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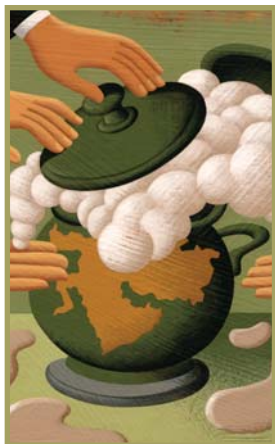


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J. KIRBY SIMON FOREIGN SERVICE TRUST

AN INVITATION TO PROPOSE PROJECTS FOR FUNDING BY THE J. KIRBY SIMON FOREIGN SERVICE TRUST IN 2007

The J. Kirby Simon Foreign Service Trust is a charitable fund established in the memory of J. Kirby Simon, a Foreign Service Officer who died in 1995 while serving in Taiwan. The Trust is committed to expanding the opportunities for community service and professional fulfillment of active Foreign Service Officers and Specialists and their families.

The principal activity of the Trust is to support projects that are initiated and carried out, on an entirely unofficial, voluntary basis, by Foreign Service personnel or members of their families, wherever located. The Trust will also consider projects of the same nature proposed by other U.S. Government employees or members of their families, regardless of nationality, who are located at American diplomatic posts abroad.

In 2006 the Trust made its tenth round of grant awards, 40 in all, ranging from \$600 to \$4500, for a total of \$87,287. These grants support the involvement of Foreign Service personnel in the projects briefly listed below (further described in a Trust announcement entitled Grants Awarded in 2006 and available at www.kirbysimontrust.org). The grants defray a wide range of project expenses, including books, food, medicines, furniture, computers, wheelchairs, kitchen and medical equipment, excursion costs and instructional costs.

- **Educational Projects:** Afghanistan - art supplies for street children; Bangladesh and Cambodia - schools for street children; Honduras - life skills instruction at orphanage; India - schooling at a squatters' camp; Jamaica - poverty area rural school; Mexico - life-skills training for orphans; South Africa - primary school library; Tajikistan - vocational education for disabled persons; Ukraine - English language school library; Venezuela - vocational education school and orphanage.

- **Other Projects for Children:** Costa Rica - community children's playground; El Salvador - psychological treatment for abused children; Ghana - orphanage dining facility; Lithuania - excursion for children's home; Mexico - equipment for children's shelter; Romania - computer training and dentistry for orphanage girls; Russia - excursion for children's home; South Africa - home for street children; The Gambia - home for disabled children; United States - two programs to assist Foreign Service family teens.

- **Health-related Projects:** Bahamas - wheelchairs for disabled volunteer advocates; Belgium - farm for disabled individuals; Botswana - food bank storage shed; Central African Republic - health clinic video equipment; China - school for migrant children; Colombia - clinic for poor children; Cote D'Ivoire - protein deficiency program; Cuba - medicines and library for cancer patients; Honduras - wheelchairs for children's hospital; Peru - ballet studio for disabled girls.

- **Other Facilities in Poverty Areas:** Bosnia-Herzegovina - resettlement of Muslim refugees; Kyrgyzstan - women's crisis shelter; Kyrgyzstan - rebuilding of orphanage; Mexico - shelter for single mothers.

- **Projects for Animal Care:** Bolivia - rescue and shelter organization; Egypt and India - medical equipment for animal shelters; Jordan - animal hospital.

The Trust now invites the submission of proposals for support in 2007. It is anticipated that most of the new grants will fall within the same funding range as the 2006 awards, and that projects assisted by the Trust will reflect a variety of interests and approaches, some of which are illustrated by the 2006 grants.

Grants provided by the Trust can be used to support several categories of project expenses; the third paragraph of this announcement provides examples. However, certain restrictions apply: (a) Funds from the Trust cannot be used to pay salaries or other compensation to U.S. Government employees or their family members. (b) The Trust does not support projects that have reasonable prospects of obtaining full funding from other sources. (c) The Trust will provide support for a project operated by a charitable or educational organization only where the individual applicant(s) play an active part in initiating and carrying out the project, apart from fundraising. (d) The Trust will support only projects in which each applicant's role is clearly separate from the applicant's official responsibilities.

A proposal should include a description of the project, what it is intended to achieve, and the role to be played by the applicant(s); a preliminary plan for disseminating the results of the project; a budget; other available funding, if any; and a brief biography of the applicant(s). Proposals should be no longer than five double-spaced pages (exclusive of budget and biographical material). Please follow the application format available at www.kirbysimontrust.org/format_for_proposals.html or by communicating with the Trust (see below).

Proposals for projects to be funded during calendar year 2007 must be received by the Trust no later than March 1, 2007.

Proposals and inquiries can be sent by mail, by fax or (preferably) by e-mail to:

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Further information about the Trust can be found on the Web at www.kirbysimontrust.org.



PRESIDENT'S VIEWS

Foreign Assistance “Reform:” The Short-Term Mentality Sets In

By J. ANTHONY HOLMES

The buzz is back. The idea that was so pervasive earlier this year, that the State Department under Secretary Rice intends to take over USAID, has flared up again despite adamant denials. This time, though, the perception is that a merger by stealth is already well advanced.



Reports of rock-bottom morale and rumors of a surge in voluntary retirements reflect a growing perception of huge shifts in power and control from overseas to Washington and from USAID to State. I've gotten the impression that all our foreign assistance professionals think is missing is an official announcement that long-term development has now been supplanted as the agency's overarching goal by short-term political considerations cloaked as “transformational diplomacy.”

The initial announcement early this year that the new USAID Administrator would concurrently be the Deputy Secretary of State for Foreign Assistance generated major heartburn among USAID staff but little reaction at the State Department. Aggressive efforts to assuage those concerns focused on coming reforms in the allocation process and potential benefits from streamlining multiple pots of our aid funds. But now, eight months into the effort, people have seen enough detail about the process, and learned of major funding cuts and reallocations, that the decibel level of concern has skyrocketed. This applies within State as well, where long-

J. Anthony Holmes is the president of the American Foreign Service Association.

standing thematic and regional programs are reportedly being relegated to the margins of viability.

A number of affected people have expressed alarm that the new USAID Administrator/Deputy Secretary, former pharmaceutical executive Randall Tobias, is trying to apply to the huge, complex foreign aid structure the formula that worked relatively well for him, albeit on a much smaller scale, as head of PEPFAR, the White House initiative to fight HIV/AIDS. PEPFAR's hallmarks include: the narrowest possible geographical and thematic focus to achieve immediate impact; maximum control by headquarters, with limited input on funding decisions from pros in the field; and a focus on ensuring measurable results even in the near term for use as PR and in budget battles.

But what works in the fight against HIV/AIDS, some veterans believe, is not an appropriate approach to the complex, interrelated issues and processes of economic and social development. They want flexibility in the field to be able to respond quickly to changes on the ground. They fear a zealous pursuit of demonstrable results — an inherently short-term focus — will be the tail that wags the dog, reordering priorities, damping creativity and risk-taking, and dictating a supply rather than demand-driven dynamic between the U.S. and its aid recipient partners. The need for “local ownership” has become an article of faith in development. While that may converge completely with Washington's political agenda when it comes to dis-

tributing anti-retroviral drugs to AIDS sufferers, it could be quite the opposite with our larger programs and broader goals.

Reducing our aid's geographical and thematic focus creates other problems, particularly on a strategic level in terms of how to use aid to pursue overall U.S. interests. USAID was forced to shrink to survive during the 1990s, when a concentrated, “invest-in-success” model was also a reasonable development strategy. However, this approach neglects many challenges in a post-9/11 world, where we must find a way to engage with precisely those countries to which we give short shrift. The same is true, many believe, for our regional programs and our initiatives on transnational threats like WMD proliferation and environmental degradation.

The growing disquiet in State and USAID is striking in that consciousness of these profound changes has been such a creeping phenomenon, slowly sinking in without frank discussion, debate, or intellectual buy-in by the major stakeholders involved. Most of the large and diverse U.S. development community doesn't have a clue. While some briefings on Capitol Hill have taken place, I understand, invitations were limited and the focus was on process not substance. After the mid-term elections, of course, there will soon be new individuals in key positions and a different approach to oversight. Perhaps this would be a good time to initiate an all-parties review of the new paradigm so that the necessary support here at home is achieved in advance. ■



INTERNATIONAL PROGRAMS

The University of Oklahoma seeks an extraordinary professional to hold the William J. Crowe Jr. Chair in Geopolitics and serve as the Vice Provost, International Programs and Executive Director of the International Programs Center. This individual, who will hold the rank of tenured professor, will administer all aspects of the International Programs Center, the School of International & Area Studies, and serve as the University's chief spokesperson for international education.

The International Programs Center's mission is to enhance the University's international focus and to bring about international awareness to OU students, and to citizens of the state and country. The center hosts an annual major Foreign Affairs Conference which has included many national and international leaders and scholars.

The School of International & Area Studies is an interdisciplinary academic unit with faculty drawn from a wide variety of disciplines. The school offers a Bachelors of Arts degree in International & Area studies with tracks in Asian Studies, European Studies, International Studies, Latin American Studies and Russian & East European Studies, and a Masters of Arts in International Studies in Global Affairs or Global Management.

Most recently, the School has inaugurated the Institute for US-China Issues as an interdisciplinary center within SIAS that will provide a forum to address significant issues regarding US-China policies and actions, and hired the first Director of the Institute who holds the Newman Chair in US-China Issues.

The Office for Education Abroad and International Student Services handles all aspects of academic support for OU students studying abroad and international students on reciprocal exchange programs as well as degree-seeking international students. The Education Abroad and International Student Services Office manages more than 171 reciprocal educational exchange programs with universities in over 60 countries. In 2005-2006, there were approximately 1,800 international students from 106 countries on the Norman Campus, and more than 750 OU students each year participate in Study Abroad programs. More than 500 OU faculty and staff have some professional experience abroad.

The University takes considerable pride in the number of exchange programs throughout the world, the curriculum available to students and the level of global awareness among all OU Students. We view the continued expansion of these programs for all students and faculty as a key component of the mission of the University.

The University of Oklahoma is the state's flagship public comprehensive residential university, with its main campus in Norman, its Health Sciences Center campus in Oklahoma City, and the Schusterman Center in Tulsa. Located in the Oklahoma City metropolitan area which has a population of approximately 1.1 million people, and within easy driving distance of the Dallas-Fort Worth Metroplex, the University of Oklahoma offers diverse cultural activities in an extraordinarily beautiful campus. The University is comprised of fifteen colleges and enrolls 24,000 students on the main campus, including approximately 3,800 graduate students. OU is in the midst of unprecedented growth and national and international recognition with total endowment exceeding \$ 800 million. It ranks first in the nation per capital among public universities in National Merit Scholars enrolled. In the past twelve years it has more than quadrupled the number of endowed faculty chairs and professorships from less than 100 to over 410 today.

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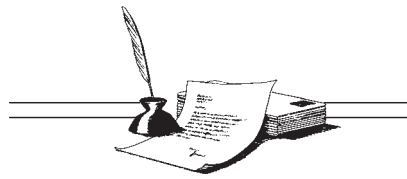
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LETTERS

Public Diplomacy & Career FSOs

We read with surprise in your October issue (“Damage Control: Karen Hughes Does PD”) that Under Secretary Karen Hughes has supposedly not recruited experienced Foreign and Civil Service officers for key positions on her staff and in the “R” (public diplomacy and public affairs) bureaus. What about us? As senior career Foreign Service officers who have been working for U/S Hughes for over a year, and are members of her core public diplomacy and exchanges team, we submit that the *Journal* article was incorrect and misleading.

In fact, U/S Hughes has put in place an integrated team of career Foreign Service, Civil Service and non-career professionals, all dedicated to the mission of advancing public diplomacy and more fully integrating public diplomacy into the mainstream of the department.

Your readers should also know that the under secretary very strongly supports and encourages the professional growth and development of the public diplomacy function across the State Department. Her energetic support for the PD cone in particular has given public diplomacy professionals an unprecedented voice in the department’s senior policy and management circles. Under Secretary Hughes is also providing needed leadership in the interagency community to strengthen our public diplomacy across the U.S. government. None of this is easy or inevitable.

Respect in the administration and

Congress for U/S Hughes’ strategic ability and leadership has led directly to increases in funding for educational and cultural exchanges. She has pioneered new information outreach support like the Rapid Response Unit and overseas regional public diplomacy hubs, all led by career department officers. She has also strengthened our language Web sites and added features to the PD community’s dedicated Web site, INFOCENTRAL, to make it more useful to posts. Overall, she has worked to make existing public diplomacy tools more effective, and she has encouraged everyone to consider public diplomacy part of their core responsibilities.

Under Secretary Hughes has also made addressing issues such as the competitiveness of PD-coned officers for promotion and senior assignments a top priority, together with building into the system better professional training of public diplomacy officers. Most important, she has championed the central role of public diplomacy in shaping effective diplomacy for the United States in the 21st century.

Those of us who are privileged to see firsthand the many ways in which Under Secretary Hughes is making a difference know how lucky public diplomacy and the department are that she has thrown in her lot with ours.

*Miller Crouch,
Jeremy Curtin,
Daniel Smith and
Gretchen Welch*
FSOs
Washington, D.C.

Editor’s Note: We welcome the four officers’ testimonial to the work Karen Hughes is doing as under secretary for public diplomacy — most points of which, in fact, appear in the Zeller article — and for their firsthand account of her aims and goals. Indeed, the author requested, and we would have welcomed, direct input from the under secretary’s office; unfortunately, it was not forthcoming. Quotes cited in the article, of course, do not necessarily reflect the views of either the author, the Journal or AFSA.

Public Outreach Is Not Public Diplomacy

First, I would like to commend the *FSJ* for an excellent and balanced October magazine focusing on public diplomacy. As a PD-coned officer, it was gratifying to see many of the issues that my colleagues and I discuss informally put out to a larger audience.

I’d also like to expand on an issue raised in Shawn Zeller’s article. To quote the article, “Hughes has not taken it upon herself ... to commend career staff when they do a good job, or give them assurances that hard work and training in the public diplomacy arena will lead to career advancement.”

