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FEBRUARY 1993

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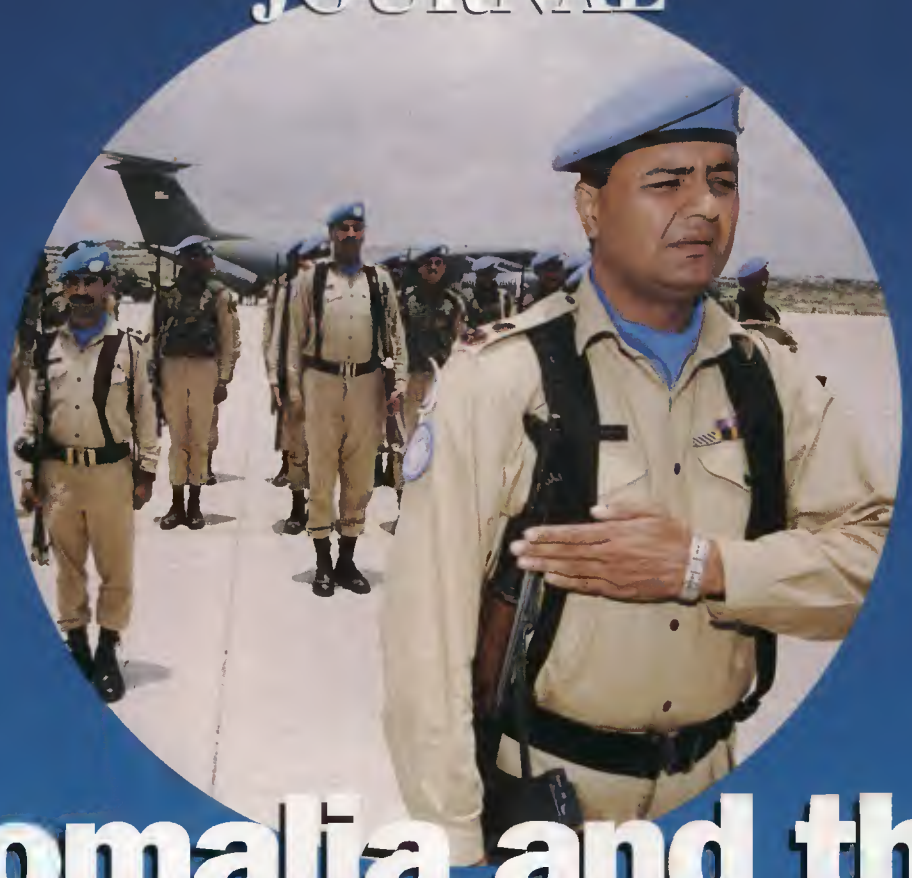

Somalia and the Peacemakers

PROBLEMS AND PRECEDENTS
BY STANLEY MEISLER

SOMALIA AS VICTIM: FACT AND FICTION
BY S.J. HAMRICK

SEEKING A SOLUTION
BY JONATHAN STEVENSON

VIGNETTE FROM OLD MOGADISHU
BY GILBERT D. KULICK

PLUS:
George Gedda on Nicaragua and the Kozak/Sullivan Nominations

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AFSA VIEWS

PASSPORTGATE

There is at least one positive aspect of the then-Governor Clinton passport caper—its timing. With the press still reporting on this sad affair (due in particular to the appointment of an independent counsel), there is the hope that the new administration will take to heart some obvious lessons.

Reverse politicization of the State Department. The proportion of political appointees has been steadily rising. According to David Corn, writing in the January 10 *Washington Post* Outlook section, in 1973, 11 of 63 deputy assistant secretaries were political appointees, while by 1984 that proportion had risen to 59 of 136, or almost half. Career employees have no problem with political appointments *perse*. Indeed, we have traditionally welcomed them and worked closely with them. However, such appointees should be limited in number, of the highest quality, and clearly qualified to serve in the positions to which they are appointed. At a time when the national interest depends more than ever on creative diplomacy, nothing less than the best possible departmental leadership will do.

Don't try to "hide" questionable appointments. Did anyone seriously think four years ago that it would be acceptable to reward partisan political loyalty with an assistant secretaryship, since the bureau in question was "only" Consular Affairs—an area that relies so heavily on experience derived from years of hands-on involvement? Particularly at this time of global change and tight resources, it is precisely our operational and managerial bureaus that require leaders who know how things really work on the ground.

Ensure the integrity of the Operations Center. The Ops Center exists to guarantee that American diplomacy is able to function around the clock and that our senior officials can stay in touch with fast-breaking developments around the globe. Never has that function been more important than in the uncertain world in which we are now operating. The instructions by which it operates must be clear and simple and must allow no room for even the appearance of impropriety. Anything less, as we have seen, raises unnecessary questions and is unfair to the top-quality men and women who work there.

— WILLIAM A. KIRBY

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THE COVER:

Photo of Pakistani peacekeeping troops on their way to Somalia by AP/Wide World Photos

FEATURES

FOCUS: SOMALIA

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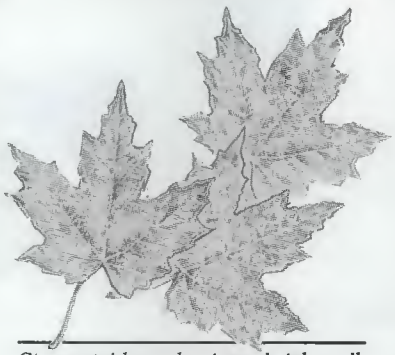

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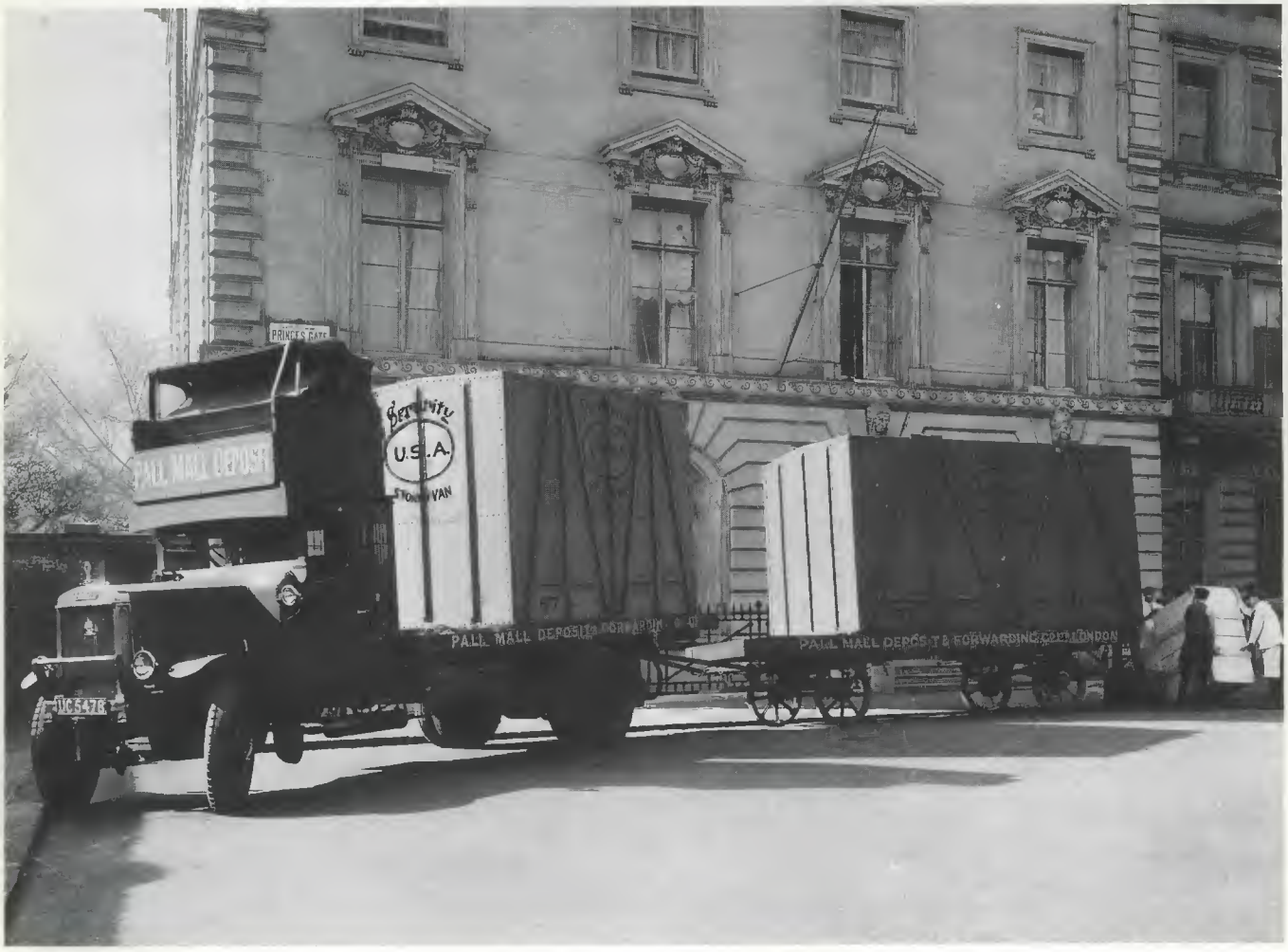

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POLICY AND POLITICS

To The Editor:

Ambassador Kennan's reaction (November 1992 *Journal*) to Charles Maechling's September article [on the Policy Planning Staff] raises an issue that will probably always confront Foreign Service professionals. Maechling taxes Ambassador Kennan for failing to take domestic political considerations into account in policy planning. Ambassador Kennan replies in terms of his conception of the basic responsibility of career officers. Neither is discussing the same issue, although they are certainly linked.

The exchange not only exposes the perhaps inevitable differences in approach between professional and non-career diplomatic practitioners but also demonstrates the usefulness of looking at such a question periodically. This difference of opinion is natural, often exasperating, but its importance is underscored by the increasing politicization of the Department of State over the past 12 years. There is no better time to address it than during this transition period.

Maechling is correct in contending that domestic political factors must be considered in the policy-making process. Kennan is correct in stating that career officers have a basic responsibility to undertake their analysis and make their policy recommendations purely on the basis of what is in the best interest of the United States, without reference to those factors.

There is no question that making foreign policy decisions always requires consideration of domestic political factors, even to the point that the latter may be determining. Career officers know that. In fact, in my view, the first prerequisite for Foreign Service officer appointees is their knowledge and understanding of the United States, its society and its dynamics—including its politics.

However, that does not mean that they should rely on *their* interpretation of domestic political factors in their analysis and recommendations of courses of action or policy. Political factors, some of which may be unknown to them and which should ultimately and rightfully be determined by the political leadership, would inevitably and perhaps fatally influence their conclusions.

I may disagree with Ambassador Kennan on other questions, such as his strong opposition to "lobbying" of Congress by the State Department. I always thought that was part of our democratic process. But no one denies his courage and strength in defending his views and representing his country.

When the Policy Planning Staff was created, it bore the imprimatur of General Marshall, whose military background it reflected. Its director, Ambassador Kennan, correctly saw it as reporting directly to the secretary, who himself would be responsible for the domestic political input which could modify the proposed policy. . . . I am not aware that there was significant dissatisfaction with the way Policy Planning operated during this early period. . . . In the history of the Policy Planning Staff this was probably the only period in which it had the relative luxury of being able to ignore domestic policy considerations, leaving them to the political leadership.

It is when the career officers move into policy-making positions—a practice now much more common—that they have to choose between the career officer's responsibility as described by Ambassador Kennan and the position's responsibility to include domestic political factors in making recommendations. In my view, if they fail to do the latter, they lose their usefulness. . . . As best they can, even chiefs of mission must consider domestic political factors when proposing a course of action or a policy matter.

As ambassador and assistant secretary, I never believed that officers should be criticized for preparing position papers based purely on national interest. In fact I preferred it. It was my responsibility to consider the domestic political factors . . . and make any necessary modifications.

I may disagree with Ambassador Kennan on other questions, such as his strong opposition to "lobbying" of Congress by the State Department. I always thought that was part of our democratic process. But no one denies his courage and strength in defending his views and representing his country. His leadership of the embryonic Policy Planning Staff demonstrated his willingness to express frankly his considered opinions and accurately reflected the circumstances of the time.

William E. Schaufele Jr.
Salisbury, Connecticut

GENDER-SENSITIVE AID

To The Editor:

Gender bias is indeed a "roadblock to sustainable development" as Jodi Jacobson acknowledges in her powerful and correct article. However, she does not credit policymakers or nongovernmental organizations with trying to overcome these obstacles. USAID and other organizations, while certainly

not fully gender-sensitive, are making serious attempts to address this issue.

Congress amended the U.S. Foreign Assistance Act in 1973 to require formally that U.S. assistance programs "be administered . . . to integrate women into the national economies of foreign countries, thus improving their status and assisting the total development effort." With this Percy Amendment the United States became one of the first donor countries to implement a policy to give particular attention *to women's role* in development. Virtually all donor countries soon followed suit, although they did not go about it as vigorously. This was a bold acknowledgement that one of the crucial resources for development was often overlooked: women.

The USAID Office of Women in Development (WID) was created in 1974. It now has 15 professional staff members, able to respond to requests for assistance in areas as diverse as natural-resource management, micro-enterprise assistance, local governance, refugee issues, and AIDS.

All bureaus and many missions now have WID working groups to identify and act on gender issues; missions have designated WID officers to address gender concerns in programs and projects; sex-disaggregated data are being incorporated into monitoring and evaluation systems; training in gender issues continues to accelerate; and USAID maintains a leading role in conducting research on the impact of gender on development strategies.

In 1990, the WID office created a new mechanism to provide support for its international work. The GENESYS (Gender in Economic and Social Systems) project, through a contract with The Futures Group, Management Systems International, and Development Alternatives, provides additional technical assistance, training, and research on gender issues, as well as supporting missions and bureaus in their efforts to facilitate *women's* full participation in development initiatives.

USAID's goal, of course, is to work its way out of a WID job when women are effectively involved in all phases of development. But it can be a long way

from realization of a problem to effecting behavioral changes. No, the job isn't done. But progress has been made throughout the agency in realizing WID goals.

Congress acknowledged the great strides taken to date by doubling the level of funding for FY 93 from $5 to $10 million earmarked for strategies to integrate women into development.

More women than ever before are participating in and benefiting from U.S. development assistance. At the same time, U.S. development assistance is benefiting more than ever from the expertise, advice, and participation of indigenous women. Although much remains to be done, USAID needs to be commended for making a concerted effort to address the gender challenge.

Gretchen Bloom
Gender/WID Adviser
Asia/PRE Bureaus

A WARPED PICTURE OF USAID

To The Editor:

The team of transition doctors summoned to treat the supposedly ailing USAID needs a second opinion—from the patient. We, the Foreign Service officers of USAID/Tanzania, are not sick. But we are tired—tired of years of White House indifference and embarrassingly inept leadership appointments, scandalous media muckraking, exaggerated IG claims, and counterproductive congressional intrusion. Together, these hostile forces have provoked a warped picture of what we know to be a very different and exceedingly more inspiring reality. USAID continues to thrive robustly where it counts most—in the field. We are highly trained, keenly motivated, and effective. Our knowledge of development is greater than ever, our programs are innovative and pertinent. And we are getting results. To prove our point we offer an invitation to skeptics to visit and judge firsthand.

USAID has evolved survival mechanisms that enable missions to deliver increasingly impressive development perfonmance despite the growing hardships and deepening disconnects between the agency and its Washington handlers. . . . Today's USAID mission concentrates on joint planning, financing and quality control of implementation, all-important donor coordination, and pressing the American point of view in key policy areas. USAID's decentralized delegations of authority permit mission directors to make key programmatic choices in the field and enable decisions to be taken by knowledgeable officers in direct touch with the problems.

Foreign Service life commonly assaults the self-esteem of accompanying spouses. Sometimes spouses need to separate to make marriages work. The returning spouse often needs a personal boost in his/her sense of self-esteem and may require something extra, such as a "rewarding career back home."

We recommend certain perfonmance-enhancing prescriptions. First, Congress must enact new legislation proclaiming a clear vision and setting realistic objectives and it must renounce its addiction to micro-management. Second, Congress and the executive must accept the fact that the rewards of development cannot be gained on the cheap. . . . The real issue is not cost, but cost/benefit. Finally, the new administrator must be a respected, influential leader dedicated to development principles, committed to restoring the agency's vitality, and with the ear of the president . . . and he must be prepared to work with USAID's professionals.

We witness daily important progress on the front line, where it must happen. While we agree that some maintenance may be justified, the fact is that the basic USAID machine just ain't that broke. For some, this will be a disappointing diagnosis, indeed.

Joel E. Schlesinger
with eight other Foreign Service officers in USAID
Tanzania

DON'T TOUCH THE SPOUSAL ALLOWANCE

To The Editor:

I resent Mr. Miller's passing judgment on who should or should not get a Separate Maintenance Allowance (SMA) among returning spouses (Journal, "Letters," November 1992). The Foreign Service's record in keeping marriages together is poor, and I believe that the SMA is the least the department can do for those separated families.

As an accompanying spouse myself, I agree that our hardship goes unrecognized. . . we should protect whatever benefits we are entitled to. Some of us return home to maintain our skills so that we may return to the mainstream of our professional lives when we return to the United States.

Foreign Service life commonly assaults the self-esteem of accompanying spouses. Sometimes spouses need to separate to make marriages work. The returning spouse often needs a personal boost in his/her sense of self-esteem and may require something extra, such as a "rewarding career back home." The SMA is just a small token, which recognizes that, for whatever reason the spouse returned home, he or she is not having a great time being away from loved ones.

Ruth Dumont
Brazzaville, Congo

NO HEX ON BEX

To The Editor:

I have been the chairperson on a selection (promotion) board and am currently an examiner in BEX. The experience gained on these assignments enables me to address the issues raised in Edward Peck's article (November 1992 Journal).

BEX is currently staffed by officers who have chosen to be here, and

forced assignments might not achieve the effect desired by Peck.

I assume Peck is addressing all facets of BEX, which include selection of new communicators, secretaries, and couriers, among others . . . or would specialist examinations not be included in [the new] BEX's responsibilities?

An assignment to BEX is a unique experience. Examiners don't supervise, they don't report, nor do they have budgets to manage or treaties to negotiate. However, examiners are charged with the selection of those who will one day have these responsibilities, and their sense of duty and drive is very high.

I disagree with Peck's assertion that examiners have not been successful—a generalization such as this implies that only ambassadors are successful members of the Foreign Service.

I certainly don't disagree about the importance of BEX, but why not continue to improve the system we now have? A BEX assignment should be recognized for what it is—a necessary cog in the larger wheel of the department.

B. Jerry Lujan
Foreign Service Examiner

THE OTHER SIDE OF THE TABLE

To The Editor:

David and Teresa Jones' "Clearing the Final Hurdle" (November Journal) was an excellent description of the oral exam. As someone who took the exam recently, and passed, I would like to point out some faults that remain which are noticeable only from the other side of the table.

While the examiners stress that this is not a job interview in the conventional sense, it still is the best way for the examiners to rate the candidate and for the candidate to get his first impression of the State Department. State must still be under the impression that, given the numbers who apply to become FSOs, the candidates they want will join up no matter how they are treated.

I was lucky that I managed to schedule my Assessment Center exam a mere two months after the written exam, but some appointments were scheduled for a full 12 months later. Someone willing to wait that long for a job interview must be either determined or desperate. Next, I had to get to the Assessment Center at my own expense and pay for my own food and lodging. (Someone at BEX might note that, while Assessment Centers are located around the nation, there is none in New York, the nation's largest city. Perhaps not enough New Yorkers apply?) By comparison, when I applied for a summer position at the CIA when I was in grad school, they offered to fly me down, arranged for and paid for a hotel room, paid for taxis and gave me a stipend for meals. I was not offered so much as a cup of coffee during my 12-hour Foreign Service assessment.

I was never given any indication that there was a bright side to being an FSO. After being snarled at by the secretaries in the office and getting only a gloom and doom portrait of an FSO's life, I was beginning to wonder why anyone would want to join the Foreign Service.

During my interview, I was asked if I was willing to serve anywhere, no matter how unpleasant, and do any job, no matter how menial. While I accepted, I was never given any indication that there was a bright side to being an FSO. After being snarled at by the secretaries in the office and getting only a gloom and doom portrait of an FSO's life, I was beginning to wonder why anyone would want to join the Foreign Service. If the Foreign Service thinks it has such a great reputation that it can treat candidates shoddily and dissuade candidates who are qualified from joining, the best and brightest it seeks will go elsewhere. Even those of us brought up to believe that public service was the consummate career will only put up with so much.

I passed the examination, my processing was "fast-tracked," and I was offered a position "only" a year after I had applied. In the meantime, I have gotten on with my life and have turned them down. I wonder if the oral exam tests the skills it claims to assess or the ability to tolerate a slow, unwelcoming bureaucracy.

Christopher Stephens
Washington, D.C.

MORE THAN STATE

To The Editor:

I recently spent six months at the Board of Examiners (BEX) and found myself nodding in agreement with much of what David and Terry Jones wrote in the November Journal. I enjoyed their description of the new oral exam and their observations about candidates' reactions to different parts of the day-long exercise.

I was disappointed, however, that they gave the impression that the Foreign Service exam is an exclusively State Department test. Not only State but also the U.S. Information Agency and the Foreign Commercial Service of the Department of Commerce use BEX's written and oral exams to choose new Foreign Service generalists. Candidates who pass both the written and then the oral "assessment" could receive job offers from any of these agencies.

When I was at BEX, many of the exam candidates were themselves unaware that they were taking an exam for more than just State. Successful candidates found out during their personal interview at the end of the day that they had passed an exam used by all three agencies. That is, they found out if the examiners in the personal interview told them. As a USIA officer, I sometimes had to remind my State colleagues that in addition to explaining the State Department's *cones* they should also

mention the USIA and Commerce options.

I found that some of my State colleagues did not really know everything that USIA officers do (I also discovered that I did not know a lot about what State consular and administrative officers do). I wrote a fact sheet about the work of USIA FSOs; a version of it is still available for candidates at the Assessment Center. Still, some new Foreign Service generalists have said they had not heard of USIA until they got a job offer after passing the written and oral exams.

I agree with the Joneses that the new oral assessment is an improvement over the old. When I took the exam, the written test lasted a full day and the oral was only two or three hours. Now the written has been shortened and, I believe, made easier. The oral has been lengthened and, I believe, made more difficult. However, the results of today's oral are much less subjective than they were under the old system.

It was only by chance that I did a tour at BEX. I wanted something interesting to do before my next job opened up and BEX needed officers for its busy period. But BEX turned out to be more than just interesting. I recommend it to anyone looking for a good Washington assignment. Although I sometimes had the impression that all our decisions would be questioned by shrinks and lawyers, I was fascinated by the politics of organizing and giving the exam. The process is still far from perfect, but a lot of people are working to improve the way we choose new members of the service.

In the same issue as the Joneses' article Edward Peck recommends ("Selection in and Promotion up") changes to make BEX a more desirable assignment. I hope that someone listens to him. Service at BEX is an experience more FSOs—from all the foreign affairs agencies which use the exam to choose new personnel—should have. ■

Lauren Hale
Washington

A NATURAL

Los Angeles Times, December 16, 1992
By Robin Wright

Widely known around Washington as the diplomat's diplomat, the man named chief U.S. envoy to Somalia has spent the past decade salvaging assorted foreign policy debacles or crises. These experiences . . . make him uniquely capable of taking on the thorny problems in the nation racked by clan wars and famine.

"Bob is really a driven person. He's a pit bull when it comes to getting the job done. As tough as the Somali situation is, he is one of the few people who have a chance of making it work," declared Chester A. Crocker, former assistant secretary of state for African affairs. "He also wasn't born yesterday. He knows that in that part of the world, you count your fingers both before and after each handshake, but you do it with great humility and humanity."

