

# FOREIGN SERVICE

J O U R N A L

\$2.00

February 1987

A man in a dark suit and tie is seated at a desk in a cluttered office. He is looking directly at the camera with a neutral expression. The desk is covered with various papers, including a newspaper with the headline "Business Days for Japan's" and "After Days for Japan's". There are stacks of books and folders on shelves behind him. The lighting is dramatic, with strong highlights and deep shadows.

## MANAGING STATE

An Interview with Under Secretary Spiers

# Protocol Demands It. You Deserve It.



## Special Discount Prices For Diplomats On American-Built AMC Cars and Jeeps.

With over 100 years' experience in solving the transportation problems of drivers around the world, AMC/Jeep/Renault fully understands the unique driving needs of the diplomatic community.

Now, no matter where in the world your duties take you, you can take advantage of Special Diplomatic Prices on every AMC/Renault car and AMC/Jeep vehicle we offer—Special Diplomatic prices that save you big money on your personal transportation needs from Accra to Zagreb—and even back home in the U.S.A.

**Jeep Cherokee/Wagoneer** . . . the only vehicles ever to sweep "4 x 4 of the Year" honors from all three leading off-road publications! With seating for five, 2 or 4 doors, and more interior room than any domestic or foreign competitor, it's easy to see why the Jeep Cherokee and Wagoneer are

the undisputed champs of family size 4 x 4's!

**Jeep Wrangler** . . . equally at home in the country, or at the country club. Wrangler's rugged good looks and classic profile are reminders of Jeep's 45-year heritage as the originator of the 4-wheel drive revolution. But Wrangler cushions you in a cradle of comfort and quiet unmatched by any other open-body 4 x 4 vehicle.

And it's a Jeep . . . where the 4 x 4 legend is standard equipment.

**Consider Alliance** . . . a blend of European technology and American luxury that speaks a value language all its own. Alliance will surprise you with its intelligent design, responsive performance, and plush room-for-five interior. There's even a convertible Alliance—American-built proof that affordable top-down fun and high-performance excitement is back again—to stay.



For complete details on the Diplomatic Purchase Program, and the AMC/Jeep/Renault vehicle for you, Foreign Service Personnel in the U.S. should contact:

Diplomatic Sales Division  
AMC/Jeep/Renault — OMSC  
Route de Beaumont 18  
1700 Fribourg  
Switzerland

Foreign Service Personnel overseas may telex #845942543 OMSC CH; Att: Diplomatic Sales Division.

**AMC/Jeep/Renault**  
**Diplomatic Sales Division**

◆ RENAULT | Jeep |

# The Group Accident Plan that costs less and gives you more.

If you look at our prices, you'll see that our rates are lower than most accidental death and dismemberment plans.

We pay 50% of your selected benefit for acts of war and terrorism for all insureds, including your family.

The benefits apply 24 hours a day, everyday, everywhere in the world.

Our limits are high: Up to \$300,000 for you and your spouse, up to \$50,000 for each child.

No physical examination is required. And no medical questions are asked.

The only stipulation is that you have to be a member of AFSA, under 70 years of age.

Send for our easy-to-read brochure.

AFSA Desk  
The Hirshorn Company  
14 East Highland Avenue  
Philadelphia, PA 19118  
Telephone: 215-242-8200\*

Please send me your free brochure (with a built-in application form) that answers my questions about the AFSA Group Accident Insurance Plan.

Name \_\_\_\_\_

Address \_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_

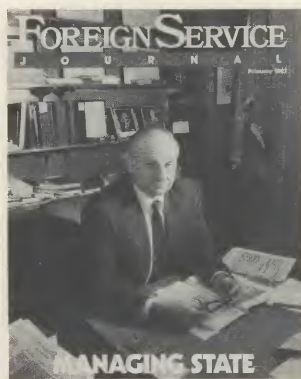
\_\_\_\_\_

Underwritten by  
INSURANCE COMPANY OF NORTH AMERICA  
a Cigna Company

**CIGNA**

\*In the Washington, D.C. area, call 202-457-0250.

**AFSA**



COVER: Under Secretary Ronald I. Spiers discusses the managerial dilemmas facing the Foreign Service today. Our interview begins on page 30.

# CONTENTS

**People's Power .....22**  
*Margaret Sullivan*

First-person glimpses as a grass-roots upheaval deposes a despot in last year's Philippine elections.

**Foreign Service Funnies .....28**

The foreign affairs agencies as seen through the eyes of a pool of political cartoonists.

**Managing Adversity .....30**

*An Interview with Ronald I. Spiers*

The under secretary for management talks about managing diplomacy in an era of dwindling resources.

**Journal: A Closed Hearing .....36**

*Howard R. Simpson*

The senator's search party seeking MIAs in Indochina turns up a few spoons instead.

Association Views ..... 3	Clippings ..... 19
Letters ..... 4	10-25-50 ..... 21
Books ..... 10	People ..... 39
Diplomacy ..... 17	Association News ..... 44

Editor: STEPHEN R. DUJACK  
 Senior Editor: FRANCES G. BURWELL  
 Assistant Editor: WILLIAM E. WICKERT III

**Editorial Board**

Chair: A. STEPHEN TELKINS  
 Vice Chair: ANDREW STEIGMAN  
 Members: THOMAS DOWLING  
 STEPHEN EISENBRAUN  
 LINDA JEWELL  
 TERESA CHIN JONES  
 PATRICIA MALLON  
 WILLIAM B. NANCE  
 JOHN D. PIELEMEIER

**Advertising Representatives**

JAMES C. SARMOR ASSOCIATES  
 521 Fifth Ave., Suite 1700  
 New York, N.Y. 10017.  
 (212) 683-3421

JOSHUA B. POWERS, LTD.  
 46 Keyes House, Dolphin Square,  
 London SW1. 01-834-5566.  
*International Representatives*

*"The Independent Voice of the Foreign Service"*

The FOREIGN SERVICE JOURNAL is the magazine for professionals in foreign affairs, published monthly except August by the American Foreign Service Association, a private non-profit organization. Material appearing herein represents the opinions of the writers and does not necessarily represent the official views of the foreign affairs agencies, the U.S. government, or AFSA. The Editorial Board is responsible for general content, but statements concerning the policy and administration of AFSA as employee representative under the Foreign Service Act of 1980 in the ASSOCIATION NEWS and the ASSOCIATION VIEWS, and all communications relating to these, are the responsibility of the AFSA Governing Board.

JOURNAL subscriptions: One year (11 issues), \$15. Overseas subscriptions (except Canada), add \$3 per year. Airmail not available.

Second-class postage paid at Washington, D.C., and at additional post office. POSTMASTER: Send ad-

dress changes to FOREIGN SERVICE JOURNAL, 2101 E Street NW, Washington, D.C. 20037.

Microfilm copies: University Microfilm Library Services, Ann Arbor, Michigan 48106 (October 1967 to present). Indexed by PAIS.

The JOURNAL welcomes manuscripts of 1500-4000 words for consideration by the Editorial Board. Author queries are strongly urged, stamped envelope required for return. All authors are paid on publication.

© American Foreign Service Association, 1987. 2101 E Street NW, Washington, D.C. 20037. Phone (202) 338-4045.

February 1987. Volume 64, number 2. ISSN 0015-7279.

# ASSOCIATION VIEWS

## *Hitting Our Stride at 50*

**T**hirty-and-out stipulated that after a guy has worked for 30 years, he has the right to retire early, whatever his age, and leave with a full pension—60 percent of his salary—just as if he was already 65.

Thirty-and-out sounds good, and it was conceived for the purpose of creating jobs for the younger group coming into the work force, but it's the kind of program that makes America less competitive. Why? We get a good, hardworking guy at 18, train him for years, and at 48 he goes home for good. Not only do we lose a skilled worker, but we also have to pay his pension for the rest of his life— which on average will be for another 30 years!...

As a result, some of the best electricians who once worked for me at Ford and Chrysler are now driving cabs. And the irony of it all is that if I want to hire new guys to be electricians, I have to train a bunch of cabdrivers who don't know the first thing about the auto business. It's crazy! The country has been stood on its head in a headlong rush to mediocrity.

Thirty-and-out makes me furious. It's a crime to retire a guy just because he's worked 30 years. At 50 he's just hitting his stride. By then he has a wealth of experience and a variety of skills. Instead of using those skills, he's out driving a cab or sitting home twiddling his thumbs.

I'm not arguing with the idea of a good pension. But we can no longer afford to give pensions to guys who are 50 or 55. I'd like to modify the 30-and-out rule to one where the guy could still take early retirement with a full pension if he's worked for 30 years—as long as he's reached the age of 60 or higher.

Otherwise, we're paying the guys who should be helping us take on the Japanese \$800 a month not to come to work. Does that really make sense?

*From Iacocca: An Autobiography*



## AMERICAN FOREIGN SERVICE ASSOCIATION

### Governing Board

*President:* GERALD LAMBERTY  
*State Vice President:* ANTHEA S. DE ROUVILLE  
*AID Vice President:* FRANK YOUNG  
*USIA Vice President:* A. STEPHEN TELKINS  
*Secretary:* HARTFORD T. JENNINGS  
*Treasurer:* SAMUEL MOK  
*AID Representative:* PAUL BISEK  
JEAN DU RETTE  
*State Representatives:* SCOTT DANAEHR  
SANDRA DEMBSKI  
JAMES A. DERRICK  
BARBARA HUGHES  
*USIA Representative:* JOHN QUINTUS  
*Retired Representatives:* WILLIAM CALDERHEAD  
ROGER PROVENCHER  
JOHN THOMAS

### Staff

*Director for Administration:* SUE B. SCHUMACHER  
*General Counsel:* SUSAN Z. HOLIK  
*Director of Member Services:* SABINE SISK  
*Member Services Representative:* GERALD M. KUNCIO  
*Controller:* ELLEN TENN  
*Membership Coordinator:* MYRIAM DUNCAN  
*Executive Assistant:* DENISE BYERS  
*Legal Assistant:* CHRIS BAZAR  
*Law Clerk:* RICHARD M. PRICE  
*Executive Secretary:* SHARON Y. MORGAN  
*Secretary:* BONITA CARROLL  
**Congressional Liaison**  
ROBERT M. BEERS  
RICK WEISS  
**Scholarship Programs**  
DAWN CUTHELL  
**Face-to-Face Program**  
STEVEN PHILIP KRAMER

The American Foreign Service Association, founded in 1924, is the professional association of the Foreign Service and the official employee representative of all Foreign Service employees in the Department of State and the Agency for International Development under the terms of the Foreign Service Act of 1980. Active membership in AFSA is open to all current or retired professionals in foreign affairs overseas or in the United States. Associate membership is open to persons having an active interest in or close association with foreign affairs who are not employees or retirees of the foreign affairs agencies. Annual dues: Active Members—\$65-143; Retired Active Members—\$45 for members with incomes over \$20,000, \$30 for under; Associate Members—\$35. All dues include: \$9.50 allocation for JOURNAL and ASSOCIATION NEWS subscription under AFSA Bylaws. All AFSA members are members of the Foreign Service Club, owned by AFSA and operated by Pioneer Management, Inc.

AMERICAN FOREIGN SERVICE ASSOCIATION  
2101 E Street NW, Washington, D.C. 20037

Membership inquiries, comptroller,  
scholarship programs, insurance programs,  
JOURNAL offices: (202) 338-4045

Governing Board, general counsel,  
labor-management relations, member services,  
grievances: (202) 647-8160

Foreign Service Club: (202) 333-8477

# DISTRICT INTRODUCES INSTANT INFORMATION

To make your moving experience easier, simpler and more convenient you are invited to call District's new "Moving Abroad Telephone Information Service."

Questions about planning, scheduling, packing, air freight, accompanied baggage or any other problem that is troubling you will bring a friendly, polite answer when you call 420-3300 and ask for the "Information Service."

Let us put our more than 20 years experience making Department of State, USA, AID and Peace Corps moves to work for you — by giving you helpful information and making your moving experience the best ever.



**DISTRICT**  
MOVING & STORAGE, INC.

3850 Penn Belt Place  
Forestville, Maryland 20747  
301 • 420 • 3300

## LETTERS

### Professional Diplomacy

The current controversy over the American sales of arms to Iran is an excellent illustration of the confusion prevailing regarding the difference between foreign policy and diplomacy which I put forward in my recent article in the JOURNAL ["Leaders and Experts, The Professional Solution," October].

The two foreign policy decisions made by the president in this case—improving relations with geopolitically important Iran and trying to obtain the release of American hostages—were arguably good and valid foreign policy objectives. The diplomacy of how these foreign policies were executed was an unmitigated disaster. The reason is clear—the diplomacy was put in the hands of bumbling amateur would-be diplomats in the National Security Council staff.

Qualified professional diplomats with experience in dealing with the wily Persians who for centuries have been thwarting the major powers, would almost certainly not have fallen into the minefield of giving the Iranians what they wanted most—arms—in such an awkward attempt to ingratiate ourselves with a regime which views the United States as the Great Satan.

Now, at last we have Frank Carlucci, the first professional diplomat to head the National Security staff. I confidently predict an end to bungling amateur diplomacy from the White House.

LEON B. POUILLADA  
*Ambassador, retired*  
St. Paul, Minnesota

### World Affairs 101

Diego Asencio in the November JOURNAL deplores the lack of public understanding of, and support for, the work of our Foreign Service, and he correctly notes that as a nation we are ill-informed about foreign policy issues.

While, as he points out, the Council on Foreign Relations, the World Affairs Council, the Foreign Policy Association, and the Atlantic Council do first-rate jobs of informing our citizenry about interna-



# General Motors delivers wherever your assignment takes you.

Whether you wish your GM vehicle delivered stateside or overseas, General Motors will accommodate you. Our Diplomatic Sales Group is well aware of the special needs of the Foreign Service community. We are experienced in providing

**FEEL THE  
DIFFERENCE  
GENERAL MOTORS MAKES**




prompt information and diplomatic prices, and in arranging efficient, convenient deliveries. And we are standing by to help you custom order a new Chevrolet, Pontiac, Oldsmobile, Buick, Cadillac or GMC Truck to meet your specific requirements.

CHEVROLET • PONTIAC • OLDSMOBILE  
BUICK • CADILLAC • GMC TRUCK

Mail this coupon to us, and we will be pleased to immediately airmail the appropriate vehicle catalogs and ordering guides to you.

Write to: Diplomatic Sales  
General Motors Corporation  
3044 W. Grand Blvd. — Argo B-10  
Detroit, MI 48202  
Telephone: (313) 556-5615  
Telex: 425543

Please send me information about \_\_\_\_\_  
Name \_\_\_\_\_  
Address \_\_\_\_\_  
City \_\_\_\_\_ State \_\_\_\_\_  
Country \_\_\_\_\_ Zip \_\_\_\_\_  
Telephone \_\_\_\_\_ Telex \_\_\_\_\_



"There was the door to which I found no key...."

Edward Fitzgerald

## ATTENTION... PEOPLE on the MOVE...

We specialize in sales and property management in the Metropolitan Washington area.

Cathie Gill has the key to care-free services for all your real estate needs.

Personal attention gets results.

Call

**Cathie Gill, Inc.**  
REALTORS®

4801 Massachusetts  
Ave., N.W.  
Suite 400  
Washington, D.C.  
20016  
(202) 364-3066

tional developments, great numbers of our people are not reached through their programs.

In 1961, when I was assistant secretary of state for public affairs, I initiated regional conferences featuring top State Department officers, and also conferences in Washington for media leaders from around the country. President Kennedy and Secretary Rusk and other cabinet officers spoke at these conferences. They helped some.

Wide-ranging as TV, radio, newspaper, and magazine coverage is of world affairs, much of it is fragmentary—narrowly focused on the crises of the day.

It seems to me that, from kindergarten through college, courses—designed for the various age levels—should be provided on world affairs. World affairs should rank with English, mathematics, and science as part of the core of our educational system so that our people have a more thorough understanding as to why other countries behave as they do.

New textbooks would probably be needed for such a core curriculum—textbooks designed to meet more sophisticated needs as students advance to and through college. Not so incidentally, a generally better-informed citizenry might well be more supportive of the work of our Foreign Service.

I'd like to see all countries with world affairs courses. Then we should have a better understanding and be better able to deal intelligently with one another.

ROGER W. TUBBY  
Saranac Lake, New York

### Involuntary

I understand that letters may be edited by the *JOURNAL*, especially to fit them into the space available. However, the editor who prepared my letter about Deputy Secretary Whitehead for publication in the November issue under the title "IRC's Loss" erred in changing the expression "voluntary agency" to "volunteer agency" in the second paragraph. The term voluntary agency is a technical one, referring to an organization which performs voluntary charitable work in the United States or abroad. It may or may not use volunteers as staff members to carry out its functions, though members of its board of directors are always unpaid volunteers. John Whitehead was an unpaid director and received no salary or fee as president of the International Rescue Committee. Voluntary agencies are sometimes referred to as "volags," or private voluntary organizations—"PVOs." They must meet strict standards

in order that contributions to them qualify for exemption from federal and state income taxes and for inclusion in such fund drives as the Combined Federal Campaign.

The *JOURNAL* is to be commended for making the deputy secretary's humanitarian work known to its readers.

LOUIS A. WIESNER  
Foreign Service Officer, retired  
Cambridge, Massachusetts

### Fulbright

They should still remember at the Institute of International Education, and so should the *JOURNAL*'s readers ["Fulbright at Forty," November] that USIA's erstwhile and much-lamented director, Edward R. Murrow, was appointed assistant director of IIE in 1931.

Long before his association with CBS, Murrow had his start in international relations with the National Student Federation of America. And even after going on to IIE, and by then broadcasting for CBS, Murrow maintained an active interest in international student exchange and education. How natural for him to have assumed directorship of USIA, encompassing the principal government international student/educational exchanges program!

JOHN M. ANSPACHER  
Foreign Service Information Officer, retired  
Naples, Florida

### Herz Competition

In 1984, the Institute for the Study of Diplomacy, Georgetown University, established a prize in the memory of Ambassador Martin F. Herz, its late director of studies, for an outstanding original contribution to the literature on the art of diplomacy.

For its 1987 competition, the institute is soliciting entries from members of the Foreign Service agencies and their retirees. The winning manuscript will be published by the institute and its author will receive the Martin F. Herz Memorial Prize of \$1000.

Since its founding in 1978, the institute has published books and monographs on the operational problems and processes of diplomacy—under the editorship, until his death in 1983, of Martin Herz, who will be remembered by many of his colleagues in the Foreign Service.

In accordance with the institute's tradition of sponsoring examination of the processes of diplomacy, the 1987 Herz Prize Competition will seek to elicit original,

# American-Arab Affairs

"*American-Arab Affairs* has made its indelible mark on a wide and varied readership. Its place on the shelves of every library, public or private, is earned and protected by the sheer weight of its scholarship and the objectivity of its contributions."

H.R.H. Crown Prince El Hassan Bin Talal  
Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan

"*American-Arab Affairs* has rapidly established a reputation for thoughtful, lively, and responsible journalism. It is a valuable reference for our officers and a useful addition to our USIS libraries abroad."

The Hon. Charles Z. Wick  
Director, United States Information Agency

**American-Arab Affairs** gives you the events, people, policies and politics that form the basis for America's relationship with the Arab world. In each quarterly issue, insightful analysis and thought-provoking interviews with leading Arab and U.S. politicians, businessmen and scholars are provided to answer your questions about the status of the peace process, Arab banking and investment, contemporary Islam, American perceptions of the Middle East... and much more.

ANNUAL SUBSCRIPTION \$20.00  
(Outside United States \$36.00)

American-Arab Affairs  
1730 M STREET, N.W.  
SUITE 512  
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20036

Enter/Extend my subscription

Your Name \_\_\_\_\_

Address \_\_\_\_\_

City \_\_\_\_\_ State \_\_\_\_\_ Zip \_\_\_\_\_

New Subscription

Renewal



## FLAG INVESTORS INTERNATIONAL TRUST

# How To Broaden Your Investment Horizons



### International Investing Increases Investment Opportunity

More than 50% of world's investment opportunities now originate outside the U.S.

By not investing abroad you are limiting your investment horizons



### International Investing Improves Performance

In 9 of the last 10 years, foreign markets have outperformed U.S. markets (despite a strong U.S. dollar during most of this period). Additionally, total return of U.S. market over the decade ranked 9th among the top 10 world markets



### International Investing Spreads Risk

A 10% commitment to foreign investments would have improved annualized rate of return

It does this by reducing portfolio volatility through greater diversification



Yes - I'd like more information on how the Flag Investors International Trust can help me achieve a well balanced portfolio.



Alex. Brown & Sons Incorporated  
Attn: Kevin Abell  
135 East Baltimore Street  
Baltimore, Maryland 21202

Send my free brochure and prospectus to:

Or call 1-800-638-2596 (outside Maryland)  
1-800-638-3868 (in Maryland)

Name \_\_\_\_\_

Address \_\_\_\_\_

City \_\_\_\_\_

( )

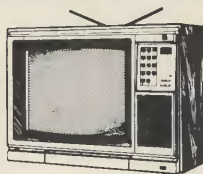
Phone \_\_\_\_\_

State \_\_\_\_\_

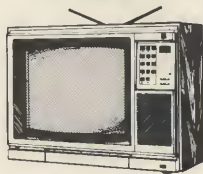
Zip Code \_\_\_\_\_

# 6000 miles from here...

## This one won't work.



## This one will.



### Can you tell the difference?

When it comes to appliances, every country makes its own rules. Voltages, cycles, TV and video standards just aren't the same overseas as they are here in the USA. There are TVs and VCRs that work equally well both here and abroad, but you shouldn't expect that your local Sears will be able to supply your needs... or even know what they are.

We know. Twenty-five years worth of experience makes us expert in all the things you'll need to know if you're in government service overseas. *We stock a complete line of home appliances for 220 volts, 50 cycles—all major brands. And all of our prices are substantially discounted.*

Our large inventory assures prompt shipment. And we can ship anywhere in the USA or worldwide if you prefer—free of US taxes.

With all that assurance, you'll be pleased to find that our prices are most competitive and our service is second to none.

Call or write for literature, advice and price information.

## Appliances Overseas, Inc.

330 Fifth Avenue, New York, NY 10001

(212) 736-7860

Please refer to Department 7E.

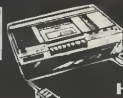


White-Westinghouse

Kelvinator



GENERAL ELECTRIC



SANYO

SANSUI

HITACHI



Coming home—Going overseas?

Buy from the  
Washington area's largest  
**AMC**  
Jeep • Renault  
Dealer

**COURTESY**  
AMC • Jeep • Renault

755 Rockville Pike, Rockville, Md. 20852



Choose from our complete line of 4-wheel drive Jeeps, AMC Eagles—plus the new Renault Encore and Alliance. Local or overseas delivery. Diplomatic corps discounts. Daily and weekly rentals available. Phone or write Christopher Zourdos (301) 424-1700

publishable studies relating to the operations of America's diplomacy. The focus of these studies should be on how decisions and policies are carried out by diplomatic practitioners. For example: What are the strategies of an effective approach? What is said orally or transmitted in writing? What officials are seen? What is said publicly? In a word, what worked in the case at hand to advance diplomatic objectives—and what did not? What are the lessons for the practitioner?