True enough, as far as it goes, but the real issue goes even deeper. The oft-repeated phrase “every officer is a PD officer” is not only untrue, but is demeaning and demoralizing to those of us who are career public diplomacy professionals. It takes years of train-

LETTERS



ing and experience to perfect public diplomacy skills — and there are more than a few senior Foreign Service officers outside of the PD cone who may be superb in their conal area, but don't have a clue about PD. (And that goes both ways — I admit I don't have a clue about economics, but then no one is going around saying “every officer is an economic officer.”)

What is true is that every Foreign Service officer can and should be doing public outreach — but that is not public diplomacy. Public diplomacy is a well-thought-out plan, developed by the public affairs officer and his or her staff at post, and approved by the ambassador or principal officer, to influence and inform foreign publics, using a full range of public diplomacy tools. Public out-

reach by mission officers is only one tool of many in the kit — and a public diplomacy officer's expertise is required to decide when and where to best use that particular tool.

It is time for senior officials to stop denigrating public diplomacy officers and start treating us as the well-trained professionals that we are — not to mention commending us when we do a good job, and giving us assurances that hard work and training in PD will lead to career advancement.

*Anne E. Grimes
Public Diplomacy Officer
Washington, D.C.*

The Missing Face of PD

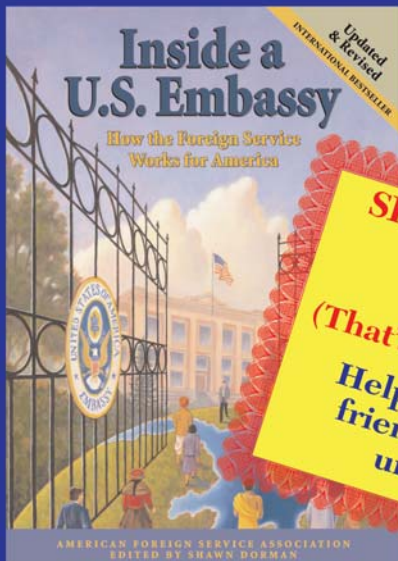
Under Secretary Karen Hughes' wariness of the Foreign Service (“Damage Control,” *FSJ*, October) comes close to echoing the cold eval-

uation expressed more than once by Secretary of State Condoleezza Rice.

Secretary Rice was no sooner settled into the seventh floor than she began to question the Foreign Service assignment procedures and issued her pronouncement that officers should line up to learn Arabic and other tough languages for what she deemed the really important FS assignments in the world's trouble spots. Then, as noted in the September *AFSA News* report of her meeting with AFSA, she called for the Foreign Service to be more ‘expeditionary,’ with the implication that some cadre or cadres of officers ought to be groomed and ready to go anywhere on super-short notice to do anything.

If U/S Hughes is the face of public diplomacy at State, the face is not much on view. In fact, *Journal* readers in Austin, Texas, are relieved to learn from your excellent October issue that she is actually on the job (sort of). Having heard next to nothing about what Hughes was up to since leaving Austin to rejoin the government, we rather equated her appointment to the high public diplomacy post at State with Elizabeth Dole's election to the U.S. Senate: Neither has ever been much heard from since.

We now learn that U/S Hughes has spent a lot of energy pushing her ‘five Es’ talking points (far too pithy to repeat here) instead of effectively using the inside-administration muscle she clearly used to have. The diplomatic world would have taken clear note had she pushed for restoration of the true and once-reliable face of American diplomacy, the U.S. Information Agency, to official and independent status. Public diplomacy took a real hit seven years ago when USIA/USIS was dispersed into varied State bureaus and those weird, uncoordinated media outlets. Administra-



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tion after administration had put USIA in the crosshairs of government reorganization in the name of efficiency, and it has been costly.

Perhaps I am wrong to suspect that Hughes' timing in returning to Washington was to meet the minimum five-year federal retirement/health insurance benefits sinecure, entitlements not to be forsaken lightly. Whatever her motivation and efforts, Hughes has done little measurable good for public diplomacy, and she has done nothing to correct the impression of disdain at the top for the Foreign Service as an institution.

The Secretary of State dismisses as unimportant, if not unworthy, a robust Foreign Service presence in friendly, progressive countries — countries which have become and remain friendly and progressive in no small part owing to our diplomatic efforts. This bespeaks a lack of understanding of what diplomacy is or should be about. It is also an attitude demeaning to officers past and present and to the tradition of careful preparation for the important work of diplomacy around the globe.

We who view our Foreign Service years in the rear-view mirror have to be grateful that our time was then and not now. And those officers now working and coping with this putative redefinition of their jobs and purpose should take heart in knowing that this, too, will pass.

*Edmund L. Nichols
Senior FSO, retired
Austin, Texas*

Reintegrate the PD Function

The October *FSJ* on public diplomacy is a superb, timely and imaginative issue. As a former FSO who served in USIA as assistant director for the USSR and Eastern Europe, I know the critical importance of the PD function. I lament the sloppy dis-

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solution of USIA and slow reintegration of the function into the department. I say reintegration, because when I was sworn in as a new FSO in 1950, the PD functions were a part of the department in Washington and overseas (as USIS).

The *Journal's* measured and largely critical treatment of the present alignment and priority for this function is right on the money. I hope Secretary Rice and Under Secretary Hughes have read it, as well as the earlier report on the function by Ed Djerejian and company.

There are three important barriers to fulfilling the critical task of rebuilding our PD function that were not so obvious in the *FSJ* articles. First, the budget. There was a general acknowledgement that budget constraints continue to restrain our effort in spite of Under Secretary Hughes' success in incrementally increasing the PD budget. What is essential now is a fundamental "beefing up," not an incremental increase. No one is in a better position to accomplish this than Hughes, whose ties to President Bush are undisputed.

Second, vacant slots need filling. The cost of gearing up our personnel to expand our outreach is marginal compared to "bridges to nowhere" or F-22s. More creative recruiting of Arab-American students could help jump-start a personnel buildup.

Third, the visa barrier. Often underappreciated is the fact that foreigners' first impression of the U.S. is our visa and customs process. We must maximize the security element of visa issuance without insulting those we seek to influence. The assistant secretary for consular affairs must be enlisted in Under Secretary Hughes' PD efforts to present a polite and welcoming face to the world, even as we tighten our entry procedures.

In short, we need aggressive lead-

ership at the top to reflect the real priority that PD must have.

Kempton Jenkins
FSO, retired
Bethesda, Md.

Death Squads

In his book review of *Empire's Workshop* (September), Ambassador Dennis Jett gratuitously, and erroneously, writes that "the death squads we encouraged in Central America are being replicated in Iraq today." We did not encourage death squads in Central America. Quite the contrary. Do "we" encourage them in Iraq? I doubt it.

As for "the myth of U.S. success in Central America," I note that the guerrillas in El Salvador, despite being supported by Cuba, the Soviet Union and the Marxist regime in Managua, did not prevail.

Deane R. Hinton
Ambassador, retired
Mechanicsburg, Pa.

U.N. Corruption

I write to thank you for publishing Tom Boyatt's perceptive article about the United Nations' culture of corruption (*Speaking Out*, September). It is not in our interest to be blind to that regrettable reality. When President Truman went to San Francisco to address the final meeting of the U.N. conference giving birth to that new international body and its aspirations for peace and human dignity, he said that its charter was a "solid structure upon which we can build a better world." We should not be blind to its failures if we wish to help restore that body to its original aspirations.

Being blind to corruption will not address the bureaucratic rot that it represents. Being blind to the power and influence of long-term U.N. staffers from Third World and undemocratic states will not achieve our

original aspirations. Many years ago, when I temporarily served on our U.N. staff, I had security people quietly identifying delegates as well as staff being financially supported by the KGB and the East Germans, who were well aware that their small budgets were inadequate for living in expensive New York.

It is time for the United States to revitalize the democracies of the world into a strong and permanent caucus aimed at restoring the dignity, the integrity, the idealism and the influence of the original aspirations of those who created the U.N. There isn't much time.

Tom Boyatt deserves our appreciation for urging us forward by reminding us of facts and not only dreams.

Max M. Kampelman
Ambassador, retired
Washington, D.C.

Clean Up the U.N.

The September "Speaking Out" by Ambassador Thomas Boyatt concerning the United Nations' culture of corruption was a very powerful piece and right on the mark over and over again. It should be widely distributed.

I've considered the United Nations corrupt for years. Because of my USAID assignments from Afghanistan to Zambia, I know something about Third World corruption. In many poor countries, corruption is a way of life and a key to survival. On the other hand, corruption at the U.N. is all about greed and personal enrichment. The "Oil for Food" program is but the latest scandal, and it has yet to play out fully.

I don't know if a new international organization of the willing is possible. But at the very least the U.S. government should call for a top-to-bottom housecleaning at the U.N.

LETTERS



and withhold funds until this is accomplished.

John Patterson
Former AFSA/USAID VP
and USAID FSO
North Kingstown, R.I.

Military Background

In his State VP Voice column, "The Elephant in the Room" (October *AFSA News*), Steve Kashkett wrote: "We are not the military either by background, temperament, training or skill sets." Many Foreign Service personnel, however, do indeed have a military background. The current director general of the Foreign Service, Amb. George Staples, is a former Air Force officer. Amb. Staples' predecessor, Amb. Robert Pearson, is a former Navy officer. Former Army, Navy and Air Force personnel, as well as Marines and Coast Guard, fill the ranks of the Foreign Service. In fact, some of our colleagues in the reserves have even been reactivated for military duty.

I have not been in the military, but I salute, acknowledge and thank those of my colleagues who have for their service in our nation's armed forces, whether it was during the Cold War era or the present.

John Higi
FSO
Embassy Kuwait ■



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CYBERNOTES

Truth Meets the Message

No public-diplomacy related news item received more coverage in blogs and the media in recent months than State Department official Alberto Fernandez' statement in an Oct. 21 interview with Al-Jazeera that U.S. policy in Iraq has displayed "arrogance" and "stupidity" (http://uscpublicdiplomacy.com/index.php/newsroom/johnbrown_detail/061023_pdpbr/). The front pages of newspapers throughout the Middle East celebrated this unusual candor from a U.S. spokesman, while conservative commentators back here called for his head.

The Bush administration first asserted the quote was mistranslated, but dropped that claim when the BBC and NPR verified the text.

Fernandez, a member of the Senior Foreign Service, is director of the Office of Press and Public Diplomacy in the Bureau of Near East Affairs and a fluent Arabic speaker. He has been described as "one of America's most potent public diplomacy weapons in the region" (www.csmonitor.com/2006/1024/p10s01-woiq.html). A profile in the Aug. 29 *Newsweek* explained: "By breaking from the stilted style of traditional U.S. diplomats, Fernandez is able to connect with his Arab audiences and at the same time deliver a strong line on foreign policy" (www.msnbc.msn.com/id/14560221/site/newsweek/).

As the Oct. 21 interview transcript shows (www.iht.com/articles/ap/2006/10/22/africa/ME_GEN_Iraq_Insurgent_Negotiations_Text.php), Fernandez' candor was part of an

We have lost international support not because foreigners hate our values but because they believe we are repudiating them and behaving contrary to them.

— Amb. Chas W. Freeman, Jr.,
Oct. 4, remarks to USIA
Alumni Association,
<http://www.publicdiplomacy.org/71.htm>

impassioned plea to Arabs to engage constructively in solving the region's problems. Indeed, as he himself explained, he was defending American policy in a region where everyone dislikes the U.S., and he was doing so in an aggressive way. "I know what the policy is and what the red lines are, and nothing I said hasn't been said before by senior officials," Fernandez told CNN. Secretary Rice herself had acknowledged publicly in March that the U.S. had made "thousands" of mistakes in Iraq.

Yet the following morning the State Department publicized Fernandez' formal recantation: "I seriously misspoke by using the phrase 'there has been arrogance and stupidity' by the U.S. in Iraq. This represents neither my views nor those of the State Department. I apologize."

The apology apparently gave Under Secretary Karen Hughes the chance to assure everyone of her support for Fernandez in spite of his 'mis-

taken choice of words.' Hughes did not, however, go on the record with an official statement, but conveyed her 'support' through an assistant (see Item D at http://uscpublicdiplomacy.com/index.php/newsroom/johnbrown_detail/061027_pdpbr/). Whether this is enough to prevent a further erosion of enthusiasm in PD ranks, as officers absorb the implications of getting the tiniest bit "off-message," remains to be seen.

Meanwhile, the view circulating in the Middle East that America can never admit a mistake has a new life.

— Susan Maitra, Senior Editor

Polls Find Americans Unhappy with U.S. Foreign Policy

Two recent polls indicating that a majority of Americans are unhappy with U.S. foreign policy proved to be accurate gauges of public sentiment going into the Nov. 7 election. According to both reports, Americans believe that the world is becoming an increasingly dangerous place and that Washington's current involvements abroad are only making the situation worse.

In October, New York-based research organization Public Agenda released its third "Confidence in U.S. Foreign Policy Index" in collaboration with *Foreign Affairs*, drawing on the responses of 1,001 adults to over 100 questions regarding current U.S. foreign policy. The Fall 2006 Index featured the first-ever Anxiety Indicator, a tool that "will track the public's overall outlook on world affairs much as the Consumer Confidence Index follows its view of the economy" (www).



CYBERNOTES

publicagenda.org/foreignpolicy/foreignpolicy_intro.htm). Measured on a 200-point scale (200 being the most anxious) the Anxiety Indicator recorded a level of 130, denoting significant public discontent.

Roughly 60 percent of Americans believe international relations are “on the wrong track,” with 69 percent feeling that the government is doing a “fair” or “poor” job of improving international security. Respondents ranked the most pressing issues to be the Middle East, dependence on foreign energy and America’s image abroad (which participants saw as essential to national security). Significantly, the government received failing grades on crucial issues such as curbing nuclear proliferation and achieving our goals in Iraq and Afghanistan.

The report also reveals that certain issues — namely the situation in Iraq and our dependence on foreign oil — are at a “tipping point.” As the Index notes, “public concerns have reached such a high pitch that political leaders avoid [these issues] at their peril.”

