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ALBRIGHT TAKES REINS AT STATE 'Activist' Foreign Policy Seen Replacing Cautious Approach

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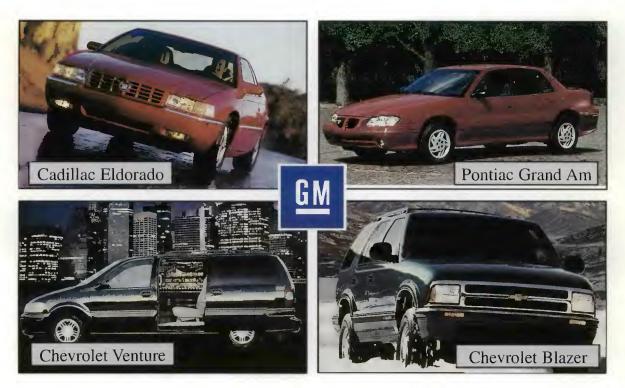
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Cover and inside illustrations by Lucinda Levine



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There are people with Swiss bank accounts, Scottish castles, and a French Island or two.

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# PRESIDENT'S VIEWS

Greetings, Secretary Albright By F. A. "Tex" HARRIS

Foreign Service professionals around the world are warmly welcoming secretary of State Madeleine Albright to one of the toughest executive leadership positions in U.S. government. These professionals see clearly that their achievements are tied to her success. They know that the secretary of State's leadership in forming, organizing and implementing America's foreign policy is critical for the nation's success.

Foreign affairs professionals are painfully aware of the complexity of balancing the three distinct facets of the secretary's job as chief executive officer, developer of foreign policy and America's lead diplomat. Leadership is badly needed in three critical areas: mission, resources and unity of the foreign affairs agencies.

First is the requirement to project a clear vision of the mission and goals embodied in America's role in the world. All realize the difficulty of this critical task in a great nation with such a multitude of international priorities. But the Cold War bumper-sticker days are gone, and this is a top concern for Americans, a concern that requires the continuing efforts of the secretary of State and President Clinton.

Second is the obtaining of adequate resources to fulfill America's mission and goals abroad. Secretary Albright's early initiatives with the

F. A. "Tex" Harris is president of AFSA.

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White House and the Congress in requesting higher funding of the foreign affairs budget have not gone unnoticed.

The third area is the pulling together of the U.S. government's international efforts. The Inspector General's office of the State Department has shown that the affairs allocation of foreign resources, staffing and programs is still overly influenced by outdated priorities. Almost all commentators agree that the structure of this nation's international activities needs a major overhaul. Change is rarcly welcome. But America's went through the defense Goldwater-Nichols forging of a single command structure that coordinates a multitude of bickering services. The same is now needed for foreign affairs.

America's new international challenges also require reworking three distinct layers of the foreign affairs operations by:

■ Setting priorities for the activities of the more than 40 different U.S. agencies who operate abroad. Though most difficult at the Cabinet level, orchestrating these agencies and their efforts is necessary if the United States is to send clear, effective messages abroad. Ambassadors cannot compete with agency heads in resolving interagency conflicts.

■ Unifying the efforts of all the foreign affairs agencies. Without clear central leadership, each unit — large and small — develops its own focus and micro-mission. Pulling these units together to work as a team with common or complementary goals is long overdue.

■ Communicating with all the foreign affairs professionals at the Department of State. Many employees at this agency have felt cut off from their primary purpose in being in foreign affairs — assisting the secretary of State. The bulletproof doors to the secretary's office have come to symbolize the exclusion many feel from a distant leadership. Even assistant secretarics have not met regularly with past secretaries of State, except in group meetings, few of which have included all the department's senior leaders.

The professionals of the Foreign Scrvice serving around the world are knowledgeable, dedicated and eager to help you achieve the policy goals of the Department of State and of President Clinton. Foreign affairs professionals look forward to serving you and following your lead as you become the new CEO of State.

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# LETTERS

### To the editor:

My hat is off to the *Foreign Service Journal* for its November issue ("Pursuing the Bias-Free Workplace: FS Continues Struggle To Include Disenfranehised Groups"). Finally I am witnessing individuals with integrity who are not afraid to speak out against diserimination in the Foreign Service. My only criticism is the general tone of the articles: They are just too dam polite. What is needed is oldfashioned outrage, as sharp as the shredders that make spaghetti out of classified documents.

As an Hispanic-American spouse of an FSO, I have scen my wife and myself subjected to a subtle campaign of reprisals because we have spoken out against racism in the State Department. On numerous oceasions, I have heard blacks and Hispanics referred to as "niggers" and "spics." Then, of course, there is the standard response to affirmative action — it is not fair to minorities because it places them in jobs they are not equipped to handle intellectually.

Perhaps those who cry out against raeism in the Foreign Service should enlist the aid of the Rev. Jesse Jackson.

The Foreign Service Journal welcomes signed letters to the editor. Please mail letters to the Journal, 2101 E St., NW, Washington, D.C., 20037 or fax to 202-338-8244 or e-mail to journal@afsa.org. Letters, which are subject to editing, should include full name, title and post, address and daytime telephone number. Racism in the Foreign Service is institutionalized. It will take more than elass suits to change that. "The Plantation," as my American friends call the federal bureaucracy in Washington, necds a swift verbal kick in the can to get it going. The negative publicity that the Texaco Co. received [for its alleged racial discrimination against minority employees] through the efforts of Rev. Jackson did more for blacks than any pending legal action.

Perhaps the sight of several hundred Hispanic and black employees lining the sidewalks of Washington, D.C., with placards and bullhorns denouncing discrimination will help to motivate those responsible for the current state of affairs in the Foreign Service.

> Neil Raymond Ricco Foreign Service Spouse U.S. Embassy Panama City



To the editor:

I enjoyed Dan Kubiske's article ("The Issue of Gender: In Wake of Palmer Case, Minority Women Haven't Come A Long Way, Baby," November *Journal*) very much and am happy that someone finally got this secret history down on paper. It was of particular interest to me to learn that so few women opted out of the class action suit. I remember the personnel officer in Tokyo telling me in 1976, "Everybody is opting out. If you stay in, you'll be isolated!" (I stayed.) "She [Marguerite Cooper] turned down Japanese language training when she was told the only position open to her would be consular work, instead of the political or economic reporting she preferred," Kubiske wrote.

Your article docs not indicate when Ms. Cooper was offered Japanese language training, but I can tell you that I was the first female Japanese language officer assigned to an economic position at a post in Japan.

This is how I got in through the back door: I started Japanese language training at the Foreign Service Institute in February 1970 with an onward consular assignment to U.S. Consulate General Osaka-Kobe. About six months into the course, to my delight, the incumbent's assignment was extended. My eonsular assignment fell through, and there were no other language-designated consular jobs on the horizon.

At this time, there were no Japanese language economie or eommercial positions in the FS. (Young FSOs will find it hard to believe, but the U.S. trade deficit with Japan had to top \$I billion before it occurred to anyone that the FS needed Japanesespeaking economists.) By sheer luck I got a newly created commercial position in Osaka-Kobe which was funded by the Commerce Department. I had to lobby Commerce hard for the job, but at that time found those officials more open-minded than State about women, and ahead of State in recognizing the need for Japanese-trained economic/eommercial officers.

LETTERS

I did commercial work for two years, by which time State had given language designations to two or three economic positions. I got the second year of Japanese training in Yokohama and one of the language-designated economic positions at U.S. Embassy Tokyo, where I worked from 1973-1976. In 1975 the second female Japanese language officer, Marilyn Meyers, arrived in Tokyo by a more straightforward route. We were both on the Japan desk at State in the late 1970s, and Marilyn went on to become political officer in Fukuoka, economic counselor in Tokyo, and a deputy assistant secretary (DAS), in the East Asia Bureau. The first female U.S. ministercounselor for economic affairs --- the embassy's No. 3 position — in Tokyo was Aurelia Brazeal, in the early 1980s. She is now a DAS for the East Asian and Pacific Affairs Bureau.

By the late 1970s women were being routinely assigned to economic and political jobs at posts in Japan. Since the mid-1970s, the Japanese Foreign Service recruited a visible number of female officers, and as they began to turn up in Washington and New York, the controversy over whether the Japanese would accept women as diplomats was laid to rest.

> Martha Dewitt Nakajima Retired FSO Geneva, Switzerland



### To the editor:

Carman Cunningham (then Williams) and I entered the Foreign Service together in 1974, but I do not believe that our paths have crossed since the last day of our A-100. I was glad to catch up on her activities since, thanks to her byline in the November 1996 "Speaking Out" column ("Give FSNs More Respect, Rewards, Opportunities"). I write, however, for another reason: to second most emphatically her comments on the critical importance and underappreciation of our Foreign Service nationals (FSNs), our colleagues. Since I left the Service for academia in 1979, I do not have Carman's breadth or depth of experience within the State Department on which to draw, but I have, for more than a decade now, come into close contact with FSNs as a frequent U.S. speaker at many U.S. Information Service (USIS) posts in Europe.

My own experience confirms her comments about the exceptional quality, loyalty, dedication and expertise of these individuals. Sadly, it also confirms that their FSO colleagues often fail to recognize the calibre of the FSNs working next door. On more than one occasion, I have had to point out to a colleague in the political or economic section that a wealth of expertise, unrecognized and apparently unknown, is to be found in the FSNs manning the USIS shop down the hall. On rarer occasions, I have found FSOs who have already discovered this on their own, but they are few and far between, especially in our larger embassies, where it is possible to spend an entire tour without taking full advantage of the human resources available in the same building.

I regularly tell academic colleagues heading for the first time to posts in Europe that I know well, that no matter how hectic their speaking schedule, they should take the time for substantive discussions with the USIS FSNs they will meet. The efficiency and creativity of these FSNs is reflected in every USIS program, but they bring more than that to the job every day: Indeed, the academic background and substantive expertise of USIS FSNs is often at the same level as the host country colleagues scheduled on a U.S. speaker's program with USIS. Many speakers (and, I fear, FSOs) fail to realize that the quality of those programs is made possible by the professional reputation and standing of the FSNs among their own colleagues in that country.

My association with USIS FSNs over the years has made and, I am sure, will continue to make substantial contributions to my own professional development. But even more important to me are the personal friendships that have resulted from the hours we have spent together, agreeing or disagreeing about specific issues, but knowing that we shared the same goal: to broaden, deepen and enhance the quality of the relationship between their country and the United States. At difficult moments, when political relations are strained at the highest level, this goal puts a burden on FSNs that is unknown to their American colleagues, but I have never known one of them whose dedication and commitment were not up to the task.

As Cunningham argued, the Foreign Service and State owe FSNs more respect, rewards and opportunities. But I also hope that their contribution will one day receive the recognition it deserves from the U.S. government and the American people as a whole.

> Edwina S. Campbell Professor of Political Science and History Industrial College of the Armed Forces National Defense University Fort McNair Washington, D.C.

To the editor:

At the risk of being dismissed as a "neophyte," in Ms. Cunningham's def-

LETTERS

inition, I have to ask: Must we endure yet another scolding for alleged American mistreatment of FSNs? I ask this question not because my "delicate ego" has been "bruised," but because my moderate sensibilities have been challenged by an article that has been written and rewritten so many times by guilt-ridden FSOs that it now forms a genre.

Don't get me wrong: I have the greatest respect and admiration for FSNs — both as colleagues and, in many cases, as friends. Some of the warmest memories of my first Foreign Service posting relate to the local employees who extended their hospitality and helped me to learn the ropes as a junior officer. The contributions of FSNs around the world are beyond dispute.

Yes, from time to time we've all seen FSOs "treat FSNs callously." And, yes, we've seen "overpaid" American employees spend the workday browsing mail-order catalognes while the local staff worked. But most FSOs work hard, if not harder, than many FSNs. I'm just not sure that observations this banal really add much to the discussion.

A few of the author's less sensible points beg a response. Her proposition that the remedy for FSN undervaluation is a "mandatory" junket to the United States "just as home leave is for U.S. embassy employces" hardly seems appropriate at a time when some posts lack even the travel funds to cover their own consular districts. Then there's her characterization of security regulations as a "means of insulting and demeaning FSNs." Most regional security officers will be surprised to learn this is why they've been sent overseas. As for the author's claim that she was "overpaid" as an FSO, who am I to argue that she wasn't? As for myself, I feel fairly compensated for working at a job I love, but one look at my family's checkbook quickly dispels any feelings of guilt.

But these are small points. My main objection to these articles is that they imply the State Department is an inhumane employer overseas, which obscures the need for tougher management of all employees Americans and FSNs alike - in which performance, not conflict avoidance, is the key. At a time of intense public scrutiny over the effectiveness of government, we can afford nothing less. However, my limited experience in the department has convinced me that FSOs, myself included, feel more comfortable drafting complex cables than correcting wayward employees. In the name of workplace harmony, we are too often inclined to dodge the potential conflicts that firm management implies.

The pretension of "cultural sensitivity" also plays a role. I remember once attending a meeting of FSOs, family members and FSNs called by a senior officer to discuss impending cuts and reclassification of positions for FSNs, part-timers and temporary employees. In discussing the FSN cuts, his tone was appropriately solemn. Not once, though, did he mention the cuts in American employees' positions — the main interest in the audience. The message was clear: American FSOs and their families should understand that the job entails sacrifice. But our non-American colleagues must be handled with a gentler touch.

FSNs cannot have it both ways, as I believe they would agree. They are competent professionals in their own right and deserve to be well-managed, not patronized. This means rigorous performance standards and a salary commensurate with market demands, perhaps not humane by the author's standards, but certainly fair. Will such an approach leave our FSN colleagues "underpaid and underprivileged?" Not if the low turnover rates at my first two posts are any indication.

What about the small minority of junior officers who have "swallowed the myth" that they are "society's elite" and, as a result, deny the contributions of their FSN colleagues? I say State can deny them tenure. And the small group of FSOs and FSNs who are unwilling, or unable, to perform their jobs effectively? I say release them from the obligation of having to show up for work each day.

But, above all, let's stop feeling guilty.

Jim DeHart Vice Consul U.S. Consulate General Melbourne Melbourne, Australia

To the editor:

I'm so pleased to see James Angell's "Postcard From Abroad" on couriers ("Rovings of a Diplomatic Courier," November *Journal*). Couriers have such a unique perspective of our world, and I'm happy to see that validated. I also adore the idea of breaking down courier stereotypes, and I feel that Jim's work encourages that effort.

Congratulations to you, Jim, and to you, FSJ.

Michele Lynn Kaminski Diplomatic Courier U.S. Embassy Bangkok



To the editor:

Ann Miller Morin's article on Eleanor Dulles, who died Oct. 30 ("The Forgotten Dulles, November *Journal*), brought to mind an amusing episode regarding her.



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675 Mass. Avenue Cambridge, MA 02139 Phone: (617) 354-0140 FAX: (617) 354-8595 Toll-Free in US: 800-577-8118 Way back when, I was a good friend of her cousin, who did not have the Dulles surname and was of the "liberal" branch of the family. Most of his friends, myself excepted, were also of the liberal persnasion. Eleanor had a passion for swimming and built a lovely little house in Virginia with a huge pool that she loaned to my friend for a month each summer. I was sometimes invited out along with other friends for a day of swimming and relaxation.

Once I was apparently the only one present who knew of the Dulles connection, and as we were seated for dinner, one of the guests spied on the wall a large portrait of Secretary of State John Foster Dulles and loudly exclaimed, "Good Lord! What is a picture of John Foster Dulles doing here?" I unsuccessfully tried to kick my neighbor and finally had to spill a glass of wine to divert attention from the Great Satan. Fortunately our host was more amused than offended at the episodc.

> James Bailey Parker Retired FSO New York, N.Y.

To the editor:

One of your subscribers, former ambassador Walter Curley, sent me the November issue, which included the piece about my cousin, Eleanor Lansing Dulles. Of course, I read it with great interest and thought it well-written and fair. But I was aghast at the ignorance of a basic fact: It was Dwight Eisenhowcr who appointed John Foster Dulles as secretary of State, not Harry Truman. He was named by Eisenhower after the election in November of 1952, and took office in January with the rest of the Eisenhower appointees.

I applaud the author's emphasis on the male chauvinism of the time, which certainly caused Eleanor some anguish. We feminists, trying to get ahead in a man's world, should know that men will always mark us down, if they can, for silly inaccuracies. As has been said so often: We are No. 2; we must try harder.

Incidentally, Eleanor Dulles and I were named for the same great woman, Eleanor Foster Lansing, the wife of Robert Lansing, who as you know was sccretary of State in the Wilson administration. Also incidentally, I worked for Secretary Dulles and his wife, Janet, as their social secretary from January 1953 for three years. A glamour job for a young woman!

> Eleanor Lansing Thomas Elliott Cross River, N.Y.

We, too, were aghast that such an error was missed by so many pairs of eyes on staff. Thanks for noticing.

— The editors



To the editor:

I just finished reading the very fine series on drugs in the *Foreign Service Journal* of October ("America's Losing Drug Strategy: Policy Seen as Ineffective, as Global Trafficking Soars").

Glad to see more attention paid to Alfred McCoy, a pioneer in exposing how the CIA promoted the drug trade in Southeast Asia ("In Asia, Battling Warlords: At Cold War's End, Complex Geopolitics Spurs Heroin Supply").

I also appreciated Karen Krebsbach pointing out the contradictions of U.S. eradication policy ("In Bolivia, Bucking Tradition: Crop



Substitution Sparks Bitterness Among Campesinos").

And how does someone like John Sweeney, who criticizes big business on the matter of excusing Mexico's protection of the drug trade, end up at the Heritage Foundation?

> Lucy Komisar Freelance Journalist New York, N.Y.



To the editor:

Congratulations on the symposium on U.S. drug policy. The *Journal* has made a major contribution to the public debate on America's tragic drug problem. It would have been even better if someone would have stated the case for legalization, the only rational alternative to the ruinous policy so well described by your authors.

It is begging the question to assume, as do Harry W. Shlaudeman and W. Kenneth Thompson, that American public opinion will never accept legalization. The purpose of public debate is to try to change public opinion when it is wrong.

> Chris G. Petrow Neuilly Sur Seine, France Retired FSO



To the editor:

It's high time that the opposing camps on the marijuana issue sat down and smoked the peace pipe.

Even though the *Journal* featured a cover accurately entitled, "America's Losing Drug Strategy: Policy Seen as Ineffective, as Global Trafficking Soars," none of the authors dealt with the option of medicalizing and/or otherwise removing criminal penalties on the use of marijuana. They vividly described the failure of the drug war [abroad], but offered no credible, moderate, harm-reducing solutions, preferring instead to rehash the same old tired, discredited, prohibitionist policies. Fortunately, there is more enlightened thinking taking place on the issue, as evidenced by recent developments in California.

When the citizens of California on Nov. 5 passed Proposition 215, the Medical Marijuana Initiative, by a 56-44 margin, the Golden State's electorate not only responded compassionately to the suffering of individuals coping with debilitating illness and disease, but in the process guaranteed that the national public debate on the wider issue of decriminalization of marijuana has finally begun.

Thoughtful Americans want to know why, when millions of Californians have concluded that cannabis can be a healing agent for many people, that the federal government continues to prosecute a war on marijuana that every year costs tens of millions of taxpayer dollars, incarcerates tens of thousands of non-violent individuals, and too often makes a mockery of the constitutional concept of limited government and individual rights.

By the way, is it by accident or design that the cover chessboard illustration shows the American king in double check?

John Connerley Political Officer U.S. Embassy Belize City

Since the Journal focuses on U.S. foreign policy, it was decided the series would not include discussion of the domestic issue of marijuana legalization for medicinal purposes.

And, yes, the cover illustration was designed with the winning side — and the losing side — clearly in mind.

— The editors 🗖

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# CLIPPINGS



"It's so disheartening to me when you have to beg people to go on the Senate Foreign Relations Committee. Now it's like the District of Columbia Committee."

— Sen. Christopher Dodd (D-Conn.), recalling when the SFRC was the Senate's most sought-after panel

### WAIVER OF IMMUNITY SOUGHT FOR ENVOY

The U.S. Attorney's office is pursuing charges against a Georgian diplomat involved in a five-car crash that killed a 16year-old girl, a case that is highlighting whether diplomatic immunity is automatic in all criminal allegations.

Georgian President Eduard Shevardnadze on Jan. 10 reversed an earlier decision and told the State Department he is "prepared to waive" the envoy's diplomatic immunity. The State Department last month urged the Georgian government to require Gueorgui Makharadze, its second in command at the embassy, to remain in the United States until the District of Columbia's investigation of the Jan. 3 accident is complete.

In a Jan. 11 article, one Clinton administration official told The Washington Post that the United States "backed [Shevardnadze] big-time" when he trying to maintain control of Georgia during separatist rebellions in the 1990s. As a result, the official said "[Outgoing Secretary of State Warren] Christopher didn't have to threaten. He asked Shevardnadze to do the right thing, and the president is a smart man. He knew Georgia's name was being dragged through the mud over here."

State Department deputy spokesman Glyn T. Davies noted that "it is important to make a distinction between criminal violations and parking tickets."

### SPOUSAL 'BURNOUT' NO. 1 ISSUE OVERSEAS

In corporate life, if a spouse is unhappy with the other's spouse's overseas assignment, it's probably doomed to failure, according to an unbylined article in the Jan. 7 *Wall Street Journal*. In fact, "spousal unhappiness" is the No. 1 cause of "expatriate brownout," according to Cornelius Grove, head of Cornelius Grove and Associates, Inc., a New Yorkbased company that helps American employees overseas ease the transition to other cultures.

Chief among dissatisfactions is the inability of the accompanying spouse to find employment due to legal restrictions in the host country. "The opportunity to accomplish is taken away (from accompanying spouses)," according to Grove. He also said his company has found that company executives returning from overseas jobs have the highest attrition rate in corporate life, often as high as 50 percent.

### **\$21 BILLION URGED** For Foreign Affairs

Rep. Howard Berman (D-Calif.), a member of the House International Affairs Committee, has joined the fray in calling for the saving of the international affairs budget, urging that it be hiked from this year's \$19 million to \$21 billion for next year.

"America's Foreign Service officers provide an early warning system to prevent problems and resolve conflicts before military intervention becomes necessary," he wrote in a Dec. 29 op-ed piece in *The Washington Post.* "Our diplomats abroad now work closely with foreign police to keep criminals, narcotic traffickers and terrorists from our shores. Despite these efforts, however, many political leaders refuse to support the State Department.

"If this were the Defense Department, one congressional commit-



# CLIPPINGS

tee after another would be vigorously investigating the question of who sold out America's security."

Berman takes Congress to task for cutting foreign affairs spending, saying the cuts are forcing seasoned diplomats into retirement and frustrated junior officers into quitting. The result, he wrote, is "the heart is being hollowed out of our country's first line of defense."

### Religious Freedom New 'Rights' Issue

Demands for religious freedom are breaking out all over the globe — and the State Department is stepping in to document it all.

"From China to the Sudan to Eastern Europe, religious persecution and harassment appear to be rising," reporter Robert Marquand writes in the Dec. 24 *Christian Science Monitor*. "Yet issues of freedom of religion abroad have not been given close attention by the United States government, or by many human rights groups."

But Marquand spoke too soon. This month, the Dcpartment of State is hosting the Advisory Committee on Religious Freedom Abroad, a committee of 20 U.S. citizens of Protestant, Jewish, Orthodox and Muslim faiths, as well as religious scholars. The group will discuss a new State initiative to track religious persecution around the globe and to make policy recommendations to the White House.

Alexandra Arriaga, the committee's executive sccretary, who works in State's Bureau of Democracy, Human Rights and Labor, says "the panel will focus on identifying the breadth of religious persecution, help with interreligious cooperation, and try to promote principles of separation of church and state abroad," writes Marquand.

Many conservative American religious leaders criticize the Clinton administration for ignoring issues of religious freedom abroad, and call the new committee "only window dressing," writes Marquand. "Even State Department sources agree that a disinterest in religious matters in the elite secular culture of the U.S. Foreign Service, combined with a declinc in human rights priorities after the Cold War, has resulted in scant attention paid to religious freedoms."

Marquand cites examples of religious repression around the globe: In 1996 China imprisoned Tibetan Buddhist monks and Roman Catholic leaders, the same year three evangelicals were killed and nearly 15,000 churches, temples and religious graves were destroyed in the country's Zhejiang province.

Since 1994 in Iran, four Protestant leaders have died in mysterious circumstances and dozens of Bahai leaders have been jailed or killed. In Indonesia, five people have been killed in religious riots involving Muslims and Christians and several Christian churches have been burned. In Southern Sudan, Christians are being imprisoned and their children are being sold as slaves. Buddhist monks in Cambodia and Vietnam are routinely thrown into prison.

"No comprehensive human rights reports of the type done on political, gender or ethnic rights violations have been undertaken," says Marquand. Still, religious freedom is a thorny issue. "No one is sure what direction the committee will go, either in terms of policy or consensus about the problem. Religious sensibilities make for complex statecraft, American officials say."



"What does the milkman think of diplomats?" That's a question *Chicago Daily News* Washington reporter Wallace R. Deuel asked in the *Foreign Service Journal* in a February 1947 article, "Why People Don't Like Diplomats."

"He thinks, or he is afraid, that too many diplomats are men of means which they have inherited rather than earned, and that too many of them come from too few of the big cities of the Eastern seaboard, and attended too small a number of too similar and too expensive schools and universities ... that because of their economic and social advantages, they are better human beings than he, the milkman, is.<sup>2</sup>

He also thinks "too many diplomats are ignorant of, if not hostile toward America."

Interestingly enough, Deuel admits the question "baffles" him, too. C LIPPINGS

"Diplomats approach every problem with an open mouth."

— Arthur Goldberg, 20thcentury American jurist and diplomat

### CLOUD STILL LOOMS OVER COMMERCE

Trade missions from the Department of Commerce will likely suffer under the cloud of accusations that it has become politicized under the Clinton administration, particularly by skewing its efforts to foster U.S. exports on behalf of Democratic businessmen, Paul Blustein reported in *The Washington Post* on Dec. 29.

Quoting David J. Rothkopf, the former deputy commerce undersecretary for international trade who left in 1996, Blustein reported he said, "Do you think that someone's going to undertake a big initiative in Southeast Asia or try to build commercial ties to Indonesia?" He was obviously referring to John Huang, a key figure in a Democratic fundraising scandal with ties to Indonesia, who once held a unid-level Commerce position. Blustein warns that because of the cloud over Commerce, observers worry that the "good" things Commerce accomplished in international trade under the late Secretary Ron Brown will be lost, particularly the strong promotion of U.S. exports in the developing world and Eastern Europe.

"Complaints about excessive political influence at Commerce are hardly new," wrote Blustein. "The department naturally takes a pro-business point of view in areas it administers. ... (Democrats') willingness to reward loyal partisans has been no greater than under previous secretaries, such as Robert A. Mosbacher, who served as President George Bush's chief fundraiser."

