, Duangduen, of Washington; his sons, Richard and Andrew, both students at Johns Hopkins University; and his parents, Ben and Eve Luskin Schulick, of Trenton, New Jersey.

MARJERY S. SPEERS, mother of Michael F. Speers, retired Foreign Service officer and former AFSA treasurer, died of congestive heart failure August 14 in Austin, Texas. She was 89.

Mrs. Speers was graduated from the Presbyterian Hospital Nursing School in New York City. For 25 years she lived and traveled in India with her husband, a Presbyterian minister. They moved to Washington in 1943. Mrs. Speers moved to Texas last year.

She is survived by two sons, Peter C., of Austin, and Michael F., of Weston, Vermont; a daughter, Constance Picco, of Trenton, New Jersey; 14 grandchildren; and 12 great-grandchildren.

GERALD F. WINFIELD, a retired Foreign Service officer in AID who directed training programs in population and family planning, died July 24 of a brain tumor at his home in McLean, Virginia.

Mr. Winfield was graduated from Southern Methodist University. He earned a master's from the University of Illinois and a doctorate in hygiene and public health from Johns Hopkins University.

In 1932 he went to Peking to study for a year and then became head of the biology department and a lecturer in parasitology in the college of medicine at Cheeloo University in North China. While in China, Mr. Winfield developed a process of composting human and animal waste for safe use as fertilizer for food crops that is still in use in the People's Republic of China today.

During World War II, he was a field representative of the U.S. Office of War Information in western China and directed the distribution of educational films throughout those parts of China not held by the Japanese. After the war he was a technical adviser on Chinese rural reconstruction.

From 1946-50, Mr. Winfield served as secretary of the United Board for Christian Colleges in China and helped raise money to rebuild institutions damaged during the war. He organized a health and education information program in Indochina in

EXCHANGE

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1951 and was a technical information officer in Rangoon from 1951-53.

In 1953 he moved to Washington, where he worked in the government's foreign assistance programs, which later became AID. From 1970-78 he was chief of the training and institutions division in that agency. After his retirement in 1978, Mr. Winfield remained active in the nuclear freeze movement at the Rock Spring Congregational Church in Arlington.

Survivors include his wife, Louise, of McLean; three daughters, Margaret Sullivan, of Singapore, Harriett Warfield, of Leesburg, Virginia, and Nancy Cogan, of Canberra, Australia; a son, George F. Winfield, of Burlington, Vermont; a sister, Ruth Love, of Newburyport, Massachusetts; and 16 grandchildren.

DAWSON J. WILSON, son of Foreign Service Officer Dawson S. Wilson, died August 12 of injuries sustained in an automobile accident the night before. He was 21.

Mr. Wilson attended the Berkshire and Canterbury Schools, the American School of Madrid, and Northern Virginia Community College. He accompanied his parents to Foreign Service posts in the Philippines, Malaysia, and Spain. At the time of his death, he was employed by the Arlington Pool Service Company in Arlington, Virginia.

He is survived by his parents, Dawson S. and Maria Z. Wilson, and two sisters, Alexandra Marie and Karen Patricia, all of Arlington, Virginia; and by his grandparents, Mr. and Mrs. Dawson Wilson, of Miami.

EDWARD J. MARTIN, a retired Foreign Service Reserve officer and former special agent with the FBI, died October 15 of a heart attack. He was 70.

Mr. Martin was graduated from the University of Wisconsin in 1936 and went on to earn a law degree from Marquette University in 1939. From 1939-50, he served with the FBI in posts in the United States and Latin America. Mr. Martin later joined AID and served in Ankara, Cairo, and Lagos and as director of the AID mission in Guatemala. In 1963, he served as the AID faculty member at the National Interdepartmental Seminar. He also directed the intermediate course on the problems of development and internal defense at the Foreign Service Institute. He retired in 1968.

He is survived by a brother, Albert G. Martin, of Sarasota, Florida.

MARY NOYES CHAPIN, widow of former ambassador Selden Chapin, died August 13 at her home in Washington. She is survived

by a daughter, Helen C. Metz; a son, Frederic L. Chapin; and seven grandchildren. In lieu of flowers, contributions may be made to the AFSA Scholarship Fund.

ALICE HOYT PALMER, a retired Foreign Service officer in AID, died August 5 at Cooley-Dickinson Hospital in Northampton, Massachusetts. She was 74.

Ms. Palmer was graduated from Smith College in 1930 and did postgraduate work at New York University. She worked as an editor and publishing adviser for the *New York Times*, as a reviewer and contributor to *Young Wings*, the Junior Literary Guild publication of Doubleday, and as an editing supervisor of McGraw Hill Book Company.

From 1960-73, Ms. Palmer was an instructional materials and technology adviser for AID in a number of overseas posts, including Saigon, Jakarta, Rio de Janeiro, and Brasilia. She worked as a consultant for the Latin American Bureau in Washington from 1975-76.

Ms. Palmer was also a practicing artist who was a member of and regular exhibitor at the Provincetown Art Association. Her work was included in numerous group exhibitions in New England and Washington. She exhibited her work widely while on foreign assignments and was recently included in a traveling exhibition sponsored by the Department of State. She designed two covers for the *JOURNAL*.

She is survived by a brother, the Reverend Hoyt E. Palmer, and 11 nieces and nephews. Those wishing to participate in a

memorial to Ms. Palmer may make a contribution to Smith College, Northampton, Massachusetts 01060, in support of the scholarship program for students of the studio arts, or to the Federated Church of Charlemont, Massachusetts 01339.

Birth

A son, **MICHAEL JAMES**, was born October 18 to James and Candie Norton. Mr. Norton is a communications officer assigned to Bonn.