The institute is convinced that within the active and retired Foreign Service there is a wealth of experience to be tapped. This is the goal of the Herz Prize. The deadline for submission of initial proposals from among which manuscripts will be solicited is June 15. Guidelines and applications may be obtained from the Institute for the Study of Diplomacy, School of Foreign Service, Georgetown University, Washington, D.C. 20057.

DAVID D. NEWSOM

Director, Institute for the Study of Diplomacy  
Washington, D.C.

## Cost Accounting

I was pleased to note that one of my recent book reviews excited some comment. I refer to Mr. Richard Smith's letter in your July/August issue. Mr. Smith's statement is no doubt technically accurate, but I stand on my assertion that the United States pays for the entire Multinational Force and Observers operation. Given the billions of dollars we grant or lend to Israel and Egypt annually, and the fungibility of money, it is clear, at least to me, that the United States, in the final analysis, foots the MFO bill.

Perhaps I should have said that the "U.S.," in effect, is paying the entire cost of the MFO."

JAMES H. BAHTI  
McLean, Virginia

## Directories Needed

The library of the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill is trying to build up its collection of recent foreign telephone directories.

Please send your directories when you get new ones to this address: Head, Humanities Reference Department, Davis Library 080-A, University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill, North Carolina 27514.

JOHN EDGAR WILLIAMS  
Foreign Service Officer, retired  
Carrboro, North Carolina

FOREIGN SERVICE JOURNAL

**Relocating?**  
**Washington, DC—Virginia—Maryland**

# Come To An Open House

*FREE Individual Consultation  
and Information Packet*

# WE'LL BE IN EUROPE IN FEBRUARY

#### **ATHENS**

Athens Hilton  
phone: 722-0201  
5-6 March  
12am-2pm 5pm-7pm  
Gerri Buchanan

#### **BONN**

Place and Date  
Available Next  
Issue

#### **HOLLAND/ HEERLEN**

Grand Hotel  
phone: 045-71 3846  
6 March 11am-5pm  
Pat Richter

#### **PARIS**

Hotel Etap Saint-Honore  
phone: 266-93-62  
9 March 10am-5pm  
Pat Richter

#### **BELGIUM/ CASTEAU/MONS**

Crest Hotel  
phone: 065-72-87-41  
2-3 March 10am-5pm  
Pat Richter

#### **BRUSSELS**

Holiday Inn Airport  
phone: 02-720-58-65  
4-5 March 10am-5pm  
Pat Richter

#### **LONDON**

London Marriott  
phone: 44 (1) 493-1232  
19 February 1pm-5pm  
20-22 February 10am-5pm  
Mary Ellen Josephson

#### **MADRID**

Hotel Casllana  
Paso La Casllana 49  
phone: 4100200  
17-18 February  
10am-1pm 4pm-8pm  
Flo Nystrum

#### **ROME**

Savoia Hotel  
Via Ludobisis 15  
phone: 474-4141  
24-25 February  
10am-1pm 4pm-8pm  
Flo Nystrum

#### **TURKEY/ ISTANBUL**

Istanbul Hilton  
Sumhuriyet Caddesi Horbiye  
phone: 131-4646  
27-28 February  
12-2pm 5pm-7pm  
Gerri Buchanan

Name \_\_\_\_\_

Address \_\_\_\_\_

Office Phone \_\_\_\_\_

Projected Office Location \_\_\_\_\_

Date of Transfer \_\_\_\_\_

*Come in at your convenience  
or call for a specific time.*

#### **RETURN FOR INFORMATION:**

Send to: Jackie Johnson, 7040 Old Keene Mill  
Road, Springfield, VA 22150



**LONG & FOSTER**  
REALTORS®



# BOOKS

## Reviews

**Paths to Progress: Bread and Freedom in Developing Societies.** By William McCord with Arline McCord. W. W. Norton & Company, 1986. \$17.95

A fourth path of development—distinct from harsh capitalism, inefficient state socialism, or radical Islamic fundamentalism—provides the key to some Third World success stories, according to the McCords. A husband and wife team of sociologists, they look admiringly at some newly industrialized countries, now on the brink of Western living standards and vibrant democracy. These nations provide a model, pioneered by Denmark, Switzerland, and Japan a century ago, that can lead others out of hunger and moral despair.

Leaders in Asia, Africa, and Latin America should recognize the benefits of a relationship in which economic growth and individual freedom complement one another. On the economic side, developing nations should aim for self-sufficiency in food, greater commodity exports, improved roads and communications, multinational investment, technically oriented universities, incentives for entrepreneurs, labor-intensive factories, modest wages, and high domestic savings. Political imperatives include population control, a tight rein on the army, fair law enforcement, openness to alien ideas, a free press, basic education for all, and respect for ethnic traditions. These policies have a mutually reinforcing effect. Ultimately, a modern society emerges, one marked by an autonomous middle class, educated citizenry, manageable ethnic diversity, and a mixed economy. A modern citizen also appears, who is open to innovation and risk, tolerates differences in others, and believes that science and technology can control the future.

None of these ideas is new. The authors deduced their prescriptions from the success of Malaysia, Hong Kong, Costa Rica, China's coastal rim, and the Punjab, among others. They forget that elements they condemn, such as corruption, xenophobic nationalism, and the stifling of dissent, are often the glue that binds emer-



If you have a taste for the good life and want to protect the valuables you've collected over the years, let Guardian Storage do the honors. When traveling to your next assignment, take Guardian along. We'll ship your possessions to wherever you're headed and help you keep your peace of mind by storing the valuables you leave behind. Guardian Storage, we want to help you enjoy the good life.



**GUARDIAN STORAGE, INCORPORATED**

610 WASHINGTON ROAD, WASHINGTON, MARYLAND 20801 • TEL. (301) 645-4040 • (WASH. TOLL FREE) 843-8800

### ORDER ANYTIME BY MAIL

and get our special 20% discount on all prescriptions

You have credit with us; order all your drug items from us and pay upon receipt

You can always rely on us for fast, efficient service

Satisfied customers all over the world.  
We are anxious to service you

**COLUMBIA PLAZA PHARMACY**

516 23rd St., NW

Washington D.C. 20037 Telephone (202) 331-5800

# A world class design makes Taurus a very diplomatic solution to your transportation needs.



As you pull into the driveways of various consulates, you'll have them wondering where, exactly, did your new Ford Taurus come from. Some may even insist it's a product of their country—that is, until they see the familiar blue oval on the back.

#### **Taurus: A new American design philosophy.**

Even as the first engineers began work, over 400 specific objectives were being established for Taurus.

The list was based on how you drive an automobile... what you want from it... what you need from it. The list included: How comfortable the seat belts are to wear; the effort required to open and close the doors; the convenience of checking the oil.

By designing each individual component and feature to be easier and better for you to use, the result is a better-designed vehicle overall.

The result is a new line of front-wheel-drive sedans and wagons that combine advanced technology with human need. Even its aerodynamic shape is part of its dedication to function. Which means you can judge Taurus not only by how good it looks, but how well it works.

So if your aim is to please just about everyone, and still please yourself, consider the new Ford Taurus. A very diplomatic solution to your transportation needs.

DIRECT MARKET OPERATIONS



Please send me information to purchase a new \_\_\_\_\_

**WRITE TO: DIPLOMATIC SALES  
FORD MOTOR COMPANY**  
815 Connecticut Avenue, N.W.  
Washington, D.C. 20006  
Tel: (202) 785-6047

NAME \_\_\_\_\_  
ADDRESS \_\_\_\_\_  
CITY \_\_\_\_\_ STATE \_\_\_\_\_  
COUNTRY \_\_\_\_\_ ZIP \_\_\_\_\_

# PUZZLED ABOUT RENTAL MANAGEMENT



**An investment you can't afford to miss!**

We concentrate on only ONE thing . . .  
Managing your property.

## PROFESSIONAL PROPERTY MANAGEMENT OF NORTHERN VIRGINIA INC.

Join our growing number of owners from Athens to Zaire who trust the management of their properties to PPM. Professional service with a personal touch.

Discounts on appliances and more! Monthly computerized statements.



5510 Cherokee Ave.  
Alexandria, VA 22312  
703/642-3010

**TAKE A STEP UP TO  
BETTER MANAGEMENT**

gent states as single political units. More unsettling is the authors' failure to take up the basic development dilemma: when resources are short, how does a post-colonial regime choose among many desirable goals?

*Paths to Progress* is an upbeat and spirited read, useful to the layman curious about what's working well in the Third World. But the scholar won't find original insights, nor will the policymaker gain much helpful advice.

—CHRISTOPHER MURRAY

*Fidel: A Critical Portrait.* By Tad Szulc. William Morrow, 1986. \$19.95.

Tad Szulc's *Fidel—A Critical Portrait* is an ambitious attempt at chronicling the life of one of the most extraordinary political figures of the post-war era. Szulc brings an unusual array of talents to his task—energy, experience, literary skill, and an open mind. He also has an unusual ability to put his subject in context because of his long-time acquaintance with Latin America and with communist regimes. He spent months in Cuba researching the project and had access to Castro and to many of his closest associates. (One measure of the degree of totalitarianism in Cuba is that only non-Cubans are permitted to carry out independent research.)

The most compelling section of Szulc's work concerns the 28-month period from the time of Castro's triumph over Fulgenzio Batista until the Bay of Pigs invasion. Szulc puts to rest the suggestion that the Cuban revolution might have taken a more moderate course if only the United States had tried harder to reach an accommodation with Castro. In fact, while the first post-revolutionary cabinet was virtually devoid of ideological leftists, Castro was secretly plotting the "destruction of every vestige of the old social order in Cuba" through a "hidden government" whose existence was known only to Castro and a handful of trusted co-conspirators. When the hidden government, operating from a beach resort east of Havana, prepared the agrarian reform law, the nominal minister of agriculture was not even informed.

But Castro, of course, is a man who has always tried to have it both ways. He said he wasn't a communist when he really was, he claims not to crave power even though he seems incapable of sharing any of it (he is president of the councils of state and of ministers, commander-in-chief of the armed forces and first secretary of the Communist Party). What really interests him, Castro says, is not power but "ideas," a statement that strains credulity when one



## Clements & Company

### Specialists In Insurance For The Foreign Service At Home And Abroad

Exclusive "Ship And Drive" Auto Policy • All-Risks Transit  
Including Marine/Dockside Coverage • Fire, Theft,  
Comprehensive And Collision • Personal Property With Full  
Replacement Cost Coverage Including Household And Personal  
Effects Overseas And In U.S. Storage • U.S. Real Estate •  
Life Insurance • Health Insurance • Financial Planning •  
Personal Liability • Coverage While On Leave • When You  
Return, Stateside Insurance

Preferred Rate Policies  
Contact Clements & Company Today  
For Our Free Brochure, No. 17-486,  
*Foreign Property Policy Analysis.*

### Clements & Company

1700 K Street, NW  
Suite 900  
Washington, DC 20006

Telephone: 202/872-0060  
Cable: CLEMENTS/WASHINGTON  
Telex: WUI/64514

*"Insuring the furnishings you move overseas calls for Security."*

Paul Wood, Manager, Insurance Division has worked with Security since 1956.

*"Storing the valuables you leave in Washington also calls for Security."*

Roland Showalter, Vice President Overseas Division, joined Security in 1947.

When you're posted abroad, you can insure household goods in-transit or at your overseas residence—at special low rates.

Security's Government Service Policy covers furnishings and personal effects including automobiles anywhere outside the U.S. Call Paul Wood at (202) 797-5625.

You can store rugs, furs and clothing in temperature-controlled Security—at government expense. And, you can give your valuables and art the Security of a bank vault. Call Roland Showalter at (202) 797-5679.

Your move overseas calls for the expertise of the world's most experienced moving and storage company.

Since 1890  
**Security**  
MOVING & STORAGE

(202) 234-5600

1701 Florida Avenue NW Washington DC 20009

AUTHORIZED EXPORTER

GENERAL



ELECTRIC

-U.S.A.-

## GENERAL ELECTRONICS INC.

REFRIGERATORS • FREEZERS  
RANGES • MICROWAVE OVENS  
AIR CONDITIONERS • DRYERS  
WASHERS • SMALL APPLIANCES  
AUDIO EQUIPMENT • TELEVISION  
DISHWASHERS • TRANSFORMERS

Available for All Electric  
Currents/Cycles

Immediate Shipping/Mailing  
From our Local Warehouse

We Can Also Furnish  
Replacement Parts for  
Most Manufactures



### SHOWROOM

General Electronics, Inc.  
4513 Wisconsin Avenue, N.W.  
Washington, D.C. 20016  
Tel. (202) 362-8300  
TWX 710-822-9450  
GENELECINC WSH

SEND THIS COUPON FOR  
FREE CATALOG

NAME:

ADDRESS:

ZIP

Our Catalog Is Sent to Administrative Officers,  
Embassies, and Consulates Throughout the World.

considers what happens to Cubans whose ideas conflict with the official orthodoxy. Castro is an extraordinarily complex individual, capable of acts of compassion and of cruelty, as Szulc notes. Those who contradict Castro do so at their own risk.

Much of what Szulc has written is not known to the Cuban people, whose knowledge of their leader is limited to the paeans he receives daily in Cuba's controlled press. It is doubtful that many Cubans know, as Szulc notes, that Castro used to overcome stage fright by forcing himself to deliver speeches in front of a mirror in his room, or even that, aside from his legitimate son, Fidelito, he has another child, now an adult, from a romantic liaison. Or that he is "capable of the foulest language imaginable" when something goes wrong. Or that Fidel's notion of asserting his importance is often to keep people waiting.

Szulc devotes more than a third of his 660-page book to covering the events of 1953-59—the period of Castro's imprisonment and his guerrilla struggle. That seems a disproportionately large share, especially in contrast to the scant attention to the few paragraphs given to the 1980 Mariel boat lift, when one Cuban out of a hundred fled to the United States, leaving everything behind. If one percent of the U.S. population—2.4 million people—had fled American shores under similar circumstances, it would be an event of more than passing interest.

Szulc has bent over backwards to give Castro his due while making no apologies for the deficiencies of the system he has created. The author finds that the dictator remains "enormously popular" among his people and that no Third World country approaches Cuban standards in health care and education. Still, a quarter-century after Castro's triumph, Szulc portrays his experiment as locked into obsolete ideological orthodoxy and deadening bureaucratization; production is low, absenteeism is high, and corruption and black marketeering are reemerging.

After he was arrested by Batista's forces in 1953, Castro said he was confident history would absolve him, but, to the extent that Szulc's admirable work is the history of Castro's still-unfinished labors, that bold prediction of long ago has not been borne out.

—GEORGE GEDDA

**Multilateral Development Diplomacy** in UNCTAD: *The Lessons of Group Negotiations, 1964-1984.* By Thomas G. Weiss. St. Martin's Press, 1986. \$30.

In trendy terms this is a "process" book, concentrating on mechanics, not content

or substance. It addresses the 20-year struggle of the less-developed countries (collectively referred to as the Group of 77, but now actually 126) to bring into being a new international economic order through the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development.

Weiss argues that while a generation ago these countries had to be strident to be heard, this behavior now works against their interests. The relentless insistence on group solidarity has produced too broad and shallow a consensus to be meaningful in nudging the developed countries toward change. The accompanying overheated rhetoric and confrontational stance have meant that almost nothing useful has been accomplished through UNCTAD. Recently, the environment for improving the LDC situation through UNCTAD has deteriorated further, according to Weiss, because of a sea change in the attitude of the well-off countries. Their interest in and commitment to multilateral diplomacy has noticeably weakened and has been replaced by much more vocal and pointed criticism of the domestic economic policies of the LDCs.

For progress to be made, writes Weiss, the attitude of confrontation must be abandoned and negotiations on behalf of the Group of 77 should be carried out by smaller, more homogeneous coalitions. He seems to hope that U.N.-sponsored multilateral diplomacy can be effective, although negotiating power on global economic matters is clearly now lodged with the International Monetary Fund, the World Bank, and the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade.

This is a study for the specialist—unless knowledgeable about what UNCTAD and the Group of 77 have been doing since 1964, the reader will not be in a position to assess either the validity of the author's case or the soundness of his recommendations.

—MILES G. WEDEMAN

**The Arab Radicals.** By Aaded Dawisha. Council on Foreign Relations, 1986.

**The Spirit of Allah: Khomeini and the Islamic Revolution.** By Amir Taheri. Adler and Adler, 1986.

These two books are similar in that both deal with militant politics in the Middle East. Both are also well worth reading. Beyond that, however, they are very different.

*The Arab Radicals* is analytical, almost overly analytical, in approach. The idea for the book grew out of a Council on Foreign Relations study group, and thus the au-

# FOREIGN SERVICE PERSONNEL WORLDWIDE PERSONAL PROPERTY INSURANCE FLOATER

underwritten by  
London insurers and  
exclusively  
administered by

**HUNTINGTON T. BLOCK INSURANCE**  
2101 L Street, N.W.  
Washington, D.C. 20037  
Telephone 202/223-0673  
Toll Free 1-800/424-8830

Call from anywhere in the United States toll free  
or write our Overseas Department for  
information about our low rates, our broad  
coverage, with optional  
**REPLACEMENT COST COVERAGE**  
without depreciation, and our  
on the spot claims service by  
representatives posted in every  
major city in the world.

## FARA HOUSING

### TEMPORARY APARTMENTS, THE ALTERNATIVE TO A HOTEL ROOM

#### Tastefully Furnished:

Efficiency, One and Two Bedroom  
apartments, located in the **Columbia Plaza**.  
One block from the **Department of State**.

**Daily Rates** or, a special

**Discount Rate** for stays of 30 days or longer.



- Color TV, Private phones with  
**Answering service**
- **Full Kitchens** (Save money, Eat in)
- **Maid Service**
- Coin operated **Laundry**  
Off street **Parking** available

No Charge for Children Under 18 When Accompanied by Parent(s)

**RESERVATIONS: FARA HOUSING**, Room 2928, Dept. of State  
Washington, D.C. 20520

**CALL: (202) 463-3910** Hours: 8:00-4:30, Mon.-Fri.

**DATSUN Triumph VW**  
**DATSUN VOLVO MG**  
**FATSIAT BMW**  
**FATSIAT ALFA**  
**FATSIAT MERCEDES**  
**FATSIAT MERCEDES**  
**FREE! NEW CAR CATALOG**  
**BUY DIRECT**

The comprehensive NAI Master Catalog contains 32 pages, over 150 illustrations, DIPLOMATIC and FACTORY tax-free prices, equipment, options, colors, and all the details on how to order your car at these special savings.

The Nemet Organization has been meeting the needs of Americans throughout the world since 1916. You will have your car, waiting where you want it. STATESIDE OR IN EUROPE—when you want it, all serviced and ready to go at special factory prices.

Buy your new car from Nemet because we'll be here when you get home.

Please send me a FREE copy of your FSJ-1281 32 page Master Catalog.

I am interested in:  Stateside Delivery  European Delivery

AUDI MG RENAULT  
 BMW MERCEDES TRIUMPH  
 DATSUN PEUGEOT VOLKSWAGEN  
 FIAT PORSCHE VOLVO  
 JAGUAR

Name \_\_\_\_\_ Rank \_\_\_\_\_

Social Security No. \_\_\_\_\_ Date of Birth \_\_\_\_\_

Address \_\_\_\_\_

Date of Rotation \_\_\_\_\_

Delivery Place \_\_\_\_\_

**Nemet Auto International**

World's Largest Distributor of Tax-Free Cars

153-03 Hillside Avenue, Jamaica, New York 11433

Telephone (212) 523-5859/Cable NEMETAUTO

Toll Free 800-221-0177



**THE SCHOOL  
 THAT COMES TO  
 YOUR CHILD.**

Kindergarten through 8th Grade. Complete home study course for elementary-level students.

An American education anywhere in the world. Ideal for enrichment. Home is the classroom, you are the teacher with Calvert's approved instruction guide. Start anytime, transfer to other schools. Used by over 350,000 students. Non-profit. Write for catalog.

**CALVERT SCHOOL**

Established 1897 301-243-6030

Dept. F27, Tuscany Rd., Baltimore, MD 21210

Parent's Name \_\_\_\_\_

Address \_\_\_\_\_

City \_\_\_\_\_ State \_\_\_\_\_ Zip \_\_\_\_\_

Child's Age \_\_\_\_\_ Grade \_\_\_\_\_

thor was forced to go to great pains to define what is ultimately a very imprecise and normative term—radicalism. His definition—"an attitude of mind encompassing action to undermine and possibly change the status quo"—is a workable one but not particularly precise. Otherwise, the book is a good overview of militant and revolutionary states, groups, and movements in the Arab world. In a period when our whole approach to Middle Eastern terrorism is under such close scrutiny, it should be required reading for both the practitioner and the informed general public.

*The Spirit of Allah* is quite a different sort of book. Almost journalistic in style, it seeks to give the reader, in biographical form, an understanding of what sort of person the Ayatollah Khomeini is and how and why he has molded the theocratic Iranian revolution. It fulfills its purpose very well, presenting insights and details heretofore unknown in the West about the religious man of mystery who currently rules Iran. Certainly a definitive biography of Khomeini will ultimately have to be written, but for now, *The Spirit of Allah* serves that purpose with distinction.

—DAVID E. LONG

Third World Ideology and Western Reality: *Manufacturing Political Myth*. By Carlos Rangel. Transaction Books, 1986. \$19.95.

Dependency Theory and the Return of High Politics. Edited by Mary Ann Tezreault and Charles Frederick Abel. Greenwood Press, 1986. \$39.95.

In this sequel to his 1978 book, *The Latin Americans*, Carlos Rangel returns with hammer in hand to demolish more of the self-serving myths Third World leaders have devised to explain why their countries remain underdeveloped. This time, Rangel expands his scope to cover the entire Third World. He attacks the theories of the *dependentistas*, who claim that the Third World is poor only because the game of international economics is rigged against the less developed countries by the industrialized states. Instead he argues that lack of development is chiefly due to local conditions that hinder modernization and perpetuate economic stagnation and social immobility. As the only economic system that has brought decent living standards to large masses of people, capitalism is the proven engine of successful development, says Rangel. History shows us that capitalism thrives in a climate favoring secularism, rationalism, the rule of

law, political democracy and the experimental scientific spirit. Cultures whose traditions are "alogical, dogmatically religious or superstitious, tribalist, autocratic, and anti-scientific" have a long way to go to catch up. His native Latin America, which Rangel regards as only "marginally Western," has a potential for greater development, but this has been stifled by selfish and immature political leadership. Protected by the Monroe Doctrine until modern times, Latin American leaders were never obliged to undergo the harsh tests of independent survival and thus became mired in pettiness, corruption, and irresponsibility, according to Rangel.

A brief review cannot do justice to the rich variety in this book which stimulates the reader even when he or she is not fully in agreement with the author. For example, Rangel's discussions of climate as a factor in development (almost totally neglected by U.S. academicians); of why the clock—although invented in both Europe and China in the late Middle Ages—survived only in Europe; and of the almost universal appeal of Marxism to Third World ideologues are original and persuasive samples of what the book has to offer.