Oakley returns to Somalia having completed the string of tough emergency assignments that followed his last job there as U.S. ambassador between 1982-84. . . . Oakley helped establish the State Department's Counterterrorism Office in 1984. . . . The Reagan White House made Oakley staff director of Middle East and South Asian Affairs on the National Security Council. . . . He is widely credited with orchestrating the American naval deployment in the Persian Gulf to protect Kuwaiti oil tankers during the Iran-Iraq War. [In 1988] Oakley was dispatched to Islamabad as American envoy.

"He knows all the ropes and all the major players," said a White House official. "He's also a natural in a crisis." He immediately helped bring together the country's two major warlords in crucial peace talks. U.S. officials said they expect his actions to pave the way for what happens in Somalia after U.S. troops leave.

U.S. EMBASSY RETAKEN

Newsday, December 10, 1992

U.S. Marines took over the deserted American Embassy [in Mogadishu] yesterday, hoisting the Stars and Stripes up a tottering flagpole to seal their presence in the capital.

In a salute to diplomatic niceties, U.S. officials also raised the flag over buildings on both sides of the line dividing warring sides in Mogadishu. Old Glory went up over [current and former] U.S. Envoy Robert Oakley's liaison office in the south and over the official residence of former U.S. ambassadors in the north.

Later, the dented iron gates of the once-lavish embassy compound swung open to let in a convoy of armored personnel carriers and tanks carrying 150 marines. The charge into the compound was led by reporters, cameramen, and photographers, who had accompanied the Marines.

BURROWING INTO THE RUSSIAN BUREAUCRACY

The Washington Post, December 14, 1992
By Jack Anderson and Michael Binstein

[U.S. Ambassador Robert S.] Strauss made a point of having good behind-the-scenes sources. For example, Strauss assigned one of the U.S. Embassy's most highly regarded political officers the job of keeping tabs on one member of the Russian Congress. . . . Strauss described the embassy official as an attractive woman who "had a fine mind and knew how to use every asset she had, intellectual and physical."

"I want you to see that guy every morning . . . [and] I want you to see him every afternoon before he goes home so we'll know every day what's going on in this Congress," Strauss recalled telling her.

One day, Strauss met with this member of the Russian Congress, probing him for the latest inside information. What he heard in response confirmed just how effectively he had burrowed into the Russian bureaucracy. "You're asking me?" the Russian repeated three times in mock amazement. "You know everything you know, plus, with that girl, you know everything I know. Why ask me?"

"I HATE THIS JOB."

The New York Times, December 20, 1992
By Elaine Sciolino

To be secretary of state in the unwieldy new world of late 1992 means spending a lot of time putting out raging diplomatic fires rather than craft-

"Trip of Secretary of State Lawrence S. Eagleburger to Stockholm, Geneva, and Brussels, December 12-18, 1992."

ing Tallyrand-like strategies for the future. In these final days of the Bush foreign policy it is not a comfortable role.

"In the non-Cold War world you get a lot of surprises," said Eagleburger. "It's constant."

In the intellectual competition over what to call the new chaos, Eagleburger's phrase is as good as any: "Pasted-together diplomacy." And how

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does he like his job? "I hate this job. I hate this job," he said, with only a hint that he might not fully mean it.

What is Eagleburger's advice for whoever succeeds him? First: "Do your best to recognize that you'll always be limited in providing yourself time to think about the big issues." Second: "Recognize and use the fact that, while a large part of the world thinks it is now to be heard more forcefully, there is only one power that thinks globally—and therefore it is absolutely essential that you do your best to develop a world strategy and fit the pieces into it and not the reverse."

And third (half-kidding): "Not to take the job."

CLINTON'S SECURITY TRIO

The New York Times, December 20, 1992

By Leslie H. Gelb

The expected appointees—Warren Christopher for secretary of state, Les Aspin for defense secretary, and Anthony Lake for national security adviser—are highly experienced problem solvers. Like almost all their predecessors when they took office, these three are untested at the highest levels.

They like President Bush's new-world-order rhetoric about standing for American values, paying more attention to international economics, and using force for humanitarian as well as strategic reasons. But unlike Bush, they take these words seriously and will try energetically to turn rhetoric into reality. None of the trio seeks the limelight and all will fit comfortably with Clinton's plan to make policy in the White House.

Contrary to comment the trio bring to their posts as much high-level government experience as most of their predecessors. . . . If they have a weakness as a group, it is their lack of pre-cooked clout. None brings commanding stature to his job or possesses a movie-star personality. Each will have to fight to prove he's tough and worthy.

Christopher was one of my bosses in Carter's State Department. He is no less stiff and formal privately than publicly. His jacket is always buttoned. He listens impassively . . . and says little. Ever the world-class lawyer, he is exceedingly careful, tidy, disciplined, precise—no mistakes. "Chris," as he is called, is a brilliant political tactician and negotiator. He helped to gain Senate approval of the Panama Canal treaties and negotiated the release of the American hostages from Iran. [He]

WARREN CHRISTOPHER, Clinton's Secretary of State

is not a policy-maker and has no known policy agenda. . . . He thinks case by case. But he can take any policy paper and find its flaws and make it viable.

Tony [Lake] is puckish and deeply committed to traditional liberal values, yet power oriented and a careful bureaucrat. Sometimes hawkish, sometimes dovish, he is as tough and aggressive as his smile is cherubic.

CHANGING STATE

Washington Post, December 30, 1992

By John Goshko

Once the personnel selections are made, Clinton and Christopher will have to decide what to do about some preliminary proposals for changing the structure of the U.S. foreign policy machinery to enable it to deal more efficiently with the post-Cold War world.

One idea, originated by Madeleine Albright, the ambassador-designate to the UN . . . would move the coordinator [of aid programs to Russia and Eastern Europe] to the White House. If such a post is created, the sources said it would go to [Thomas] Pickering. A companion proposal would be to reorganize State's Bureau of European and Canadian Affairs to permit greater concentration on Russia and Eastern Europe. The idea, as described by the sources, would move oversight of relations with Canada to the Bureau of Inter-American Affairs and divide responsibility for Europe between two new bureaus: one for Western Europe and one for Eastern Europe, Russia, and the former Soviet republics.

Still another related idea would be to create a fifth undersecretary post that would be charged with furthering the development of democracy on a global basis. . . . at a minimum [the new position] would incorporate the present Bureau of Human Rights . . . and responsibility for Third World aid programs, if the new administration decides to adopt recommendations that the Agency for International Development be merged into the State Department. ■

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Holding nominations hostage to old resentments

Minefield

"This is an answer to a lot of prayers," exulted Oliver L. North.

It was February 26, 1990 and North, the former National Security Council aide, was giddy over the defeat of the Sandinista Front in Nicaragua's elections the previous day. Eight weeks into 1990, the most divisive foreign policy issue of the 1980s seemed to have disappeared in a single stroke.

Nicaragua has indeed loomed much smaller on the U.S. political horizon since the Sandinistas were turned out of office, but the intensity of emotion surrounding Central American policy has not diminished. Two ambassadorial nominees have fallen victim to that bitterness: Joseph Sullivan, nominated to be ambassador to Nicaragua, and Michael Kozak, nominated to El Salvador.

The two, both long-time Central America hands, were stymied by an improbable Senate coalition of Jesse Helms (R-NC), a pro-Contra stalwart during the Reagan era, and Christopher Dodd (D-CT), the dovish chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations subcommittee on Western Hemisphere affairs. The senators are convinced that Kozak and Sullivan conspired with Contra surrogates in 1989-90 to buy the nomination and election of President Violeta Chamorro. Helms and Dodd contend that the administration carried out its plan under the cover of the so-called Nicaraguan Exile Resettlement Program—known informally as NERP. The Bush Adminis-

tration angrily denies the allegations.

Administration officials say they are appalled that the NERP program was construed as a vote-buying scheme, insisting there was nothing sinister about it. The program's only purpose, they say, was to dismantle the Miami-based Contra political office, which had been built up during the U.S.-backed war against the Sandinistas. With the war winding down in the spring and summer of 1989, the administration was eager to get the Miami Contras back into Nicaragua to join the political process then under way. About $600,000 reportedly was used to relocate the Contras and their families.

Nicaragua

BY GEORGE GEDDA

The dust-up over the nominations has largely been fought out of public view, because NERP was a covert program. But a *Newsweek* article about the NERP program appeared in October 1991, the same month that Kozak was nominated. The magazine quoted an administration source as saying that NERP went well beyond resettlement of Contras. The source alleged that one Contra leader, Alfredo Cesar, received "roughly $100,000" to "distribute to his people." Cesar has denied that any money went to the Chamorro campaign.

Aid or 'persuasion'?

In the late summer of 1989, Chamorro was one of the candidates seeking the nomination of the United Nicaraguan Opposition (UNO) to oppose President Daniel Ortega in the 1990 elections. Both Helms and Bosco Matamoros, a former Contra spokesman who still lives in Washington, backed a conservative businessman, Enrique Bolanos, for the UNO nomination.

Matamoros is one of the few people involved in the 1989-90 events who are willing to speak on the record. "Chamorro would not have been nominated without the persuasion of U.S. dollars," Matamoros says. U.S. officials, however, treat with skepticism almost anything Matamoros says.

The officials insist that, to the extent that there was American involvement in the electoral process, it consisted of a $9 million overt program for such purposes as training poll watchers, educating voters, and paying opposition campaign workers. To win Sandinista acquiescence for the program, the administration paid a $2 million "foreign contributions tax" to the Sandinista-dominated electoral council.

Rejecting congressional claims of meddling, an administration official said, "If the United States wanted to buy Mrs. Chamorro's nomination, it certainly would not have used the Contra directorate to carry out that task. It would have found other means." He said the administration assiduously pursued a hands-off policy toward the election process. "The message constantly went out the field: Don't get involved in this." He and others said the only advice the administration offered to the Nicaraguan opposition during this period was to maintain unity; a divided opposition would only guarantee a Sandinista victory.

The administration's claims are dismissed out of hand by congressional staffers who view NERP as an elaborate hoax. "The purpose of the program was not relocation. It was a pure and simple manner to get Chamorro elected," said one. Senate Intelligence Committee Chairman David Boren (D-OK), complained privately that the lack of accounting procedures made it impossible to determine how the NERP money was spent.

There was also a bitter dispute about the legality of the program and whether the Senate Intelligence Committee had been properly informed. The Senate critics say the administration was guilty on both counts. The administration says there were no improprieties. The officials say the Agency for International Development was approached about handling the NERP, but USAID thought it was improper and possibly illegal for it to become involved in ferrying Contras back to their homeland. The CIA, therefore, was picked for the assignment.

Exonerated, sort of

Believing the administration had pulled a dirty trick, Helms and Dodd struck back, albeit belatedly, by blocking the nominations of Sullivan and Kozak. The two senators believe Sullivan helped the CIA run the program, first as director of the Central

American Affairs office and later as deputy assistant secretary responsible for that region. During that time, Kozak was the principal deputy of Assistant Secretary of State Bernard Aronson. Kozak's accusers say his role was relatively minor compared with Sullivan's.

Kozak had been nominated in October 1991 and Sullivan in March of last year. They thought they were on their way toward confirmation last June when the State Department Inspector General, Sherman Funk, issued a report exonerating them of wrongdoing. But Dodd believed the IG investigation was incomplete and, in a letter to Funk, suggested that the IG's office may be "a captive of the agency it is designed to oversee." Outraged, Funk replied to Dodd that the allegation was "untrue, unfair, and unwarranted."

The two senators believe Sullivan helped the CIA run the program, first as director of the Central American Affairs office and later as deputy assistant secretary responsible for that region.

Sullivan has kept silent about his travails except to say that his detractors have never given him a chance to respond to their allegations. Says Kozak: "To be accused of something like this is frustrating. The worst thing is to have your honor attacked."

Then-Secretary of State James A. Baker III offered a compromise solution. He sent a "Dear Chris" letter to Dodd recommending that Sullivan and Kozak be given a chance to defend themselves before the Foreign Relations Committee. Alternatively, Baker suggested that the inspector general consider any questions any senator may have about either nominee. If any improprieties were uncovered, Baker wrote, the administration would "reconsider" the nominations.

Neither Helms nor Dodd bought Baker's suggestions. Both believed that, if the administration was so eager to have the posts in Managua and San Salvador filled, Bush should recommend new nominees. The administration was loathe to take that step because it might have been interpreted as an expression of guilt. Besides, they believe that would only encourage Senate Foreign Relations Committee members to be even more obstructionist than they are in dealing with ambassadorial nominations.

Helms has a habit of putting holds on ambassadorial nominees. For nominees assigned posts in Latin America, Helms relies heavily on the advice of Deborah De Moss, and, since the committee operates virtually on the basis of unanimous consent, De Moss' advice to Helms on nominees can prove decisive. Helms also objected to Bush's 1990 nomination of career diplomat Melissa Wells as his first ambassador to Managua. Bush eventually settled on Harry Shlaudeman for the assignment, persuading the veteran diplomat to come out of retirement, but the post has been vacant since Shlaudeman left in February 1992. San Salvador also has been without a U.S. ambassador since that time.

Latin policy warrior

The NERP program was not the

only issue related to Nicaragua in which Helms was at odds with the Bush Administration. In fact, he has had a running feud with Aronson on U.S. policy. When Helms felt that Aronson had tried to bully two Contra allies of the senator during telephone conversations in October, Helms wrote to Acting Secretary of State Lawrence Eagleburger that Aronson should be fired if the allegations proved true. Aronson insists Helms has been acting on bad information.

Helms also helped derail $104 million in U.S. aid to the Nicaraguan government. He complained that taxpayers' money should not be used to subsidize a government which, he claims, has refused to stand up to the Sandinistas, to return properties confiscated by the Sandinistas from American citizens, or to investigate assassinations of former Contras. Helms was bitterly disappointed when the administration, defying his wishes, decided to reinstate $54 million of the suspended $104 million in early December.

For its part, the administration agrees that many of Helms's complaints about the Chamorro government are valid. But officials are extremely wary of taking any action that might destabilize her government, fearing that could create a situation from which only the Sandinistas would benefit.

Says Kozak: "To be accused of something like this is frustrating. The worst thing is to have your honor attacked."

Small solace

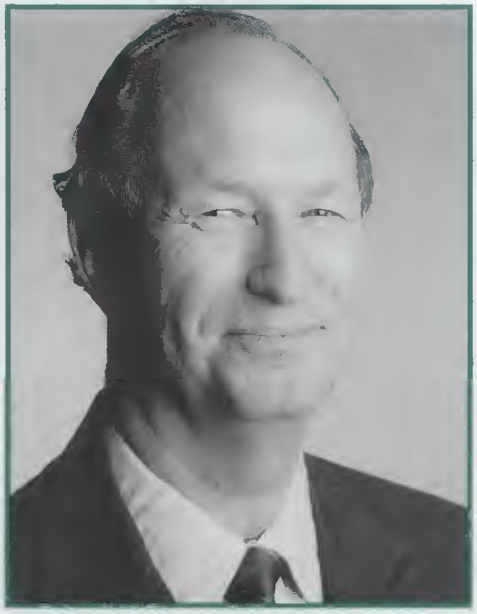
Sullivan and Kozak were among more than 20 ambassadors who failed to make it past the Senate before adjournment in October 1992. Among that group, however, only Sullivan and Kozak are alleged to have engaged in wrongdoing. One official said the administration offered to sacrifice Sullivan if the Senate were willing to confirm Kozak but Helms rejected the proposal.

The administration decided in late September to withdraw Sullivan's name from consideration. Kozak's nomination was still alive at the time but it died about 10 days later when the Senate adjourned without acting on it.

Sullivan's otherwise dreary year was brightened by his receipt of the presidential Distinguished Service Award, worth $20,000. He also has been chosen to head the U.S. Interests Section in Cuba—an important post but one that does not require Senate confirmation. De Moss says that appointment is inappropriate, particularly since the Office of the Inspector General is continuing its inquiry into the NERP program.

The Bush Administration believed the United States might be able to shape events in Nicaragua—and El Salvador—much more effectively if an American ambassador were on the scene. When Clinton gets around to nominating ambassadors for those two posts, he would be well advised for starters to make sure they had nothing to do with the NERP program. ■

George Gedda covers the State Department for the Associated Press.



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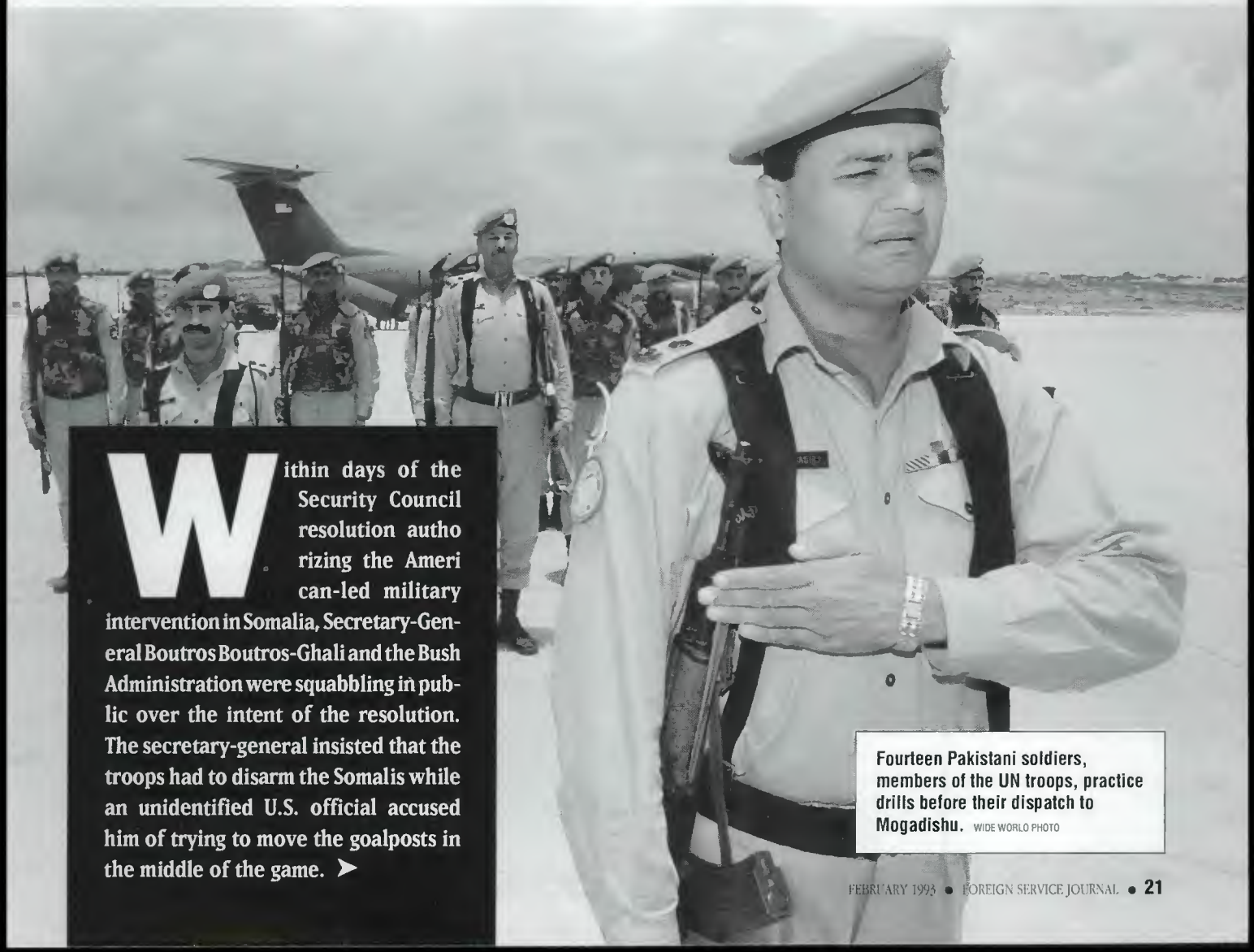
FROM GUARD TO ENFORCER:

UN peacekeepers in Somalia

BY STANLEY MEISLER



Within days of the Security Council resolution authorizing the American-led military intervention in Somalia, Secretary-General Boutros Boutros-Ghali and the Bush Administration were squabbling in public over the intent of the resolution. The secretary-general insisted that the troops had to disarm the Somalis while an unidentified U.S. official accused him of trying to move the goalposts in the middle of the game. ➤

Fourteen Pakistani soldiers, members of the UN troops, practice drills before their dispatch to Mogadishu. WIDE WORLD PHOTO

For many American officials, the dispute only reinforced their view of Boutros-Ghali as a stubborn, prickly, unpredictable UN leader. For many UN diplomats and bureaucrats, the noises in Washington sounded like the last gasps of the lame-duck, anti-UN Reaganites still left in the State Department at the end of 1992.

But in fact, the dispute was less about personality than policy and probably reflected the uncertainties stemming from the passage of what may prove the most significant UN resolution in post-Cold War history. Except in the special case of Iraq after the Persian Gulf war, the United Nations has never before intervened in the internal affairs of a country without the consent of that country's government. That, of course, lends a historic mantle to the resolution. But even more important, the resolution lays down the groundwork for a new kind of UN peacekeeping operation in the future. And, in ways little understood so far by Americans, the resolution sets UN limits on a U.S. military intervention for the first time and raises questions about the future of U.S. participation and cooperation in UN military operations. It may take months before the full significance of the resolution sinks in.

The Somalia crisis has started to push the UN, whether it likes it or not, into a new and more forceful role. The opportunity was seized . . . when Secretary of State Lawrence Eagleburger delivered President Bush's surprise offer to organize an American-commanded multinational force of mainly American troops to sort out Somalia.

The United States, of course, would not have intervened in Somalia if the operation there had not turned itself into a metaphor for UN ineffectiveness and inefficiency. The Security Council had ignored the problem until embarrassed in mid-1992 by some well-publicized cajoling from Boutros-Ghali. When the Council finally did dispatch UN peacekeepers, it did so under hoary rules that prevented the deployment of the troops anywhere without the consent of the local warlords. The old rules of engagement prevailed: the soldiers could fire their weapons only in self-defense. To make matters worse, Boutros-Ghali dumped his able representative on the scene, Algerian diplomat Mohammed Sahnoun, after the latter appeared on "60 Minutes" to berate the slow UN response to the crisis. Since Sahnoun, in a remarkable feat of diplomacy, had won the confidence of most warlords, the situation deteriorated after his departure.

The color of neutrality

The non-confrontational style of the UN peacekeepers was appropriate to a Cold War environment, in which, indeed, the UN peacekeepers, better known as Blue Helmets and Blue Berets, in 1988 won the Nobel Peace Prize. By and large, their work followed a pattern during the Cold War years. Peacekeepers patrolled ceasefire lines after a truce, pending the signing of peace treaties. These peace treaties, however, never seemed to get signed, making the assignments interminable. Cyprus, where UN troops stand between the Turks and Greeks, and the Golan Heights, where they stand between the Israelis and the Syrians, are the models. These kinds of operations could take place only when the United States and the Soviet Union agreed to let them work. No peacekeepers were ever dispatched to Vietnam.

The UN found that these operations worked best when the peacekeepers, armed only for self-defense, served as impartial referees between the belligerents. The Blue Helmets actually did use force to end the Katanga secession in the Congo in the early 1960s, mounting assaults on Elizabethville that included aerial bombing. But this departure provoked so much anger in Europe and in conservative circles in the United States that it was never tried again and is barely mentioned in UN rhetoric. Ignoring Katanga, UN bureaucrats usually insist that their peacekeepers have never used offensive force in their operations.

Following the end of the Cold War the demands for peacekeepers have accelerated. By 1988, in its first 43 years, the UN had mounted 13 peacekeeping operations. Since then, in less than five years, it has authorized another 15 peacekeeping operations. By early 1993, there will be 60,000 soldiers under direct UN command throughout the world (not including the UN-supervised but U.S.-commanded military expedition in Somalia).

New protectorates?