Awards

The late **JOHN EMMERSON**, a former Foreign Service officer, has been posthumously awarded the Second Class Order of the Sacred Treasure by the Japanese government. The award, which was presented to his wife, Dorothy M. Emmerson, on November 16, honors his work promoting understanding between the United States and Japan. Mr. Emmerson was a 33-year veteran of the Foreign Service.

ARTHUR BYRNES, director of the International Programs division of the Graduate School of USDA, has been presented the Director's Award. The award honors his achievement in expanding training and technical assistance programs provided to international clients.

Mr. Byrnes is a member of the American Society for Training and Development. He holds a doctorate in management from New York University.

Black and White Photos in Color

The latest in the Foreign Service Club's rotating art shows is an exhibition by **REBECCA MATLOCK**. This, her first exhibition, is on display in the library.

When the U.S. embassy in Moscow caught fire in 1978, Ms. Matlock decided it was time for her to learn to take her own photographs rather than depend on other people who might not be there to take the photos she thought were important. To encourage her, her husband, Jack, gave her a camera. After taking snapshots of family and friends ceased to be a challenge, she began photographing places as well as people and events. She found that details were often more interesting than entire subjects, and that her photographs were becoming more and more abstract.

Her fascination now is with what she calls "Black and White in Color." She makes photographs which are essential-

ly monochromatic silhouettes, but they often have a slight touch of color, such as a minute American flag on top of the silhouette of the Smithsonian Castle.

Her photograph, "Fishing Out," of carp fishers in Czechoslovakia, won honorable mention and a silver cup in the FARA Art Competition last year.



ASSOCIATION NEWS

USIA Standing chairman defends professionalism to commission

At the invitation of the U.S. Advisory Commission on Public Diplomacy, the chairman of AFSA's USIA Standing Committee, Richard Arndt, met with the commission to discuss several issues of concern to the Association's membership in USIA. The commission, USIA's presidentially appointed oversight body, is currently chaired by Edwin Feulner, president of the Heritage Foundation.

The invitation preceded the standing committee's open letter editorial to USIA Director Charles Z. Wick published in the July/August JOURNAL, but discussion dwelled exclusively on the open letter and its timing. Later, Arndt wrote to Feulner to clarify three points.

First, the sizeable AFSA membership in USIA is a cross section of Foreign Service employees in Washington and abroad. While small in number, these employees handle much of the substantive work of the agency. He pointed out that the effect of the four-fold increase in political appointments in Washington has fallen most heavily on those Foreign Service employees who work in the capital, among whom AFSA counts a good proportion of members.

Second, in answer to the charge that other means should have been tried before the standing committee resorted to an open letter, Arndt noted the many previous efforts to explain the standing committee's concerns about professional issues to USIA leadership. These efforts, formal and informal, go back as far as letters to the director in May 1982, continued in the January 1984 issue of the JOURNAL dedicated to USIA, and culminated in the February editorial urging better dialogue between the agency's Foreign Service employees and its leaders.

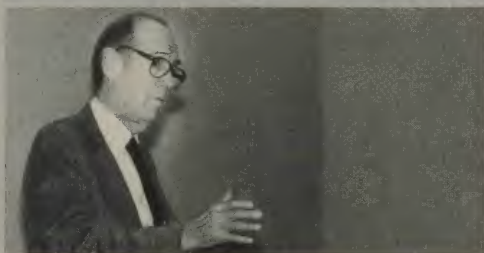
Last, in response to the commission's suggestion that the standing committee's motives in

publishing the letter were "political," Arndt said that the open letter spoke to professional concerns. Perhaps political in one sense of that word, it was in no way partisan. AFSA membership in USIA argues that it is indeed a political matter whether or not the American people want government employees to be career professionals, but that expressions of national will on such questions must come from the Congress. Decisions dam-

aging to the Foreign Service, in the absence of expressions of congressional intent, have been for the most part administrative in nature.

Arndt added, "The essence of professionalism, in our view, lies in a body of knowledge gained from study and experience over time. People with such backgrounds contribute to sound analysis and wise decision-making. The career professional in foreign policy provides the political policymaker with supportive or alternate information, insights, rationales, scenarios, and background considera-

tions. Together they can arrive at the soundest possible judgments in the time available. The career professional knows he or she may have the duty of calling into question proposed courses of action, while offering alternatives. The professional considers decisions in the context of broad national interests, present and future, in the framework of precedents and practices we call history." Professionalism "is not an entitlement, it is a process of continual learning and growth which under ordinary circumstances is paralleled by increased responsibility."



Newsom throws stones at distinction of 'public diplomacy'

"I often bridle at the distinction that is made between public diplomacy and 'real' diplomacy," said former Under Secretary of State for Political Affairs David Newsom to an audience of USIA employees on November 29. Because the American foreign policy process is open to congressional review and public scrutiny, "all our diplomacy is public diplomacy. We are conducting diplomacy in a glass house." Newsom's talk, held at the Capitol Hill Holiday Inn, was the third in the lecture series "Dialogs on Public Diplomacy," sponsored by AFSA's USIA Standing Committee.

Newsom, who said that openness in the foreign policy process is "inevitable in our society," relented the idea that the "traditional framework" of diplomacy is solely "something that is con-

ducted by the so-called expert who deals with the foreign ministry and reports to the State Department." Expanding on the theme of all diplomacy as public, he said that information about the United States comes not only from official sources, such as USIA, but also from the media and from legislators. As a result, foreign diplomats "want to know what the leak will be" in their dealings with the United States and they observe events in Washington with "meticulous attention." At the same time, they can be surprisingly naive about our society. He recalled an incident when a foreign diplomat thought that the purpose of the noon press briefing was for the State Department to tell the media what to publish. He said that the confusing and conflicting messages the world re-

ceives about the United States give the USIA officer a difficult job to perform.

The nature of the glass house in which American diplomacy is conducted also arises from the size and power of the United States, especially when viewed from the perspective of a Third World country. Not only are U.S. policies under close scrutiny by other countries, but they are particularly vulnerable to criticism in countries with repressive regimes, where anti-American sentiment can be an outlet for anger at the local government.