A second questionnaire, published by the Program on International Policy Attitudes/Knowledge Networks in October, aims to answer the question, “What kind of foreign policy does the American public want?” (for the full report, see www.worldpublicopinion.org/pipa/articles/home_page/262.php?nid=&i). The poll reports the opinions of 1,058 participants. The PIPA poll paints a similarly pessimistic picture: 68 percent of Americans are dissatisfied with the U.S. position in the world today, and

over half believe that the Bush administration’s policies have increased the likelihood of terrorist attacks.

More than seven out of 10 Americans hope for a candidate who will pursue a new approach to foreign policy. Among respondents, 67 percent believe that there should be a greater emphasis on diplomatic and economic methods, while only 2 percent think that the U.S. has the balance between military and diplomatic approaches about right.

The majority agree that the U.S. should make stronger efforts to work with the United Nations, even if it has to forgo its first choice of policies. Participants also called for greater cooperation on both domestic and international levels, suggesting that Congress overcome bipartisan divisions and that the United States work toward more multilateral strategies.

PIPA is a joint effort of the Center on Policy Attitudes and the Center for International and Security Studies at the University of Maryland, dedicated

to increasing the public’s role in foreign policy and international relations. For more information, see www.worldpublicopinion.org/?nid=&id=&lb=hmpg.

— *Lamiya Rahman,*
Editorial Intern

Grameen Bank: Giving Microcredit Where Credit is Due

In October, the Norwegian Nobel Committee chose to honor Bangladeshi “banker to the poor” Muhammad Yunus and his Grameen Bank “for their efforts to create economic and social development from below” (http://nobelprize.org/nobel_prizes/peace/laureates/2006/). Through a relatively simple idea, Yunus managed to economically empower millions of poor Bangladeshis who would otherwise have no access to loans or financial services. The accolade has brought microcredit to the general public’s attention.

The seeds of the Grameen Bank

50 Years Ago...

An unprincipled, poker-playing foreign policy can be administered with great effectiveness by a totalitarian nation which can largely ignore public opinion. When the leaders of a democratic government attempt such a policy, they inevitably find themselves drifting out of touch with public and congressional opinion. Unable to discover any clear pattern of principles or objectives, the average citizen becomes first confused, then disillusioned, and finally antagonistic.



— Chester Bowles, Letter to the Editor, *FSJ*, December 1956.

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were sown in 1974 when, convinced of the entrepreneurial spirit of the poor, Yunus began lending small amounts of money to men and women in rural Bangladesh without requiring collateral. Since then, the bank has grown to serve over 70,000 villages and three million clients who use the loans to set-up small businesses.

Grameen Bank uses innovative methods to make microloans effective. To ensure high recovery rates — currently at 95 percent — members are assigned to groups of five that are collectively responsible for loan repayment, a measure that applies social pressure and incentives. Having discovered early on that men are less productive and more likely to default on loans, the Bank caters primarily to women, who comprise 97 percent of Grameen clients. Because borrowers are the principal owners — clients own 94 percent of the bank and the government the rest — Grameen Bank is a predominantly female-owned institution, highly unusual in a traditionally male-dominated society (www.grameen-info.org/bank/index.html).

But Grameen Bank is not just a financial institution. It has given birth to several spin-off organizations dedicated to promoting development in rural areas, such as an energy program, a phone company and an Internet service, among many other enterprises (www.grameen-info.org/gfamily.html). Last month, in collaboration with French dairy giant Danone, Grameen opened a food plant aimed at providing nutritious products for the poor.

In recent years, hundreds of microcredit institutions have been established to engage poor populations all over the world. The United Nations' Economic and Social Council named 2005 the International Year of Microcredit (www.yearof

microcredit.org/). In November, 2,000 delegates from 100 countries attended the Global Microcredit Summit in Halifax, Canada. They endorsed two main goals: to ensure that 175 million of the world's poorest families, especially the women of those families, are receiving credit for self-employment and other financial and business services; and that 100 million of the world's poorest families move from below \$1 a day to above \$1 a day by the end of 2015 (www.globalmicrocreditsummit2006.org).

However, as many experts hasten to point out, microcredit is no panacea. These development practitioners fear that the hope of microcredit is turning to hype as proponents embrace unrealistic expectations of its developmental effects. "It helps with cash flow smoothing, and can also boost the confidence of women," states Thomas Dichter in a critical look at the microcredit movement. "These are good things, but they are considerably less than the serious long-term economic changes that are claimed for the movement. They are not the same as credit used for productivity, job creation and enterprise growth in an increasingly competitive and global economy" (<http://microfinancgateway.org/content/article/detail/31747>).

Bangladesh is a case in point: the birthplace of the model microcredit institution remains a Least Developed Country. Microfinance has a vital role to play, but not as a substitute for much-needed political and economic reforms.

— *Lamiya Rahman,*
Editorial Intern

Afghanistan at A Turning Point?

A sharply rising tide of violence in Afghanistan, as the southern insurgency gathers momentum, and the



call by NATO Secretary General Jaap de Hoop Scheffer for a “radical overhaul” of policy in Afghanistan have once again put the spotlight on this critical front in the Bush administration’s war on terrorism. NATO took over command of the International Security Assistance Force in Afghanistan over the summer (<http://www.jfcs.nato.int/ISAF/index.htm>).

De Hoop Scheffer laid out the need for a strategy change at a Nov. 2 meeting in Brussels, where for the first time major donors — namely the U.N., the World Bank and the European Union — sat down with the military alliance to coordinate assistance activities (www.ihf.com/articles/2006/11/05/news/nato.php). A well-functioning Afghan police force and judiciary are essential for NATO, De Hoop Scheffer states. He wants the military alliance to concentrate on training the Afghan army, and have the E.U. take over entirely the training of police forces. There is no military solution, per se, De Hoop Scheffer stresses; coordination between the reconstruction side and the military side is essential.

In early October, ISAF Commander British Lieutenant General David Richards had sounded the alarm, warning that without visible improvements in the daily lives of ordinary Afghans in the next six months, up to 70 percent of Afghans could shift their allegiance to the Taliban-led insurgency that is steadily gaining ground in the south and east (www.eurasianet.org/departments/insight/articles/pp101406.shtml).

A new report from the International Crisis Group titled “Countering Afghanistan’s Insurgency: No Quick Fixes” pinpoints the issues: a resurgent Taliban and other anti-government elements from previous eras; a crisis of government legitimacy; constantly expanding drug production

and trade; and failure to meet popular expectations of development and improved lives (see the full report at www.crisisgroup.org).

The group urges a rethinking of policies by both the Karzai government — whose writ remains for the most part confined to Kabul — and its Western backers and advocates, in particular, a substantial increase in international forces deployed to the battle zones. The ICG also warns that without putting real, sustained diplomatic pressure on Pakistan to reverse policies that feed extremism, it will be impossible to stabilize Afghanistan.

There are several online resources that are useful in following develop-

ments and policy in Afghanistan. The ICG monitors the country, and the Afghanistan page of the organization’s Web site contains links to other helpful sites, crucial documents and studies, and a history of the problem as well as its own analyses (www.crisisgroup.org/home/index.cfm?id=3071&l=1). Another valuable resource is the Afghanistan page of EurasiaNet, operated by the Central Eurasia Project of the Open Society Institute; it features news developments and analysis (www.eurasianet.org/resource/afghanistan/index.shtml). To monitor daily news, see *South Asia News* (<http://southasia.net/news/afghanistan/index.php>). ■

— Susan Maitra, Senior Editor

Site of the Month: www.globalmuseum.org

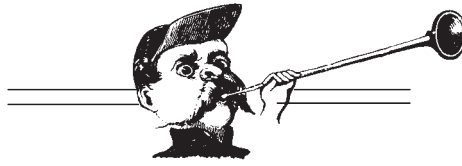
Whether culture is your passion or you’re just looking for an interesting outing in Cairo, you’ll want to check out *Global Museum*. This award-winning Webzine is a required read for museum enthusiasts of all varieties. As *List-A-Day.com* describes it, “From bizarre and unbelievable news to noteworthy historical facts, this newsletter will plug you into information that is just slightly off the beaten media track.”

Since its 1998 launch by New Zealand Web-developer Roger Smith, *Global Museum* has become an essential resource for museum aficionados worldwide. It is an excellent source for the scoop on the museum world, with details on new museums and exhibits, job openings, museum studies courses and recent scientific discoveries. The home page features headlines on museum-related news from various international publications, from the BBC to Al-Jazeera. Users can browse links to virtual libraries and research databases on the Resources page to access a wealth of information on topics like artifact analysis, archaeology and anthropology.

If you’re looking for a museum in your town, the Museum Links page is an invaluable resource. A list of international links includes Web sites such as the Virtual Library Museums Pages, an extensive directory of museums in over 90 countries. A section dedicated exclusively to unusual museums around the world is sure to delight the less conventional user. The site also provides podcast subscriptions to audio tours from several museums and a catalogue of museology books and publications.

For updates on *Global Museum*, you can sign up for its free weekly subscription.

— Lamiya Rahman, Editorial Intern



SPEAKING OUT

Immigration Policy for the 21st Century

BY DAVID SEARBY

On the morning of my Foreign Service oral exam back in October 1986, I sat down at my kitchen table with the *Washington Post* and a cup of coffee. (It's a good thing I did, or I might not be writing this piece!) The lead story was the passage of the Simpson-Rodino Bill, officially called the Immigration Reform and Control Act of 1986. Later that morning, I sat nervously with two FSOs in an aesthetically challenged Rosslyn office that provided fair warning of my environs to come. One of the examiners asked me, "What can you tell us about recent U.S. immigration reform?" I breathed a sigh of relief and then went over the points of the *Post* article. I was off to a good start.

In many ways, the debate has changed little in the last 20 years. The two key elements of Simpson-Rodino were an amnesty for long-time illegal aliens and employer sanctions to prevent new illegal workers from coming, though the sanctions were never aggressively enforced. Both ideas are still around, but in the post-9/11 era the emphasis is definitely on border security. The Secure Fence Act passed by Congress and signed by President Bush, almost exactly 20 years after President Reagan signed Simpson-Rodino, authorizes a 700-mile fence along the most porous parts of the 2,000-mile border with Mexico — though there is real doubt the structure will ever be built as proposed. But even if the fence does go up, the legislation does not address the plight of the millions of illegal immigrants

Before we embark on grand redesigns of immigration policy, it would be wise to develop a limited pilot project.

already living in the United States.

Unlike the Senate, House Republicans rejected the president's call for a more nuanced approach to controlling illegal immigration that includes an expanded guest worker program and a path to "legalization" (amnesty having become a "Scarlet A"). By the time you read this, we will know whether their bet on reinforcing their activist base will enable the GOP to hold onto control of Congress. But even if it does, over the long term an anti-illegal immigrant stance looks more and more like a vote-loser — particularly among Latinos, the fastest-growing segment of the U.S. population.

The current deadlock suggests that before we embark on grand redesigns of immigration policy along the lines of Simpson-Rodino, it would be wise to develop a limited pilot project that could be tested and evaluated before being carried further. Here are some ideas for such a new approach.

The Missing Piece: Development Abroad

Conspicuous by its absence from the immigration debate is a focus on

reducing the "opportunity disparity" in countries of origin that fuels illegal immigration. The Millennium Challenge Account is a study in both foreign and domestic realpolitik, but it does not target illegal immigration; nor does it focus on problem countries like Mexico. And even if it did, U.S. foreign assistance levels to many countries are going down, not up.

So is there no way to fund development that might help slow illegal immigration? Actually, there is. The simple answer is that the new source of funding would be the intending illegal immigrants themselves.

Many poor illegal immigrants somehow raise thousands of dollars for often-dangerous entry into the U.S. to compete for low-paying jobs with no labor protections. Such persons willing to play this high-stakes crapshoot would pay even more for safe, certain and legal access to the U.S. job market for a period of time, particularly if they were seen as boosting their local communities and would get their money back in the end.

I propose to create a new category of legal entry that combines our immigration objectives with our foreign assistance objectives to control illegal immigration and play a small role in closing the opportunity gap that underlies illegal immigration. More important, the program would immediately deter illegal immigration by raising reasonable hopes for temporary, legal entry into the U.S. in a way that is less objectionable to those Americans who want to shut the door on all immigration.



Program participants would post a sizable bond and pay an administrative fee to help keep the program revenue-neutral (aside from startup costs). Selected participants would be given the right to work in the U.S. for a limited time (perhaps 10 years). The bond would be returned upon the participant's relinquishing of legal residency in the U.S. Each year, participants would contribute to their existing bond to further boost development in their home country and progressively increase their incentive to return home. Participants could extend their stay here for a limited time by paying a higher annual bond supplement. The size of the bond and the annual supplement could be adjusted periodically on a country-by-country basis to be high enough to ensure that most participants would return home. At the same time, these bonds would remain comparable to the cost of illegal entry to attract a large number of applicants, perhaps two to three times the actual number of annual participants.

During the participant's time in the program, the bond would be invested in a secure U.S. fund or, possibly, in financial institutions in the participant's country of origin, with interest used to finance development grants and loans. Participants who return would be given preferential access to the aid program if this would help create jobs. Those who fail to return home at the end of their work permit would forfeit their bonds and bond supplements, which would then be directed toward development in their country.

Exceptions would only be made in case of the death of the participant. If participants gain legal permanent residence in the U.S. via other means, such as marriage, they would still lose at least a portion of the bond for violating their unconditional pact to return. In any case, programmatic

"failure" — when a participant did not return — would plant seeds for future success in reducing immigration pressures. Funds generated would be used to create jobs and promote growth in the country of origin via projects in job training, Internet connectivity, trade capacity building, cooperative sales organizations, microfinance and rural development programs. USAID would likely administer the program.

The best method for selecting participants would be a simple lottery with a low entry fee, a system that would play well into the psyche of the intending illegal immigrant. Foreign Service officers who have seen many a hopeful, hapless face in a visa line know that many intending illegal immigrants are just waiting for that one lucky break and may delay illegal entry attempts in the hopes of winning the lottery the next year. Thus, the deterrence effect on illegal immigration would extend beyond actual program participants.

A Pilot Program: The Dominican Republic

The need to define the project so as to be able to evaluate results in depth suggests that the project should be confined to a single country, preferably one that is a significant source of illegal immigration to the U.S. Because Latinos are the major source of illegal immigration, it would make sense if the pilot country was Latin American.