For the most part, the UN has found itself with a new role in an era when the good relations between the United States and the former Soviet Union have allowed many insurrections and conflagrations to simmer down. Instead of patrolling ceasefire lines, UN peacekeepers are now more likely to find themselves supervising the steps toward normality and elections in a ravaged country after the signing of a peace treaty by the former belligerents in a civil war. Cambodia, El Salvador, Angola, and Mozambique are the obvious examples. In Cambodia, in fact, the UN is serving as a quasi-colonial power. As Prince Norodom Sihanouk complained recently as he addressed several American visitors in a northern Cambodian village, "Before, we were a protectorate of France, but we had only one master. Now, we are again a protectorate. The difference is that we now have many *patrons*, many masters."

The new operations are highly charged politically. This raises questions of whether UN bureaucrats, not used to wielding political power, and UN peacekeepers, not used to showing force, are right for the job. In Cambodia, for example, some observers believe that Yasushi Akashi of Japan, the veteran UN bureaucrat who

heads the peacekeeping operation there, gives in too easily to the machinations of Sihanouk. Asked recently whether he had the power to prevent Sihanouk's plan to win election as president even before a constituent assembly meets to write a constitution, Akashi replied, "I don't know. But assuming I have that power, I don't believe I would be politically able to prevent it." In Angola, the UN's peacekeeping force of 900 soldiers and civilians was simply too weak and passive to prevent Jonas Savimbi's troops from taking up arms again after his party lost the elections. Human rights groups insist that the UN mission in El Salvador has tried so hard to avoid offending President Alfredo Cristiani that it has failed adequately to publicize the incessant violation of the rights of civilians there.

AP/WIDE WORLD PHOTOS

The deposed President of Somalia, Mohammed Siad Barre

Proactive blues

In response to a request from the Security Council meeting in a special summit session in January 1992, Boutros-Ghali six months later produced a treatise called "An Agenda for Peace" that proposed some innovative departures for UN military action. Under his proposals, the secretary-general would have a rapid deployment force made up of units set aside by various armies for his use. This would not be a UN army; there would be no UN Pentagon on the banks of New York's East River, but the secretary-general could call up these units whenever he needed them. Boutros-Ghali also proposed what he called "peace-enforcement" troops—specially trained soldiers, more heavily armed than peacekeepers, who could take on such military tasks as the restoration of a ceasefire. He also proposed, as a form of preventive diplomacy, the dispatch of peacekeeping troops to a troubled area in hopes of discouraging the outbreak of war.

"An Agenda for Peace" evoked widespread praise from analysts and governments, as well as some refinements and variations of the proposals from approving think tanks. As Edward C. Luck, president of the United Nations Association of the U.S.A., put it in a recent *Foreign Policy* article, "The United Nations cannot be an effective instrument for collective security until it has the resources—financial, military, and political—to move quickly, decisively and forcefully to deal with small conflicts before they develop into big ones." But, although the Security Council did authorize the deployment of a battalion of peacekeepers in Macedonia to discourage the Yugoslav war from escalating into a Balkans war, the UN has done almost nothing about the other proposals. Many governments are still wary about putting too much power in the hands of the secretary-general and of encouraging the dispatch of peace enforcers to countries that do not want them.

The Somalia crisis, however, has started to push the UN, whether it likes it or not, into a new and more forceful role. The opportunity was seized by Secretary-General Boutros-Ghali in late November when Secretary of State Lawrence Eagleburger delivered President Bush's surprise offer to organize an American-commanded multinational force of mainly American troops to sort out Somalia.

Reporting to the Security Council about the offer, the secretary-general said he would prefer "a countrywide enforcement operation to be carried out under United Nations command and control." But if this were not feasible, he went on, the Security Council should accept the American offer—provided the United Nations monitored the American command and organized a new UN force to replace the multinational force once it had imposed security on Somalia. Since both the Security Council and the secretary-general knew that the UN did not have the resources or experience to organize a peace-enforcement expedition quickly, the American offer was accepted—with the limitations suggested by Boutros-Ghali. Even countries like Zimbabwe, India, and China, who regard themselves as watchdogs on the Security Council against interference in the internal affairs of nations, voted for the resolution; they could not allow themselves to stand in the way of saving the starving of Somalia.

Blue meanies

The resolution authorizing the Somalia expedition was far different from the resolutions authorizing the Persian Gulf War. In the latter case, the Security Council authorized the U.S.-led coalition to evict Iraq from Kuwait but exercised no controls over the offensive. Some members of the Security Council felt humiliated by President Bush's failure to consult them once he received the stamp of UN approval. In the Somalia case, however, the multinational command must consult with the secretary-general throughout the operations. Moreover, according to the resolution, the Security Council makes the final judgment on whether the American-commanded force has achieved its objective and may thus depart. In the consultations over the resolution, American UN Ambassador Edward J. Perkins seemed far less concerned about these provisions than making certain that everyone knew that the United States was in command of the expedition. Voting on the resolution was delayed by an hour while Perkins inserted a clause that made this obvious fact of life doubly clear.

Aside from asserting the UN's right to consult in and monitor the American command's decisions, the resolution also strengthens the UN by providing for a UN peacekeeping force to take over the operation from the

U.S.-commanded multinational force. It is inconceivable that the UN would revert to its old passive peacekeeping role after the departure of the Americans and become an object of Somali ridicule again. As Assistant Secretary of State Herman Cohen told the House Foreign Affairs Committee in December, "It's not going to be a traditional UN peacekeeping force—lightly armed with very, very passive rules of engagement. We expect it to be heavily armed with very robust rules of engagement. And we are actively promoting this point of view within the Security Council. And I'm relatively confident that this will be achieved." Boutros-Ghali seemed to accept this in his first report to the Security Council on the American-led operation. In short, the realities of the Somalia expedition will make the new UN force more like the peace enforcers envisioned by Boutros-Ghali in his "Agenda for Peace" than the old-style peacekeepers. That may prove the most significant institutional achievement of the resolution on Somalia.

...it is clear that the new UN troops will be instructed to use force against the Somalis if necessary. The UN, in short, has embarked on a new path largely without precedent.

Yet Boutros-Ghali knows the limitations of the UN and the likely limitations of his new peace enforcers. He wants the Americans to do as much pacification as possible before the UN takes over command; that is at the root of his squabble with the Americans. There is little doubt that Boutros-Ghali's interpretation of the resolution is correct. In his letter to the Security Council detailing the Bush offer, the secretary-general explained that the UN could take over from the American-commanded force "as soon as the irregular groups had been disarmed and the heavy weapons of the organized factions brought under international control." The resolution itself is somewhat vague; it describes the objective of the American command as "to establish as soon as possible a secure environment for humanitarian relief operations in Somalia." But most ambassadors agree with Boutros-Ghali that a secure environment implies the absence of at least heavy weapons. The Americans want to do the minimum possible without endangering their troops. But, whether the Somalis are partially disarmed or totally disarmed, it is clear that the new UN troops will be instructed to use force against them if necessary. The UN, in short, has embarked on a new path largely without precedent.

In short, President Bush's decision to send troops to Somalia galvanized the United Nations into speeding up its plans to play a new kind of role—peace enforcement. Without the American expeditionary force, the Security Council might still be arguing the merits of a large military operation in Somalia and the wisdom of allowing UN troops to blast their way through unfriendly obstacles. The show of U.S. military force has allowed the UN to set off on a new path. And it may find a number of Somalias in its future: Zaire, the southern Sudan, Haiti all seem ripe for chaos.

Yet the UN will not get very far on its new path unless the United States changes its attitude toward UN military operations. The United States has never felt comfortable operating as part of a UN team. In both the Korean and Persian Gulf wars, the United States ran things on its own, with the UN's blessing. In the Somali expedition, the United States is accepting some UN constraints—like monitoring, reporting, consulting—but the expedition is still mainly an American show.

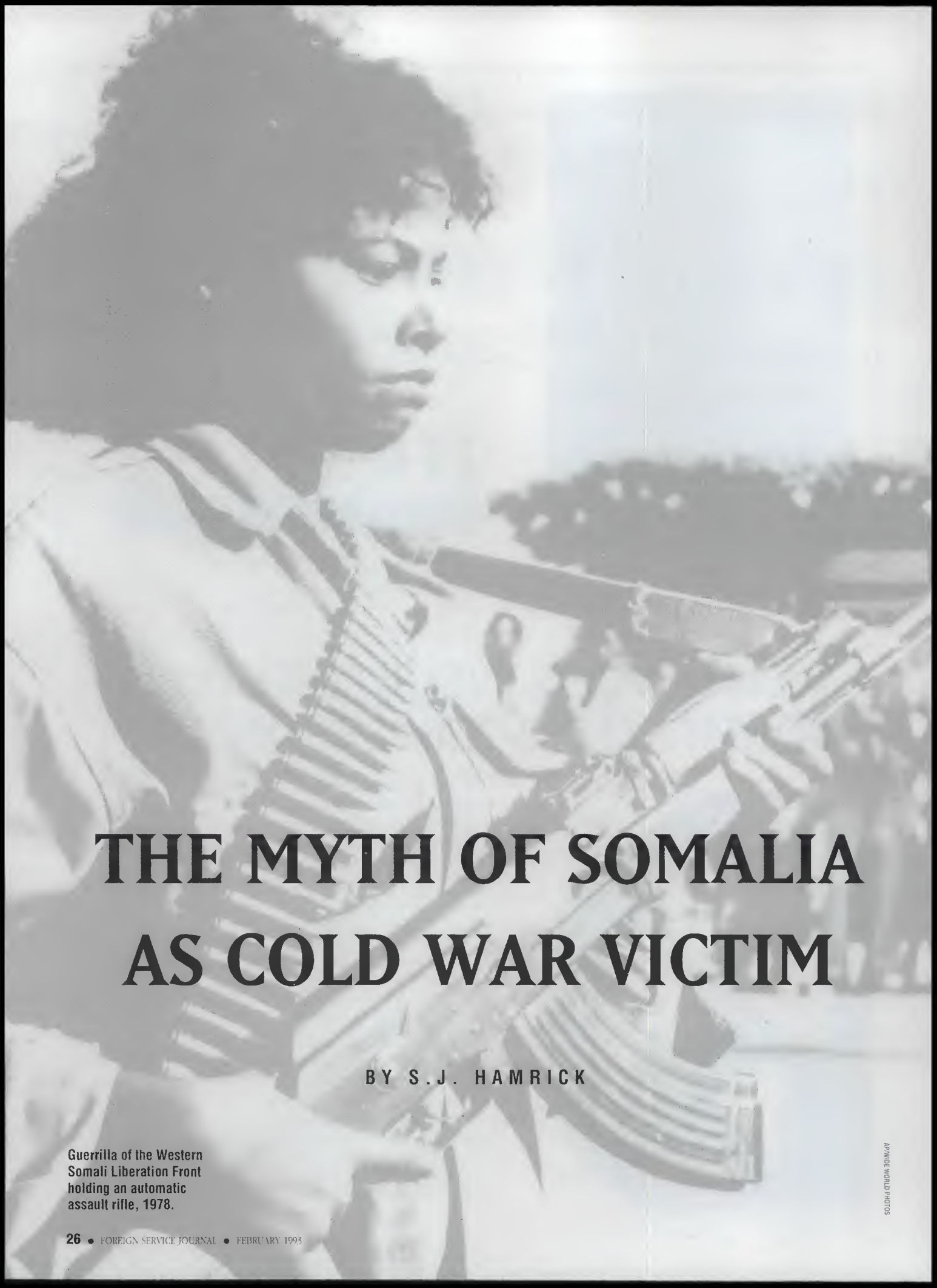
Uneasy team player

The United States does assign American officers to UN peacekeeping operations as military observers. As of October, there were 51 in Cambodia, 30 in the Western Sahara, 20 in Middle East truce areas, 13 on the Iraq-Kuwait border, and six on a preliminary tour of Mozambique, but these are mainly unarmed soldiers who investigate and report on complaints of ceasefire violations—an extreme form of diplomatic and judicious refereeing. The United States has never assigned a single unit of soldiers to serve with a peacekeeping force under someone else's command. Boutros-Ghali, however, has asked the United States to leave some logistical units behind when the United Nations takes over the operation.

If it is to move rapidly and forcefully, the UN surely needs a good deal of American input to its peace-enforcing operations. The U.S. military has more resources and logistical support to do this than anyone else. But if the United States insists each time on a massive deployment of at least 28,000 troops all under U.S. command, it will take part in very few UN operations. For one thing, the United States does not have the flexibility or the political will to mount four or five such operations at the same time. Moreover, the UN does not need so large a number of troops for every operation. The United States should make military units in relatively small numbers available for UN peacekeeping and peace enforcing use under UN command. But that is anathema at the moment to Pentagon thinking.

The Somali expedition has started the UN on a new way of thinking about its military operations. That is an impressive achievement. It would be just as impressive if the expedition started the Pentagon on a new way of thinking as well. The United States is conducting a military operation for the first time under some kind of UN restraint. And it may find that it makes sense to comply with the secretary-general's request to leave some units behind when the United States turns the command over to the UN. In short, the United States, just like the United Nations itself, could find that the strange circumstances of the Somalia operation have forced it to reconsider its peacekeeping and peace-enforcing roles—even though it does not want to. ■

Stanley Meisler is UN correspondent for the **Los Angeles Times.**



THE MYTH OF SOMALIA AS COLD WAR VICTIM

BY S.J. HAMRICK

Guerrilla of the Western Somali Liberation Front holding an automatic assault rifle, 1978.

AP/WIDE WORLD PHOTOS

For the second time in 15 years an impoverished little nation in the Horn of Africa has captured international attention, and for the second time in 15 years journalists and TV cameramen have flocked to Mogadishu. Appalled by what they've found, they've asked the same questions they asked in 1977: how did it happen? Who's responsible? In offering a quick, backward glance, few television commentators or analysts have traveled the long, bloody road back to the Ogaden War against Ethiopia in 1977, where today's ruin originated. The scene then was different: Somalia was victorious, jubilant, and fiercely united.

Today's view portrays the Somali people as victims, the Somali nation as an abandoned Cold War pawn, and the present chaos as part of the shameful rubble left by the United States and the Soviet Union after the Cold War, when Somalia ceased to matter. Since both the USSR and the United States in turn supported Somali strong man Mohammed Siad Barre, or so the argument goes, both share responsibility for the present chaos. The United States has a moral obligation to help Somalia.

Poor little me

To characterize Somalia as a weak little nation victimized and then abandoned by the two superpowers is a seductive but disingenuous misreading of Somalia's recent history. Far from being the cruelly manipulated little country it's now portrayed to be, over the past two decades Somalia has been very much the manipulator. The Soviet Union and the United States, beginning early in the Carter years, were among those it tried to manipulate. That effort failed, and the consequences of the failure live on in Somalia today. That dismal tale, as absurd as it now seems, is buried in the diplomatic archives, but a few points are worth recalling.

Living on the margins of existence in a harsh, barren land, the Somali people have always been victims: victims of geography, nature, drought, clan rivalries, blood-feuds, and a proud nomadic tradition of independence and violence. Their culture of romantic egoism bred a duplicitousness that leaders have used to advantage. Among the most seductive people on earth as well as its slyest traders and connivers, they have exalted their solitary but heroic predicament, whether in making war, poetry, love, or intrigue. In the absence of oil, minerals, and a temperate climate, cunning has been Somalia's major natural resource.

In the same tradition, Somalia has played the role of international nomad and pauper abroad, earning its hand-to-mouth living for decades by tirelessly pleading its case as the victim of a cruel and pitiless geography deserving of international sympathy, technicians, and hard cash. The strategy worked. The list of Somali benefactors seemed as large as the UN General Assembly roll call, including capitalists, socialists, and totalitarian nations alike, all improbable bedfellows in helping poor, prostrate Somalia. On a *per capita* basis, few nations in the world have been as generously subsidized.

At the same time Somalian leaders have tirelessly promoted the nation as a victim of colonial injustice that wrongly dismembered the historic lands of the Somali peoples and made it deserving of international support in correcting the error. Most humiliating of all, history had ceded traditional Somali pastoral lands in the Ogaden to their ancient enemy, Ethiopia. Their inferior African neighbors in Kenya, never their equals in battle, carted off another Somali limb; their brothers in Djibouti, a third. If international agreement in peacefully redrawing Somali boundaries wasn't possible—and it wasn't: Haile Selassie, first the League of Nations foundling, then the ward of the UN and the U.S., had been too shrewd—military hardware would do. The strategy wouldn't pay off until 1977.

Somalia has played the role of international nomad and pauper abroad, earning its hand-to-mouth living for decades by tirelessly pleading its case as the victim of a cruel and pitiless geography deserving of international sympathy, technicians, and hard cash.

Sugar daddy

Somalia seemed doomed to insignificance until a 1969 coup brought Mohammed Siad Barre to power. Evidence suggests the coup was managed with Soviet complicity, but in any case Siad enlisted Somalia in the socialist cause, bartering for Soviet military aid exclusive Soviet access to Somali airfields and ports on the Indian Ocean. The Soviet Union reequipped the Somali Army, Navy, and Air Force and soon established a formidable military advisory presence. In Soviet military aid Somalia finally found a superpower sponsor equal to the enormity of the injustices it had suffered and one greater and more energetic than the Americans in Ethiopia in pursuing its socialist client's interests—or at least so it seemed.

APA/DE WORLD PHOTOS

Ethiopian prisoners held by Somalis in the Ogaden War, January 1978.

The relationship flourished in the early 1970s. Siad got Sam-2 missiles for Mogadishu and the Soviets got more facilities for their Indian Ocean fleet, including a missile rework facility at Berbera for servicing cruise missiles. It was obvious by then that Siad had struck the right bargain. American power was on the wane, its resolve eroding as the forces of national liberation marched to victory in Vietnam, Angola, and Mozambique, and the Soviet Union showed increasing boldness in projecting power in the Third World in their support. If in Angola and Mozambique, Siad asked, why not the Horn of Africa, where local insurgencies had long battled Amharia imperialism but with limited success?

Armed to the teeth but restrained by the superpowers' *de facto* condominium in the Horn, the two enemies faced each other across the Ogaden, each a perverse and despised mirror image of the other...

Armed to the teeth but restrained by the superpowers' *de facto* condominium in the Horn, the two enemies faced each other across the Ogaden, each a perverse and despised mirror image of the other: His Imperial Majesty Emperor Haile Selassie in ancient Ethiopia with his Americans, President Mohammed Siad Barre in progressive, socialist Somalia with his Russians. Both were despots in their own fashion, both preposterous in their pretensions, one a relic of an ancient and corrupt Christendom, holding court among the feudal peasantry of the Ethiopian highlands and a supine Western diplomatic corps, the other an ex-policeman and shirtsleeve student of Lenin and history, a scientific-socialist windbag solemnly dedicated to Marxist-Leninist nation-building among the nomadic pastoralists of the Indian Ocean littoral, still Moslems at prayer, nomads in heart, but avid socialists in their public selves. How long would the farce continue?

Not very long. It was Ethiopia that smashed the glass. In 1974 a group of disgruntled young Ethiopian army officers led by Mengistu Haile Mariam seized power, deposed the emperor, and brutally shot 59 political prisoners from the old aristocratic Amhara establishment in a scene chillingly reminiscent of the Bolshevik slaughter of the Romanov family in the cellar at Ekaterinberg in 1918. A few months later Mengistu adopted state socialism and soon nationalized the banks and rural lands. Ethiopia was in turmoil. Mengistu's terror ruled in Addis Ababa while out along the peripheries in Eritrea, Tigre, and in the south, old insurgencies took new heart and were beginning to dismember the ancient Abyssinian kingdom. In crisis by then, in December 1976, Mengistu, who'd begun to sever ties with the United States, signed an arms agreement with Moscow. Some 200 Soviet military advisers were soon stationed in Ethiopia, and the first shipments of Soviet T-34 tanks arrived.

Siad now had a serious problem. He'd enlisted Somalia in world socialism under Moscow's leadership to legitimize his ambitions in the Ogaden under the Marxist-Leninist banner. Ethiopia was collapsing and the moment for redressing Somalia's historic wrong was at hand, yet he was being told by his Russian mentors, now arming his ancient enemy, that Ethiopia was no longer an imperialist but

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The Great Mogadishu Potato Caper

BY GILBERT D. KULICK

People fortunate enough to have lived in Mogadishu in the early, pre-Siad Barre days remember a much different city from the gutted shells of buildings, scattered heaps of rubble, and sprawling refugee shantytowns among which U.S. Marine humvees shuttle nightly on the network news. We remember a poor but vibrant, tidy, whitewashed seaside village, where life was slow and peaceful and most necessities were available. Hunger was largely unknown among the Somalis, though the expatriate community grumbled about the spartan local fare and their dependence on expensive and unpredictable imports for any fruits and vegetables beyond bananas and tomatoes.

The Somalis were proud of their irreverent, rough-and-tumble system of politics, which they styled—with some legitimacy—"Africa's only democracy." The homogeneity, egalitarianism, and defiant individualism of traditional Somali society were thought to be proof against the dictatorship and corruption already smothering the early promise of independence in the rest of Africa. But the arrogance, manipulativeness, and xenophobia that were eventually to contribute to Somalia's ruination were already there for all to see.

My most concentrated and memorable exposure to these Somali attributes, as well as to the rich, sardonic sense of humor with which Somalis are blessedly endowed in equal measure, came in an episode during my tenure as Embassy Mogadishu's officer in charge of British interests.

Somalia had broken diplomatic relations in 1964 when the British, ignoring a plebiscite in Kenya's Somali-populated Northern Frontier District (NFD), handed the district over to Kenya at independence.

Top: 1960 Independence Arch, downtown Mogadishu.
Bottom: Trade trucks at Mogadishu port, 1967.

As the embassy's junior-most officer, I inherited the OICBI title, with which came not only the departed British ambassador's Land Rover, his driver, and his piano, but also a war-graves cemetery, a British Council library filled with termite bait, and responsibility for the welfare of thousands of "British-protected persons" from former colonies in the region.

One quiet Friday morning in mid-1967, I got a telephone call informing me that a British ship had been intercepted off the coast by the Somali navy and impounded in the Mogadishu harbor. The captain was demanding to see his "consul." That was me.

Arriving somewhat apprehensively at the port captain's office, I found myself in the presence of no less than the commander of the Somali Army, one Mohammed Siad Barre, and his naval counterpart (whose name I have long since forgotten). They were hotly interrogating the distraught captain of a Royal Navy supply ship, bound for Aden and now overdue with several tons of potatoes—a full month's ration for the embattled and dispirited British garrison there.

The captain's protestations that he had had no intention of even entering Somali waters, much less of approaching the shore, were imperiously dismissed by the Somali brass. They professed certainty that this battered old scow was in fact the vanguard of the British amphibious invasion that all Somalis had been expecting ever since they had kicked the British out and laid claim to the NFD.

My initial effort at diplomatic persuasion was equally unavailing. The ship and its perishable cargo, General Siad insisted, had to remain in port until a full explanation and apology were delivered by a personal envoy of Her Majesty.

Over the next two days, as the tommies' spuds slowly turned to vodka in the baking equatorial sun, I wheedled and cajoled, gradually paring down the Somali demands. By the end of the first day, General Siad and his cohorts, who apparently had nothing more pressing to do, agreed that the captain and his crew could proceed to Aden. But the ship would have to stay, pending the requisite gesture by HMG. The captain, bound not to abandon ship and cargo, refused the offer.