*Dependency Theory and the Return of High Politics* is a collection of articles dealing with four interpretations of relations between developed countries and the Third World. These are: realism (or "high politics"), based on the primacy of domestic and national interests and the willingness to use coercion if required to defend them; rationalism, based on the belief that an interdependent world economy operating efficiently can raise living standards for all; dependency, or the concept that developed countries at the "center" of the world economy have impeded the growth of the poorer nations on the "periphery"; and neo-imperialism, a view based largely on European fears that free trade is of greater benefit to the United States than to Europe and which advocates protectionism as a European defense. The "return" of high politics in the title reflects the editors' view that the Reagan administration has broken with the rationalist, interdependent policies of preceding administrations in favor of international realpolitik. The articles are informative and helpful in understanding the theoretical framework. In general, dependency is the most popular interpretation of North-South relations. But while it offers many insights into the relationships between the developed and developing worlds, dependency theory falters when put forward—as it frequently is—as the total explanation of why some nations develop while others remain in poverty. —JOHN J. CROWLEY JR.

# DIPLOMACY

## Domestic Policy

By ROBERT K. OLSON

The Foreign Service should stop blaming itself entirely for its "ills." One problem frequently lamented in these pages is the lack of public support for the foreign affairs community, or as Diego Ascencio put it in this column in the November issue, "What ails the Foreign Service on the issue of building a popular and political constituency?" The problem, in my view, has more to do with the complex nature of international relations and its relatively low priority to most Americans than it does with any failings on the part of the Service.

Two years of managing a world affairs organization in Milwaukee have given me some insight into the question. Public interest in foreign affairs generally and the role of the Foreign Service in particular does exist in a broad general way—as much as the average citizen has time for. But even that is quickly eroded in the face of complexities beyond the competence of the general public, and inevitable and understandable public frustration with the persistence of problems over many years. Public interest is media-oriented, rising and falling as issues like terrorism, Nicaragua, arms control, the Iran scandal, and South Africa hit the front pages. The demand for my services as a speaker or programmer of speakets was in direct proportion to the size of the headlines. I quickly learned that to set up a program on any but the hottest topics was to court failure and the embarrassment of having to cancel a program (and a distinguished speaker) for lack of interest. The Middle East, Central America, and U.S.-Soviet relations were generally safe areas at any time. But anything to do with Europe or, worse, NATO, was a ho-hum affair as far as the public was concerned. So one should not blame the Foreign Service out of hand for the vagaries of public interest over which it has never had much influence.

Let us also give some recognition to what is already being done by the department's Office of Public Programs. In my own experience, Public Programs has been invariably responsive, cooperative, effec-

tive, and extremely supportive in assisting with programming and speakers within the limits imposed on it by budget constraints. The office provided first-rate speakers and logistical support at little or no cost to the institute with which I was associated. Could there have been an improvement in quality? Yes, some. Not all the speakers were electrifying or charismatic. But they were competent, and it would be inappropriate to ask the department to field a brace of diplomatic Billy Grahams. Improvement in quantity would also be doubtful. The public has a finite capacity, and overprogramming quickly demonstrates the law of diminishing returns.

We should not forget that the Foreign Service has to compete with a wide array of other world affairs programs. The Department of Defense, the military services, the United Nations, foreign embassies, universities, members of Congress, and the media produce a cornucopia of educational events on international relations. During the program season (roughly late September through early May) the real problem is to avoid overlap with other programs put on by the Rotary or Kiwanis clubs, student groups, universities, the League of Women Voters, and so on.

We should also be aware that the For-

eign Service and the department have a credibility problem with the public. Pleased with a clear and balanced presentation by an FSO on Cuban-American relations, I was surprised and dismayed to hear it brushed off by many as nothing but "the party line." I discovered that this reaction applies to almost every issue addressed by a government representative. There are probably a whole complex of factors involved, but the most direct and simplest explanation for this unfortunate situation is that the public believes that officials are sent out to justify the ways of Washington to the world. There was a time when the public more or less took the official word at its face value. That is certainly no longer the case. There is also a widely held opinion that State Department and Foreign Service representatives are dull speakers. To explain to the public that international relations can be dull stuff, that substance and balance are more important than style, is a waste of time.

Moreover, the steady customers of world affairs programs are a pretty sophisticated lot when it comes to speakers. They will have listened to cabinet ministers, secretaries of state and defense, a wide range of foreign ambassadors, to members of Congress, and to leading experts. So they are not easily impressed by a political



## There Is Only One Place To Stay In Washington YOUR PLACE

"A Hotel Alternative For The Prudent Spender."



SHORT OR LONG TERM LUXURY APARTMENTS, TOWNHOUSES, PENTHOUSES

All Suites Tastefully Furnished & Fully Equipped Kitchens • Telephone • Cable Television • Security Intercom System Complete Health Spa • Concierge • Parking Laundry and Valet • Maid Svc (optional) • Convenience Store

SPECIALIZING IN RELOCATIONS SERVING CORPORATIONS • PENTAGON THE STATE DEPARTMENT • INSURANCE INDUSTRY • EXTENDED TRAVEL CONVENIENT METRO LOCATIONS AT:

ROSSLYN  
CAPITOL HILL  
GEORGETOWN  
FOGGY BOTTOM  
DUPONT CIRCLE

TLC Development Corporation  
1700 N Moore St. Suite 714 Arl., Va. 22209

REAL ESTATE • SALES • RENTALS  
MANAGEMENT

\* Visa and Master Card Honored

**(703) 527-4441**

counselor just back from Paris. Measured and thoughtful analysis or even honest explanations of U.S. policy do not play well in Peoria.

It is well to bear in mind that the constituency of an institute of world affairs (and of other like bodies as far as I can see) consists largely of a white, middle-aged, middle-class, college-educated population. Attracting the young, whether students or professionals, requires sustained and heroic efforts. Professionals—doctors, lawyers, clergy—are not generally interested. For example, a widely advertised talk by a renowned international jurist and former State Department legal adviser under President Kennedy, Abe Chayes, who spoke on the Nicaraguan case against the United States in the International Court of Justice, in which Chayes was representing Nicaragua, drew not one member of the Milwaukee area legal community despite the fact that every member of the Bar Association had been invited and the case was about to be heard at the Hague. University professors and high school teachers, minority groups, and blue-collar workers do not attend at all. No matter how programs were varied in respect to time, place, format, and style, the audience was pretty much the same. This is not meant to be a criticism of any particular group. What it

does mean is that creating a constituency among these people requires direct approaches through their own community groups, and on subjects with which they are especially interested.

In short, the Foreign Service and the department are already doing a fairly good job within their financial limitations and in the face of the ingrained vagaries, tastes, and preoccupations of the public. Nevertheless, there is much that can be done. The foreign affairs agencies should stop patronizing the public and recognize, rather than play to, peoples' desire for participation. Appearances to the contrary notwithstanding, the concerned public is now too sophisticated to be satisfied with having Washington send out officials to hand down chapter and verse on foreign policy. The public today wants to think things out on its own. In this regard, the Foreign Policy Association's socratic Great Decisions Program is first rate if not exciting, enjoys a loyal following, and has educated thousands. It really has no peer. The amazingly successful peace groups and the World Federalists also demonstrate that people today want to be active participants.

"Making a difference" may provoke a wry smile among the professionals who know how rare and difficult that is, but

that is what people feel and what elicits their interest. People do understand that day-to-day diplomacy cannot be run by a town meeting, but when it comes to basic policy they want to be heard—and to count. The best program in my own experience, for example, was the 1985 Midwest Regional Foreign Policy Conference cosponsored by the department with the Institute of World Affairs and designed especially to elicit public opinion. It was an all-day affair based on issues selected months before by a committee composed of the leaders of a broad spectrum of regional organizations—church, labor, education, service clubs, business, etc.—and was attended by hundreds. Participants were serious and business-like and all felt it was well worth their while. They did not, in this instance, automatically discount the presentations by State Department speakers.

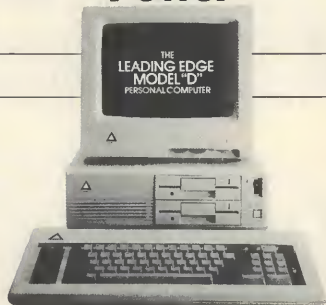
A second recommendation is to make public relations more a part of a Foreign Service employee's career. Showing up in your home town, speaking to schools and service clubs, writing for the local newspaper, keeping up one's contacts may not be spectacular, but they are reasonably effortless and immensely rewarding personally. Maintaining ties and a higher profile at home could, over the years, pay quiet but solid dividends.

Better information on the foreign policy process and institutions itself—what Ambassador Asencio calls "generic" rather than issue-oriented interest—is a neglected area. A five-part lecture series put on by my institute on the "Making of Foreign Policy" was surprisingly successful. Audiences were fascinated to learn more about the complexity of foreign policy making, including the roles of Congress and the public itself as well as the problems of policy implementation. Americans are confirmed "how-to-do-it" people interested as much, if not even more with the way things work as with the issues themselves.

Finally, the ultimate challenge is not to educate nor even to inform, but, rather, more fundamentally, to provoke, to elicit opinion, to spark interest. There is a constituency out there waiting to happen that has not even been touched. But imaginative, active, persistent, more precise and more democratic approaches—the careful care and feeding of public leadership groups—could pay handsome dividends in the years to come.

*Robert K. Olson is a retired Foreign Service officer and recent assistant director of the Institute of World Affairs at University of Wisconsin in Milwaukee.*

## Professional-Level Power



All major credit cards accepted.



# SOFTGRAF USA

VAN DORN PLAZA, Alexandria, Virginia 22304

Hours: M-F: 10-9, Sat: 10-6, Sun: 12-5

Phone: (703) 370-5000

Telex 904059

# CLIPPINGS

## Hard Hats

"The State Department is caught between the Devil and the deep blue sea—Lebanese terrorists and the Mediterranean, to be exact. The department wants to build a new embassy in Beirut to replace the one blown up by a suicide bomber in April 1983. But here's the problem:

"If American hard-hats with proper security clearances are sent over to do the sensitive job, they'll be just so many more targets for terrorist kidnapers and assassins. It will also send costs sky-high. On the other hand, if a Lebanese contractor builds the new embassy with cheaper local labor, it will be difficult if not impossible to keep knowledge of the embassy building's vital security arrangements from being leaked.... After weighing the risks, the Foreign Buildings Office has decided to go ahead with a Lebanese contractor and exercise such security precautions as it can....

"We are asking for trouble if we do not

feel that a bunch of hard-hats would be safe, yet we are ready to send Foreign Service officers there,'" one source told our associate Lucette Lagnado. 'It is simply crazy for us to be there, doing work.'

Jack Anderson, December 30

## Only a Test

"Yet another seemingly intrusive federal employee policy surfaced over Thanksgiving. But it is very different from the drug proposal and much more acceptable. The State Department proposes to screen Foreign Service applicants, employees, and their adult dependents for signs of the AIDS virus in the course of regular physical examinations required of applicants and of employees about to embark on an overseas assignment....

"For evident practical reasons, Americans who represent this country abroad should be in excellent physical health. They are already tested for a wide variety of disorders.... It appears that the State Department can make a good case that people who run a risk of developing this deadly disease cannot be sent to remote places where the odds of contracting secondary infections are high and the level of medical care low."

Editorial in the Washington Post,  
November 29

## Microwaves

"The death of senior career diplomat Walter Stoessel from leukemia at age 66 is blamed inside the U.S. government on illegal Soviet bombardment of the American embassy in Moscow by microwave beams designed to intercept secret communications.

"Absolute proof cannot be obtained that Soviet beams saturating the embassy were responsible for cancer cells that killed ex-Deputy Secretary of State Stoessel. But inexplicable health problems among embassy personnel (including Stoessel, who was ambassador from 1974 to 1976) have convinced American diplomats that the cancer was induced by the radiation. In the words of one top-level insider, 'Walt was killed, pure and simple.'

"During his ambassadorship, the U.S. government sent furious protests to the Kremlin. After months of dispute, the Soviets finally ordered the KGB and other intelligence operations to tone down the microwave beams. By then it was too late for Walter Stoessel."

Evans and Novak in the New York Post,  
December 13

"The people who were assigned to Moscow during the time when the embassy was subjected to microwaves were evaluated

A MEMBER OF THE  
SEARS FINANCIAL NETWORK

**COLDWELL  
BANKER**

**We Just Do It Better!**  
*Top Quality Residential*  
**PROPERTY MANAGEMENT**  
*throughout the Washington metropolitan area*  
*with an exclusive money-back Satisfaction Guarantee*  
**(703) 556-6100**

Coldwell Banker, America's largest full service real estate company, has provided superior management to absentee owners since 1933. Our full-time staff of expertly trained property managers is ready to serve *your* needs from seven convenient locations.

### —Our Services Include—

- COMPLETE TENANT SCREENING
- ON-SITE PROPERTY INSPECTIONS
- MONTHLY STATEMENTS
- YEAR-END TAX STATEMENTS
- PROMPT DISBURSEMENT OF PROCEEDS TO OWNERS
- SUBSTANTIAL DISCOUNTS ON SEARS REPLACEMENT APPLIANCES

*Call us today!*  
or mail the enclosed coupon

**YES!** I would like more information on Coldwell Banker's Property Management services and related fee structure.

NAME: \_\_\_\_\_

ADDRESS: \_\_\_\_\_

RENTAL PROPERTY: \_\_\_\_\_

TELEPHONE #: ( ) \_\_\_\_\_

Mail to: Coldwell Banker Residential Property Management Department c/o Executive Offices, 1953 Gallows Road, Suite 650, Vienna, VA 22180

## FREE SQUASH\* MEMBERSHIPS FOR AFSA MEMBERS



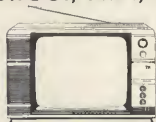
AFSA members can now play squash at the Capitol Hill Squash Club without paying any membership or initiation fee. By simply showing your AFSA membership card, you will pay only the court fees at Capitol Hill's most luxurious fitness facility. Located only a block from the Capitol South Metro stop, the Club also offers free use of changing rooms, showers, and saunas before and after playing squash. \*There is a \$20 annual processing fee; some restrictions apply.

Capitol Hill Squash & Nautilus Club  
214 D Street, S.E. • (202) 547-2255

## APPLIANCES FOR WORLDWIDE USE MANHATTAN ELECTRIC 212-869-6699

21 W 38th Street, N.Y., N.Y. 10018

PHILIPS  
GRUNDIG  
A.E.G.  
CALORIC  
BLACK & DECKER



TV  
VCR  
STEREO  
APPLCS.  
POWER TOOLS

DIRECT FACTORY SHIPMENTS

## WASHINGTON, D.C. BOUND? DRIVE A BARGAIN

RENT-A-NEW CAR

from \$19.95\* per day

Ideal When Shipping POV or on Home Leave

\*Economy car, subject to availability. Monthly rates lower.

FREE PICK UP AT NATIONAL AIRPORT & METROS

# 683-6400

2850 Jefferson Davis Hwy., Arlington, VA 22202

through an extensive epidemiological study conducted by the Johns Hopkins Graduate School of Public Health. In comparison with a control group, the employees in the study showed no evidence of increased health problems or diseases attributable to the microwaves."

*Taken question at  
State Department noon briefing,  
December 11*

### Reciprocity

"Word that the Soviet Union had withdrawn 260 Russian employees from the American embassy in Moscow reminded us of a quip by Jody Powell, Jimmy Carter's press secretary, when reporters asked him how the administration would retaliate for the expulsion of an AP reporter from the Soviet Union. By throwing an AP reporter out of Washington, Mr. Powell replied. Mr. Powell was making a small joke. But what do you know? The Russians have just retaliated for the U.S. expulsion of 80 Soviet spies by kicking 260 Soviet spies out of the U.S. embassy in Moscow."

*Editorial in the Wall Street Journal.  
October 24*

### Bypass Surgery

"Secretary of State George P. Shultz today formally barred American ambassadors from bypassing him and engaging in private communications with the White House national security adviser unless 'explicitly directed' to do so by President Reagan.

"A cable sent by Mr. Shultz to all ambassadors, in effect, would make it a violation of orders for an envoy to deal with the new national security adviser, Frank C. Carlucci, without first informing Mr. Shultz, or without a personal message from Mr. Reagan to do so.

"This unusual cable was made public by the State Department. It follows Mr. Shultz's revelation last week that the U.S. ambassador in Beirut had been using a CIA 'back channel' to communicate in October and November with the former national security adviser, Vice Admiral John M. Poindexter, on the release of American hostages in Lebanon."

*Bernard Gwertzman  
in the New York Times,  
December 18*

*CLIPPINGS records statements in the media and in speeches concerning the Foreign Service. Reader contributions are invited. Send contributions to 2101 E Street, NW, Washington, D.C. 20037.*

## SHOP IN AN AMERICAN DRUG STORE BY MAIL!

An ice cream soda is one of the few items we cannot mail. Drugs, cosmetics, sundries mailed to every country in the world. We maintain permanent family prescription records. **SEND NO MONEY** — pay only after satisfactory receipt of order.



**Morgan Pharmacy™**  
3001 P Street, N.W.  
Washington, D.C. 20007

## BUY SELL INVEST

**Ed Joyce**  
Retired FSIO

LICENSED IN D.C.  
and VIRGINIA

**MOUNT  
VERNON  
REALTY**  
INC.

6257 Old Dominion Dr.  
McLean, Va. 22101  
Off: 821-8300  
Res: 821-2109



## 10-25-50

*Foreign Service Journal*, February 1977: "The American Foreign Service Association...strongly protests the cowardly act by the French government in permitting the quick release of the plotter of the Munich massacre, Abu Daoud. The lives of a number of colleagues were lost through the wanton and destructive acts of Abu Daoud and his fellow terrorists. The act of your government can only encourage further terrorist attacks against innocent persons and weaken the collective efforts of civilized countries to stop such murders....This abject capitulation to terrorism will be forgotten neither by this Association nor, in our judgment, by the American public."

*From an AFSA cable to the French ambassador to the United States*

*Foreign Service Journal*, February 1962: "Since World War II a small but vocal group in this country has contended that the nation has been betrayed at major diplomatic meetings, Yalta among them, by the demon rum. Our spokesmen, the argument goes, were so boozed up on these occasions they happily gave the communists anything they wanted.

"Dr. Hubertus Strughold, of the Aerospace Medical Center in Texas, has a slightly different theory. American diplomats may be befuddled by the effect of long, fast air journeys which carry them through several time zones and upset the body's biological clockwork. Dr. Strughold advises our diplomats not to engage in morning talks for the first two or three days after arrival. Mental confusion may affect their judgment, he suggests."

*Clipping from the  
Montgomery Advertiser*

*Foreign Service Journal*, February 1937: "We here have established significant advances toward the establishment of a permanent peace for this hemisphere....Let us hold out to a darkened world the beacon of a just and permanent peace which we pledge ourselves to maintain on this American continent. May the spirit and the example which we have consecrated here be of avail throughout the world."

*Secretary Cordell Hull before the Peace Conference at Buenos Aires.*

## THINKING OF RETIREMENT?

Dreaming of **SKIING, SAILING, FISHING, HIKING, BIKING, FINE DINING, THEATRE, CONCERTS, LIBRARIES, ART, CONTINUING EDUCATION?** New Hampshire's Tri City area offers them all, consider it for your retirement home. Write Arthur Corte, Century 21, Gateway Associates, 233 Central Avenue, Dover, NH 03820 for more information.

## Call for any current book

- Amex, MasterCard, Visa or check.
- We ship immediately, anywhere in the world. ● Gift wrapping available.
- Mail orders welcome.



**1-800-255-2665**

In CT or Worldwide (203) 966-5470

59 Elm Street, New Canaan, CT 06840



IRAHETA & CO.  
California Trading Co.

California  
Wines

Table  
Premium  
Select

IRAHETA & CO. WORLD WIDE DELIVERY

Assorted Shipments Our Specialty

Wines • Champagnes • Wine Cooler • Mineral Water • Natural Juices

Write to:  
Carlos A. Iraheta  
101 Toland Ave.  
San Francisco, CA 94124

(415) 570-5545  
Telex 287316

## VOLVO

Factory-Set Diplomatic Discounts

U.S., European, or Overseas Specs  
Overseas and Domestic Deliveries

**KELLY COGHILL**  
DIPLOMATIC SALES SPECIALIST

**Don Beyer Volvo**

1231 W. Broad Street  
Falls Church, VA 22046  
**(703) 237-5020**

Soldiers deputized as part of the Philippine election security force check passengers in a jeepney for weapons near Cebu City.



## PEOPLE'S POWER

*Filipinos tell the story of  
"the first election where  
the whole country was praying"*

MARGARET SULLIVAN

ONE YEAR AGO this month, TV images from the Philippines presented a powerful image of a country struggling with its soul: matrons chasing goons from polling places; people kneeling in the streets to stop battle tanks; and the tiny, yellow-clad woman who would ultimately vanquish the hated despot.

To those of us who observed the election, the most striking thing was the ebullient, intense, widespread involvement of Filipinos who had, until then, deliberately distanced themselves from political action. What follows are excerpts from my journals in which the many Filipinos I encountered on the island of Cebu tell the story of the election in their own voices.

■ Manila airport, Monday, Feb. 3, 1986—Election Day -4: "If this is even a moderately free election, Cory will win. But we don't know what Marcos will do," asserts the quiet, trim businessman returning from Singapore. Each of us is waiting for our bags. "I asked my clients to let me come back a week early," he volunteers, "to work for NAMFREL"—the National Citizen's Movement for Free Elections, a

non-partisan volunteer organization established to guard the integrity of the election process.

For me, coming to the Philippines is a return home. My husband, our children, and I lived in Cebu City from 1971 to 1974 while he was the American consul covering the southern half of the country. We had arrived two days before the bombing of opposition senatorial candidates at Plaza Miranda in Manila, were there for the imposition of martial law, and left shortly after the first Marcos-controlled election.

The waiting room in the domestic airport is crowded. The TV flickers brightly but silently, the election intruding between the soaps: A re-elect Marcos ad alternates Corazon Aquino's smiling face with revolution, exploding vehicles, and fighting in the streets, ending with a heroic view of Marcos and his running mate backed by the flag. Sometimes, but not always, there is a shorter opposition ad as well: a smiling, confident, yellow-clad Cory talks briefly; the written message is *Palitan-na*. "It means change," the young nun, her paper-wrapped guitar propped beside her, answers my question. "Will it happen?" "We don't know." A lovely smile accompanies an eloquent Filipino shrug. The woman in front of us, who tuned in

to the question, gives me an equally enigmatic smile. In the immediate area, four people are reading *Veritas*, a newspaper with Catholic connections. Several others are reading the *Philippine Daily Inquirer*. "Balanced news, fearless views," reads the masthead. A headline: ELECTION RETURNS BEING FORGED IN FIVE-STAR HOTELS. A full-page ad placed by friends and admirers of Ninoy Aquino: "The glory of serving one's country cannot be given to one who contributed to its ruin," a quotation from José Rizal, the Philippine's first nationalist, executed by the Spanish in 1896. A small boy bats at Marcos's picture in his mother's paper.