Warned one Commerce employee who asked not to be identified, "These guys are no worse than Mr. Mosbacher, let me assure you." He also addcd, "This is a very politicized place. And that's why we're in such trouble."

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### SPEAKING OUT Train, Reward More FSOs As Multilateral Negotiators

By Stephanie Smith Kinney

President Clinton has asked the State Department to bring global issues such as environment, science and technology into the mainstream of multilateral policy, where FSOs are now only minority players. However, to address the president's concerns would require longterm efforts of officials in the Foreign Service, as well as changes in its organization, personnel, incentives system — and its subculture.

The Service could begin that process by training and encouraging more FSOs to become multilateral negotiators.

It's a widely held belief among FSOs that an assignment to a multilateral bureau, such as the Bureau of Oceans, International Environmental and Scientific Affairs (OES) in Washington, D.C., is not careerenhancing and can thwart a subsequent good assignment. Traditionally, FSOs have preferred assignments to geographic bureaus, where bilateral relations are pursued and which provide a stepping stone to assignments to constituent embassies. All but a handful of U.S. overseas missions are focused on the conduct of bilateral

Stephanie Smith Kinney is the regional counselor for environment, science and technology in the Nordic-Bahic region at U.S. Embassy Copenhagen. Since joining the Foreign Service in 1976, she has also served in Rome, New York, Caracas, New York, and in Washington, where she was assigned to the OES Bureau. Bilateral relations can no longer be the only goal of U.S. diplomatic interests, given the way the world is changing.

relations and backstopped in Washington in the geographic bureaus, a logical use of limited diplomatic resources in this era of the nation-state. This said, however, it is also crucial to recognize that bilateral relations can no longer be the only goal of U.S. diplomatic interests, given the many emerging transnational issues of importance and the increased cooperation among countries.

Not surprisingly, links are minimal between U.S. embassies and multilateral policy bureaus at the State Department, OES. such as International Organization Affairs (IO), International Narcotics and Law Enforcement Affairs (INL). Democracy, Human Rights and Labor (DRL), Population, Refugees and Migration (PRM) and Political Military Affairs (PM). Only the

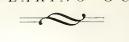
bureaus of administration, personnel and diplomatic security can be aptly termed "functional" bureaus.

In the primarily bilateral world of the Foreign Service, embassies and geographic bureaus have little interest in issues, processes or players that further overload or, worse yet, undermine or weaken their bilateral prowess. As a result, the Foreign Service is missing an opportunity to carve out new areas of expertise in multilateral relations, which severely limits FSOs' career options.

Giving global issues their proper due must start with selling the Foreign Service itself on the importance of multilateral issues in U.S. foreign policy. For example, U.S. policy in OES today is negotiated by an estimated 200-person bureau of predominantly Civil Service personnel, whose numbers represent a 38 percent decline in FSO-held positions since the mid-1980s, according to a 1992 State Department Inspector General's report. This means the gap between creating and implementing foreign policy in that field has widened.

Relatively few FSOs have much experience formulating or negotiating global-issue policy, whether it involves human rights, U.N. peacekeeping, anti-terrorism, drugs or the environment. Of those who do, few choose to remain involved and develop longterm expertise, believing it bad for their careers. A significant body of FSOs are still inclined to dismiss global

### Speaking Out



issues such as climate change, biodiversity and biosafety, science and technology cooperation or international energy policy as hopelessly "technical," which only furthers the hiring of more Civil Service "technical experts."

Global issues such as environment, science and technology (ES&T) should be in the mainstream of diplomatic concerns, given their growing importance on the world stage. Moreover, ES&T issues are intimately linked to numerous U.S. economic interests, as well as to a growing body of international law that legally binds the United States.

For example, since 1989, the United States and more than 140 other countries have been involved in international negotiations related to climate change, which culminated in 1992U.N. Framework the Convention on Climate Change. Although the framework's implementation is still being negotiated, an issue such as carbon dioxide whose increase is believed responsible for global warming --- has profound implications for U.S. energy, economic, environmental and trade policy interests. However, during the first three years of negotiations, the 25-member U.S. delegation included only one Foreign Service employee. FSOs are equally underrepresented in delegations of the estimated 30 other environmental negotiations now under way.

Multilateral, multifaceted and far-reaching international negotiations may sound like the work of a diplomatic service, but not at the State Department. The Foreign Service is not systematically doing nor trained for such work, even though many incoming FSOs hold bachelor's degrees in science disci-

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plines and would probably enjoy working with environment, science and technology issues.

FSOs should be rewarded for work on substantive, multilateral policy formulation and negotiations, in much the same way they are rewarded for managing bilateral relations with bonuses and recognition. FSOs value positions in bilateral relations more because it's what they know and do best — and those jobs are perceived as career enhancing.

Given the importance that traditional diplomacy attaches to the art of negotiation, it scems anomalous for FSOs to shy away from global issues and multilateral negotiations. The Foreign Service and its employees need to recognize that, although global issues may not involve vital national security interests a la good old Cold War days, they do involve critical, long-term interests in other areas.

Increasingly, the United States is unavoidably involved in defining and codifying worldwide political, economic, commercial and social interests through international negotiations, especially in the growing need for a body of recognized international law. Since no country for the foreseeable future will be able to match the U.S. capacity for brute power, most will have little choice but to concentrate their diplomatic efforts on a game that America largely invented.

So, if the United States wants the world to play by its rules, officials have to make sure U.S. interests are taken into account in negotiating international legal frameworks and rules. Most know that the State Department and the Foreign Service have already lost trade policy and economic functions. If U.S. diplomats don't attend to this work, others will, either from other agencies — or other countries.

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8230 Old Courthouse Road Suite 450, Vienna, VA 22182 In this context, it would seem that a diplomatic service worthy of the name — especially one that includes as many lawyers as the U.S. Foreign Service does — would be more interested in rising to the intellectual challenge of multilateral diplomacy. But perhaps the truth is that FSOs prefer to restrict themselves to the easier, often more satisfying, task of conducting bilateral relations.

SPEAKING OUT

Given the intellectual capital that exists in the Foreign Service, however, it's hard to understand why every legally binding negotiation under State's auspices is not, by definition, drawing on FS talent. In a vital Foreign Service, all such negotiations should be directed by a master FS negotiator and include at least two or three junior or mid-level FSO apprentices. These apprentices, who should be experienced in bilateral negotiations in at least two geographic areas, would work both in Washington and abroad, providing substantive operational support to the delegation chief. Political appointees should be saved for high-level political negotiations and events, such as ministerial-level conferences.

After spending two to three years working on a Washington-based negotiating team, these junior officers could be assigned abroad to serve in multilateral positions at organizations such as NATO, the World Trade Organization (WTO). the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD) and the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe (OSCE). After three- to six-year tours abroad, these junior negotiators would be ready to assume levels of increasing responsibility in one or more of the negotiating processes in the multilateral burcaus like OES, IO and INL.

Eventually, this systematic development of negotiating talent could lead to skilled FS negotiating cadres, which could be called upon when an issue requires such talent, expertise and experience. As things stand now, circumstances conspire to convince everyone, including most FSOs, that technical expertise outside of the Service is required to form and negotiate policy on technical and global issues. The long-term fallacy of this approach should be obvious, but apparently it is not. Each new non-Foreign Service "expert" has to learn everything an FSO already knows about international relations, policy formation, bilateral relations, foreign cultures and languages, terms of diplomacy and how embassies work.

After an apprentice tour in multilateral negotiations, all an FSO would need to master is the details of the specific negotiation to which he is assigned. Process and personalities are usually easily grasped, and underlying political dynamics and national interests are slow to change. Cadres • and individual FSOs could quickly become "issue experts," to be moved around at will, to cover new issues or to handle a new twist on an old issue. Of course, U.S. technical agencies should remain a valuable source of needed technical expertise.

Without a clear vision in developing new areas of recognized skill and expertise for the Foreign Service, facile assumptions about FS inadequacies vis-a-vis technical experts are becoming a self-fulfilling prophecy. If the Foreign Service can recstablish a reputation for itself as a corps of knowledgeable diplomats and accomplished multilateral negotiators, maybe it can reestablish the principle that presidents will be well-served by calling on the country's professional diplomats to help manage the nation's foreign affairs. At this point, the burden of proof is on the Foreign Service.



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### Focus on Changing of the Guard at State

# ALBRIGHT WELCOMED ABOARD





MORE POLITICAL THAN DIPLOMATIC, HISTORIC 'FIRST' BRINGS ENERGY, TOUGHNESS

By George Gedda

ecretary of State Madeleine K. Albright will differ dramatically in

style if not substance from her predecessor. Warren Christopher had a lot in common with other secretaries of State. He was bland. He rarely sprang surprises. He may have been one of the most selfless public servants of our generation, but his speeches were unmemorable.

If an Iraqi newspaper had compared Christopher to a snake, he no doubt would have ignored it. But after Albright was the target of that unflattering comparison two years ago, she wore a snake-like brooch to a meeting with Iraq's top diplomat. The message was elear: If Saddam Hussein's henchmen think Albright is a snake, that's fine with her. She has a bit-

### FOCUS

Albright may rival James Baker as the most political secretary since World War II. Her ability to latch on to the right people was seen in her courting of Hillary Clinton as an ally in her quest for the job.

ing un-Christopher-like response to zany fringe groups that think the United Nations is poised to take over the United States: "Black helicopters are not going to swoop down and steal your garden furniture." She danced the macarena with an African diplomat after Clinton's reelection victory. She has been heard to use salty language.

And, of course, her most dramatic flight from diplomatic decorum occurred a year ago after Cuban jet fighters shot down two unarmed, Miami-based planes. A Cuban pilot used the word *cojones* after firing on his prey. Days later, Albright observed, "Frankly, this isn't *cojones*. This is cowardice."

Secretary Albright, sworn in last month, once said, "I am not a diplomat," and indeed, it is her willingness to be undiplomatic at times that may have drawn her to President Clinton during the secretary of State sweepstakes last fall. Clinton called the *cojones* remark "probably the best one-liner in the whole administration's foreign policy." Albright further ingratiated herself with Clinton a few days later when her verbal assaults on Fidel Castro produced a frenzied reaction among the 60,000 gathered at the Orange Bowl in Miami. Clinton said afterward, "We thought she was running for mayor of Miami down there." Albright, he added, "has a great political feel."

Albright, 59, sccs herself the same way. "I am such a political person," she said at one point last year. In that sense, she may rival James A. Baker as the most political secretary of State of the post-World War II generation.

Indeed, she said little during her Jan. 8-9 confirmation hearings before the Senate Foreign Relations Committee (SFRC) that offended any of its members. Her careful responses left what every diplomat likes: open options.

Domestically, it remains to be seen whether her political savvy will translate into increased public and con-

George Gedda is the diplomatic correspondent for the Associated Press.

gressional support for more spending in the foreign affairs budget. Clinton was swayed at least as much by her ability to explain foreign policy in terms the average American can understand as he was undoubtedly by the opportunity to become the first president to nominate a female secretary of State.

For a passionate and articulate defense of administration foreign policy, no official has performed better than Albright. Scn. Barbara Mikulski (D-Md.) told Clinton that diplomats may understand the complexities of Bosnia but only Albright could explain American involvement there in a way that her mother, a grocer, could understand. Tenacity is another Albright hallmark. "She's like a bulldog who gets its teeth into the bone and won't let go," says another former sccretary of State, Lawrence Eagleburger.

nlike some of her more liberal Democratic Party colleagues, Albright is not squeamish about an activist U.S. role in the world. "For mc America is really, truly, the indispensable nation," she has said. "Tve never seen America as an imperialist or colonialist or meddling country."

At her SFRC testimony, Albright elaborated on the U.S. role in the world as she sees it. "As you know, I believe in an activist American foreign policy," she said. "[But] we do not have unlimited resources. And frankly, even if we did, we would not wish to be involved in every problem in the world. We are not the world's policeman. Nor ... are we running a charity or a fire department. I think we need to act in places where our addition of action will, in fact, be the critical difference."

Albright cited Desert Storm as a model of how the United States can work with others in protecting its security interests. "When we act with others, we have others to share the burden with us and do a lot of the lifting," she said. "And it's a force multiplier."

Albright offered no new initiatives of her own, choosing instead to reitcrate first-term Clinton priorities such as bringing peace to the Middle East, stemming international drug trafficking, controlling proliferation of nuclear weapons, extending the rule of law, promoting environmental policies around the world, supporting "vigorous diplomacy" to end conflicts, and expanding NATO.

She said diplomacy should be the first foreign-policy tool used in managing relations with rogue states, since it's more subtly effective than economic sanctions or military force. "Diplomacy is the most nuanced and force is the most blunt and economic sanctions are somewhat in between," she told the SFRC in response to a question on how well sanctions work. "The most effective sanctions are multilateral sanctions. … There's no such thing as a cookiecutter approach to foreign policy. The job of diplomats, in consultation with Congress, is to find the right approach for each particular case while keeping in mind there should be consistency in our principles and flexibility in our tactics."

Despite the congenial atmosphere during the SFRC hearings, Albright faces some contentious issues with the Republican-controlled Senate, such as ratification of a global treaty banning production and use of chemical weapons, cuts in the foreign-affairs budget, and NATO expansion. This last initiative, which has already ruffled Russia's feathers, is expected to move ahead as early as summer, with her native Czech Republic likely among the new entrants. "The purpose of enlargement is to do for Europe's east what NATO did 50 years ago for Europe's west: to integrate new democracies, defeat old hatreds, provide confidence in economic recovery and deter conflict," she said. "NATO cannot and should not preserve the old Iron Curtain and its eastern frontier."

On China, she remained noncommittal. It is an issue that caused Christopher as much grief as any other, save Bosnia. Albright inherits a situation in which China is seen as intent on expanding its influence, as a persistent human rights violator and as outwitting U.S. trade negotiators. What counsel will Albright provide if China does not abide by its commitments to Hong Kong once control over the British colony reverts to China at mid-year? There are other China-related issues. The U.S. trade deficit with China surpassed \$110 billion by a good margin last year. She said during the hearings, "A strong bilateral relationship ... is needed to expand areas of cooperation, reduce the potential for misunderstanding and encourage China's full emergence as a responsible member of the international community." Albright has a ready answer for those who complain about American inconsistency in engaging China while trying to isolate Cuba: "China is a world power. … Cuba is an embarrassment to the Western Hemisphere."

A lbright is widely viewed as a hawk but she has never deviated much from the Democratic mainstream, even when it entailed embracing some decidedly unhawkish positions. During the 1980s, she advocated a nuclear frecze and defense spending cuts. She opposed sending aid to the Nicaraguan Contras. In 1988, serving as foreign policy adviser to Democratic presidential candidate Michael Dukakis, she said a Dukakis administration would advocate a "step-by-step" approach toward normalizing relations with Cuba, which is in stark contrast to her more recent anti-Castro bashing. In each instance, she showed a reluctance to stray too far from the party's center of gravity, lest she sound too much like a Republican.

Her hawkish side has manifested itself in several ways. It was best revealed during her early advocacy of using military power to halt Bosnian Serb atrocities. It took courage to take that stand against such luminaries as Christopher, former Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff Colin Powell and National Security Adviser Anthony Lake, among others.

Her conflict with Powell, who turned down an offer to become secretary of State two years ago, produced a celebrated exchange outlined in his 1995 book, *My American Journey.* "What's the point of having this superb military that you're always talking about if we can't use it?" Albright had asked Powell in 1993, referring to Bosnia. "I thought I would have an aneurism," commented Powell, always worried about committing U.S. troops without clear political objectives and an exit strategy.

Lake saw another Vietnam-like quagmire in Bosnia if Albright's arguments prevailed. Eventually they did, though the grim scenarios predicted by Powell and Lake have not been borne out — at least so far. A turning point in her relationship with Clinton may have occurred during the summer of 1995 as the Bosnian Serbs were carrying out a genocidal campaign against the Muslims. Albright was worried Bosnia would become an election-year albatross for Clinton, and told him so in a memo. Within a month, propelled by events on the ground and perhaps by Albright's memo, Clinton's policy of allowing the Europeans to take the lead on Bosnia was scrapped and the U.S.-led air attacks began. By November, the Dayton

### $F \circ c \circ s$

## IN HER OWN WORDS

The following is an excerpt from Madeleine Albright's opening statement before the Senate Foreign Relations Committee on Jan. 8, the first of a two-day confirmation hearing on her nomination as secretary of State.

When the disintegration of the Soviet Union and the start of a new century. Our nation is respected and at peace. Our alliances are vigorous. Our economy is strong. And from the distant corners of Asia, to the emerging democracies of Central Europe and Africa, to the community of democracies that exists within our own hemisphere — and to the one impermanent exception to the community, Castro's Cuba — American institutions and ideals are a model for those who have, or who aspire to, freedom.

All this is no accident, and its continuation is by no means inevitable. Democratic progress must be sustained as it was built — by American leadership. And our leadership must be sustained if our interests are to be protected around the globe. Do not doubt, those interest are not geopolitical abstractions; they are real.

It matters to our children whether they grow up in a world where the dangers posed by weapons of mass destruction have been minimized or allowed to run out of control.

It matters to our families whether illegal drugs continue to pour into our neighborhoods from overseas.

It matters to Americans who travel abroad or go about their daily business at home whether the scourge of international terrorism is reduced.

It matters to our workers and businesspeople whether they will be unfairly forced to compete against companies that violate fair labor standards, despoil the environment or gain contracts not through competition but corruption.

And it matters to us all whether through inattention or indifference, we allow small wars to grow into large ones that put our safety and freedom at risk.

To defeat the dangers and seize the opportunities, we must be more than audience, more even than actors, we must be the authors of the history of our age.

To be effective, force and diplomacy must complement and reinforce each other, for there will be many occasions, in many places, where we will rely on diplomacy to protect our interests, and we will expect our diplomats to defend those interests with skill, knowledge and spine.

If confirmed, one of my most important tasks will be to work with Congress to ensure that we have the superb diplomatic representation that our people deserve and our interests demand. We must invest the resources needed to maintain American leadership. Consider the stakes. We are talking here about 1 percent of our federal budget, but that 1 percent may well determine 50 percent of the history that is written about our era.

Unfortunately, as Sen. [Richard G.] Lugar [R-Ind.] recently pointed out, "our international operations are underfunded and understaffed." He noted, as well, that not only our interests, but our efforts to balance the budget would be damaged if American disengagement were to result in "nuclear terrorism, a trade war, an energy crisis, a major regional conflict ... or some other preventable disaster."

Over the past four years, the Department of State has cut more than 2,000 employees, downgraded positions, closed more than 30 embassies or consulates and deferred badly needed modernization of infrastructure and communications. We have also suffered a 30 percent reduction in our foreign assistance programs since 1991. It is said that we have moved from an era where the big devour the small to an era where the fast devour the slow. If that is the case, your State Department, with its obsolete technology, \$300 million in deferred maintenance and a shrinking base of skilled personnel, is in trouble.

Senators, you on your side of the table and I on my side, have a unique opportunity to be partners in creating a new and enduring framework for American leadership. One of my predecessors, Dean Acheson, wrote about being present at the creation of a new era. You and I have the challenge and the responsibility to help co-author the newest chapter in our history.

### FOCUS

peace agreement was in hand, and Bosnia barely received a mention in the election campaign. To the extent that Clinton credited Albright with sparing him an electionyear forcign policy embarrassment, it no doubt raised her stock as a prospective candidate for secretary of State.

Latin America, which received only episodic attention during Clinton's first four years, is expected to be a focus of an early Albright agenda, as NAFTA expansion once again becomes a priority. Clinton is the first president in recent memory to have spent an entire term in office without visiting Mexico. Albright will help lay the groundwork for an expected presidential visit to the region this spring and may well accompany Clinton to the likely destinations of Brazil and Argentina. And control over Africa policy is expected to migrate back to the State Department from the NSC, where it was run for four years by Lake, an old Africa hand.

With the long string of white male secretaries of State finally broken, having a woman in charge at Foggy Bottom raises the possibility of a higher profile for such issues as China's practice of forced abortion and sterilization, female genital mutilation, the exploitation of children in the workplace under appalling conditions — such cases in India number tens of millions alone — the disproportionate number of women and children in refugee populations, and the secondary status accorded to women in much of the world, especially in Muslim countries.

It is among the Islamic nations that Albright could face her biggest difficulties. A week after her nomination, the *Los Angeles Times* pointed out that regular readers of the Arab press had to conclude that she was either a frustrated old maid, had been promised a husband by Clinton if she succeeded in having Boutros-Ghali fired — or that she is Jewish, a Zionist, kowtows to Israel and hates Arabs. In fact, she was married more than 20 years and has three daughters, and she was born Catholic and is now Episcopalian.

Syria's ambassador to the United States, Walid Moualem, was quoted as saying Albright will have to work very hard to overcome her negative image among Arabs. "She must redouble her efforts to understand their cause," he said. It's hard to imagine Albright outdoing Christopher when it comes to trying to understand the Arab cause, or at least the Syrian component of it. In his 24 visits to Damascus in four years, Christopher tried to achieve an Israeli-Syrian accommodation. The best that can be said of these visits is that President Hafez Al-Assad hasn't abandoned the peace process. But he hasn't advanced it either, at least along the Israeli-Syrian front. Aside from the Middle East peace process, perhaps the most worrisome issue for the United States in that region is the potential for instability in Saudi Arabia.

Ibright's four-year tenure as U.S. ambassador to the United Nations was marked by policy U-turns. She was an early enthusiastic backer of U.N. humanitarian intervention, but shifted gears when these activities came under public attack. At one point, she said the United Nations each year costs the average American only the price of a single movie ticket. At another point, as public criticism of the United Nations mounted, she said the U.N. bureaucracy had grown to "elephantine proportions."

She was an early admirer of Secretary General Boutros Boutros-Ghali, then led the fight against his re-election when Republicans began to see him as an inviting political target. She alienated many at the United Nations during that struggle, but her job, as she saw it, was to help Clinton. One U.N. diplomat who asked not to be identified said, "She's done this organization untold harm," referring to her aggressive campaign to oust Boutros-Ghali. However, thanks in part to her efforts, the Republicans were deprived of using the United Nations as a campaign issue — and the Clinton White House took note.

Clinton considers her to be a team player — with good reason. She pushes her own views in private but is an ardent proponent of whatever the president decides. At the United Nations, her unbending support for Washington's policies was such that fellow diplomats often felt their concerns were ignored. Critics say she wasted four years on peripheral issues rather than focusing on more substantive questions like how to make the world organization more productive. Some compared her unfavorably to George Bush's U.N. envoy, Thomas Pickering. Indeed, when her nomination was announced, French diplomats confided that they were ordered by Paris to say nice things about her.

In her first months as secretary, Albright will have to do some fence-mending with ambassadors who found her imperious at the United Nations, says Helmut Sonnenfeldt of the Brookings Institution. A European ambassador lamented that Albright held monthly meetings with all the U.N. women ambassadors, but never found time to meet with the ambassadors from Europe.

She believes women have a disadvantage in the maledominated diplomatic world. "Women very rarely walk

### FOCUS

Albright is widely viewed as a hawk but she has never deviated much from the Democratic mainstream, even when it entailed embracing some unhawkish positions.

into a group and decide to dominate it on the first day or make their mark the first moment they walk in," she said onee. "It's our approach to life to kind of get the lay of the land a little bit and see where things are." This, she would point out, is not what happens at the United Nations.

Ver the years, Albright has demonstrated a knack for cultivating the right people. She was barely 30 when she was hired in 1968 by then-senator and later Seeretary of State Edmund Muskie. A fellow immigrant from Eastern Europe, Zbigniew Brzezinski, was once her professor and gave Albright her first executive braneh job with the NSC during the Carter administration.

She learned to hone her networking skills in the early 1980s, when her party was out of power and she was newly divorced. The breakup from Joseph Albright, an heir to a massive newspaper empire, left her comfortable, with assets that included a 370-acre farm in Leesburg, Va., and investments estimated today at \$5 million. She also kept the couple's Georgetown townhouse, where she hosted dinner parties with influential Democrats. A dozen years ago, she so impressed Geraldine Ferraro with her insights as a foreignpolicy adviser that the then-vice presidential nominee would tape her remarks and listen to them again in the bathtub at night. Later, she won points with an obscure governor from Arkansas named Bill Clinton by recommending him for membership in the Council on Foreign Relations. (He got in.)

Her ability to latch on to people in high places was demonstrated anew last year. It was no accident that her most decisive ally in the internal debates over second-term personnel may have been Hillary Rodham Clinton. The duo attended the U.N. Women's Conference in China in 1995. This past summer, the Czeeh-born Albright played tour guide to Mrs. Clinton in Prague, showing her the yellow house where she once lived and the square where a protest rally in 1989 helped topple the communist regime.

Of her choice of companions for the visit to Prague, Albright told Elaine Sciolino of *The New York Times*, "It just seemed like a natural thing to do." They were both Wellesley alumnae. But in some parts of the administration, Sciolino reported, the trip with the first lady was "so blatantly political that it is dismissed in just two words: the audition."

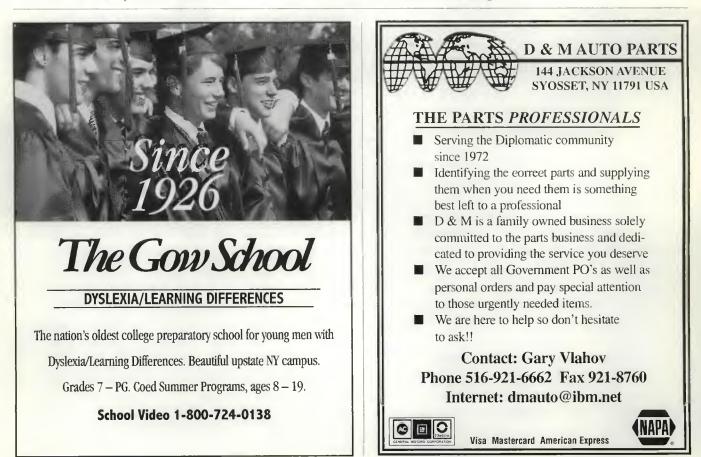
Albright also has done some spadework with Sen. Jesse Helms, the North Carolina Republican who chairs the SFRC. Helms, who counts Albright among his favorite Democrats, last year invited her to speak at a woman's college in his home state, which she did eagerly. On the flight down, the two became fast friends. "I've never disagreed with someone so agreeably," Helms said later.

Albright has never been shy about her ambition, despite her comment before the SFRC that she had never dared wish to become secretary of State: "Frankly, I did not think it was possible." It should not be surprising that one who has come as far as Albright has learned to budget her time carefully. In an earlier era, she was known to knit sweaters while sitting in a movie theater. She used to rise at 4:30 to work on her Ph.D. in international affairs at Columbia University, a degree that paved the way for her 11 years as a professor of international affairs at Georgetown University, where she directed the Women in Foreign Service Program and was voted "most popular professor" for four years in a row.