Newsom, who served in the 1950s as a USIA information officer in Pakistan and a public affairs officer in Baghdad, asked what the implications of "glass house diplomacy" were for the information officer, particularly in relation to treating the faults of our society and the conflict between countering adversaries and selling America. While admitting that these issues are widely debated even within the agency, he said that USIA officers can act to build confidence with foreign governments through personal relations; they can reach out beyond the normal bounds of traditional diplomacy by going past the official world to the people of the host country; and they must therefore make sure they know as much as possible about our system to help explain it to foreigners.

Letter from the Treasurer

Why We Need a Dues Increase

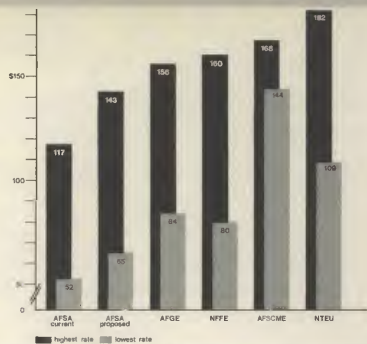
By Warren Gardner, AFSA Treasurer

Last month, AFSA President Dennis K. Hays asked for your favorable vote on a referendum to raise your membership dues, the first such increase in five years. He explained that the new dues structure would deduct roughly the same proportion of your salary as it did in 1979, and that even with the increase, AFSA would still be the least expensive of all comparable federal-employee organizations (see accompanying chart at right). The referendum will be mailed to all Association members in late January.

I would like to take this opportunity to explain in more detail AFSA's financial situation in the hopes of persuading you that a dues increase is necessary to sound financial management—

and that it will help us with the ongoing enlargement of our services necessitated by the increasing challenges to the Foreign Service.

Through a variety of measures taken by the Governing Board since 1979, AFSA has been able to post budget surpluses in each of the last three fiscal years. These measures have resulted in an increase in membership of more than 30 percent and even larger boosts in Club and JOURNAL revenues. The surpluses have in turn been used to fund capital expenditures, such as data processing equipment and needed remodeling of the building, and to expand membership services. At the same time, of course, inflationary pressures have been raising our



operating costs, and expanding membership needs have pressed us to enlarge our labor-management relations and communications staffs. Grievance representation, for instance, has increased by nearly 300 percent in the last five years, and the number of major legal actions by 600 percent. To handle this workload, we have added an extra grievance representative and a new legal assistant. Also, the JOURNAL has been overhauled, enlarged, and improved, and its staff accordingly has been enlarged.

Despite notable successes in keeping costs in line, the period of budget surpluses is about to end: unless action is taken at this point AFSA is likely to enter a period of budget deficits, which will otherwise have to be met by reductions in needed services. Additionally, we are now at a point where our cash reserves are near depletion. Cash reserves not only provide a cushion in the face of unexpected adversity such as equipment failure, they also provide investment income, allow us to take discounts by promptly paying bills, enable us to cope with fluctuations in revenues, and permit sensible and timely replacement and repair of capital assets. Our building, for instance, will shortly need major improvements in its heating and air-conditioning plants.

Now is the time to prepare for the expanded services and increased use of resources that will be required to meet the new challenges facing AFSA. The new congressional session, for instance, will tax our staff resources to the extreme as we

combat expected attacks on the entire system of Foreign Service benefits and allowances. This presidential term promises a new round of political appointments to more and more embassies and ever-lower staff grades.

If the pattern of the past few years holds up, employees will be coming to us in ever-increasing numbers to rectify inequities in the system, and we will be operating every day in the courts, at the negotiation table, and in the hearing room. We anticipate the necessity for more legal staff as a result of the increasing need to use litigation and arbitration in labor-management relations. At the same time, we hope to increase other membership benefits, to continue to provide more lectures and other programs at the Club, and to develop additional benefits for our retired members.

Your favorable vote on the referendum will serve to strengthen AFSA and to ensure its viability and visibility as an effective advocate for the Foreign Service in the years ahead.

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Retired: \$30 for Foreign Service annuities under \$20,000, \$45 for Foreign Service annuities over \$20,000.

Life members: \$1500

Board names new finance chairman

The Governing Board has approved the appointment of Warren Gardner as AFSA treasurer, in which capacity he also serves as chairman of the Finance Committee and as an ex officio member of the Insurance Board of Trustees.

Gardner is currently budget officer in the East Asian and Pacific Affairs Bureau in the State Department and previously served in the Office of the Inspector General and in the General Accounting Office. He replaces Joanne Jenkins, who resigned because of a new as-



signment.

The board also approved the appointment of Sheila West Austrian as the new USIA representative on the Committee on Education. Austrian is currently country affairs officer for Egypt, Sudan, and Yemen. She replaces Susan Modi, who has been assigned to an overseas post.

Election alert

The Elections Committee wishes to call to the attention of the membership that an election for all Governing Board positions will be held in 1985, the officers so elected to take office on July 15. An official election call will be printed in this section in the February issue.

The Governing Board positions are listed on the masthead on page 3 of this issue.

AFSA pouch survey ranges from Abidjan to Zurich

Reliable pouch service is vital for personnel at hardship posts where no alternative exists and where delays and losses of mail and packages cause serious morale problems. Accordingly, over the years AFSA has looked into numerous complaints about the diplomatic pouch service. We have held meetings with the Office of Communications and toured the pouch centers in the State Department and in Newington. In 1982 and '83, an OC inspection team, the Office of Security, and the U.S. Postal Service conducted investigations into theft reports that resulted in some arrests and upgrading of operations. Nonetheless, reports about delays and thefts have continued.

Last summer AFSA continued to receive pouch complaints, notably from Colombo. The Association accordingly decided it was time to conduct a worldwide survey.