Fifty-five minutes by plane from Manila, Cebu is the Philippines' second most populous city, the capital of Cebu Province in the central Visayas, a belt of smaller islands spanning the mid-section of the country. It is a low, sprawling, crowded city slung along a harbor and backed up to the mountains. Although business is better here than many places, the city has a mildewed air. Cebu is also the long-standing heart of the opposition. Sergio Osmena, the country's second president, came from here. Marcos defeated his son, Sergio "Serjeng" Osmena Jr., for president in the 1969 elections, noted for their fraud and bloodshed. In 1971, Serjeng and his nephew, then-Senator John "Sonny" Osmena, were both injured in the bombing at Plaza Miranda. Sonny and his younger brother Lito are among the present opposition leaders.

"The army has bought 10,000 ballot boxes from the same company that made the official ones," asserts one of several old friends who gather that night at dinner after I reach Cebu City. "What do they need those for?" No one can talk of anything but the election for long. "Did you hear what happened to 'Madame' when she came for the Sinoloug?" asks a renowned raconteur. He refers to a religious festival developed around the mid-January Feast of the Santo Nino, when pilgrims from all over the Philippines throng Cebu. "Well, someone from the Plaza Hotel called the Basilica to inquire about mass times. After much scurrying around it was fixed she would come at ten. The mass is outside and everyone stands but she demanded seven chairs and kneelers. Imagine. It was raining. Ten o'clock, ten-ten, finally at ten-thirty they started the mass without her. She showed up at noon. The old women who sell candles and dance [down the aisles of the church for people, as a form of prayer or petition], they have been outside the Basilica since time immemorial—well, they rushed up to her, spitting. Children blew their noses at her. She got in her jeep and tried to join the parade. People booed, squirted yellow beer at her, and made the L sign [for Cory's party, Laban; the Marcos sign is the V]. She called the mayor and the governor up to Manila the next day. The governor was crying at the thought. Imagine, she kept everyone waiting and she was at a beach resort in Bohol."

■ Cebu City, Tuesday, February 4, E-day -3:  
"You know, its funny," says the former TV newsman, with well-honed intensity, "people are at the movies and in restaurants, but at the same time, even the wealthy people are hurting. Even more in Negros; the sugar market is bad. But there is a phenomenon

that has never happened before in politics here: the people themselves are spending for the election. Radio commentators are being invited to the various islands by plane, their fares paid by the people. They do their commentaries at six o'clock and at noon, and in between they fly. The people ask them to come because they can dramatize, identify the dreams and hopes, articulate the opposition feeling. Never before. People go out into the streets to welcome candidates, waving anything yellow, even panties. In voting for Cory, they want change, honesty and integrity, everything Marcos is not and has not been. They are voting for the genuine Filipino soul. This is people's power. It will be relatively peaceful, but it is impossible to discount violence if they are provoked."

A truck with a loudspeaker goes up and down the streets: "Ladies and gentlemen, we would like to remind everyone that the election on February 7 will be a clean, honest, open election. Vote Marcos-Tolentino, the unbeatable team. Thank you very much. May God bless us all."

"We feed about 500 children under nine every Tuesday and Friday morning. The project began two years ago March," the former airline-office manager explains as we get out of her car and walk to the church yard. Feeding doesn't start until eleven but already the children and some adults are gathering in an open shed. The coordinator, a lively young mother, wears a yellow dress and sports a Cory button. "I am a purveyor," she giggles as two small boys ask for the simple yellow plastic "I ♥ Cory" pins she has in her pocket. "I keep telling them this feeding has nothing to do with Cory."

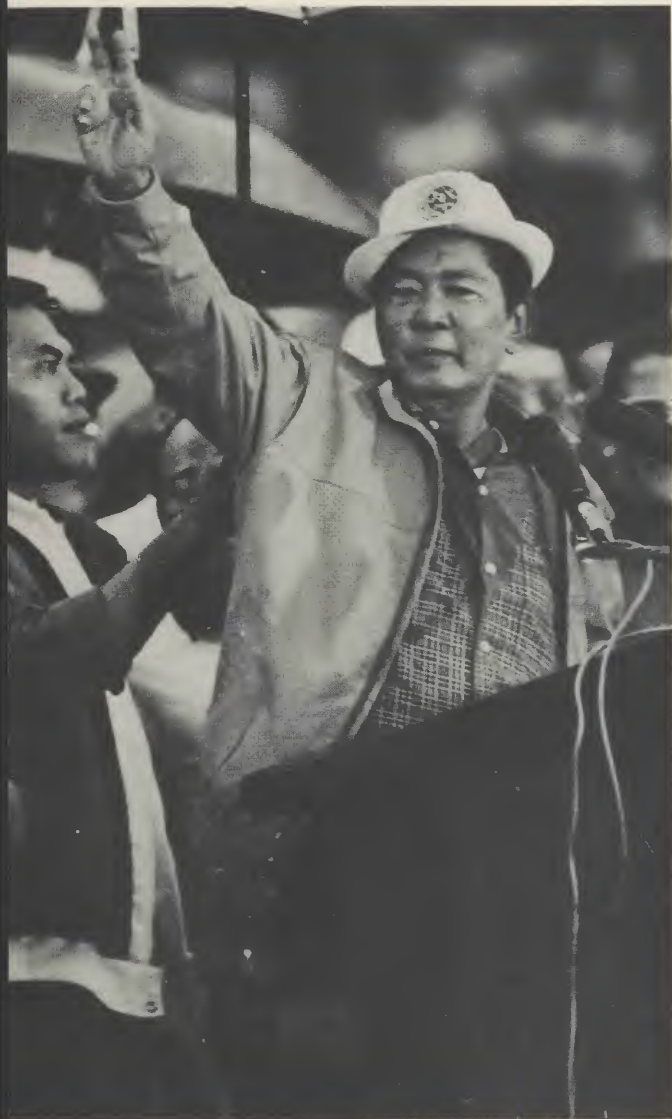
The signboard has a picture of a family: "Vote for their survival—Vote intelligently—Help keep the election clean—Trade Union Congress of the Philippines, member of NAMFREL."

"Each individual working in City Hall has been called in and asked to give his name, address, where he votes so they can know whether or not and how he votes. We have seen the papers," reports the member of parliament. "It's not much of a question here. Cebu will be relatively honest. But some other places like Danao [the next town up the coast], where there are small warlords and where people have lost their guts, that's different. But there is a real question overall. After the election? There are many scenarios, at least eight. The big step is the Batasan—the parliament—where the official tally takes place. We will really have to challenge there."

An unpainted wooden house on a side street sports a handlettered sign: "Cory and Doy."

My friend the raconteur brings me to meet two young women in the jewelry business. One is his cousin. "I'm the PRO," says one, meaning a NAMFREL public relations officer. "Here, the organization is parish-based. If the priest is involved, it is easy for NAMFREL. We have been recruiting since early December. We have been recruiting since early December. We have seven thousand people with the volunteers in parishes, motorcycle riders, support groups, and everything. We have to choose them, also. Some come to spy. But mostly all the volunteers really do try for a clean election. There are more women than men—housewives and students—I guess a lot of men have to go to offices."

"The army has bought 10,000 ballot boxes from the same company that made the official ones"



On election day, in addition to election officials, mainly teachers from the COMELEC—Commission on Elections—and party representatives, each precinct will have a NAMFREL poll watcher, plus back up, “in case they need to go to the toilet,” to make sure the voting proceeds properly. “They will stay with the ballots through the counting and escort them to the City Hall. We tell them to sit on the ballot boxes if necessary.” The ballots will be canvassed in City Hall by COMELEC. From all over the country, the local and regional canvasses will be taken to the Batasan, controlled by Marcos, which will make the official count

and declare the winner. NAMFREL volunteers plan to follow each step closely. “NAMFREL may well be ahead of COMELEC. We have computers,” lent by citizens, “and 50 CPAs from the Association of Accountants. We give the volunteers training, seminars on active nonviolence, pollwatching, and election practices. Also, we prepare spiritually to not meet violence with violence and to know when to back out. The volunteers join NAMFREL because they’ve just had it. People have come to realize that we’ve let him do it to us for twenty years. Now, no more. Already there are reports of massive vote buying. In Cebu alone, the Central Bank has sixty million pesos in five and ten peso bills. That’s clearly for vote buying.”

The pace at NAMFREL headquarters is hectic. “See the kits we are bagging for each volunteer: an arm band, a candle, a box of matches, a ballpoint pen, an ID, instructions, and a card saying, ‘The only condition for evil to thrive is for good people to do nothing.’” A stack of new brooms is in the corner. They will wind up attached to the front of NAMFREL vehicles, symbolizing a clean sweep.

“I love my country,” asserts a housewife, perhaps in her late 40s. “In 1984, I witnessed the incidents in Danao and vowed if I could do something I would do it.” She is helping organize the NAMFREL expedition to pollwatch in Danao, the heartland of the area controlled by Ramon Durano, his sons, grandsons, and great grandsons and their private goons. “It is a little hard,” she explains. “We talked with the parish priest there to see if he would organize a NAMFREL chapter. He said no. Then we talked with the nuns. At first they agreed. But their convent was stoned every night. The parish priest’s house was stoned also by unidentified men.”

Plans are to send a caravan of some 280 people, prepared to spend the night if necessary, to ensure the ballots are safely counted. “No names, please,” implores the intense young woman, also preparing for Danao. “If COMELEC will not do anything [about violations] we will file a complaint and tell them not to credit the results. Last time [Durano’s men] beat up opposition watchers. But what can you do when the COMELEC watcher is in their pocket? We will only go to the precincts along the road, the rest are too dangerous. God is the only answer now. It is an uphill battle, like David and Goliath. This is the first election where the whole country is praying. We Filipinos often believe in letting someone else do it. Maybe God gave us Marcos to show us you can do something on your own.”

The middle-aged couple are terrified but determined. She works for the government, fears for her job just for being at NAMFREL. “We met my wife’s nephew running from Tabogon,” a mountain town 93 kilometers north, in a deserted area, with “no way to escape. He says the voting there has already been completed.”

Some boys are cranking the ancient ditto machine which spews out Certificates of Challenge. “I study practical electronics at the Abellana National School,” says the 19 year old who has come every day since Marcos shut the schools. “I heard about it on the radio. I want to help so our election can be clean and honest.”

■ Wednesday February 5, E-Day -2: This is the last day of campaigning. "This is where we will hide Friday night," the monseignor says of the enclosed garden behind his convent, as he shows off the parish church he has built. His tee shirt has a picture of Father Rudy Romano (a local priest who disappeared some months ago) and the legend 'Without Justice There Is No Peace.' He is responsible for organizing NAMFREL in an area outside Cebu City toward Danao. "They have learned the tricks of subtle intimidation," he observes. "They called and asked for my vital statistics. It scared the housekeeper. I told them to come here and get them or to go to the chancery. I have nothing to hide.

"On Friday, I will go around my election area in my soutana"—white priestly robes—"and carry my holy oils. I may be NAMFREL, but I must not forget I am a priest and I must be prepared. There is a telling change in the attitude of the clergy in the Philippines. Now the priests feel they have to be in the villages. Our posture in the church is that if the church has been critical, it is in the spirit of brotherly correction. We cannot be like Pilate and Cain. If your son does something you must correct him. We were never into this before. Now we must make up for our failure. We are partly to blame for allowing this all"—he means Marcos's abuse of power and the national economic disintegration—"to happen."

The two rooms at the Cebu Doctors' Hospital are lined with computers, each manned by a student intently feeding in names from the polling lists. "We have just discovered how thoroughly they have messed the lists up," an opposition worker points out indignantly. "No one is going to be able to find where they should vote. We only got these yesterday," he adds, pointing to a stack of documents, unwilling to say how he got them. "If we keep the computers going round the clock we hope we can get alphabetical lists ready to have at each polling center so people can find themselves. What they want to do is cut into Cebu City's sure Cory vote so they can match it with Danao, which they control."

"Are you a foreign observer, mum? Thank you for coming," says a man in the crowd. Sonny Osmena, the politician, is giving the evening's stemwinder in Cebuano. "A media man went to hell and reported back that Hitler, Mussolini, Stalin and all the dictators were in fire up to their necks," Osmena says. "He was surprised to see Marcos only in the fire up to his knees. Do you know why? He was standing on Imelda."

"Cory-Doy, Cory-Doy," the crowd responds, totally aflutter with yellow flags.

■ Thursday, February 6, E-day -1: The quiet day. "Talk with my brother," a friend tells me on the phone. "He's cool and he's scared." "My family was never political," comments the brother, a businessman whose well-established family firm is strongly backing NAMFREL with leadership, money, time, the loan of equipment. "We never really supported any party. Now we're all out for NAMFREL. If we cannot get democratic elections this time and have a government representative of the people, we will have

no further role in the community. We will have to run for the mountains or overseas. We don't want that. If he doesn't let her take over, he will have to reaffirm his dictatorship. That will mean a reimposition of martial law for all practical purposes—if he can get away with it. It will be a Nicaragua situation that will really send people into the hills. There will be urban violence and non-cooperation. And it will start very fast."

The Redemptorist Church is full. This is the last of a three-day Novena for a peaceful, clean, and honest election. "We are one in the spirit; we are one in the Lord, and you will know we are Christian by our love," resounds through the congregation. The reading from Matthew speaks of the power of good to cast out devils. "Look with pity upon us who have suffered for years: poverty, hunger, corruption, salvaging, and other forms of violence," we pray. We acknowledge our parts in these social sins and our need for national repentance. To show our repentance in action, we want to be honest this coming election. But knowing the past, many of us are pessimistic. But with you nothing is impossible."

"Be not afraid" is the constant refrain. "We are so afraid," a friend says quietly as she leaves.

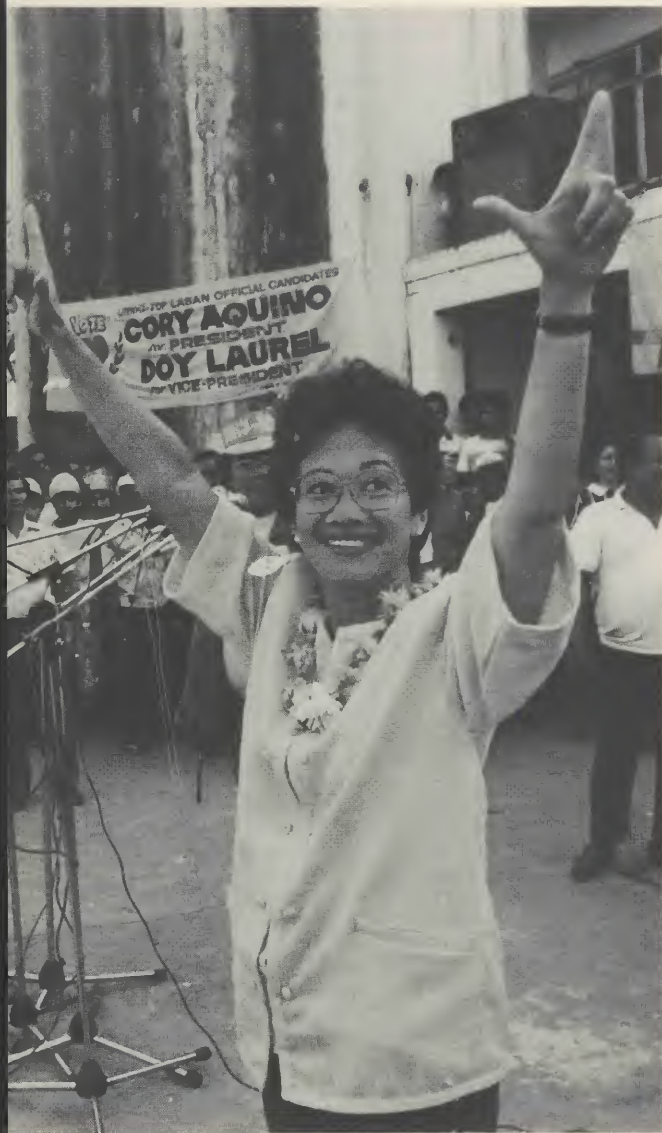
■ Friday, February 7. Election Day: They stream to the polls. The roads are full of people walking: determined, euphoric, proud, old, young, families, friends, neighbors. Little boys shove sample ballots into everyone's hands and dump them through the windows of passing cars. They drift like snow along the sides of the road. There is a carnival atmosphere. The front yard of the Paaralang Elementary ng Zapateria floods with people. They form long lines on the porch, snaking their ways into the different classroom precincts.

An old man in plaid shorts and a red golf hat with a British flag on it peddles slowly up the road. "Are you an observer? Thank you for coming. As the day goes on," he suggests, "Cory should win. But we will have to wait until tomorrow," he adds with resignation. "The people have been waiting for twenty years. We Filipino people have been very patient. We just took it. But we hope this is not like '69 when it was very wrong. Maybe this is the chance. Maybe." He nods farewell.

"It took me an hour to find my name, I had to go from one list to another," explains my hostess as she emerges. The stories begin to pile up. "At our poll, at seven-thirty, half an hour after the polls should open, there wasn't an official, there wasn't a ballot box, there weren't ballots. Then when they arrived we all had to move the tables before we could vote."

"We have been instructing people to write 'Aquino' and 'Laurel' because we are afraid that he will suddenly announce that ballots with 'Cory' and 'Doy' are invalid. We all went together and looked and looked for our names, from one room to another. Finally we found everyone's but my brother's. This is a place we have always voted. Then when I voted, I noticed in the register that my father's name was there and that he had voted. He has been dead for three years."

"They will stay with the ballots through the counting and escort them to the City Hall. We tell them to sit on the ballot boxes if necessary"



"They are trying to slow everything down in hopes that people will just get tired and go home. Well, they didn't. They even stayed after they voted to be sure that nothing went wrong."

"May the better woman win."

At the NAMFREL election headquarters, the group that went to Danao before dawn has returned. "We got back here about nine-fifteen. We were stopped at six-ten this morning at the checkpoint after Compestella," reports one observer. A number of NAMFREL lawyers are taking his deposition. "There was a small hut. I counted twelve, thirteen soldiers. Part had

name tags, part none. Maybe they were not really soldiers. We were two buses and five vehicles. I was taking pictures. They were simply delaying us. Others were let past. They were claiming they needed permission from their boss, waiting for instructions. After maybe forty-five minutes they let us pass and we proceeded to the Davao church as we had planned. But it was already too late. We needed to be at the precincts at six-thirty. We were waiting for the COMELEC to sign our IDs as observers. It took one and a half hours and finally they said we could not enter at all. We tried to go to the polling place and were not given access. Our observer status was not honored. Outside the church where we waited, people were always moving, taking pictures of us with long lenses."

"We were toe-to-toe with the election registrar Loro for an hour," another member of the Danao support group says, her voice nearly gone from fatigue and tension. "The White House group was there but Loro wouldn't honor their passes. He said, 'I have no orders.' 'All right, call the Cebu provincial COMELEC registrar.' 'No', said Loro. Imagine, his name means parrot. So we went outside and grabbed the radio and called Cebu who told him he had to allow the foreign observers. So we started off to the precincts and Loro stopped and ran into his office. He must have radioed ahead because when we got to the precinct, the official there said he didn't have any orders to let us in. So we came back. We brought a refugee with us, the one man in Danao who tried to organize NAMFREL there." The 'refugee' has white hair, a freshly ironed blue shirt. He is a former teacher. "I decided to stay with the group," he says in a subdued voice. "I know my life is in danger. I feel as a waterlily waiting for a wave to toss me up."

Polls close at three so, theoretically, there is time to count ballots before it is dark. In precinct #334 at the Cebu Central School there are still a few people in line. A NAMFREL worker waits quietly at the end of the line to see that those already there get to vote and that "flying voters" cannot come in at the last minute. The voting booths are benches parallel to each other, perpendicular to the wall, separated by pieces of brown paper taped to upright sticks. The last vote is cast at about three-twenty. Counting begins about three-forty. Counting in nearby rooms has already begun. There is a low drone "Aquino. Laurel. Aquino. Laurel. Aquino. Laurel. Marcos. Tolentino. Aquino. Laurel." It takes time to be sure that everything tallies before the counting can even begin. "231 ballots cast out of a possible 319," the election official announces. Both the KNL and UNIDO watchers pay close attention and help the two election official double count everything. It takes several times to be sure that everything agrees.

The good humor of the voices belies the enormous tension in everyone as they concentrate on the count. Aquino is well ahead. "Too bad you weren't in the next building. We had flying voters over there," a friend reports when I emerge. Other polls do not go so smoothly. "We didn't finish counting until nine. But everyone stayed. The whole school yard was full of people. There were no arrangements to take the ballot boxes to the City Hall so we got a van and I drove

them," a university student recounts.

"In Labagon a teacher tried to cheat the count. The inspectors shouted and found maybe 150 Aquino ballots stuffed down in her purse. The crowd tried to lynch her and she was barricaded in the school room. Sonny [Osmena] and our lawyer went there to rescue her," the opposition leader's younger brother reported. "Imagine, calling on a leader of the opposition to save the life of a cheat."

Nine p.m. Cebu's streets are dark and abnormally deserted except for people at one open air bingo parlor. Windows are shuttered. There is a low hum of radios. People gather at NAMFREL for the quick count. There is confusion over whether or not the NAMFREL inspector should be given one of the tally sheets. "If COMELEC is insisting on having the fourth sheet which is supposed to be ours before they will accept the ballots, have them sign a receipt for it," someone is shouting into the telephone. At nine-thirty the first returns showing "Aquino 68, Marcos 32" are posted. A shout goes up. "Do your shouting outside," admonishes the floor manager. "This is a non-partisan organization. We are defending a process." "Non-partisan is one thing, voting another," says one shouter, her fingers crossed. "I hope, I hope."

About ten-thirty word goes round the floor that two NAMFREL workers have been killed in other parts of the country. "NAMFREL is holed up in Catmon (the next town beyond Danao)," one of the Danao support group reports in her still-horse voice. "They were fired on coming in from the precincts. Perhaps a hundred [of our workers] are up there. The group was scattered, regrouped and went to the convent. They are calling us in code so we know they are all right. It is a group of kids and seminarians."

"They aren't even going to count at COMELEC tonight," one man reports. "They are all sitting on the ballot boxes down at City Hall playing mahjong."

■ Saturday, February 8. E-day + I: "Well, we're going to lose," observes a young businessman flatly. "There were names lost. Close to fifteen percent may have been turned off by hardships. Obviously, that's the strategy, to go very slow. COMELEC hasn't started counting. It's sad. A lot of people are so frustrated they could cry. It's hard to predict what will happen. It all depends. There was enthusiasm day before yesterday. Yesterday, people were saying 'oh-oh.' Today all the perceptions started changing. My perception is that it will be a tough battle. What worries me is that the Americans seem satisfied. Marcos will play us like a fish. Just like he did after Aquino died. Let things peak a bit and string them out."

In the early afternoon the group from Catmon comes in to NAMFREL to a greeting of cheers and embraces. "I won't ever be scared again," states Julito R. Sarmiento. "You can use my name. We had no trouble at the check points. I was part of the second group and we got there about twelve. The counting was intentionally delayed but regular. There was only ten to fifteen points difference in spite of vote buying. I was able to see vote buying. There was a house 150 feet away from the poll. After people voted then they

proceeded to the house to claim their money. There were people outside the window and they showed their ballot.