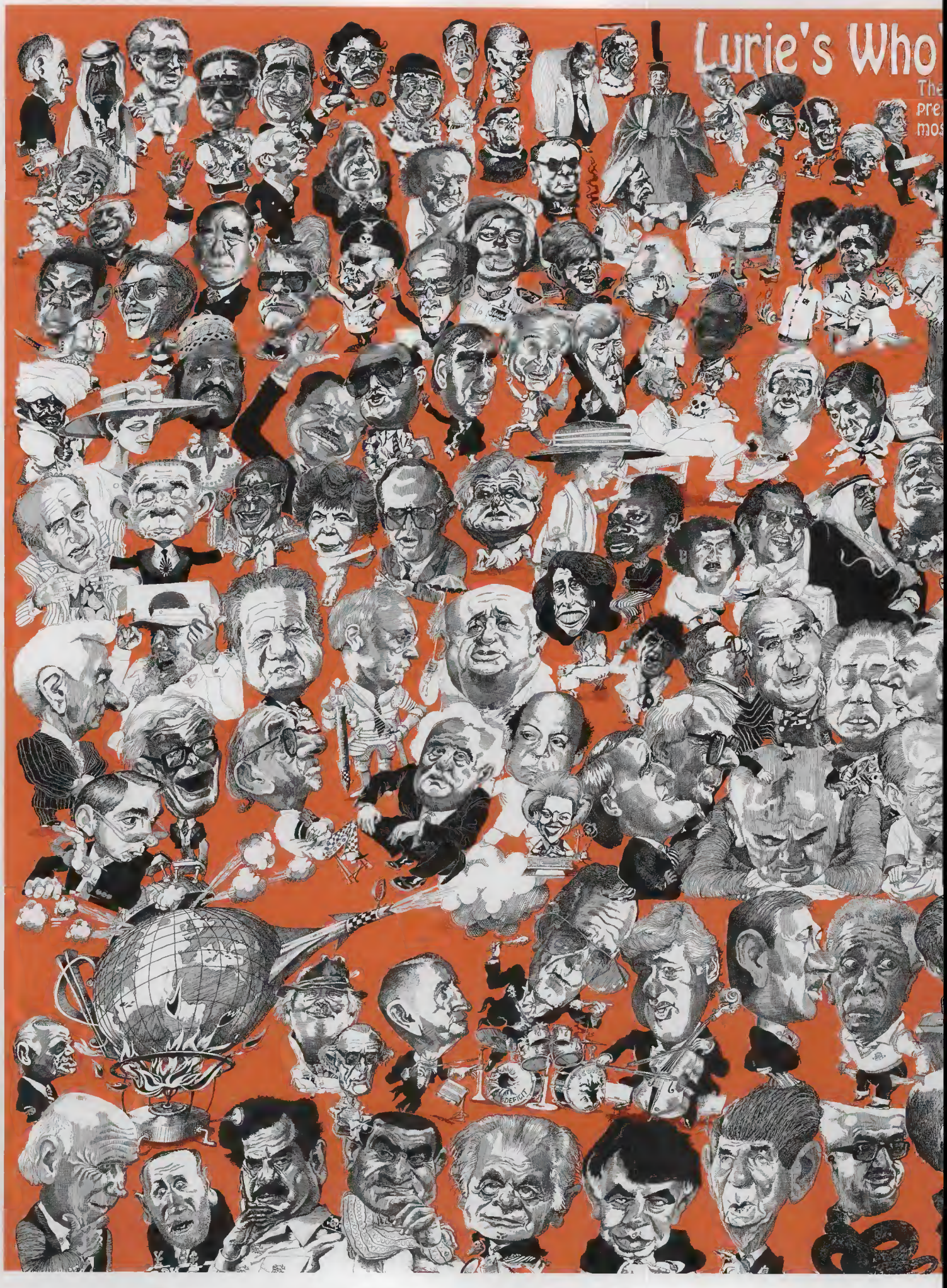
I confess I don't recall the details. But by day three the Somalis relented. The captain, the crew, and the ship were free to go. The potatoes, however, which had been dumped on the quay for "inspection," were not.

Concluding that by now the potatoes, though still barely edible, were unlikely to be so at the end of a two-day voyage to Aden, the bleary-eyed captain reluctantly decided to accept his losses—and the mutiny he predicted this would provoke in Aden—and steamed out across the reef before the Somali high command changed its mind.

But this was not the end of the story. Due to the vagaries of Indian Ocean shipping, now compounded by the lingering aftermath of the Six-Day War, the local markets for over a month had not seen a potato, the sole source of which was a bimonthly ship from Italy. Griping about the hardships of surviving for weeks on pasta and rice had become a conversational staple on the cocktail circuit. As word circulated that a ship loaded with the precious tubers was in custody down at the docks, market women from all over town began to congregate outside the gates to the port in anticipation of an over-ripe bonanza.

It would stretch the limits of cynicism to suggest a commercial motivation, but scant hours after the "HMS Whatever" disappeared, the docks were clear, market stalls were cleaned out, and bourgeois families all over Mogadishu were sitting down to their first meals of fish and chips or steak and fries in many a week. Thus ended the great Somali potato crisis of 1967. I never did hear how they handled the riot in Aden. ■

Gilbert D. Kulick served his first tour in the Foreign Service in Somalia, from 1966-68.


Lurie's Who
DEFICIT

AFSA'S FOREIGN SERVICE TAX GUIDE FOR 1992

Deborah M. Leahy
Member Services Representative

I. Federal tax provisions

The following is a summary of 1992 federal tax provisions as they apply to Foreign Service employees and their families. Foreign Service employees most frequently ask AFSA about home ownership, tax liability upon sale of a residence, and domicile. Therefore, as in past years, we have devoted special sections to these issues.

AFSA's Tax Guide is designed as an informational and reference tool. *It does not presume to be any more than that.* Although we try to be accurate, many of the new provisions of the tax code and implementing IRS regulations have not been fully tested. Therefore, *use caution and consult with a tax adviser if you have specific questions or an unusual or complex situation.* Furthermore, do not wait until the last minute. The Tax Reform Act of 1986 is complicated and continues to go through revisions and corrections.

For 1992, there are basically three tax rates for individuals, 15, 28, and 31 percent. The rate is 15 percent for taxable income up to $35,800 for married couples; $21,450 for singles. The 28 percent is for income up to $86,500 for couples, $51,900 for singles. The new 31 percent rate is for income **over** $86,500 for married couples and income **over** $51,900 for singles. Capital gains are taxed at 28 percent and are reported on the reverse side of Schedule D.

Personal Exemption

For each taxpayer, spouse, and dependent the personal exemption has been increased to $2,300. There is, however, a personal exemption phaseout of 2 percent for each $2,500 of adjusted gross income (AGI) over $105,250 (singles), $131,550 (head of household), $157,900 (joint) and $78,950 (married, filing separately). For those taxpayers in the last category, the 2 percent is taken from each $1,250 exemption.

Standard deduction

The standard deduction is given to non-itemizers and alleviates the loss of many deductions. It has been steadily increasing since 1987. For couples it is $6,000; for singles the deduction is $3,600. Married couples filing separately get a standard deduction of $3,000 and head-of-household filers receive a $5,250 deduction.

Most unreimbursed employee business expenses must now be reported as miscellaneous expenses and are subject to a 2 percent floor of adjusted gross income (AGI). This includes professional dues and publications, employment and educational expenses, home office, legal, accounting, custodial and tax preparation fees, home leave and representational expenses, and contributions to AFSA's Legislative Action Fund. Unreimbursed moving expenses are the exception; they may be fully deducted without the 2 percent floor.

Medical expenses are subject to a floor equaling 7.5 percent of AGI. This means that any deductible medical cost would have to exceed $2,250 for a taxpayer with a $30,000 AGI. There is also an additional 3 percent reduction of itemized deductions (excluding medical, casualty, theft, and investment interest) if the AGI exceeds $105,250. This 3 percent is applied to the AGI over $105,250 and not to the total of itemized deductions on Schedule 1040 A. The maximum loss of deductions is capped at 80 percent.

State and local income taxes and real estate and personal property taxes remain fully deductible for itemizers, as are charitable contributions for most taxpayers. Donations to the AFSA scholarship fund are fully deductible as charitable contributions. Donations to AFSA via the Combined Federal Campaign are also fully deductible. Individuals may also dispose of any profit from the sale of personal property abroad in this manner.

For 1992 tax returns, any interest paid on auto or personal loans, credit cards, department stores, educational loans and other personal interest will not be allowed as an itemized deduction. If the above charges are consolidated, however, and paid with a home equity loan, any interest on the home equity loan is allowable. Mortgage interest is, for the most part, still fully deductible and is discussed in more detail in the home ownership section of this article. Interest on loans intended to finance investments is deductible up to the amount of net income from investments, plus $1,000. Interest for loans intended to finance a business is 100 percent deductible. "Passive-investment" interest on loans in which the taxpayer is an inactive participant, i.e. a limited partnership, can be deducted only from the income produced by the investment. Interest on loans that do not fall into the above categories, such as borrowing money to buy tax-exempt securities, is not deductible.

Home leave expenses

Employee business expenses, such as home leave and representation, have to be deducted as a miscellaneous expense, thereby severely limiting any refunds. In addition to the 2 percent floor, only 80 percent for meals and entertainment may be claimed (100 percent for unreimbursed travel and lodging). Only the employee's (not family members') home leave expenses are deductible. Maintaining a travel log and holding on to a copy of home leave orders will be helpful, should the IRS ever question claimed expenses. It is important to save receipts: without receipts for food, a taxpayer may deduct only $26 to $34 a day (depending upon the per diem rate at the home leave address), no matter how large the grocery or restaurant bill. Lodging is deductible, as

long as it is not with friends, relatives, or in one's own home. The IRS will disallow use of per diem rates and any expenses claimed for family members. If a hotel bill indicates double rates, the single room rate should be claimed, and, if possible, the hotel's rate sheet should be saved for IRS scrutiny. Car rental, mileage, and other unreimbursed travel expenses, including parking fees and tolls, may be deducted. The new rate for business miles driven is 28 cents on the first 15,000 miles and 11 cents per mile afterward. Those who use this optional mileage method need not keep detailed records of actual vehicle expenses. The only thing necessary will be a detailed odometer log to justify the business use of the vehicle and percentage of business use. This optional mileage method does not apply to leased vehicles.

Official Residence Expenses (ORE)

Employees who receive ORE are no longer allowed to reduce their reportable income by 5 percent. The IRS ruling regarding ORE states that "usual expenses" are not deductible. Section 440 of the Standardized Regulations defines "usual expenses" as 5 percent of salary. The only expenses that are deductible after October 1, 1990 will be expenses above the 5 percent that are paid out of pocket. Employees should save receipts for any out-of-pocket expenses associated with their representational duties. These expenses can be deducted as miscellaneous business expenses.

Home ownership

For 1992, employees may deduct interest up to $1 million on acquisition debt for loans secured by a first and/or second home. This also includes loans taken out for major home improvements. On home equity loans, interest is deductible up to $100,000, no matter how much the home cost or what the loan is used for. The $100,000 ceiling applies to the total of all home equity loans you may have.

The same generally applies to refinancing a mortgage. Points paid to obtain a refinanced loan cannot fully be deducted the same year, however. The U.S. Tax Court held in November 1988 that in a refinancing transaction, points must be deducted over the life of the loan. A good idea would be to pay the points with a separate check instead of having the mortgage company deduct it from the proceeds; this way, you will have records of actual points paid which should make it easier to prove if any questions arise in the future.

Qualified homes are defined as the taxpayer's principal home and one other home. The second home can be a house, condo, co-op, mobile home, or boat, as long as the structure includes basic living accommodations, including sleeping, bathroom, and cooking facilities. If the second home is vacation property rented for fewer than 15 days during the year, the income need not be reported. Rental expenses cannot be claimed either, but all property taxes and mortgage interest may be deducted.

Rental of home

Taxpayers who are overseas and rented their homes in 1992 can continue to deduct mortgage interest as a rental expense under the passive-loss rules, as long as the AGI does not exceed $100,000 and the taxpayer is actively managing the property. Retaining a property manager does not mean losing this benefit. Also deductible are property management fees, depreciation costs, taxes, losses (such as cost of improvements) up to $25,000, after offsetting the rental income.

Sale of residence

If there is a profit on sale of a principal residence, taxes at the rate of 28 percent are owed on the profit or capital gains, unless one qualifies for one of the tax benefits discussed below. Efforts by Congress to reduce the rate of taxation on capital gains were defeated. Although legislation aimed at reducing capital gains taxation will likely be reintroduced, capital gains are currently fully taxable. In many instances, total taxable income from wages and profits move an employee into a higher tax bracket. It is, therefore, extremely important to take every legitimate deduction and to be aware of the various tax benefits that may be available.

A taxpayer 55 years or older who sells his or her home can take a capital gains exclusion up to $125,000 without having to reinvest in another home. This once-in-a-lifetime exemption rule applies to singles and couples and may not be used again even when the other spouse reaches age 55. In order to qualify, the taxpayer must have lived in the home for three out of the last five years (up to two years spent in a nursing home can count as time spent in the home) prior to sale. Many Foreign Service employees are hurt by the three out of five year residency provision. Despite repeated attempts, AFSA has been unsuccessful in persuading Congress to grant an exemption for Foreign Service personnel, who cannot meet this requirement due to prolonged overseas service.

Under section 1034 of the tax code, frequently referred to as the rollover residence replacement rule, taxes may be deferred on profit from the sale of the principal residence when buying a replacement principal residence within two years before or after the sale. Americans working abroad, including Foreign Service employees on overseas assignment, are permitted up to an additional two-year period to replace their former residence. The deferral rule may be applied repeatedly, and there is no limit on the amount eligible for deferral of taxation.

Temporary rental of the home does not necessarily disqualify one from claiming the deferral. The IRS has never defined what time period constitutes temporary but will probably challenge a claim that the home was a principal residence if it had been rented for many years and had clearly become an investment property. Foreign Service employees who are overseas for prolonged periods during which they rent their homes are increasingly subject to IRS scrutiny when they sell their houses and claim deferral of capital gains.

Under a 1957 U.S. Tax Court decision, *Trisko v. Commissioner*, a Foreign Service employee was granted the de-

ferral while he was living abroad even though he had rented his home for a 44-month period prior to sale while he was abroad. The court determined that his house remained a principal residence even though it was converted to investment property. In reaching this decision, the court applied the following tests: Was the property the taxpayer's only home? Did he reside in it prior to going overseas? Did he intend to return to the residence upon completion of overseas duty? And what were the reasons for selling it? In the Trisko case, the taxpayer was able to satisfy all of the court's concerns. Please note, however, that all courts do not recognize this case as a precedent and that the facts of each individual case are very important.

On the basis of this decision and conversations with tax experts, AFSA suggests claiming the deferral only if the circumstances are similar to those of this case and if the home is rented only during assignments overseas and not longer than 44 months. A copy of the Trisko decision may be requested from AFSA.

A considerable number of Foreign Service employees do not qualify under the deferral rule because of extended absences from the house. If at all possible, Foreign Service employees should move back into the house for at least six months before selling it, thereby reestablishing principal residence. If this is not possible, they might look into a tax-deferred property exchange, which is essentially a real estate investor's version of the residence replacement rule.

Property exchanges

Under Internal Revenue Code 1031, a Foreign Service employee whose U.S. home may no longer qualify for the customary residence replacement rule may be eligible to replace the property through an "exchange". In essence, one property being rented out may be exchanged for another, as long as that also is rented. In exchanging the properties, capital gains tax may be deferred. Technically, a simultaneous trade of investments occurs. Actually, owners first sell their property, place the equity proceeds in escrow, identify in writing within 45 days the property they intend to acquire, and settle on the new property within 180 days, using the money held in escrow as part of the payment.

It is important to emphasize that the exchange is from one *investment* property to another *investment* property. It is possible to convert an investment property to a residence at some point in the indefinite future, but the key factor in the IRS evaluation of an exchange transaction is the intent of the investor at the time the exchange was consummated.

The IRS rules for the exchanges are complex and specific, with a number of pitfalls that can nullify the transaction. Consequently, the exchange should *never be attempted without assistance from real estate, tax, and legal professionals specializing in this field.*

Foreign Service employees who are contemplating the sale of a rental property that had previously been a residence and are expecting to roll the proceeds of the sale into a new home without tax consequences are urged to check their status under IRS rules with tax experts *before* taking any definitive action. If the property is considered an investment by the IRS, a straight sale will trigger capital gains tax obligations. In this circumstance, the Section 1031 exchange provision, as an alternative method of disposing of property, may offer very significant tax relief.

Temporary Rental

What happens if one purchases and moves to a new residence then decides to get some rental income from the old home before selling it a couple of years later? The IRS may determine that the taxpayer no longer meets the "principal residence" test for the old home, since he or she moved out of it and converted it to investment property. Again, intent is key. The IRS allows temporary rental prior to sale as a "matter of convenience", such as a poor resale market at the time the new home was purchased. If the IRS determines that rental income was the prime motive for not selling the house, taxes must be paid on the gain of rental property, even though it was once used as a principal residence.

Many Foreign Service employees ask what items can be added to the cost basis of their homes when they are ready to sell. Money spent on "fixing up" the home for sale to reach what is called adjusted sales price may be deducted from the sales price. To qualify as legitimate "fixing-up costs", the following conditions must be met: 1) the expenses must be for work performed during the 90-day period ending on the day on which the contract to sell the old residence was made; 2) the expenses must be paid on or before the 30th day after sale of the house, and 3) the expenses must not be capital expenditures for permanent improvements or replacements (these can be added to the basis of the property, original purchase price, thereby reducing the amount of profit). A new roof and kitchen counters are not "fix-up" items. But painting the house, cleaning up the garden, and making minor repairs qualify as "fixing-up costs".

Lump-sum credit option

For those who retired under the Alternative Form of Annuity (AFA), thus electing the lump-sum withdrawal of contributions to the retirement trust fund, the lump sum is taxable in the year in which it is received. Note that as of December 1, 1991, the lump-sum credit is no longer an option.

Those retiring before reaching age 55 will have an extra 10 percent tax applied to that part of the lump sum included in gross income. In general, 85-95 percent of the lump sum is taxable. For those who prepare their own tax returns, IRS publication No. 721 contains instructions, actuarial tables, and worksheets for calculating the "exclusion percentage" applicable to lump sum and monthly annuity payments.

The Senior Executive Service filed suit in the U.S. Court of Claims for the refund of lump-sum tax payments on the grounds of double taxation, since these funds had already been taxed before being deposited into the retirement trust fund. The Court of Claims ruled against SES, however, and the case is now being appealed to the U.S.

Court of Appeals. Regardless of the decision, the case will surely be appealed to the Supreme Court so a final decision cannot be expected for some time.

II. State tax provisions

This guide will help to answer some of the questions regarding one of the most perplexing problems facing Foreign Service employees and retirees: the filing of state income tax. Every member serving abroad must maintain a state of domicile in the United States, and the tax liability that the employee faces varies greatly from state to state. In addition, there are myriad regulations pertaining to the taxability of Foreign Service pensions and annuities, as each state has different rules about the conditions under which individuals are liable for taxes on such income.

This guide, which supersedes last year's article on the subject (see the *Journal*, February 1992), will review the laws regarding income tax and tax on annuities and pensions as they pertain to Foreign Service personnel. The provisions will be reviewed on a state-by-state basis to make it easy for members to concentrate on laws that are applicable to their situation. Please note that while AFSA makes every attempt to provide the most up-to-date information, readers with specific questions should still speak with a tax expert in the state in question.

The first section of the guide will summarize individual state income tax provisions, and the second section will examine each state's laws on exemptions of annuities and pensions.

Many Foreign Service employees have questions about their liability to pay state income taxes during periods posted overseas or assigned to Washington. It is a fundamental rule of law that all U.S. citizens, because they have the right to vote, retain a state of domicile even if residing abroad. There are many criteria used in determining which state is a citizen's domicile. One of the strongest determinants is prolonged physical presence, a standard that Foreign Service personnel frequently cannot meet, due to overseas service.

In such cases, the states will make a determination of the individual's income tax status based on other factors, including where the individual has family ties, where he or she is registered to vote or has a driver's license, where he or she owns property, or where the person has bank accounts or other financial holdings. In the case of Foreign Service employees, the domicile might be the state from which the person joined the service or where he or she intends to return upon separation. For purposes of this article, the term domicile refers to legal residence; some states also define it as permanent residence. Residence refers to physical presence in the state.

Foreign Service personnel must continue to pay taxes to the state of domicile (or to the District of Columbia) while residing outside of the state, including during assignments abroad. Thus, it is advantageous if the state of domicile has little or no tax on income earned outside the state.

A non-resident, according to most states' definitions, is an individual who earns income or interest in the specific state but does not live there or is living there for only part of the year (usually, less than six months). Individuals are generally considered residents and are thus full liable for taxes, if they are domiciled in the state or if they are living in the state (usually at least six months of the year) but are not domiciled there.

Foreign Service employees residing in metropolitan Washington, are also required to pay income tax to either the District, Maryland, or Virginia in addition to paying tax to the state of their domicile. However, most states allow a credit, so that the taxpayer pays the higher tax rate of the two states, with each state receiving a share. California specifically exempts career appointees in the Foreign Service who are domiciled in California but reside outside the state and do not earn income in California (as published in FTB Publication No. 1031). AFSA would like to continue hearing from employees who have a problem over this exemption.

There are currently seven states with no state income tax: Alaska, Florida, Nevada, South Dakota, Texas, Washington, and Wyoming. In addition, New Hampshire and Tennessee have no tax on personal income but do tax profits from the sale of bonds and property.

There are also seven states which, under certain conditions, do not tax income earned outside of the state: Connecticut, Missouri, New Jersey, New York, Oregon, Pennsylvania, and West Virginia. The requirements are that the individual have a permanent "place of abode" in the state, and not spend more than 30 (31 in the case of Oregon) days in the state during the tax year. Also, please note that these seven states require the filing of non-resident returns for all income earned from in-state sources.

AFSA is aware of a case in which a Foreign Service employee domiciled in Pennsylvania was forced to continue paying state income tax even though the employee was assigned overseas and occupied government housing. The state of Pennsylvania held that "quarters provided by the government at no cost to Petitioner cannot be considered as maintaining a permanent place of abode." Members of the Foreign Service who are quartered in government housing will have to pay income tax to Pennsylvania. If they rent their own home overseas, however, they will be exempt from these taxes. AFSA is not aware of a similar ruling in any of the other six states but Foreign Service employees should be aware that states could challenge the status of government housing in the future.

The following list gives a state-by-state overview of the latest information available on tax liability. Tax rates are provided where possible. For further information please contact AFSA's Member Services Department.

Alabama: Individuals who are domiciled in Alabama are considered to be residents and are subject to tax on their entire income regardless of their physical presence in the state. Alabama's tax rate ranges from 2 percent to 5 percent of taxable income. Forms can be requested by writing to: Alabama Department of Revenue, Income Tax Forms,

P.O. Box 327470, Montgomery, Alabama 36132-7470.

Alaska: No state income tax.

Arizona: Individuals who are domiciled in Arizona are considered to be residents and are subject to tax on their entire income regardless of their physical presence in the state. Arizona's tax rate ranges from 3.8 percent to 7 percent of taxable income. Forms can be requested by writing to: Arizona Department of Revenue, Attention: Forms, 1600 West Monroe, Phoenix, Arizona 85007.

Arkansas: Individuals who are domiciled in Arkansas are considered to be residents and are subject to tax on their entire income regardless of their physical presence in the state. Arkansas's tax rate ranges from 1 percent to 7 percent of taxable income. Forms can be requested by writing to: Department of Finance and Administration, Income Tax Forms Division, P.O. Box 3628, Little Rock, AR 72203.

California: Exempts career Foreign Service employees living outside California from taxes on out-of-state income. Personnel must file form 540NR. Forms can be requested by writing to: State of California, Franchise Tax Board, Taxpayer Services, P.O. Box 942840, Sacramento, CA 94280-0040.

Colorado: Individuals who are domiciled in Colorado are considered to be residents and are subject to tax on their entire income regardless of their physical presence in the state. Colorado's tax rate is 5 percent of taxable income. Forms can be requested by writing to: Department of Revenue, Taxpayer Service Division, State Capitol Annex, 1375 Sherman St., Denver, Colorado 80261.