When her prematurely born twin daughters were in incubators, she took a erash course in Russian, one of five languages she has mastered. She also speaks French, Polish and her native Czech. And on her frequent shuttle flights over the past four years from New York to attend high-level meetings in Washington, she could be heard telling the pilot, "Fly faster, the president is waiting." Now she'll have her own plane. Nevertheless, the highest-ranking woman in the nation's history is not afraid to flaunt her feminine side. On Valentine's Day a year ago, taking her turn as U.N. Seeurity Council president, she placed red bags of caudy in front of each of the other 14 eouncil members — all male. If the world views of Christopher, Powell, Lake and Clinton were shaped by the tragedy in Vietnam, Albright's were formed by events at Munich in 1938 when she was a year old, and a decade later when the Communists seized power in her homeland. As she likes to point out, she was foreed into exile twice in her first 11 years of life, first by the Nazis and later by the Communists. Assistant Secretary of State Richard Holbrooke says, "Madeleine's reaction will be framed by her personal experiences throughout her life, which could not be more different from those of her predecessor."

Nothing is contrived about her hostility towards totalitarian regimes. During a 1995 visit to Burma, a government official told her how "happy" the people were with their military government. "I told him that during a lifetime of studying repressive regimes. I had found .... authoritarian leaders often dehide themselves that they are loved, but the smiles they see are usually prompted not by affection but by fear," she wrote. Months later, she said, "My mind-set is Munich; most of my generation's is Vietnam." She once told Bosnian diplomat Mohamed Sacirbey, "Every time I see what's going on in Bosnia, I'm brought back to what my father was going through in the abandonment of Czeehoslovakia." Not surprisingly, Sacirbey is among her admirers: "Having been born in that part of the world, she has a sensitivity to the yearnings of the people there that may be disregarded by other political players," he says.

An unapologetic Euroeentrist, Albright has long been interested in the "dynamics of liberation," particularly the role of a free press in bringing about political change in Central and Eastern Europe. Her 1976 doetoral dissertation examined the media in 1968 Czechoslovakia and a second piece, published in 1983, looked at Poland during the Solidarity era. Her other published writing indicates she has thought deeply about how democratization evolves in countries where the government shows an appreciation for human and civil rights.



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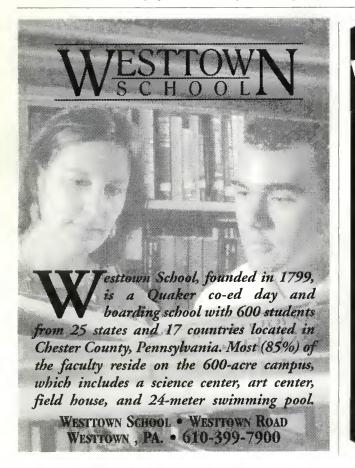
Her family having been welcomed in the United States after being expelled twice from her homeland, she has an appreciation of this country that transcends that of many native-born Americans for whom the excesses of dictators are an abstraction.

The day she was nominated as secretary, she endeared herself to Americans when she said, "Because of my parents' love of democracy, we came to America after being driven twice from our home in Czechoslovakia — first by Hitler and then by Stalin. Because of this nation's kindness, we were granted political asylum and I have had the opportunity to live my life among the most generous and courageous people on earth." She underscored that belief again during SFRC testimony: "The newspaper in Denver, where we lived, had a motto that read, 'tis a privilege to live in Colorado.' My father used to repeat that motto on a regular basis, hut he would often add as reminder, 'Kids,' he would say, 'never forget that it is also a privilege to live in the United States." Says journalist Emily MacFarquahar, who has known Albright for 41 years, "She is passionate about her patriotism."

Seldom has a secretary of State taken office as well briefed as Albright is. She sought out issues that Christopher had little time for. She visited some of Africa's worst trouble spots and also was a frequent traveler to Latin America. She has been to off-the-beaten-track places such as Cyprus and Georgia.

Four years ago, Clinton won election as head of a party that, for 12 years, had been out of power and out of touch. Early missteps were inevitable and, perhaps, excusable. Now, inexperience won't wash as an excuse for slipups, particularly at Foggy Bottom. Having spent four years at the United Nations, it's hard to think of an international issue that has escaped Albright's gaze.

She also boasts impressive domestic support as she embarks on her new adventure. Imagine winning the backing of such polar opposites as Jesse Helms and Hillary Clinton. No small feat. ■



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FOCUS ON CHANGING OF THE GUARD AT STATE

# CHRISTOPHER BOWS OUT





### HISTORIANS PREDICT MIXED LEGACY FOR 'LAWYERLY' DIPLOMAT OF INTEGRITY

### By Karen Krebsbach

arren Christopher may hold the Guinness Book of World Reeords title for logging more miles than any secretary of State in U.S. history — an exhausting 758,142 in four years — but diplomatie historians disagree on how much his shuttle diplomaey achieved.

None of the dozen interviewed believed he would make what one called the "Dream Team" of best secretaries of State (John Quincy Adams, 1817-1825; Dean Acheson, 1949-1953; John M. Hay, 1898-1905; and William H. Seward, 1861-1869), and views on his four-year stewardship were mixed, ranging from "respectable" to "ineffective." Most agreed Christopher would not pass historians' litmus test for great foreign policy thinkers. "He won't be seen as someone who

### FOCUS

Christopher is of the great tradition of lawyerly secretaries of State, the kind of gentleman diplomat who is pragmatic, nonideological and somewhat distrustful of the grand scheme of things.

changed the direction of American foreign policy," says Cornell University's Walter LaFeber, a scholar of U.S. diplomacy of the Cold War era. "It would be different if he had reconceptualized and adjusted foreign policy for our era, but he didn't."

Douglas Brinkley, a biographer of Dean Acheson who teaches at the University of New Orleans, agrees that Christopher will not be remembered as a foreign policy maverick. "Christopher was a fairly good custodian of U.S. foreign policy in a world full of crazies," he says. "Knowing you have someone who's honest and can be trusted are great attributes. His word was good, which lent credibility to U.S. foreign policy. But 100 years from now, when students are studying the best secretaries of the 20th century, Christopher's name will not be on it."

Indiana University's Joan Hoff, who authored biographies of presidents Richard Nixon and Herbert Hoover, predicts Christopher's "legacy will be a blip on the radar screen. Even under Carter [when he was deputy secretary of State], he never had much to do with overall strategy for foreign policy and I don't think he really developed a talent or taste for vision or planning."

Diplomatic historians often divide foreign policy thinkers into idealists or realists, but the 71-year-old former corporate attorney doesn't fit comfortably in either group, observes Walter Isaacson of *Time Magazine*. "There's sort of another category — the lawyer who looks at things on a case-by-case basis, who is pragmatic and nonideological and somewhat distrustful of the grand scheme of things," says Isaacson, who penned a biography of Henry Kissinger. "That's Warren Christopher."

Brinkley says Christopher "comes out of the great diplomatic tradition of the gentleman diplomat. In that sense, he's somewhat of an anachronism to the modern era of telecommunications and a focus on trade policy. He didn't put himself on the firing line in the interna-

Karen Krebsbach is the editor of the Journal.

tional arena, and he had that behind-the-scenes quality that didn't really represent American dynamism."

Christopher's careful, methodical style may have suited the right person at the right time in history, but he was clearly the wrong person for today, in the early 1990s, says Nancy Bernkopf Tucker of Georgetown University's School of Foreign Service. "Like Dcan Rusk, Christopher was asked to fulfill a role that he was not as well-suited to as he might have been at some other point in our history," she says, pointing to his inability to address the growing tide of isolationism that has swept the country in recent years. "At this point in U.S. history, we needed greater boldness — a Dean Acheson, not a Dean Rusk."

As the first full-term secretary of State since the Cold War, Christopher appeared unwilling to shed the us-vs.them mentality, and seemed unable to develop the kind of vision that would usher the world's lone superpower into the next century. This world view, typical of his generation, was nurtured by his childhood experience of the Depression's devastating effects in rural North Dakota. But, says Hoff, "What we need in foreign policy today are thinkers who can think critically about Cold War policy."

More importantly, historians agree Christopher's record is as much a product of Clinton's foreign-policy vision as his own. "Frankly, I think Christopher suffered, as did any other secretary of State, from the failure of the Clinton administration in the first years to make foreign policy a significant priority," says Yale University's Gaddis Smith, who wrote a biography of Acheson.

Boston University's Robert Dallek, biographer of presidents Franklin D. Roosevelt and Lyndon B. Johnson, takes a broader view of Christopher's record, calling it "pretty attractive" and noting that the world hasn't seen much bloodshed of Americans on his watch. "In the long pull of history, he's going to be seen as an effective, sensitive, foreign policy maker and a sensible secretary of State," he says. "His is a kind of quiet diplomacy that should get significant respect." President Clinton is very clear about Christopher's contributions to U.S. diplomatic history, whose service with three Democratic administrations includes jobs as trade negotiator, deputy attorney general and deputy Secretary of State.

"He has left the mark of his hand on history ... in concrete ways that have made a real difference in the lives of the American people and people around the world," Clinton said at a Nov. 7 White House press conference, pointing to Christopher's work in Bosnia, the Middle East and Haiti. "The causes of peace and freedom and dignity have never had a more tireless or tenacious advocate. Those of use who have worked with Chris know that his quiet dignity masks a steely determination."

Critics have said Christopher acted more like Clinton's corporate attorney, solving his client's problems as each arises, than as a secretary of State with a full-fledged foreignpolicy vision. Diplomatic historians give Christopher high marks for his ability to delegate, his success in pushing Clinton's economic agenda and his quiet diplomacy that helped defuse potential conflicts before they erupted a crises in the media. They fault him for his indecisiveness on the use of force, on ignoring China and on excessive handwringing in Bosnia.

Hoff says Christopher should have acted more "forcefully" in Bosnia, pointing out that he missed several key opportunities to end the bloody civil conflict. Had Christopher not backed down after Europe's reluctance to involve NATO in Bosnia in 1983, she says, "hundreds of thousands of lives could have been saved." She blasts the Dayton peace accords as an agreement that "sacrifices justice for a shaky peace."

Smith praises Christopher for skillfully walking the diplomatic tightrope between U.S. trade officials and human rights activists, noting his "sensitivity to the inherent conflict in U.S.-China relations. In a sense, it hasn't pleased anybody, really." And Dallek says the secretary adroitly maintained U.S.-China relations despite tensions over Tawain.

Christopher can also be judged on what did not happen on his watch, says Cornell's LaFcber. "If there'd been mistakes with Mexico or Japan or Russia, we'd be talking about that," he says. "He's been pretty good at coordinating and delegating." Although Brinkley gives Christopher points for cultivating a strong reputation as a tireless negotiator more skilled at preventative diplomacy than neutralizing crises, he says he was not effective in handling former president Jimmy Carter's freelance diplomatic maneuvers in Haiti and the Korean Peninsula.

Colleagues in the Foreign Service have had limited enthusiasm for a leader perceived as doing little to advance esprit de corps among professional diplomats. Many FSOs are reluctant to publicly criticize their chief diplomat — loyalty is a defining trait of Foreign Service culture — but most privately admit they feel betrayed by the secretary, who they believe brought too little, too late to the battle for foreign affairs resources last year. And Christopher's early reluctance to draw on the unique insight and experience of Foreign Service professionals also didn't do much to endear him to the diplomatic community.

Christopher has long been uncomfortable in his role as a cheerleader for the administration, and his inability to articulate its foreign policy vision to Americans and to Congress, further eroded morale at State. "Christopher may have been good at running foreign affairs, but he was less good at articulating America's needs to the world community and to the American people," says LaFeber. "This is a man who believes strongly in the right values and the right direction for this country, but he wasn't able to articulate that."

Christopher clearly believes he has made a difference. In his Dec. 19 year-end policy review, he said the Clinton administration helped to eliminate nuclear weapons from Belarus, Ukraine and Kazakstan, to sign the Comprehensive Nuclear Test Ban Treaty and to achieve the U.S. ratification of START II. He chalked up the Bosnian pcace accords as another goal achieved, and noted the importance of the signing of security and semiconductor agreements with Japan. He's proud of America's accord with North Korea, which halted its suspected nuclear weapons program, and is pleased that a tense situation was defused with the U.S. backing of South Korea "in the face of provocations" from the north. He cites examples of preventive diplomacy: averting a coup in Paraguay, ending a 36-year war in Guatemala and dissolving border tensions between Ecuador and Peru. He also pointed out the administration's progress on a non-proliferation treaty, NAFTA's success and the enforcing of intellectual property rights in China.

f ever Christopher could be accused of a career obsession, that would be achieving peace in the Mideast. Since 1993, he made 93 trips to the region: 36 to Israel, 24 to Syria, 16 to Egypt, 14 to Jordan and three to Lebanon.

#### American Foreign Service Association



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# **BOARD PROPOSES BYLAW CHANGES**

he AFSA Gaverning Baard has prapased twa amendments ta the AFSA bylaws which will be included an the ballats in the regular AFSA election taking place this spring. A twa-thirds vate is necessary far adaptian. As pravided in the bylaws, the Electians Cammittee will accept statements in appasitian ta either af these amendments signed by na fewer than 10 members and received by April 1. Na twa statements on ane amendment shall be signed by the same member, and the statements must be na langer (by ward caunt) than the statement af justification submitted with each prapased amendment. Statements shauld be addressed to the Elections Cammittee, AFSA, 2101 E St. N.W., Washington, D.C. 20037, FAX 202-338-6820, e-mail afsa@afsa.arg. Statements in appasitian, if any, will be circulated with the ballats. Members may distribute statements

an a prapased amendment at their awn expense and far this purpase can receive the membership list ar address labels at cast fram the Member Services Department.

### **First Amendment**

Current Pravisian: Article IV Dues

"The baard shall establish the dues to be paid by members, and may alter such dues at its discretian; except that any increase in dues far regular members shall nat exceed the cumulative increase in the national Cansumer Price Index (CPI), as published by the U.S. Department of Labor, since the effective date af the last previous dues increase. Any prapasal ta increase dues af regular members by mare than the CPI must be submitted ta a referendum and appraved by a majarity of those members vating by secret ballat."

cantinued an page 2

### AFSA Dateline

• A recent decisian by the Fareign Service Grievance Board (FSGB) tightens the standards by which a selection baard may law-rank a Fareign Service emplayee. The decisian fallaws a grievance braught by a USAID FSO wha was placed in the lawest five percent af his class, which in turn led ta a recammendatian that he be selected aut. After his grievance was denied by USAID, he appealed ta the FSGB, which faund that the selectian panel's written rationale far the lawranking did nat meet the requirements far "definitive feedback" as pravided in USAID regulations and a 1994 agreement between AFSA and USAID. In ruling far the FSO, the FSGB recagnized that

selectian baard judgements generally are nat subject ta review, but nated that an exception exists where a panel fails ta fallaw regulations. Selection boards of all agencies are naw an natice that justificatians af a law rank must be precise and in conformity with regulatians.

• An AFSA perpetual schalarship has been established in the name of Lauise Halscher, an FSO wha retired fram USIA in 1974 and died in 1995. The schalarship was made passible by a \$47,000 bequest in Halscher's will. During her career, she served in Singapare, Hang Kang, Damascus, Calamba, Rabat, Abidjan, Vienna and Leningrad. She was a member of the Fareign Service Retirees Association of Florida.

### STATE DEPARTMENT == V.P.VOICE By Alphonse F. La Porta

### **Class and Caste Warfare in FS**

Three front-burner career issues have brought the infts and schisms among Foreign Service generalist officers sharply into focus: Junior Officer coning, which has pitted coned officers against unconed officers, as well as newly-minted officers against those with only several months more in service time; Multifunctionality, which plays off cone against cone and mid-level officers jockey-

ing to get into Senior ranks against ambitious Junior Officers (the real question is who can play the game of unbridled ambition more deftly); and **Senior timeinclass policy reform,** which arouses strong feelings against Seniors. ("Well, they shoot horses, don't they?")

All these issues impact on Foreign Service Specialist interests, which AFSA believes must receive adequate attention and priority in relation to the total needs of the Service. When it comes to coreers, there is nothing more corrosive thon class (rank or grade level) and coste (cone, skill code, functional versus regional expertise) distinctions. The unwillingness of officers to take a Service-wide view, to look beyond narrow self-interest and to take the time to inform themselves properly only divides and damages our profession.

Perhaps scarcity is causing preoccupation with self-interest. Declining budgets, promotions, allowances and benefits and, above all, declining interest in the Foreign Service and the Department as an institution, not to mention poor management decisions, have fueled internecine competition. Still, there is hope and maybe a little confidence in the future. AFSA and the Director General's Office are tackling the three big generalist career issues. My personal objective is to move forward on implementing solutions in these areas very soon. AFSA and

"When it comes to careers, there is nothing more corrosive than class and caste distinctions."

Management also should be able to make progress on important Specialist issues, especially implementing "Secretary of the Future" initiatives, cleaning up assignment abuses in FBO and other bureaus and divining the future for Information Management (IM) officers.

Most importantly, the active support of the new Secretary, the top political

leadership of the Department and the Under Secretary for Management are essential to create the momentum that will allow AFSA to achieve its objectives for all Foreign Service personnel, exclusive of rank, cone, skill area and special expertise. I would ask all employees to take a holistic attitude toward their careers, posts, bureaus and the Foreign Service. For example, understand that it is necessary to have a stable Senior position base in order to provide room for promotion from below and that "career-worthiness" can be maximized by taking excursion or multifunctional assignments, especially in the functional ond global bureaus. Develop a realistic and competence-based career path to see you through successful competition at the Senior threshold level. Seek hard-to-fill and less glamorous assignments: they are often the most rewarding jobs. Acquire the experience necessary for a skill code change, rather than complaining about limited opportunities in your existing field.

At a time of a new Administration and new Department leadership, the Foreign Service must pull together to build a more effective institution for the prosecution of our nation's overseas interests. Strife and suspicion within our ronks do not serve the lofty objectives that most of us have strived to attain in our Foreign Service careers.

#### Continued from page 1

#### **Proposed Amendment**

"The board shall establish the dues to be paid by members, and may alter such dues at its discretion; except that any increase in dues for regular members shall not exceed by more than 4 percentage points the cumulative increase in the national Consumer Price Index (CPI), as published by the U.S. Department of Labor, since the effective date of the last previous dues increose. Any proposal to increase dues of regular members by more than 4 percentage points over the CPI must be submitted to a referendum and approved by a majority of those members voting by secret ballot."

### Statement of Justification

"The Governing Board proposes revising the provision limiting dues increases to the annual increase in the Consumer Price Index (CPI). Dramatic changes in the foreign affairs firmament occur with increasing frequency and ever greater impact. Severe application of TIC, RIFs at some agencies and reduced hiring are reducing membership just at the time when the association is called to do more in labor management and congressional relations. We cannot fulfill our bosic responsibility to provide priority services to the Foreign Service given the existing rigidities in the dues structure.

As members are aware, an additional problem is that the CPI is now a political football as the Congress and Administration seek to restrain the growth in federal spending on entitlements. In any case, the CPI does not measure the challenges AFSA members face in the post-Cold War world.

The board proposes this change after a careful, two-yeor review of the Association's financial position and challenges in the yeors to come. This review has allowed the board to focus resources on priorities in labormonagement, support to active duty personnel and retirees, congressional relotions and public outreach. We have eliminated approximately ten

Continued on Page 3

### Continued from page 2

percent af AFSA staff pasitians. But even under this fiscal restraint, AFSA's casts have risen onnuolly ot five percent while dues hove risen by only the CPI or three percent. The assaciatian connat sustain this situatian far lang, particularly as intake remains law and the number of octive duty Fareign Service persannel declines. If dues remain limited ta the CPI, future Gaverning Boords will have ta curtail same key services.

The prapased change will allaw future baards ta balance the need ta provide services ta members ond maintain o reosanoble dues structure. It daes nat meon that dues will rise by faur percentage paints mare thon the CPI each year. Rather it gives the elected baard mare flexibility ta monoge a challenging future while mointoining a sensible cop an the baard's outhority.

Finally, the baard nates that AFSA members have paid much lawer dues than members of other federal labar unians. For exomple, a mid-level officer wauld pay \$326 per year far AFGE membership, while AFSA membership casts 44 percent less ar \$184 per year."

#### Second Amendment:

Current pravisian: Article V The Gaverning Baard Section 4. Manner af election: (b)...

"Each canstituency having a minimum af 100 members as af the last warking day of the calendar year befare the election sholl be entitled to a constituency vice president. In addition, each canstituency shall be entitled to one representotive for each 1,000 members or froction thereof os of the lost working day of the colendor year befare the election year, provided that ony constituency that far three consecutive manths has a membership which would an that date have entitled it ta an additianal representative shall have an additianal representative, who shall be appainted by the baard. "

#### **Proposed Amendment**

"Each canstituency having a minimum af 100 members as af the last working day of the calendar yeor before the electian

Continued on Page 4

· By FRANK MILLER ·

### **NMS System a Disaster in Field**

"USAID

employees

realize that

we need an

NMS. but it

must work."

t's clear fram cobles, emails ond letters fram the field thot

the New Management System (NMS) was premoturely deplayed in aur averseas missions. What is particularly alarming is NMS develapers ond autside, independent experts onticipoted significant problems because the system hod not been subjected ta adequate tests af its capobilities and perfarmance, but their warnings were ignored. The

Inspector Generol sent on infarmatian memarandum ta USAID Administratar Brion Atwaad on September 27 in which he wrate: "Citing several technicol ond aperatianol readiness problems, twa USAID officials wha are responsible far NMS development activities tald us that in July 1996, they recammended thot worldwide NMS deployment be postponed until Oct. 1997. They added, however, that USAID executives directed that the system be deployed warldwide an Oct. 1, 1996."

Problems with the NMS surfaced much earlier, in June 1995, during o software evaluatian conducted by Carnegie-Mellon University. At that time, evaluators worned that deploying the system withaut adequate testing could lead to significant errors, poor system performance and disoppaintment to end-users. This is exactly what happened.

Missians have been tald that they must utilize the NMS ta abligate all funds ond to initiate all pracurement octians. If seriaus problems arise, they will need a woiver far any pracurement actian abligating funds autside the NMS. The result is that many af aur develapment pragrams ore paralyzed, os is evident fram these comments fram the field: "Marale is being adversely affected by o system which pramised so much, cast a

bundle - - including the careers of same af aur calleagues – and hos delivered virtually nathing so far."

"Our day-ta-day finonciol ond pragrammatic operotians con be jeapordized if missian resaurces cantinue ta be tied up on the poinfully slow NMS..." "For olmast three weeks,

we ... have been trying to

finalize a \$95,000 letter grant to the Internotianal Red Cross so that they con buy plostic sheeting, rape, blonkets, ond kerasene heoters for 200,000 (people) living in a deteriorating camp. If the Agency con't do ane simple action, how will it respond to the cry fram Africo where...almast a millian people are fleeing Zoire and Rwanda?"

What con be done? First, USAID missians shauld go bock ta the farmer operating system, MACS, until the bugs ore aut af NMS. Second, when NMS is operational, people should be fully troined before it goes worldwide. Earlier training was inadequote. Why not bring bock the experts fram Carnegie-Mellan ta help improve the system ond develap an implementotion plon? Finolly, AFSA strongly urges Administrator Atwood to oppaint a new choirperson of the NMS tosk force fram autside the Management Bureau. The current arrangement is nat warking; it is like the fox guarding the henhause.

USAID emplayees realize that we need an NMS, but it must wark. AFSA is nat suggesting that we scrap NMS. We are suggesting that its design and implementation need further work and substantially more porticipation by end-users.

# V.P. VOICE BY JESS BAILY

### Help Save FS, Run for AFSA Office

Tired of elections where foreign affairs, not to mention the concerns of the Foreign Service, are neglected? Well, this spring you can participate in on election dealing exclusively with issues of concern to Foreign Service employees. AFSA will call on its USIA members to vote for two representatives on the AFSA Board of Governors: the USIA vice president and the USIA board representa-

tive. These officers will represent USIA's Foreign Service to USIA management, to AFSA colleagues in other agencies, on the Hill and in the public. USIA members will also vote along with all AFSA members for president, treasurer and secretary of the association and for changes in the bylaws.

It's important to everyone that AFSA have the best possible officers to be USIA vice president and USIA baard representative. What can you do to make this come about? Read candidate's statements in the May issue of AFSA NEWS. Think about the positions you would like to see AFSA adopt. Where should AFSA stand on the issue of reorganization? How well do the candidates for general offices (president, secretary and treasurer) know and understand the concerns of USIA personnel? Should USIA rely almost exclusively on time-in-class provisions to reduce ranks for the Foreign Service? Does AFSA adequately represent specialists? Consider by-laws changes. Finally, vote and return your ballot. If you don't receive one, contact the Member Services Department at AFSA headquarters. Your voice could determine a clase race.

If you are currently assigned to Washington or will be returning this summer, consider running for office. (See the call for nominations on page

"The new AFSA leadership will have a tremendous impact on your career." 6.) The USIA vice president is now a full-time position and comes with up to a two-year extension on your time-in-class date. Holding the office is a unique opportunity to defend USIA's Foreign Service and help save its future in a challenging environment. You will deal with everything from micro issues, such as the unfair implementation of

a regulation or a colleague's grievance, to macro issues, such as downsizing, budget reductions and changes in Foreign Service personnel practices. You will see the Agency from the top down. You will also be the face of USIA's Foreign Service to colleagues in State, Commerce, AID and Agriculture. You will shape AFSA's legislative positions and help its efforts to improve public understanding of America's prafessianal diplomats.

Alternatively, consider becoming USIA representative to the AFSA Board of Governors. You will be given "reasonable time" off from your USIA position to fill AFSA obligations and will assist the vice president in dealing with the full range of issues confranting the Foreign Service.

If you are not a member, join now to be able to vote. Remember, AFSA represents and serves all bargaining unit employees. USIA officers have encouraged citizens of nations throughout the world to participate in unions, civic associations, interest groups and other non-governmental organizations. Now is the time to join AFSA and participate in your own civic life. The new AFSA leadership will have a tremendous impact on your career. Stand up, run, vote and participate.

#### Continued from page 3

shall be entitled to a constituency vice president. In addition, each constituency shall be entitled to one representative for each **750** members or fraction thereof as of the last working day of the calendar year before the election year, provided that any constituency that far three cansecutive months has a membership which wauld on that date have entitled it to an additional representative shall have an additional representative, who shall be appointed by the board. "

#### Statement of Justification

"The Governing Board proposes changing the provision which allots ane Baard representative for every 1,000 members in each constituency to one Board representative for every 750 members.