The following posts reported problems: Abidjan, Algiers, Bamako, Bangui, Belize, Bombay, Bridgetown, Bujumbura, Calgary, Colombo, Cotonou, Dhaka, Durban, Georgetown, Harare, Islamabad, Jamaica, Kaduna, Kalmhandu, Lilongwe, Lubumbashi, Lusaka, Mbabane, New Delhi, Niamey, Ouagadougou, Pretoria, and Zurich. Munich, as well as some other posts that have APO service, also reported pouch delays. Fifty percent of posts reported long delays, and most cited lost mail and packages as the major concern. Many sent extensive lists detailing losses, notably Colombo and Dhaka. Small, expensive items disappeared most frequently.

As could be expected, low morale resulting from pouch problems was reported by most posts. The aggravation and frustration is most acutely felt during the holiday season. Somewhat to our surprise, misrouting is a frequent occurrence. Bamako cabled that letters were often misdirected, and Bangui's pouches often go to Banjul or other posts with the same initial letter. Durban noted delays with mail sent to Dublin, Djibouti, Am-

bassador Dunbar in Doha, and a Mr. Durbin in Washington. Kaduna pouches were sent to Kabul, Karachi, and Kuala Lumpur, and Zurich's mail ended up in Zagreb and Warsaw.

The Frankfurt regional pouch center cabled that it receives mail for constituent posts through APO, sorts it according to destination, and then pouches it on by air, truck, or rail. Frankfurt concluded: "We're not perfect but maybe pretty good, and we're handling about 250,000 pounds of mail annually."

Various recommendations for improving pouch services were suggested. These include establishing more APO centers, converting to nine-digit zip codes, and assuring that contents of packages cannot be identified for "selective pilferage." Martinique and Lubumba-

Oh, Maryland!

Due to a printer's error, the Directory of Retired Members mailed to all retirees last month omitted Maryland.

The printer is preparing an addendum, which will be mailed to all retirees as soon as it becomes available. We apologize for any inconvenience.

shi noted that closer cooperation with OC or its regional pouch facility improved any problems with delays.

Colombo has untiringly reported pouch losses and delays for several years and was instrumental in initiating the Association's survey. The chapter's AFSA representative recently discussed these problems while in Washington. The Association and the department have repeatedly requested the post to investigate its own mail operations to make sure the losses did not happen right under their noses. In early December, Colombo reported that indeed, three mailroom employees are alleged to have been caught with stolen pouch items. Along with personnel in Colombo, we hope that this effectively puts an end to pouch thefts at post.

Not all complaints can be blamed on the department's pouch operations. For example, delays are to be expected where pouches first go to regional centers, or where commercial airlines don't have direct or frequent flight service. Also, Pan American Airways has been reported by the New Delhi chapter to hold up pouch shipments to make space for luggage or air freight. When we visited the Newington facility, we were shown a number of packages that did not conform to size and weight restrictions. We saw packages that arrived crushed

or poorly wrapped and others where addresses were illegible. Further, the postal service will not forward insured or registered mail to the pouch address. Publishers and AAFES are notorious for electronic garbling of names and posts.

Pouch officials have a number of practical and workable solutions to alleviate the above problems. Our concern is that this information is not disseminated to the field; we therefore have suggested that the department publish comprehensive guidelines.

Substantive changes in the pouch operations are also needed and are under active consideration. We are reasonably assured that this time some real improvements will result, because senior management wants action. Contracting out to commercial pouch services is being looked into, as well as suggestions from the field. Other ideas include moving the pouch rooms (which are overcrowded) to the more spacious facilities at Newington. This would also alleviate delays caused by incorrect zip codes (State is 20520, Newington 20521).

AFSA is committed to improved pouch operations and will continue to work with management to achieve this. Copies of our survey report have been made available to management to pinpoint trouble spots and document the extent of losses and delays. —Sabine Sisk

AFSA's staff: A family portrait



Most of the members of AFSA's staff gathered for a family portrait last month. Standing, from left: Journal Editor Stephen R. Dujaak, General Counsel Susan Hollk, Administrative Assistant Wanda Dykhus, Grievance Representative Brandy Wilson, Legal Assistant Gregory Lewis, Membership Coordinator Lee Midthun, Scholarship Administrator Dawn Cuthell, Secretary Supajee Lapcharen. Seated: Associate Editor Frances G. Burwell, Grievance Counselor Sabine Sisk, Editorial Assistant Nancy Barfels, Executive Secretary Demetra Papsirat, and Executive Director Lynne B. Iglitzin. Not pictured: Congressional Liaison Robert Beers.

AFSA dues deduction clarification

Some employees have recently informed AFSA that they have not been able to use the allotment system to pay their dues because they have used up their number of allowed deductions. AFSA annual dues, while processed the same as an allotment, are not counted toward the three salary deductions by allotment that employees are authorized. 4 FAM 556.5 states that employee organization membership dues will be handled as an allotment of pay and are authorized in addition to the regular allotments of pay.

Kalb: U.S. strategic superiority unacceptable to Soviets

"There is no relationship more central to our continued existence" than that of the United States and the Soviet Union, NBC Chief Diplomatic Correspondent Marvin Kalb told a group of USIA employees on October 25 at the Capitol Hill Holiday Inn. Approximately 125 people attended the second meeting in a series of lunchtime "Dialogs on Public Diplomacy" sponsored by AFSA's USIA Standing Committee.

Ideology forms the basis of the Soviet's world view, said Kalb, who was formerly a teacher of Russian history at Harvard University, but the Soviet ability to be practical and behave realistically on matters of substance has been demonstrated by the policy of "peaceful coexistence" of the late 1950s. Because nuclear weapons had ended any possibility of one side's conquering the other, both would "accept in a strategic sense not to inflict mortal damage one upon the other." Otherwise, however, no holds would be barred.