But which? Mexico is too big and politically sensitive. El Salvador, Guatemala and Honduras are next in line in producing illegal immigrants, but it would be difficult to choose one over the other two. The natural choice would be the next-largest Latin American source of illegal immigration, a country that stands apart but has much in common with the rest of Hispanic America: the Dominican Republic.

The Dominican Republic is a sizable source of illegal immigration. In 2000, what was then the Immigration and Naturalization Service estimated there were nearly 100,000 illegal Dominican immigrants in the United States. And the number is growing. Each year, the Coast Guard interdicts between 2,000 and 5,000 Dominicans attempting illegal entry into Puerto Rico through the treacherous waters of the Mona Channel (hundreds more die trying). However, many thousands more each year succeed in entering the U.S. illegally. Thus, for a pilot program for the Dominican Republic, let us assume the following figures:

- 10,000 program participants per year (a reasonable figure in a country of nearly nine million persons that received nearly 20,000 green card visas in 2005);
- A \$5,000-10,000 bond on each person (vs. smuggling fees of \$1,000-\$6,000 from the Dominican Republic);
- An annual bond supplement of \$1,000;
- A 5-percent rate of return (a conservative guess given that the Thrift Savings Plan currently offers a 10-year average return of 7.2 percent); and,
- An administrative fee of \$500-\$1,000 per participant to cover costs.

With these assumptions, a program in the Dominican Republic could generate \$5.5 million in first-year interest alone, an increase of 23 percent over current FY 2006 assistance levels of \$24.2 million. Ten years into the program, as more bonds earn interest, the additional assistance available would reach \$55 million per year, or \$88 million per year assuming a "worst case" 30-percent overstay/bond forfeiture rate, or an increase in foreign assistance ranging from 127 to 263 percent.

These estimates are just examples; a considerable amount of tinkering

SPEAKING OUT



with the details would be necessary. But the main point is that a pilot program in a smaller country would offer valuable lessons that could be applied to a broader program — or show that the concept is not workable.

Program Benefits

I believe such an approach would offer the following advantages:

- Besides the primary benefit of cutting illegal immigration, this program would reduce the magnet effect of immigration. Participants would be less likely to try to draw family members into the U.S. if they plan to return home.
- It would literally save hundreds of lives a year by lowering illegal boat passages.
- The program would promote the rule of law in the Dominican Republic

and the United States. It would undercut the big criminal business of human trafficking, a business that undermines Dominican law enforcement integrity and often works alongside narcotics trafficking. Once in the U.S., all participants would have to remain gainfully employed, out of jail, off public assistance and current in their U.S. tax payments, or they would forfeit their bonds.

- It would offer excellent U.S. public diplomacy opportunities, such as yearly graduation ceremonies for returning participants involving the U.S. ambassador.

- This approach would complement other temporary worker programs, like those targeting specific job skills, as well as our program for green card/legal permanent residence visas. It would also complement efforts to

secure our borders, which raise the cost of illegal entry and, thus, also the attractiveness of this legal alternative.

No Plan Is Perfect

There are, of course, some drawbacks to the idea, as well. The chief one is the fact that many participants will overstay and forfeit their bonds. Even so, a high overstay rate would raise more money for development and could be brought down by raising the bond. In addition, such individuals would already be fingerprinted, a big plus over most illegal immigrants.

In addition, bonds, such as those associated with tourist visas, are generally seen as distasteful, demeaning and difficult to administer. However, a bond that offered new opportunity specifically tied to development would be more politically acceptable, both in the U.S. and overseas.

Let me emphasize that this program should not be used as a new vehicle for importing skilled labor, which can be addressed through existing means. Accordingly, additional bond requirements for higher salaries above certain levels might be necessary.

Albert Einstein quipped, "I never think of the future — it comes soon enough." Twenty years from now, will we still be mired in today's immigration debate? Addressing illegal immigration will take time and a multifaceted approach, with some carrot and some stick. There are no simple solutions. Still, a new visa category that integrates foreign assistance and immigration objectives could be part of a compromise in today's polarized debate. ■

David Searby, a Foreign Service officer since 1988, has served in Santo Domingo, Rome and Mexico City. He is currently desk officer for the Dominican Republic. The views expressed in this article are the author's own.

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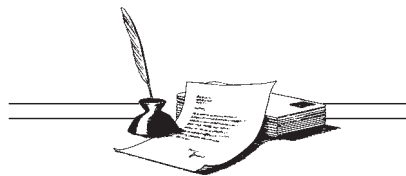
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LETTER FROM THE EDITOR

BY STEVEN ALAN HONLEY

Happy holidays! Once again it's time for my periodic invitation to take advantage of the many opportunities to contribute to the *Journal*.

Occasionally friends will tell me that while they enjoy reading the magazine, they wonder why we decided to devote an entire issue to a topic that they don't find particularly relevant or interesting. But somehow, I don't think anybody will feel that way about this month's focus on the Middle East and, specifically, the Israeli-Palestinian dispute!

Of course, that is not to say that our treatment of this thorny subject will satisfy everyone; in fact, I'd be willing to bet it won't. But as always, we have tried to put together a range of commentaries and analyses from a variety of perspectives, including several contributions by authors from the region. So whatever your stance, we hope you will at least find our coverage thought-provoking.

I also hope you will share your reactions, positive and negative, not only to this issue but to what you read every month, by contributing to our **Letters** section. Just bear in mind that, as with all periodicals, the briefer and more focused your letter, the more likely we'll be able to print it in full. (In general, 200 to 400 words is a good target.)

Each issue of the *Journal* features a **focus section** examining various facets of an issue related to the Foreign Service or international affairs. We commission most of these

There are many ways you can share your insights in our pages. Let us hear from you.



articles, but warmly welcome contributions from FS personnel.

On the next page you will find a list of the focus topics our Editorial Board has identified for the coming year (subject, of course, to revision). Most of these themes relate directly to Foreign Service professional and lifestyle issues, so I hope many of you will consider sharing your insights and expertise.

Do note, however, that because of our lead time for publication, and the requirement for Editorial Board approval, we need to receive submissions at least two months (and preferably longer) prior to the issue's release date. Thus, we have already lined up authors for the January and February issues, but there is still time to submit manuscripts for later months. Submissions should generally be between 2,000 and 3,000 words, though shorter pieces are always welcome.

If those choices don't grab you, or if you feel we have not devoted enough space to a professional concern or functional issue, please con-

sider writing a **feature** article (also generally 2,000-3,000 words long) on a topic of your choice.

Our annual **fiction** contest is now in its second decade. As we did this summer, instead of devoting an entire issue to it (as in past years), we will publish the *winning* story in the July-August 2007 double issue, and the runners-up in other issues throughout the year, space permitting.

The rules and timing are basically the same as before, with one important exception. Entrants are still restricted to *one* story of 3,000 words or less, which must be e-mailed to *Journal* Business Manager Andrew Kidd at kidd@afsa.org. However, the deadline for submissions is now **March 1** (not April 1 as in past years). For more details, see the ads elsewhere in this and the next several issues, or contact Andrew directly.

We invite those of you who expect to publish a book between now and next fall to send us a copy, along with promotional materials, for inclusion in our annual compilation of recently published books by Foreign Service-affiliated authors, "In Their Own Write." **Sept. 1** is still the deadline for inclusion in that roundup, which will run in November as our main feature. For more information, contact Senior Editor Susan Maitra at maitra@afsa.org.

Share Your Insights

We take seriously our mission to give you "news you can use" — e.g.,

LETTER FROM THE EDITOR



information about how to advance your career; tips on dealing effectively with the bureaucracy at State and the other foreign affairs agencies, especially when you are trying to resolve a problem; and updates on how AFSA is working to improve working and living conditions for Foreign Service employees and their families.

Much of that coverage is found, of course, within the pages of **AFSA News** (now part of the magazine's "white pages"). That section offers many different ways for members to share their experiences, thoughts and concerns regarding professional issues, including the following departments: Family Member Matters, Of Special-

***The Speaking Out
department is your
forum to advocate
policy, regulatory or
statutory changes to the
Foreign Service.***

(ist) Concern (a forum for specialists), Where to Retire, The System and You, Memo of the Month and The

Lighter Side (FS humor). Contact *Journal* Associate Editor Shawn Dorman for more information at dorman@afsa.org.

Another place to look for such items is our periodic **FS Know-How** section. We welcome contributions on topics ranging from managing one's career and cutting red tape to parlaying one's professional skills in retirement, as well as financial information and guidance for Foreign Service personnel.

There are many other ways you can contribute to our pages, of course. The **Speaking Out** department is your forum to advocate policy, regulatory or statutory changes to the Foreign Service. These columns (approximately 1,500 words long) can be based on personal experience with an injustice or offer insights into a foreign affairs-related issue.

Our **Reflections** page features short commentaries (approximately 600 words long) based on personal experiences while living or traveling overseas. These submissions should center on insights gained as a result of interactions with other cultures, rather than being descriptive "travel pieces." Note that we are also pleased to consider poetry and photographs for publication, either in that section or as freestanding features.

Please note that all submissions to the *Journal* must be approved by our Editorial Board and are subject to editing for style, length and format. For information on how to submit a column, article or letter, please contact us at authors@afsa.org; we will be delighted to respond. For other inquiries — changes of address, subscriptions, etc. — e-mail us at journal@afsa.org.

Let us hear from you. ■

FOREIGN SERVICE JOURNAL 2007 EDITORIAL CALENDAR

JANUARY	"Best & Worst Posts" survey (cover story)
FEBRUARY	Prospects for Bush administration foreign policy in final two years
MARCH	Militarization of the FS (Iraq War's impact) (PLUS: AFSA Annual Report)
APRIL	Russia
MAY	The FS career life-cycle
JUNE	Iran (PLUS: semiannual SCHOOLS SUPPLEMENT)
JULY/AUGUST	Promoting nonproliferation: controlling WMDs & delivery systems (PLUS: Summer fiction winner(s) and AFSA Award winners)
SEPTEMBER	Human Rights & the "Global War on Terror"
OCTOBER	The U.S. borders (Mexico & Canada posts and related issues)
NOVEMBER	Non-foreign affairs agencies at overseas posts (PLUS: "In Their Own Write"—annual roundup of books by FS authors)
DECEMBER	Religion and diplomacy (PLUS: semiannual SCHOOLS SUPPLEMENT)

THE HOLY LAND: CAN PEACE BE RESCUED?



Adam Niklewicz

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THE U.S. COULD, IF IT WISHED, BREAK THE IMPASSE AND HELP ISRAELIS AND PALESTINIANS MAKE PEACE. SO SAYS A VETERAN FSO AND MIDDLE EAST HAND.

BY PHILIP C. WILCOX JR.

he Israeli-Palestinian struggle over the Holy Land, which has attracted more obsessive attention and defied a solution longer than any major conflict of the past century, is the story of two victims. The Jews were the victim of historic Christian anti-Semitism that brought forth Zionism, the quest for a state for the Jews in their ancient homeland. The Nazi era and the Holocaust made the Zionist cause even more urgent, and led to the 1948 war and the birth of Israel. The Palestinians, many of whom were dispossessed and fled the war, were the other victim.

It is not surprising that neither the Jews, given their past suffering and desperation after Hitler's war, nor the Palestinians, who had no responsibility for Jewish suffering at the hands of Westerners, but nevertheless lost their homeland, felt any empathy for each other. It is tragic, nevertheless, that the passage of time has done so little to heal these historic wounds and that the rest of the world, especially the United States, has allowed this dreadful situation to fester. And it is ironic that today the prospects for peace are still distant, even as the outline of a two-state solution, the only way to meet the core needs of both societies, has become clear.

There are many reasons for this failure: unrelenting propaganda; dysfunctional Israeli and Palestinian politics; the huge disparity of power between them; and America's failure to serve as an even-handed peacemaker.

The Power of Propaganda

Pervasive, self-righteous propaganda and incitement — deeply embedded in the political culture of both sides — have prolonged the conflict. Each has demonized the other to justify violence and cruelty. Politicians promote fear, not reconciliation, and find obstacles to negotiations because they oppose compromise. Negative mirror images between Israelis and Palestinians and, especially, terrible mutual violence have devastated hopes for peace in both societies.

In recent years, Israeli historians, using newly opened archives, have debunked some well-worn totems of Israel's idealized national narrative. They have established, for example, that 750,000 Palestinians were driven out by Israeli forces in the 1948 war, or fled in fear of their lives, and that their "voluntary" departure in response to Arab radio broadcasts is a myth. And they have established that ideology and territorial expansion, rather than peace, have sometimes motivated Israel's policy. More recently, Israeli and other analysts have challenged the notion that Yasser Arafat wrecked the Oslo peace process by rejecting a "gener-

ous offer" at Camp David in 2000 in favor of armed struggle. Nevertheless, Israel's patriotic myths are deeply entrenched and constantly recycled.

Israel's political culture exalts military power and deterrence as the key to security, and devalues negotiations and compromise. The Israel Defense Forces is the country's most powerful institution in shaping public opinion and national security policy. The IDF's iconic status and the country's overblown faith in force are understandable, given the Jews' historic powerlessness, the Holocaust and seven wars in the last 58 years. But pervasive propaganda has also reinforced a sense of permanent siege, notwithstanding Israel's military pre-eminence and nuclear monopoly in the region.

Israelis' self-righteous narrative of exclusive victimization and exaggerated belief in force have made it more difficult to deal realistically with their Palestinian neighbors. The occupation and settlement of territories conquered in 1967 has produced deep intellectual and moral confusion over the character of Zionism and the Israeli state. Propaganda has obscured the injustice of settlements in the territories and continued denial of genuine Palestinian self-determination. "Security" is cited to justify violations of international law and basic Jewish values, and to protect Israel's self-image as a humane, democratic country.

Historically, unrelieved occupation of an unwilling people has always bred violent rebellion. Yet many Israelis do not grasp the link between terrorism and military occupation, settlements and denial of human rights. Politicians and the media still preach that Palestinian violence stems from hatred of the Jews and rejection of Israel, even after most Palestinians and the Arab states have abandoned rejection of Israel in favor of a two-state peace.