This proposed change is to ensure that Gaverning Board membership generally parallels AFSA's membership distribution by constituency. Among active duty constituencies Aariculture with about 100 AFSA members has 2 Board seats (one Vice President and one Representative); Commerce with abaut 120 members has 2 Board seats; USIA with about 500 members has 2 Board seats; and AID which had over 1000 but has since decreased to about 930 members has 3 Board seats. Retirees with about 4,000 members have 5 Board seats. State with 6 Board seats has about 4,700 members. State's constituency with 74% af active-duty AFSA members has 40% of the active duty Board members.

The Governing Board's proposed bylaw change would increase total State representation from 6 to 8 seats (one Vice President and 5 Representatives to one Vice President and 7 Representatives); increase Retiree representation from 5 to 7; and keep AID representation at 3 which under the ald rule wauld fall to 2. USIA, Commerce and Agriculture would retain their present levels of 2 each.

Importantly, the proposed change will also allow broader participation on the Governing Board by the full range of Foreign Service specializatians."

#### LETTERS

I read with interest Alphonse Lo Porto's column on family friendly work in the December AFSA News. In the seventies I come back for my first Woshington tour. The new rule allowing morried female officers was creating the first tondem couples and younger spouses were refusing to accept the traditional role of the Foreign Service spouse. The hondwriting was on the wall.

So I proposed informolly several ideos that would ollow officers to have "fomily-friendly" coreers. Certoinly in the current Americon context mony officers with fomilies would have been better off being oble to toke o non-poid leave from the Foreign Service for o couple of years becouse it was better for their families to be in the U.S., e.g. spouses were working ond children were growing up. The proposol would olso have given the officers the opportunity to prolong their work lives in the Foreign Service without lengthening their time in closs or octive coreers for promotion and retirement colculotions. It would also have offorded them the opportunity to goin experience useful for them in their coreers ....

The spirit of the suggestions was that olternative coreer patterns were on option for those officers whose families were as important to them as their coreers and the situations required some flexibility. In addition, the Foreign Service would goin skills through having some of its afficers spend port of their remunerative work lives outside the Foreign Service.

So in oddition to flex-time ond flextours the Foreign Service should olso consider flex-coreers os on option for o fomilyfriendly service.

Robert J. Polmeri Retired FSO Abidjon, Cote d'Ivoire

#### Alphonse La Porta replies:

AFSA ogrees fully thot "flex-coreer" measures should be introduced, olthough space limitations precluded on explanation of them in my December column. Several excellent suggestions for "flexcoreer" orrongements were put forward in the late, lomented Strategic Monogement Initiative (SMI), but thus for have been ignored by monogement. State AFSA will try to move these and other family friendly initiatives to the front burner in the weeks ahead. RETIREE V.P. VOICE • By Ed Rowell•

### **Budget, COLAs Key AFSA Issues**

First, some good news: AFSA's Mission Stotement for the Foreign Service (see "President's Views" Jon.

FSJ) hos produced fovorable comment from congressional staffs and journalists. We ore entering the fiscal year 1998 foreign affoirs ("150 occount") budget bottle better off than we were a year ogo. Some senators and representatives have publicly soid the deep cuts in diplomatic readiness must be redressed.

Following o strong oppeol from Secretory of Stote Worren Christopher ond Secretory of Stote-designote Modeleine Albright, President Clinton hos ogreed to osk Congress for more funds for the 150 occount thon he did in FY 1997. Since the November election there has been o borroge of editoriols ond op-ed orticles osserting the need for o better funded, more robust diplomocy. Thonks to oll of you who have weighed in with the new members of Congress ond who hove published op-ed pieces ond letters-to-editors. So mony of you have sent me copies of your work that I con't nome you individuolly here, but you ore moking o reol difference.

The chollenge remoins intense, however. The White House ond the Congress ore still committed to boloncing the budget by 2002. And mony elected members ond stoff in Congress ore still prepored to occept higher risks to Americon interests ond to further reduce Americon influence obrood in order to squeeze o few more dollors from the 150 occount, even though the short-term contribution to boloncing the budget would be unmeosurobly smoll.

The retiree role will remoin cruciol. While important members of the new Congress understand the need to fund diplomacy, their constituents still do not. The Mission Stotement, which shows how the Foreign Service responds to Americo's vitol interests, con be used to

"Thanks to all of you who have weighed in with the new members of Congress." describe those interests in terms that most Americans con relate to. That is an essential step if we are to convince the public that the good of the nation requires global involvement, and that retreat risks unacceptable long-term costs.

We olso moy need to plunge into the debote over the volidity of the Consumer Price Index (CPI) ond its use os the bosis for cost-of-living

odjustments (COLAs) this year. A Senote-chortered commission choired by Stonford professor Michael Boskin reported in lote November that the CPI overstotes inflotion by 1.1 percentoge points. The Commission olso soid, without citing ony supporting evidence, thot studies hod foiled to support the notion thot different population groups (e.g., retired couples os compored with young fomilies) hove different inflotion rotes despite their very different needs ond consumption potterns. So for, Congress hos shown little enthusiosm for doing onything with the Boskin report, but the report's powerful sponsors have pointed out that implementing the Boskin Commission's recommendations would eliminote the federol deficit.

AFSA supports fiscol prudence, but we need to keep on eye on this issue. If it goes owry it could unfoirly devostote the odequocy of retiree pensions. Other retiree groups, the Concord Coolition ond the BLS hove oll expressed reservotions obout different ospects of the Boskin Commission report. Above oll, there is o widespreod feeling thot ony odjustments to the CPI ond the woys it is used should be odministratively determined, not legisloted.

## AFSA ELECTIONS

## CALL FOR NOMINATIONS

This electian call, issued in accordance with Article VII(2)(a) af the AFSA bylaws, constitutes a farmal notice to all AFSA members of the appartunity to participate in nomination and election of a new governing baard. All of the officer and representative positions listed belaw are for two-year terms beginning July 15, 1997.

#### A. POSITIONS TO BE FILLED

1. The officer positions ta be filled in this election are:

President Vice President for USAID Vice President for USIA Vice President for USIA Vice President for FAS Vice President for Retirees Secretary Treasurer

2. The constituency representative positions to be filled in this election are: State representatives (five positions) USAID representative (ane position) USIA representative (one position) FCS representative (ane position) FAS representative (ane position) Retired member representatives (four positions)

Article V(4) af 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 thereaf. The calculatian 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, 1996.

#### **B. NOMINATION PROCEDURES**

 Any AFSA member in good standing (i.e., a member whose dues are autamatically deducted ar who has paid dues as af March 7, 1997) may submit names (including his or her own name) in nominatian far any ar all of the above-mentianed positions for which the nominee is eligible. Na member may nominate mare than one person for each officer pasitian or more than the number of representatives established for each constituency. No member's name may appear on the ballat for more than one position.

2. In arder to be nominated, a person must likewise be a member in good standing. Furthermore, the bylaws require that a nominee be a member through June 30 of the year of the election. If a member is nominated wha is not an automatic dues deductian and has not paid through June 30, 1997, 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 afficials and canfidential employees cannat be nominated for pasitians on the governing baard, nor may they make or support naminations or serve on nominating committees.

Furthermore, 1994 legislation amended Section 1017(e) of the Foreign Service Act of 1980 ta place restrictions on the mavement of Fareian Service personnel between certain pasitians in AFSA and certain Washington-based jabs in the fareign affairs agencies. The amendment prohibits any employee who has served as an agency management official ar confidential employee during the preceding two years from participating "in the management of a labor organization for purposes of collective bargaining or acting as a representative af a labor organization for such purposes." Given the current division of respansibility, the AFSA governing board positians cavered by the amendment are: the President, the Vice Presidents for State, USAID, and USIA, and the representatives for FAS and FCS (or the Vice Presidents for FAS and FCS, if these constituencies are

entitled to a Vice President under AFSA's bylaws).

The 1994 amendment also prahibits any employee who has held one of the foregoing positions in AFSA from serving as an agency management afficial ar canfidential emplayee for two years after leaving his/her AFSA position.

Management officials include presidential appointees and their deputies (e.g., deputy assistant secretaries at State), Inspector General personnel, and employees engaged in labor management relatians or the formulation of personnel policies and programs. However, managers abroad (including chiefs of mission, deputy chiefs of mission, principal afficers and their deputies, USIA public affairs officers, USAID mission directors and deputy mission directars, and administrative and personnel afficers) are excluded from this definitian. Canfidential employees are emplayees who act in a canfidential capacity with respect to an individual who formulates or carries out management policies in labor management relations.

Members should consider these restrictions before deciding whether to run for AFSA governing baard positions covered by the amendment. Please direct questians regarding this issue ta Sharon Papp, General Caunsel, 202-647-8160.

4. Nominations may be submitted individually ar in slates. To qualify as a slate, a proposed slate must have a minimum of four candidates from at least two constituencies. Slate designations will be noted on the ballot.

5. All nominations must be submitted in writing by letter, cable, fax ar email. All written naminations must be addressed to the AFSA Elections Committee, P.O. Box 58073, Washington, DC 20037-8073. To be valid, they must, without exception, be received at this address no later than

## AFSA ELECTIONS

12 naan an March 7, 1997. Members averseas can send "AFSA channel" cables marked far delivery ta the AFSA Electians Cammittee. They must be received in the Department's Cammunicatians Center within the same time limit. Faxes can be sent ta 202-338-6820 and e-mail ta praf@afsa.arg.

Alternatively, naminatians can be handdelivered ta a Cammittee member wha will be in the AFSA affice, Raam 3644, Department af State, fram 11 a.m. ta 12 naan an March 7, ar ta a Cammittee representative at AFSA headquarters at 2101 E Street N.W. during that same time periad.

6. A naminee can indicate his ar her acceptance of a namination by appending a letter to the letter of nomination or by apprapriate natatian an that letter, ar by cammunicating with the Electians Cammittee, AFSA, Raam 3644, Department af State, ar AFSA, 2101 E Street NW. Washington, D.C. 20037, ar by fax ar email as described in paragraph 5 abave. Otherwise, an autharized representative af the Electians Cammittee will cammunicate with each naminee (excluding members wha naminate themselves) as quickly as passible after the receipt af each naminatian ta determine whether the naminee wishes ta be a candidate. Any member wha sa accepts the namination must canfirm his ar her acceptance in writing through ane af the channels described abave addressed ta the AFSA Electians Cammittee ta be received na later than 12 naan an March 14, 1997. Any naminee whase written acceptance af naminatian has nat been received by the Electians Cammittee by the abave time limit will be cansidered to have declined candidacy.

#### C. ELECTION CAMPAIGN

1. All candidates naminated under the pracedure autlined abave will be given the appartunity ta submit campaign statements far disseminatian ta the AFSA membership in the AFSA News sectian af the May issue af the Fareign Service Jaurnal. Further infarmatian regarding such statements and Fareign Service Jaurnal editarial deadlines will be cantained in the "Instructians ta Candidates," which will be issued by the Electians Cammittee an ar befare March 7, 1997. If warranted by the campetitian far pasitians an the Baard, the Electians Cammittee may arganize a secand mailing af campaign material ta vaters, with pracedures also spelled aut in the "Instructians ta Candidates".

2. The AFSA bylaws pravide that, shauld candidates wish ta mail supplementary statements ta the membership, the assaciatian will make available ta them an request, and at their expense, the membership mailing list ar address labels. Further infarmatian an this and ather campaign pracedures will be included in the "Instructians ta Candidates" mentianed above.

#### **D. VOTING**

Ballats will be distributed an ar abaut May 15, 1997 to each person who is an AFSA member as af April 30, 1997. Candidates ar their representatives may abserve the ballat distributian pracess if they sa desire. Each member may cast ane vate far President, Secretary, Treasurer, and canstituency Vice President if the member's canstituency has ane and, in additian, ane vate for each representative position in the member's canstituency. Votes may be cast by vating for candidates listed on the official ballat, ar by writing in the name(s) af member(s) eligible as af June 30, 1997, ar by daing bath. Ta be valid, a ballat must be received by Manday, June 30, 1997 at the address indicated an the envelape accampanying the ballat. Mare detailed ballating instructions will accompany the ballats.

#### E. VOTE COUNTING & ANNOUNCEMENT OF RESULTS

On ar abaut July 1, 1997, the Electians Cammittee will caunt the ballats and declare elected the candidate receiving the greatest number af vates far each pasitian. Candidates ar their representatives may be present during the tally and may challenge the validity of any vate ar the eligibility of any vater. The cammittee will inform candidates individually of the election results by the swiftest passible means and will publish the names of all elected candidates in the next issue of the Fareign Service Jaumal. The elected candidates will take affice an July 15, 1997, as pravided in the bylaws. Any member may file a written questian,

#### F. QUESTIONS, SUGGESTIONS, COMPLAINTS OR CHALLENGES

suggestian, ar camplaint cancerning the canduct af the 1997 electian. Such questian, suggestian, ar camplaint shauld be addressed ta "Chair, AFSA Electians Cammittee" and mailed ar delivered ta either AFSA, Raam 3644, Department af State, Washingtan, D.C. 20520 ar AFSA, 2101 E Street N.W., Washingtan, D.C. 20037 by Octaber 15, 1997.

Members may alsa file a written challenge ta the autcame af the election. Such challenge must be filed by August 15, 1997 and shauld be addressed to "Chair, AFSA Elections Cammittee" and mailed ar delivered ta either address stated abave. The AFSA Electians Cammittee will respand in writing to the challenge within three manths af receipt af the challenge. If the member is nat satisfied with the AFSA Elections Committee's respanse, the member may file a written complaint with the U.S Department af Labar, Office af Labar-Management Standards. Such camplaint must be filed within ane manth af receipt af the Electians Cammittee's respanse.

#### **ELECTIONS COMMITTEE**

Amb. Raymand C. Ewing, Chair	703-642-3941
Peter Downs	202-647-1952
Amb. C. William Kantas	202-966-8578
Capie Palk	202-724-0044
Jay Smith	202-647-5776
William Westman	202.720-3223
William Yarmy	202-482-2422
Richard Thampson, staff	202-338-4045

## 1996 TAX GUIDE

## FEDERAL AND STATE TAX PROVISIONS FOR THE FOREIGN SERVICE

#### Federal Tax Provisions

ittle has changed since last year in federal tax provisians as they apply to Fareign Service emplayees and their fomilies. Foreign Service employees mast frequently ask AFSA abaut hame ownership, tax liability upan sale af a residence, and state af damicile and we have devoted special sectians ta these issues.

AFSA's Tax Guide is designed as an infarmatianal and reference taal. It daes not presume ta be any more than that. Although we try ta be accurate, many af the new pravisians af the tax cade and implementing IRS regulatians hove nat been fully tested. Therefare, use cautian and cansult with a tax adviser as saon as passible if yau have specific questians ar an unusual ar camplex situatian.

For 1996, the basic tax rates for individuals remain applicable: 15, 28, 31 ond 36 percent, o top rate of 39.6 percent. The 15 percent rate is far toxoble income up to \$40,100 far married cauples; \$24,000 far singles. The 28 percent is far incame up ta \$96,900 far married cauples, \$58,150 far singles. The 31 percent rate is far incame up ta \$147,700 far married cauples and incame up ta \$121,300 far singles. The new tax bracket af 36 percent is far incame up ta \$263,750 far married cauples and singles. In additian, there is o new 10 percent surtax far certain high-incame taxpayers. It is camputed by applying the 39.6 percent rate to taxable incame aver \$263,750 far singles and married cauples and for morried cauples filing separately whase incame is aver \$131,875. Copital gains are taxed at a maximum rate af 28 percent and are reparted an the reverse side of Schedule D.

#### Personal Exemption

Far each taxpayer, spause, ond depen-

dent the persanal exemptian has been increased ta \$2,550. There is, hawever, a persanal exemptian phaseout af 2 percent far each \$2,550 af adjusted grass incame (AGI) aver \$117,950 (singles), \$147,750 (heod af hausehold), \$176,950 (jaint) and \$88,475 (married, filing separately). Far thase taxpayers in the last categary, the 2 percent is taken fram each \$1,275 exemptian.

#### Standard Deduction

The standard deductian is given ta nanitemizers. It has been steadily increasing since 1987. Far cauples it is \$6,700; far singles the deductian is \$4,000. Married cauples filing separately get a standard deductian af \$3,350 and head-of-hausehald filers receive a \$5,900 deductian.

Mast unreimbursed emplayee business expenses must be reparted as miscellaneaus expenses and are subject ta a flaar af 2 percent af adjusted grass incame (AGI). This includes prafessianal dues and publicatians, emplayment and educational expenses, hame affice, legal, accaunting, custadial and tax preparation fees, home leave, representational and ather emplayee business expenses, and cantributians ta AFSA's Legislative Actian Fund. Unreimbursed maving expenses are na langer an itemized deduction. As of Jan. 1, 1994, maving expenses are an adjustment ta incame, which means that you get to deduct them even if yau are taking the standard deduction. However, the deduction hos been narrawed to include anly the unreimbursed casts of maving yaur possessions and yaurself ond yaur fomily ta vaur new lacotian.

Medical expenses are subject to a floar equaling 7.5 percent af AGI. This means that any deductible medicol cast wauld have ta exceed \$2,275 far a taxpayer with a \$30,000 AGI. There is also an additianal 3 percent reduction af itemized deductions (excluding medical, casualty, theft, and investment interest) if the AGI exceeds \$117,400. This 3 percent is applied to the AGI aver \$117,750 and not ta the tatol of itemized deductions an Schedule 1040 A. The maximum lass of deductians is capped at 80 percent. State and lacal incame taxes and real estate and personal property taxes remain fully deductible far itemizers, as are choritoble cantributians (ta American charities only) for most taxpayers. Danotions ta the AFSA schalarship fund and the AFSA Fund are fully deductible as charitoble cantributians. Danatians to AFSA via the Cambined Federal Campaign are also fully deductible. Individuals may alsa dispase of any prafit fram the sale of personal property abraad in this manner.

Far 1996 tax returns, any interest paid an auta ar persanal laans, credit cards, deportment stares, educational laans and ather persanal interest will nat be allawed as an itemized deductian. If the abave charges are cansalidated, however, and paid with a hame equity loon, any interest an the hame equity laan is allawable up ta a loan limit af \$100,000. Martgage interest is, far the mast part, still fully deductible. Interest an laans intended to finance investments is deductible up ta the amaunt af net incame fram investments. Interest far laans intended ta finance a business is 100 percent deductible. "Passive-investment" interest an laans in which the taxpayer is an inactive participant, i.e. a limited partnership, can be deducted anly fram the incame praduced by the investment. Interest an laans that da nat fall inta the abave categories, such as borrowing maney ta buy tax-exempt securities, is not deductible.

#### Home Leave Expenses

Emplayee business expenses, such os hame leave and representatian, may be deducted as a miscellaneaus itemized deduction. In addition to the 2 percent flaar, anly 50 percent far meals and entertainment may be claimed (100 percent far unreimbursed travel and lodging). Only the emplayee's (nat family members') home

#### leave expenses are deductible.

Maintaining a travel lag and retaining a capy of hame leave arders will be helpful, shauld the IRS ever questian claimed expenses. It is impartant to save receipts: withaut receipts far faad, a taxpayer may deduct anly \$28 ta \$36 a day (depending upan the per diem rate at the hame leave address), no matter haw large the gracery or restaurant bill. Lodging is deductible, as lang as it is nat with friends, relatives, ar in ane's own home. The IRS will disallow use of per diem rates and any expenses claimed far family members. If a hatel bill indicates dauble rates, the single raam rate shauld be claimed, and, if possible, the hatel's rate sheet shauld be saved far IRS scrutiny. Car rental, mileage, and ather unreimbursed travel expenses, including parking fees and talls, may be deducted. The rate far business miles driven is 31 cents. Thase who use this aptianal mileage method need not keep detailed recards of actual vehicle expenses. The anly thing necessory will be a detailed adameter lag ta justify the business use af the vehicle and percentoge af business use. This aptianal mileage method daes not apply ta leased vehicles.

#### Official Residence Expenses

Since Oct. 1, 1990, emplayees wha receive ORE have not been allawed ta reduce their repartable incame by 5 percent. The IRS ruling regarding ORE states that "usual expenses," defined as 5 percent of salory, are not deductible. Therefare the only expenses that are deductible are thase abave the 5 percent that are paid out af packet. Employees should sove receipts far any aut-of-packet expenses associated with their representatianal duties. These expenses can be deducted as miscellaneaus business expenses.

#### Home Ownership

For 1996, employees may deduct interest an up ta \$1 millian of acquisitian debt far laans secured by a first and/or secand hame. This alsa includes laans taken aut far major hame impravements. On hame equity laans, interest is deductible an up ta \$100,000, no matter haw much the hame cost ar what the laan is used far. The \$100,000 ceiling applies to the total of all home equity laans yau may have. The same generally applies ta refinancing a mortgage. Paints paid to obtain a refinanced laan cannat fully be deducted the same year, hawever, but must be deducted aver the life of the loan. It is odvisable ta save the settlement sheet (HUD-1 Form) for documentatian in the event your tax return is selected by the IRS for examinatian.

Qualified residences are defined as the taxpayer's principal residence and ane other residence. The second hame can be a hause, canda, ca-op, mabile hame, ar boat, as lang as the structure includes bosic living accammadations, including sleeping, bathraam, and caoking focilities. If the secand home is vacatian property rented far fewer than 15 days during the year, the incame need not be reparted. Rental expenses cannat be claimed either, but all property taxes and martgage interest may be deducted.

#### **Rental of Home**

Taxpayers wha are averseas and rented their hames in 1996 con cantinue ta deduct martgage interest as a rental expense under the possive-lass rules, as lang as the AGI does nat exceed \$100,000 and the taxpayer is actively managing the praperty. Retaining a praperty manager daes not meon lasing this benefit. Also deductible are praperty management fees, canda fees, depreciation casts, taxes, and all ather rental expenses. Losses up ta \$25,000 may be affset against ather incame.

#### Sale of Residence

If there is a profit on sole of o principal residence, taxes at a maximum rate of 28 percent are awed an the prafit, ar capital goin, unless ane qualifies far ane of the tax benefits discussed below. Although legislotian aimed at reducing capital gains taxation will likely be reintroduced, capital gains are currently fully taxable.

A taxpayer 55 years ar alder who sells his ar her hame can take a capital gains exclusian up to \$125,000 withaut having ta reinvest in another hame. This ance-in-alifetime exemptian rule applies ta singles and cauples and may not be used again even when the other spause reaches age 55. In arder ta qualify, the taxpayer must have lived in the home far three out af the last five years (up ta twa years spent in a nursing hame can caunt as time spent in the hame) priar ta sale. Many Fareign Service emplayees are hurt by the three aut of five

year residency provision. Despite repeated attempts, AFSA has been unsuccessful in persuading Congress to grant an exemptian far Foreign Service persannel who cannot meet this requirement due to prolanged overseas service. During the 1996 Presidential campaign, bath af the major party candidates affered several tax propasals including exempting mast people from paying capital gains an the increased value of hames, na matter what their age or whether they traded up to another hame. While it is thought that many of these proposols will be given seriaus cansideration during the 105th Canaress which was seated an January 7, the pravisians most likely will nat affect 1996 taxes. AFSA will cantinue ta fallaw the prapased tax changes and will keep yau infarmed of developments.

Thus under current law, section 1034 of the tax code, frequently referred to as the rallaver residence replacement rule, taxes moy be deferred an profit fram the sale of the principal residence when buying a replacement principal residence within twa years befare or after the sale. Americans warking abroad, including Fareign Service emplayees on averseas assignment, are permitted up to on additional two-year periad ta replace their former residence. The deferral rule may be applied repeatedly, and there is na limit an the amaunt eligible far deferral af taxatian.

Temparary rental af the hame does nat necessarily disqualify one from claiming the deferral. The IRS has never defined what time period canstitutes temparary but will prabably challenge a claim that the home was a principal residence if it had been rented far many years and had clearly become an investment praperty. Fareign Service emplayees wha are averseas far prolanged periads during which they rent their hames are increasingly subject ta IRS scrutiny when they sell their hauses and claim deferral af capital gains.

Under a 1957 U.S. Tax Court decision, Triska v. Cammissianer, a Fareign Service emplayee was granted the deferrol while he was living abraad even though he had rented his hame for a 44-manth period prior to sale. The court determined that his house remained a principal residence even though it was canverted ta investment praperty. In reaching this decisian, the court applied the fallawing tests: Was the property the taxpayer's only hame? Did he reside

in it prior to going overseas? Did he intend to return ta the residence upon completion of overseas duty? And what were the reasons far selling it? In the Trisko case, the taxpayer was able to satisfy all af the caut's concerns. Please note, hawever, that not all courts recognize this case as a precedent ond that the focts of each individuol cose are very important.

On the basis of this decision ond conversatians with tox experts, AFSA suggests claiming the deferral only if the circumstances are similar to those af this case and if the home is rented only during assignments overseos. A copy of the Trisko decisian may be requested fram AFSA.

Many Foreign Service employees da not qualify under the deferral rule because af extended absences from the house. Though nat required by low or case law, if at all possible, Foreign Service employees should move back into the hause for a reasanable periad before selling it, thereby re-establishing principal residence. If this is not passible, they might look into a tax-deferred property exchange, which is essentially o real estate investor's version of the residence replacement rule, os it involves o trade of one rental praperty far another.

#### **Property Exchanges**

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

It is impartant ta emphasize that the exchange is fram ane investment property to another investment property – the key factar in the IRS evaluation af an exchange transactian is the intent of the investar at the time the exchange was consummoted. The IRS rules for the exchanges are complex and specific, with a number of pitfalls that con nullify the tronsaction. An exchange should never be attempted without assistance from a tax lawyer specializing in this field.

Fareign Service emplayees who are contemplating the sale af a rental property that had previously been o residence ond ore expecting to roll the proceeds of the sale into o new home without tox 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 pravisian, as an alternative method af disposing of praperty, moy offer very significant tax relief.

#### Temporary Rental

What happens if one purchases and moves to a new residence then decides to aet same rental income from the ald home befare selling it a couple of years later? The IRS moy determine that the taxpoyer 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 allaws temporary rental prior to sale as a "motter of convenience," such as a poar resale market at the time the new hame was purchased. If the IRS determines that rental incame was the prime motive for not selling the hause, taxes must be paid on the goin of rentol property, even though it was once used as o principal residence.

Many Fareign Service employees ask what items can be added to the cast basis of their homes when they are ready to sell. Money spent on "fixing up" the home for sale 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 far work performed during the 90-doy periad ending an the day an which the contract ta sell the old residence was made; 2) the expenses must be paid an or before the 30th day after sole of the house, and 3) the expenses must not be capital expenditures far permanent improvements or replacements (these can be odded to the basis af the property, original purchase price, thereby reducing

assisassisag in and making minor repairs qualify as "fixing-up casts". are operty a ond the **STATE TAX PROVISIONS** 

the amount of profit). A new raof and

kitchen counters are nat "fix-up" items. But

Every member serving abroad must maintain a state af domicile in the United States, and the tax liability that the employee faces varies greatly from state to state. In addition, there are myriad regulatians pertaining to the taxability af Foreign Service pensions and annuities, as each state has different rules about the canditions under which individuals are liable for taxes on such income.