The superpowers' relationship had changed to one of detente by the 1970s, but, according to Kalb, "this was oversold by Kissinger and by Nixon," in part for partisan reasons. The Soviets were comfortable with detente, which portrayed them as equals of the United States, but Americans were not so con-

tent, especially when Vietnam seemed to show a "decline in U.S. world power and a vindication of the Soviet world view—that communism was on the march." Since the Reagan administration took office, Kalb said, detente is no longer considered to be a valid basis for coexistence. The United States is again seeking a measure of strategic superiority and attempting to "reconstitute that as the basis of East-West relations." According to Kalb, this new rhetoric is "unrealistic to the Russians; they don't know where we're coming from."

President Reagan, he said, has talked big but acted cautiously. He has built up the military, and he committed forces to Lebanon, but he pulled them out when the going got rough. The liberation of Grenada, "as a military victory was a pimple on the backside of an elephant." Overall, the president has been very cautious, Kalb concluded.

In the future, Kalb would like to see a serious move toward arms control negotiations. He conceded, however, that such an effort may not bear fruit in the near future since the Soviets themselves appear to be in political confusion.

Kalb also offered comments on the role of the media in the making of foreign policy. He said he considers himself part of the foreign policymaking estab-

lishment in Washington because what he reports has an impact on decision-makers. One example has been the Soviets' more skillful use of U.S. media to manipulate public opinion. There has been a change, for instance, in the way Soviet Foreign Minister Andrei Gromyko plays to the television cameras. "He's always got his kind of Reaganesque one-liner."

Kalb also gave an example of a decision by NBC to broadcast a story on the famine in Ethiopia in their newscast one evening simply because of the impressive film they had on it. This newscast raised public concern, thereby creating pressure on policymakers to focus on the problem. According to Kalb, this was not a rare instance.

—Nancy Bartels

AFSA launches second Legislative Action Fund drive

This month, AFSA is launching a new Legislative Action Fund drive timed to coincide with the start of the congressional season. Monies raised support AFSA's lobbying efforts on Capitol Hill to fight the ongoing attack on the entire system of Foreign Service benefits and allowances.

The Congress faces record deficits, and measures likely to receive serious consideration include a cut in or a freeze of federal pay, as well as possible revisions in the retirement program meant to reduce benefits to current retirees or raise the cost to current employees.

Hundreds of members participated in our last drive, which continued through the end of the year. Contributors to the fund are acknowledged in this space, and the adjacent list represents the last batch of contributors through December 1.

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Life & Love in the Foreign Service



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—Bradford Johnson, Santo Domingo

Winners of the monthly LIFE & LOVE contest receive a certificate for a free lunch for two at the Foreign Service Club. Honorable mentions receive a free carafe of wine.

Competition #18



Send entries to:
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AFSA
2101 E Street NW
Washington, D.C. 20037
(Deadline February 15.)

AFSA's 1984 Foreign Service Tax Guide

Like all Americans, Foreign Service employees will be affected by recent changes in the tax laws. In addition, there are some provisions that have always affected them more than others because of the lifestyle necessitated by a mobile career, and others that have frequently been troublesome for them at tax time—or later in an audit. To assist our membership as the deadline for filing approaches, we once again publish our annual Foreign Service Tax Guide.

As a result of the Tax Reform Act of 1984, there are several changes to keep in mind when preparing your return. These include capital gains treatment, income averaging, deadline to make IRA contributions, medical deductions, and real estate depreciation. Also, remember those problem areas specific to the Foreign Service, such as domicile, home leave, representation, and deductions for official residence expenses (OREs). An increasing number of employees are being audited and contact us for guidance. For this reason, we also call your attention to the concluding segment on audit procedures.

We have only been able to address tax questions in a general manner. For individual advice, contact your accountant or AFSA's tax consultant, Robert N. Dussell, who operates his tax practice at 3601 N. Fairfax Drive, Arlington, Virginia 22201. Mr. Dussell is a retired Foreign Service officer and a certified enrolled agent. For many years now we have relied on his professional advice and expertise in preparing this guide.

Death by Terrorism

Last April, Congress amended Section 692 of the Internal Revenue Code to provide tax exempt status to survivors of military or civilian employees of the federal government who die as a result of terrorism or military actions abroad. The provisions are retroactive to deaths occurring after December 31, 1979. Readers should note that the Treasury Department's proposed tax reform package for 1985 includes a provision repealing this tax forgiveness in 1987.

Sale of Personal Residence

Capital gains on the sale of your personal residence may be deferred if a new residence of equal or greater value is purchased within two years (four years if overseas). The deferral provision does not apply to property used in trade or business or for the production of income. Foreign Service employees are affected by this caveat when they rent their personal residences while serving overseas. The IRS main-

tains that rental property does not qualify for special tax treatment. In *Trisko vs. Commissioner* (1972) (Revenue Ruling 59-72), however, the tax court held that the personal residence of a Foreign Service employee retains that status even if temporarily (up to six years) rented prior to sale. In distinguishing personal residence from investment property, the chief tests are as follows:

- Is the property the taxpayer's principal residence?
- Did the taxpayer reside in the property prior to being sent abroad?
- Did the taxpayer intend to return to the residence upon completion of overseas duty?

A copy of the Trisko decision may be requested from AFSA.

Taxpayers 55 years or older are granted a one-time tax exclusion of \$125,000 on capital gains upon sale of a personal residence. To be eligible for the exclusion, the taxpayer must have owned and lived in the residence for three years of the five prior to the sale. Foreign Service personnel often cannot meet this requirement due to their extensive overseas service and, unlike the *Trisko* case, this issue has never been tested in court.

An AFSA request for an IRS ruling exempting Foreign Service personnel was not successful. The IRS stated that, while it would not issue a blanket ruling covering Foreign Service employees, they would judge cases on an individual basis, considering the particular facts of each. The IRS maintains that an amendment to the law is required to provide relief for special employment categories that cannot meet the residency test.