Connecticut: Individuals who are domiciled in Connecticut are considered to be non-residents and are exempt from tax on their entire income if they have a permanent place of abode outside the state, have no permanent place of abode in the state and spend no more than 30 days in the state during the taxable year. Forms can be requested by writing to: Department of Revenue Services, Taxpayer Services Division, 92 Farmington Ave., Hartford CT 06105.

Delaware: Individuals who are domiciled in Delaware are considered to be residents and are subject to tax on their entire income regardless of their physical presence in the state. Delaware's tax rate ranges from 3.2 percent to 7.7 percent of taxable income. Forms can be requested by writing to: Division of Revenue, Taxpayers Assistance Section, State Office Building, 9th & French Streets, Wilmington, Delaware 19801.

District of Columbia: Individuals who are domiciled in the District of Columbia are considered to be residents and are subject to tax on their entire income regardless of their physical presence there. The District of Columbia's tax rate ranges from 6 percent to 9.5 percent of taxable income. Forms can be requested by writing to: Taxpayer Assistance Services, 300 Indiana Ave. N.W., Rm. 1046, Washington, D.C. 20001. Effective 1988, the D.C. tax exclusion no longer applies to Foreign Service employees. AFSA's appeal of the D.C. tax ruling has been denied, thus employees must pay D.C. income tax while residing in the District.

Florida: No state income tax.

Georgia: Individuals who are domiciled in Georgia are considered to be residents and are subject to tax on their entire income regardless of their physical presence in the state. Georgia's tax rate ranges from 1 percent to 6 percent of taxable income. Forms can be requested by writing to: Georgia Department of Revenue, Forms Division, 305 Trinity-Washington Building, Atlanta, Georgia 30334.

Hawaii: Individuals who are domiciled in Hawaii are considered to be residents and are subject to tax on their entire income regardless of their physical presence in the state. Hawaii's tax rate ranges from 2 percent to 10 percent of taxable income. Forms can be requested by writing to: Oahu District Office, Taxpayer Services Branch, P.O. Box 3559, Honolulu, HI, 967811-3559.

Idaho: Individuals who are domiciled in Idaho are considered to be residents and are subject to tax on their entire income regardless of their physical presence in the state. Idaho's tax rate ranges from 2 percent to 8.2 percent. Forms can be requested by writing to: Idaho State Tax Commission, Forms Division, 700 West State Street, P.O. Box 36, Boise, ID 83722.

Illinois: Individuals who are domiciled in Illinois are considered to be residents and are subject to tax on their entire income regardless of their physical presence in the state. Illinois's tax rate is 3 percent of taxable income. Forms can be requested by writing to: Illinois Department of Revenue, Forms Division, 101 West Jefferson St., Springfield, Illinois 62794.

Indiana: Individuals who are domiciled in Indiana are considered to be residents and are subject to tax on their entire income regardless of their physical presence in the state. Indiana's tax rate is 3.4 percent of taxable income. Forms can be requested by writing to: Department of Revenue, Taxpayer Services Division, State Office Building, Room 208, 100 N. Senate Ave., Indianapolis, IN 46204.

Iowa: Individuals who are domiciled in Iowa are considered to be residents and are subject to tax on their entire income regardless of their physical presence in the state. Iowa's tax rate ranges from .40 percent to 9.98 percent of taxable income. Forms can be requested by writing to: Department of Revenue and Finance, Forms Division, Hoover State Office Building, Des Moines, Iowa 50319.

Kansas: Individuals who are domiciled in Kansas are considered to be residents and are subject to tax on their entire income regardless of their physical presence in the state. Kansas's tax rate ranges from 3.65 percent to 8.75 percent. Forms can be requested by writing to: Kansas Income and Inheritance Tax Bureau, Box 12001, Topeka, KS 66612-2001.

Kentucky: Individuals who are domiciled in Kentucky are considered to be residents and are subject to tax on their entire income regardless of their physical presence in the state. Kentucky's tax rate ranges from 2 percent to 6 percent of all taxable income over $8,000. Forms can be requested by writing: Property and Mail Services Section, 859 East Main Street, Revenue Cabinet, Frankfort, KY 40620.

Louisiana: Individuals who are domiciled in Louisiana are considered residents and are subject to tax on their entire income regardless of their physical presence in the state. Louisiana's tax rate ranges from 2 percent to 6 percent of taxable income. Forms can be requested by writing to: Department of Revenue and Taxation, Forms Division, P.O. Box 201, Baton Rouge, LA 70821-0201.

Maine: Individuals who are domiciled in Maine are considered to be residents and are subject to tax on their entire income regardless of their physical presence in the state. Maine's tax rate ranges from 2.1 percent to 9.89 percent of taxable income. Forms can be requested by calling 1-800-338-5811 or writing to: Bureau of Taxation, Forms Division, State Office Building, Augusta, ME 04333.

Maryland: Individuals who are domiciled in Maryland are considered to be residents and are subject to tax on their entire income regardless of their physical presence in the state. Maryland's tax rate ranges from 2 percent to 6 percent. An individual is also subject to a county income tax rate which is a percentage of the State income tax liability. For the 1992 tax year, all counties, except Worcester County, charge a 60 percent rate. Worcester County is 20 percent. Forms can be requested by writing to: Income Tax Division, State Office Building, 301 West Preston St., Room 903, Baltimore, MD 21201-2384.

Massachusetts: Individuals who are domiciled in Massachusetts are considered residents and are subject to tax on their entire income regardless of their physical presence in the state. Massachusetts's tax rate ranges from 5.95 percent to 12 percent. Forms can be requested by writing to: Massachusetts Department of Revenue, Service and Supply Section, 100 Cambridge Street, Boston, MA 02204.

Michigan: Individuals who are domiciled in Michigan are considered to be residents and are subject to tax on their entire income regardless of their physical presence in the state. Michigan's tax rate is 4.6 percent. Forms can be requested by writing to: Department of Treasury, Forms Division, Treasury Building, Lansing, Michigan 48922.

Minnesota: Individuals who are domiciled in Minnesota are considered residents and are subject to tax on their entire income regardless of their physical presence in the state. Minnesota's tax rate ranges from 6 percent to 8.5 percent. Forms can be requested by writing to: Department of Revenue, Forms Division, Mail Station 4453, Saint Paul, MN 55146.

Mississippi: Individuals who are domiciled in Mississippi are considered to be residents and are subject to tax on their entire income regardless of their physical presence in the state. Mississippi's tax rate ranges from 3 percent to 5 percent. Forms can be requested by writing to: State Tax Commission, Forms Division, P.O Box 1033, Jackson, MS 39215.

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

Forms can be requested by writing to: Tax Administration Bureau, Forms Division, PO Box 220, Jefferson City, MO 6105-2200.

Montana: Individuals who are domiciled in Montana are considered to be residents and are subject to tax on their entire income regardless of their physical presence in the state. Montana's tax rate ranges from 2 percent to 11 percent. To request forms: Montana Department of Revenue, Income Tax Division, PO Box 5805, Helena, MT 59604.

Nebraska: Individuals who are domiciled in Nebraska are considered to be residents and are subject to tax on their entire income regardless of their physical presence in the state. Nebraska's tax rate ranges from 2.37 percent to 6.92 percent. Forms can be requested by writing to: Department of Revenue, Forms Division, 301 Centennial Mall South, P.O. Box 94818, Lincoln, Nebraska 68509-4818.

Nevada: No state income tax.

New Hampshire: No personal income tax, but tax liability 8 percent on profits from in-state sources, including the sale of property and bonds.

New Jersey: No tax liability for out-of-state income if the individual has no permanent residence in New Jersey, has a permanent residence elsewhere, and is not physically in the state for more than 30 days during the tax year. Filing a return is not required, but is recommended in order to preserve domicile status. Filing is required on Form 1040 NR for revenue derived from in-state sources. Forms may be requested by writing to: Department of the Treasury, Division of Taxation, CN 269, Trenton, NJ 08625-0269.

New Mexico: Individuals who are domiciled in New Mexico are considered residents and are subject to tax on their entire income regardless of their physical presence in the state. New Mexico's tax rate is based upon income and filing status. Please contact the New Mexico Taxation and Revenue Department for further information. Forms can be requested by writing to: State of New Mexico, Taxation and Revenue Department, Taxpayer Services, P.O. Box 630, Santa Fe, New Mexico 87509-0630.

New York: No tax liability for out-of-state income if the individual has no permanent residence in New York, has a permanent residence elsewhere, and is not present in the state more than 30 days during the tax year. Filing a return is not required, but it is recommended to preserve domicile status. Filing is required on Form IT-203-I or IT-203-P for revenue derived from New York sources. Forms can be requested by writing to: Department of Taxation and Finance, Technical Services, W.A. Harriman Campus, Albany, NY 12227.

North Carolina: Individuals who are domiciled in North Carolina are considered residents and are subject to tax on their entire income regardless of their physical presence in the state. North Carolina's tax rate ranges from 6 percent to 7.75 percent of taxable income. Forms can be requested by writ-

ing: Department of Revenue, Taxpayer Services Department, Revenue Building, Raleigh, NC 27640.

North Dakota: Individuals who are domiciled in North Dakota are considered residents and are subject to tax on their entire income regardless of their physical presence in the state. North Dakota's tax rate is 14 percent of taxable income. Forms can be requested by writing to: Office of State Tax Commissioner, State Capitol, Bismarck, North Dakota 58505.

Ohio: Individuals who are domiciled in Ohio are considered residents and are subject to tax on their entire income regardless of their physical presence in the state. Ohio's tax rate ranges from .743 percent to 6.9 percent. For forms, write: Ohio Department of Taxation, P.O. Box 2476, Columbus OH 43266-0076.

Oklahoma: Individuals who are domiciled in Oklahoma are considered residents and are subject to tax on their entire income regardless of their physical presence in the state. Oklahoma's tax rate is based upon income and various exemptions. Please contact the Oklahoma Tax Commission for further information. Forms can be requested by writing to: Oklahoma Tax Commission, Taxpayer Services Division, 2501 Lincoln Blvd., Oklahoma City, OK 73194-0009.

Oregon: No tax liability for out-of-state income if the individual has no permanent residence in the state, has a permanent residence elsewhere, and spends no more than 31 days in the state during the tax year. Filing a return is not required, but it is recommended to preserve domicile status. Forms can be requested by writing to Department of Revenue, Forms Division, 955 Center Street N.E., Salem, Oregon 97310.

Pennsylvania: No tax liability for out-of-state income if the individual has no permanent residence in the state, has a permanent residence elsewhere, and spends no more than 30 days in the state during the tax year. Filing a return is not required, but it is recommended to preserve domicile status. Filing is required on form PA40-NR for all income derived from Pennsylvania sources. Members of the Foreign Service living abroad in government quarters must continue to pay income tax. Pennsylvania's tax rate is 2.95 percent. Forms can be requested by writing to: Commonwealth of Pennsylvania, Department of Revenue, Taxpayer Services Department, Harrisburg, PA 17128-1061.

Rhode Island: Individuals who are domiciled in Rhode Island are considered residents and are subject to tax on their entire income regardless of their physical presence in the state. Rhode Island's tax rate is 27.5 percent of federal income tax liability. Forms can be requested by writing to: Rhode Island Division of Taxation, Taxpayer Services Division, 289 Promenade St., Providence, RI 02908-5801.

South Carolina: Individuals who are domiciled in South Carolina are considered residents and are subject to tax on their entire income regardless of their physical presence in the state. South Carolina's tax rate ranges from 2.5 percent to 7 percent. Forms can be requested by writing to: South Carolina Tax Commission, Forms Division, 301 Gervais Street, P.O. Box 125, Columbia, SC 29214.

South Dakota: No state income tax.

Tennessee: No personal income tax, but tax liability on profits from in-state sources, including the sale of property and bonds. Tennessee's tax rate is 6 percent.

Texas: No state income tax.

Utah: Individuals who are domiciled in Utah are considered residents and are subject to tax on their entire income regardless of their physical presence in the state. Utah's tax rate is 7.2 percent of taxable income. Forms can be requested by writing to: Utah State Tax Commission, Taxpayer Services Division, Heber M. Wells Building, 160 East Third Street, Salt Lake City, Utah 84134-0200.

Vermont: Individuals who are domiciled in Vermont are considered residents and are subject to tax on their entire income regardless of their physical presence in the state. Vermont's tax rate ranges from 28 to 34 percent of federal income tax liability. In addition, there are two surtaxes: a 3 percent surtax on the federal liability between $3,400 and $13,100, and a 6 percent surtax on the federal liability over $13,100. Forms can be requested by writing to: State of Vermont, Department of Taxes, Taxpayer Services Division, Pavilion Office Building, Montpelier, VT 05602.

Virginia: Individuals who are domiciled in Virginia are considered residents and are subject to tax on their entire income regardless of their physical presence in the state. Virginia's tax rate ranges from 2 percent to 5.75 percent of taxable income. Forms can be requested by writing to: Virginia Department of Taxation, Taxpayer Services Division, P.O. Box 1115, Richmond, VA 23208.

Washington: No state income tax.

West Virginia: No tax liability for out-of-state income if the individual has no permanent residence in West Virginia, has a permanent residence elsewhere, and spends no more than 30 days of the tax year in West Virginia. Filing a return is not required, but it is recommended to preserve domicile status. Filing is required on form IT-140-NR for all income derived from West Virginia sources. Forms can be requested by writing to: The Department of Tax and Revenue, Taxpayer Services Division, P.O. Box 3784, Charleston, WV 25337.

Wisconsin: Individuals domiciled in Wisconsin are considered residents and are subject to tax on their entire income regardless of their physical presence in the state. Wisconsin's tax rate ranges from 4.9 percent to 6.93 percent. Forms can be requested by writing to: Department of Revenue, Taxpayer Services Division, 125 South Webster Street, P.O. Box 8933, Madison, Wisconsin 53708.

Wyoming: No state income tax.

State pension & annuity tax

The laws regarding the taxation of Foreign Service annuities vary greatly from state to state. In addition to the 10 states that have no income tax or no tax on personal income, there are several states that do not tax income derived from pensions and annuities. There are three states—Iowa, Kansas and North

Dakota—that tax Foreign Service annuities while exempting those of the Civil Service. In addition, there are three states—Arizona, Idaho, and Oklahoma—that have provisions exempting certain amounts of Civil Service annuities. It is unclear from the information available to AFSA whether the exemption pertains to Foreign Service annuities as well.

In response to the U.S. Supreme Court's decision in *Davis v. Michigan Department of the Treasury*, annuitants in a number of states are challenging unequal taxation of state versus federal annuities. In this precedent-setting decision, the court ruled that the policy of the state of Michigan to exempt from taxation the annuities of retired state of Michigan and local government employees while taxing the annuities of retired federal employees residing in Michigan discriminates against federal annuitants and is therefore unconstitutional. Because many states have similar practices regarding the treatment of annuitant income, individuals and groups are currently involved in litigation in order to compel their states of residence to comply with *Davis v. Michigan.* See the list of states for updates on litigation.

In particular, retired AFSA members in Arizona have banded together with other federal annuitants to pursue a class action suit against the Arizona Department of Revenue. Interested parties are encouraged to contact: Brian Luscher, Bonn & Jensen, 805 North Second Street, Phoenix, AZ 85004, (602) 254-5557.

All other states tax Foreign and Civil Service annuities and pensions to varying degrees. The following information is current but does not reflect changes that may result from current legal action in various states in response to *Davis v. Michigan.*

Alabama: As of January 1, 1990, the United States Foreign Service Retirement and Disability Fund Annuities are not taxable.

Alaska: No personal income tax.

Arizona: All annuity pensions are taxable. Federal, State and local Arizona localities receive a $2,500 exemption.

Arkansas: Up to $6,000 exempt.

California: Fully taxable.

Colorado: Up to $20,000 exempt, only if 55 or older.

Connecticut: Fully taxable.

Delaware: Two exclusions: (1) Up to $2,000 exempt if earned income is less than $2,500 and Adjusted Gross Income is less than $10,000; if married and filing jointly, up to $4,000 exempt if earned income is less than $5,000 and AGI is under $20,000. This exclusion is applicable if 60 years or older or totally disabled. (2) Amounts received as pension exempted up to $2,000 if under 60 and up to $3,000 if over 60.

District of Columbia: $3,000 exempt only if the taxpayer is 62 years or older.

Florida: No personal income tax.

Georgia: $10,000 exempt for those 62 years or older or permanently or totally disabled.

Hawaii: Full exemption.

Idaho: Up to $11,700 exempt for a single return; up to $17,544 if filing jointly. Up to $9394 exempt for unmarried survivor of annuitant. Must be 65 years or older, or 63 years or older and disabled. Amount reduced dollar for dollar by social security benefits. However, it is not clear whether this exclusion pertains to Foreign Service annuities. See above paragraphs for further information.

Illinois: Full exemption.

Indiana: $2,000 exemption for most 62 or older, reduced dollar for dollar by social security benefits.

Iowa: Fully taxable.

Kansas: Full exemption.

Kentucky: Full exemption.

Louisiana: Full exemption. May exclude up to $6,000 for single, $12,000 for married filing jointly, only if 65 years or older.

Maine: Fully taxable.

Maryland: For individuals 65 years or older or permanently disabled, pensions and annuities are excluded up to $12,300 using the following formula: The total amount of social security benefits received is subtracted from $12,300. The remaining amount is exempted.

Massachusetts: Full exemption.

Michigan: Full exemption for Civil Service annuities. See above for discussion of U.S. Supreme Court decision in *Davis v. Michigan.* Foreign Service annuities may exclude $7,500 when filing single and $10,000 when filing jointly.

Minnesota: Individuals 65 and older or permanently disabled may obtain an exclusion of certain income by filling out a Subtraction for the Elderly form. Whether an individual qualifies for an exclusion depends on several criteria, including amount of income, amount of social security benefits received, and the amount of the pension. An individual must fill out this form to determine if he or she qualifies.

Mississippi: Up to $6,000 of annuity may be excluded.

Missouri: Fully taxable.

Montana: Fully taxable. Up to $3,600 exemption if Federal AGI does not exceed $31,800.

Nebraska: Fully taxable.

Nevada: No personal income tax.

New Hampshire: No personal income tax.

New Jersey: In general, pensions and annuities are subject to the New Jersey income tax with the following exemptions for individuals who are 62 years or older, or totally and permanently disabled, to exclude all or a portion of their pension income as follows: singles can exclude up to $7,500; married filing jointly can exclude up to $10,000; and a married couple filing separately can exclude up to $5,000 each.

New Mexico: Up to $3,000 is exempt.

New York: Full exemption for individuals over 59 1/2 years.

North Carolina: Up to $4,000 may be excluded.

North Dakota: Specifically exempts Civil Service, but not Foreign Service annuities. Foreign Service annuities are fully taxable. If individuals use Form 37 there is an exclusion of up to $5,000.

Ohio: Gives a tax credit based on the amount of the retirement annuity. If the annuity is below $500 then there is no credit. Annuity of $500-1,499 merits a $25 credit; $1,500-$2,999 merits $50 credit; $3,000-$4,999 merits $80

credit; $5000-$7,999 merits $130 credit; and any annuity over $8,000 merits a credit of $200. The maximum credit per return is $200.

Oklahoma: $5,500 excluded. However, it is not clear whether this exemption pertains to Foreign Service annuities. See above paragraph for further discussion.

Oregon: $5,000 exemption for those who are 62 years or older. It is phased out for annuities over $30,000.

Pennsylvania: Full exemption.

Rhode Island: Fully taxable.

South Carolina: Up to $3,000 may be excluded.

South Dakota: No personal income tax.

Tennessee: Full exemption.

Texas: No personal income tax.

Utah: $7,500 exemption.

Vermont: Fully taxable.

Virginia: $12,000 plus $800 personal exemption is exempted (excluding social security) for individuals over 65. $6,000 is exempted (excluding social security) for people 62-65. There is no exemption for annuities for taxpayers under 62 years of age.

Washington: No personal income tax.

West Virginia: There is an $8,000 exclusion for income from any source for those 65 years or older.

Wisconsin: All amounts received from a U.S. Government retirement system which are paid on the account of a person who was a member of, or who was retired from, the system as of December 31, 1963 are exempt from Wisconsin income tax. All other pensions and annuities are fully taxable.

Wyoming: No personal income tax.

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Martin Ackerman
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Certified Public Accountant

P. O. Box 1144
Vienna, Virginia 22183
Metro (703) 242-8559

Res: 1116 Moorefield Creek Road
Vienna, VA 22180

(703) 242-8093
FAX (703) 242-8535

(703) 938-0074

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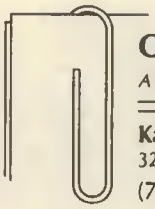

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afsa news

AFSA opens USIA office

by Lauren Hale
USIA Representative

AFSA has opened a new office in room 368 of USIA's main building. Deborah Leahy, who has three years experience with AFSA Member Services and is an expert on grievances, will run the office at USIA. Greg Lagana is leading negotiations with USIA management for the framework agreement, which outlines the ground rules and arrangements of the AFSA/USIA relationship.

AFSA's new official status at USIA enabled AFSA President Bill Kirby and members of the AFSA standing committee to meet in December with representatives of the USIA transition team. The group discussed USIA's role in overseas missions and in the Washington foreign affairs community, AFSA's view that political appointees should have foreign affairs experience, the need to reverse the decline in positions and resources overseas, and USIA's role in democracy building and international broadcasting.

USIA's election victory party was held December 15 at the Capital Holiday Inn following certification of the election results. USIA Vice President Bud Hensgen told AFSA members, supporters, and agency officials that the election campaign had brought about "an awakening among many of USIA's Foreign Service people that, through organization and work, we can and must have an impact on the structure and programs of USIA and on the course of America's public diplomacy."

He reviewed the positions the USIA AFSA standing committee has taken on issues affecting USIA's mission. The committee has called for USIA to have the lead role in U.S. government democratic initiatives and its own budget for democracy-building programs. AFSA is also on record opposing continued funding for TV Marti and firmly supporting the Voice of America.

Turning to more traditional union issues, Hensgen then addressed the increasing difficulty of life overseas. "Our Foreign Service people find themselves working longer hours with smaller staffs, their operations budgets and ability to work effectively cut, their spouses unable to find work, their housing smaller and unattractive compared to other countries missions and private business."

Now that AFSA has won the election, it can discuss issues such as these, both professional and bread-and-butter, with management.

Also in December, Bruce Wharton and Janet Hedrick organized an AFSA lunch for the new class of USIA Foreign Service generalists. Caroline Meirs Osterling discussed housing issues with the group. Other standing committee members briefed them on professional issues. It was the first such lunch AFSA had given as the official union of the USIA Foreign Service.

Secretary Eagleburger marks Reserve Corps inauguration

Top: Secretary Lawrence Eagleburger accepts letter certifying him as a foreign affairs reservist from Director General Genta Hawkins Holmes as AFSA President Bill Kirby and Retiree Vice President Charles Schmitz look on. Bottom: Scenes from the ceremony in the secretary's office. **(See story on page 2.)** **Photos by Tina**

AFSA negotiates concessions

AFSA has obtained two important concessions from management with respect to property management regulations (6FAM220). First, the regulations governing the use and control of official vehicles have been extensively revised. As proposed, they could have been interpreted as not permitting any duty personnel other than on-call communicators and security officers to use official transport outside normal duty hours. The revised regulations make clear that, with written approval from the chief of mission, all on-call duty personnel will be able to utilize official transport if local conditions require it.

Second, restrictions on purchasing items in property sales will now only be placed on those individuals who initiate, authorize, or directly control the sale of U.S. property (i.e., property management officers, accountable property officers, property disposal officers and those who are responsible for designating items for sale). Originally, the rules as proposed could have prohibited all members of the Administrative Section (particularly at small posts) from purchasing items in property sales.

Speakers Bureau off to strong start

by Gilbert D. Kulick
Outreach Director

In the Speakers Bureau's first three months of operation, AFSA speakers addressed more than two dozen audiences from Boston to Phoenix and Milwaukee to Orlando. Some speakers spoke to single events only, while others went on extended speaking tours.