Palestinians are also deeply self-absorbed with their victimization and, like the Israelis, they too easily surrender to pathologies of martyrdom and revenge. Their political culture seldom accepts responsibility for dysfunctional organization, internal fragmentation and other historic failures, and tends to blame everything on Israel. Some Palestinians, like President Mahmoud Abbas, condemn terrorism and recognize its brutalizing effect. Yet many young Palestinians still cling to the fantasy that Israel will ultimately yield to violence. Too few understand the devastating effect of terrorism in feeding negative Israeli and worldwide stereotypes of

Ambassador Philip C. Wilcox Jr. was a Foreign Service officer from 1966 to 1997. Among his many assignments, he was director for Israeli and Arab-Israeli affairs, consul general in Jerusalem and ambassador-at-large for counterterrorism. He is currently president of the Foundation for Middle East Peace.

Palestinians and diverting attention from the justice of their cause.

Two Divided Societies

Another reason for the stalemate is the fact that radical minorities on both sides wield disproportionate power that blocks effective majorities and cripples peacemaking. In Israel, the influence of extremist and religious factions is inflated by a parliamentary system that allows the election of members from many small parties, including ultra-orthodox Jews and messianic Religious Zionists who support settlements. The results are unstable coalitions or “national unity” governments like Prime Minister Ehud Olmert’s current Kadima-led coalition. Held hostage by minorities, governments have been unable to act decisively on issues of territory and peace, and the few that have attempted it have collapsed.

Most of Israel’s impressive intellectual and cultural elite understand the corrosive effects of occupation. They support a wide variety of human rights and peace groups, and produce the most trenchant and authoritative criticism of Israeli policy. Moreover, repeated polls suggest that a majority of Israelis, on the conceptual level, want peace, oppose settlements and support a negotiated two-state solution in return for real peace.

Paradoxically, however, at election time Israelis’ support for peace is often trumped by security fears. For the majority, the lesson of the failed Oslo process, the 2000-2004 intifada and the recent Lebanon war, constantly reinforced by politicians and generals, is that Israel can only rely on force, since “there is no Palestinian partner.” Thus far, the peace camp has been unable to persuade electoral majorities that negotiations and peace are a realistic alternative.

Palestinian politics are also deeply divided and dysfunctional. The main fault line lies between Fatah and Hamas, but there are many smaller secular and Islamist factions. As in other subject societies and emerging polities, Palestinian institutions are weak, for lack of experience and opportunity. Except for a few years during the Oslo era, Israeli policy has worked against Palestinian self-government and democracy. Arafat’s authoritarian style and lack of coherent strategy also took a toll.

Israel’s policy today of maintaining its occupation of the

Radical minorities on both sides wield disproportionate power that blocks effective majorities and cripples peacemaking.

West Bank and opposing the newly elected Hamas government, bodes ill for Palestinian institutional development. The IDF has taken charge, de facto, of security in the West Bank, and Palestinian civil government hardly functions. Onerous controls over internal movement and the separation barrier block trade. And the cutoff of Western aid and Israel’s withholding of tax revenues owed to Palestinians in order to undermine Hamas have accelerated poverty and

institutional breakdown.

In this environment, armed factions have filled the vacuum. Fractious and disorderly, the Palestinian political system is ill-equipped to make major decisions about peace with Israel and to win public support for hard choices. President Abbas and Hamas Prime Minister Ismail Haniyeh have called for a national unity government of technocrats with a nonpartisan prime minister, hoping to restore aid and restart negotiations. But as of this writing, this has not been implemented, Hamas/Fatah violence continues, and Israel and the U.S. have offered little encouragement.

“Peace Process” Versus Peace

Since 1991, the American concept of peacemaking has been a process of dialogue, negotiations and “confidence building.” Washington has served as a go-between, but has seldom offered clear American policy views on the big issues of settlements, borders, Jerusalem and refugees. The exception was the “Clinton parameters” offered in December 2000 to rescue the dying Oslo process after the collapse of the Camp David Summit in July. Both sides accepted these, although with reservations, and Israeli and Palestinian negotiators fleshed them out at Taba in January 2001. But this tentative agreement was soon mooted by the election of Ariel Sharon, a proponent of force, and the inauguration of George W. Bush.

The 1993 Oslo Declaration was little more than promises for mutual recognition, an end to violence, and negotiations over six years. Its failure confirmed that a process without strong third-party mediation and an agreed definition of peace cannot work. The Oslo process contained no such agreement and the two sides had very different expectations. Israel assumed it could keep most

settlements and all of Jerusalem, and that the Palestinians would accept a shrunken quasi-state. But the Palestinians expected evacuation of all settlements, full sovereignty within the 1949 armistice line and a capital in East Jerusalem. The Oslo process also failed because of deep political divisions on both sides that deprived Arafat and Rabin — and later Peres and Barak — of strong negotiating mandates.

The lack of an agreed destination and internal disunity helped extremists on both sides wreck the process. Israel aggressively expanded settlements; suicide bombings by radical Islamists violated the Palestinians' promise to halt violence; and the IDF imposed repressive new policies in the name of security. The result was a devastating loss of mutual confidence in peace.

It was naïve to expect that Israelis and Palestinians could make peace by themselves, given the huge disparity of power between them, without strong, even-handed U.S. mediation. Yet the U.S. withheld vigorous mediation and policy proposals of its own until December 2000, when Clinton offered his "parameters." But it was too late. Nor was the U.S. an honest broker. As Aaron Miller, the deputy U.S. negotiator, acknowledged in 2005: "Far too often, we functioned ... as Israel's lawyer."

America's Failure

Why has America, notwithstanding its great power, been unable to summon the diplomatic leadership and even-handedness needed to help resolve this conflict? For years, it has been widely believed, although seldom discussed in public, that an "Israel lobby" has discouraged U.S. policies that could make peace and protect American interests. The now-famous essay on this lobby in the March 2006 issue of the *London Review of Books* by Professors John Mearsheimer and Stephen Walt — who, quoting *Salon*, describe it as the "elephant in the living room" — has provoked shrill criticism, including charges of anti-Semitism. But it has also opened up useful public debate.

It is no secret to U.S. officials, legislators and the media that well-funded, dedicated groups like the American Israel Public Affairs Committee have often succeeded in discouraging official or media criticism of Israel and the adoption of U.S. policies at odds with Israel's. These groups often do so by conflating criticism of Israeli policy with hostility to Israel and Zionism, stifling debate and strengthening the conviction that any criticism of Israeli

policy is politically dangerous, if not suicidal.

The passionate efforts of some American Jewish groups to protect Israel from criticism reflect genuine fears, based on Jewish history, that even well-meaning criticism, if it becomes widespread, might bring latent anti-Semitism out of the woodwork and weaken American support that Israel needs. Mention of the lobby also evokes memories of old anti-Semitic canards about "Jewish power." Others fervently reject any criticism of Israeli policy because it threatens their belief system that idealizes Israel as something exceptional and above criticism.

But the Israel lobby is hardly the only reason for America's lopsided alliance with Israel. Many Americans feel a strong affinity for Israel because of the Bible, the "Judeo-Christian" cultural tradition and remorse over the Holocaust. There is also a powerful fundamentalist Christian lobby that views Israel as the prophetic vehicle for the second coming of Christ. These forces are strong, especially in the absence of historic American connections with, and much suspicion and ignorance toward, Arabs and Muslims.

Some conservatives argue that Israel is a strategic military ally, although the case for this was never strong and faded after the Cold War. Also, some Americans reject the view that terrorism against Israel is a response, ugly but predictable, to the prolonged denial of Palestinian self-determination, and believe America must stand uncritically with Israel in a "war on terrorism."

Contrary to conventional wisdom, the United States, if it wished, *could* break the current impasse and help Israelis and Palestinians make peace, notwithstanding the obstacles that have crippled policy in the past. The substance of a comprehensive peace plan is already clear. In over 20 years of unofficial and official negotiations before 2001, Israeli and Palestinian experts found mutually acceptable answers to almost all final-status issues. (There is less consensus on Jerusalem and refugees, though solutions for these issues are not beyond reach.)

The essence of an overall solution is found in the still-born Clinton parameters of late 2000, the Taba talks of January 2001 and the citizen-led Geneva Accords of 2003. In short, a workable plan would include an end to most settlements, with some border changes and land swaps, two capitals in Jerusalem, security and economic arrangements, and a resolution of the Palestinian refugee issue (albeit one that is mostly symbolic).

Moreover, repeated polls suggest that majorities on

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both sides would support a comprehensive plan for peace if they had reason to hope peace were possible. The problem is that the same majorities have lost all hope, and neither Israeli nor Palestinian leaders have embraced such a plan. The current Israeli leadership, driven by the military and settler interests, seeks a radically different outcome with a unilaterally imposed, ersatz Palestinian state, confined by barriers in scarcely connected enclaves. Palestinian policies have been ambiguous, and the new Hamas government seems to have no clear policy except sticking fast to non-recognition of Israel and the right to armed resistance, although it continues to support a ceasefire and has authorized President Abbas to negotiate.

The Path to Peace

A U.S. peace initiative, with a firm commitment by the president, that sponsored new negotiations based on solutions already proposed by Israelis and Palestinians could have a dramatic effect on the politics and psychology of both sides if skillfully designed, presented with compassion for both, and pursued firmly and patiently. To be

sure, such a plan would be bitterly opposed at the outset by right-wing Israeli leaders and by influential conservative Jewish and Christian elements here at home. It would therefore require stamina, an extended horizon for success, and a skilled effort to build a strong American and international peace constituency.

To succeed, an American peace plan should propose solutions not only for the core Israeli-Palestinian issue, but for Israel's conflicts with Syria and Lebanon as well. Israel's recent disastrous war with Lebanon has underscored the indivisibility of these three conflicts. Such a bold American initiative could ease our disengagement from Iraq and encourage support from the Arab world for that process. A comprehensive approach could also help neutralize the challenge from Iran and establish a more rational U.S.-Iranian relationship.

To create a domestic foundation for a new Middle East policy, the president should engage and seek to empower, especially, liberal Zionist groups and unaffiliated Jews who support peace and may well constitute, contrary to conventional wisdom, a "silent" American Jewish majority.



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No U.S. president has ever tried this, mistakenly assuming that groups like AIPAC speak for most American Jews. Such a strategy would also reach out to peaceminded Israeli political groups and leaders, whom Washington has ignored in recent years.

Success for a new American initiative would also require strong international support, especially from the Arab world, and endorsement by the U.N. The plan might incorporate parts of President Bush's Middle East Road Map, as a preliminary phase to precede talks to implement the plan's larger vision for a final-status peace. The 2002 Arab League offer to make peace with Israel in return for liberation of the Palestinians should also be built in, and a distinguished, full-time envoy would be needed.

The underlying strategy would be to mobilize support, over time, from the majority of Israelis and Palestinians by offering renewed hope with a bold plan that meets both peoples' most fundamental needs. It would rest on expectations that Israelis and Palestinians, who are deeply weary of conflict, would ultimately support such a plan in their self-interest, and would, if necessary, oblige their leaders to do likewise or give way to others.

The American message would reflect the compelling but little-understood reality that such a comprehensive plan would be pro-Israel and pro-Palestine, since the fundamental interests of both sides — Israelis' need for peace and security in a democratic, Jewish state, and Palestinians' demand for freedom and justice in a state of their own — are absolutely interdependent. Majorities on both sides understand this equation, but have lost hope it can be achieved. With convincing American leadership, both could embrace it.

The Stakes Are High

Conventional political wisdom today holds that the situation is not "ripe" for a bold U.S. initiative; it would collapse amidst a fire storm of opposition, embarrassing the U.S. and creating deeper cynicism about peace. In fact, this conflict is never "ripe" for a solution. It becomes worse as time passes, and efforts to manage it by working on its margins have always failed. Moreover, the gravity of the situation calls for an audacious change in policy. Even if the U.S. did not succeed after persistent efforts, it would win stature and respect for a wise and courageous new policy.

Israel, 58 years after its founding, is still struggling to

define itself and Zionism. The choices seem clear. Will Israel abandon the ill-fated adventure with occupation and settlement begun after 1967 to become a state at peace with its neighbors and the world? Or will it be a besieged, garrison state, in strategic retreat notwithstanding its nuclear weapons, burdened by a chronic, violent rebellion, and beset with a new anti-Semitism, especially in the Arab and Muslim worlds, that confuses Judaism with Israeli policy? Will Israel sacrifice its goal of becoming a peaceful state, based on universal and Jewish values, for an impossible project of defeating and colonizing its Palestinian neighbors, who in a matter of decades will outnumber Israeli Jews?

Israel has been unable to make this choice, and the settler movement — the nation's most united, dynamic political group — although a minority, continues to prevail by default. The U.S., which proclaims its eternal support for Israel's security and well-being, should help Israel escape from this trap, instead of indulging it in self-destructive policies. That is what friends are for.

Likewise, if America is serious about democracy, human rights and its own principles of justice and freedom, it must also help rescue the Palestinians. Like the Jews, they, too, are victims and deserve freedom and dignity in a state of their own.

Time is short. Some analysts say that the settlements — "facts on the ground" — have already created an irreversible Arab-Jewish entity and advocate a single secular, democratic state. But the one-state formula would likely bring further decades of communal conflict, not peace. Zionism is based on deep historical forces, and the Jewish people will not abandon it. Nor do most Palestinians wish to forgo the dream of a state of their own and face further decades of strife and misery, although today some, in despair, are reverting to the one-state concept.

Most important, the U.S. owes its own citizens a new policy to resolve a conflict that endangers American national security. The continuation of the Israeli-Palestinian struggle and the well-grounded perception that Washington defers to Israeli policy have done more than anything else to inflame anti-American hostility among Arabs and Muslims. At a time when regaining the confidence and respect of people in those volatile regions that now breed terrorism is critical, and when nuclear proliferation poses another ominous threat, resolving the Israeli-Palestinian conflict should be an urgent strategic priority for the U.S. ■

BITTERLEMONS.ORG AND THE LEBANON WAR



LAUNCHED IN 2001 WITH U.S. SUPPORT,
THIS INNOVATIVE PROJECT PROMOTES JOINT,
WEB-BASED ISRAELI-PALESTINIAN DIALOGUE.