This state guide reviews the laws regarding incame tax and tax an annuities and pensians as they pertain to Fareign Service persannel. Please note that while AFSA makes every ottempt to provide the most up-to-dote information, readers with specific questions should consult o tox expert in the state in question of the addresses given.

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

In such cases, the states will make o determination of the individual's income tax status based an other factars, including where the individual has family ties, where he or she is registered to vote or hos a driver's license, where he or she owns property, ar where the person has bank accounts or other financial holdings. In the cose 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 separatian. For purpases of this article, the term domicile refers to legal residence; some states also define it

as permanent residence. Residence refers ta physical presence in the state.

Fareign Service persannel must continue to poy taxes ta the state af domicile (ar to the District of Columbia) while residing autside af the state, including during assignments abraad, unless the state of residence does not require it.

A non-resident, occarding ta mast stotes' definitians, is an individual who eorns income or interest in the specific stote but does not live there ar is living there for only port of the year (usually, less than six months). Individuols are generally cansidered residents ond are thus fully liable far toxes, if they ore domiciled in the state ar if they are living in the stote (usually ot leost six manths af the yeor) but ore nat damiciled there.

Foreign Service employees residing in metropoliton Woshingtan, are also required to poy income tox to either the District, Maryland, ar Virginio in addition ta poying tox to the stote af their damicile. However, mast stotes allow a credit, so thot the toxpoyer poys the higher tox rate of the twa states, with eoch stote receiving a share. The state of Colifornia regards Foreign Service officers who ore damiciled in Califarnia but reside outside the stote ond do not eorn incame in Colifornio os nonresidents far tax purposes. AFSA would like to continue hearing fram employees who hove o problem aver this exemption.

There ore currently seven states with no stote income tox: Alosko, Florida, Nevodo, South Dokoto, Texos, Washingtan, ond Wyoming. In oddition, New Hompshire and Tennessee have na tax on personol income but do tax profits from the sole of bands ond property.

There ore olso six stotes which, under certoin conditions, do not tax incame eorned outside of the state: Connecticut, Missouri, New Jersey, New York, Pennsylvania, and West Virginia. The requirements are that the individuol not have o permonent "ploce of obode" in the stote, hove o permonent "ploce of abade" outside the state, and nat spend more thon 30 doys in the stote during the tox yeor. Also, pleose note thot these six stotes require the filing of nan-resident returns far all income earned from in-state sources.

Pennsylvonio holds that "quarters provided by the gavernment at na cast ta Petitianer cannot be considered as maintoining o permanent place of abade." Thus members af the Foreign Service damiciled in Pennsylvania who occupy government hausing averseas must poy income tax ta Pennsylvania. If they rent their own home overseos, however, they will be exempt fram these taxes. AFSA has not heard af a similar ruling in ony of the other five stotes but Foreign Service emplayees should be awore that states cauld challenge the stotus of government hausing in the future.

The follawing list gives a stote-by-stote overview of the latest infarmation available an tox liability, with addresses provided to write far further infarmatian ar tax farms. Tox rotes are provided where passible. For further information please contact AFSA's Member Services Department ar the individual state tax authorities. States with an asterisk did not respand ta AFSA's request far updated information for 1996. Members are advised to double-check with these states' tox autharities.

Alabama: Individuals damiciled in Alobama are considered residents ond are subject ta tax an their entire income regardless of their physical presence in the stote. Alabomo's tox rote ranges fram 2-5 percent. Write: Alabama Department af Revenue, Income Tox Farms, P.O. Bax 327470, Montgomery, AL 36132-7470.

Alaska: Na state income tox.

Arizona: Individuols domiciled in Arizono are considered residents ond are subject to tax an their entire income regardless of their physicol presence in the stote. Arizono's tox rate ranges fram 3.8 - 7 percent. Write: Arizana Deportment of Revenue, Attention: Forms, 1600 West Monrae, Phoenix, AZ 85007-2650.

Arkansas: Individuols domiciled in Arkonsos ore considered residents ond ore subject ta tax on their entire income regordless of their physicol presence in the state. Arkansas's tax rate ranges from 1 - 7 percent. Write: Department of Finonce and Administrotion, Incame Tax Farms Divisian, P.O. Box 3628, Little Rock, AR 72203.

**California**: Foreign Service emplayees are cansidered nan-residents ond do not hove o tox liobility on out-of-stote income. Write: Stote of Califarnia, Franchise Tax Board, Taxpayer Services, P.O. Bax 942840, Sacramento, CA 94280-0040.

**Colorado:** Individuols domiciled in Calorodo ore considered residents and are subject to tax on their entire income regordless of their physical presence in the stote. Colorodo's tox rote is o flot 5 percent. Write: Department af Revenue, Toxpoyer Service Divisian, State Copitol Annex, 1375 Sherman St., Denver, CO 80261.

\*Connecticut: Individuals damiciled in Cannecticut ore considered non-residents and ore exempt fram tax an their entire incame if they hove o permonent ploce of abade autside the stote, hove no permanent place af obode in the state and spend na more thon 30 days in the stote during the toxoble yeor. Write: Department of Revenue Services, Taxpoyer Services Division, 92 Farmingtan Ave., Hortford, CT 06105.

\*Delaware: Individuols domiciled in Delowore are cansidered residents ond ore subject to tax on their entire income regardless of their physicol presence in the state. Delawore's tox rote ronges from 3.2 - 7.7 percent. Write: Division of Revenue, Toxpoyers Assistonce Sectian, Stote Office Building, 9th & French Streets, Wilmington, DE 19801.

\* District of Columbia: Individuols domiciled in the District of Calumbio ore considered residents ond ore subject to tax on their entire income regordless of their physicol presence there. The District's tox rote ronges from 6 - 9.5 percent. Write: Toxpoyer Assistonce Services, 300 Indiano Ave. N.W., Rm. 1046, Woshington, D.C. 20001. From 1988, the D.C. tox exclusion ceosed to opply to Fareign Service employees.

Florida: Na stote income tox.

\*Georgia: Individuols domiciled in Geargio are cansidered residents ond ore subject to tax on their entire income regardless of their physicol presence in the state. Georgio's tox rote ronges from 1 - 6 percent. Write: Georgio Deportment of Revenue, Forms Division, 305 Trinity-Woshington Building, Atlanta, GA 30334.

\*Hawaii: Individuals damiciled in Hawaii are cansidered residents and are subject ta tox an their entire incame regardless of their physicol presence in the stote. Howoii's tox rote ronges from 2 - 10 percent Write: Oahu District Office, Toxpoyer Services Branch, P.O. Box 3559, Honolulu, HI, 96811-3559.

Idaho: Individuols domiciled in Idoho ore considered residents and ore subject to tax an their entire income regordless of their physicol presence in the stote. Idaha's tox rote is between 2 and 8 percent depending on level of incame. Ta request forms write: Idoho Stote Tox Commission,

Farms Division, 700 West Stote Street, P.O. Bax 36, Boise, ID 83722.

\*Illinois: Individuals domiciled in Illinois ore considered residents ond ore subject ta tax on their entire incame regordless of their physicol presence in the state. Illinois's tax rate is 3 percent flat rate. Write: Illinois Deportment of Revenue, Forms Division, 101 West Jefferson St., Springfield, IL 62794.

Indiana: Individuols domiciled in Indiana ore considered residents and are subject to tox on their entire income regardless of their physicol presence in the state. Indiana's tax rote remoins 3.4 percent. Write: Deportment of Revenue, Toxpoyer Services Divisian, Stote Office Building, Raam 208, 100 N. Senate Ave., Indionopolis, IN 46204.

lowa: Individuols domiciled in Iowo ore considered residents ond ore subject to tox on their entire income regordless of their physical presence in the state. Iowa's tax rote ronges from 0.4 - 9.98 percent. Write: Deportment of Revenue ond Finonce, Forms Division, Hoover Stote Office Building, Des Moines, IA 50319.

Kansas: Individuols damiciled in Kansos ore considered residents ond ore subject to tox on their entire income regordless of their physicol presence in the stote. Kansas's tax rate ranges from 3.5 - 7.75 percent. Write: Konsos Toxpoyer Assistonce Bureou, 915 SW Horrison, 3rd Floor, Topeko, KS 66612-1588.

\*Kentucky: Individuals domiciled in Kentucky are considered residents and are subject to tox on their entire income regardless of their physical presence in the state. Kentucky's tox rate ranges from 2 - 6 percent. Write: Property and Moil Services Section, 859 East Main Street, Revenue Cobinet, Frankfort, KY 40620.

Louisiana: Individuols domiciled in Louisiona ore considered residents ond ore subject to tax an their entire income regardless af their physical presence in the state. Louisiono's tox rote ranges from 2 percent on the first \$10,000 of net income to 6 percent on any omount over \$50,000 of net income. Write: Deportment of Revenue and Taxation, Forms Division, P.O. Box 201, Boton Rouge, LA 70821-0201.

Maine: Individuals domiciled in Maine are considered residents and ore subject to tox on their entire income regardless af their physical presence in the state. Maine's tox rote ranges from 2 -8.5 percent. Coll 1-800-338-5811 or write to: Bureou of Toxotion, Forms Division, Stote Office Building, Augusta, ME 04333.

Maryland: Individuals domiciled in Moryland are considered residents and are subject ta tax an their entire incame regardless of their physical presence in the state. Marylond's tox rote is 5 percent for oll income over \$3,000. An individual is also subject to o county income tax rate which is o percentoge of the State income tax liability. For the 1996 tox year, Worcester County chorges 30 percent, Boltimore ond Queen Anne Counties - 55 percent, Prince George's - 58 percent, Allegheny, Montgomery, Somerset, St. Mary's, Talbat ond Wicomico - 60 percent. All other counties chorge 50 percent. Write: Income Tox Division, Stote Office Building, 301 West Preston St., Room 903, Boltimore, MD 21201-2384.

Massachusetts: Individuols domiciled in Massachusetts are considered residents and are subject to tox on their entire income regordless of their physicol presence in the stote. Solories ore toxed ot 5.95 percent, dividends etc., ot 12 percent. Write: Mossochusetts Department of Revenue, Supply Forms Section, 100 Combridge Street, Boston, MA 02204-7033.

\*Michigan: Individuals domiciled in Michigan ore considered residents and ore subject to tox on their entire income regardless of their physical presence in the stote. Michigan's tox rate is 4.6 percent. Write: Department of Treosury, Forms Division, Treosury Building, Lonsing, MI 48922.

Minnesota: Individuols domiciled in Minnesoto ore considered residents ond ore subject to tox on their entire income regardless af their physical presence in the state. Minnesoto's tax rate ranges from 6 -8.5 percent. Write: Deportment of Revenue, Forms Division, Moil Station 4453, Saint Poul, MN 55146.

Mississippi: Individuals damiciled in Mississippi are cansidered residents and ore subject to tax on their entire income regardless of their physical presence in the state. Mississippi's tox rote is 5 percent on taxable income over \$10,000. Write: State Tox Commission, Forms Division, P.O Box 1033, Jockson, MS 39215.

**Missouri:** No tox liability for out-of-state incame if the individual has na permonent residence in Missouri, has a permonent residence elsewhere, and is not physically present in the state for more than 30 days during the tax year. File a return yearly with an attached "Statement of Non-Residency" (Form 374). File also an Form 40, Schedule NRI, for income of more than \$600 from Missauri saurces. Write: Tax Administration Bureau, Forms Division, PO Box 220, Jefferson City, MO 65105-2200.

\*Montana: Individuols domiciled in Montono ore considered residents and are subject to tax on their entire income regardless of their physicol presence in the stote. Montano's tax rote ronges from 2 - 11 percent. Write: Montono Deportment of Revenue, Income Tox Division, PO Box 5805, Helena, MT 59604.

Nebraska: Individuals damiciled in Nebraska are considered residents ond ore subject to tox on their entire income regordless of their physicol presence in the stote. Nebrasko's tox rate ranges from 2.62 - 6.99 percent. Write: Deportment of Revenue, Forms Division, 301 Centenniol Moll South, P.O. Bax 94818, Lincoln, NB 68509-4818.

Nevada: No state income tax.

New Hampshire: No personol income tax, but tax liability 8 percent an profits from in-state sources, including the sale af property ond bonds. Write: Toxpoyer Assistonce Office, 61 So. Spring St., P.O. Box 2072, Concord, NH 03302-2072.

\*New Jersey: No tox liobility for out-ofstote income if the individual has no permanent residence in New Jersey, hos o permanent residence elsewhere, ond is not physicolly in the stote for more thon 30 doys during the tox yeor. Filing o return is not required, but is recommended in order to preserve domicile stotus. Filing is required on Form 1040 NR for revenue derived from in-stote sources. Forms may be requested by writing to: Deportment of the Treosury, Division of Toxotion, CN 269, Trenton, NJ 08625-0269.

New Mexico: Individuols domiciled in New Mexica are considered residents and are subject to tax on their entire income regordless of their physical presence in the state. New Mexico's tox rote is based upon income and filing status. Write: New Mexico Toxation and Revenue Deportment, Toxpoyer Services, PO Box 630, Sonto Fe, NM 87509-0630.

\*New York: No tox liability for aut-ofstate income if the individual has no permonent residence in New Yark, has a permanent residence elsewhere, and is not pre-

sent in the state more than 30 days during the tax year. Filing a return is nat required, but it is recammended ta preserve damicile status. Filing is required an Farm IT-203-I far revenue derived from New York saurces. Write: Department of Taxation ond Finance, Technical Services, W.A. Harriman Campus, Albany, NY 12227.

North Carolina: Individuals damiciled in Narth Carolina are cansidered residents and are subject ta tax an their entire incame regardless of their physical presence in the state. Narth Caralina's tax rate ranges from 6 - 7.75 percent. Write: Department af Revenue, Taxpayer Services Department, Revenue Building, Raleigh, NC 27640.

Narth Dakata: Individuals domiciled in North Dakata are cansidered residents ond are subject to tox on their entire incame regardless of their physical presence in the state. North Dakota's tax rate is 14 percent. Write: Office af State Tax Cammissianer, State Capital, 16th Floor, 600 E. Blvd. Ave., Bismarck, ND 58505-0599.

Ohia: Individuols domiciled in Ohia are considered residents ond ore subject ta tax on their entire income regardless af their physical presence in the state. Ohio's tax rate ranges fram 0.743 - 7.5 percent. Write: Ohia Department af Taxatian, Taxpayers Services, P.O. Bax 2476, Calumbus, OH 43266-0076.

Oklahama: Individuals damiciled in Oklahama are cansidered residents and are subject to tax an their entire income regardless of their physicol presence in the state. Oklahoma's tax rate is based upan incame and variaus exemptions. Write: Oklahama Tax Commissian, Taxpoyer Services Division, 2501 Lincoln Blvd., Oklahoma City, OK 73194-0009.

**Oregan:** Individuals damiciled in Oregan are considered residents and are subject to tox on their entire incame regardless of their physicol presence in the state. Oregan's maximum tax rate is 9 percent. Write: Deportment of Revenue, Forms Division, 955 Center Street N.E., Salem, OR 97310.

\*Pennsylvania: Na tax liability far aut-ofstate incame if the individual has na permanent residence in the state, has a permanent residence elsewhere, ond spends no mare than 30 days in the state during the tax year. Filing a return is nat required, but it is recammended to preserve damicile status. File an form PA40-NR far all incame derived fram Pennsylvania saurces. Pennsylvania does nat cansider government quarters averseas to be a "permanent place af abade elsewhere", so Foreign Service PA residents abraad in government quarters must cantinue to pay income tax. Pennsylvania's tax rate is 2.8 percent. Write: Commonwealth of Pennsylvonia, Department of Revenue, Toxpoyer Services Deportment, Harrisburg, PA 17128-1061.

Rhade Island: Individuals damiciled in Rhode Island are cansidered residents and are subject to tax on their entire incame regardless of their physical presence in the state. Rhode Island's tax rate is 27.5 percent. Write: Rhade Island Division of Taxotion, Taxpoyer Services Division, 289 Pramenade St., Providence, RI 02908-5801.

\*South Caralina: Individuals damiciled in Sauth Caralina are cansidered residents and are subject to tax on their entire income regardless af their physicol presence in the state. South Caralina's tox rote ronges from 2.5 - 7 percent. Write: South Carolino Tox Cammission, Forms Division, 301 Gervois Street, P.O. Box 125, Calumbia, SC 29214.

South Dakata: Na state income tax. Tennessee: Na persanal incame tax, but tax liability on prafits fram in-state saurces, including the sale of praperty and bands. Tennessee's tax rate is 6 percent. Write: State of Tennessee, Dept. of Revenue, Andrew Jacksan State Office Bldg., Nashville, Tenn. 37242

Texas: No stote income tox. Utah: Individuols damiciled in Utoh ore considered residents and are subject to Utah stote tox and the state requires thot oll federal adjusted gross incame reparted an the federal return be reported an the state return regardless af their physical presence in the state. Utah's highest tax rate is 7 percent. Write: Utah Stote Tox Commission, Toxpayer Services Division, Heber M. Wells Building, 210 North 1950 Street, Salt Lake City, UT 84134-0200.

Vermont: Individuals damiciled in Vermant are cansidered residents and are subject to tax on their entire incame regardless af their physicol presence in the stote. Vermant's tax rate far 1996 is 25 percent. The twa surtaxes remain the same: 3 percent on the federol liobility between \$3,400 and \$13,100, and 6 percent an the federol liability over \$13,100. Write: Vermant Deportment of Taxes, Toxpoyer Services Divisian, Pavilion Office Building, Mantpelier, VT 05602.

\*Virginia: Individuals damiciled in Virginia ore considered residents and are subject to tax on their entire income regardless af their physical presence in the state. Virginia's tax rate ranges fram 2 - 5.75 percent. Write: Virginio Deportment of Taxatian, Taxpayer Services Division, P.O. Bax 1317, Richmand, VA 23210.

Washingtan: Na state income tax.

\*West Virginia: No tox liability far aut-of-state incame if the individual has no permanent residence in West Virginia, has a permanent residence elsewhere, and spends no more than 30 days of the tox 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 fram West Virginia saurces. Write: The Department af Tax and Revenue, Toxpoyer Services Divisian, P.O. Box 3784, Charleston, WV 25337.

Wiscansin: Individuals domiciled in Wisconsin ore considered residents ond are subject to tax on their entire income regardless of their physical presence in the state. Wiscansin's tax rate ranges fram 4.9 - 6.93 percent. Write: Department af Revenue, Taxpayer Services Divisian, 125 Sauth Webster Street, P.O. Bax 8933, Madisan, WI 53708.

Wyoming: Na state income tax.

#### State Pension & Annuity Tax

The lows regording the toxotion of Foreign Service annuities vory greatly from state to state. In addition to those stotes that hove no income tox or no tox on personol income, there ore several stotes that do not tax incame derived fram pensians and annuities. There are three states – Iawa, Kansas and Narth Dakata – that tax Fareign Service annuities while exempting those of the Civil Service. In addition, Idoho and Oklahoma have pravisians exempting certain amaunts af Civil Service annuities. It is unclear from the information ovailable to AFSA whether the exemptian pertains to Fareign Service annuities as well.

In response to the U.S. Supreme Caurt's decision in Davis v. Michigon Department of the Treasury, onnuitonts in o number of states challenged unequal taxatian 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 af retired state of Michigan and lacal government employees while taxing the annuities of retired federal employees residing in Michigan discriminates against federal annuitants and is therefore uncanstitutianal. Because many states have similar practices regording the treatment af annuitant income, individuals and groups are currently involved in litigation in arder ta compel their states of residence to refund the taxes they paid on their annuities during the period immediately befare the states changed their tax laws ta comply with Davis v. Michigan. All other states tax Foreign and Civil Service annuities and pensions ta varying degrees.

Alabama: United States Foreign Service Retirement and Disability Fund Annuities are not taxable.

Alaska: No personal income tax. Arizana: Up to \$2,500 exempt.

Arkansas: Up to \$6,000 exempt. The case was appealed by the state to the U.S. Supreme Court in late Octaber 1991.

Califamia: Fully taxable.

**Colorada:** Up to \$20,000 exempt if aver age 55.

Cannecticut: Fully taxable.

**Delaware:** Twa exclusions: (1) Up to \$2,000 exempt if earned incame is less than \$2,500 and Adjusted Gross Income is less than \$10,000; if married and filing jaintly, up ta \$4,000 exempt if earned income is less than \$5,000 and AGI is under \$20,000. This is applicable if 60 years or older or tatally disabled. (2) Amaunts received as pension exempted up to \$2,000 if under 60 and up to \$3,000 if aver 60.

**District af Calumbia:** Up to \$3,000 exempt, only if 62 years or older.

Flarida: No persanol income tax, but Flarido has an "Intangibles Tax".

Geargia: Up to \$11,000 exempt for those 62 years or alder and permanently or totally disabled.

Hawaii: Full exemption.

Idaha: Up ta \$13,764 exempt for a single return; up to \$20,640 if filing jointly. Up to \$13,764 exempt for unmarried survivor of annuitant. Must be 65 years or older, or 62 years or older and disabled. Amount reduced dallar far dollar by social security benefits. However, it is not clear whether this exclusian pertains to Foreign Service annuities. See abave paragraphs for further information.

Illinais: Full exemptian.

Indiana: Up to \$2,000 exemptian for mast 65 or older, reduced dallar far dallar by social security benefits.

lawa: Fully taxable.

Kansas: Full exemption.

Kentucky: Full exemption.

Lauisiana: Up to \$6,000 exempt if 65 years or older. (\$12,000 if bath filers aver 65).

Maine: Fully taxable.

Maryland: Far individuals 65 years or older ar permanently disabled, federal pensions and annuities, including Sacial Security, are excluded up to \$13,600. For other annuitants, the tatal amount is taxable.

Massachusetts: Full exemption. Michigan: Full exemption for Civil Service annuities. See abave for discussion af U.S. Supreme Court decisian in Davis v. Michigan. Foreign Service annuities may exclude \$7,500 when filing single and \$10,000 when filing jointly.

Minnesota: Certain persons over 65 with incomes under \$42,000 may be eligible for a subtraction - fill out a "Subtraction for the Elderly" form to determine if qualified.

Mississippi: Full exemption.

**Missouri:** Up ta \$6000 exempt if the pension income is less than \$32,000 on a jointly filed return.

Montana: Up ta \$3,600 exemptian far a maximum af \$32,000.

Nebraska: Fully taxable.

Nevada: No persanal incame tax. New Hampshire: Na persanal incame tax.

New Jersey: In general, pensions and annuities are subject to the New Jersey income tox with the following exemptions for individuals who are 62 years ar alder, or totally and permanently disabled, to exclude all ar a portion of their pension income as follows: singles can exclude up ta \$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: All pensians and annuities are fully taxed.

New York: Full exemption.

Narth Caralina: Up to \$4,000 exempt. Narth Dakota: All pensions and annu-

ities are fully taxed, except first \$5000 is

exempt less any Social Security payments, but only if the individual chooses to use Form 37 (long form). Individuals are cautioned to check both Form 37-S and Form 37 to ascertain which one yields the lawest tax for the year. Qualifying for the exclusion does not mean that Form 37 is the better form to choose.

Ohia: Gives a tax credit based an 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.

Oklahama: Up ta \$5,500 exempt however, it is not clear whether this exemption pertains to Foreign Service annuities. See above paragraph for further discussion.

Oregan: Up to \$5,000 exempt if over age 59 and household income less than \$22,500 (\$45,000 if married filing jointly).

Pennsylvania: Full exemption for govern-

ment pensions and social security. Rhade Island: Fully taxable.

Sauth Caralina: Under age 65 a

\$3,000 exemption may be taken. Over

65 years of age a \$10,000 exemption may be taken.

Sauth Dakata: No personal income tax. Tennessee: Full exemption.

Texas: Na persanal incame tax.

Utah: Under age 65 a \$4,800 exemptian may be taken. Over 65 years of age a \$7,500 exemptian may be taken.

Vermont: Fully taxable.

Virginia: Up ta \$12,944 plus \$800 persanal exemptian (excluding sacial security) for individuals aver 65. \$6,472 is exempted (excluding sacial 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: Up to \$8,000 exempt, only if 65 years or older.

Wiscansin: Pensions and onnuities are fully taxable unless the individual became a member of a federal retirement system before January 1, 1964, in which case a limited exemption applies.

Wyaming: No personal income tax.

Robert N. Dussell, AFSA's tax caunsel, pravided assistance in preparing this article.

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## FSOs Need Financial Planners Who Know the Difference Between Osaka and Ouagadougou

By Karen P. Schaeffer

hen your job tokes you oll over the world, decisions about personal finances can be more stressful than normal. That's why mony FSOs turn to trained professionals for the objective financial advice they need. While choosing a finoncial odviser is like choosing any other professional - you'll want to check credentials, experience, reputation and qualifications - FSOs should consider two additional factors when choosing who will help make decisions concerning money: How will the adviser communicate with you overseas and how fomiliar is the odviser with the various benefits options you foce?

#### **Before You Consult**

Before grilling a prospective finoncial planner, organize your thoughts and financial data. Some people have very specific questions, others are looking for a second opinion and still others are looking for both. The goal is to find an odviser with the skills and experience to answer your questions and meet your needs, but to do that you must know what you require. In addition, on adviser must look at your big finonciol picture, even to answer a specific question. That includes:

• Balance sheet. A list of what you own ond owe.

• Cash flow. Don't account for every dollor, but your adviser will give you different recommendations depending on whether your closh flow has slowed to a trickle while you're assigned to Washington, D.C. or you're flush while posted to a former Soviet republic still working on capitalism.

• Benefits. What options did you really pick on the FEGLI insurance? Did you bother to buy additional disability insurance? Are there any pieces of old retirement plans still flooting around? How many years of service do you have in the government retirement plan, and is it the old or the new system? Under which health insurance plan are you and your fomily covered and when do children fall off the plon?

• Insurance. List the features of insurance beyond employer-provided benefits.

• Legal documents. Wills, powers-ofottorney, heolthcare directives, divorce or separation papers and prenuptial agreements.

• Family. What financial responsibilities will you have toward your family, such os college or private school expenses and support of elderly porents?

• Money questions. Should I rent the house or just sell it? Should I put the college money in the child's name? Are any of those new TSP funds going to be worthwhile? How are we going to poy for Aunt Sofia's nursing home costs? If I get downsized out of the government, will my pension be enough?