A number of our speakers addressed commemorations of United Nations Day. Retired Ambassador Richard Petree gave the keynote address at the official Arizona state celebration of UN Day in Phoenix on October 23. On the same five-day tour he spoke on UN-related issues and about Japan to World Affairs Council and university audiences in St. Louis and Lincoln, Nebraska.

In November, retired ambassador Horace Dawson addressed a symposium on South Africa in Durham, North Carolina, followed by talks about Foreign Service careers with students at several historically black colleges in North and South Carolina. Ambassador Dawson is president of the Association of Black American Ambassadors, with which AFSA coordinates its minority-recruitment efforts.

While the preponderance of those who have signed up for the Speakers Bureau are Foreign Service alumni, a number of active-duty AFSA members have also volunteered. In December, FSO Michael Hornblow, currently DCM in Warsaw, gave several days of his home leave to speak to college students and local journalists in his wife's home town of Galesburg, Illinois; to the Kiwanis Club of Kitty Hawk, North Carolina; and the World Affairs Council of Norfolk, Virginia.

We are indebted to all the AFSA members who have contributed their time and talents to getting the Speakers Bureau off to such a strong start. In early 1993, AFSA speakers are scheduled to address audiences in 25 cities.

Many of our alumni are already doing a great deal of speaking on their own to World Affairs Councils and other community groups all around the country. The Speakers Bureau would benefit greatly from knowing of such engagements so that we could "piggyback" additional programs on AFSA's behalf in the same regions. If you are planning such appearances and are willing to add a program or two on AFSA's behalf, please contact AFSA's Speakers Bureau. We will take it from there.

Reserve Corps inaugurated

On January 11, Secretary of State Lawrence Eagleburger, with AFSA President Bill Kirby and Retiree Vice President Charles Schmitz looking on, accepted a letter from Director General Genta Hawkins Holmes certifying him as a foreign affairs reservist. Long a supporter of AFSA's efforts to establish a Foreign Affairs Reserve Corps, Eagleburger had said that he wanted to see the corps established before he left office, and he was clearly pleased to participate in its ceremonial inauguration by becoming one of its first members. President Kirby thanked the secretary on behalf of AFSA for the cooperation between the association and the department, which led to the creation of the corps. He pointed out that the corps is important both to the department and to retirees.

Following the presentation, the director general told assembled AFSA board and retiree committee members that she has set out to "institutionalize things which make sense" in the department, and the corps is one of those. Chuck Schmitz called the Reserve Corps a highly efficient way for American diplomacy to repond as effectively as the military in time of crisis and a "golden opportunity" for those who have graduated from their Foreign Service careers to continue their commitment to public service.

AFSA's commitment to seeing the Reserve Corps expanded to other foreign affairs agencies was underscored by the presence of AFSA's USIA and USAID vice presidents and committee members at the ceremony marking the launching of the corps.

New dues structure for AFSA membership

Grade	Dues	Bi-weekly allotment
FE-CA, FE-CM, FE-MC, FE-OC	$188	$7.25
FS-1, FS-2, FS-3	$165	$6.35
FS-4, FS-5, FS-6	$125	$4.80
FS-7, FS-8, FS-9	$85	$3.25
Retired members		
Annuity over $35k	$62	
Annuity between $25k-35k	$55	
Annuity under $25k	$45	

Life Membership for retirees: $1,000; for active members: $1,500.
Associate Members: $50.

Scholarships honor groups

by Michael Dailey
Coordinator for Scholarships

AFSA has been awarding named scholarships, recognizing people in the Foreign Service community, for the last 60 years through the AFSA Scholarship Programs.

Beginning in 1968, AFSA established three named scholarships honoring those who died while in the service of their country: the Vietnam Memorial Scholarship, the Adolph Dubs Memorial Scholarship, and the Beirut Memorial Scholarship.

The Vietnam Memorial Scholarship was established in 1968 to honor civilian employees of the U.S. government who lost their lives in Vietnam and is given to students whose Foreign Service parent served in Vietnam.

The second of these AFSA scholarships, the Adolph Dubs Extraordinary Service Memorial Scholarship, honors Ambassador Dubs, who was killed by terrorists in Afghanistan in 1979. In the same year, the American Embassy in Tehran was stormed, leading to the Iranian hostage crisis. AFSA decided that the Dubs Memorial Scholarship should include recognition of those who were held captive in Tehran for 444 days. This scholarship therefore honors the memory of all those who have performed extraordinary service and suffered hardships in performing their Foreign Service duties.

AFSA's Adolph Dubs Memorial Scholarship is given to those students whose Foreign Service parent served under conditions of unusual danger with preference given to those who have had a family assignment to either Afghanistan or Iran.

The Beirut Memorial Scholarship was established to honor the memory of those Americans who died in the Beirut Embassy bombing of 1983. This scholarship is given to those students whose Foreign Service family experienced hardship as a result of the Beirut Embassy bombing or a similar tragedy.

One way of showing appreciation for these families is by making a contribution to the Scholarship Fund, designating that the gift be used toward one of these memorial scholarships. When sending a donation, please specify if you wish your contribution to be added to a named scholarship.

AFSA's 1993 Retiree Directory

AFSA's 1993 Retiree Directory (provided free to retired members) is now available to others who wish to stay in contact with their retired colleagues. The directory costs $7.50, including postage and handling. To obtain a copy, send a check to: Directory, AFSA, 2101 E Street N.W., Washington, DC 20037. **Use of the directory for commercial purposes is strictly prohibited.*

Disability insurance adds benefits

The AFSA disability plan now offers up to $1,500 in monthly benefits with easy acceptance. This low-cost plan is one of the many benefits available through AFSA membership.

All AFSA members and/or their spouses may apply with simplified acceptance procedures if they are under age 60, have been actively working full-time (at least 30 hours per week) for the past 90 days, and have not been hospitalized in the past six months.

Those insured will receive a monthly benefit of $1,500 for up to five years when disabled by a covered accident and up to one full year when disabled by a covered illness. Payments start on the 31st day of disability to tie in with any sick leave pay that might be received from an employer.

This coverage pays benefits over and above those from any other insurance, including Social Security, Workers' Compensation, Federal Employees Health Benefits Plan, and any other group plans. If for any reason an insured person is not completely satisfied with the policy, it may be returned within 30 days for a complete refund.

The AFSA Group Disability Income Plan is extremely economical, due to the mass purchasing power of the AFSA membership. And, according to IRS ruling, all benefits are totally free from taxation.

The special guaranteed acceptance offer will end June 1, 1993 so act promptly when you receive information on this plan.

For more information on the AFSA Group Disability Income Plan, please contact the Insurance Administrator: Albert H. Wohlers & Co., AFSA Group Insurance Plans, 1440 N. Northwest Highway, Park Ridge, Illinois 60068-1400. Or call 1-800-323-2106.

news*briefs*

Shipping Survey: New packing and shipping procedures devised by the department went into effect on November 1, 1992. The department has assured AFSA that the new procedures will be indistinguishable from the old, except that more than one shipping company is likely to be involved in a move. AFSA has devised a questionnaire to be filled out by all recent arrivals at posts in the 19 countries for which the International Through Government Bill of Lading (ITGBL) system is under trial. If you have arrived at such a post since November 1, 1992 and have not had the opportunity to complete a questionnaire, please obtain one from your AFSA representative or administrative officer, or contact AFSA's Member Services Department at (202) 647-8160.

Member Services Changes: Deborah Leahy, of AFSA's Member Services Office, is opening the AFSA office at USIA. Deborah will continue to provide advice on tax concerns, as well as on a range of other matters. AFSA's Labor Management Office in the State Department welcomes Derek Terrell, who has joined us as a member services representative and grievance counselor, after working for AFSA for two years in others capacities.

1993 Election of AFSA Officers & Constituency Representatives

This election call, issued in accordance with Article VII(2)(a) of the AFSA bylaws, constitutes a formal notice to all AFSA members of the opportunity to participate in nomination and election of a new governing board. All of the officer and representative positions listed below are for two-year terms beginning July 15, 1993.

A. Positions to be filled

1. The officer positions to be filled in this election are:
   - President
   - Vice President for State
   - Vice President for USAID.
   - Vice President for USIA
   - Vice President for Retirees
   - Secretary
   - Treasurer

2. The constituency representative positions to be filled in this election are:
   - State Department representatives (five positions)
   - USAID representatives (two positions)
   - USIA representative (one position)
   - Commerce representative (one position)
   - Agriculture representative (one position)
   - Retired member representatives (four positions)

Article V(4) of the AFSA bylaws authorizes a constituency vice president for each constituency with a minimum of 100 members and one constituency representative position for every 1,000 members or fraction thereof. The calculation of the number of constituency vice president and representative positions to be filled in this election is based upon the membership rolls as of December 31, 1992.

B. Nomination procedures

1. Any AFSA member in good standing (i.e., a member whose dues are automatically deducted or who has paid dues through February 1993) may submit names (including his or her own name) in nomination for any or all of the above-mentioned positions for which the nominee is eligible. No member may nominate more than one person for each officer position or more than the number of representatives established for each constituency. No member's name may appear on the ballot for more than one position.

2. In order to be nominated, a person must likewise be a member in good standing. (The bylaws require that a "candidate" be a member through June 1993.) If a member is nominated who is not on automatic dues deduction and has paid dues through February 28, 1993 but has not paid through June 30, 1993, that member will be contacted and advised that he or she must pay dues through June 30 in order to be a candidate.

3. Management officials and confidential employees cannot be nominated for positions on the governing board, nor may they make or support nominations or serve on nominating committees.

4. Nominations may be submitted individually or in slates. Slate designations will be noted on the ballot.

5. All nominations must be submitted in writing or by cable. All written nominations must be addressed to the AFSA Elections Committee, P.O. Box 42668, Washington, DC 20015. To be valid, they must, without exception, be received at this address no later than 12 noon on March 5, 1993. Members overseas can send "AFSA channel" cables marked for delivery to the AFSA Elections Committee. They must be received in the department's Communications Center within the same time limit. Alternatively, nominations can be hand-delivered to a committee member who will be in the AFSA office, Room 3644, Department of State, from 11 a.m. to 12 noon on March 5.

6. A nominee can indicate his or her acceptance of a nomination by appending a letter to the letter of nomination or by appropriate notation on that letter. Otherwise, an authorized representative of the Elections Committee will communicate with each nominee (including members who nominate themselves) as quickly as possible after the receipt of each nomination to determine whether the nominee wishes to be a candidate. Any member who so accepts the nomination must confirm his or her acceptance in writing, with this confirmation addressed to the AFSA Elections Committee at the above address, to be received no later than 12 noon on March 12, 1993. Members overseas can send an "AFSA channel" message accepting nomination, which must be received in the Department's Communications Center within the same time limit. Any nominee whose written acceptance of nomination has not been received by the Elections Committee by the above time limit will be considered to have declined candidacy.

C. Election campaign

1. All candidates nominated under the procedure outlined above will be given the opportunity to submit brief biographies and campaign statements for dissemination to the AFSA membership in the May issue of the *Foreign Service Journal* in "AFSA News." Further information regarding such statements and *Foreign Service Journal* editorial deadlines will be contained in the "Instructions to Candidates," which will be issued by the Elections Committee on or before March 5, 1993.

2. The AFSA bylaws provide that, should candidates wish to mail supplementary statements to the membership, the association will make available to them on request, and at their expense, the membership mailing list or address labels. Further details on this and such other services as the Elections Committee may be able to provide candidates will be included in the "Instructions to Candidates."

D. Voting

Ballots will be distributed on or about May 15, 1993 to each person who is an AFSA member as of April 30, 1993. Candidates or their observers may observe the ballot distribution process if they so desire. Each member may cast one vote for President, Secretary, Treasurer, and constituency Vice President if the member's constituency has one and, in addition, one vote for each representative position in the member's constituency. Votes may be cast by voting for candidates listed on the official ballot, or by writing in the name(s) of member(s) eligible as of June 30, 1993, or by doing both. To be valid, a ballot must be received by the Elections Committee no later than 12 noon Friday, June 30, 1993 at the address indicated on the envelope accompanying the ballot. More detailed balloting instructions will accompany the ballots.

E. Vote counting & results announcement

On or about July 1, 1993, the Elections Committee will count the ballots and declare elected the candidate receiving the greatest number of votes for each position. Candidates or their representatives may be present during the tally and may challenge the validity of any vote or the eligibility of any voter. The committee will inform candidates individually of the elections results by the swiftest possible means and will publish the names of all elected candidates in the next issue of the *Foreign Service Journal*. The elected candidates will take office on July 15, 1993, as provided in the bylaws.

F. Questions, suggestions, or complaints

At any time following the publication of this election call through September 15, 1993, any member may file a written question, suggestion, or complaint concerning the conduct of the 1993 election. Such question, suggestion, or complaint should be addressed to the AFSA Elections Committee, P.O. Box 42668, Washington, DC 20015.

1992 Legislative Action Fund Contributors (con't)

Burt Behrens
Helen E. Beko
Marianne C. Bel
Leila S. Belaval
Genevieve Scott Bell
Igor N. Belousovitch
William Belton
Robert A. Benedict
Helen Bertot
Gordon Beyer
Paul A. Bialecki
Peter P. Bielak
Marie E. Bierau
Vernon E. Bishop
James J. Blake
Robert O. Blake, Jr.
Slator Blackiston, Jr.
William D. Blair, Jr.
John Blane
Robert R. Bliss
V. H. Blocker
Peter Bloom
Richard J. Bloomfield
Evelyn Blue
William Bodde, Jr.
Leslie M. Boggs
Richard W. Bogosian
Deborah Bolton
Richard T. Booth
Charles A. Cariddi
Jack M. Carle
C. Carpenter-Yaman
Charles C. Carson
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Hubert E. Carver
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Barbara N. Cicerelle
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Robert W. Day
Ceslie Dean
Rose Marie Deep
Alice Dekang
Velia DePirro
James A. Derrick
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Richard F. Dienelt
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Buddy K. Dodson
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Arthur R. Dornheim
Leon G. Dorros
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Morris Draper
Margaret Clark Dray
Richard Driscoll
Chloe Z. Duckett
R. W. Duemling
Edwin M. Duerbeck
Jolke Y. Duffield
Dorothy J. Dugan
Gilda R. Duly
Barkley Ford
William J. Ford
William N. Fraleigh
E. D. Frankhouser
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Fulton Freeman
George Freimarck
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Daniel Garcia
Frank V. Gardner
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Who In The World

t widely syndicated political cartoonist in the world
his choice of the people
ly to shape 1993:

this is a special limited edition for
Cartoonews International
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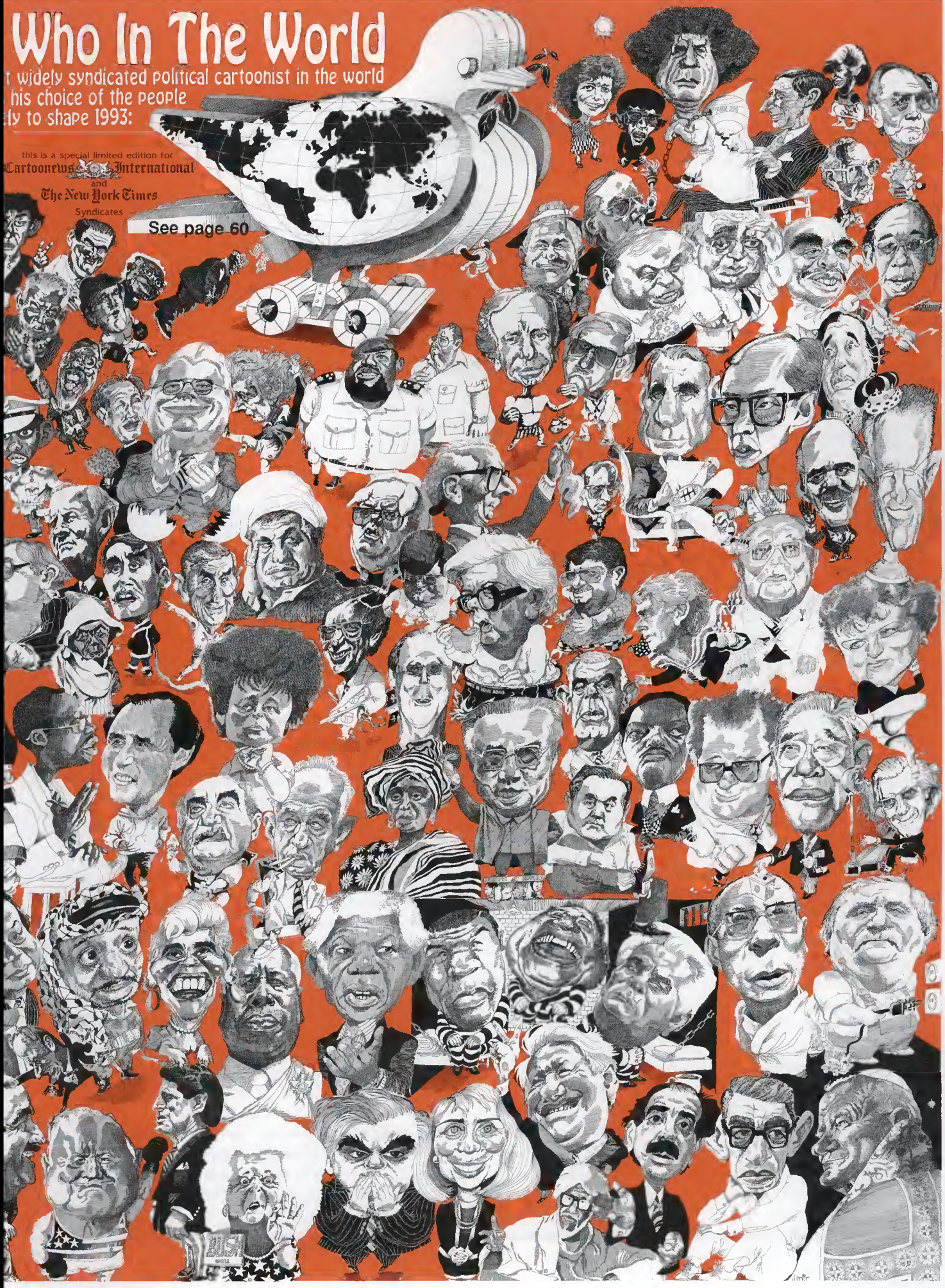
Syndicates

See page 60



continued from page 28

a fellow revolutionary. Unconvinced, he was persuaded to meet with Mengistu, "the Abyssinian wolf in sheep's clothing," as he told the Russians at Aden on March 17, 1977. Fidel Castro chaired the meeting and told Siad socialist solidarity must prevail over the cause of national liberation. Siad gloomily agreed in principle and no more. The farce was over. No one had asked who the real imposter was.

Switching patrons

Siad put out feelers to Washington, London, and Paris asking the West to consider helping Somalia meet its "defensive needs." All agreed, but, like President Carter, only in principle and no more, yet Siad was persuaded he had the card to play in forcing Moscow to withhold military support for Ethiopia or, if Moscow refused, to bring on Mengistu's collapse before massive Soviet military intervention could save him. If the Soviets opted out of Somalia, he might retain his Ogaden victory with Western arms and political support; if not, a political settlement might be negotiated under Moscow's auspices. Already clandestinely supporting two liberation fronts of 8,000 to 12,000 men in the Ogaden, on July 21, 1977 he secretly infiltrated his army into Ethiopia under the National Liberation Front banner. Within days he'd overrun the Ogaden.

The U.S. military aid finally given to Somalia during the 1980s was modest and limited. From 1980-88, only 30 percent or $6.4 million annually included light defensive weaponry.

The deception was short-lived. On July 23, three days after the U.S. decision to give Somalia defensive arms was made public, National Security Agency intercepts of Somali Army radio transmissions suggested Somali regular army units were now in the Ogaden. By August 18, the presence was confirmed; Under Secretary Philip Habib told the Somali ambassador defensive military aid was out of the question. With the Ethiopian Army in retreat and Siad still refusing to admit to the presence of Somali Army units in Ethiopia, on August 28 he flew to Moscow to present his case to the Russians. He failed. During the two following days he was told repeatedly by Gromyko, Kosygin, and Suslov to remove his troops from Ethiopia.

By September Somali Army units had overrun 97 percent of the Ogaden but could go no further: Cuban maneuver troops had reinforced the Ethiopian garrisons. Siad procrastinated and so did the Russians, still maintaining their military presence in Somalia. Daring in promise but clumsily conservative in action, the Soviets weren't yet certain whether to gamble their assets in Somalia for an uncertain future in a disintegrating Ethiopia. Siad decided for them. On November 13, 1977, he denounced the Soviet-Somali Friendship Treaty, expelled the Russian military and most of the embassy, and broke relations with Cuba. The Soviet Union quickly mounted a massive air and sea lift to rescue Ethiopia and brought in the arms and Russian advisers Mengistu needed to restore his southern front. For all practical purposes, the war was over, although the shattered Somali troops wouldn't fully withdraw from Ethiopia until the following spring.

Even then, no American military aid was given Somalia. Despite Siad's pleas and his repeated warnings of an imminent Soviet-supported Ethiopian invasion, none would follow during the remaining years of the Carter Administration. The U.S. military aid finally given to Somalia during the 1980s was modest and limited. From 1980-88, only 30 percent or $6.4 million annually included light defensive weaponry. Somalia received about $1.8 billion in multilateral and U.S. bilateral aid alone in the 1980s—but that's not what we now remember.

Rebels in defeat

The 1977-78 Ogaden defeat effectively smashed the clan coalition Siad had successfully presided over for eight years and brought on the fragmentation that followed. There were few Somali clans or sub-clans that didn't participate in the early Ogaden successes, few Somalis who didn't rejoice in them. Somalis in victory, they'd become rebels in defeat, first the rebellious Mijertain dissidents of the Somali Salvation Front (SSF) who were soon joined by an aroused Somali National Movement (SMN), created by northern Isaaqs in London in 1961 but largely quiescent until then. In 1981 the Somali Salvation Democratic Front was formed. By 1989 the Hawiya clan surrounding Mogadishu, inactive but restive, joined in the civil disorder. Siad met the rebels with greater and greater repression, earning the despotic reputation he'll now carry to the grave. That wasn't quite the view of the Somali man-in-the-street in August and September of 1977.

Who's responsible? Was Siad a creation of the Cold War or its victim? Was Somalia? History is more ambiguous, and perhaps it's enough to say we were all its victims. In the meantime Somalia remains Somalia, as tireless as ever in blaming others for its abject condition.

The United States may have a humanitarian responsibility to aid the Somali people but not because it brought Somalia to its recent condition or because Siad was its creation. The next door neighbors, of course, peeping out uneasily from behind the old colonial borders, would say he was just another troublemaking Somali. ■

S.J. Hamrick served twice in Somalia in the 1970s as deputy chief of mission and charge d'affaires. His novel about Somalia and Ethiopia is entitled **The Lion and the Jackal** ***His latest novel, to be published by Henry Holt in Autumn as W.T. Tyler, is entitled*** **Last Train from Berlin.**

Seeking a Solution

BY JONATHAN STEVENSON

By sponsoring a series of meetings, U.S. Special Representative Robert Oakley has brought together the two rivals—Ali Mahdi Mohammed and General Mohammed Farah Aideed—who divided Mogadishu into northern and southern halves and destroyed the city's infrastructure in the process. Each man still claims leadership of the United Somali Congress, but they have reached a seven-point agreement under which they promise gradually to demilitarize and reunify the capital.

Oakley sees the American role as one of strict neutrality. Oakley will facilitate and cajole but refuses to function as a "negotiator, arbiter, or enforcer." Imposing an overarching political structure on the Somalis, he says, "won't work. It would take a very brave and foolish man to predict what the final political structure of Somalia will be. The clan structure is almost impossible for a foreigner to understand."