BY YOSSE ALPHER

O

n the regional map that emerged in early 2006, Israel faced militant and aggressive Islamist movements on two fronts, in Lebanon and Gaza. Both Hezbollah and Hamas are combinations of militia, terrorist band and political party, the latter enfranchised by recent democratic reform schemes for the region. Backed by Iran and its client state, Syria, both reject Israel's very existence, refuse to negotiate with it, and feed on failed or weak Arab political entities.

Within a few short weeks in late June and early July of this year, both movements carried out acts of war against Israel, invading its territory to kill and abduct members of the Israel Defense Forces. The IDF responded with a prolonged air and ground counterattack. In mid-August, a ceasefire ended more than a month's fighting between Israel and Hezbollah, after which a United Nations force, known as UNIFIL II, was introduced under U.N. Security Council Resolution 1701. As of early November, low-level conflict continued between Israel and Hamas, and with other militants in the Gaza Strip.

All these developments, and more, that took place during and after the war constituted the weekly fare of *bitterlemons.org*, a joint Israeli-Palestinian Web-based dialogue project launched in 2001 with considerable support from the State Department's Wye River People-to-People Program. Produced and co-edited by the author together with Ghassan Khatib (see p. 29), a former Palestinian Authority minister, *bitterlemons* is unique in several respects: for having some 100,000 well-placed readers in the region and beyond, for the coverage its articles receive from Web and print media, and for its format.

Rather than looking for agreement on the issues and risk narrowing its readership to the peace camp niche, *bitterlemons* thrives on diversity, airing views that range from Hamas to the settlers. Every week Khatib and I select a new topic of controversy; each addresses it in op-ed format, and each solicits an op-ed by a compatriot with different views. Because the two of us agree on little beyond the need for *bitterlemons* and the way to run it smoothly, the result is usually four very different views on the issue at hand.

Fallout from the War

What, then, are we trying to prove? That political antagonists can deal with their differences in a civilized manner. That is the *bitterlemons* message. In this article we shall briefly review the key strategic developments of the immediate postwar situation, then examine how *bitterlemons* dealt with them.

One important and almost immediate Palestinian-

Yossi Alpher is co-editor of the bitterlemons family of Internet publications. He is a former director of the Jaffee Center for Strategic Studies at Tel Aviv University and a former senior adviser to Israeli Prime Minister Ehud Barak.

related corollary to the fighting in Lebanon and Gaza was the shelving by Prime Minister Ehud Olmert of his plan to withdraw unilaterally from parts of the West Bank. Israel felt it had been attacked unprovoked across two internationally recognized boundaries after having withdrawn unilaterally across them; this called into question at least the Gaza model of withdrawing both the settlements and the army without prior agreement with a viable Palestinian government.

In both the Israeli and Palestinian arenas, some of the ramifications of the Lebanon ceasefire appeared to be negative, both militarily and politically, while a few seemed to open prospects for possible new diplomatic departures.

United Nations Security Council Resolution 1701 at least temporarily ended the fighting. After some initial international fumbling, Italian, French and other forces began to arrive in the south, and Israel was able to withdraw its troops from southern Lebanon and end its embargo of Lebanese ports. Hezbollah's leadership was contrite, Lebanon's forceful. At least in these early stages, 1701 appeared to be working.

Yet, despite the enthusiasm of some European leaders who volunteered their troops for UNIFIL II in Lebanon, 1701 is a problematic model for an Israeli-Palestinian ceasefire in Gaza. In Lebanon, an international force was introduced to support a weak government that at least had good intentions, even as it feared the consequences of complying with U.N. demands to disarm Hezbollah. A similar measure in Gaza would support an even weaker — but also extremist — Hamas government that is boycotted by the international community. Nor is the geography of tiny, overpopulated Gaza conducive to deploying international forces on a large scale to create a buffer zone. Finally, non-U.N. forces, such as the U.S.-led Multi-national Force and Observers on the Sinai Peninsula and the European Union monitors in Gaza, appear to have a greater chance of success in the Israel-Arab context than U.N. forces like UNIFIL, whether enhanced or not.

On the other hand, Israel's military achievements in Gaza (Qassam rocket firings were radically reduced; large numbers of militants were killed, against few Israeli casualties) and the prospect of a ceasefire and prisoner exchange agreement appeared to obviate the immediate need for anything but humanitarian international intervention there. Nor did Israeli forces reoccupy Gaza as they did, however briefly, southern Lebanon. In other words,

Holding Israel Responsible

By Ghassan Khatib

In recent years, Israeli positions and practices vis-à-vis Palestinians and the Arab-Israeli conflict at large have been responsible for the process of regional political and ideological radicalization.

Over the last few decades, Palestinians and Arabs have come a long way toward reaching a historic compromise. They have accepted the outline of an end to the conflict — recognition of Israel within the pre-1967 borders — despite the fact that this solution compromises the basic historical, political and national rights of Palestinians. In return for an end to the illegal Israeli military occupation of the West Bank, including East Jerusalem and the Gaza Strip, Arab countries unanimously endorsed such a compromise at a 2002 summit.

These changing attitudes enabled Palestinians and Israelis, with the help of the international community, to begin the Madrid peace process in 1991. This culminated in the signing of the Oslo agreement two years later, which instituted interim arrangements lasting five years, to be followed by an end to the conflict on the basis of the land-for-peace formula.

Toward the end of the 1990s, particularly after the 1995 assassination of Israeli Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin, significant changes occurred in the Israeli political landscape. Israeli public opinion manifested itself in positions and practices that left Palestinians and the Arabs with the sense that Israel had not yet reached the maturity required to end its illegal occupation, which has been the conflict's main provocation and the source of 39 years of humiliation and suffering for the Palestinian people.

The single most decisive aspect of ongoing Israeli policies that contribute to this shared Palestinian and Arab conclusion has been nonstop Israeli expansion of illegal Jewish settlements inside the occupied territories, alongside construction of the Israeli separation wall, which all too often has been routed through Palestinian land rather than on the 1967 borders.

Settlement expansion policies are incompatible with the peace process, because they consolidate rather than end the occupation. Nor are they easily reversed. Settlements create facts on the ground that prejudice the

borders of a two-state solution, the main vision of peace shared by those interested in ending this conflict.

The failure of the peace process culminated after the death of former Palestinian President Yasser Arafat and the election of President Mahmoud Abbas. Abu Mazen, as he is generally known, was elected by a clear majority in order to achieve through peaceful means the legitimate Palestinian aspirations of ending the occupation and attaining independence. But during the year of Abu Mazen's presidency, between Arafat's absence and the election of Hamas, he and the peace camp that he represents were completely abandoned by Israel and the United States. This further contributed to the radicalization of public opinion in Palestine and the region.

Israeli collective punishment, specifically "closure" policies and movement restrictions on people and goods between various Palestinian areas, have been recognized by the World Bank and other international agencies as being the primary cause of ongoing economic deterioration and unprecedented poverty. Many independent studies have tied political radicalization to increases in poverty.

But this Palestinian account is far less liable to reach the eyes and ears of those interested in achieving a balanced understanding of the conflict. As such, *bitterlemons.org* has created a unique opportunity for both concerned individuals and groups outside the region to gain greater understanding. Its contributors write and are interviewed separately by each side's editor, allowing them to present their views as complete viewpoints, rather than as reactions to the ideas of others. As such, perspectives are presented without compromise or the approval of the "other side." This is the truly unprecedented aspect of *bitterlemons*, one made possible by the landless arena of cyberspace and the commitment of its readers and creators.

Ghassan Khatib, co-editor of the bitterlemons family of Internet publications, is a former Palestinian Authority Cabinet minister. He is a lecturer in cultural studies at Birzeit University and director of the Jerusalem Media and Communications Center.

from Israel's standpoint an internationally mandated ceasefire was not needed in Gaza, and in any case probably would not work even as well as in Lebanon because of the ideological positions of the Hamas government.

Broadly speaking, it was not at all clear whether a war fought by Israel in Lebanon to restore its deterrent profile actually did so. This could have negative repercussions for the way Palestinian militants view Israel. The most obvious example is the failure of Resolution 1701 to return Israel's two abducted soldiers from Lebanon; this hardly boded well for a resolution of the hostage affair in Gaza on terms congenial to Israel. More important was the warning by senior Israeli security officials that Hamas would now redouble its efforts to obtain a rocket arsenal similar to that deployed so effectively by Hezbollah in Lebanon. This put the focus on Egypt, which has undertaken to stop arms smuggling into Gaza from the Sinai Peninsula.

Yet Palestinian militants in Gaza were also aware that Israel could do far more damage to the Gazan infrastructure than it had actually done. They expressed apprehension lest Israel "take out its frustrations" from its latest Lebanon experience by stepping up its attacks on Gaza, where the humanitarian situation was disastrous. All this appeared to have raised hope for forming some sort of unity or technocratic government in the Palestinian Authority that might conceivably restore lines of communication between the PA and Israel and the West.

Cause for Optimism?

Optimists hoped that a successful prisoner exchange deal with Hamas would pave the way for a Palestinian unity government that increased stability and moderation, maintained a ceasefire and ushered in a peace process. But this was hardly a necessary chain of events. Equally, if not more, likely, stalemate and anarchy in Palestine could generate new military and terrorist escalation or the collapse of the Palestinian Authority — eventualities that would benefit neither Palestinians nor Israelis.

Some on the Israeli left and in the Arab world called for the 1991 Madrid Peace Conference to be reconvened, or some other multilateral process invoked, as a means of using the outcome of this war to leverage a renewed political process. But Madrid followed an American-led military triumph that ostensibly ushered in a regional Pax Americana, which in turn helped generate a peace process. In contrast, the United States' involvement in Iraq was not seen as bringing stability to the region, and

the Lebanon conflict ended without a decisive victory for either side.

Certainly no new American initiative appeared likely until after the November 2006 midterm elections. Even then, Washington's heavy commitments regarding Iraq and Iran, and the Bush administration's reluctance to engage intensively in the Israeli-Palestinian conflict, appear to preclude a major U.S. move. On the other hand, the United Nations, the European Union and the moderate Arab states all appeared to be increasingly resolved to try to do something after Lebanon on the Palestinian front as well. The March 2002 Arab League peace plan was revived and Saudi Arabia, Egypt and Jordan all evinced a desire to facilitate movement on the Israeli-Palestinian front as a means of leveraging better Arab-Western-Israeli coordination against the looming Iranian threat that many believe fostered Hezbollah's performance in Lebanon. The United States, part of the Middle East Quartet (along with the European Union, Russia and the United Nations), supported this general direction.

Israel appears to be increasingly comfortable with such initiatives, and to prefer an international presence on its borders with troublesome Islamist neighbors to renewing its military occupation — an option now rejected out of hand by the Israeli public. Until recently, few in Israel would have wished for an enhanced UNIFIL in Lebanon. Two years ago, few would have imagined that Egypt and the E.U. would play their current constructive role in Gaza. Strong doubts about the efficacy of occupying enemy territory and a growing readiness to accept international intervention are two very dramatic recent strategic departures for Israel.

Exploring the Issues

Bitterlemons explored these issues week after week throughout the conflict and beyond. Thus, in discussing regional ramifications of the conflict, Professor Asher Susser of Tel Aviv University wrote on July 24 that "the weakening of the Arab state has raised the profile and relevance of primordial, sectarian and religious identities, coupled with the rise of non-state actors throughout the region. The likes of Osama bin Laden, Abu Misab al-Zarqawi and his successors, and Hezbollah and Hamas, the latter now in some mode of control of the non-state of Palestine, have created a unique brand of chaotic statelessness."

Professor George Giacaman of the Palestinian Insti-

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tute for the Study of Democracy countered that the Palestinian reaction to Lebanon was “the determined attempt to reach internal [Palestinian] agreement on a package deal with the Israelis involving release of the captured soldier and an exchange of prisoners at a later date, plus a ceasefire from both sides. [This] ... seems to be the first consequence of the Lebanon escalation: first to separate the Lebanese issue from the Palestinian issue; and, second, to resolve the Gaza situation independently from the Lebanese situation.”

Looking at the fate of the Palestinian Authority in light of the war, Professor Mustafa Abu Sway of al-Quds University in East Jerusalem argued on Aug. 7 that “a growing number of Palestinian voices are calling for an end to the existence of the interim PA itself in order to force Israel to assume its responsibilities as an occupier.” Professor Gerald Steinberg of Bar-Ilan University responded with a radically different formula: “Until basic changes in Palestinian self-governance take place and a more capable and pragmatic leadership emerges,

de facto [international] trusteeship is likely to continue.”

The applicability of the international force decided on by the U.N. for Lebanon has also been the subject of a *bitterlemons* debate. Palestinian law professor Camille Mansour asserted on Sept. 18 that “any deployment of an international force would be largely impossible in the absence of political negotiations,” while former Israeli Foreign Minister Shlomo Ben-Ami responded that, to the contrary, “the solution to the Israeli-Palestinian conflict will have to come from the international community, or there will be no solution at all.”

The rest of the Arab world commented on the war and its ramifications in the virtual pages of *bitterlemons-international*, Alpher and Khatib’s companion Webzine that pits diverse views on broader Middle East issues from throughout the region against each other. Egypt’s Abdel Monem Said Aly, who heads the Al Ahram Strategic Studies Center, noted with satisfaction on Sept. 14 that Cairo had contributed to formulating an “ideal conclusion to the [Lebanon] crisis,” which was to have “neither win-

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ners nor losers.” Professor Soli Ozel of Bilgi University in Turkey explained why the government in Ankara opted to contribute forces to UNIFIL II despite the public’s misgivings. Nawaf Obaid of the Saudi National Security Assessment Project acknowledged that “the actual extent of the damage is now being realized, as is the fact that Hezbollah will not be able to rebuild what they have promised. And the apology by Hezbollah leader Hassan Nasrallah for the war was a big change in the perception that [it] had actually been victorious.”

Lebanese think-tank director Oussama Safa, writing in late August, appeared to agree, noting “Hezbollah has, in reality, given up a major part of its ability to maneuver.” A month later another Lebanese academic, Habib C. Malik, addressed the possibility of some sort of peace process emerging from the war and noted that it really depended on more distant issues. As he wrote, “A Syrian-Israeli peace is a function of the peaceful resolution of the current impasse with Iran over the nuclear issue,” while a Lebanese-Israeli process still depended, at least in part, on

Syria. But Damascus, according to Bassma Kodmani, a Syrian who serves as executive director of the Arab Reform Initiative, was preoccupied elsewhere: “The priority today for Damascus is to be rid of the pressure from the international community regarding the Hariri investigation.”