Capital Gains

Capital investments made after June 23, 1984, qualify for capital gains treatment at the lower tax rate if held more than six months rather than a year.

Depreciation

Writing off real estate investments through depreciation (ACRS—or Accelerated Cost Recovery System) will take longer for property bought after March 15, 1984. The new recovery period is 18 years instead of 15. Also, if you sold real property after June 6, 1984, through an installment sale, depreciation recapture is reportable as income in the year of sale, even if no proceeds are received that year. See Form 6252 for details.

Working Couples Credit

The credit remains the same as in 1983: 10 percent of the income of the lower-paid spouse. The maximum credit allowed is \$3000 and must be adjusted for any deductions claimed by the lower-paid spouse (i.e., an IRA, moving expenses, etc.). Adjusted gross income is computed on form 1040W. Taxpayers may claim this deduction even if they don't itemize.

Medical Deductions

Medical deductions, including medical insurance paid by you, are limited to the excess over five percent of adjusted gross income. The cost of a diet or exercise program is also deductible if accompanied by a physician's statement that such treatment was recommended for a medical condition. The good news for 1984 is that lodging expenses of a taxpayer who must travel away from home for specialized or otherwise unavailable medical treatment may be deducted up to \$50 a night. This also applies to a person accompanying a patient, such as a parent traveling with a sick child. Hospitalization is not required to claim this deduction.

Alternative Minimum Tax

The revised AMT closes a loophole for taxpayers with above average capital gains. It is triggered by large itemized deductions, capital gains, depletion, depreciation, etc., in excess of \$40,000 for a joint return. The balance is taxed at a flat 20-percent rate. The law also provides that estimated tax payments be made for the AMT. The new provisions in the AMT will be treated in detail in a forthcoming issue of the ASSOCIATION NEWS.

Representation

Foreign Service personnel are permitted a tax deduction for representation expenses in excess of allowances or reimbursement, provided that:

—Such expenses are required of the employee in accordance with his or her rank and grade in the Foreign Service, and these requirements are included in the job description;

—Such expenses would be reimbursable if the employing agency had sufficient funds for such payments;

—A certificate is obtained from an authorized officer attesting that such expenses were incurred for the benefit of the United States and that due to insufficient funds no reimbursement was possible for the year involved. This certificate must be attached to the tax return. An itemized list should be attached to any return claiming such deductions showing the date and type of expense, when it was incurred, and its relationship to Foreign Service activity.

Under a recent IRS ruling (Revenue Ruling 84-86), Foreign Service members subject to Official Residence Expenses (OREs) may exclude from their gross income the five percent the government deducts from their gross income to apply against OREs. The deduction is reported as an adjustment to income on Form 2106. Reference to Revenue Ruling 84-86 should be made. In addition, submit a statement from a certifying officer to the effect that

—The employee occupied a senior position and that the agency defrayed the employee's OREs; and

—That five percent of the employee's gross income was deducted from salary but was included on the W-2 form.

Amended returns may be filed up to three years from the date of the original return on Form 1040X. Copies of the ruling may be requested from AFSA.

This year, the IRS issued an individual ruling for a Foreign Service member allowing him to deduct certain representation expenses incurred by his spouse and other family members. The favorable ruling is based in part on Section 905 of the Foreign Service Act, which provides for payment of representation expenses to family members. The ruling is directed only to the individual who had requested it and may not be used as a precedent. Foreign Service members may contact AFSA for guidance and a copy of the decision.

Ordinary trade and business expenses of a Foreign Service employee, in excess of any reimbursements, are also deductible and cover items such as AFSA dues, professional publications, business cards, and the like, as long as the records show them to be directly connected with the employee's official assignment. Remember, such expenses are only permitted when the taxpayer uses Schedule 1040A, itemized expenses.

Home Computers

The 1984 Tax Reform Act eliminates some of the tax benefits of home computers. The computer must be used more than 50 percent for business purposes to qualify. After June 18, 1984, this does not include investments (unless that is your trade), except when you meet the 50-percent test otherwise. There is a five-year recovery for depreciation as well as an investment credit on the business portion.

Regardless of whether use of the computer qualifies for a deduction, you may claim on Schedule A the cost of investment software and associated expenses, i.e., fees and connection charges. Please note that beginning in January 1985, the IRS requires certified time-of-use records to support the percentage of computer use for business and investments.

Income Averaging

Beginning in 1984, it is a lot more difficult to take advantage of income averaging, and the savings for those who qualify are reduced. To be eligible, you must be earning more than 140 percent of your average income over the previous three years (compared with more than 120 percent over a four-year average previously).

Divorce and Alimony

Transfer of property between spouses as a result of divorce will no longer be treated as a taxable loss or gain if not divided equally. The tax treatment of alimony has also been simplified. See IRS instructions for more details.

Charitable Deductions

Taxpayers who do not itemize will be pleased with the new short form, which permits a \$75 deduction for 1984 contributions to charity—up from \$25 if they donated \$300 before January 1, 1985.

Moving Expenses

Unreimbursed moving expenses may be deducted if the move was necessary to begin work in a new location. For Foreign Service personnel this would apply to costs for shipping household effects in excess of the weight allowance, storage expenses, shipment of pets and second automobiles, and travel expenses in excess of per diem or other travel and transfer allowances. It also includes costs incurred in the selling or purchase of an old or new residence as the result of a change in job location. The same applies to costs of settling an old lease or the acquisition of a new lease. Also deductible are brokers' commissions, lawyers' fees, closing costs, fees, and points (to the extent not claimed as interest). If treated as a moving expense, these deductions cannot be used to establish the cost basis of the old or new residence. Taxpayers should analyze their situation to see which method gives the best tax advantage.