Clans are the main organizing units of Somali society, claiming a higher allegiance than either nation or religion. They consist of vast genealogical networks that supposedly originated from single patriarchs generations ago. With succeeding generations, branches or subclans developed. By tradition, the clans competed for some central stake—grazing land or livestock—and through contained skirmishes reached territorial and material equilibrium. Siad Barre distorted the rough balance of power by economically and politically favoring his own clan. After years of oppression, the other clans and subclans rebelled and stayed united long enough to oust Siad Barre. Then, instead of simply returning to their territories, they started to vie for Siad Barre's power base. They haven't stopped. According to one prominent Somali businessman, "Siad Barre still controls the psychology of this country. All of the clans want what his clan had."

Oakley sees the effort to gain preferential treatment by the United States, rather than dialogue with other Somalis, as the prime obstructor of political progress in Somalia.

Most Somalis in positions of power still cannot accept the idea of a clan-neutral, egalitarian polity, and they look to the United States for partisan support. Oakley suggests that Aideed and Ali Mahdi are trying to win his favor and the backing of the United States. (Aideed himself apparently circulated a rumor that President Bush came to Somalia to discuss plans for the formation of a provisional government headed by Aideed.) Oakley discourages these attitudes. "It is a misimpression," he says, "that the United States would support a reunified USC against all other political factions." Oakley sees the effort to gain preferential treatment by the United States, rather than dialogue with other Somalis, as the prime obstructor of political progress in Somalia. "I'm sure many Somalis will be let down [by the U.S. diplomatic activities], particularly those who believe that using Somali tactics will get us on their side," he says.

Given the Somalis' Byzantine social structure and traditions of vengefulness, in Oakley's view, his merely hosting discussions between factional leaders constitutes an advance in political discourse that Somalis had been unable to achieve for the 23 years since Mohammed Siad Barre took power. During his tenure, the secret police suppressed all interaction between clans that competed with Siad Barre's. Although Aideed drove Siad Barre from the country over a year ago, his friendly meetings with Ali Mahdi are perhaps the first sign that rule by Barre's political successors could be different. And Oakley's efforts have had some palpable consequences—Aideed and Ali Mahdi have impounded some of the "technicals" (gun-mounted vehicles) in isolated areas of Mogadishu, where they will be watched by coalition forces.

These results certainly do bode well for the political reconciliation of the dozen or so viable Somali political groups, which met in Addis Ababa on January 4 under UN auspices and scheduled a national reconciliation meeting for March 15. But Oakley is quick to point out that whatever diplomatic advances he has made are simply "ancillary benefits" of his efforts to support the humanitarian relief effort of Operation Restore Hope. For example, he is encouraging Somali political leaders to reconstitute a national police force. His principal objective is to get the Somalis involved in helping the American and coalition forces to create a stable and secure relief environment—the mission of Operation Restore Hope. The secondary aim is to ease the transfer of control from the primarily American "peacekeeping" force and later from UN control to Somali authorities. If a resurrected police force ultimately leads to a new civil government, says Oakley, "that's fine, but it is a Somali phenomenon we are not trying to determine." The outright promotion of democracy in Somalia, he contends, "would be premature."

The Addis conference produced little substance; the strongest evidence is in Kismayu, Somalia's dangerous southern port. On December 20, a U.S. diplomatic source indicated that the impending American and Belgian landing in Kismayu had been discussed and cleared with the local strongman, Colonel Omar Jess, a loose ally of Aideed's. The source said that Jess was "shrewd enough to cooperate demonstratively," and that "Colonel Jess is on his best behavior. Let's hope it continues." The landing did go smoothly, but it became apparent that Jess probably had ordered the mass execution of up to 200 men from an opposing clan because they had been agitating against the USC. The political group Jess had targeted was the Somali Salvation Democratic Front, which controls the northeast portion of the country and wields more power than any faction other than Aideed's. While this act did not amount to spurning U.S. authority, it shows that no outside entity, however powerful or prestigious, can tame Somali vindictiveness. Only Somalis can. "We're encouraging them to solve their bloody disputes," says Oakley. His dilemma is that Colonel Jess thinks that's exactly what he's doing. ■

Jonathan Stevenson is a freelance journalist based in Nairobi.

THE HILLARY SYNDROME

How the ambassador's

BY ALENE H. GELBARD

MICHAEL CRAMPTON

wife can have a life, too

"The ambassador's wife in Bolivia works, but she knows what she's doing."

This comment, made about me three years ago, was meant as a compliment. To me, though, it was a sad commentary on the role and image of an ambassador's wife.

As the debate about Hillary Clinton illustrates, Americans are still ambivalent about whether the wife of a highly visible public official can or should pursue interests unconnected to her husband's role. Some even question whether high standards will be applied to the wife of a prominent man who chooses to work. Women are expected to be supportive partners first and foremost, and so outside activities are viewed with suspicion. (Many husbands of women in high-profile positions experience the same problems, but the men are not generally expected also to take on the supporting role.)

During the last 20 years, the Foreign Service has increasingly supported spouses who want to work, in large part due to the 1972 directive that declared wives to be, in the government's eyes, independent beings. But not all spouses have reaped the benefits of this change in attitudes: the wives of senior officials are implicitly expected to assume supportive responsibilities that make it difficult to find the time, if not the independence, to pursue other interests.

I was an ambassador's wife for three years; I have been a Foreign Service spouse for nearly 25 years. Throughout that time, I have pursued an interesting and rewarding career as a demographer and enjoyed relative independence in the process. In fact, I developed an interest in demography as a result of being a Foreign Service spouse. I knew it would be challenging to continue pursuing my professional interests while accompanying my ambassador-husband overseas, but I did not anticipate how difficult it would be. I did not fully anticipate the loss of identity that came with being "the wife of," the loss of control over my own time and independence, the pressure to carry out traditional functions associated with the position, and the confusion surrounding the role.

'Nebulous in character'

There is still confusion about the role of spouses of senior officials in the Foreign Service, and their image is often more negative than positive. When someone is nominated ambassador in our diplomatic service, the spouse is given a notebook that includes a definition of the "senior spouse" role: "The role of the senior spouse *exists,* despite the fact that it is not recognized officially. . . The problem with defining the role is that it is nebulous in character and depends greatly upon many qualifying factors: the ambassador's particular 'style' at post and attitude toward his spouse's role, the spouse's own sense of responsibility toward the Foreign Service as well as to

her husband, the spouse's personality, the size of post and attendant requirements of the community, the attitudes of host-country nationals toward the senior spouse, and the attitudes of other spouses at post toward the senior spouse." Further on in the description of the role, we have the following: ". . . it is, above all, a *role model* position. The ambassador's spouse has the stamp of America clearly imprinted upon her. . . . Younger spouses automatically look to her as the symbol of American women, the one who defines their behavior abroad."

Thus, the job exists, but we don't really know what it is. Further, while it is supposed to be a leadership role, we are advised that it is defined by other peoples' attitudes—those of the ambassador, foreign nationals, and the embassy spouses.

It was comforting to know I wasn't the only one to find the role confusing and difficult. In her superb book on China entitled *Legacies: A Chinese Mosaic,* Bette Bao Lord writes: ". . . I was ready to leave Beijing. My life, after a stay of three and a half years as the wife of America's ambassador to the People's Republic, had become all too much like China, full of contradictions. I worked and I did not work. I had changed and I was the same. I had scores of good friends and none at all. I was celebrated and I was suspect. I was an equal partner and not even on the team. I was an insider and an outsider. I was at home and I was exiled. I had never been happier, nor had I been as sad." Another U.S. ambassador's wife, Vivian Gillespie, wrote shortly after arriving at her new post: "My life for now is constantly being there and reacting. With no job description, no office colleagues, no real power but lots of responsibilities, I'm not in my most favorite atmosphere."

Espousing work

I have tried to come up with a simpler definition for the role of an ambassador's wife. To me, it is to represent one's country as well as one can and foster effective relationships with the host country. This definition—which really applies to anyone representing a country abroad—implies trying to understand individuals of another culture. It requires effective communication skills.

I wanted to use my career as a mechanism for carrying out my role, because I'm better at it than I am at many of the traditional things expected of ambassadors' wives. Also, I believe it is as legitimate to interact with the host-country citizens through one's professional interests as it is through more traditional mechanisms.

It was difficult at the beginning to convince people that I was a serious professional. Some wondered why I wanted to "work" (as if being ambassador's wife isn't work). I heard indirectly that others thought it inappropriate. One well-meaning colleague advised me to tell people that I was working because I wanted to help the country. I certainly hope my efforts to address maternal and child health problems did indeed help the country, but I do not see what is wrong with wanting to "work" if it puts you in contact with people from the country in which you are living.

Nameless woes

I was, and still am, enormously proud of my husband and proud to be married to him, just as I am proud of being my daughter's mother. But it is not enough to define myself solely through these relationships. When I lived in the United States, I was referred to as Alene Gelbard. After I arrived in Bolivia, I was called either Mrs. Gelbard, Mrs. Ambassador, or (my personal favorite) Mrs. Wife of the Ambassador of the United States. I went to countless parties where no one knew or repeated my first name. These titles are appropriate and go with the position, but it was disconcerting to experience such an abrupt change in identity.

We each have multiple identities related to our roles. Women seem to have more of them than men; perhaps it is just that we feel a stronger responsibility for each role than do men. This makes it harder for us to have a clear idea of who we really are. In my case, in addition to trying to reconcile conflicts between my official position and my professional one, I was also a mother. At the beginning of our stay in Bolivia, we went to everything in an attempt to get to know people and have them get to know us. Our daughter, who was seven at the time, got only what time was left over. I felt guilty, yet I also felt guilty for not responding to demands from others for my time. I finally decided that my daughter and I had to have a fixed time together that she could count on. In addition, all three of us agreed to set aside one night a week just for us. We were fairly successful in guarding our time (we needed it as much as our daughter did). When there was a potential scheduling conflict I found it useful to ask myself which would matter more in 20 years: our daughter or the diplomatic event.

When I lived in the United States, I was referred to as Alene Gelbard. After I arrived in Bolivia, I was called either Mrs. Gelbard, Mrs. Ambassador, or (my personal favorite) Mrs. Wife of the Ambassador of the United States. I went to countless parties where no one knew or repeated my first name.

Do it yourself

The sometimes negative image of an ambassador's wife reflects a broader problem: wives are often not taken

seriously, and we need to question the extent to which this reflects how seriously we take ourselves. A good example of this in Bolivia was the issue of spouse employment, or the lack thereof, within the embassy community. Once the spouses organized themselves and articulated their concerns, more jobs became available within the embassy. This reflected an increased awareness on the part of those embassy staff members resistent to spouse employment (not all were) and increased their understanding of how to address spouse concerns; concrete suggestions from spouses were instrumental in prompting changes. The embassy needed to recognize that spousal employment was a community not just an individual problem.

Despite an improvement, it was not possible to solve the problem for each spouse seeking employment. Neither an individual embassy nor the Foreign Service overall will ever be able to meet all spousal employment needs. We need to take certain steps to help ourselves:

- We need to network, to let people know what our interests are, and meet people with similar interests. This applies not only to employment, but to any interests we might want to pursue.
- We need to speak the local language. Even when working in an environment where English is predominant, for example, within the mission or an international organization, it is essential to know the local language to do a job well. Language-learning broadens options as well.
- We need to look closely at what skills we need to achieve our own objectives. We have to shed a mentality of dependency in order for others to respond positively to us.

Now back in Washington, with a job I love and my identity intact, I consider my experience in Bolivia to have been one of the most extraordinary of my life. Would I do it again? Yes, but I'd rather not do it right away. Here, too, I am not alone.

After arriving in Bolivia, determined to pursue my professional interests while in the position of ambassador's wife, I studied Spanish, talked to as many people as possible about my interest in working professionally, and I was persistent. After six months I began working part-time. I would

have liked a full-time job, but I felt a responsibility also to carry out my official role and my role as a mother.

It was not easy juggling everything, and I often felt I had too little control over my time and my life. I started exercise classes and tennis lessons. I looked forward to my exercise hour, which did wonders for handling stress and tension.

I had mixed feelings about leaving Bolivia, which is a fascinating country with an extraordinary culture and spectacular geography. I found it difficult to leave friends. After nearly three years, I was enjoying my work and feeling that I could make a contribution there. I was not sad to leave the representational role of ambassador's wife, however. Knowing we were returning to Washington, I was eager to have my privacy back and to enjoy the independence I had before moving to Bolivia.

Now back in Washington, with a job I love and my identity intact, I consider my experience in Bolivia to have been one of the most extraordinary of my life. Would I do it again? Yes, but I'd rather not do it right away. Here, too, I am not alone. There are many of us who are proud of our spouses, eager to support them, proud of our country and view the opportunity to assist our spouses in representing our country overseas as a great honor and privilege. Yet we have reservations about assuming these roles when they do not give us the independence and control over own our lives that we enjoy in the United States.

Many of the traditional responsibilities expected of spouses of senior officials have contributed significantly to our foreign policy interests, and many spouses continue to carry out these responsibilities with great skill, enthusiasm, and effectiveness. For many others, however, the supportive role is not the most effective way to participate in our representation overseas. We must recognize the need for spouses of senior officials to define for themselves how they can best function within the embassy community. ■

Alene H. Gelbard, Ph.D. is director of international programs at the Population Reference Bureau.

The Spragues of Gibraltar:
One Post, One Family, One Century

BY HENRY E. MATTOX

American Foreign Service officers routinely expect assignments to last for two, three, or four years—in and out, off to another post, or back to Washington. Contrary to this usual practice, however, some officers over the years have had remarkably long tours at the same foreign post. The renowned diplomat Joseph C. Grew, for example, served close to a decade as ambassador to Japan, including six months after Pearl Harbor, when he was interned by the Japanese. Ambassador Walworth Barbour filled his position at Tel Aviv nearly 12 years, from 1961 to early 1973. Agnes E. Schneider essentially had but three assignments—Berlin, London (briefly), and Paris—in her 40-year career in consular affairs. Late in the 19th century, Colonel Charles Denby occupied the top U.S. diplomatic post in China from 1885-98, almost 13 years. Ramon O. Williams served as consul or consul general for 22 years in Havana during the same era.

However, compared with the three generations of the Sprague family and their service at the American consulate at Gibraltar, such exceptional officers as Grew, Barbour, and even Williams were short-timers. The year 1932 marked the centenary of the Sprague family's service as American consul at the rock: 100 years at Gibraltar. One post, one family, one century of service.

The absentee consul

The saga began in the 1830s with the appointment of Horatio Sprague of Massachusetts, a merchant and shipowner then residing at Gibraltar, to replace Consul Bernard Henry. Secretary of State Edward Livingston, trying to put a stop to officers' absenteeism from their places of assignment, cashiered Henry for excessive time away from his job. It seems that the consul, who had been in office since 1815, had resided principally in England for the previous five years—without bothering to notify the department of this circumstance. Ex-Consul Henry protested at length, but in July 1832 Sprague received his commission as the new consul, dated May 5 of that year.

Richard L. Sprague, American Consul, Gibraltar

Horatio Sprague, about 21 years old at the time, had arrived from his native Boston at Gibraltar in 1811. There he resided for the next 37 years, except for one brief period during the War of 1812 when he was expelled by the British for unrecorded transgressions. He married in Gibraltar, raised a family, and conducted the affairs of the U.S. Consulate, along with his business interests.

Sprague proved to be a conscientious officer, unlike his predecessor, although a review of the dispatches he sent over the years suggests that the Gibraltar consular job in those days did not often pose onerous demands; his reporting load was light. The consul's usual duties included answering questions on shipping and seamen, reporting health quarantines, the occasional repatriation of a destitute American, and required reporting. The post's semiannual summaries of activities for 1846, for example, shows that the consulate received the visits of 48 American-flag ships during the year and took in $450.50 in fees.

Duly impressed

Exceptional circumstances arose on occasion. In 1837, Consul Sprague had to deal with an incident involving the impressment of American seamen which arose between the U.S. vessel *Grand Turk* and the British brig *Fassur*. The next year, circumstances obliged Sprague to inform the department that American Consul James R. Seib at nearby Tangier "evidenced strong indication of insanity" and had become, in the words of the local Moroccan authorities, "highly offensive to the public." The unfortunate officer eventually left for England (owing Sprague more than $5,000).

In August 1846, with departmental permission, Horatio Sprague got his first home leave after 14 years on the job (and 35 years abroad). He left his

25-year-old son, Horatio Jones Sprague, in charge of the post. Horatio the younger was the Gibraltar-born, American-citizen offspring of the consul and his wife, Victorine Flechelle, the daughter of a noted local family of French origin.

On March 20, 1848, Horatio Sprague died at Gibraltar after a long illness, having served as the American consul for almost 16 years. Horatio J. reported the sad news to the Department of State the day after his father's death. In his letter to Secretary James Buchanan, the younger Horatio volunteered to act as consul until President James K. Polk's "pleasure is made known." While engaged in shipping and maritime insurance, he had tried unsuccessfully in previous years for consular appointments at Malaga and Marseilles, and now indicated that he would like to be appointed in his father's place at Gibraltar.

The department promptly named him to the post. Confirmed by the Senate in May 1848, the young Sprague received his commission via the American Legation in London, a post that exercised a vague supervisory authority over the tiny Gibraltar consular district.

The next 50 years

Thus began one of the more remarkable individual assignments in the history of the American Foreign Service. Not until the next century did the department have occasion to name another principal officer at Gibraltar. In 1901, when the septuagenarian Horatio J. Sprague died in office, he had served actively as the U.S. consular representative at Gibraltar for more than 53 years.

His extraordinarily long tour included a wide variety of experiences and challenges. In 1884, Sprague's nine-page workload report provides a useful overview of the consulate's "multifarious and occasionally very important" duties. These included shipping matters, seamen, tourists, health and quarantine notices, and free-port commercial questions. He stressed that the position required his constant attendance to process shipping invoices and ships' papers of the more than 5,400 vessels of all national registries

PHOTO FROM THE *1932 FOREIGN SERVICE JOURNAL*

that called at Gibraltar the year before. These duties he performed for an annual salary of $1,500.

But over the years, he had a range of responsibilities even broader than indicated in this one report. In office during both the Civil War and the Spanish-American War, Sprague informed the State Department of ship movements at Gibraltar. In 1862, the exploits of the first Confederate commerce raider, the *Sumter,* culminated with despatches on the *Sumter's* blockaded status at Gibraltar and her abandonment by the Southern crew after Sprague was able to prevail on local merchant houses not to provide coal to the vessel. A flurry of reports when the steamship entered the port included, unusually, several telegrams to Minister Charles Francis Adams in London.

More than 30 years later, with the onset of hostilities in another conflict, Consul Sprague reported frequently on the movement of Spanish warships. The consulate's telegraph bill for April through June of 1898 totalled $438.72, an unheard-of sum for the times. Admiral George Dewey later acknowledged the accuracy and usefulness of this reporting.

Like his father, the elder Horatio, Horatio Jones also had to deal with problems arising at the neighboring post of Tangier. Twice, in 1877 and again in 1886, he looked into charges—which proved groundless—against the principal officer, Felix Mathews, another long-timer. In late 1889, the new consul general at Tangier, William Reed Lewis, came under fire for selling citizenship documentation. Again on orders from Washington, Consul Sprague investigated and this time issued a comprehensive and damning report that resulted in Lewis's dismissal. Mathews returned to replace him, taking charge of the Tangier consulate general for the third and last time.

From 1854 onward, Sprague, who was known as an accomplished linguist, additionally discharged the duties of consular agent at neighboring Algeciras in Spain. This unusual arrangement accorded him official status in two different countries at the same time.

Next in line

By 1875, over a quarter of a century after assuming the post, Sprague had arranged some help for himself at the office then on Prince Edward's Road, which served as both consulate and family home for the consul, his wife, Antonia, and eight children. Washington appointed Sprague's son, John Louis Sprague, as vice consul. John Louis died in 1886, however, and another son, Horatio L., became consular clerk. In 1889, Consul Sprague on his own authority left yet another son, Richard Louis, in charge of the post while off on two weeks' leave. In 1893, the Department of State appointed him vice consul, a position he held for the next eight years.

When the end came for the now-elderly consul, on July 18, 1901, Washington had to look no further than the next in the family line, Vice Consul Richard Louis Sprague. He was in place and experienced, and he was

interested in the job. He received a recess appointment as American consul at Gibraltar effective the day of his father's death, confirmed by the Senate five months later. There he remained for more than three decades, not exactly a short-term assignment but still not nearly as long a tour as his father's.

The new third-generation Consul Sprague had an interesting, occasionally active career, as had his father and grandfather before him. He, too, filled the position of consular representative at Algeciras, although unofficially in his case. In 1909, President Theodore Roosevelt stayed with him on his way to shoot game in Africa.

PHOTO FROM THE *1932 FOREIGN SERVICE JOURNAL*

The patio of the Sprague "hacienda" near San Roque, Spain—Left to right: Consul General Lowell C. Pinkerton, Mrs. Richard Ford, Mrs. Pinkerton, and Consul Richard Louis Sprague. The eagle was installed by the senior Horatio Sprague.

Ocean crossroads

As American consul at the important maritime crossroads between the Mediterranean and the Atlantic and between Europe and Africa, Sprague was especially busy during World War I. While America was still neutral, Washington directed the consulate to represent the interests of 800 German prisoners of war held on the Rock by the British. After the United States entered the war in 1917, Gibraltar provided facilities for numerous U.S. warships and hundreds of Americans were stationed there.

During the excitement over the kidnapping of the Lindbergh baby in 1932, the American consul achieved momentary fame in the press for his role in searching—to no avail—a visiting passenger liner for the reported abductors.

On the personal side, tall, trim, mustachioed Consul Dick Sprague, a confirmed bachelor, was known as an excellent host and a good

athlete. Colleagues described him as calm and quiet, the reputation his father and grandfather had before him. Pursuing his hobby of farming, he owned a hacienda at nearby La Linea in Spain.

Following his initial entry into the Consular Service in 1901, he received an appointment in 1919 as consular officer, class 6, and as an FSO-7 under the Rogers Act of 1924. There followed promotions to FSO-6 in 1925 and FSO-5 in 1930.

By the end of April 1932, Sprague had been consul for 31 years, and the three Sprague generations of Horatio, Horatio Jones, and Dick himself had filled that post for a century, an "instance of almost hereditary office-holding," as one newspaper put it.

By the end of April 1932, Sprague had been consul for 31 years, and the three Sprague generations of Horatio, Horatio Jones, and Dick himself had filled that post for a century, an "instance of almost hereditary office-holding," as one newspaper put it. At Gibraltar on April 30, the consular corps sponsored a luncheon in honor of the occasion, which included attendance by notables from the governor on down. The dean of the corps presented him a telescope complete with tripod. U.S. consul general at Tangier, Maxwell Blake, acted on behalf of AFSA in presenting the consulate a commemorative bronze plaque. Reflecting the social customs of a bygone era, that afternoon the American consul hosted a tea dance at a local hotel In the evening, he gave a dinner party at the consul's residence located since 1926 on Mediterranean Terrace overlooking the town, the Straits, Algeciras, and the nearby coast.

Secretary of State Henry L. Stimson by letter of April 6 lauded his "worthy forebears . . . loyalty and fidelity to trust," noting that their service was unique; there was "no other such record in all the history of the department." The secretary termed his family "the highest type of American official and citizen." Long-time Assistant Secretary Wilbur J. Carr, as well, praised the family's years of service; it was "a record nowhere else found in the American Foreign Service, and "I doubt whether the service of any other country can boast of the equal. . . . That service has been characterized by exceptional loyalty and fidelity, which has made the name of Sprague respected throughout the Foreign Service of the United States and in the foreign offices of other governments."

The New York Times expressed the belief that the "Spragues of Gibraltar" could be "an inspiration to American consuls in all parts of the world." Another newspaper remarked, "Service of this type reflects honor upon any nation fortunate enough to have such representation." A newsman asked the consul at the time why the authorities in the United States had continued for so long to appoint Spragues, even though they were far away from the corridors of power and without political influence. The consul modestly and succinctly replied, "We always did our work and never bothered the State Department."