#### **Selecting An Adviser**

Ideolly, you can get a referral for a

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Most odvisers will conduct on introductory meeting ot no cost, which is your opportunity to evoluote how comfortable you ore disclosing your financial situation to the adviser and to learn about the adviser's qualifications in the following areas:

• Educatian and designations. Does the odviser hove o degree in finoncial planning or a related field or hold one or more designations such as CFP, ChFC, CLU, CPA, or CPA/PFS? Again, it's important to keep in mind your needs. A professional with a CFP designation will have a broad knowledge of all aspects of financial planning. An adviser with a CLU or ChFC designation has completed studies in insurance, and a CPA is an occounting professional.

• Experience. How long hos the odviser been procticing finoncial planning, porticularly for people like you?

• Expertise. Whot ore the odviser's oreos of expertise or proctice specialty,

ond how does that compore to your needs and gools?

• **Reputation**. Does the odviser have a working relationship with other professionols, and can he or she provide references from those professionals as well as his or her own clients?

• **Registratians and licensing**. Whot products is the odviser licensed to sell, if ony? Is the odviser o Registered Investment Adviser (RIA)?

• Campensatian. Expect prospective odvisers to earn a living through fees, commissions or a combination of the two. Fees ore generally controlled by the adviser and con be assessed by the hour, by the job or as a percentage of assets managed. Commissions an investment and insurance products are determined and paid by the product company, and some advisers are licensed to earn them. Make sure your adviser has given you a clear picture of his or her compensation before you make a final decision. It's also a good idea to verify the adviser's credentials.

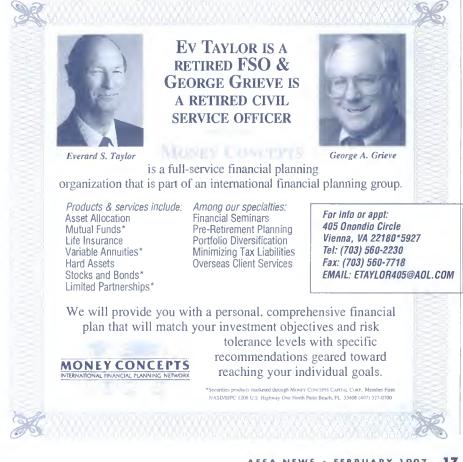
#### **Working with an Adviser**

Finoncial planning involves assessing your current situation and setting financial

ond personal goals before implementing financial decisions. Through the financial planning process, you will: clarify your present situation by assembling all relevant personal and financial data; identify both financial and personal goals so you can define where you want to be; identify financial barriers that stand in the way of reaching those goals; develop a financial plan structured to meet your needs and goals; implement your financial plan; periodically review and revise your plan as your personal situation and economic conditions change.

A finoncial plan can be comprehensive or address only a few issues. Typically, issues include strategies on cash flow, taxes, investments, insurance, retirement and estate planning. Remember, you have hired a financial adviser, not a financial controller. Recommended strategies come from the adviser, but the decisions are mode by you. After all, it's your money.

Koren P. Schoeffer is o certified finoncial planner with Schoeffer Financial in Silver Spring, Md. and a member of IAFP's board of directors.



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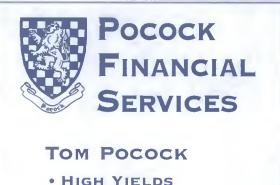
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## AN OPEN LETTER TO THE FS

#### By WARREN CHRISTOPHER

#### Dear Colleagues:

I have been privileged to serve as secretary of State during an extraordinary time in our nation's history. In the wake of our victory in the Cold War, we have moved to advance America's enduring interests and establish the basis for a more secure and prosperous world in the 21st century. Our diplomatic achievements would not have been possible without the remarkably talented and dedicated men and women of the Foreign Service and the Civil Service.

During my two stints in the State Department first as deputy secretary during the Carter administration and then as secretary under President Clinton's leadership — I have been honored to work with thousands of career officers. These professional diplomats have demonstrated the highest levels of competence and commitment. They not only possess knowledge of the world's languages, cultures and politics; they have the experience and ability to promote U.S. interests and ideals in every country on the globe. I leave my office with great respect, admiration and appreciation for them.

Cultivating and maintaining the many skills of our diplomatic corps require great amounts of discipline, effort and resources. Based on my tenure as secretary, I am convinced the United States needs more than ever to preserve the high standards of the Foreign Service and the Civil Service. However, I am far from convinced that they have enough resources to do their work. Indeed, there is an immediate crisis facing U.S. foreign policy today that arises not from abroad but from within our own country. Simply put, will we spend what we must to carry out an effective diplomacy?

The U.S. budget for foreign affairs has been gutted by a decade of unrelenting congressional budget cuts. During the last four years, reducing funding has forced us to close 30 embassies and consulates — even

Warren Christopher is the outgoing secretary of State.

as the number of countries in the world has grown and the challenges to U.S. interests have also grown.

This budget debate is not just about foreign assistance, although we must not underestimate the value of carefully targeted assistance as an investment in our own security and prosperity. It is really about diplomatic readiness — the ability to carry out our responsibilities as America's first line of defense. Just as we honor and support American soldiers, we must honor and support our diplomats. From Beirut to Sarajevo, from Dushanbe to Kigali, American diplomats and their families endure tremendous hardships to serve their country.

The central lesson of the last four years is that the end of the Cold War has done nothing to weaken the imperative of American leadership in the world. We in the foreign affairs community have a responsibility to explain this imperative to the American people, which is why the State Department is doing more than ever before to reach out to its citizens through television and radio interviews; through town hall meetings around the country; through our Web site on the Internet; and through a permanent State Department exhibit that chronicles U.S. diplomatic achievements of the last two centuries.

I must remain optimistic that Americans do support active engagement in the world. They understand that peace and freedom are ascendant at the end of this century because of America's strong, consistent leadership. And with our help, they will understand that we cannot have leadership on the cheap.

As I prepare to enter the ranks of America's former secretaries, I take great pride in my association with the men and women of the Department of State. ■

Sincerely,

tianin Christopher

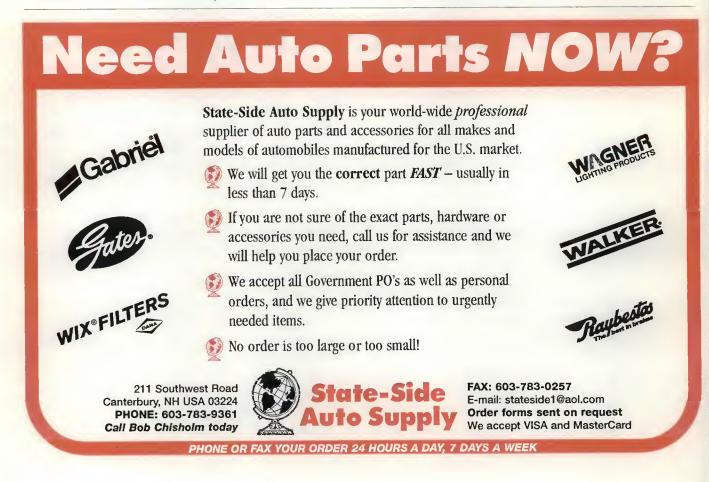
His focus on the long-standing, but what some call peripheral, U.S. interest in the Mideast peace left him unable to judge how quickly Chinese and European issues had risen to the top of America's agenda. Smith ecommends Christopher for his "persistent attention" to the region, predicting more bloodshed without his intervention, but Brinkley argues the secretary's "ridiculous attempts at shuttle diplomacy [were] in a region that is not the No. 1 concern for an America in a post-Cold War era, when Europe and China both required more time and attention than playing with Assad."

Hoff agrees, saying both Christopher and Kissinger accomplished little with "shuttle diplomacy" in the Middle East, and dismisses Kissinger's trips as "mostly for show, not substance." Quick-trip diplomacy "looks good and keeps the secretaries busy, but it's not really effective." In that region, the United States no longer "belongs at the bargaining table."

Pursuit of that obsession has had bittersweet results for the secretary. Two days before Christopher left office, Israeli Prime Minister Binyamin Netanyahu and Palestinian leader Yasser Arafat inked a long-negotiated accord on the withdrawal of Israeli forces from the city of Hebron and rural areas of the West Bank. In the Jan. 14 agreement, Israel agreed to the transfer of land and limited governing power to Arafat, in exchange for his renewed promise to extradite eriminal suspects sought by Israel and to rewrite the Palestinian Covenant to eliminate calls for Israel's destruction.

The impact of Christopher's misjudgment on the importance of China is likely to be seen soon. "He went to Syria 17 times and China only twice," says Tueker, "but in the great scheme of things in world history, China will be seen as the more important power than the Middle East. We can't ignore a country like China."

In a town where a person is defined better by his enemies than his friends, Christopher is practically nondescript. Indeed, it's nearly impossible to locate a foe, and, as one diplomatic historian remarked, "it's very hard to eritieize someone who's such a nice man."



"What one gets from Christopher is that this is not a man who thirsted after power and glory and who needed to be at the center of things," says Dallek. "That is something this country should honor. We are so cynical our political leaders that people may want to raise a glass to him for having been so subdued."

No one could accurately call Christopher a braggart. "He's not someone who puffs himself up or beats a big drum about his accomplishments," says Smith. "If you do have a big ego in Washington, you get a lot of attention, but he didn't like drawing attention to himself." Indeed, he was downright media-shy. "His idea of a good appearance on [the] McNeil-Lehrer [news show] was if no one said anything about it the next day," laughs LaFeber. "He wanted to keep his name and events off the front page. To say he was not as dynamic or headline-making as a Dulles or an Acheson or a Baker misjudges the man."

History may eventually judge Christopher's record as the model secretary of State for a president like Clinton. "He never challenged the president's authority or upstaged him in any way," noted Dallek. "People may look back on his term in office as a pretty interesting model of how a secretary should behave in a time of no great conflict or stress."

If he found his job stressful, Christopher rarely showed it in public, where aides say he actually enjoyed his persona as the most humorless official in the Clinton administration. Incoming Secretary of State Madeleine K. Albright jokingly called him "almost lifelike," humorist Dave Barry quipped that he looked like "a severely depressed squirrel [with] excellent table manners," and liberal columnist Alexander Cockburn nicknamed him the "undertaker." Even his boss Clinton has chimed in, chiding him as "the only man ever to eat ... M&Ms with a knife and fork."

He has even been known to poke fun at himself, such as when he mocked his vanilla-flavored image with a farewell speech among diplomatic correspondents, punctuated by an offer of a cup of Irish coffee, sans the caffeine or whisky.

Christopher the public persona may get no respect, but Christopher the professional persona enjoys a solid repu-



tation among colleagues of a man of integrity. "He has a sparkling reputation and a good character," says Dallek. "No hint of scandal has touched him. Some have lost sight of how important that is. If you had a scoundrel in there, it would be different. This has not been four years in which we've had constant, bureaucratic backbiting in the press. There've been no leaks from his office. He is a man of quiet diplomacy and that's all for the good. It's very appealing."

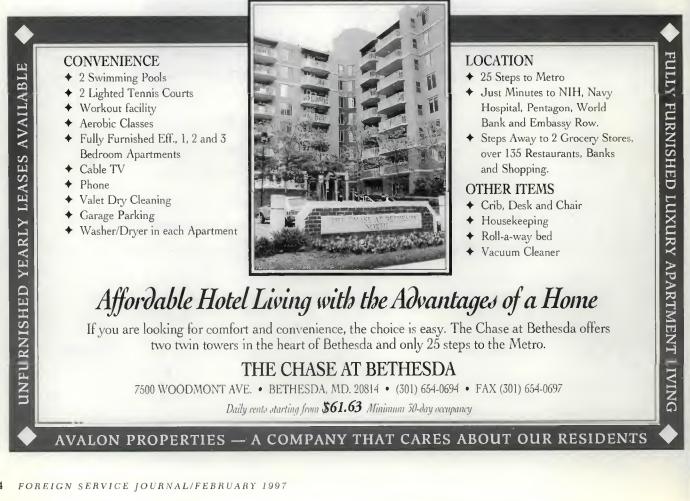
LaFeber warns of the danger of mistaking Christopher's lackluster style for a lackluster foreign policy. "His legacy will be one of decency," says Brinkley, who defines Christopher as "somebody who carries his own bag. He's not somebody we think of as dynamic or personally aggressive, like a Kissinger. ... But there's a humility to him that is very appealing."

Despite his many years toiling in the bureaucracy, Christopher never took part in interagency infighting. Even public jabs made him uncomfortable, such as when he gracefully sidestepped the recent media fray over French Foreign Minister Herve de Charette's snub of him during a NATO luncheon. Not a pccp from him, though diplomats of both countries lobbed volleys in the press.

Nor did Christopher develop an instinct for the jugular, as did predecessors [John Foster] Dulles, Acheson or Kissinger. "Those were big egos," observes Smith. "They battled people everywhere in the government, and were sometimes fairly abrasive, even in disagreements with the president. Men like those were centers of foreign policy generation, but Christopher is not."

Historians most often cite Cyrus R. Vance (1977-1980) and Dean Rusk (1961-1969) as secretaries most like Christopher. Others named Henry L. Stimson (1929-1933) and Elihu Root (1905-1909) as kindred spirits: All pursued quiet diplomacy in the tradition of the gentleman envoy.

Christopher may one day conclude that his image as a self-effacing, selfless public official was a career albatross. "They're admirable qualities," agrees Smith. Says Dallek, "Christopher may not always have been well served by the fact that's he's such a soft-spoken and unflamboyant person."



Sums up Brinkley, "Being a good person docsn't necessarily make for a good secretary of State," pointing out that Christopher too quickly stepped aside to allow Holbrooke the limelight for Bosnia, to Carter for Haiti and to Clinton for Northern Ireland.

Those reluctant to criticize Christopher outright find it easier to lay the blame at Clinton's feet, who they say failed to define a direction for foreign policy in his first term. "Clinton certainly gave the impression those first two years that he didn't want to deal with foreign affairs, that he wanted to keep those issues away from him," says Smith.

Much of Christopher's tenure was marked by being the good soldier, often taking the fall for the president for unclear or flip-flopping polieies. For example, he took the fall for Clinton in spring 1994, when the president reversed his decision and de-linked MFN and human rights in China, and once again in early 1995 when the White House went against its no-visas-for-terrorists poliey by granting one to Gerry Adams. And Christopher became an unwitting pawn in Jesse Helms' campaign to garner support for his plan to consolidate several foreign affairs agencies.

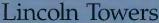
I a secretary of State's success is measured not by what he accomplishes, but by whether he did what he set out to do, than Christopher's tenure has been a job well done. "He got ont of it exactly what he wanted," says Cornell's LaFeber, who eredits him for bringing "realistic expectations" of what ean be accomplished in the job. "Let's face it, if historians had their druthers, they'd rather have an Albright with her sound bites than a Christopher's carefully nuanced remarks," he says. "But he never intended to be an Albright — she sees this more as a bully pulpit job. But that's not the kind of secretary of State Christopher wanted to be."

Only the slow, steady passage of time — that intrinsic element of history that makes hindsight so much clearer than foresight — will reveal what Christopher's rightful place should be in diplomatic history.

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## SURVIVING TERROR IN PERU

#### As Last American Hostage Released, FSO Recalls 5 Days of Fear, Despair and Hope

#### By KAREN KREBSBACH



SO John Riddle will probably never attend another birthday bash for Japanese Emperor Akihito: After the Dec. 17 gala at the Japanese ambassador's house in Lima, it took him five

days to return home from the Party from Hell.

Riddle's 120-hour ordeal as one of 700 hostages became a profound lesson in patience, persistence and prayer — and the power of personal diplomaey.

"We knew we were being used as tools," said Riddle, the economic counselor at U.S. Embassy Lima and a 17-year veteran of the Foreign Service, in a telephone interview. "U.S. policy is not to negotiate with terrorists, and so we kept emphasizing that, as diplomats, we weren't valuable. Eventually, it worked."

Fearing the terrorists' constant reminder that they "might have to kill a couple of diplomats," Riddle and his fellow hostages "kept trying to develop a relationship with [our eaptors]. When people have a gun at your head, you want to make them realize you're human beings — to make them think twice about pulling the trigger."

As the last of the 15 U.S. embassy employees released from the compound, Riddle realized how lueky he and his fellow captives were to have walked away unharmed: Since the Foreign Service was ereated in 1924, more than 200 U.S. diplomats have lost

Karen Krebsbach is the editor of the Journal.

their lives in the line of duty, including a handful killed as hostages.

Released on Dec. 22, Riddle was freed along with embassy colleagues James Wagner, the political eounselor, and John Crow, director of the Narcotics Assistance Service. Also released were Donald Boyd, deputy director of the Peru office of the U.S. Agency for International Development (USAID); Andrew "Mike" Maxey, USAID development officer; David Bayer, USAID deputy executive officer; Kris Mersehrod, a USAID contractor and American citizen; and Pedro Carillo, a USAID Foreign Service national (FSN) who is Peruvian.

FSO Sheila Peters, a political officer, was released with four other American women, all U.S. Foreign Service spouses, only three hours after the hostagetaking began, along with a group of some 350 female, elderly and ill hostages. The vast majority of the remaining male hostages was released the following few days, including 13 ambassadors: envoys from Canada, Germany, Greeee, Austria, Brazil, Bulgaria, Cuba, Guatemala, Panama, Poland, South Korea, Spain and Venezuela.

Remaining at the residence are 74 hostages, including Japanese Ambassador Morihisa Aoki, Bolivian Ambassador Jorge Gumueio and Peruvian Foreign Minister Francisco Tudela, as well as dozens of Peruvian military, police and government officials and Japanese businessmen.

As the standoff stretches into its second month between President Alberto Fujimori's government and Marxist terrorists of the Tupac Amaru Revolutionary Movement (MRTA), Fujimori has said he is willing to consider talks on "all subjeets" proposed by the rebels. However, he has twice refused the terrorists' demand to release 400 imprisoned MRTA rebels. Original requests of the rebels, who complained of "Japan's constant interference with Peru's internal polities," also included payment of an unspecified amount of a "war tax" and the ereation of an economie program to help Peru's poor.

Riddle, 43, and his wife, Paula, had been shmoozing on opposite sides of a backyard tent behind Ambassador Aoki's home about 9 p.m. that Tuesday, when a huge explosion echoed from the north side of the compound. The blast was followed by a series of rapid gunfire shots.

"I could see the wave from the blast about 20 yards away rolling across the tent, and I realized how close it was," said Riddle. Although none of the guests appeared frightened — explosions and gunshots are common evening serenades in Lima — the erowd became more anxious as the gunshots grew louder and more rapid.

Seconds later the erowd was surrounded by more than a dozen armed guerrillas, whom guests would soon learn had gained access to the yard via a neighboring property. No embassy guards had been assigned to patrol inside the compound, but dozens stationed in front of the residence were soon embroiled in a brief shootout with a second group of guerrillas.

"I thought we were in the middle of a firefight," Riddle recalled. "The terrorists were kind of nervons, because I guess they had only expected about 200 people." One terrorist would later brag to a television cameraman that he and his comrades had had the crowd "under control in 20 seconds," Riddle said. For the terrified guests, however, it seemed like 20 hours.

The rebels ordered the guests to lie flat on the ground, and Riddle felt his heart pounding as he slipped his diplomatic credentials under a nearby rug. He surmised, probably wisely, that being an American might not be so good for his health. As the rebels searched the erowd for Ambassador Aoki, Riddle tried to scan the flattened bodies for Paula, whom he had last seen on the other side of the tent, deep in conversation with a friend. Now, she was nowhere in sight. A vision of his 7-year-old son and 14-year-old daughter flashed through his mind and Riddle found himself mumbling the first of the many prayers he would recite over the next five days.

Fear shot through the crowd, mingling uneasily with the chaos, as the terrorists barked orders and the guests struggled to find colleagues, friends and loved ones. "I didn't know if Paula was outside or in the house," said Riddle. "I thought I might find her if we were all inside. But we were all cranmed in there, cheek to jowl. And then they told me to go upstairs, so I never found her."

With more hostages than they could handle, the rebels decided to release the 100-plus female hostages, and a fellow captive would later tell Riddle he thought he had seen Paula leaving with one of the groups of women. But he didn't stop worrying until the next morning, when his eaptors allowed Riddle's 120-hour ordeal as one of 700 hostages held at the Japanese ambassador's home became a profound lesson in patience, persistence and prayer — and the power of personal diplomacy:

him to call her at home. "We laughed about whether I should eancel a reception I had the next day, because I didn't think  $\Gamma$ d be able to make it," he said.

The safety of his wife wasn't Riddle's only worry that first evening. The rebels began combing the groups of hostages, sifting out foreign diplomats, Japanese businessmen and Peruvian military and police officers. They tried in vain to loeate U.S. Ambassador Dennis Jett, who had fortuitously left the reception about 7:30 p.m. "I didn't volunteer myself," remembers Riddle. "I just kind of sat there. I thought it was safer to see how things played out. But there were so many people there who knew me that, eventually, it would've been hard to hide who I was."



"Something about this place pushes you in the right direction."

His family's *moves* meant Sam had attended several different high schools. His grades had been "bad" in those where there were large elasses and he was lacking self-confidence. After he and his parents visited five local independent schools, Sam chose Chapel Hill-Channey Hall School because he liked its campus and friendly atmosphere. Once enrolled. his attitude changed. "I started getting good grades in English elass, and that boosted my coufidence." He also began to participate in sports. "I'd never liked sports before, but I tried soeeer and became captain of the JV team." Sam made the honor roll for the first time and began writing poetry and short stories and keeping a journal

in his spare time.

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Knowing the guest list included a virtual Who's Who of Peruvian society, the terrorists began recording the name and title of each hostage, trying to weigh his value. Discovering the identities of Riddle and Politieal Officer Wagner, the terrorists grouped the pair with other senior-level foreign officials and herded them into Ambassador Aoki's bedroom. Another room was reserved for military personnel and police; another held USAID personnel and Peruvian Foreign Ministry officials; and several others held nothing but Japanese businessmen. Each room was guarded by a rebel with a hand grenade, under orders "to roll grenades into our rooms" if the Peruvian police stormed the residence, Riddle said. This was the first time, he admits, that he had felt "a little unsettled" during the crisis.

The first night was the worst. Physically and emotionally spent by midnight, the 35 male hostages in Riddle's room were sprawled all over the 300-square-foot bedroom, sleeping on the couch, the bed, the floor. Some cat-napped sitting up. Others were unable to sleep at all. "You couldn't turn over without hitting somebody or stretch out without kicking somebody, much less walk around," Riddle reealled. One senior diplomat had the audacity to roll up a \$30,000 kimono of Aoki's wife for use as a pillow, a move that didn't endear him to the ambassador.

By the next morning, with neither side budging, the terrorists began responding to suggestions from the hostages. "That first day we put together a message to the [Peruvian] government, asking them not to attack the house because there was no way out the windows and everyone would die inside," said Riddle.

That same day, the terrorists encouraged their captives to jumpstart negotiations by phoning their friends and family. "They told us to get on the phones — all the Japanese had cell phones and pressure Fujimori to release the [jailed] terrorists," he said. And, until everyone's cell batteries ran down, the captives happily phoned home to alert loved ones they were still alive.

Throughout it all, Riddle's group of hostages never stopped "trying to maintain a dialogue with the terrorists," whom he described as "not exaetly friendly. ... They were pleased with the success they'd had, but they were also kind of relaxed and undisciplined about the whole thing."

Although no one in Riddle's group was mistreated — he saw no one bound and gagged or beaten, for example — the assassination threats were relentless. "They kept saying that they were sorry, but they may have to start shooting diplomats if something didn't happen soon," recalled Riddle.

Despite captives' attempts to convince rebels that killing diplomats was a crime, it seemed only Romanian Ambassador Oetavian Filip eould explain the issue in terms the terrorists understood. Remembers Riddle, "He said something like We know you have this problem with your comrades in jail, and we're very sorry about that, but if you were to hurt one of our diplomats, you'd be creating many enemies who will come and liquidate your organization.' We never heard anything more about killing diplomats."

Telediplomaey proved a crucial ally in obtaining the American embassy employees' release. Thanks to constant television coverage — Aoki's home has a TV in every room — Pcruvian and American officials were able to deliver their "we don't negotiate with hostages" message loud and clear to the viewing guerrillas.

"When they saw [President] Clinton and [State Department spokesman] Nick Burns on TV telling them directly that they were going to ask other governments to get off Fujimori's back about releasing the [jailed rebel] prisoners, that impressed the terrorists," Riddle said, who watched the drama unfolding on TV with his captors and other hostages.

"We may have started out as their prizes, but our value as hostages diminished after that," said Riddle. Gradually, more and more captives, particularly the diplomats, were released. "They didn't seem to go after us [Americans] as much and we started feeling more comfortable. They seemed to turn their attention to the Peruvians."

Their fears of being killed now lessened, Riddle and Wagner began worrying about living in captivity for months, maybe years. "I thought about not being home for the kids at Christmas," Riddle said. "And we sort of started mentally preparing ourselves for being in here for a long time, which was a little depressing."

Intermittently, anxiety would give way to boredom, which the hostages fought by watching more television, telling jokes among themselves and reading anything with words — in any language. Riddle sped through an English-language copy of Michael Crichton's anti-Japan novel, *Rising Sun*, which Ambassador Aoki had left on his nightstand.

Although they were all riding the emotional roller coaster between despair and hope, the hostages in Riddle's group never lost sight of their mission. "We were always thinking of different things we could do [to resolve the erisis ourselves]," he said. And they took every opportunity to repeat their message: Dead or alive, diplomats are not valuable bargaining chips for terrorists.

On the fifth day, the U.S. diplomats' relentless repetition paid off. The seven remaining employees of U.S. Embassy Lima joined 218 others in what the terrorists termed "a Christmas gesture of good will." The group walked out the front door of the ambassador's residence just after 10 p.m. — nearly five days to the very hour that most had first arrived. For Riddle, whose name was the last of the seven called for release, Dec. 22 would now have a doubly special meaning: Not only would it be the date he was freed, but it was also Paula's birthday.

With the ordeal behind him, Riddle says he is grateful to the State Department for providing constant reassurance and updates to his worried family in Dallas, Tex. He also credits a 1993 terrorism training seminar at State, which he says left him "well prepared" to stay ealm and focused on resolving the crisis.

Riddle might have guessed terrorism would be part of his diplomatie destiny. Not only would four classmates be taken hostage in Iran shortly after their A-100 class graduated in October 1979, but he would be welcomed to his Lima post in August 1993 with a car bombing that had left his new office in shambles.

"For my first six months on the job, I had a quarter inch of plywood between myself and the street," he said. "We had bombs going off and shots being fired a lot when we first arrived, but then we got used to hearing them and having the lights go off. Soon, we hardly noticed anymore." That experience was good training for his first — and only, Riddle hopes hostage-taking. "Americans are very used to hearing explosions and gunfire, but it's another thing to have bullets flying past you," he said.