The rules for foreign moves are more generous than for domestic transfers. However, a move from abroad to the United States does not qualify as a foreign move unless it is in connection with bona-fide retirement or the move of a spouse or dependent of a deceased person whose principal place of work was outside the United States at the time of death. There are limitations to the maximum amounts allowable. See instructions on Form 3903 for domestic moves and Form 3903F for foreign moves.

Education and Training

While in salary status, expenses for meals, lodging, books, supplies, and other expenses required for training that are not reimbursed are shown on Schedule 2106 and are normally deductible. Expenses of family members are specifically excluded. A statement from the director of training or other appropriate official should be attached to the return to show the requirement for the training and its temporary nature plus the amount of per diem, if any, paid by the agency. A sample statement may be requested from AFSA.

Training expenses while on "leave without pay" taken to enhance professional background for greater responsibility as a Foreign Service employee are deductible only if a statement attached to your return shows that such full-time study was directly related to improvement of your capacity to perform Foreign Service assignments. The IRS will not permit deductions if they are in any way incurred to meet minimum requirements of your position or to qualify you for a new profession. Unreimbursed evening classes and correspondence courses you have enrolled in to improve your skills for the Foreign Service are also deductible.

IRAS

The IRA is still one of the best tax shelters available. It results in an immediate tax reduction, and interest accumulates tax free until withdrawal. For example, if you are in the 35-percent tax bracket, a \$2000 IRA contribution would lower your taxes by approximately \$700. The only disadvantage is that you cannot withdraw funds until age 59-½ without incurring a 10-percent penalty plus tax liability on the amount withdrawn, unless it is repaid into the account within 60 days. 1984 IRA contributions must be made by April 15, 1985, even if you have received an extension for filing.

Job Hunting Expenses

The following expenses in connection with the search for a new job in the same or similar trade or profession of previous employment may be deducted.

- The cost of resumes, stationery, printing, postage, etc.;
- Job counseling, testing, or employment-agency fees;
- Long distance calls to set up appointments, etc.;
- Overnight expenses in connection with job interviews. These include meals, lodging, and travel.

Energy Credit

A maximum credit of \$300 (15 percent of \$2000) is allowed. Any balance not used in previous years can be claimed up to the \$300 maximum. See Form 5695 for details.

Political Contributions

A political donation credit of 50 percent of the first \$200 in donations is allowed on joint returns. Single returns may get the credit at one-half the joint-return amount. You need not itemize to gain this credit.

Interest and Dividends

Only dividend income of \$100 (\$200 joint) may be excluded. The net interest exclusion, which was scheduled to begin in 1985, was repealed before it ever took effect.

Building Costs

If you construct a home or add to your present one, you may claim a separate deduction for the sales tax on building materials, as long as you paid for the materials yourself. If you use a contractor who pays for the materials and bills you later for the total cost of the construction, you may not claim the deduction. Have an understanding with your contractor that you want to pay for all materials or that you wish to be billed directly by the supplier. Try to negotiate, however, that the supplier still offers the standard discount provided to contractors.

Casualty and Theft Losses

The casualty and theft loss provisions have been tightened. Only substantial losses have a chance of qualifying. A deduction is only allowed to the extent that the loss, after insurance reimbursements and minus \$100 for each loss, exceeds 10 percent of adjusted gross income.

Foreign-Earned Income Exclusion

Government employees are not eligible for this exclusion (\$80,000), nor are spouses who perform personal services for a government agency while overseas. As long as the agency has direct supervision over the work performed and furnishes space and facilities, you are considered a government employee, regardless of part-time or contract status. There are, however, certain jobs performed by spouses or other individuals that qualify for the exclusion even though funds are ultimately paid by the government. These would include certain teaching jobs or performance as an independent contracting business or as a consultant. To be eligible under these circumstances, you must have been out of the United States for 330 days of a 12-month period.

Domicile vs. Residence

Domicile requirements remain a major tax problem for Foreign Service employees who are unfamiliar with the law and do not consider themselves liable to pay state income taxes while residing abroad. Few were penalized for this assumption until several years ago, when states began an intensive survey of residents and former residents who had not been paying state income taxes. Once the state catches on, the rude awakening can mean large back taxes, along with stiff fines for penalties and interest.

The domicile is that U.S. state or district which is the taxpayer's "permanent" place of domicile, despite the ownership of property, etc., in another jurisdiction. Do you have a domicile? Yes. Court decisions have made it clear that every citizen has a right to vote and must consequently have a domicile in the United States from which he or she can do so. There are exceptions, such as retirees living more or less permanently abroad, who retain citizenship without having a U.S. domicile. Federal government employees abroad are, however, absent for a fixed time period with an eventual return to the United States. Therefore, they must have a domicile to which they can return. Consequently, you may be paying for services not received while living abroad. Remember, though, that tax liability is a result of law, not bureaucratic decisions. With increasing frequency, states are challenging the domiciliary status claimed. The mere desire to change domicile for tax purposes will not satisfy the challenging state. In fact, rest assured that it will check with the state you claim as your domicile to see if you are indeed registered there.

The following factors are normally considered when attempting to resolve a domicile problem.

- State of legal voting status, or where you could exercise civil rights, or where your will would be probated;
- State of birth and schooling while under parental control and from which federal service was entered;
- State of domicile after schooling years and from which military service was performed and where veteran's allowance, educational allowance, etc., could be obtained;
- State where your dependents attend educational institutions at in-state tuition rates;
- State of family ties, including burial plot and church affiliation;
- State of personal, fraternal, or society affiliations;
- State where you maintain a bank account, own real property, or hold other business investments;

—State where your auto is titled and in which you carry a valid driver's license;

—State where Foreign Service home leave is taken or state to which you intend to return after government service.

None of these factors by itself will determine domicile, but they each contribute to the final determination. As stated previously, in addition to the finer points of domicile determination, the all important intention factor must be taken into account. Even a slight alteration of a single fact, innocent as it may appear to the taxpayer at the time, can lead to a change in domicile.