After celebrating the unique occasion, Sprague continued to do his work and refrained from bothering the State Department. He had planned to retire in 1935, but on October 16, 1934, the 63-year-old consul died of complications from diabetes. Never married—although he had a close call once while on home leave, according to the recollections of a vice consul who served on his staff for many years—his closest relative was a sister residing in England.

After a little more than 102 years, Washington had to look elsewhere for a principal officer at Gibraltar. The new consul, FSO-4 Charles E. Allen, came all the way from Istanbul. The Sprague dynasty had ended. ■

A retired Foreign Service officer, Henry Mattox teaches at the University of North Carolina.

Books

444 Days

Yellow Ribbon: The Secret Journal of Bruce Laingen

By Bruce Laingen, Brassey's (US) Ltd., 1992, $23, hardcover, 305 pages

Reviewed by Tom Greene

This is a remarkable book, or rather two books in one, each equally gripping and insightful. One is a poignant personal memoir of the long incarceration of the hostages in Tehran. The other, interwoven with the first, is an insightful commentary on the unfolding Iranian revolution. Both follow the course of the Iranian Revolution as it lurched through the 444 days in 1979-81, during which American hostages were held in Tehran.

Bruce Laingen

Bruce Laingen was our chargé d'affaires in Tehran in 1979. He was detained at the Iranian Foreign Ministry on November 4, 1979 when he arrived there with two colleagues to protest the invasion of the American Embassy.

Laingen gives us an absorbing and detailed account of what it meant, day by endless day, to be held hostage for 444 days. The hostages had only the clothes they were wearing, and they were allowed erratic telephone and written communication with the outside world. Laingen and his colleagues were buoyed by visits from members of the diplomatic corps, especially the Swiss ambassador, who represented U.S. interests after relations were broken in the spring of 1980.

The second "book" of this memoir is an insightful commentary on the evolution of the Iranian Revolution, seen from as near the eye of the hurricane as one can get (until the personal memoirs of the "students" and of Khomeini's coterie become available). It recounts the early realization of the prisoners in the ministry that "we had become bit players in a drama far larger than even the painful one of Iranian TV pictures of shouting crowds swirling around the walls of the embassy. . . ." Up and down, in and out, the tortuous negotiations with what passed for a government went on. The hostages' low point was probably the failure of Desert One, the aborted rescue attempt in the spring of 1980.

Particularly commendable is Laingen's ability to see beyond the hurt inflicted on himself, on his colleagues and on the United States by the hostage affair. The Iranian revolution was essentially a nationalistic uprising that asserted itself through religion. Much of the nationalism and xenophobia of this revolution, clad in religion and anti-western dogmatism, reflects Iran's sense of its own unique place in a history at least a millennium older than Islam. Throughout his book Laingen recognizes that Iran and the United States need to get along in this world—something current diplomats and politicians could well keep in mind to avoid the danger that we see Iran as the successor to the Soviet "evil empire."

Laingen reminds us of Anne Frank's faith that the essential good in human relations will prevail: "I remain convinced that there is decency in every human being and that it will yet prevail here." He writes this despite moments of bitterness, as the hostages ride their roller-coaster of emotion for 444 days.

In order better to deal with contemporary Iran, Laingen urges the reader to understand what motivated the "students" who took over the embassy, and the ayatollahs who supported them, even though he or she may be angered by their *modus operandi*. The author shows remarkable generosity of spirit to his jailers throughout. He refuses to allow bitterness to affect his perspective, and hopes that after the release of the hostages, pent-up emotions will not prevent the ultimate reestablishment of relations. It is only too bad that Laingen left with a sense of guilt that it all happened on his watch, despite the fact that the decision to admit the shah to the United States, the proximate cause of it all, was made in Washington.

Yellow Ribbon will interest students of the Iranian revolution, those interested in the state of mind of those being held hostage, and those who see improved relations with Iran as in the interest of the United States. Laingen points out that the United States should be prepared to have normal relations with this important country, a point emphasized with the breakup of the Soviet Union, which leaves Iran the major regional power between Russia and India. The initiative, however, must come from Iran. And (is anybody listen-

The author shows remarkable generosity of spirit to his jailers throughout. He refuses to allow bitterness to affect his perspective, and hopes that after the release of the hostages, pent-up emotions will not prevent the ultimate reestablishment of relations.

ing?) Laingen emphasizes that the American people must find a way to reduce our oil dependency on uncertain and potentially unstable regimes, such as revolutionary Iran.

Tom Greene is a retired Foreign Service officer who served in Tehran and Tabriz, Iran.

CIA's Problems

ECLIPSE: THE LAST DAYS OF THE CIA

By Mark Perry, William Morrow and Company, 1992, $25 hardcover, 320 pages

Reviewed by Melvin A. Goodman

Most of the recent literature on the Central Intelligence Agency focuses on the contradictions caused by the presence of a secret organization within a democracy that values openness and public participation. Numerous books have correctly called attention to the need to protect democracy from the excesses of intelligence activities and revealed the heroes and villains in the Cold War struggle between East and West. With the notable exception of Thomas Power's political biography of Richard Helms, *The Man Who Kept the Secrets*, arguably the best book ever written on the CIA, these books have ignored the pressures of the White House and the policy community on the world of intelligence and particularly the slanting of intelligence in the 1980s. Mark Perry's *Eclipse: The Last Days of the CIA* has corrected some of these problems.

The American public is generally familiar with the serious intelligence failures of the past 25 years, such as the community's inability to recognize the events leading to the invasion of Czechoslovakia in 1968, the October War in 1973, the fall of the shah in 1979, and the collapse of the Soviet Union and the Soviet bloc in the 1980s. The causes of failure have also been debated, particularly "group thinking" or the pressures to reach a consensus, the increasingly clumsy and centralized structure of the intelligence community, and the unwillingness to examine alternative or unpopular hypotheses.

BOOKS

Perry's book has introduced a new and vital dimension in explaining flawed intelligence in recent years: the role of "politicization" or slanting of intelligence to support policy interests. The CIA was designed to be policy-neutral, and Perry understands that the history of the CIA can be written as a history of attempts to politicize intelligence, that is, to cook the books. The CIA was largely successful in turning back these attempts until 1981, when William J. Casey became the director of central intelligence. The appointment of Casey, a national campaign director for Ronald Reagan, was the most partisan in the history of the CIA. This was compounded by his unprecedented status as a member of the cabinet and his activist approach toward mixing intelligence and policy. He and his deputy gave numerous "policy" speeches in the 1980s.

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Although Perry understands the impact of politicization on the intelligence product of the CIA, he nevertheless underestimates the insidious role of Bill Casey. From the very beginning, Casey argued that the growth of international terrorism was controlled by the Soviet Union, and he tried to force that view into an intelligence estimate. Casey and Secretary of State Al Haig believed that international terrorism was a "sort of Wurlitzer being played by the people in the basement of the Kremlin." The head of the Bureau of Intelligence and Research, Ronald Spiers, tried to convince Haig that he was wrong, and senior analysts at the CIA tried to get Casey to back off. Perry writes that Casey persisted and the CIA produced a flawed document that Secretary of State George Shultz and others ignored. Moreover, Casey used these incorrect judgments to justify questionable CIA activities in support of the Contras in Nicaragua and so-called antiterrorist groups in Lebanon.

Perry has successfully mined the congressional hearings from the controversial nomination of Robert M. Gates in 1991 as director of the CIA and interviewed numerous government officials to draw a portrait of an unhappy intelligence agency that failed to understand the momentous events of the past 10 years. Perry's book is the first to describe these failures, particularly the inability to predict Gorbachev's strategic retreat in the 1980s and the collapse of Communist regimes in East Europe in 1989.

Perry is less energetic in explaining the reasons for these intelligence failures as well as the gradual loss of independence at the CIA. Neither Perry's book nor the congressional hearings sufficiently explain how the CIA managed to produce an assessment, unsupported by credible evidence, that blamed the Soviets for the assassination attempt against the pope in 1981, thus introducing a poisonous element into the western relationship with the Soviet Union only several months after the accession to power of Mikhail Gorbachev. And Perry does not explain the production of a National Intelligence Estimate on Iran in

1985, which—with no facts to support it—advanced such spurious notions as the rise of Soviet influence and the emergence of moderates in Iran. The estimate became the policy community's rationale for the sale of weapons to Iran.

Perry believes, as did Senators William Cohen and George Mitchell in their *Men of Zeal* several years ago and Theodore Draper in *A Very Thin Line: The Iran-Contra Affair*, that a small group of people can function as a secret society and produce intelligence judgments that ignore evidence and even common sense. CIA officials in the 1980s ignored the advice of the late Sherman Kent, who headed the CIA's Office of National Estimates for more than 15 years, that intelligence should be independent of policy-making in order to avoid bias. The CIA's analytical tradition was built on Kent's philosophy of competing viewpoints, making sure that no single official was given overall responsibility for producing political intelligence. Perry correctly argues that Kent's structure ensured disagreement and thus helped prevent politicization of intelligence.

Kent and his predecessor, William L. Langer, understood that policymakers will demand simple answers to complex questions from intelligence agencies. Both were distinguished historians, however, who set the general tone for research and analysis at the CIA in the 1950s and 1960s. They never permitted the political interference with the production of intelligence estimates that took place in the 1980s when Bill Casey interfered with judgments on Iran, international terrorism, Mexico, and the Soviet Union. Casey was also responsible for allowing one individual, Bob Gates, to supervise all political intelligence at the CIA. Perry concludes that Casey's interference or "politicization" contributed to lessening the role of intelligence in the national security process and to compromising the support of the American people for the CIA. His book is a useful analysis of the relationship of intelligence to policy-making and a warning against gearing intelligence estimates to political strategies.

Casey's interference or "politicization" contributed to lessening the role of intelligence in the national security process and to compromising the support of the American people for the CIA.

Melvin A. Goodman, who teaches at the National War College, analyzed the Soviet Union for the CIA. He is working on a political biography of Eduard Shevaradnadze.

Crime and Harmony

PREVENTING CRIME IN AMERICA AND JAPAN: A COMPARATIVE STUDY

By Robert Y. Thornton with Katsuya Endo, M.E. Sharpe, 1992, $17.90 softcover, 240 pages

Reviewed by Robert Willner

Robert Thornton's extensively researched and thoughtful examination of crime prevention in the U.S. and Japan deals with far more than questions of law enforcement and correctional policy. The study treats in some detail patterns of criminal activity, police work, and corrections in the United States and Japan, focusing primarily on two small cities—Salem, Oregon and Kawagoe.

Thornton analyzes technical and societal factors that contribute to Japan's far lower incidence of crime, while noting the exceptions to that pattern (comparable levels of organized crime and growing juvenile delinquency). Most important, however, he offers a multi-faceted program designed to adapt some of these concepts in the United States.

BOOKS

Causes cited in Japan's enviable record on law compliance include technical matters, such as police visibility, and the rehabilitative work of correctional institutions, but equally or more significant is a range of broader political and societal factors. Few of the latter will surprise anyone acquainted with Japanese society; among them are the strength of Japan's family structure (despite widespread social change), a homogeneous society and broad consensus on values, which makes "ethics education" in schools and community a matter of course, rigid handgun control, and police authority—willingly accepted—that would conflict with U.S. constitutional principles.

More crucial in his view, however, is Japan's overall commitment to practices that will instill respect for law and authority at home, in the school, and in the community, on a long-term basis.

The strength of the book, however, lies in the perspective in which it places these observations. Thornton notes a number of practices that the United States can emulate, and in fact has adopted in some measure, such as the *chonai kai* community organization (which has an incipient U.S. parallel in the Neighborhood Watch concept). More crucial in his view, however, is Japan's overall commitment to practices that will instill respect for law and authority at home, in the school, and in the community on a long-term basis.

This does not mean, Thornton makes clear, that the United States must adopt Japan's traditional emphasis on uniformity and acceptance of authority, but he argues, given Japan's success in adapting foreign ideas without sacrificing key cultural values, "America

should not be too proud to learn from Japan, especially in such a critical area as the prevention and control of crime."

Further, he points out, "Americans must realize that if we are going to continue our present philosophy, whereby the rights and freedoms of the individual are paramount, we must be prepared to accept a higher crime and delinquency rate than that of a more regulated society such as Japan." With this statement Thornton places squarely at the top of our social agenda the perpetually contentious theoretical question of how to balance individual rights against societal needs.

Thornton brings unusual credentials to this work. As attorney general of the state of Oregon for 16 years and subsequently an Appellate Court judge, he is an experienced practitioner of law and order, as well as an old-style liberal for whom the essence of the word lies in "liberty." He has also been a student of Japanese language and culture since his World War II days at the Army Language School and has visited Japan 11 times, including two periods of extended study and research that led to this work.

While one could criticize aspects of the book—a few comparisons seem labored and some of the topic headings come across as redundant—it is, all in all, nutritious food for thought, whether one's primary interest lies in understanding Japan or in seeking ways to improve life in the United States.

Robert T. Willner, a retired Foreign Service officer, is executive director of the Oregon International Comcil.

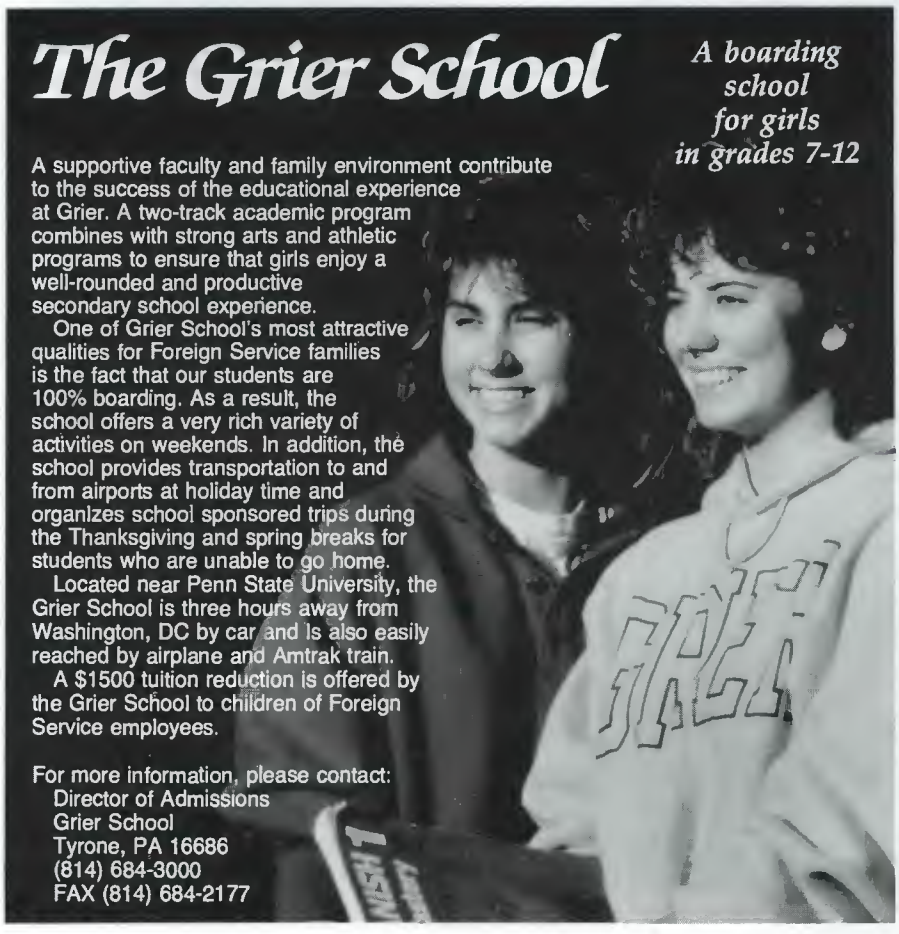
Foreign Service Grievance: The Book

A Violation of Trust

By Joseph S. Salzburg, Sovereign Books, 1991, $19.50 hardcover, 306 pages

Reviewed by Daniel Newberry

Joseph Salzburg has produced a *roman a clef* about rural development



Books

officers in the U.S. Agency for International Development mission in Afghanistan. One hopes that the novel is not also autobiographical, for the protagonist—called Bernard Benign—is conspicuously lacking in qualities that would sustain the sympathy of the reader. More disconcerting is the bizarre feature of having the author's name appear at the top of each of the book's 306 pages.

The plot of *A Violation of Trust* is built around Bernard Benign's attempt to advance from a limited appointment as a USAID rural development officer to a career appointment. A blow-by-blow account of Bernard's "trial" before a grievance board occupies 114 pages, or more than a third of the book. The episode is indescribably tedious, and the reader is left to wonder why Benign ever wanted career status in an organization with such Byzantine personnel practices.

Salzburg does occasionally interject notes on the anthropological and political landscape of Afghanistan. Here too the reader is disappointed because one finds few insights that are not available in the better travel books on Afghanistan.

Daniel Newberry is a retired Foreign Service officer.

Picking up the Pieces

After the Wars: Reconstruction in Afghanistan, Central America, Indochina, the Horn of Africa, and Southern Africa

Edited by Anthony Lake, Transaction Publishers, 1991, $24.95 hardcover, $15.95 softcover, 196 pages

Reviewed by John D. Stempel

National Security Adviser-designate Tony Lake has assembled an excellent set of contributors to this discussion of how the world is dealing with, and should deal with, the lurching toward peace in several Third World theaters of conflict. He and his contributors (Selig Harrison on Afghanistan, Nayan Chanda on Indochina, Benjamin Crosby on Central America, Carol Lancaster on the Horn of Africa, and Mark Chona and Jeff Herbst on Southern Africa) offer specific suggestions in each region and some challenging broader ideas for dealing with "post-Cold War" reconstruction.

...the problem is sufficiently pervasive to call for a greater international community role; a new International Fund for Reconstruction is needed; and the keys to success are local and regional planning, pragmatism, and continued integration of political and economic perspectives.

Their principal insights are: the problem is sufficiently pervasive to call for a greater international community role; a new International Fund for Reconstruction is needed; and the keys to success are local and regional planning, pragmatism, and continued integration of political and economic perspectives.

This book is strong on substance and prescription but does not go into the organizational and political constraints of mounting a major construction and reconstruction effort. Despite the ending of the Cold War, most national governments are still organized along traditional national security-oriented foreign policy and defense lines. The organizational basis for a large and sustained development effort is shaky, and the political will to undertake it is questionable. These issues need to be addressed next. ■

Former Foreign Service officer John D. Stempel is now director of the Patterson School of Diplomacy and International Commerce at the University of Kentucky.

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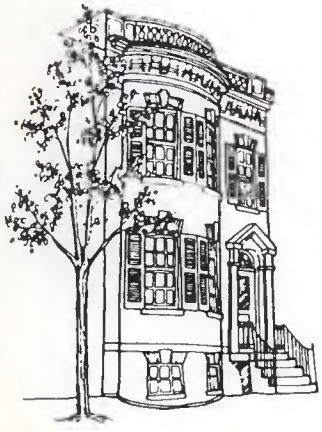

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More on the Spragues

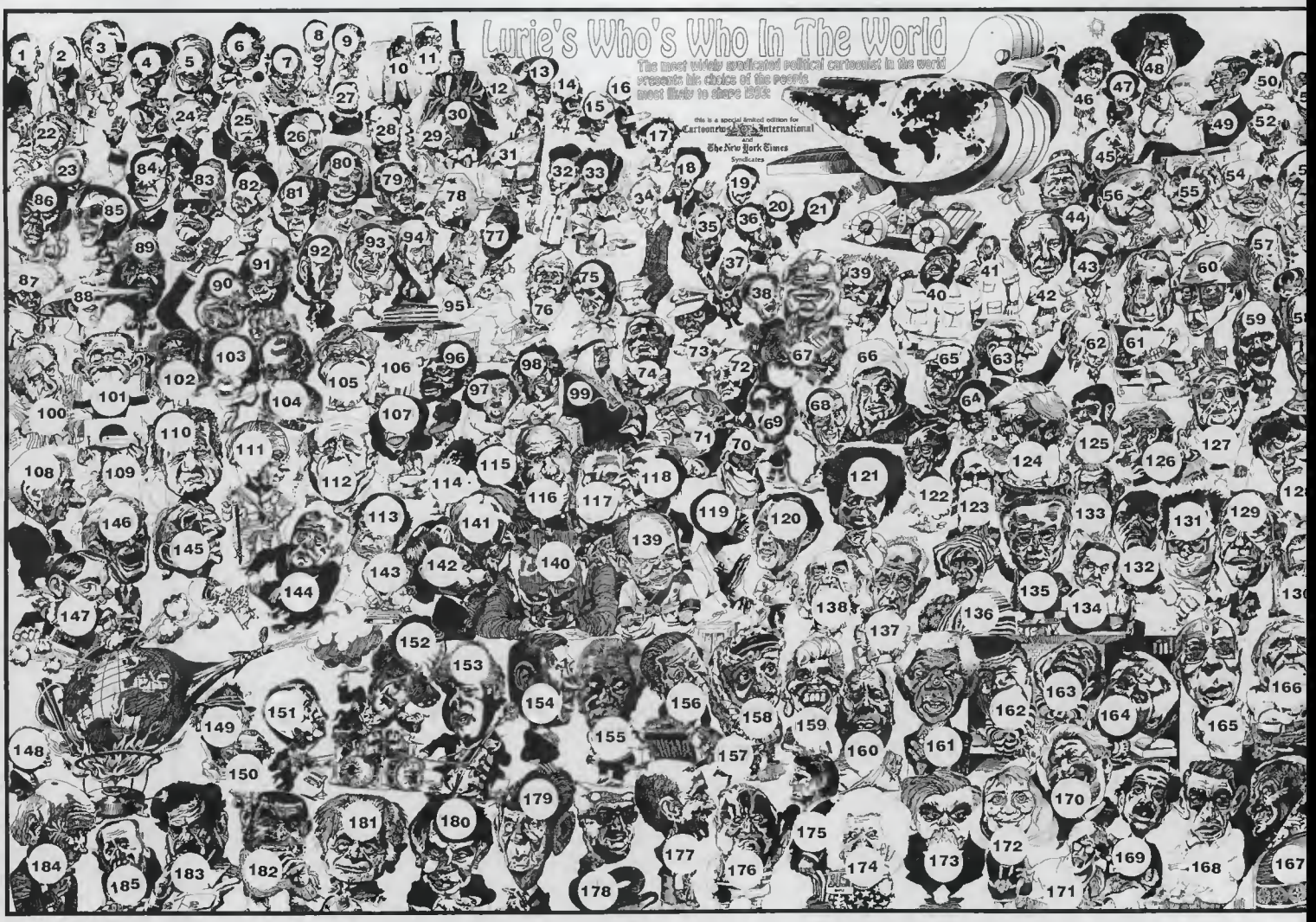
By Arthur D. Hayden, formerly vice consul to Gibraltar
from the *Foreign Service Journal*, February 1943

The first person to leap from the bouncing tender on to the swaying platform at the bottom of the long gangway of steps that lead up the big ship's side was the faultlessly attired, in all white from his spotless helmet to buckskin shoes and bamboo stick, American Consul Richard L. Sprague, my chief-to-be, who literally took the ship by storm with the magnetism of his personality. And so began 17 of the happiest years of my life, as his and his father's successor as our vice consul at Gibraltar.

In Washington before starting I was warned not to begin to think I owned the Rock . . . but always to remember that it was "an asset of the Sprague family."

Our consulate was really a diminutive legation. . . . No American ever applied for aid but that he received it, and there were many mighty queer specimens that applied. [One day] the hospital called and said they had an American with the "DTs" and what were they to do. Dick didn't hesitate, "Give him a bed and proper treatment, I will take care of him," for all of which he paid, although the fellow was not an American seaman.

Incidentally, Dick Sprague would always clear a ship at any hour of the 24 on any day of the week. His motto was that no ship should ever be kept waiting. . . . He would never allow divided responsibility. When at post his was the entire responsibility. During periods of being in charge he was never away from his post overnight. ■



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