That Saudis, Iranians, Lebanese and Syrians all contribute to the *bitterlemons* project alongside Israelis and Palestinians testifies both to the growing readiness of all parties in the Middle East to debate their views openly — and to the power of the Internet to break down “traditional” barriers of enmity and suspicion. While Khatib and I have no agreed plan for solving the Israeli-Palestinian conflict, we have found a useful formula for expanding and deepening the discussion of both causes and possible solutions. A growing number of Web practitioners who deal with the Middle East, from Syrians to Americans, have begun to copy the *bitterlemons* format for promoting free and open discussion among rivals and enemies — a very necessary step before the region’s pressing problems can be resolved. ■

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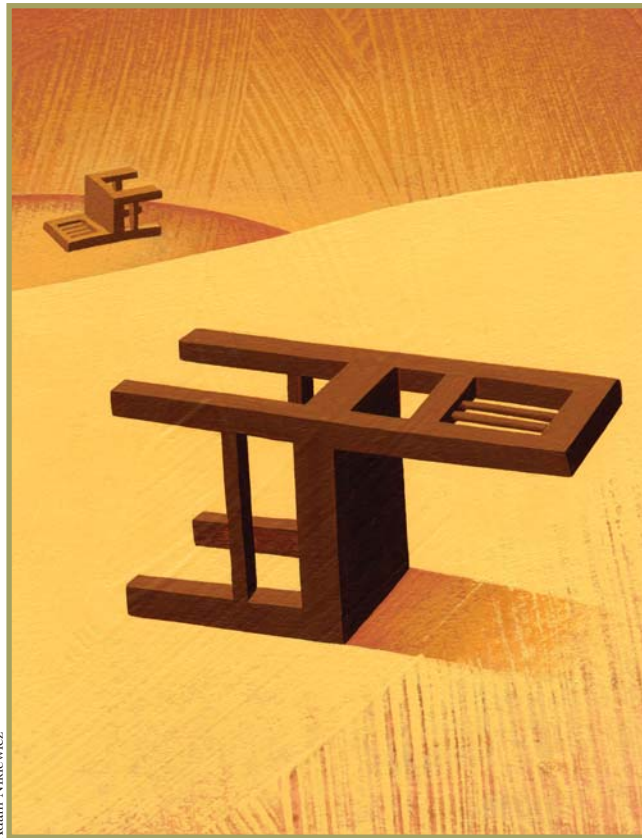
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U.S. POLICY AND THE ISRAELI-PALESTINIAN CONFLICT



Adam Niklewicz

I PRESIDENT BUSH HAS NOT HELD ISRAEL TO ACCOUNT FOR ITS FAILURE TO PURSUE PEACE WITH ITS NEIGHBORS.

BY *NADIA HIJAB*

In her speech to the American Task Force on Palestine on Oct. 11, Secretary of State Condoleezza Rice pledged her personal commitment to a Palestinian state living side by side in peace with Israel. She asserted that President George W. Bush was the first American president to make “the creation of a Palestinian state, with territorial integrity, with viability, living side by side with Israel, in peace and security” a matter of policy.

As one example of U.S. efforts to “help the Palestinian people to lay the economic foundations of a successful state,”

Rice recalled her personal involvement in reaching the 15 November 2005 Agreement on Access between Israel and the Palestinian Authority. To be sure, Rice did invest considerable political capital in securing Israeli agreement to the document. But in fact, that agreement is an illustration of what has been *wrong* with American policy to date, not a shining example of sustainable peacemaking.

The agreement provided, among other things, that:

- Israel would “on an urgent basis ... permit the export of all agricultural products from Gaza during this 2005 harvest season.”
- The Rafah, Karni, Erez and Kerem Shalom crossings would “operate continuously.”
- Bus and truck links between Gaza and the West Bank were to be facilitated.
- The U.S. and Israel were to establish a list of “obstacles” to movement within the West Bank, with a view to reducing them.
- A Gaza seaport was to be constructed and the airport was to be rebuilt.

Yet, in the end, the pact’s only tangible achievement was the posting of European Union monitors at the Rafah crossing. It did not even rescue the Palestinian harvest, which was left to rot because it could not be transported to market. And what was Washington’s response to the Israeli refusal to live up to its pledges? Nothing that made a difference on the ground.

The Gap Between Rhetoric and Reality

Today, the situation is indescribably worse than it was a year ago, in large part due to U.S. support for Israel’s actions and its imposition of sanctions on the government the Palestinians elected democratically in January 2006. The United Nations estimates that there are over 540 checkpoints in the West Bank, far more than in 2005, while the Gaza crossings are almost always closed. The U.N. has repeatedly warned of an impending humanitarian disaster in Gaza and is urging open access, as did the

Nadia Hijab is a senior fellow at the Institute for Palestine Studies and co-director of its Washington, D.C., office. The opinions in this piece are her own.

The Palestinians are now arguably further from achieving a sovereign state than at any time during the past 50 years.

European Union Council at its Sept. 15 meeting.

Severely limited access to food and medicine due to Israel’s border closures, and to safe water and electricity due to its bombing of Gaza’s power plant, has been reflected in a dramatic increase of diarrhea in children, among other health impacts. At least 68 Palestinian women have had to give birth at checkpoints, leading to 34 miscarriages and the deaths of four women.

Donations from Arab states and the European Community’s Temporary International Mechanism have done little to alleviate the desperate situation of some 160,000 Palestinian Authority employees. Around 80,000 of them, including teachers and health workers, began an open-ended strike in early September.

Meanwhile, Israel continues to arrest Palestinian politicians to force the release of a soldier captured by three Palestinian militant groups on June 25 in retaliation for the killing of a family on the Gaza beach. A third of the Cabinet, including Education Minister Nassereddin Shaer, and a quarter of the parliament, including Speaker Aziz Dweik, have been added to the more than 9,000 Palestinians in Israeli jails. Most of the detainees are West Bank Hamas moderates. Even Israeli commentators speculate that “Israel is ... seeking to eliminate every sign of sovereignty.”

The International Parliamentary Union has called on Israel to respect the “parliamentary mandate,” but the United States remains silent. And instead of easing access within, between and to the Occupied Palestinian Territories, Israel has increased restrictions on the entry of Palestinian holders of foreign passports, including U.S. citizens — an issue that Rice has also promised to address.

The Palestinians are now arguably *further* from achieving a sovereign state than at any time during the past 50 years. They could thus be forgiven for feeling considerable skepticism about U.S. policy statements, given the massive gap between stated intent and action. Nor are they alone in despairing of meaningful moves toward peace led by Washington.

Nongovernmental bodies such as the International Crisis Group are stepping into the policy breach. On

Sept. 22, the ICG launched an initiative to generate new political momentum for a comprehensive settlement of the Arab-Israeli conflict. In addition, a bipartisan group of former senior diplomats convened at the Israel Policy Forum in early October to urge the Bush administration to engage in the region.

Three Critical Errors

From a Palestinian perspective, there are three things wrong with the current administration's policy toward the conflict:

False even-handedness. U.S. policymakers deal with Israel and the Palestinians as though they were equal adversaries, ignoring the fact that Israel is the strongest military power in the region and one of the strongest in the world; it is a U.N. member-state; and it has controlled Palestinian economic, social and political development in the Occupied Territories for nearly 40 years. The Palestinians are stateless, and have lived in exile, under Israeli rule or under Israeli occupation, since Israel was created in 1948. Palestinian security forces and militias are no match for the Israeli army, as the toll of dead and wounded clearly shows.

Lack of reciprocity. Washington demands from the Palestinians results that are not demanded from the Israelis: an end to violence, recognition of past agreements and political recognition. To back up its demands, the U.S. has led the international community in imposing an economic siege on the Palestinian Authority. To be fair, Washington should push for reciprocal recognition and a mutual ceasefire.

No accountability. Israel has continued to build settlements and construct a so-called security wall on Palestinian land. It has doubled the number of Israeli settlers in the West Bank from 200,000 to 400,000 since 1993, when Israel and the Palestine Liberation Organization signed the first of a dozen painstakingly negotiated agreements.

The Israeli economic and military pressures on the Palestinian Authority predate both the current crisis and the election of Hamas. They began in the mid-1990s and escalated after the collapse of the Camp David talks and the outbreak of the second intifada in 2000. By the end of 2002, major Israeli military offensives had led to the destruction of PA security forces and severely damaged much civilian infrastructure. Yet the past two American administrations have taken no action, even though the

United States is Israel's largest donor and political supporter.

Arguably, if the U.S. had used some of its considerable leverage with Israel to support Palestinian President Mahmoud Abbas after he was elected in January 2005 — a full year before the election of Hamas — his party, Fatah, might have remained in power. However, Abbas was unable to point to any concrete benefits from any of the past peace agreements — e.g., release of some of the Palestinian prisoners in Israeli jails, an end to settlement-building in the West Bank, or greater freedom of movement. In addition, reports of American financial support for Abbas have enabled his opponents to paint him as a U.S. lackey, further undermining his already weak position.

If Rice and Bush want to achieve their personal and policy commitments in the Middle East, they will have to move beyond negotiating piecemeal agreements that are not implemented. They should instead move to promote a *comprehensive* agreement to end the conflict once and for all. Experience has shown that an incremental approach renders progress a hostage to any escalation of violence on either side.

Israeli-Palestinian accords since 1993 have been billed as a series of small confidence-building steps, but have instead perpetuated a vicious cycle: Israeli settlement-building, land confiscation and the separation barrier provoke Palestinian protests, both non-violent and violent. Those, in turn, lead to Israeli military incursions, targeted killings and closures. The result: increasing Palestinian loss of life and freedom, poverty and despair, and a constant state of war for Israel.

Missing the Signals

Against this background, the international community has ignored the signals from Hamas — both before and after it was democratically elected to head the Palestinian government — that it is willing to accept a Palestinian state side by side with Israel, and is capable of maintaining a unilateral ceasefire with Israel for months. Reinforcing that point, in mid-October Khaled Meshal, the Damascus-based head of Hamas (frequently described as a hardliner), declared on television that what Hamas wants is a Palestinian state within the 1967 borders, which constitutes an implicit recognition of Israel. Meshal pointed out that Hamas has repeatedly stated its support for this aim.

Furthermore, as Pres. Abbas and others recognize, Hamas is a deeply-rooted social and political movement. The evolution of Hamas has been carefully monitored by leading experts in the field who certainly cannot be accused of being apologists for terrorism. They include the International Crisis Group and Henry Siegman, a former executive director of the American Jewish Congress who is now a Council on Foreign Relations senior fellow. The simple fact is that Hamas is now part of the mainstream of the Palestinian political spectrum and its demands are also in the mainstream: a Palestinian state, freedom, sovereignty and the right of return for Palestinian refugees and exiles.

But instead of engaging Hamas, the Middle East Quartet (the United States, Russia, European Union and the United Nations) has focused on its inability to meet the letter of their many preconditions. In particular, the demand that Hamas unilaterally recognize Israel quickly torpedoed efforts this past September by Pres. Abbas and former Prime Minister Ismail Haniyeh to negotiate a unity government.

However — and here is the crux of this matter — Israel does not *need* Hamas' recognition. It is already a member-state of the United Nations and enjoys international recognition. And because any Palestinian state would eventually become a member-state of the U.N., it would have to deal with its fellow member-states, including Israel, in line with the U.N. Charter.

This is a reality that even some leading Israelis accept, according to Margarita Mathiopoulos, a professor of American foreign policy at the University of Potsdam. She quoted a number of former Israeli military and security officers who acknowledge that "Hamas was not likely to unequivocally recognize Israel's right to exist. But from their point of view, Israel's legitimacy and viability as a state do not rest on some grudging and insincere recognition extracted from its neighbors, but on its own military and economic power." Further, they noted that once Israeli-Palestinian borders were demarcated, it would be up to the Palestinians to police them.

For all these reasons, the best way to bolster Israel's national security would be to set up a Palestinian state, not thwart it. The most likely alternative to engagement by the U.S. is an uncontrollable situation of civil war and chaos. Attempts to support security forces that report to Abbas and Fatah against those that report to Hamas can only exacerbate the clashes between the Palestinians.

Thus, if Rice really wants to support Abbas, she will accept the compromise language he and Hamas reached in September during their negotiations on a unity government.

The Lebanon Model

Fortuitously, Israel's political disarray after its July-August invasion of Lebanon provides the Bush administration with an opening to tackle the fundamentals of the conflict with the Palestinians. The scale and intensity of the Lebanon-Israel war finally forced the international community to hammer out a ceasefire after six weeks of bloodshed. But it has yet to act on ending the bloodshed on the Israeli-Palestinian front, where conflict has raged since September 2000, with over 4,000 Palestinians and 1,000 Israelis killed and massive destruction on the Palestinian side. During a visit to Israel in August, Italian Foreign Minister Massimo D'Alema remarked that a successful international force in Lebanon could presage a similar one in Gaza, "and the presence of a U.N. force to bolster the Palestinian government." The U.S. security coordinator in the West Bank and Gaza, Maj. Gen. Keith Dayton, has also proposed international observers at the Karni crossing to prevent repeated Israeli closures.

Such measures would bring great relief to the Occupied Palestinian Territories and provide security for Israel. But beyond short-term measures, perhaps the main lesson to learn from Lebanon is the way in which it marked the limits of military power and spelled an end to unilateralism — both Israeli and American.

The explanations for Israel's decision to escalate what could have been just another border skirmish with Hezbollah into all-out war include the desire to: re-establish its image of military superiority, dented by its unilateral withdrawal from Lebanon in 2000; wipe out Hezbollah's military infrastructure, if not the movement as a whole; and eliminate the last pockets of Arab resistance — Hezbollah and Hamas — before setting Israel's final borders in the West Bank.

Israeli Prime Minister Ehud Olmert was elected in March 2006 on a platform of completing former Prime Minister Ariel Sharon's unilateral approach to the Palestinians. He pledged to follow the unilateral withdrawal from Gaza (which, however, continues to be under siege) with plans for a unilateral withdrawal from the West Bank.