As for the hostages still at the residence, Riddle says he remains eautiously optimistic. "I don't think things are over yet," he says, his voice fading as he remembers his many friends and colleagues among the 74 captives, guests still waiting to go home after the Party From Hell. ■

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## THE JAPANESE WAY

WITH JAPAN AT POLITICAL CROSSROADS, INSIDER UNVEILS GUIDE TO BUREAUCRACY'S ELITE, POWERFUL 'MANDARINS'

#### BY JASON HYLAND



s the institutions and policies that have helped Japan rebuild its society since World War II are increasingly questioned by citizens and criticized by forcigners, it is clear the country is crosswords

standing at a historic crossroads.

Like a giant, the elite Japanese bureauerat stands at this eorner, wielding tremendous power and influence. But does this mandarin block the road to the future, or will he lead the way? Defining this ereature ealled bureancraey has become a litmus test for Japan hands in the United States, and a conundrum for Japan, whose public knows that a practice perceived as anachronistic or wrong to a foreigner may be totally consistent with Japanese custom and practice. The Japanese bureaucracy is nothing if not a reflection of Japanese society.

The eountry's great success in remaking itself into the world's second-largest economy has added to the prestige of membership in this elite bureaueracy.

Jason P. Hyland, who joined the Foreign Service in 1984, is principal officer at U.S. Consulate Fukuoka. He has also served at U.S. Embassy Tokyo, U.S. Consulate General Sapporo in Japan and U.S. Embassy Guatemala City, and as country officer of the Office of Japanese Affairs at State's Bureau of East Asian and Pacific Affairs. The views expressed here do not necessarily reflect those of the Department of State. However, voters identified administrative reform as a top priority at the polls last October during parliamentary elections, and the arrests late last year of top eurrent and former bureaucrats have further fueled calls for ehange. It's too early to say how far reform efforts will go, but it will not be easy for Japan to create eontrols on bureaucratic influence and power.

The professional bureaucracy, established in the late 19th century as part of Japan's modernization effort and modeled after the German and French institutions of the day, is heir to a powerful tradition characterized by strong elements of Chinese Confucian doctrine. This belief exalts rule by mandarins sclected by impartial examination and entrusted with carrying out the will of the emperor. In fact, until the end of World War II, Japanese bureauerats were called the "emperor's men" and wielded the authority of their exalted mission.

In September 1945, as most of Japan's cities lay in ruins, and American occupation troops were landing on its shores, Japanese bureauerats were busy preparing a draft administrative reform plan to preempt anticipated U.S. demands for bureaucratie overhaul. In fact, the United States decided to govern within the bureaueraey, rather than to try to dismantle it. Occupation authorities did make mighty attempts at reform, succeeding in some areas, but the bureaueracy became even more important in Japanese society, filling the void created by the collapse of the military and the politicized nobility. "Bureaucracy," as the term is commonly used in Japan, has a very specific meaning and differs greatly from the American use of the word. Americans refer to U.S. "bureaucracy" in the broadest sense, identifying bureaucrats as employees from as minor as a Department of Motor Vehieles clerk to one as high as the secretary of State. But Japan, which produces as much red tape as any country — if not more — uses the term often as shorthand for the national ministries and agencies of finance, foreign affairs, construction, transport and other Cabinet officials. By that definition, the estimated 20,000 Japanese elite bureaucrats — less than 5 percent of all public employees — are first-rank career officials ushered in through a highly competitive examination and interview process.

These chosen few are virtually guaranteed a substantive 30-year career path. The Foreign Ministry, for example, unofficially assures ambassadorships to first-rank career diplomats, in stark contrast with the American system. Since the personnel system is administered by fellow bureaucrats who have the same stake, and a ferocious commitment to maintaining their own prerogatives, this unofficial guarantee is almost bankable.

The American bureaucratic system is so different from Japan's that it's difficult to offer an easy comparison, since in the former, thousands of public positions are staffed by political appointees chosen by the party of power in the White House. Probably the closest structurally to a Japanese agency is the U.S. military officer corps, which is influenced by the service academics with their strong prerogatives, traditions and fierce defense of one's service. However, Japan's bureaucratic system is more commonly allied with the British, French and German systems, which all remain strong, competitive and politically protected.

When the Liberal Democratic Party lost power in 1993 after nearly 40 years, only the Cabinet ministers and parliamentary vice ministers changed. Even the most outspoken Japanese opponents of bureaueratic privilege do not favor the politicization of the bureaucracy to its extent in the United States. Most Japanese appear to accept a strong, professional bureaueracy as an international norm and essential to the smooth operation of government in a rank-conscious society. Karel van Wolferen, author of the 1989 controversial book, *The Enigma of Japanese Power*, warns against a "ruling class" of administrators. Still, a strong bureaucracy in Japan maintains political legitimacy and strong societal roots, and is in no danger of being dismantled. This bureaucratic tradition stretches back more than 100 years, and was nurtured at the University of Tokyo.

The Japanese government ereated Tokyo Imperial University more than a century ago as a training school for bureaucrats, with its law faculty sitting at the pinnacle of Japan's academic pyramid. Since renamed the University of Tokyo, it remains the academic institution of choice for students interested in government service, and the most prestigious university in the country — period. Often described as possessing the prestige of Harvard, Yale, Princeton and Stanford combined, the school has produced an astounding 15 prime ministers and its alumni rolls resemble a virtual Who's Who of

The Japanese depend on their politicians for leadership, but will certainly look to their mandarins, as they have for more than a century; to manage the transition to the next century:

Japanese top leaders. The university offers other impressive statistics as well, including that its graduates fill more than 50 percent of all elite bureaucratic positions. Kiichi Miyazawa, hinself a graduate of that university, headed an effort several years ago when he was still prime minister — to reduce the number of graduates to below 50 percent of top government positions.

America's eastern establishment, with its tightknit cadre of Ivy League-educated graduates, has often been compared to the Japanese bureaucratic elite. It's not unusual to find senior bureaucrats, top businesspeople, politicians and newspaper editors, all educated at the University of Tokyo, who have been colleagues, friends or rivals for 30 years. In a country like Japan, where personal ties are crucial to success, nothing compares with the ready-made, time-tested University of Tokyo old boys' network. The typical would-be bureancrat is an impressive generalist, with broad knowledge of history, law, mathematics, science and economics. He is politically conservative, and probably majors in law, primarily constitutional and civil law. Though he may not speak English fluently, he is almost certainly an accomplished reader of the language. And, of course, he is almost certainly malc: Despite small gains, Japan's top bureaucracy remains very much an all-male domain.

Every year, thousands of young Japanesc prepare exhaustively for the University of Tokyo entrance examination and the bureaucratic examinations. In a nation that respects successful test takers, bureaucrats are at the top of the heap. Although political connections may help in the background checks that follow the examinations, which are administered impartially, they are of no use before. Since the Japanese highly value impartial, competitive examinations, the bureaucratic system is fully consistent with Japanese mores and do help select hard-working and well-educated public employees. International polish is often added after recruitment - ministries send many of their best young bureaucrats overseas for graduate study in business, economics or international relations at U.S. and European universities.

Why is the government able to recruit top talent? Though Japan's bureaucracy offers lower salarics and less attractive working conditions than does private industry, government service provides great prestige, influence, security, tradition and a good shot at a high-ranking post-retirement position in a private firm or public corporation.

In the pecking order of ministries, the Finance Ministry has been king of the hill since the end of World War II. Previously reigning supreme was the Home Ministry — a super-ministry incorporating police, internal security, local affairs, elections, health, wclfare, labor, construction and a host of other functions. But when Gen. Douglas MacArthur led the occupation forces into Japan in 1945, he ordered the Home Ministry dismantled — one of the few major changes demanded by the United States. The Finance Ministry, already a strong force during the prewar period, quickly moved to fill the vacuum.

Finance draws up the budget, raises revenues, supervises the financial industry and manages other key financial functions. From an American perspective, it does the work of the Treasury Department, the Office of Management and Budget, the Internal Revenue Service, the Congressional Budget Office, the Securities and Exchange Commission, the Customs Service, the Office of Comptroller of the Currency, and, to some degree, the Federal Reserve. The Finance Ministry, often called the "government of the government" because it drafts the budget and oversees its passage through the Diet, also has strong links to the financial community through its placement of key retired officials. For example, when the Bank of Japan picked a former vice minister from the Ministry of Finance as its governor in late 1994, few were surprised. Indeed, the Finance Ministry has contributed one-third of the bank's governors since its founding in 1882, and its officials are common among treasurers of public corporations, even if it is affiliated with, say, the Ministry of International Trade and Industry.

The powerful Finance Ministry, with its broad authority and wide connections, also has a strong presence in other Cabinet-rank government organizations, including the Defense Agency and the Economic Planning Agency. However, only the Ministry of Finance has the prestige, authority and commitment to force consensus on issues involving money. Often criticized for lacking an efficient mechanism to coordinate the various ministries, late last year the government began considering reform at the Finance Ministry by creating independent oversight of key functions. Said one University of Tokyo graduate, if this ministry can be successfully reformed, the others "will be easy."

The power balance among ministries is constantly changing, glacially perhaps, but nonetheless changing. For potential bureaucrats, the five top ministries in terms of prestige and career potential are Finance, Foreign Affairs, Ministry of International Trade and Industry (MITI), Home and National Police.

The new up-and-coming Home Ministry — now focusing on local issues — has grown more influential due to slow, but ongoing government decentralization. The ministry is a key player in regional development, preferring to see local governments as its "clients." First-rank bureaucrats, who may spend half of their careers working in prestigious prefectural assignments, routinely return after retirement to their base prefecture, seeking an elected or appointed position. Nearly 40 percent of Japan's elected governors are retired Home Ministry bureaucrats, roughly the same percentage who have been appointed vice governors. These statistics are cxtraordinary --- the equivalent of 20 retired U.S. government officials from only one federal agency being elected govcrnors of 20 different states. Obviously, the Home Ministry has found its niche.

Another ministry working aggressively to increase its bureaucratic power is the Ministry of Posts and Telecommunications. One bureaucratic expert placed this agency in between the top-ranking ministries noted above and second-rank ministries. Once the agency that maintained cooperative relations with the powerful postal union, the ministry has become more influential in the communications revolution. Getting Japan's strategy on the information superhighway right is a matter of intense concern to the Ministry of Posts and Telecommunications: Its future depends on it, particularly since its bureaucratic rival is MITI, which supervises the computer industry.

The end of the Cold War may signal a realignment in the rank order of ministries, as Japan reassesses its priorities or ministries more successful address them. In the years before World War II, the bureaucratic structure was built for control and war, and was dominated by Home (internal security), Navy, Army and Commerce (munitions). It is now structured for international economic competition, with Finance, MITI, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, and Construction taking the lead. This pattern will be difficult to change.

Not included in the bureaucratic equation outlined above is the Prime Minister's Office, which often only rubber stamps approvals made by individual ministries. The office works fine when the prime minister has power and can effectively manage the ministries; postwar Japan has had many such leaders, most notably Shigeru Yoshida, who dominated Japanese politics in the late 1940s and the 1950s. It also works when the ministries have clearly defined, distinct mandates but not when there is a major dispute or crisis.

Much has been written in both scholarly journals and the popular press about *amakudari*, or "the descent from heaven," the practice by which senior bureaucrats retire, most often in their 50s, and receive prestigious, well-paying positions in the private sector. In simplest terms, this practice is the ministry's way of ensuring bureaucrats good jobs after years of loyal service. The ministrics' implicit social contract, according to defenders of the practice, has allowed the Japanese public the labor of top-flight bureaucrats for twothirds of major banks' salaries for comparable employees. Private corporations make up the gap through postrctirement employment.

The ministry calls the shots, making the retired official its "messenger boy," as defined by one retired senior bureaucrat. Bureancrats may be barred from moving immediately into firms they supervised, but one retired bureaucrat admitted he was being "parked" at an academic institution with ties to the private firm where he will move when the "cooling off" period ends. Despite these ground rules, corporations are able to gain subtle or not so subtle — influence in the respective ministries.

For the government to provide a modest pension to retiring bureaucrats but not help them find second careers would have enormous reperenssions in the recruitment structure itself and would be out of character for Japanese business, where looking after one's employees is expected. Major Japanese corporations practice their own form of *amakudari*, sending retiring officials to affiliated companies.

The *amakudari* system cements institutional commitments to particular industries and firms, making public policy shifts more difficult. In policy terms, the biggest risks of this system probably lie in its inflexibility, rather than in individual cases of corruption or impropriety, since the mass media and the highly independent public prosecutor's office are well-positioned to pursue clear cases of corruption. The greater debate is whether to reaffirm or scrap the policy priorities that these ties represent.

Few outside checks exist on the day-to-day work of Japanese bureaucrats, who themselves supervise most of the advisory councils that run policy debates. Though outsiders are well represented, bureaucrats staff the councils, draft the straw-man policy proposals, and persuade reluctant members to accept their particular ministry's view. Bureaucrats enjoy the luxury of constant briefings from businesses and other information sources, enabling them to acquire an enormous tactical advantage in information. Parliamentarians, with their tiny staffs, rely on bureaucrats to research and prepare legislation. The mandarins also wield the useful tool of "administrative guidance," a practice partially revised in 1995, whereby officials can informally tell companies or industries what to do. All this, combined with iron-clad career protections, makes Japanese bureaucrats formidable representatives of their ministries' interests.

One check on bureaucratic power is competition from other ministries, which always stand ready to exploit their advantage if another ministry slips up. Ministries constantly build inter-ministerial alliances to protect their turf. The mass media, which report widely on the bureaucracy, also keep mandarins' power in balance, although Japan's press club system encourages reporters to work closely with those they cover. Perhaps the greatest check on bureaucrats is the influence of politicians. If an issue becomes politically hot, politicians can overrule the bureaucrats and, with their cooperation, take action. If politicians believe bureaucrats are ruining their reelection prospects, they don't hesitate to protect their interests. And often, bureaucrats act as a convenient lightning rod for public criticism.

The elite bureaucracy, however, is an institution with extraordinary reach and influence, firmly rooted in business, politics and academia. Information tends to flow to the bureaucracies through channels largely controlled by current or former bureaucrats. A Cabinet minister publicly calling for greater control over the

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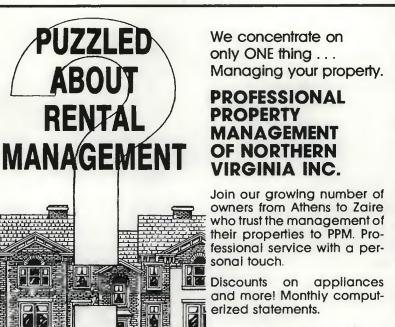


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bureaucracy may well be a retired bureaucrat himself.

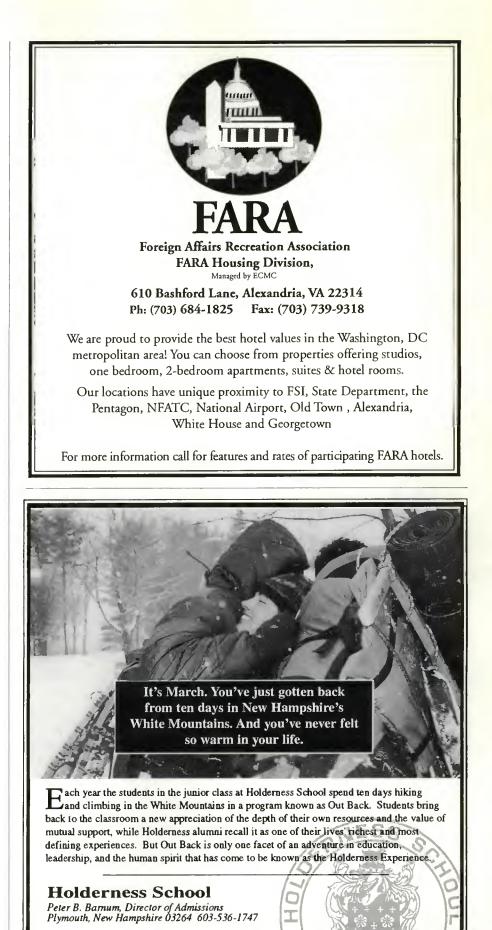
ureaucratic power depends on B continuing, public approval of their actions. Though bureaucrats have traditionally not altered public processes and structures, they have helped to form and maintain them. There is no shortage of famous cases of "sage" bureaucratic advice to Japanese industry, such as the suggestion that industry stay out of the automobile business. Japanese count on the bureaucracy to ensure each ministry's clients prosper and that any change brings little disruption. For example, even though Japan continues to research cutting-edge technologies for the next century, it still subsidizes industries that have not been competitive for decades.

Ironically, the national bureaucrats, particularly in Foreign Affairs, MITI and Finance, in some respects treat the U.S. government as another client, not as important as its major ones in Japan, but an insider nonetheless in managing conflict within each ministry's territory. Using its insider status, for example, the United States successful pressed for reform of the Large Retail Store Law, which had blocked firms like Toys A Us from operating in the country. U.S. officials worked the Japanese system, building coalitions and communicating their message within the burcaucracy. In cases where U.S. officials pushed issues without support in the Japanese bureaucracy, they met resentment and resistance.

A Japanese politician once quipped that in the United States lobbyists are used to pressure Congress, but in Japan, voters use politicians to lobby the bureaucracy. Politicians have not taken major steps in increasing control over bureaucrats, although Japanese critics have had many suggestions: Politicians could build up parliamentary staff to give themselves in-house legislative and research expertise; fund a parliamentary organization like the Congressional Research Service; politicize the senior ranks of the ministries; or exert influence over personnel decisions within the bureaucracy.

The Japanese love to complain L about their mandarins. However, Ichiro Ozawa, one of Japan's most influential politicians, has called them "a true source of pride for the country." His comments are particularly telling since he has advocated what he calls a "radical" overhaul of the bureaucracy by adding five to seven political appointees to each ministry. It is a mistake to see Japanese bureaucrats as the barrier to change; they are more accurately viewed as powerful agents of the status quo. Many bureaucrats are acutely aware of practices and policies hopelessly out of date. They are just as cager as their elders were to identify and support potential industries and international policies benefitting Japan's economic and political stature.

Some bureaucrats see little evidence of budging the status quo. Certainly any bureaucratic change is likely to occur gradually. Given the end of the Cold War, Japan's economic slump and rapidly aging society, the country may be enduring a transition as momentous as the 19thcentury Meiji Restoration or post-World War II reconstruction. Bureaucrats will have to find a way to transcend ministry and client interests, and reshape their organizations for the next century. Though the Japanese depend on their politicians for leadership, they will almost certainly look to their mandarins, as they have for more than a century, to manage this transition. Given the pervasive influence of the clite bureaucrats, Japan is betting heavily that its mandarins will be able to make the right choices, and in time.



## DEATH DUTY

#### IN NEW SUSPENSE NOVEL, YOUNG FEMALE FSO Stumbles Into Murder Plot at State Department

#### By Stephen Kimball



he lone foreign woman at the reception desk of Beijing's Great Wall Sheraton Hotel shifted her feet uneasily, trying to shake off the unscttling feeling of being watched. The

young concierge behind the desk had been struggling with the hotel computer system for nearly tcn minutes, typing in one command after another on his keyboard in an effort to get her a room assignment.

As she waited, the woman fought the urge to look behind her at the crowd milling in the lobby. Finally she allowed herself a glance. Her eyes tracked around the vast room that was crawling with men, mostly European and drunk. They choked the entrance to the Atrium bar, some shouting and laughing boisterously, others barely

Stephen Kimball, the nom de plume of Stephen Barkanic, is the son of the late FSO Steven August Barkanic, who served at various posts with USIA in Northern Africa and East Europe. Death Duty, the author's third novel, was published in December by Dutton Signet. Paramount recently bought film rights to the book. This is an abridged version of the book's prologue, and its entire first chapter.

© Stephen Kimball, 1996. Reprinted by arrangement with Dutton Signet. managing to stand up. Scanning the crowd, the woman caught eyes staring at her. They belonged to leering unshaven faces and appeared in fractured bursts, like images in a slide show. She shuddered and looked away. No wonder she felt as if she were being watched.

The sensation had begun more than an hour ago when she'd cleared customs at Beijing airport. It grew as she made her way through the airport terminal and sought out a taxi. She knew that it wasn't unusual for An Quan Bu — the Chinese secret police — to tail foreigners.

Now, still waiting for her room, she turned back to the concierge. "You'll be in room 1232, up above the noise," he said. The woman smiled gratefully and took the key the concierge held out. She waited until he returned her black American diplomatic passport, a courtesy extended to foreign representatives.

Alone in the elevator, she leaned back and rubbed her eyes. She hoped she could get at least some rest tonight to be able to function at her meeting. Nowhere in her travel orders was it clear what the meeting was about. In fact, this entire TDY — temporary duty — was something of a mystery. The orders came straight from the Secretary of State's office in a classified memo. No way she could avoid it even though she'd busted her hump for the past several weeks preparing for the Secretary's visit here that wrapped up a few days ago. With a young daughter back home, a trip was the last thing she needed right now. The elevator ground to a screeching stop, and the door slid open to the twelfth floor. The long corridors were empty and silent as she searched for room 1232. She found it at the end of the hall. A Do Not Disturb sign in four languages hung from the doorknob. She held it in her hand, studying it. Why was it there on the outside of the door? she wondered.

Suddenly a sharp sound behind her caused her to jump. She shook her head when she vealized that it was only the elevator, being summoned to another floor. She slid the key into the doorknob and turned it. Inside, the room was unexpectedly bright from the light of the full moon pouring through the open window. She heard the door click shut behind her and felt for a light switch on the wall. She flipped it on, but nothing happened. No light. She tried the table lamps on the dresser and nightstand, but those didn't work either.

"Damn." She sighed. What was next?

Her first thought was that the hotel had an electrical blackout — it wasn't uncommon in China — but the lights had been on in the hallway when she came in. That meant her room, or maybe a group of rooms, was out of power. Or maybe the maid had forgotten to plug the lights in after cleaning.

From the darkness close behind she heard a door creak slightly, and she turned toward the bathroom. Then she heard another sound, like someone spitting, and felt a sudden bolt of pain searing her neck. She reached for her neck but panicked as she suddenly felt her chest tighten, her breathing constricted. She opened her month to scream, but her vocal cords were dead.

Gasping for air, she pnshed herself away from the wall and seized the back of a chair. The room was gyrating, and she clung to the chair. She looked up and saw someone staring at her, a woman with wild eyes and a ghonlishly contorted face. There was something protruding from the side of her head. Was it a needle? How could it have been a needle? It seemed to glow metallic in the moonlight, an S-shaped stream of blood bubbling from beneath it. Then in horror she realized she was looking at herself in the mirror.

"How many ways can an American die overseas?"

Kate Verdi, junior death officer in the State Department's Citizens Emergency Center, froze in her seat as she heard those words that struck terror

in hearts throughout the office. They were spoken by her boss, "Calamity" John Dietz, and they could mean only one thing: Dictz had a fresh death case he was looking to dump on someone.

Verdi carefully pecred around her computer monitor and spied Dictz as he stalked the other end of the office. He bustled around his secretary's desk, muttering to himself, and riffled violently through a stack of papers there, like a hound after a holed fox. All around him heads disappeared behind files, office doors were being closed, and one lucky bureaucrat whose desk was near the rest room casually escaped into it.

Ever so nonchalantly Verdi adjusted her monitor, keeping it between Dietz's line of vision and her. Normally she would be the

last in the office to shirk an assignment, but one thing she didn't need right now was another death case. She was rushing to finish her work so she could make opening pitch of an Orioles game up in Baltimore, a good forty minutes from Washington. Worse if she hit rush-hour traffic.

She first had to pick up Nonno, her grandfather, out in Seat Pleasant — a Maryland suburb — and then fight beltway traffic on her way to Route 95 to Camden Yards. His cightieth birthday was next week, and the tickets for box seats behind the Orioles' dugout were her present to him. Besides, Mussina was pitching, the hated Yankees were in

"It gets stranger," he said, pushing the file into her hands. "The decedent is no less than a deputy assistant secretary name of Patricia Van Slyke — in Beijing on a TDY. She died in a fall in her hotel room shower." town, and the Os needed to take this series to gain ground on the Yanks before the players' strike everyonc was expecting pulled the plug on the 1994 season. She had to be there. It was already past four, and opening pitch was at five-thirty.

Before she eould sneak away, Verdi had three cases that needed her immediate attention. They concerned extraordinary events in the lives of the people involved in them but were merely routine for the Citizens Emergency Center, the office at the State Department that handles the deaths and other catastrophes Americans suffer overseas. It was all gritty, thankless work, hardly the stuff notieed by the diplomatic press eorps or the Sunday TV pundits.

In the first one Verdi was typing out a cable to the State Department's country officer for Singapore, bringing him up to speed on the son of a prominent Amcriean lawyer who'd been arrested there for trying to buy drugs from an undercover narc. She called the case the Singapore-Ass-ina-Sling, and it'd been handed to her this morning, marked "Highest Priority." A note was attached, informing her that the senior U.S. senator from Connecticut, the lawyer's home state, was personally interested in it.

Verdi had already wired bail money — a king's ransom — from the boy's father, who was too busy on a big case to fly out there himself. She'd also arranged temporary legal counsel for the boy through the American Embassy until Dad could dispatch a tcam of his own lawyers. She'd been told to have the embassy pull out the stops and keep a lid on it. They were working overtime on this one.

She knew that any other American kid busted in Singapore, one without money and connections, would be in a jail cell right now, peeing in his pants. But this was no ordinary kid: He was a fortunate son, and the system was being bent in his favor. To Verdi, it bit the big one, but that was the way it worked. She fully expected to get a cable sometime soon telling her the boy had mysteriously jumped bail and was on a plane bound for the United States. And that would be the end of it.

Verdi stared bleary-eyed at her computer screen, the white words melting away from the blue background field. Another file on her desk, an international child abduction case, competed for her attention. Before she could leave, she had to draft a memo to the embassy in Damaseus, Syria, where the ehild had been taken by its father. This was the first case of this kind Verdi had seen since starting in CEC three months ago.

The third was a death, requiring a easualty message to the next of kin. Verdi, following procedure, tried calling the family several times throughout the day, but no one answered. So now she had to work from her Foreign Affairs Manual to draft a telegram, one she knew would be opened by shaking hands and read in disbelief. It would be read over and over and might well be folded up and slipped into a Bible, to be passed on from one generation to the next. It had to be right.

Leaving the lawyer's son for a moment, she toiled away at the telegram, careful to avoid the thoughtless mistakes commonly made in these kinds of messages, like a misspelled name or a reference to a deceased son as a husband. Fortunately for Verdi, she didn't handle death cases all the time. It only seemed that way.

It is unfortunate at this sad time that we must also immediately call your attention to the urgent need for making necessary arrangements. The law requires disposition of remains (either cremation or burial) within 48 hours unless the remains are to be shipped outside this country. The next three paragraphs explain the options you have for making your decisions.