"About five-thirty there was a burst of gunfire near precincts one and two. At seven-thirty there was another. We saw goons around. They were firing indiscriminantly and then disappeared. We fell flat on the ground and started praying: Hail Mary. We went to the church to consolidate forces. We were under siege in the church. Outside there were men with automatic weapons. They tried to scare us out."

Senator Lugar comes in to a large round of applause. "We were under siege all night," Julito continues. "At three a.m., they tried to break in. We stopped them. Seventeen vehicles out of twenty came out. We brought the official returns to City Hall."

The evening ends with dinner with friends and both ebullience and depression. NAMFREL counts show Cory winning steadily. COMELEC returns as they come in show a different picture. Reports of confusion everywhere are shared as conversations with families and friends elsewhere are recounted. The radio provides a constant background noise. No one wants to miss anything. "We worked so hard but he will get us in the end," is the fear. The days and the voices pile one on another. "I'm going to get the American passports for my boys so they can go to their grandmother. At least they will be safe if I am in the streets." "Marcos has black magic, so we have Marcos again," believes a Manila taxi driver. "Do you like my country?" asks another. "We will have revolution in a year. What will I do? If I have a gun, first I will pray, then I will shoot the military." A quiet, lovely young woman I have known since she was a child speaks matter-of-factly but with determination: "Well, if he won't step down, we will have to take to the streets." "What is President Reagan trying to do to us?" demands her usually calm mother. "He has made some sort of an agreement with Marcos. Can't he see that we won and Marcos stole it from us?" Words from Washington are analyzed and reanalyzed like chicken entrails for signs and portents. "Reforms?" asks the frequently non-committal businessman. "Judge by what he has done in the past. There will be no reforms." "We have worked so hard. We can't give up now. We will have to stick it out."

■  
POSTSCRIPT: Cebu went overwhelmingly for Aquino as, apparently, did the rest of the country. The COMELEC count, however, differed, and the Batasan declared Marcos the winner. As tensions mounted, part of the army rebelled, the people took to the streets, Marcos left in the dead of night, Aquino assumed office—and a new period in Philippine history began. These conversations suggest, in my view, that ultimately the 1986 election was as much about personal and national honor as getting rid of Ferdinand Marcos or electing Corazon Aquino. The next steps are now being taken: a February 2 plebiscite for a new constitution to be followed by national and local elections in the spring. The same complex social and personal as well as political dynamics that made the 1986 election uniquely Filipino will probably prevail again. □

"When I voted, I noticed in the register that my father's name was there and that he had voted. He has been dead for three years"

# FOREIGN SERVICE FUNNIES

WELCOME TO GOVERNMENT SERVICE  
UNDER THE NEW REAGAN GUIDELINES



AND A LITTLE BOOKLET ON OUR  
LIE DETECTOR TESTING PROGRAM



ONCE YOU'VE SETTLED IN, WE LOOK  
FORWARD TO HEARING YOUR FRANK  
AND HONEST OPINIONS



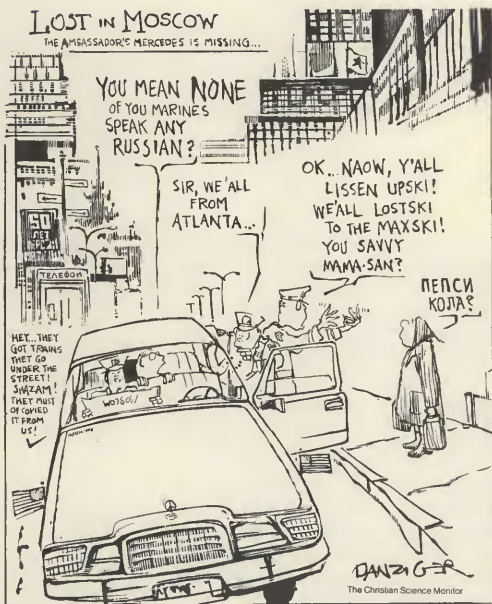
By Wasserman

HERE IS A LIFETIME CENSORSHIP  
AGREEMENT FOR YOU TO SIGN...



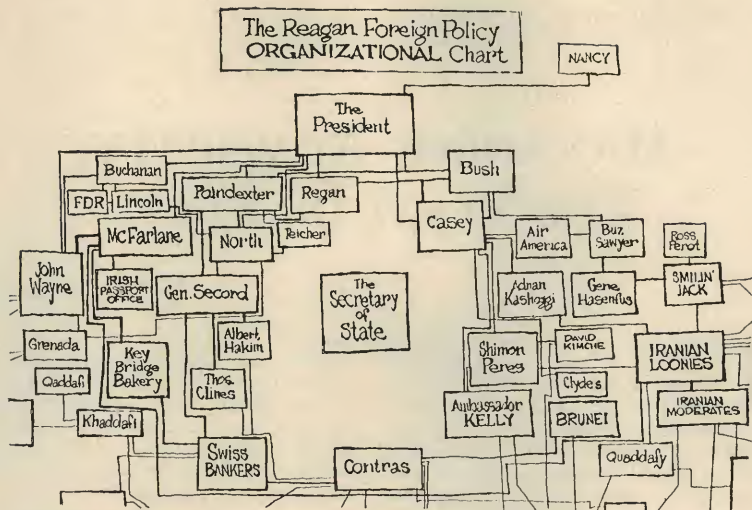
## LOST IN MOSCOW

THE AMBASSADOR'S MERCEDES IS MISSING...



ASSISTANT  
SECRETARY OF STATE  
FOR  
GET-ME-OUT-OF-THIS





BY MACNELLY FOR THE CHICAGO TRIBUNE

LET'S BREAK AWAY FROM THE ROUTINE, YOU SAID...  
THE LIFE OF A DIPLOMAT'S WIFE IS FILLED WITH  
GRANDEUR, CAVIAR AND BON-BONS, YOU SAID...



G. CAPLAN  
© THE WASHINGTON TIMES



THE LATEST THEORY IS THAT THEY WERE ACTUALLY AN EARLY ATTEMPT TO  
BUILD A SECURE MIDEAST EMBASSY....

## MANAGING ADVERSITY: THE STATE OF STATE

**T**WO YEARS AGO, in an article in the *JOURNAL* ("Thinning the Soup," March 1985), Under Secretary for Management Ronald I. Spiers outlined the critical issues facing the State Department management council: resources and budgets, personnel matters (especially the Senior Foreign Service), internal communications and management, and departmental organization. Since then, the sense of crisis within the Foreign Service has deepened. This year, more than 100 officers will be forcibly retired for expiration of time-in-class. At the same time, the department as a whole faces significant budgetary cutbacks, even as new programs must be launched. Clearly the management council (which includes the major management officials in the department and is charged with organizing the personnel and financial resources needed to conduct foreign policy) faces some tough—and controversial—challenges. In this interview, Spiers discusses the policies pursued by senior management and brings us up to date on his expectations for the future.

In the past, you have expressed concern about the level of resources received by the State Department, especially when compared with the CIA, Defense Department, and the other international security agencies. Since that time, there has been a lot of pressure to reduce the federal deficit, and the budgetary picture hasn't exactly been rosy. Is the State Department still being shortchanged in the budgetary process? Are you optimistic about future budgets?

No, I'm pessimistic about the budget. I think the situation has gotten worse rather than better. 1987 is going to be a very bad year for us. We will have less money to spend this year than we had in 1986. At the same time, we have new programs to put into effect. We also have high exchange rate losses—something like \$40 million—and we have mandatory wage-and-price increases. Last year, the president requested \$3.3 billion for the administration of foreign affairs functions for fiscal year 1987, and that was cut by \$1.2 billion. That's a big hunk of change.

In that article, you placed some of the blame for the shortage of resources on the department's doorstep. You said that it had been timid, if not apologetic, about asking for what it needed. Do you still feel that way? Is the department making an adequate case for funding?

The institutions most crucial to the national security interests of the United States—in the international

framework, not the domestic one—are the military, diplomatic, and intelligence services. And the diplomatic service has gotten short shrift, partly due to its own lack of attention to resource problems. That was something we didn't dirty our hands with; something that we didn't pay attention to. And that's not a mistake that either the intelligence people or the defense people ever, ever made.

But recently we began to turn that around; we had something of a revolution in the department. Secretary of State Shultz appreciates the importance of resources in the conduct of foreign relations, and I don't remember any of his predecessors ever attaching the same level of importance to resources. So he has spent a lot of time on budget problems and up on Capitol Hill. There were some initiatives he has supported particularly strongly, like rebuilding our reporting and analysis capabilities and getting a new campus for the Foreign Service Institute at Arlington Hall; he made a major effort on behalf of those. But then Gramm-Rudman came along and changed the name of the game.

We are in a particularly difficult position because we are not a program agency. We're not like AID, where assistance programs can be cut if necessary to help finance their management infrastructure. The CIA can also do that. Defense can do it. But we don't have any such programs. When we have to take cuts of the magnitude I have talked about—going from a \$3.3 billion request to a \$2.1 billion appropriation—that's a lot of money for a "people" agency. What that means is that we have to cut people. And if you cut down on the people, you have to cut down on what I call the "work stations": the places where people work. That is why we will have to close posts. All of our posts contribute to our mission, but if you don't have the money and the people to staff them, you have to cut them. We also have to look at our programs. This building has never been very good at planning its policy priorities, and that's another area where we are trying to rationalize. But there is just no way that we can take cuts of this magnitude without some sloughing off of missions.

Given that you have to deal with Gramm-Rudman and the other pressures to reduce the deficit, is this a good time to be asking for new programs and pushing for the construction of new, more secure embassies? Or to submit a FY 1988 budget request that is significantly larger than the FY



*"I'm pessimistic about the budget. 1987 is going to be a very bad year for us"*

1987 appropriation?

The FY 1988 request is larger than the FY 1987 appropriation that was enacted, but not larger than the 1987 request. So don't mix apples and oranges; don't compare what we are requesting this year with what we got last year after Congress had made all its deprecations.

But is this a good time to be asking for billions of dollars to rebuild embassies?

Well, this administration and Secretary Shultz have attached a lot of importance to providing an adequate level of security for our people overseas. This is very controversial in the Foreign Service, but there is a consensus among the secretary, the White House, the Office of Management and Budget, and at least part of the Congress—because Congress authorized the program that had been proposed by the administration, even though they didn't end up appropriating the monies implicit in that program.

There is a consensus that we have underspent in the area of security, and something has to be done about it. It has been a major political objective for the administration to rectify that situation. And there is a lot of support for it in the Congress. However, that money isn't fungible. We can't move it from security to other things which, in my judgment, might have higher priority. It is earmarked for security and it will

be spent for security. So I don't think that it's the kind of a trade-off that's implicit in your question.

Earlier, you mentioned the new programs that Congress had mandated despite the budget reductions. Are you finding that Congress is starting to micromanage the department? Do you believe that there are too many funding earmarks?

Yes, in a word. We get strange things out of the Congress. About three years ago they moved 11 people from one office to another. There is a tendency, particularly on the part of staffs up on the Hill, to get very, very detailed. They have set up bureaus and offices in the department that we didn't ask for or want. In the diplomatic security bill, instead of just setting up a bureau, they outlined its responsibilities. This is certainly something that ought to be the prerogative of the secretary. So yes, I think there is a degree of micromanagement from the Hill, but I don't think that it applies just to the State Department. I think it's a general phenomenon.

Does that apply to the appointments process and the difficulty the secretary has had in getting some appointments cleared?

No, that is more of a political question, not one of micromanagement. Senators who have political objectives may put holds on nominations and, it seems to me, it's implicit in the advice-and-consent process that they have the right to do that. We may quarrel with their objectives or disagree with them, but I don't think it's a case of micromanagement. Micromanagement, in my view, relates to the organization, the details, the earmarking of expenditures.

What about the suggestions by Senator Jesse Helms (R-North Carolina) that various changes be made in the treatment of the Foreign Service—the so-called Helms amendments. Would that be considered micromanagement?

I disagree with most of those suggestions, but I think they are legitimate topics for debate. I think much of it is generated by staff people on the Hill who have the idea that the Foreign Service is too self-governing. I think they will continue to pursue these "reforms," such as requiring all people who receive presidential appointments to resign or retire from the Foreign Service. I think this would be devastating for the Foreign Service as it exists today. I'm not sure that's an example of micromanagement; it's really more of a policy issue. Where there are policy issues, they should be confronted and debated. Again, while I disagree with what they are trying to accomplish, I don't think I can complain about it on the grounds of micromanagement, as I can when people from the Hill move positions around and create or uncreate offices within the State Department. That's a different thing.

One State Department office that Congress has been very critical of in the last several months has been Foreign Buildings. Do you think that criticism is justified? Could it endanger the funding requests you are making for next year?

FBO has been a sore thumb for this place for many



FBO has been a sore thumb for this place for many years.

Traditionally, it had been a political outpost for certain congressmen, and there were many incompetents there. But it has made great strides over the past few years

years, in my view. One of the things I've tried to do in this job is to reform it. I think FBO has made great strides over the past few years. Traditionally, it had been a political outpost for certain congressmen, and there were many incompetents there. The activities that are being criticized now on the Hill are all things that stem from that period. New Delhi, Hong Kong, Cairo, Moscow—these were set in motion then and fulfill policy decisions or follow procedures that date back to that period.

What I've tried to do is make FBO move in a more professional direction, to get the office to adopt procedures that would bring it into the modern era. It may not work, but I want to give them a chance. There is an anachronism in these complaints—people talk as if the problems are contemporary and they are not. Of the projects FBO is doing now—the 13 projects in the Middle East—two have not started because of land acquisition problems in Kuwait and Syria, but all the others as of last report were on budget and on time. That's a big change in the record of FBO.

What about the situation in Beirut, where the probable use of local contractors has created security concerns?

We had planned to build a new embassy in Beirut. The issue is, do we bring in a lot of people to build an embassy under the current circumstances, and thus create a bigger security target? Do we rely on local labor with all the disadvantages that entails? Or do we postpone the whole operation? That is now under consideration, and ultimately the secretary will have to decide which option to go with.

As under secretary, you have also been concerned with the size of the Senior Foreign Service. Do you still believe that group needs to be reduced as you maintained two years ago, and, if so, what do you see as its ideal size?

No, I'm satisfied with what we've done. My major problem with the Senior Foreign Service was that there was no discipline in the process of deciding what positions should be Senior Foreign Service positions. Anybody could create a senior-level position. The decisions relating to promotion numbers were also taken quite unrealistically, in my view; the result was that despite the large number of senior positions, we still had a lot more senior people than we had positions. Some positions classified as being in the Senior Foreign Service shouldn't have been. We had a net reduction of about 125 positions in the Senior Service, and I think now that we can no longer be fairly criticized on the size of the Senior Service, as we could be before.

So you don't expect any more downgradings of positions?

No. Now I am concerned about the number of political appointees, because that makes personnel policy planning more difficult for us.

How does the number of political appointees compare with what it has been in the past? How has that affected the management of the Foreign Service?

I keep a running inventory. Political appointees are holding a net total of 22 more senior State Department positions—in Washington and as ambassadors overseas—than they were at the beginning of the administration in January 1981. That means that 22 of our senior people are not going to be placed. It also means that we will not promote people to fill jobs that are held by non-career people. And that has a cascade effect down through the system; in fact, a seven-fold cascade effect through the ranks.

The Foreign Service has to stop promoting people unless they are needed. These political appointments cause difficulties in planning because of the uncertainties they create. From a management perspective, I would rather have somebody tell me that we will have 50 percent career chiefs of mission and 50 percent non-career—and then we would know. Then you could design your whole system on this assumption. But, at the beginning of this administration, the ratio of career to non-career ambassadors was 75-25, and now it's 60-40. And we don't know if it is going to change again. Some people tell me the percentage of career chiefs of mission will improve because, as the administration nears its end, fewer political appointees will be willing to go overseas for what may be a very short time. I'm not sure, however, that this will be the case.

Are you saying that the numbers aren't the issue, it's the uncertainty that is the problem?

To me they are both issues. Naturally, being a product of the career Service, I'm an advocate of a career Service. I think it's important to the United States. I don't think you can have a high-quality career Service if a disproportionate number of people from outside the organization are brought in at the top levels. But I am also an advocate of bringing in some people from the outside, because I don't like to see our nation's diplomacy being conducted by a closed club. I don't think that's good for the Service. But I'm equally concerned about what the uncertainty over the number of non-career people does to our personnel planning and assignments process.

Is quality an issue among the corps of political appointees?

It's mixed. There are some very good ones, and there are also some not very good ones. You could say that about career people too, but we are making a major effort to improve the quality and experience of the career people that go into presidentially appointed positions. I think we've done pretty well on that score; it's no longer the private preserve of political-cone officers.

Is there anything the department can do to stem the increase in the number of political appointees, or is this something the department is powerless to prevent?

It has to be a matter for the secretary to deal with vis-à-vis the White House. It is not something that an individual in my position can deal with because I am a career person, even though I'm occupying a "political" position. People tend to think that I have an ax to grind, and maybe they're correct. So the secretary

needs to work this out with the White House.

This interview will appear six years after the Foreign Service Act became effective in February 1981. What is your assessment of the act's impact on the Service? Has it been beneficial or not?

Frankly, I think it is too early to tell. I was an opponent of much of the act when it was being discussed. I suppose it has had some good effects and some not-so-good effects. Obviously, the thing that worries me the most is the number of people at the higher mid-levels and senior levels who have to leave; these are people for whom you can still make a case that there is a fruitful career for them. To me, this process is implicit in the act and in the policies established to implement it. Those policies were not adopted by this administration, although we looked at them very carefully and decided that we really should not try to change them at this point. As a result, we've lost over a hundred senior officers who have not received limited career extensions. In 1987, we are going to lose 104 officers due to the 20-year limitation on time-in-class and the six-year window for FS-1s. That's what we bought when we bought the 1980 act.

But the act doesn't establish specific numbers for the TICs.

No, but it lays down a procedure and establishes a philosophy. And I really have a lot of trouble with my colleagues who wiggled to have the act but not its consequences. I was around here when this was discussed, and I know the spirit that went into it. I know people don't like the military analogy, and everybody kicks me in the tail now because of it. You've got this business of "the barracks versus the bar." Which is right: the analogy to the military or to a law office?

I've read the testimony of people like Ben Read [under secretary for management, 1977-80] and others up on the Hill saying that we want a system like the military, where a person can retire with honor as a colonel. You should have a small group of people in the senior ranks, equivalent to flag officers, who are out if they don't keep going up. And all these younger people in 1979 were arguing that we have dead wood at the top and we have to clean it out. Well, you know, one man's dead wood may not be another man's dead wood. So, we have a system where, by and large, one-third of the people that join the Foreign Service will ultimately go into the Senior Service. And two-thirds will not. Since it is a highly selective process, that means a lot of good people who are in those second two-thirds are going to leave the Service prematurely. I also think that people will gradually get used to this system. It's been traumatic now for a few years. It would have been easy for us to back down and change it, but then we would have all the problems we had before the act was adopted. I think you have to go ahead and lance the boil.

According to your interpretation of the act, is there a place in the Service for the individual who might be a very good language person or area specialist, but who doesn't have the managerial background to be in the Senior Foreign Service?

If you didn't have a 20-year TIC, would there be a place for this person to spend a number of years, perhaps at the FS-1 level?

Well, these officers have to decide. Maybe what has to happen, and I think it's starting, is for people to make more realistic self-assessments when it comes to opening their six-year windows. A few years ago, there tended to be a kind of professional hubris, a belief that everybody is a potential ambassador, everybody will make the Senior Foreign Service. So, perhaps 90 percent of the eligible people opened their window. But now, before they do that, they had better be damn sure of their confidence in their ability to make the top 10 percent, because only 50 percent of the FS-1s will ultimately make the Senior Service.

Today, we need both specialists and generalists in the Senior Service. In the future, we might need more generalists than specialists—or more specialists than generalists—I don't know. We are trying to work out a five-year planning system, although that is very difficult with all the budget uncertainties. We are already in a devastated position regarding the budget, and it could very well get worse. If Gramm-Rudman proceeds down the track it is going, and no special exemption is made for the State Department, we will have a much different department four years down the line than we have now.

You've emphasized the need for more administrative and managerial experience at the upper levels of the Foreign Service. Is that rooted in your view that the Foreign Service hasn't done very well in the past in those areas?

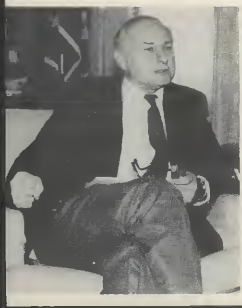
It's rooted in several things. First, my observations around here, during the 31 years I've spent in this building—most of it fairly close to the central decision-making apparatus—is that nobody ever really paid attention to management. I can remember my frustration as a young officer: Why don't people here understand that resources are relevant to what you can do in the policy area? Second, many of the top jobs are essentially management jobs. You are managing programs and people. An ambassador or a DCM or assistant secretary is really more of a manager than a specialist. And that becomes even more true as the proportion of State Department representation in diplomatic missions overseas shrinks. We are now only 28 percent of the overseas missions, and, if this keeps going, in another year we will be at 26 percent. So an ambassador is a manager of a lot of agencies and people. But what we've done—and this was certainly the case when I joined the Foreign Service—was assign as ambassadors people that were, by and large, the political officers who had manned the standard political desks and done the standard political things. I saw a lot of them, and too many were just incompetent as managers. They may have been brilliant political analysts, but they couldn't do what was required as managers.

Where you a political officer?

Yes, and then I was ambassador to the Bahamas. It's a small post but a fairly important one. And I went without any experience in administration; without experience in consular affairs. I would have been a



**Political appointees are holding a total of 22 more senior positions than they were in January 1981. This has a seven-fold cascade effect down the ranks**



I was an opponent of much of the act when it was being discussed. The thing that worries me the most is the number of people at the higher levels who have to leave

much better chief of mission if I had had some exposure to those things.

Right now, getting a lot of managerial experience is seen as the ticket to the Senior Foreign Service. With all the stress on getting promotions, it's our understanding that the assignments process has been affected. For example, plum jobs like those of economic and political counselor in Mexico City, Rome, Manila had only two or three bidders, while DCM jobs at small posts had dozens of bidders. Are you worried that the incentives are changing so as to discourage the development of analytical expertise?

I think we are going to have to pay attention to that. As in anything, when you try to correct and adjust for one factor, you may overadjust. We had about 80 bidders for the job of DCM in Nassau.

How many would you normally expect on a job like that?

I have no idea. We do have trouble sometimes filling what I consider more important posts. Although, when I look into it, I find there is often a specific reason: somebody may not want to be political counselor at post X, and you'll find out that the DCM has a bad reputation, or that the ambassador is somebody no one wants to work for. So you have to be careful about making generalizations. I think that this criticism is a little bit overdone. We are trying to operate a free market system here, and there will be self-correcting elements in it. I think it will turn out all right.

During the past three years, the department has had a program to rebuild the reporting and analysis positions. So some junior and mid-level officers have been steered in the direction of traditional economic and political jobs. Will you be able to keep those people devoted to that kind of work if they see the incentives of the system pushing them toward more managerial work?