You may become a resident in another state while maintaining your domicile. When you move to Virginia or Maryland while on Washington assignment, you will become a tax-paying resident if you live in these states for at least six months. If you are domiciled in another state that has income taxes, you may be subject to double taxation, with a share of your maximum tax liability going to each state.

Foreign Service personnel residing in the District of Columbia must pay income taxes, unless they are commissioned and confirmed by the Senate and maintain a domicile elsewhere in the United States. This includes commissioned AID officers. The IRS sends copies of 1040s to the state from which they were filed, and if you claim the exemption you can expect to hear from the district, wishing to ascertain your tax exempt status. You will be asked to provide the legal authority for the exemption, which is 22 U.S.C. 3942. When you leave your temporary state of residence, be sure to inform that state's tax department to avoid later problems. Many states provide a form for this purpose. There are, of course, some states that do not have income taxes and others that only tax profits from sale of property or bonds. In addition, some states exempt domiciliaries as long as they live outside the state. For more details on domicile questions, ask the AFSA office for its "Domicile vs. Residence" guidelines.

Home Leave Expenses

Under Revenue Ruling 82-2, substantiated home leave expenses of Foreign Service personnel are deductible business expenses. As most of our readers are aware, the IRS views the deductions with suspicion and in 1983 disallowed these in at least two cases under a previous tax court ruling (*Bell vs. United States*, 1979). Under *Bell*, only those employees returning to the same post of assignment could deduct expenses. Not all IRS examiners were aware of or applied the *Bell* decision. Earlier this year we obtained a copy of an internal IRS memo clarifying treatment of home leave expenses. The memo effectively negates the restrictions in *Bell* and allows substantiated home leave deductions regardless of whether the employee returns to the same or another assignment. Copies of this memo may be requested from AFSA.

Home leave deductions are made on Form 2106, which results in an adjustment to gross income. In this manner, the deductions are taken whether one itemizes or not. Only the employee may deduct home leave expenses. The IRS maintains that the expenses of your accompanying family are personal in nature and therefore are not deductible. Since there is often a fine line between the two, it is important to keep accurate and complete records. Do not use a per-diem rate.

It may be a good idea to record your travel in a diary. Write down where you stay and when, plus mileage, whether you rent a car or use your own. Keep all receipts for lodging and food, as well as for travel expenses incurred within the United States, which may include air, rail, bus, taxi, car rental and mileage (20.5¢ per mile). Reasonable (\$14 a day for the first 30 days, \$9 a day thereafter) unsubstantiated daily food expenses are acceptable to the IRS as long as lodging receipts can be produced for those periods.

Attach a statement to Form 2106 explaining that you are a federal employee on overseas assignment, temporarily in the United States on mandatory home leave. Note home leave dates and proceed to

show the IRS how you arrived at the deductions by breaking the total amount into three categories: unreimbursed travel, lodging, and food. Do not submit receipts or your travel log unless requested. Because the IRS may ask for your home leave orders, you should keep a copy with your records.

Beware the Audit

The 1982 tax law and its predecessor in 1981 provide stringent penalties for fudging on tax requirements and give the IRS additional power to prosecute abusive tax shelters. The IRS's mammoth computer in Martinsburg, West Virginia, will match at least 97 percent of income statements from employees, banks, brokers, etc., against individual tax returns.

The best strategy is to prepare a tax return as if it will be audited. Proper records and receipts must be kept, particularly in problem areas that are often subject to challenge, such as deductions for home leave expenses. Because estimates will not stand up in an audit, all required documentation should be organized and available. Hang on to those records, although this might be cumbersome for the ever-mobile Foreign Service employee. The IRS has three years from the filing date (no time limit if fraud is suspected) to audit your return. Frequently, it only gets around to scrutinizing returns the third year.

Being chosen for an audit does not necessarily mean that the IRS suspects something. Your name may have been drawn by the computer for a random audit to gather compliance statistics. Your expenses may be out of proportion to your income when compared with the national average. Or it may be the result of an informed tip. Readers should know they can get out of an audit if the same point of contention has been examined in the two previous years with no change made. If this is the case, request a cancellation.

Audits are normally handled in some combination of three ways: correspondence, office visit, or field investigation. More than likely a taxpayer overseas will face only a correspondence audit, at least at first. If a reply is required, do it promptly and submit copies—never originals—of whatever documents are requested.

The taxpayer must decide whether to represent him or herself, or use the services of a person authorized to represent taxpayers before the Treasury Department, such as an enrolled tax agent, a certified public accountant, or a tax attorney. In most cases, correspondence audits and simpler visits or investigations can be handled by the individual. If the issues are unclear or technical in nature, however, the taxpayer will almost always fare better with professional representation.

Always furnish any proof required by the IRS but never provide more than requested, since it is not good policy to volunteer added or unrelated information during an examination. If the auditor decides an added tax assessment is required—a fancy way of saying "pay up"—do not be stampeded into accepting it. Take a few days to think it over and perhaps to discuss it with your tax consultant. Then advise the auditor whether you accept or disagree with the determination.

If you disagree, you have three immediate courses open to you: an informal conference with the auditor's superior; an appellate hearing; and the tax court. As a last attempt, you can pay the tax and then file a claim for a refund.

Problems calling for an audit tend to fall into three categories: unreported income; overstated expenses; or items with a contrary view on taxability or deductibility. If unreported income is the problem, and if it is of substantial amount, the IRS may be considering a fraud investigation. Fraud investigations are conducted by special agents and field revenue agents. If such agents call on you, tax counsel is strongly recommended at once, as would be counsel in any civil or criminal proceeding. One factor in the taxpayer's favor, however, is that, unlike with a normal audit, the burden of proof is on the IRS in a fraud case.

—Sabine Sisk

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