"Think you'll make your game?" Parker Harrington asked snidely from the next desk, his voice sounding as if it had come through his nasal passages and out his nose. Verdi looked over at him, but he was hidden behind *The Washington Post* Style seetion opened in front of him, obviously unworried that Calamity John would swoop down on him. He was either terribly sure of himself or stupid; Verdi wasn't sure whieh.

"How'd you know about that?" she asked, annoyed.

No response from behind the paper, but Verdi saw Harrington's shiny tasseled loafers shuffling restlessly over the institutional-grade brown-gray carpet, standard federal issue. She knew Harrington was at the end of his rotation as a death officer, having been here the requisite three years, and couldn't wait to get out. He already had pictures of Morocco—his top choice for his next post—tacked on the cork board next to his desk.

Verdi looked below her desk at the bright orange tickets poking out from the top of her purse, a beacon in the darkness. She could almost taste the sudsy beer and hear the roar of the crowd. Concentrate, she ordered herself, and she went back to her casualty message. Suddenly a shadow passed over her desk, and Verdi felt her stomach in her throat as she looked up into the dark, bespectacled eyes of Calamity John Dietz.

"Death Officer Verdi," he said, nodding curtly, "how many ways can an American die overseas?"

Verdi swallowed hard and prodded her memory. She thought — crazily, she knew — that by giving Dietz the right answer, she might somehow avoid the death case he held in his hand. "Two hundred ten?" she said hesitantly.

Dietz's mouth turned up in the slightest of grins — the sure sign of a wrong answer — and he plopped down in the chair next to her desk. He waited, knowing it would increase the tension, maybe even get her to say something she shouldn't. But Verdi knew his game; as anxious as she was to leave, she would let him make the first move.

"Actually, that's the closest anyone's gotten this month," he said finally. "I've seen two hundred seven since I've been here, going on seventeen years." "Do I get a prize?" she said, giving him a big smile and a direct look with her dark eyes, hoping for a break.

Dietz ignored it all. "I've been accused of counting too liberally, you know. For example, I would count being gored by a bull at, say, Pamplona separately from being gored by a wild boar. Generically the deaths are the same, but to me, being gored by a bull is entirely different from being gored by a boar. What do you think?"

That depends on the boar, doesn't it, Calamity John? Dietz was being even more coy than usual with this assignment, prompting Verdi to be wary of what was coming. She always found Dietz tough to read, and now was no exception. He was Civil Service and therefore a lifer in his job, unlike the Foreign Service officers such as Verdi, who rotated assignments in different offices at State and around the world. Early on Verdi had noticed how her fellow FSOs talked about the Civil Service, as if they were of some lower castc. But Verdi, who had had respect for others drummed into her since she could remember, did not share this attitude.

Not that Dietz didn't deserve it once in a while. For whatever eccentric charm he put on display, he was a heartless bastard among heartless bastards. He ran the office like a prison guard. Verdi sensed a trace of sadism in him, a schadenfreude inappropriate to his position. The book on him was that he was of the same mold as the college chemistry professor who liked to see students flunk his course. His nickname came from the gusto he brought to his job as administrator for the misfortunes of his countrymen. No one would call him Calamity John to his face, but he was almost certainly aware of the name. Verdi recognized his intelligence and experience but found him a conundrum in terms of his motivations, which seemed to be so unlike her own.

For Verdi, being a death officer was part of the whole process of getting her ticket punched, a steppingstone to better things. Apart from the satisfaction she got from doing her job well and helping others, she went the extra distance and pulled in top evaluations because she knew her performance would determine her next, and future, Foreign Service assignments. But Dietz was here to stay. What drove him? Verdi wondered. What satisfaction did he derive from this grim job? And what did he want from her now?

Verdi took in a breath. "You have something for me, Mr. Dietz?"

"I most certainly do," he said with some relish. "A wet one.

Wringing wet," he added ominously.

Verdi tried to keep her face impassive but found it harder to do so. In the office parlance a wet one was the victim of an accident or violent death, usually leaving a gory corpsc. Although Verdi would not have to identify the body, she knew she would have to work hard to artfully convey the cause of death to the next of kin without dwelling on the violence. She'd done it before. What was the big deal here? She wished he'd quit jerking her around and get to the point.

No such luck. "How long have you been with us now, Kate?" he said. His voice sounded nasal, as if he had a cold. For a moment she thought he might be spending too much time with Parker Harrington.

"A little over three months," she answered, her eyes narrowing slightly at the question.

"Three months," he said, sitting back and chewing on that revelation for a while. "And how long have you been a Foreign Service officer?"

### **AN INVITATION FOR FICTION SUBMISSIONS**

The *Foreign Service Journal* welcomes works of unpublished fiction, from 2.000-3,000 words, for its annual summer fiction issue. Preference is given for Foreign Service settings, situations and characters. A small honorarium is awarded for the top stories chosen by the Editorial Board, which will be published in the Angust issue. Deadline: June 1, no exceptions. Submissions, by mail (hard copy and disk preferred) may be made to Karen Krebsbach, Editor, *Foreign Service Journal*, 2101 E St., NW, Washington, D.C. 20037, or by fax (202) 338-8244 or by e-mail to journal@afsa.org.

"Into my third year."

Dietz pulled a handkerchief from his pocket and sncezed into it. "Your first assignment was in Asia," he said. "Indonesia, was it?"

"Yes," she said, as recent memories came back, pleasant memories. "I did consular work at the embassy in Jakarta. It was a small staff, just —"

"So," he said, homing in on the kid in the back of the chemistry class, the one who never raised her hand. "You're still on probation as an FSO, is that correct? Untenured and unconed?"

Nervous heat began to crawl over Verdi's shoulders and prickle her neck. Her attention was on full alert. With her blue-collar roots, Verdi did not take talk of her probation lightly. Her father was a plumber, and her mother did laundry and made meals for the parish priests. Money was always tight, and a job, after one's soul, was one's most sacred possession, jealously guarded. Although she didn't buy into the Generation-X orgy of self-pity, she knew that at twentyseven she could be stuck in nowhere assignments for years if she didn't watch out for herself.

A cone was one's area of expertise as a Foreign Service officer — political, economic, consular, or administrative, in that pecking order. Used to be you were coned when you became an FSO, but now that distinction came with tenure at the end of your fourth year. If you made it, that is. Many didn't, as Verdi was acutely aware.

Her instinct was to deflect Dietz's cross-examination. She tilted her head and smoothed her hand over the top of her desk. "Yes," she said, smiling, even though her cheeks were flushed with heat. "Untenured and unconed. But the food in the cafeteria more than makes up for it."

Dietz frowned, not seeing the fear

he was expecting. "I have a case here," he said, thumbing at the edge of the file and watching her like a crocodile. "It's going to take a significant degree of diplomatic skill to handle. Personally I would have chosen a more seasoned officer for it."

Verdi, feeling the sting of his belittlement, was tempted to pick up the gauntlet and take the case. Instead she cast an obvious sidelong glance at Parker Harrington, who had somehow lost his newspaper and was now spellbound by a death file. He picked up the phone and began dialing. Probably just calling his home number, Verdi thought sourly.

"Well, Mr. Dietz," Vcrdi began carefully, "I appreciate your considering me for the case. But I'd understand if you gave it to a more senior officer. Especially today, because I have some pressing personal business to attend to this afternoon, outside the building, I mean."



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Dietz grinned again, showing teeth this time. "That's very big of you. But I'm afraid you're stuck on this one. You have to do it. In fact, this case came to me through some ... irregular channels, with specific instructions that one Katherine Verdi handle it."

Dietz leaned eloser to her. An odor of Aqua Velva and lunch meat seemed to rise off his shoulders. "Tell me, Kate, who do you know in the Office of Foreign Service Career Development and Assignments?"

Verdi blinked. "Uh, therc's an admin officer I knew in Jakarta assigned to that office. He's just back; we had the same tour. But I haven't seen him since I left Indonesia."

Dietz looked at her skeptically. "This ... request here is pretty highlevel. It has Kendall Holmes's name on it, the director of the Career Development and Assignments office. I doubt your admin friend can pull those kinds of strings.".

Verdi tried to hide her surprise. Kendall Holmes: Now that was a name she knew. In fact, anyonc in the Foreign Service with the slightest eoneern for his career had better know it. Holmes — director of the allimportant office responsible for placing Foreign Service officers in their domestic or overseas jobs — was one of the most feared people at State. Getting on his bad side eould put one stamping passports in the middle of a jungle somewhere.

Dietz was pleased to see from the look on Verdi's face that he'd impressed on her the gravity of the situation. "In all my time here" — he went on — "I've never gotten a case from that office. How would you explain it?"

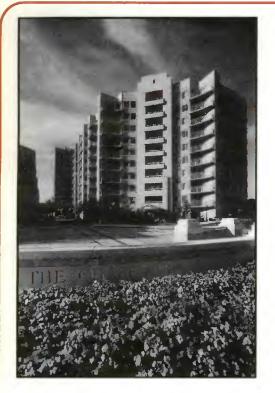
Verdi shook her head. Dietz certainly had a point, for a change. What would Career Development and Assignments be doing assigning death cases? And why would it put her name on it, of all people?

"It gets stranger," he said, pushing the file into her hands. "The decedent is no less than a deputy assistant secretary — name of Patricia Van Slyke — in Beijing on a TDY. She died in a fall in her hotel room shower."

Verdi frowned as she realized why Dietz called it a wet one. Questions flipped through her mind, foremost of all: Why wasn't Patricia Van Slyke's office brought in on the return of her remains?

"Maybe you can figure out why Career Development, instead of Van Slyke's bureau, tasked this to us," Dietz said, anticipating Verdi's question. "I have no idea whom to liaise with at Career Development. Maybe you can call your friend over there and find out."

Verdi thought of Chester Lundquist — whose name she pur-



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posely kept from Dietz - now toiling Development in Career and Assignments. Chet had been her first friend in Jakarta, a place entirely alien to any she'd seen before. Chet, who'd toured in Asia before, took her under his wing, showed her around, was always there for her. But then things changed as he began making painfully oblique romantic overtures to her that is, until Antonio came into her life. She wondered how Chet was doing and whether he'd speak to her again.

Dietz pulled her from her reverie. "Get on the horn to Beijing, Verdi," he growled. "Immediately. Find out what you can, and get precise instructions. You'll see in the file the family's been notified. They're local — Great Falls, Virginia, I think. But the remains require disposition.

"One more thing," he said, drawing closer to her. "This case gets top priority. The seventh floor wants it wrapped up quickly and by the numbers. They also want it kept out of the papers. Until this is resolved, there are no other cases. There will be no screwups or solecisms, am I clear?"

Verdi nibbled at the flesh inside her bottom lip. "What about the lawyer's son in Singapore," she said, "the friend of Senator Ramsey?"

"Give that to me. I'll put someone else on it."

The Van Slyke case must be important for Dietz to take a case off her hands, Verdi thought. She gave him the file but left the cable on the computer. She would give it to him later. Something else occurred to her, an opportunity.

"And my orientation course at the FSI tomorrow," she said hopefully, "the one you wanted me to take?" If she could get out of the dreaded course at the Foreign Service Institute, where the department held its language training and area studies courses, there might at least be some good in getting this case.

Dietz frowned at the annoyance. "Better go or they'll be on my back. Just come back as soon as it's over. Don't stick around for the wine and cheese after."

He slowly rose from the chair with great effort and looked toward the window, rubbing his back. "Sky's getting dark," he announced, watching her from the corner of his eye. "Your baseball game will probably be rained out anyway."

Verdi's head shot up. How did he know about the game? She looked over at Harrington, with whom she had seen Dictz talking sailing, Dietz's obsession, at the office coffce machine. Some serious male bonding had been going on here, and she was now getting the short end of it.

But Harrington was gonc. So was Dietz, who'd left the Van Slyke file on the chair, still warm where he'd been sitting.



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# BOOKS

## TIPS FOR PARENTING THIRD CULTURE KIDS

Strangers at Home: Essays on the Effects of Living Overseas and Coming Home to a Strange Land Carolyn D. Smith, Ed., Aletheia Publications, 1996, softcover, \$15.95, 230 pages.

### Hidden Immigrants: Legacies of Growing Up Abroad

Linda Bell, Ĉross Cultural Publications, Inc., Cross Roads Books, 1997, softcover, \$19.95, 157 pages.

### By POLLY GILBERT

I'll never forget the face of my sobbing 10-year-old son, as tears streamed from his eyes. "I want my real life back," Will had sniffled, as he sat on his new bed in a strange house filled with stacks of unopened packing boxes. It was late 1994 and we were just another Foreign Service family returning home to Washington. But it didn't feel like home to Will.

Having spent his short life in farflung places like Bolivia, Yemen and Egypt, Will and his 6-year-old brother were eager to return with my FSO husband and to me the United States.

Though the boys had spent many summers at their grandparents' home in rural Alabama, they didn't realize that living in the States was not like vacationing there. It was particularly difficult for Will, for whom America seemed to have lost its specialness. My son is one of that rare breed of global nomads, a child of parents whose work requires the family to spend years away from extended family and friends. Most FSO familics have carefully considered the impact of overseas assignments on their children, but as two new books on the subject show, children have a wide range of responses to the experience.

There has been much sociological literature and anecdotal evidence documenting the behavioral and psychological problems of "third culture kids," affectionately termed TCKs — the children of American diplomats, missionaries, correspondents and business executives who live and work overseas. TDKs have more problems with eating disorders, drug and alcohol abuse and depression than U.S.-reared children.

Called "third culture" children because they are neither products of an American nor a single foreign culture, TDKs often are conflicted in defining their cultural identities. It's worth learning how to parent these children, however, since their numbers have been steadily rising since World War II.

Strangers at Home, Carolyn Smith's collection of essays by journalists, missionaries and behavioral scientists — all with overseas experience — offers excellent rescarch and insightful advice on raising children overseas.

While the essays provide no easy answer nor one successful formula for helping TDKs cope, the writers all reach the same conclusion: Each child, with his unique personality, will respond to the experience differently, depending on the host country, the length of time spent overseas, the location of his parents' U.S. home, which agency or business is sponsoring the family and the family's adaptability skills. Several essayists agreed that the key to raising happy, well-adjusted TDKs is to strengthen the bonds among family members.

In contrast, Linda Bell's *Hidden Immigrants* provides a journalistic and anecdotal view of the same subject. Her premise, based on the work of David Pollock, a TDK pioneer who has studied the issue since the 1960s, is that these "hidden immigrants" only appear to belong to a particular culture, because their thoughts belie their affinity for any single geographical place. According to Bell, TDKs often talk of existing in a "state of limbo" between two or more cultures.

Bell interviewed 13 men and women, aged 29 to 42, who spent part of their childhoods abroad. Each addressed issues such as identity, language, transitions to other cultures, education, family life, career mobility, stability and personal relationships. The result is a modest yet poignant oral history that is a testament to the fascinating and unique childhoods that all interviewees agreed they were lucky to have had.

Not surprisingly, they recount joy and anguish as well as difficulty in adolescence and early adulthood, especially in the search for their place in the world. The book includes a forward by Dr. Elmore F. Rigamer, former medical

BOOKS

director of the Department of State, as well as a valuable bibliography.

The Foreign Service community will find both books provocative but engaging. And undoubtedly, TCKs of every age and stripe will recognize themselves in these pages.

Polly Gilbert, a Foreign Service spouse who has lived 17 years with her family overseas, has been a contractor for the U.S. Agency for International Development.

## WU'S THIRD TOME: POIGNANT REPETITION

**Troublemaker: One Man's Crusade Against China's Cruelty** *Harry Wu with George Vecsey, Times Books, 1996, hardcover,* \$26.95, 312 pages.

#### BY DAVID E. REUTHER

*Troublemaker*, Harry Wu's latest book in a trio chronicling the legacy of China's notoriously abysmal prison labor system, is a depressing but poignant glimpse of a tormented soul: The author lost 19 years of his life to the gulags. As a survivor of the prisons, Wu feels entrusted with a special mission to bear witness. "They took away my youth, and I cannot forget," he writes. With his U.S. passport in hand, it's payback time.

The bulk of this volume centers on the crusader's third trip to China in mid-1995. He was arrested after entering China through Kazakstan. Wu had hoped to capture video footage proving that World Bank-financed irrigation projects would service Chinese area penal farms, part of the laogai penal system. Though he later backed away from the thesis, he remained critical of the World Bank. The arrest of Wu, who was detained for 66 days, coincided with preparations for the U.N. Conference on Women in Beijing. He credits the serendipitous timing with bringing the incident to the world's front pages. After a short trial, he was convicted of stealing state secrets and expelled to the United States.

Troublemaker lovingly describes the Americanization of Wu's Taiwaneseborn wife, Chiang-Lee, as she built the American-style advocacy campaign that secured his release. The book is also a fascinating study in contemporary foreign affairs lobbying. Wu received funding and guidance from an interesting combination of U.S. and international groups, particularly the U.S. labor movement, which helped turn him into an internationally renowned activist. He also became the darling of certain congressional liberals and conservatives. Alienated from his homeland, Wu evolved into a creature of the West.

Wu names more than a dozen FSOs involved with his incarceration and trial, including Charles Parish, Arturo Macias and Scott Hallford, all at U.S. Embassy Beijing. He also pats FSO Donald Keyser, then-director of the China desk in Washington, on the back.

Born to a wealthy Shanghai family, Wu first spoke out during the 1957 "Hundred Flowers" campaign of political openness. That outspokenness would land him in jail for the next 19 years. Wu came to California in 1985 as a geology academic, and became a U.S. citizen in the mid-1990s. The Wus now live in Northern California.

Of the books in the Wu trio, Troublemaker is more expansive than his autobiographical first volume, Bitter Winds: A Memoir of My Years in China's Gulag, and his dogmatic second, Laogai: The Chinese Gulag. Troublemaker underscores the message most Americans already know: Life in China was Hobbesian: brutish, nasty and short.

Wu rejects the idea that modernization will bring a democratic future to China, a popular idea in the West, arguing that the weight of 3,000 years of Chinese history is too stultifying to accommodate positive change.

"Capitalism must never be equated with democracy," he writes. "This is a very American belief — making money produces freedom and justice and equality. Don't believe it about China. My homeland is mired in thousauds of years of rule by one bully at a time, whether you call him emperor or chairman. Don't be fooled by electronics or air conditioning. ... The Chinese cannot remove the bell inside their minds; they are stuck in their old ways, in a culture of intolerance that is thousands of years old."

As for U.S. policy towards China, Wu advocates withholding mostfavored-nation status unless China improves its human rights record and lobbying to block China from joining the World Trade Organization (WTO).

Wu identifies the key U.S. foreign policy conundrum: How does the United States flog China, while avoiding a nationalist response that will poison future foreign relations and jeopardize domestic groups' opportunities to nurture democracy? But then, remember that Wu does not believe democracy is possible for China.

One major goal of the book is Wu's pains to infer that the primary reason for the death penalty in China is to provide sufficient numbers of kidneys for a budding international transplant industry. But he fails to substantiate this causeand-effect relationship. Nevertheless, these allegations will prompt some readers to write their congressmen.

David Reuther is a retired FSO with more than 20 years' experience in East Asia and the Middle East, having served in Beijing, Taipei and Bangkok.



## IN MEMORY

William F. Busser, 88, a retired FSO, died Oct. 30 in Chestertown, N.Y.

His 21-year career in the Foreign Service began in 1924, in Vienna, where he began as a clerk at age 17, and ended as first secretary in London. Following retirement from the Foreign Service, he was a consultant for Creditanstalt Bankverein of Austria and also worked for Pan American Airways and the International Executive Service Corps.

Survivors include his wife, Alicia, and four daughters, Sylvia Busser of Great Barrington, Mass.; Carol Bram of Warrensburg, N.Y.; Julia DuPrey of Kingston, Ontario; Anna Erik of Germany; two brothers, Harold Busser of Atlanta and John Busser of Spain; and three grandchildren.

William A. Chevoor, 79, a retired FSO, died in Belmont, Mass., on Oct. 17.

Born in Boston, Mr. Chevoor graduated from Bentley College and served in World War II. Hc joined the U.S. Agency for International Development in 1950 and served as a controller in Turkcy, the Netherlands, Italy, Yugoslavia, Peru, the Dominican Republic, Korea and Pakistan, before retiring in 1976.

Survivors include a daughter, Adrienne Davis of Houston, Texas; two sons, David A., of Aliso Viejo, Calif., and Michael G., of San Francisco, Calif.; and three grandchildren. **Eleanor Dulles**, 101, a diplomat, author and member of a prominent diplomatic family, died Oct. 30 of complications related to a stroke in Washington, D.C.

As head of the State Department's Berlin desk following World War II, she played a leading role in the rehabilitation of West Berlin and earned the title "Godmother of West Berlin." In 1960, she was awarded the rank of minister by President Dwight D. Eisenhower.

She joined the State Department in 1942 and represented the United States at the Bretton Woods Conference, which helped to establish the International Monetary Fund and later, following World War II, helped with the reconstruction of Austria under the Marshall Plan. In 1952 she began her work with the reconstruction of West Berlin.

A graduate of Bryn Mawr College, she also received a master's degree in labor and industrial relations from Radcliffe College and a doctorate in economics from Harvard University. She taught at Simmons College, Duke University, Stanford University's Hoover Institute, the University of Pennsylvania and Georgetown University.

Survivors include a son, David Dulles, of Washington; a daughter, Ann Dulles Joor, of Manlius, N.Y.; and six grandchildren. Her husband, David S. Blondheim, a Johns Hopkins University philologist, committed suicide in 1934, and that year she resumed her maiden name. Marillyn Lanphere Flanegin, 69, the wife of retired FSO Robert L. Flanegin, died of cancer Oct. 15 in Silver Spring, Md.

A native of South Bend, Ind., Mrs. Flanegin attended Indiana University before joining the Foreign Service as a clerk in 1949. She served in Pusan, South Korea; Seoul and Manila, where she married in 1951. She accompanied her husband on assignments to Mexico, Spain, the Phillipines, Hong Kong, Malaysia, Fiji and Indonesia.

Survivors include her husband, of Chevy Chase, Md.; two sons, Scott R., of Marlton, N.J., and James J., of Santa Clara, Calif.; and one granddaughter. Another son, William L. Flanegin, died in 1988.



Hugh W. Wolff, 82, a retired FSO, died of cancer Oct. 10 in Bethesda, Md.

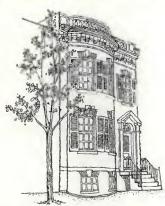
After World War II, he had various assignments in Germany, with the U.S. delegation to NATO and with U.S. Embassy London. He retired from the Foreign Service in 1971 and worked for five years with the Congressional Research Service of the Library of Congress.

Survivors include his wife, Lucia, of Bethesda; three children, Martha Wolff Van Zanten, of Evanston, Ill., Gretchen Wolff Pritchard of New Haven, Conn., and Hugh of Minneapolis; and eight grandchildren. ■

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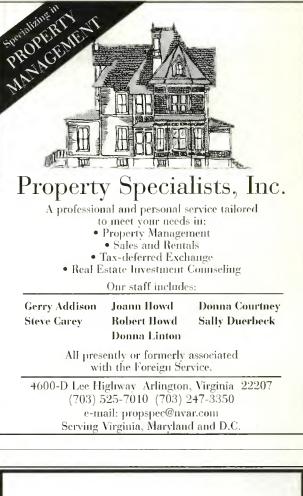
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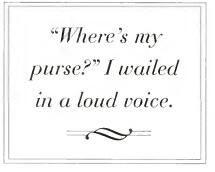
## Down But Not Out in London

By Kathleen Currie

Then I visit London, one of my favorite eities, I am a quiet tourist, preferring to blend unobtrusively among the reserved British. But on my recent trip, I caused a seene in one of the restaurants of the Royal National Theater on London's South Bank, when I reached down to collect my handbag and felt only air. "Where's my purse?" I wailed in a loud voice. The white-haired gentleman in tweeds sitting at the next table came to my reseue. "Get security," he said authoritatively to the restaurant waiters, "and get this woman a cup of tea." In Britain, tea is a Valium substitute, the answer for every upset.

Between gulps of Earl Grey, I paced the buffet aisles listing the contents of my purse out loud to myself: Some £60, \$20, travellers' checks worth another \$350, a London underground map and tube pass, reading glasses, a key to my hosts' flat, my passport and an address book listing friends from Kazakstan to Kentucky. Not only could I not leave the country, I couldn't even call my friends aeross town because I had lost their telephone number. As I was wondering how to find my way by foot to their flat, the gentleman in tweeds pulled £40 (about \$65) from his wallet and handed it to me. "Is that enough?" he asked, adding that he worked at the

Kathleen Currie is the Journal's assistant editor.



theater and I could repay him the next day. I would later discover my benefactor was Kenneth MacIntosh, staff director at the theater.

Security officer Ian Baird soon appeared and led me to the basement to fill out a crime report and introduce me to the security supervisor, Bob McManus, who announced the security camera had eaptured the theft. As we settled down to watch the videotape, he offered me another eup of tea.

The tape had to be slowed so I could detect the middle-aged figure in a Burberry's raincoat, with dark receding hair, walk directly toward the camera. As he passed my table, he kicked my purse out from my ehair and lifted it by its strap with what was probably a hook beneath his coat, and exited out the door. "Very professional," declared McManus. "These guys can steal a watch from your wrist or a purse from your lap

"These guys ean steal a watch from your wrist or a purse from your lap and you wouldn't notice." While helping me contact credit

While helping me contact credit card eompanies and my London hosts, McManus and Baird warned me I had probably only a 50-50 chanee of recovering my bag and its contents, since possessions often wash up at police stations weeks after thefts like detritus from a shipwreck. They didn't have to tell me I could kiss my eash and credit cards goodbye.

The next morning I headed for the American Citizens' Services section of U.S. Embassy London, where we were expected, thanks to my FSO husband — who, after wading through a 20-minute maze of recordings at the embassy, finally ealled Washington and demanded the number of a real person in the section. Staff there estimated that more than 2,000 Americans fall victim to British pickpoekets each year, including the 1,169 Americans whose passports were stolen last year. With my husband vouching for my identity, I had another passport in less than two hours.

I was lueky. I cannot replace the eash and the hours I spent dealing with the theft's aftermath, but a young American couple with their 2year-old daughter at the embassy that day told me they had spent three days trying to obtain new passports and would never replace the home movies in their stolen video camera.

Thanks to my good Samaritans in London, the incident was disruptive, but not traumatic. In honor of them, I've decided to earry packets of Earl Grey tea with me everywhere I go, just in case I have the opportunity to repay the favor to a tourist in Washington. ■ Rampaging monsters; War, expropriation, nuclear reaction;

Wear, tear, mechanical breakdown;

In some cases, breakage of fragile articles.

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Come to think of it, rampaging monsters aren't specifically excluded, so we'd probably cover any damage caused by one of them, as well.



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# **PRIVILEGE:** a right, advantage, favor,

or immunity specially granted to one.

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