Political and economic work is part of what you need. I don't want ambassadors who have only been administrative or only political officers. I'm looking for people who have had a variety of experiences. I object just as much to choosing somebody who has done nothing but consular work—unless that is the totality of their career aspirations—as I do to somebody who has done nothing but political work.

At the senior levels, we want people who have been exposed to a wide variety of the Service's activities. This is partly because of my own feeling that there has been a cultural bias in the Foreign Service, particularly against administrative and consular officers. I have made a deliberate effort to correct that by pointing out to some of our hotshot political and economic officers that young administrative and consular officers are getting a hell of a lot more supervisory and managerial experience than they are.

Another group in the Service whose jobs are changing is the secretaries. The management council recently approved some reforms: what are they and how are they being implemented?

Also, you commissioned a report on the effects of automation on secretaries. How is that going?

I don't know yet. I'm interested in what the job of a secretary will be in five to seven years, when the automation we are getting now is up and running. A secretary is less and less somebody who takes dictation. All our younger officers are out there using the word processor themselves. So obviously the role of the secretary is going to change. And it may change in a manner that will give them more responsibility. But that is something we are looking at, and in due course we will discuss it in the management council.

What has happened to the secretarial task force, which was charged with reviewing the Service's ability to attract and retain a well-qualified secretarial work force?

We have taken many of the steps recommended by that study and others, including establishing a super-secretary rank, something like a career minister; changing titles; giving awards; and things like that. A good part of this is psychic income, but some is real income. So much of this business is psychic income anyway.

Were there any reforms approved that had to do with the substantive aspects of secretarial work?

No, they were mostly concerned with the structure of the secretarial service: having secretaries staff the office in Personnel that does secretarial counseling and assignment, for instance. To me those things are more important.

Recently, a management task force looked at some private corporations and compared how they handle their personnel with how State handles its workforce. The report was rather critical of the department—especially in the area of career development. What is the status of the report now? Is it being discussed in the management council?

We have had three or four meetings of the management council on various aspects of the report, and we'll be having more. Secretary Shultz was very critical of our professional development program, our succession-planning, and our evaluation system. He was the one who first suggested that we look at how the private sector handles these areas. But I think that he may not have appreciated the structural differences between the private sector and the government. You can't do some things in the public sector that you can in private industry; you also lack some of the guidelines and road signs found in the private sector, where the bottom line is profit and loss. You don't have that here, and, since it is government, you can't have as much personal decision-making as you would in private firms.

Nevertheless, there are many things we can learn. We spent a lot of time talking to businesses about how they evaluate, promote, train, and assign people. Actually, some of them said that they had learned some things from us, too. I'm not happy with our evaluation system, but I have not seen a better one in the private sector. The thing that bothers me most is the one-dimensional view of people that we often get

in our evaluation system—the portrayal of the subordinate only from the superior's point of view. Very often that gives a distorted view. I've known people who look pretty good to the guys for whom they work and pretty lousy to the people who work for them. I'd like to find some way to get that into the process. As for the promotion system, generally, I have a lot of confidence in it. By and large, the right people are getting promoted. There are mistakes both ways, but it's not too bad.

There have been tremendous changes in both the Foreign Service and the outside world, changes concerning families, terrorism, spouses who work, the impact of Congress and the budget. In a recent JOURNAL survey, a majority of the respondents said they would no longer recommend the Foreign Service as a life-long career. What do you think a career in the Foreign Service will be like five or ten years from now? Will the Service still be able to recruit top quality candidates?

I don't know. I'm concerned about the spouse problem, because if two-income families are more and more the norm, and spouses have the same kind of professional qualifications and aspirations as the employee, we're going to have a hard time managing this kind of a system. On the other hand, since it's a very small system, perhaps there will be enough people out of a population of 240 million for whom that lifestyle will commend itself. But I'm very concerned, and I don't see a real answer to it.

One of the things needed to maintain the quality of the Foreign Service is an effective recruiting program. Yet, there is such a long lag between passing the exams and joining the Service that some concern has been expressed that the best candidates go elsewhere. Is this kind of system really logical?

We have tried to deal with that and have succeeded in some respects. We have put in some reforms to try to move the process along. But there are some inevitable uncertainties. First, the number of people you can hire is dependent on the budget. Second, you have to have security clearances, and that process can be time-consuming. The money we are getting for our security operations will help hire a bigger force of investigators.

At every post I visit, I've tried to sit down with the junior officers. They are a fantastic group. We are getting very high-quality people. Most of them look at this as a career commitment—although maybe with a little more realism that not all of them are going to be in the top 50 percent. My view is that the people who are coming in now are better than the people who came in with me.

If you had been able to write the Foreign Service Act in 1980, how would it be different from the bill as enacted?

I would not worry so much about fast flow-through. There has to be a very selective recruiting process, but once you are in, I guess I would have limited career extensions for every grade, and give 90-95 percent LCEs. The problem before the act was that

we were not able to run a selection-out system and there were all kinds of grievances. There are some people who shouldn't be in the Service or who have burned out, so there should be some system for moving out the bottom performers, and that needs to be almost a mandatory system. There should be a small Senior Foreign Service whose numbers are related to the jobs that need to be filled at that level and there should be promotions maybe once a month when there is a vacancy. We should not promote beyond that need. If somebody is 60 and a second secretary and is doing okay, I wouldn't make them get out if they're not in that bottom five or ten percent.

So you wouldn't have a 20-year TIC.

No, I wouldn't.

But that's not written into the act now.

But the TIC concept is. The 20 years was established by then Secretary Vance, as was the six-year window. What some of my colleagues wanted us to do—and I was a little disgusted about it—was to change the system the first time the six years were up. If we had, I think we would have been a laughing-stock.

What single management reform would you most like to be put into effect?

I would have a fundamental reorganization of the domestic State Department. I think we have too many bureaus and too many overlapping functions. Too much authority is sucked upwards, there are too many seventh-floor people, and the seventh-floor staffs are too big. I would push authority down and thin out a lot of deputy assistant secretary positions and let the office directors and the assistant secretaries really be the operating people in the department. I'd cut the number of bureaus in half and amalgamate them. I won't be more specific than that. But I have been specific to the secretary about the things that I would do: which jobs I would abolish, for instance.

Do you expect such a reorganization to happen?

I think those kind of things are most likely to happen when an administration changes. It's very hard to do if, for example, you have two assistant secretaries and you have to combine them into one position. That's a very hard thing for an administration to do in midstream.

In the JOURNAL article two years ago, you said that to achieve management reforms it was important to have a management team that was pretty consistent and stayed around. You have been here since November 1983. How much longer will you and this team be able to stay together?

You have to ask the secretary. The only real change that has taken place is that George Vest has succeeded Roy Atherton as director general. Everybody else is the same, and continuity is important. But I also think that at some point you have to get new blood and new ideas. I don't know whether the right amount of time on a job like this is three years or four years or five years. Somebody else has to decide that.



I think we have too many bureaus and too many overlapping functions. I'd cut the number of bureaus in half and amalgamate them

# A Closed Hearing

**I**TIMED MY trip to arrive in Bangkok the day before the hearing. Senator Fitzsimmons had already arrived and was the ambassador's guest at the residence, being wined and dined in the traditional manner. As the senator's principal assistant, I'd made sure all our files and papers were in order before leaving Washington. I wanted the evening free to meet with Dorman. I hadn't seen him since leaving the agency in 1971. I was hoping he could give me an unofficial preview of what we could expect the next day.

Senator Fitzsimmons had made the search for MIAs his own political bobsled. He'd been clever enough to understand that the missing in action question was a newsworthy issue that cut across political, ethnic, and sentimental divisions. Whether Americans had been for or against the Vietnam war, they had rallied to the senator's campaign to learn the truth about any Americans who might still be at large or prisoners in Indochina.

The closed hearing at the embassy was the first step in a week-long investigation on MIAs. We were scheduled to visit the border areas to speak with Thai and Lao refugees who claimed to have sighted Americans. We also had a number of briefings scheduled for us by Thai officials, American military officers, and the CIA station chief.

It was almost five by the time I'd been driven from the airport to the Oriental Hotel in an embassy sedan. Bangkok had changed a lot since my last visit. New high-rises glinted in the sun, the noisy traffic had doubled, and a fog of heat haze and exhaust fumes hung over the crowded streets. The new, tall annexes of the Oriental Hotel towered over the old

*Howard R. Simpson is a consultant and columnist on international terrorism. A retired Foreign Service officer, he accompanied French commandos on counter-terrorist operations in North Vietnam as a USA war correspondent. His ninth novel will be published by Doubleday in June.*

*The senator's search  
for MIAs comes up  
short when two  
Company men reunite  
for the investigation*

HOWARD R. SIMPSON

colonial building with its fan palms and wooden shutters. Once in my room I unpacked quickly and took a swift, modern elevator down to the ground floor.

I wanted a cool drink and a few moments to myself on the terrace of the bamboo bar before Dorman arrived. I found a free table, ordered a gin tonic, and sat back to admire the view. I tried to block the obvious changes from my vision. I ignored the new swimming pool with its scattering of noisy tourists and looked out over the lawn to the lazy surface of the Chao Praya River. The sun hadn't changed. It hung low over the palms on the far bank like an indolent, white hot globe. I almost began to think about the past but avoided the temptation by remembering an agency truism: "Old spooks never die, they just reminisce."

The bar waiter served my drink and put a dish of peanuts on the table. A rice barge glided by, low in the water, a skinny dog barking from the stern.

"Hello, Morris," Dorman said, grinning. "Welcome to massage parlor land." He had come up behind me without a sound. He'd changed. He was thinner and more tan. He'd lost some hair and there were three white scars on his forehead where a dermatologist had obviously removed some sun-damaged skin.

We shook hands and he sat down, sighing. "Still wearing the cookie-factory

uniform?" he asked, eyeing my tan Brooks Brothers summer suit.

"The senator," I told him, "likes his team to look preppy. How have you been?"

"Not too bad," he replied, waving his arm for the waiter. "My gut is so screwed up it can't tell a poached egg from a Thai curry."

I almost made a crack about Dorman's worn bush jacket and bleached chinos but I didn't. There was something in his eyes that put me off. He looked tired and washed out. Dorman was one of the rare living legends still humping the boondocks for the agency. After Vietnam closed down he'd been sent to Thailand. He spoke Thai, Vietnamese, and some Lao. He'd maintained his old Vietnamese contacts—those who were still alive.

He'd managed to put together an intelligence net along the Thai-Cambodian border that sifted information from the refugees and infiltrated the exiled Cambodian resistance movements still fighting the North Vietnamese. He'd recently been up in Chiang Mai monitoring the narcotics situation in the Golden Triangle. I'd heard he'd also been snooping along the Laotian border investigating reports of missing Americans in Laos.

Dorman ordered two San Miguel beers and lit a long Philippine cigar. He blew a perfect smoke ring in my direction. "So, what's the great bull artist up to?" he asked.

"I take it you mean the senator?"

"None other."

"He's heading an MIA investigation."

"I know that," Dorman replied curtly.

"You also know you're due to testify tomorrow?"

"Yeah," he said without enthusiasm.

"I'm on at fifteen hundred."

The waiter brought the beer and filled Dorman's glass from one of the frosted bottles.

"I suppose he looks like an aging Jack Kennedy now," Dorman asked. "Is he still riding on his experiences in Nam?"

"That's why he got this committee," I explained.

Dorman shook his head and laughed. "Fitzsimmons is a phony," he said. "He was a commissary commando in Saigon. Boots shined and uniform creased by his Momma-san. How the hell can you work for him?"

"It's a living," I said defensively. "Tell me about Chiang Mai," I asked, hoping to change the subject.

Dorman took a deep pull on his beer and frowned. "It's Ramboville," he replied. "Full of kooks with pot bellies from Arkansas and Texas who want to play Stallone. They mount a half-assed, illegal patrol into Laos and come back four hours later claiming they've seen round-eyed survivors behind every bush. They bring out a bag of pig bones, claim they're human remains, and bug the American consul to send them off to the identification center in Honolulu. My Thai colleagues don't know how to handle them. They're nothing but trouble."

Dorman had given me a good lead into what I wanted to discuss. I leaned across the table and spoke confidentially. "What's the real story?" I asked. "Do we have live ones in there?"

"Am I talking to Senator Fitzsimmons or to Bob Morris," he asked.

"You're talking to me," I told him.

Dorman tapped some ash off of his cigar and looked at me as if he were trying to read my mind. We'd been in some rough situations together during the Phoenix operation in Vietnam. We'd always shared a mutual respect.

"You want the truth?" he asked.

"Of course," I told him.

"I know of only one," he said, staring out at the river. "And he doesn't exist."

"What the hell are you talking about?" I wanted to know. "Cut the doubletalk!"

"Do you remember Caradec?" Dorman asked.

"The Special Forces captain who spoke French?"

"Right."

"The one assigned to agency duty with the Muong tribe who always had two Nung bodyguards?"

"That's Caradec."

"What about him?"

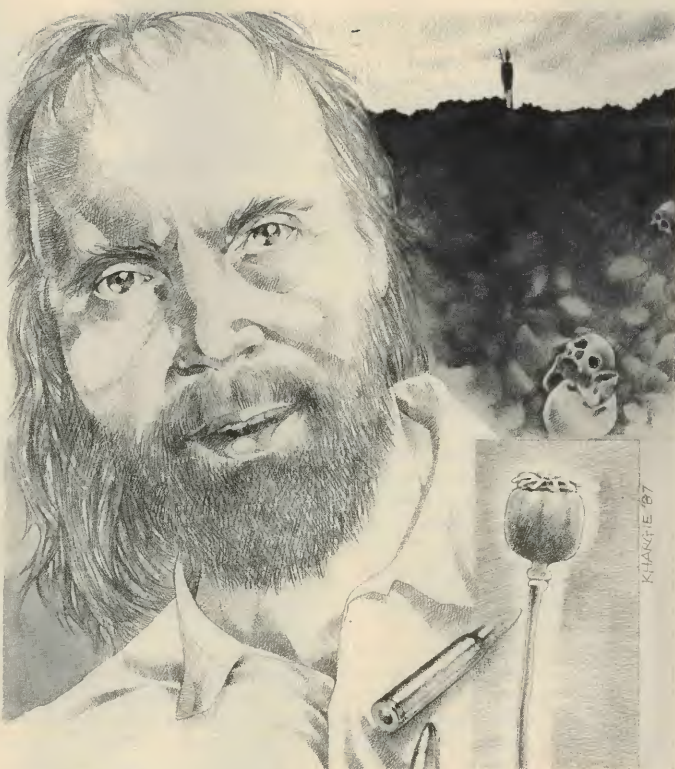
Dorman poured some beer into his glass before replying. "He's still in there," he said.

"How do you know?" I asked eagerly.

"I spent some time with him."

"But," I muttered, "that's impossible!"

Dorman chuckled. "You should see yourself," he said. "You look like a forty-year old Cantonese virgin who's just learned about the pill."



"Tell me," I demanded, my mind racing. If Dorman was telling the truth the senator would have everything he wanted. A genuine American hero still ranging the hills of Laos with the North Vietnamese baying at his heels. It would hit every headline in the States and load the TV evening news.

"I tell you nothing," Dorman said gravely, "unless you promise to keep your mouth shut."

**K**EEP MY MOUTH SHUT," I exploded. "You drop the story of the century as if it was a stock market report and you want me to keep quiet?"

"Exactly. If not, we forget the whole thing. I'll just say you misunderstood me. It was the product of jet lag and too much gin."

I ordered another round of drinks. Dorman was silent until the waiter had served us and left.

"Morris, old friend," he began, "I decided to cut you in on this because I had to share it with someone. I've been out here too long. Too much sun, too much

booze, too many bordellos..."

"Skip the introduction," I pleaded, "let's hear it."

"I was up near Ban Pakkhop at a bend on the Mekong," Dorman to me, "sending a team of Nung into contact a group of anti-Viet Laotians. My orders only covered me to the border, but I often make a point of crossing into Laos to give my teams a little confidence and make sure they have a proper send off. I usually peel off before we get close to Muang Hongsa. This time I stayed with them a bit longer. It was strange. I had a feeling something wasn't right. You know how it is. You keep humping the jungle and it begins to tell you things: empty villages, lack of birds, quiet monkeys, and trails full of scuff marks. We'd reached a shallow tributary of the Mekong. I was about to say goodbye and head back when I heard this single bird call. It was high, shrill, and repeated three times. I froze in my tracks. Instant flashback. It was the ambush warning that Caradec had used when we were on long range patrols back in '68."

"Jesus Christ!" I commented.

"Without a second thought I pulled

my team off the trail and waited. Exactly eleven minutes later a North Vietnamese patrol came down the hill, crossed the stream in front of us and headed toward the Thai border. I sent a scout off to make sure they weren't doubling back and began to examine the jungle foot by foot with my binoculars. I didn't need to. A Nung emerged from the bush fifteen feet away and waved for us to follow him. He was carrying an old Swedish K submachine gun and wearing a torn pair of jockey shorts and a GI fatigue cap."

Dorman paused to watch a beautiful young Thai girl in a bikini walk past on her way to the pool. "The hill girls in the north have better breasts," he commented critically. "It's all the lifting and carrying." "Go on," I urged, distracted by his digression.

"The Nung led us to Caradec. It was quite an experience. He was on the crest of a hill with his mixed bag of Nung, Muong, Lao, and Rhade fighters. The sun was behind his back so I wasn't sure it was him till I came close. Then there was no doubt. The same wild blue eyes, the same crooked smile. He'd lost his right arm and his hair is down to his shoulders but he's still a tiger."

"Caradec's death was confirmed in 1970," I said, "after the fight at Ban Thanoun. What the hell happened?"

"Caradec got chopped up by an AK 47 at Ban Thanoun," Dorman explained. "That's why he lost his arm. His Nungs rescued him. A Lao pharmacy student did the amputation. He almost bled to death but some tribal quack packed the stump in herbal applications and mud. He was very lucky."

"What did he tell you? Did he recognize you?"

"Of course. He wanted to know what an old fart like me was doing out in the boonies. Then he sniffed the air and suggested we get moving before the NVA patrol came back. It took us two hours to reach his village, high above the valley. You wouldn't believe the place. From the air it probably looks like a typical highland village, stilted huts, woven roofs, smoke, pigs, and kids. But he's set up an elaborate defense system. It's well laid out and booby trapped, with precise fields of fire and a twenty-four-hour watch in the gun positions. The silly bastard has three women in his hut: a Rhade, a Muong, and a metisse from Xiangkhoan. He's fathered four kids. One of them—the boy—has blue eyes." I shook my head in disbelief. "Why didn't you bring him out?" I asked.

"He doesn't want to come."

"Are you sure?"

"You bet your ass. I argued with him most of the night while we sat by the fire in his stinking hut drinking Chinese whiskey. Believe it or not, Caradec is happy where he is. He's found a home."

"You must be joking. Is he insane? He must have some kind of jungle fever."

"No, he's perfectly all right."

"Is he still fighting the goddamn war?"

"Only when he's forced to. He tries to avoid the Viets and they're not eager to tangle with him. There's a pile of NVA skulls in the village with jungle orchids growing out of the eye sockets. Sort of a skull garden."

"But how does he survive?"

"No problem. Caradec broke out a bottle of French champagne to go with our grilled pork. Later he showed me his stores: canned goods, Singha beer, dried squid, and cases of Napoleon brandy from Bangkok. He's even better off when it comes to arms and ammo. He's got a battered M60 sighted on the approaches to the village, a couple of light mortars and enough grenades to stop a regiment."

I finished my gin and tonic. "I don't get it," I said. "He's got to have money coming in from somewhere. Are you—" "Oh no," Dorman laughed, "the agency doesn't even know he's there. If they did they wouldn't touch him with a barge pole. It's very simple. Our friend Caradec is up to his ears in opium smuggling. I don't think Senator Fitzsimmons would want to choose him as the living symbol of our heroic MIAs."

Dorman stretched his wiry arms and looked at his watch. "I've got to go," he said. "I have a dinner date with a very delectable Thai widow whose husband had the misfortune of flying one insertion mission too many."

"Wait a minute," I insisted. "The men in your team. They saw Caradec. Haven't they spread the word?"

"You've been away too long," Dorman said with a wry smile. "My Nungs may drink, gamble, and whore a lot but when I demand silence, they sew up their mouths." Dorman filled one hand with peanuts and stood up.

"Been good seeing you again," he said, popping a nut into his mouth. "We'll meet at the hearing tomorrow. Thanks for the drinks."

I attended a noisy staff dinner that night in one of Bangkok's best Chinese restaurants. I was up long before the senator the next morning in time to watch the rising sun dissipate the mist over the

Chao Praya and take a hurried breakfast on the terrace. By the time I got to the residence the senator was ready to go. We drove to the embassy in the ambassador's armored limousine. We began the closed hearing by ten and finished at twelve-thirty. The witnesses we heard were a lacklustre selection: two retired American military officers living in Bangkok; a few leaders of the Vietnamese refugee community; and two chubby, hungover members of the Thai border police. They all spun out a repetitive web of rumor, half-truths, and transparent invention. Everyone but the senator was bored. He punctuated the appearance of each witness with a flowery speech. He recalled his own service in Vietnam. He outlined his version of the domino theory in Southeast Asia and referred to the Thais as "our brothers in arms," a remark that both puzzled and worried them. I wolfed down a hamburger in the embassy snack bar while the senator went off with the ambassador to an official luncheon.

I RETURNED TO the conference room early to go over my notes but I couldn't get Caradec out of my mind. Here was the only living, breathing MIA I'd ever known to exist and we couldn't put our hands on him! Despite my promise to Dorman, I racked my brain to find a sensible solution to the problem. I got nowhere. Dorman and I had been too close in the past. It wasn't through any loyalty to the Company that I felt bound to honor my pledge. It was a spook-to-spook understanding that left everyone else outside the circle.

Dorman arrived to testify in immaculate khaki slacks and a light Hawaiian sportshirt. He looked even more tired than the day before. I guessed he'd had a strenuous night with the widow. The senator was ten minutes late. He hurried in red-faced and beaming to take his seat at the head of the conference table. I handed him the file on Dorman. He glanced through it and left it open before him.

"Mr. Dorman," the senator intoned, "would you like to take your place at the table?"

Dorman sat at the far end and pulled a heavy ashtray toward himself before lighting a cigar. "Mr. Dorman," the senator began, "I don't have to tell you how pleased we are to have you here with us. I've heard a great deal about you. You are a credit to your agency and to your country..."

Dorman was temporarily swathed in blue cigar smoke. He was eyeing the senator coolly, obviously unimpressed with his rhetoric. He hadn't looked in my direction except for a quick nod of recognition when he'd entered the room.

**A**S THIS HEARING is closed and highly classified," the senator continued, "I want to speak of your operations on the Thai-Lao border and the reports of the teams you've been sending into Laos. In fact, without being indiscreet, there are rumors that you yourself have crossed the border 'unofficially' more than once." The senator looked around the table with a conspirator's grin. The ambassador frowned at Dorman over the top of his bifocals. The rest of the staff looked uneasy. The senator's political antennae sensed the disapproval in the room and he tried to repair his gaffe.

"Winston Churchill once said that orders were made to be disobeyed," he joked, "and Churchill had a long and happy career."

There was a murmur of amusement from some of those around the table. The senator now turned serious.

"I don't intend to ask you the details of your delicate missions. We are not here for that. I do have one prime question to ask. Mr. Dorman, have you ever seen an American MIA or POW with your own eyes?"

Dorman cleared his throat. He glanced in my direction for a brief second.

"No, sir," he replied, looking directly at the senator.

"Have any of your teams reported such sightings to you?"

"No, sir," Dorman repeated.

The senator masked his disappointment by leafing through Dorman's file.

"I find it strange," the senator finally said, "that a number of witnesses this morning, and those we will be interviewing during our field trip, have submitted reports of definite sightings. How is it that you and your professionals have turned in only negative reports?"

"Sir, I would say it is because the witnesses you mention are unreliable."

The senator's face darkened and the tips of his ears turned scarlet. I imagined his blood pressure rising like the mercury in an overheated thermometer.

"People see what they want to see," Dorman continued. "There are many Asians with mixed blood in Indochina. I've even seen red heads in Laos. Years of French occupation followed by our own

period have left their mark. There are also eastern bloc technicians in Laos and Vietnam working on rural projects. A local villager can easily take them for Americans."

I knew the senator was making a great effort to control his temper. Thank God it was a closed hearing. If the press had picked up Dorman's comments the senator's crusade would have been shot full of holes.

"Mr. Dorman," the senator said through a smile, "rest assured that your comments will be included in my report. Personally, I hope you're wrong. I'm convinced there are Americans out there who need our help. If you wish to submit any new information to us before we draft our report it will be taken into consideration. I am sure the ambassador will see we are kept up to date. Thank you for your help."

Dorman rose to leave. He winked as he passed my chair.

"A good day's work," the senator said as we drove back to the residence. A particularly cooperative witness who claimed to have seen two Americans doing pick and shovel labor under guard near Muang Khi had raised the senator's spirits and he was looking forward to a stiff whiskey before dinner.

"How well do you know Dorman?" he finally asked as the driver slowed in the heavy traffic.

"We were together in Vietnam," I replied.

"Strange character," he mused. "No help whatsoever."

"He's one of the best men in the agency," I countered. "He knows more about this area than twenty political officers."

"You guys do stick together," he said. "Don't you?"

"It's part of our charm," I replied flatly, eliciting a senatorial chuckle.

I was included that evening as a guest at the home of a high ranking Thai police official. A giggling Thai woman sat on my left and a morose Chinese businessman on my right. The shrimp soup was scalding with tiny flecks of hot chili peppers floating on its surface. The green curry that followed could have sent a rocket into space. I got back to the Oriental as soon as possible to luxuriate in my air-conditioned room. We had a six o'clock call the next morning, so I turned in early. It took me some time to fall asleep. I kept thinking about Caradec. The senator would have considered him a living casualty of the war, but according to Dorman he was a happy man. Before I dozed off I decided that Dorman was probably right. □

## PEOPLE

### AFSA/AAFSW Scholarship Programs 1987-88

**Who?** For dependent students of Foreign Service personnel who are serving or have served abroad for foreign affairs agencies covered by the Foreign Service Act.

**What?** *Merit Awards* for graduating high school students in 1987 only, based on academic merit. *Financial Aid Grants* to fulltime undergraduate students in the United States, based on need.

**How?** Apply immediately to AFSA Scholarship Programs, 2101 E Street NW, Washington, DC 20037, phone (202)338-4046. Specify type of scholarship and Foreign Service affiliation.

**When?** IMMEDIATELY. All applications must be completed and materials returned to AFSA before February 15, 1987.

Children of Foreign Service personnel in the lower grades are especially encouraged to apply.

### Deaths

ROBERT W. LANDRY, a retired official of AID, died of cancer September 8 in Towson, Maryland. He was 58.

Mr. Landry, born in Woonsocket, Rhode Island, served in the Coast Guard during World War II. He was graduated from the School of Foreign Service at Georgetown University and later studied at George Washington and American Universities and at Haile Selassie University in Ethiopia.

In the 1950s, Mr. Landry worked for the National Security Council and the old International Cooperation Administration.

He joined AID when it was formed in 1961. He worked on technical assistance programs at foreign assignments in South Korea, Ethiopia, Iraq, and Afghanistan.

After his retirement in 1982, he moved to a farm on the Eastern Shore of Maryland. Mr. Landry became active in health programs in the area and served on several community committees.

He is survived by his wife, Georgia, two sons, two daughters, two brothers, two sisters, and two grandchildren.

**HAROLD S. NELSON**, a retired AID official, died December 7 at Mount Vernon Hospital in Virginia following a stroke and lung ailments. He was 77.

Mr. Nelson was born in Providence, Rhode Island, and was graduated from Providence College. In the late 1930s, he

was chief of the Rhode Island civil service system and during World War II he served in the Navy.

He joined the Foreign Service in 1948 as a management consultant and chief of classification. Mr. Landry went to work in the foreign assistance field in 1951 and held a number of assignments in the Middle East. He headed assistance programs in Jordan and Lebanon in the mid-1950s and early '60s. He was also chief of the Near East division of the International Cooperation Administration.

Mr. Nelson joined AID when it was formed in 1961. He was chief of employee evaluation and utilization when he retired in 1972.

His wife, Eleanor, died in 1982. Survivors include one daughter, Sheila E. Nelson of Alexandria, Virginia.

**ALBERT W. SHERER JR.**, a former ambassador to the United Nations Security Council, who worked on the Helsinki accords, died of cancer in Chicago on December 27. He was 70.

Born in Wheaton, Illinois, Mr. Sherer was graduated from Yale University and earned a law degree from Harvard University in 1941. During World War II, he was a major in the Army Air Forces in the Pacific, and earned two Distinguished Flying Crosses and four Air Medals.

Mr. Sherer, who began his Foreign Service career in 1946, was posted to Tangier, Casablanca, Budapest, and Prague. He also worked in the department's Eastern European affairs division. In the 1960s he was deputy chief of mission at the embassy in Poland and spent a year as a senior Foreign Service inspector. In the following

## FOREIGN

---

### PROPERTY CLAIMS

---

**MOVING LOSS & DAMAGE CLAIMS:** Professional preparation and processing of claims for the recovery of money due from property loss and damage when moved by the U.S. government. **NO UP-FRONT MONEY.** Fee for this service is 10% of the amount recovered. We get all estimates. Write or call and ask for one of our agents. **PERSONAL PROPERTY CLAIMS, INC.** 2000 Virginia Ave., McLean, VA 22101. (703)241-8787.

---

### TAX RETURNS

---

**TAX PREPARATION BY AN ATTORNEY** who is a retired Foreign Service officer and is familiar with Foreign Service problems. **M. Bruce Hirshorn, Esquire**, 4501 Arlington Blvd., #125, Arlington, VA 22203. (703)525-9519.

**TAX PREPARATION AND ADVICE** by **T.R. McCartney (ex-FS) E.A.**, and **Toni Cooper, E.A.**, and staff. Enrolled to practice before the IRS. **Business Data Corp.**, P.O. Box 1040, Lanham, MD 20706-1040, (301)731-4114.

**FINANCIAL AND TAX PLANNING** and Return Preparation; Tax preparation by a CPA familiar with special FS problems. Financial planning service available. **Financial Development Services**, 1408 N. Fillmore Street, Suite 11, Arlington, VA 22201 (703)524-6004 Telex 197626 WOAS UT.

---

### TAX RETURNS

---

**TAX PREPARATION AND FINANCIAL PLANNING**, Single source for all your money concerns. Preparation and representation by Enrolled Agents, fee average \$195 includes return and "TAX TRAX" unique mini-financial planning review with recommendations. Full planning by CFP available. Specialized overseas service with taped communications. Complete financial network and personalized service. **Milton E. Carb, E.A.**, **FINANCIAL FORECASTS**, 833 S. Washington St. #8, Alexandria, VA 22314, (703)684-1040. **METRO LOCATION**, 933 N. Kenmore St. #217, Arlington, VA 22201, (703)841-1040.

**TAX COUNSELING & GUIDANCE**, any problem. Never any charge to AFSA members for telephone advice. **R.N. "Bob" Dussell (ex-FS)**, enrolled to tax practice before U.S. Treasury Dept. At tax work since February 1, 1938 and now staying at counsel mainly for aid to Foreign Service and their families. Located across from Virginia Square metro, 3601 N. Fairfax Dr., Arlington, VA 22201. (703)841-0158.

---

### BED & BREAKFAST

---

**GREATER BOSTON HOSPITALITY**, a Bed & Breakfast reservation service offers reasonably priced, excellent accommodations in lovely metropolitan Boston homes. Write: **Greater Boston Hospitality**, P.O. Box 1142, Brookline, MA 02146. Phone: (617)277-5430.

---

### COMPUTERS

---

**COMPUTERS, COMPUTERS!** At Un-Diplomatic Prices! Full service, training if needed while you are in Washington on leave. Any make or model configured. True portables. Toshiba, Zenith, HP. Programs for education, financial planning, real estate, word processing. Leading Edge from \$1295 complete. AT&T, Kaypro PC, Compaq, and IBM. Graphics for artists, programs for composers. Lowest prices, highest quality. Dozens of satisfied Foreign Service clients. Export licensing if necessary. **SOFTGRAF USA**, 10 minutes from the department. 291 S. Van Dorn, Alexandria, VA 22304. (703)370-5000 for an appointment. Telex 904 059 WASH.

---

### BOOKS

---

**YOUR PERSONAL BOOKSTORE AWAY FROM HOME:** you can order any U.S. book in print for your own reading pleasure or that special book sent as a gift for family and friends. Store credit available. **Salmagundi Books Ltd.**, 66 Main Street, Cold Spring, NY 10516.

**IF YOU ARE LOOKING** for an out-of-print book, perhaps I can find it. **Dean Chamberlin, FSIO-retired**. Book Cellar, Freeport, ME 04032.

**CURRENT PAPERBACKS** airmailed within 5 days at reasonable prices. Send for monthly list to **Circle Enterprises**, Box 1051, Severna Park, MD 21146.

years he held ambassadorial positions in Czechoslovakia, Togo, and Guinea.

In 1974 and 1975, Mr. Sherer was the chief U.S. delegate to the Commission on Security and Cooperation in Europe, which led to the Helsinki accords. He later became an ambassador at the United Nations, where he represented this country on the Security Council.

After retiring from the Foreign Service in 1979, Mr. Sherer was an adjunct professor at Northwestern University's legal clinic. He is survived by his wife, Carroll, two sons, Anthony and Peter, a daughter, Susan S. Osnos, a sister, Linda Morton, and three grandchildren.

VICTOR WOLF JR., a retired Foreign Service officer and managing director of the Foreign Service History Center at George

Washington University, was killed December 18 when he was struck by a vehicle while crossing a street in Silver Spring, Maryland. He was 59.

Mr. Wolf, a native of New York City, was graduated from City College of New York and earned a master's degree at Columbia University. He joined the Foreign Service in 1952 and his overseas postings included Iraq, Iran, and Istanbul. Mr. Wolf worked in Washington from 1965-1968 and served the next three years in Cebu, the Philippines. From 1971-74 he was consul general in Copenhagen. In 1974, Mr. Wolf was assigned to East Berlin, where he headed the consular section until 1977. He then held the position at the embassy in Warsaw from 1977-79.

Mr. Wolf, who was a member of the Middle East Institute, was working in the

refugee bureau of the State Department when he retired in 1980. After his retirement, he was a founder of the Foreign Service History Center and worked as a consultant to the department's Human Rights Bureau.

He is survived by his wife, Inge, and his son Nicholas, both of Silver Spring, and his mother, Rose Wolf, of New York.

## Announcement

Diplomatic and Consular Officers, Retired, wishes to complete its collection of State Department Biographic Registers. It would be appreciated if AFSA members would send copies of the following years: 1919-23, 1932, 1945, 1947, 1952, 1953, and 1965 to DACOR, 1801 F Street, N.W., Washington, D.C. 20006.

# EXCHANGE

## REAL ESTATE

COSTA DEL SOL, SPAIN. Sun, sand, and sports by day. Fabulous cuisine, discos, and casinos by night. MOUNT VERNON REALTY, the Great Name in Real Estate, is now offering exclusive properties for sale in this Mediterranean paradise. Retirement, investment, second home opportunities. Prices begin at \$65000. Financing available. Write or call Chris Lane, 6257 Old Dominion Dr., McLean, VA 22101. (703)821-8300/237-8536.

THINKING OF A VACATION HOME or other property in coastal South Carolina? Now is the time. Call or write ERA Dozier Realty, 442 Main St. North Myrtle Beach, S.C. 29582. (803)249-4043.

FOR SALE: Half interest in a studio apartment in Paris, France in the 5em arrondissement. Sleeps two comfortably, fully furnished. Kitchen, living room/bedroom, full bath. Present owners rent the studio for \$25 a day. Sale price for 1/2 ownership is \$14,000. The other 1/2 is owned by a retired Foreign Service Officer. Interested parties write or phone Donald L. Woolf, FSO ret., 12445 Eveningside, Sun City West, AZ 85375. Phone (602)584-0535

## VIDEO ENTERTAINMENT

I WILL TAPE TV programs for you. VHS only. Free information. BRITTON, 8703 S.E. Jardin, Hobe Sound, FL 33455.

## INVESTMENTS

INVESTMENTS, FINANCIAL PLANNING, Long Distance Management when necessary. Margaret M. Winkler, CFP, Legg Mason Wood Walker, Inc., 1747 Pennsylvania Ave. NW, Washington, DC 20006. (202)452-4000, in U.S., (800)792-4411.

FINANCIAL/ESTATE-RETIREMENT PLANNING, ASSET MANAGEMENT: E.F. HUTTON & CO., INC. G. Claude Villarreal, Financial Management Advisor, 1825 Eye Street NW, Suite 1000, Washington, DC 20006. (202)331-2528.

## PROPERTY MANAGEMENT

PEAKE PROPERTIES LTD.: Broker with experience in overseas living will give careful attention to the management of your home. Specializing in McLean, Vienna, N. Arlington, etc. 220B, 1350 Beverly Road, McLean, VA 22101. Tel: 448-0212.

WASHINGTON MANAGEMENT SERVICES: Use our TELEX service to inquire about professional services for the FS community serving overseas. Immediate response to your property management needs. Residential property management is our only business. Call, write, or TELEX Mary Beth Otto, Washington Management Services, 2015 Q St. NW, Washington, DC 20009, (202)483-3830, TELEX 350136.

## SHORT TERM RENTALS

WASHINGTON, D.C./ARLINGTON, VA, Personalized relocation, short or long term. We specialize in walk-to-Metro sales and furnished rentals. Arlington Villas, 1-1/2 blocks from Metro, luxurious studio, one, two, three bedroom. Fully furnished. Washer/dryer, microwave, cable, linens. American Realty Group, 914 North Stuart Street, Arlington, VA 22203. (703)524-0482 or (703)276-1200. Children welcomed. Pets on approval.

WASHINGTON D.C. LUXURY APARTMENTS, 2 blks. FSI and Metro, decorator furnished, fully equipped, microwave, spa. Also "Tom Thumb Townhouse" of Foggy Bottom, furnished, fpl., C.A.C., patio, 3 blks. State. Photos. (703)522-2588 or write Adrian B.B. Templer, 1021 Arlington Blvd., PH 1214, Arlington, VA 22209. Member AFSA.

## EXCHANGE RATES

Classified advertising in the FOREIGN EXCHANGE is open to any person who wishes to reach the professional diplomatic community. The rate is 75 cents per word per insertion. Telephone numbers and zip codes count as one word each. To place a classified ad or to receive our rate card for regular display advertising, write or call the Foreign Service Journal, 2101 E Street NW, Washington, DC 20037, (202)338-4045. Checks should accompany all classified insertion orders. The deadline for FOREIGN EXCHANGE ads is approximately 5 weeks before the publication date.

# DOMESTIC POSTINGS



**Proficiency  
is the key**



## PARDOE

**Property Management**

**(202) 333-6530**

Mary Costello (202) 342-6170

Randi Davis (703) 356-4599

2828 Pennsylvania Ave. NW  
Washington, D.C. 20007

## SPRING PLANTING!

Coming home in Summer '87?

Then you need to

Plant the seeds  
**NOW**

For your future.

Consider your goals—  
Larger house? Smaller house?  
A big apartment?

Whether you buy, sell, or rent

**WE CAN HELP!**

Write or call



202-363-9100

4801 Mass. Ave., N.W., Washington, DC 20016

LEASING AND PROPERTY MANAGEMENT BY

**Stuart & Maury, Inc.** Realtors

*Results since 1956*

For over 30 years we have professionally  
**MANAGED AND LEASED**  
thousands of residential & condominium properties.

Our experience—Personal Inspections,  
Monthly Statements and In-house Guidance—  
**TAKE THE WORRY OUT OF RENTING**



If you are considering renting your  
**HOME OR APARTMENT**  
Call Susan Bader today for more information  
(202) 244-1000

5010 Wisconsin Avenue, N.W.  
Washington, D.C. 20016

Excellent references upon request

## Will Your Home Still Be A Castle When You Return?

Personalized Property Management by Mrs. Wyatt

- Serving Foreign Service personnel since 1959.
- Planning for necessary expenditures
- Leases tailored to fit owners' needs
- Updates on real estate laws and regulations
- Frequent inspections • Sales
- Licensed in D.C. and Maryland

Call Mrs. Wyatt — 202/362-7397



**WALSH, MESMER & ASSOCIATES, INC.**

5000 Hurst Terr., N.W., Washington, DC 20016



Barbara McRee,  
CPM  
Property Manager



## WE DO OUR HOMEWORK 24 HOURS A DAY . . .

Families on the move contact us for full-time professional property management. We've been the industry leader in property management since 1953 thanks to thousands of satisfied property owners worldwide. We're in business to be the best!

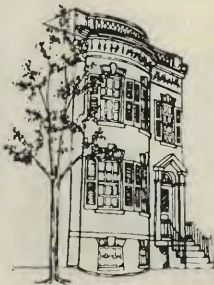
**Laughlin Inc., Realtor**

P.O. Drawer 550, McLean, VA 22101  
(703) 356-6520



Anne Haines  
Gonzalez  
Property Manager

**Sales, Rentals, Investments  
and  
Careful, Expert Property Management  
D.C., Maryland, and Virginia**



BARBARA ABELLE  
MECHTHILD BIRZNIKES  
PATRICIA GARRISON BOORMAN  
ROSEMARY DIRCKS  
WENDY GUILLOU  
MARY HANSTAD  
CAROLE B. HERSMAN  
JOSEPHINE HOLLIDAY\*  
LYNN MOFFLY MAGRUDER\*  
ISABELLE MACKIE  
JOHN Y. MILLAR\*  
MARGARET MOSELEY  
DIANE NOBLE  
SUZY H. NORTH  
CAROL OWENS\*  
SUSAN RAEHN  
CAROLINE RAYFIELD  
ROBERT W. SKIFF\*  
WILLIAM C. TRUEHEART\*  
JOHN TURNER\*  
VERA WILLIAMS

(202) 362-4480

**MGMB, inc. Realtors**

Foxhall Square • 3301 New Mexico Avenue  
Washington D.C. 20016

\*Foreign Service

Associated firms in England and France



Linda Wilson Harley

**Call us  
with your  
real estate  
questions...**

**we have  
the answers.**

Linda specializes in Foreign Service relocation. A Foreign Service wife herself for 15 years, Linda's expertise in overseas moves comes from the personal experience of having lived in The Philippines, Zambia, Malawi, Ghana, and Uganda. She is a member of the Association of American Foreign Service Women.



**EVERS & COMPANY  
REAL ESTATE INC.**

4400 Jenifer Street, N.W. • Washington, D.C. 20015  
364-1700



**Experienced Real Estate Agent  
With Well-Established Company**

- Buying
- Selling
- Investing
- Refinancing
- Property Management

Please write or call Anita Murchie, Long & Foster,  
5845 Richmond Highway #150, Alexandria, Virginia 22303  
(703) 960-8900

25 years as a Foreign Service wife enable  
me to understand your special needs.



**Specializing in  
PROPERTY  
MANAGEMENT**



**Property Specialists, Inc.**

A professional and personal service tailored  
to meet your needs in:

- Property Management
- Sales and Rentals
- Multiple Listings
- Real Estate Investment Counseling

Donna Courtney  
Broker

Fran Palmeri  
Property Manager

4615 Lee Highway Arlington, Virginia 22207  
(703) 525-7010 (703) 247-3350

Serving Virginia, Maryland and D.C.

**JOEL TRUITT**

**PERSONAL TOUCH**

**Construction:** Under my direction, we are general contractors with broad capability and over 10 years experience, ranging from authentic restoration, remodeling, new construction, repairs, design and drafting.

**Property Management:** For private residences, multi-unit and commercial property, and condominium associations.

JOEL TRUITT—BUILDER—PROPERTY MANAGEMENT  
737 Eighth Street, Southeast, Washington, D.C.  
547-2707 — Quality Since 1972

# ASSOCIATION NEWS

## Procedures for missing or damaged HHEs

For a number of years AFSA has heard complaints from the field regarding mishandling and loss of household effects shipped or stored by Fidelity Storage Company. Both AID and State finally dropped Fidelity from their contracts last year and announced that all effects still in storage would be transferred to other companies.

Rumors of massive losses of goods abound, and AFSA has heard that hundreds of claims are expected. The *Washington Post* recently devoted a front page article to the dilemma of one Foreign Service family stuck in a D.C. apartment with no furniture and little hope of locating their lost effects.

AFSA is closely monitoring the situation and has intervened when the department and AID issued claims procedures with an insufficient time limit to allow employees serving overseas to physically review their effects to determine exact loss or damage.

Many employees whose effects were transferred have complained that the new inventories are irreconcilable with their earlier Fidelity inventories. In particular, these employees complain that they are unable to determine missing items due to problems such as double numbering, different descriptions for the same item, and totally miss-

ing numbers.

In response, AFSA reached agreement with AID and State clarifying the claims filing procedures. Employees must still compare the new inventories with Fidelity's. Employees who can determine missing items from the lists will have two years from receipt of the inventory to file claims for missing goods. Employees who cannot determine missing HHEs should notify their respective agencies in writing. They will then have two years from the time they take physical possession of their stored effects to file claims. Claims for damaged goods can also be filed within two years of taking physical possession.

AFSA cautions employees who cannot ascertain missing goods from their inventories to protect their right to later file a claim by expeditiously informing their agencies in writing. State employees should contact either A/OPR/FMSS/CL or A/OPR/STP/T, while AID members should notify M/SER-/MO/TTM. Failure to notify limits the filing time to two years from receipt of the inventory. AFSA also suggests that employees who do not anticipate taking physical possession of their goods for some time arrange to inspect their storage lots to determine the extent of loss or damage.

Members who have difficulty with the new procedures or who receive contradictory information from management should contact AFSA's Member Services Department.

## Foundation gift to enhance plaque, fund other projects

A \$10,000 gift from the Nelson B. Delavan Foundation will be used by the Association to pay for the upkeep of the Foreign Service Memorial Plaque and the annual ceremony held there, and additionally for educational uses including the fostering of public awareness of the Service.

"We will be able to improve our upkeep of the Foreign Service Memorial Plaque which bears the names of the many individuals who have lost their lives while serving in our missions abroad," AFSA President Gerald Lamberty wrote to the donor, Elizabeth G. Delavan.

## Board meets with Shultz



Along with a dozen other members of the Governing Board, AFSA President Gerald Lamberty met with Secretary Shultz in November at an eighth-floor luncheon. The two parties discussed several issues in labor-management relations as well as the Association's support of the secretary in his opposition to ransoming hostages.

## Testing for AIDS wins AFSA approval

The Association has been informed that the Office of Medical Services is now including the test for antibodies of the virus that can cause AIDS in the medical clearance process for overseas duty. Employees and dependents over 12 will be tested. Children under 12 will be tested if parents request it or if another

family member has the virus. This is a medical determination in which AFSA concurs.

Those who have actually developed AIDS will be assigned in Washington. Those who merely test positive for antibodies may go to any post determined to have adequate medical facilities. Absolute confidentiality will be maintained.

While we concur in the testing and recognize the unique medical requirements of the Foreign Children, we will be monitoring its implementation closely.

## Hundreds jam Christmas party



Hundreds of members, guests, congressional staffers, and management officials jammed the newly renovated Foreign Service Club for two Christmas parties in late December. Pictured is AFSA Director Sue B. Schumacher, Director General George Vest, and AFSA President Gerald Lamberty.

## An award for the Taxman



Robert Dussell has been in the income tax business for 50 years, and AFSA members have benefited from his wisdom for the last 12. A former AID officer, he serves as the Association's tax consultant and frequently gives free advice to members and lectures at the Foreign Service Institute. An enrolled federal tax agent, he has had a president and other high officials as his clients. Below is a photograph of Dussell receiving a certificate of appreciation for his service to the AFSA membership from President Gerald Lamberty. His FOREIGN SERVICE TAX GUIDE is printed on page 47.

## 1987 AFSA Governing Board election

The Election Call for the 1987 AFSA Governing Board election is being sent to all AFSA members in a REDTOP dated February 1, 1987. Please note that all nominations for Governing Board positions must be in the hands of the Election Committee

not later than noon, March 3, 1987. Please note as well that nominations can be for individuals or for slates and that an AFSA member can nominate him or herself for any position for which that person is eligible.

If the Election Call does not arrive in timely fashion, consult your AFSA representative for details or write or call the Election Committee at 2101 E Street NW, Washington, D.C. 20037. (202) 338-4045.

## Lois Roth memorial funds rise

Two memorial funds established to honor the late Lois Roth, former AFSA secretary and board member, have topped \$35,000 on the first anniversary of her death last January. The Lois W. Roth Fund is lodged in USIA, and the Lois Wersba Roth Endowment is a private charity incorporated in Washington, D.C.

A four-part program of cooperative projects is being developed to cover the four geographical areas to which Roth devoted her career and life. For Scandinavia, the trustees are seeking a cosponsor for a project to send an American woman annually to Uppsala University in Sweden, where Roth studied under a Fulbright grant. For Italy, plans are underway with the Fulbright Commission to bring an Italian university teacher each year to observe women's studies programs in U.S. universities, commemorating her pioneer work in that field in Italy. For South Africa, the funds will cooperate with former-FSO Herbert Kaiser's Medical Education for South African Blacks to bring a female physician from Soweto to study community health in the United States. For Iran, a contribution toward a conference on U.S.-Iranian relations is planned.



Contributions, from new donors and old, are needed to help these funds carry on the work and the spirit of Lois Roth's career. For the fund, checks should be payable to USIA and earmarked for the Roth Fund (mail to USIA/ECA, Room 866, 301 4th Street SW, Washington, D.C. 20547). For the private endowment, checks should be payable to the Lois Wersba Roth Endowment and sent to Richard T. Arndt, 1870 Wyoming Avenue NW, Washington, D.C. 20009.

## Correction

The LEGISLATIVE ALERT by Legislative Liaison Robert Beers that was printed in the December issue was garbled during the production process. Members who want a copy of the corrected article, summarizing the activities of the 99th Congress in the federal-employee area, should call or write AFSA.



Members of the AFSA Governing Board pose for their class picture. From left: Stephen Telkins, Roger Provencher, Frank Young, Samuel Mok, William Ackerman, Gerald Lamberty, John Quintus, Hartford Jennings, William Calderhead, Sandra Dembski, Scott Danaher, Anthea de Rouville, Barbara Hughes. Not pictured: Jean Du Rette, James Derrick, John Thomas.

## LAF tops \$50,000 by end of year

Proceeds from the Legislative Action Fund topped \$50,000 as 1986 came to a close, with 1257 members participating in the drive.

### Contributions from November 20 to December 20:

Allen, Burton O.  
Amos, Joan M.  
Atherton, Alfred L. Jr.  
Barbeau, Irene M.  
Barraclough, George O.  
Beam, Jacob D.  
Bell, Stephanie M.  
Bellon, William  
Bennett, Frank C. Jr.  
Berry, Ann R.  
Berz, Lorant B.  
Binns, William A.  
Bisek, Paul A.  
Blane, Dianne  
Blaney, John W.  
Bleakley, Kenneth W.  
Bleyler, David L.  
Booth, Richard T.  
Bowie, Thomas D.  
Bridges, Lena P.  
Bright, Ruth E.  
Brown, Willard O.  
Bryan, Paula J.  
Byington, James G.  
Caldwell, John H.  
Calingaert, Michael  
Calloway, Lucy  
Carreras, Leo M.  
Carter, Landon C.  
Carver, Elizabeth

Casey, Randall H.  
Chadborn, Philip H. Jr.  
Chesteen, Charles N.  
Chittick, Thomas L.  
Christie, Harold T.  
Cohen, Louis A.  
Condon, John P.  
Cook, Frederick R.  
Craig, John T.  
Dale, William N.  
Dankert, Roger L.  
DeKanic, Alyce  
Dembski, Edward J.  
Deming, Olcott H.  
Deutch, Ronald J.  
Deutsch, Robert S.  
Dickey, Colette  
Donnelly, Shaun E.  
Doran, Lawrence W.  
Dux, Michael J.  
Dyhr, Betty Jane  
Eaton, George T.  
Egan, William M.  
Egl, Frank  
Eliert-Beck, Rodolphe H.  
Elliot, James A.  
English, Burt F.  
Estes, Thomas S.  
Farley, Vincent J.  
Fall, Arthur M.

The Legislative Action Fund is used to deploy AFSA's two lobbyists on Capitol Hill to work on a wide range of issues concerning Foreign Service employees. In the months ahead they will be confronting several amendments intended to change the Service's allowance and benefit structure and to deny Foreign Service officers exemption from

Flinner, Charles F.  
Flynn, Leo A.  
Gall, Pirie M.  
Gelderloos, Elizabeth L. Cobb  
Gramer, Ralph H.  
Grappo, Gary A.  
Gray, Gordon III  
Groening, Eva Jane  
Haas, Marlin F.  
Halle, Elinor  
Harrison, Francis M.  
Harshbarger, Jake  
Hengel, Douglas C.  
Hoffman, Charles O.  
Holmes, Henry A.  
Hougen, Lee R.  
Huffman, Larry D.  
Huss, Mark C.  
Irringer, George R.  
Irvin, Frederic B.  
Isaacson, Paul W.  
Jean, Arch K.  
Johnson, Marie E.  
Johnson, Stanley E.  
Johnston, Laurie A.  
Jones, Harry E.  
Jones, William G.  
Kane, Dagmar  
Katz, Julius L.  
Kallogg, Alan R.  
Kelly, L.D. Jr.  
Key, David M.  
Klemm, Hans G.  
Knight, William E.  
Kretzmann, Edwin M. J.

District of Columbia taxes.

In 1987, the impact of the Gramm-Rudman-Hollings deficit-reduction legislation will be of grave concern to the Foreign Service, which faces post closings and possible reductions in force. In the political area, the Association will be testifying in favor of restoring the credibility of U.S. policy to not ransom hos-

tages.

If you have not yet contributed, please send in your donation and join your colleagues listed below (unless you wish to remain anonymous). Send contributions to:

LEGISLATIVE ACTION FUND  
2101 E Street NW  
Washington, D.C. 20037

Kuehl, Craig L.  
Lankenau, Linda L.  
Lapka, Anihony  
LeBaron, Richard B.  
Lee, Harlan Y.M.  
Leeb, Howard E.  
Lewis, Norma L.  
Linch, Faye  
Litsey, Weldon  
LuePhang, Kenneth P.  
Lukens, Alan W.  
Lyons, Lynn  
MacCallum, Robert A.  
Magee, Dorothy L.  
Malone, Gifford D.  
Mann, George A.  
Marcken, Baudouin De  
Martin, JoAnna W.  
Marvin, Gary B.  
Matheron, Richard C.  
Mathias, Charles D.  
Maule, Robert W.  
Maynard, Cathleen E.  
Maynard, Paul J.  
McFadden, William A.  
McKnight, John P.  
McNamara, Francis T.  
McNaughton, James H.  
Medeiros, John  
Meek, Anna F.  
Melbourne, Roy M.  
Miller, Robert W.  
Mills, Hawthorne  
Milovanovic, Gillian A.  
Moore, Geoffrey H.

Mosher, Norman W.  
Nakamura, George T.  
Navin, Robert E.  
Neave, John W.  
Nelson, Richard B.  
Neumann, Ronald E.  
Newman, Richard W.  
Nixon, Jack L.  
Norris, Jeanne L.  
Norlem, Shirley A.  
O'Donnell, John B.  
Oss, Hendrik Van  
Packer, Earl L.  
Pazdral, Nuel L.  
Perry, Frederick M.  
Perry, John M.  
Pollock, Ronald H.  
Reiner, Herbert Jr.  
Robinson, Jack D.  
Roddanakis, Phillip A.  
Root, Danny B.  
Rosenberg, Richard  
Rosol, Paul M. Sr.  
Rountree, William M.  
Rubottom, R.R. Jr.  
Ryder, A. Frederick  
Sammis, John F.  
Sanphy, Elizabeth F.  
Savage, Eleanor W.  
Schoux, Christina H.  
Schraud, Myron H.  
Scott, Donald R.  
Sedgwick, Cabot  
Service, Richard M.  
Serwer, Daniel P.

Sides, Ann B.  
Singer, Derek S.  
Smith, Beverly J.  
Smith, Jack M. Jr.  
Steele, Paul J.  
Steiner, Steven E.  
Stewart, Karen B.  
Strong, Robert C.  
Stuart, John Jr.  
Szepesy, Eugene A.  
Tarrant, James R.  
Taylor, Henry L.  
Thomas, Alma Lucille  
Thompson, John B.  
Thyden, James E.  
Tidball, Alyce J.  
Vandenbroucke, Lucien S.  
Vazquez, Nereida M.  
Viles, John L.  
Villard, Henry S.  
Walker, Herman  
Walker, Peter C.  
Wardlaw, Andrew B.  
Wamer, Robert B.  
Weise, Robert W. Jr.  
West, Gordon H.  
Whitlock, James C. Jr.  
Williams, Mary Jane  
Wilner, Robert T.  
Wolf, Ira  
Wolf, Joseph J.  
Woods, John B.  
Wright, Pauline C.  
Wroten, Marva Ann  
Yeams, Kenneth J.

## Life & Love in the Foreign Service



The State Department establishes a flow-through personnel system. Ephraim diKahble, Princeton, New Jersey

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 with a meal. Send captions to:

LIFE & LOVE #35  
AFSA/2101 E Street NW  
Washington, D.C. 20037

### Competition #37



# AFSA's 1986 Foreign Service Tax Guide

By Robert Dussell, *Enrolled Federal Tax Agent*

The drastic changes brought about by the Tax Reform Act do not affect your 1986 return. The rules remain generally the same as outlined in AFSA's 1985 FOREIGN SERVICE TAX GUIDE [February 1986]. For this reason, our 1986 tax article is relatively short, and we ask you to review it along with last year's guide. If you need a copy, please let us know.

This article was prepared by AFSA tax consultant Bob Dussell. It updates some sections of the old tax law that concern the ever-mobile Foreign Service family, while giving a first glance at their new treatment under tax reform (see sections in italics). Members who have questions regarding the article may contact Mr. Dussell directly at his firm, Tax Matters, 3601 North Fairfax Drive, Arlington, Virginia 22201, (703) 841-0158.

## Home-leave Expenses

Under Revenue Ruling 82-2, home-leave expenses are tax deductible, and should be claimed on Schedule 2106 (employee business expenses) showing travel expenses on lines 1-3 and food and lodging on line 4. Travel and lodging expenses must be supported by actual receipts, whereas food may be the larger of actual receipts or \$14 each day of authorized home leave. Expenses are permitted for the employee only. A copy of your home-leave orders reflecting the dates of the leave should also be attached.

*After 1986, this expense will be allowed only as part of itemized deductions on Schedule 1040-A and will be subject to the new limitation of 2 percent of adjusted gross income.*

## Official Residence Expenses

The 5 percent deducted from the salaries of designated senior officials for official residence expenses is a bonafide employee business expense, and therefore tax deductible. Use Schedule 2106, line 6, and indicate that the expenses are OREs being claimed under Revenue Ruling 84-86. The ruling, by the way, declares that such residences are furnished the employee for the convenience of the government.

*For years after 1986, this expense may be taken on Schedule 1040-A, and will be subject to the new ceiling of 2 percent of adjusted gross income. AFSA has asked the State Department to subtract the employee's ORE contribution directly from W2 wages beginning this year. We will be reporting on this issue later.*

## Representation Expenses

These expenses are also employee business expenses, according to Revenue Ruling 65-125, and are shown on Schedule 2106. Use line 5 for verifiable expenses and carry any part of such expenses that are not reimbursed onto line 22 (itemized deductions) of your 1040-A form.

This expense should be supported by a statement showing which representation expenses were borne by the employee, including dates, type of function, amounts, and relationship to official business. In addition, you will need a statement from the certifying officer of your post or bureau declaring which expenses were reimbursed or would have been reimbursed by the government except for lack of funds.

There are some questions about the portion of representational expenses attributable to an employee's spouse and other family members who may be required to incur them. The same backup materials will be required of them. And expect a challenge by the IRS

unless you obtain a private ruling prior to filing. There is at least one case of such a private ruling in this area, but the law forbids its use as precedent.

*In the future, only 80 percent of unreimbursed representation expenses will be deductible under normal circumstances. These too will be itemized on 1040-A and be subject to the limitation of 2 percent of AGI.*

## Foreign-earned Income

Government employees are not eligible for this exclusion, nor are spouses who perform personal services for a government agency overseas. Exceptions are certain teaching jobs or performance as an independent contractor or consultant. If a member of your family is eligible, this exclusion is taken on Form 2555, showing the net exclusion on line 39 and carrying it over to line 22 on your 1040. Taxpayers must qualify under either the Bonafide Residence Test in part 1 of the 2555 form, or under the Physical Presence Test in part 2. You calculate your net foreign-earned income in part 3. The form has specific instructions for this complex calculation.

As noted above, payment for personal service abroad which is paid for by the government is not eligible for the exclusion. An important exception can occur when a private enterprise has a contract with the government. Its workers would not be considered government employees, according to Revenue Ruling 54-483, 1954-2CB168. There is a fine line here, however, so advice is suggested before you take this exclusion. And no matter what, social security taxes must be paid if services are performed for any U.S. facility or U.S. company doing business outside the United States.

## Educational Expenses

Expenses for education are deductible through the use of Form 2106 (employee business expenses) and Schedule 1040A (itemized deductions). Transportation and reimbursed educational expenses are reportable on the former, while unreimbursed expenses are reported on line 22 of the latter.

Educational expenses are an allowable deduction if they are required by the employer or by law for keeping your present job and salary, or if they are required to maintain or improve your skills in your present job (even though courses may eventually lead to a degree in your present field). No deduction is allowed, however, if you are training for a new or different profession or if you are required to meet minimal educational requirements for a trade or business.

*After 1986, this expense will be a part of itemized expenses on Schedule 1040-A and subject to the 2 percent AGI limit. Travel for educational purposes will no longer be allowed at all.*

## Temporary Assignments

Temporary duty away from your regular assigned place of work allows you to deduct unreimbursed travel expenses to and from the new location, and unreimbursed meals and lodging while there. Your temporary assignment must be for a reasonably short period of time, usually no more than one year. And it cannot be of a permanent nature; that is, not a change of duty station. Receipt of per diem indicates that the assignment is temporary, while payment of moving expenses and transfer allowances generally indicate a change in post of assignment. Take the deduction on Schedule 2106, part 1, line 4.

*After 1986, such expenses will be allowed only as part of itemized*

expenses on Schedule 1040-A and will be subject to the 2-percent AGI limit.

## Moving Expenses

To the extent that they are not reimbursed, moving expenses are deductible. Use Form 3903 when moving to a place of work within the United States, Form 3903F when moving outside the country. Your new place of work must be 35 miles farther from your old residence than your former place of work. You must work full time for at least 39 weeks during the first 12 months after you move if you work for somebody else, or 78 weeks during the first 24 months if you are self-employed.

This part of the law has gone so far as to allow cost of moving automobiles, and even pets. The deduction is not allowed, however, when moving to your very first job location. Use line 24 of the 1040 to apply this deduction to your AGI.

*After 1986, this expense is only allowed as part of other Schedule 1040-A deductions in arriving at net income, but it will not be subject to the 2 percent of AGI limit.*

## Individual Retirement Accounts

The IRA remains the best legal tax shelter available under both the new and old laws. Tax reform places limits on the IRA, but the advantages of the shelter still outweigh the disadvantages. Every eligible wage earner should take advantage of this account.

1986 is the last year that the entire \$2000 maximum annual deposit (plus the amount permitted to a spouse, which depends on whether he or she works) is deductible on line 26 of your 1040. The earnings are not taxed until withdrawn. Remember, there are penalties for withdrawal before age 59½. You have until April 15 to make your last deposit for tax year 1986.

*After 1986, only taxpayers who earn below \$40,000 in adjusted gross income when filing jointly (\$25,000 when filing singly) and are not covered by a pension plan can fully deduct their deposits. Interest is still immune from tax until withdrawal after age 59½. The penalty for withdrawal increases after 1986 from 10 percent to 15 percent.*

## Capital Gains Deferral

Foreign Service members who serve overseas have the right to rent their homes while at post as long as they intend to reoccupy them when they return, and not have the home considered rental property upon a later sale. This can make a big difference in how any capital gains are treated for tax purposes. To be safe, the absence should not exceed four years, as was the case in the *Trisko* decision.

Gains from the sale of a residence can be deferrable from tax if a new personal residence is purchased within certain time limits and costs more than the previous home. A two-year time limit before or after the sale applies if the sale occurs while the taxpayer is in the United States, four years if overseas. If more than four years of temporary rental occur since the owners last used the house as their personal residence, then the owners should re-establish occupancy for at least six months before selling their home.

## State of Domicile

This issue is by far the most complex and aggravating for the Foreign Service community. It is a fundamental rule of law that all citizens have a state of domicile—somewhere—and that no person can have more than one at any particular time. When you are born, you are assigned by law a domicile of origin—that of your parents—and this continues until you reach maturity and establish another. Domicile is defined as the concurrence of two elements, physical presence (abode) in a locality and the intention to remain there indefinitely.

The law permits every adult to acquire a domicile of his or her own

choosing, under the above rules. One can't give up a legal domicile without taking two required steps: physical presence at a new location and the demonstrated intention of making the new location a fixed legal domicile—regardless of where you may travel for business reasons. To demonstrate fixed intentions, you can register to vote, apply for a drivers license and car registration, qualify for state-residency tuition rates, possess a burial plot, maintain church or fraternal affiliations, record your will, and comply with state tax laws. None of these alone is sufficient to make or break a domicile case. All too many Foreign Service employees, for instance, demonstrate intention but never take up residence in their new state, thus leaving their old domicile legally unchanged.

## Beware the Audit

The best strategy is to prepare a 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 (or indefinitely if fraud is suspected) to audit your return. Frequently, it only gets around to scrutinizing returns the third and last 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 that the IRS is checking for possible fraud. You can sometimes get out of an audit if the same point of contention has been examined in the two previous years with no change made to your tax. If this is your 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 but never provide more than requested, since it is not good policy to volunteer added or unrelated information. If the auditor decides an added 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 the determination.

If you disagree, you have three immediate courses of action: an informal conference with the auditor's superior; an appellate hearing; or 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; and items with a contrary view on taxability or deductibility. If unreported income is the problem, and if it is of a substantial amount, the IRS may be considering a fraud investigation. Fraud investigations are conducted by a special agent and a field revenue agent. If such agents call on you, tax counsel is strongly recommended at once, as would counsel in any civil or criminal proceeding. One factor in the taxpayers' favor, however, is that, unlike in normal audits, in a tax-fraud case the burden of proof is on the IRS.

# Guess what.

## The "All-Risk" AFSA Plan Personal Property Floater is still only 75¢ per \$100 of coverage.

This rate hasn't increased since 1974.

It also includes the replacement value.

The AFSA Plan has been specifically designed for, and is available only to members of the American Foreign Service Association on active service abroad.

Write or call for our free brochure.

The AFSA Plan is underwritten by the International Department, Federal Insurance Company, one of the Chubb Group of Insurance Companies. This advertisement is descriptive, only. The precise coverage afforded is subject to the terms, conditions and exclusions of the policy as issued.

AFSA Desk  
The Hirshorn Company  
14 East Highland Avenue  
Philadelphia, PA 19118  
Telephone: 215-242-8200\*

Please send me your free brochure (with a built-in application form) that answers my questions about overseas insurance.

Name \_\_\_\_\_

Address \_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_

\*In the Washington, D.C. area, call 202-457-0250.

**AFSA**

# Chrysler's newest diplomatic couriers.



Chrysler LeBaron Coupe



Plymouth Sundance



Dodge Dakota

As an active member of the Diplomatic Corps, you're entitled to special pricing through Chrysler's 1987 Diplomatic Purchase Program. You can choose from a complete line of Chrysler, Plymouth and Dodge cars, as well as Dodge trucks, vans and wagons. New for 1987 are the Chrysler LeBaron Coupe, Plymouth Sundance and Dodge Dakota.

**Chrysler LeBaron Coupe** boasts a sleek new skin, a sumptuous interior and a high-torque fuel-injected engine for heart-pounding performance. It is beauty...with a passion for driving.

**Plymouth Sundance** is truly the unbelievable American. Combining the absolute latest in American technology with painstaking attention to minute detail, Sundance quality is designed to

rival *anything* out of Japan.

**Dodge Dakota** is America's first mid-size pickup. Ever. With optional 4-wheel drive and payload capability up to 2000 pounds, there's not much you can't do in a Dakota.

For full details on these and the rest of the Chrysler line, Foreign Service Personnel in the U.S. should contact: **Diplomatic Sales Office, Chrysler Corporation, P.O. Box 1688, Detroit, MI 48288. Those stationed overseas: Telex 845-942543-OMSC-CH.**

**Attn: Diplomatic sales.**  
Or both can simply mail the postage-paid reply card in this magazine.



Working together  
to be the best.