Sharon believed he had secured American blessing for

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his vision of the final settlement of the conflict in his exchange of letters with Bush in 2004: no withdrawal of major Israeli settlement blocs, no return for Palestinian refugees, and maintenance of Israel's identity as a Jewish state (meaning no equal rights for more than one million citizens of Israel who are Palestinian). But after the latest fighting in Lebanon, the limits of unilateralism were exposed — neither the unilateral withdrawal from Lebanon in 2000 nor that from Gaza had brought peace. Olmert's plan for unilateral withdrawal has completely disappeared from his agenda, its absence formalized in a speech laying out his program for the coming year at the opening of the Knesset's winter session on Oct. 16, 2006.

In spite of Bush and Olmert's attempts to paint a glowing victory, Israel's own politicians and public do not

Washington deals with Israel and the Palestinians as though they were equal adversaries, which they are emphatically not.

believe its objectives were met. Several analysts and commentators argue for a different approach. Professor Mathiopolous quotes other retired army generals as saying it is "time for Israel to return the Golan Heights to Syria. The military's preference, the generals say, would be for the Heights to be ceded back to Syria but still controlled by Israel on a long-term lease. If nationalistic sentiments in Syria made such an arrangement impossible, then it should still be possible to negotiate the area's demilitarization." They further note that the conditions for peace are never going to be perfect and negotiators have to work with what they had.

Many in the region believe Hezbollah's resistance has made this a very different Middle East. Rice referred to the moderates in the region seven times in her speech at the ATFP dinner. But the new Middle East is one in

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which moderate countries will find it even harder to take pro-American positions.

Toward a Comprehensive Settlement

If the Bush administration really wants a sustainable solution in Lebanon, it will have to acknowledge the links to Syria's determination to recover the Golan, the Palestinian struggle for self-determination, and Lebanese demands that Israel respect its sovereignty. Bush may find himself finally forced to implement the second paragraph of the July 16 G-8 statement issued in St. Petersburg: "The root cause of the problems in the region is the absence of a comprehensive Middle East peace." Such a settlement will require meaningful negotiations, leading to an end to unilateralism.

The Palestinians and Arabs have been ready for peace with Israel for years. They restated this commitment in the Arab Peace Initiative launched by Saudi Arabia's then-Crown Prince Abdullah in 2002. Under the plan, they would sign a peace agreement and normalize rela-

tions with Israel if it withdraws to the 1967 borders, accepts a sovereign Palestinian state encompassing the West Bank, Gaza and East Jerusalem, and agrees to a just solution for Palestinian refugees. These are all proposals fully upheld by international law.

Indeed, the majority of people throughout the Middle East have been ready for peace for decades. There can be no doubt that the majority of the populations in Israel and in the Occupied Palestinian Territories continue to support a two-state solution: for the Palestinians, freedom, self-determination, sovereignty and the right of return; for the Israelis, peace and security; and for all, equal rights.

It will not be easy to move back from the brink of chaos, but it can still be done. In her speech Rice noted that what today seems a distant dream can become reality. Washington should support such an outcome in every possible way. If it cannot, for whatever reason, it should step aside and let others, including the Europeans, do so. ■

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THE IMPLICATIONS OF IRAQ AND ITS IMPACT ON THE REGION



THE PRESUMPTION OF U.S. MILITARY SUPERIORITY IS UNDER FIRE IN IRAQ. EVEN MORE IMPORTANT, THE WORLD MAY BEGIN TO DOUBT OUR LEADERSHIP AND RELIABILITY.

BY EDWARD WALKER

In a regional poll of Arab attitudes conducted by Zogby International in October 2005, respondents in Egypt, Saudi Arabia, Morocco, Jordan, the United Arab Emirates and Lebanon agreed by substantial pluralities that the most important factor in determining their anti-American attitude was U.S. occupation of Iraq. One major reason for this reaction is a misunderstanding of why we went into Iraq in the first place. In a separate poll Zogby and the University of Maryland conducted in May 2004, respondents averred by a substantial majority that protecting

Israel and access to oil were the two motives for U.S. intervention in Iraq. They still believe this.

The second major reason for the hostility toward our presence in Iraq is the high cost to the Iraqi people in terms of civilian casualties and the appearance that our intervention has caused a civil war. The people in the region want to see the bleeding stop, and yet all they see is the presumption of an open-ended American commitment to extend the occupation as part of a drive for hegemony in the region.

With civilian casualty counts at some of their highest levels since the war started, President Bush has made it clear that we will be in Iraq for the long haul, measured in years, not months. In his speech on Sept. 11, the president said once again: “We will not leave until the work is done.” And what is that work? “To help the Iraqi people build a democracy,” he said. This is not just a question of defeating terrorism or providing security for the Iraqi people. We are talking about nationbuilding. And nations are not built overnight. People like to refer back to the successful occupation and nationbuilding of Germany after World War II; they forget that the occupation did not end until 1955, 10 years and many man-hours later. And that was an occupation where there was little or no resistance.

Exposing a Fault Line

At the same time, our military leaders are warning about the increasing prospect of civil war in Iraq. In reality, when a moderately violent day — like the one several weeks ago, when there were “only” 20 Iraqi civilians killed — is celebrated as a good day, then we have to ask

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What the example of Iraq is doing, thus far, is to offer encouragement to radical Islamists and other terrorist wanna-bes.

ourselves if we are not already in the middle of a civil war. This war is less about al-Qaida and terrorism than about the deep religious differences that divide the Middle East. And it is this aspect of the war that can have the most far-reaching and profound consequences for us and for our friends in the region.

The United States has been a stabilizing and balancing force in the region for many years. But when we disrupted the existing balance of power in the region by toppling Saddam Hussein and breaking the Sunni hammerlock on the population of Iraq, we opened the way for Shia resurgence, as well as for the extension of Iranian influence and power in Iraq and, most recently, through Hezbollah in Lebanon. In short, we exposed a division in the Middle East centered in Iraq, hidden by the borders of an artificial state. It was the natural fault line between the Sunni and Shia that has existed for centuries — as opposed to the borders drawn by the British for the convenience of their colonial empire. This natural fracture has been pasted over, hidden and suppressed — first by colonial power and then by the repressive regime of Saddam Hussein.

The fault line is not about terrorism but rather, in the famous words of Professor Samuel Huntington, a “clash of civilizations.” But it is not the clash that Huntington foresaw between Islamic culture and Judeo-Christian culture. It is the clash *within* the Islamic civilization between the Shia and Sunni interpretations of the Koran, of Islamic history, of tradition and culture. It is also a clash between a radical, intolerant version of Islam that seeks a purity of faith that has not existed in centuries — if it ever did — and those who believe in a different, more tolerant, more modern Islam. It is also a clash of power and privilege: the result of years of second-class citizenship for the Shiite plurality in Iraq. Now it is payback time. And, finally, it is a clash of nationalism between Persian and Arab nationalities.

This is not to say that the terrorists of al-Qaida have not made use of the disintegration of security and stability in Iraq. They have. They have replaced the training grounds of Afghanistan and Sudan with the live-fire experience of Iraq. They have used Iraq to hone their tactics and develop new ways to cause American casualties.

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They are learning lessons in tactics and weapons that can be applied elsewhere against other targets, like Saudi Arabia, Jordan and Egypt. They have also used the surge of anti-American anger in the region and in expatriate communities in Europe as an effective recruiting tool. The recent release by the White House of the less damaging portions of the National Intelligence Estimate from April 2006 reinforces the argument that our continuing occupation is growing the terrorist threat in the region, at least temporarily.

Fueling Terrorism

When President Bush says that if we walk away from the problem, Iraq could become an even greater breeding ground for international terrorism, he is correct. The president would also be correct if he were to say that the U.S. would lose "soft power" if it turned away from its

*The asset of
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commitments to Iraq (not that he is likely to use that term). And finally, he would be correct if he said the U.S. would lose deterrent power against the terrorists, if we are seen to be "cutting and running." In fact, the president has magnified the negative effect of withdrawal by so characterizing it. But even in the absence of withdrawal, the fact that it appears that we have been unsuccessful in achieving our objectives is giving terrorists around

the world heart.

What the example of Iraq is doing, thus far, is to offer encouragement to radical Islamists and other terrorist wanna-bes. Because we have not yet been able to bring the violence under control, meet the challenge of asymmetrical warfare or defeat the insurgency, we have encouraged the aspirations of other militant groups in the region, like Hezbollah and Hamas, and provided an example of a superpower that does not seem to be all that super.

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That perception has emboldened our enemies to challenge us, and because they see the vulnerability of our conventional military forces they have also dared to challenge Israel. Our deterrent posture has eroded, and the erosion of our deterrence erodes Israel's. We are seeing ripple effects in other countries of the region as autocratic governments face new energy and aggressive action on the part of religious fundamentalists and religious radicals. The message is "Religion works" or, in the words of its radical advocates, "Islam is the answer."

We should not underestimate the factor of pride that Hezbollah and their cousins in Iraq offer to the Arab and Islamic people. They are the David to our Goliath. Nor should we forget the fundamental message that these organizations are sending: Arab governments, which are tied to the Americans and the Israelis, are unable or unwilling to stand up for the Arab cause. The Islamists, with a fraction of the manpower, weapons and financial resources of the Arab governments, do a better job of making the world, and its superpowers, respect Islamic culture, power and will. It is a powerful message.

In Egypt, the government fears a rebirth of the Islamist terror attacks of the mid-1990s, led at that time by the Egyptian Islamic Jihad and Ayman Zawahiri, now the al-Qaida number-two. We and the Egyptians beat Zawahiri then, and the EIJ went underground. Today it is re-emerging. In Syria, the Muslim Brotherhood's terrorist attacks of the late 1970s were snuffed out by President Hafez al-Assad's attack on his own people in Hama. Earlier this year, these same terrorists reappeared and attacked our embassy in Damascus.

In Israel, Hamas dares to stand up to Israel and Hezbollah gambles on a cross-border adventure that cost them dearly, but burnished the concept that a dedicated non-state force can stand up to the power of an Israel or of the United States and survive.

At the same time, because of the intractable violence and the continuing need for at least 140,000 American troops in the Iraq area of operations, we have raised questions in the minds of the leaders of terrorist groups and regional leaders, particularly in Iran and Syria,

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about our ability to engage in additional military efforts beyond Iraq. What had been a constraint for regional players before the war — implicit in the prospect of overwhelming American military action as we saw in 1991 in Kuwait — has now been largely discounted by Presidents Bashar al-Assad in Syria and Mahmoud Ahmadinijad in Iran. They do not fear us. The asset of invincibility that we projected in 1991 has been eroded.

The Rise of Iran

Iran has gained in relative power in the region as American attention and military commitment has focused on Iraq. Iran's influence has spread dramatically by taking up residence in southern Iraq. As one of our military officers who served there told me, "The Iranians now own southern Iraq." Their ties to Syria have grown apace, and their presence in Lebanon through Hezbollah is changing the balance of power in favor of the Shiites in that country.

The message of the growing Iranian shadow in the region has been lost in the Persian Gulf. The United Arab Emirates, where I served as ambassador in the first Gulf war, is now coming out publicly and saying that Iranian intentions are peaceful and Iran's nuclear program is related to peaceful ends. This is quite a different tune from the one I heard only a year ago, when government leaders were expressing to me deep concern about Tehran's intentions.

The Gulf Cooperation Council, comprised of the Gulf States and Saudi Arabia, is now talking about the right of all states to develop nuclear power — a theme that has been picked up by Egypt and seems to support Iranian pretensions about its own nuclear program. Countries and regimes in the region are beginning to cover their bets with Tehran as its leaders continue to defy, with apparent impunity, the West and the Security Council.

Unlike Iraq, Iran could become a direct threat to us and most certainly could become an existential threat to our friends in the region, with Israel at the top of the list. The anti-Semitic and anti-Israeli rhetoric of a Mahmoud Ahmadinijad may be designed to capitalize

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on local prejudices and build a populist base. But it can also set the stage for direct action or further action through surrogates like Hezbollah.

Under current conditions, a nuclear-armed Iran is just a matter of time. An intercontinental delivery system will take longer. But left unchecked, both are possible and probably inevitable. And the time frame is reduced if the delivery system is through terrorists. This is a case where I think the critics may have been right: Iraq could be a distraction from the primary threat, Iran.

Two things are certain, so long as we are engaged in Iraq: there will be little appetite in our armed forces or our population for another military adventure, and there will be little incentive for Iran to back away from confrontation.

Vice President Cheney has suggested that Israel might take on the task of attacking Iran's nuclear facilities for us. My friends in the Arab world, particularly in Egypt and Jordan, countries at peace with Israel, shudder at the

likely consequences of an Israeli attack on Iran, particularly after the recent war in Lebanon and the growth of anti-Americanism in their domestic populations.

Egyptian President Hosni Mubarak and King Abdullah of Jordan are already vulnerable because of their links to Israel and their close association with us. Waiting in the wings in both countries are substantial bodies of public support for representatives of political Islam who are ready to take over if Mubarak or Abdullah falls. The fact is that the hero of the hour is Hezbollah leader Hassan Nasrallah, who stood up to Israel and, in the view of most of the people in the region, won the confrontation.

By contrast, many in the region see Mubarak as old and tired, while Jordan's Abdullah is seen as weak and beholden to America and Israel. So when I ask my friends in the region whether it would be better for Israel or America to take on the job of a military attack on Iran's nuclear facilities, the overwhelming answer is neither; but if it is to be done, then let it be done by America.

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The Question to Ask

We will, of course, survive the Iraq War, and our real power, as represented by our economy, our technology, our entrepreneurial spirit and our military, will still leave us predominant in the world. But in the process, we will have lost a psychological edge. And we may lose an even more important asset than the presumption of our military superiority if people in the world begin to doubt our leadership and our ability to honor our promises. That is the real risk for America. The image in the world of U.S. power and rightful leadership is a major asset that we cannot afford to squander.

It is in this context that the current efforts by Secretary of State Condoleezza Rice to breathe life into negotiations between the Palestinians and Israelis, despite the roadblocks in the way, are so important to

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the broader American position in the region. If she is able, backed up by the efforts of General Dayton, to get Palestinian President Mahmoud Abbas' presidential guard expanded to 6,000 from 3,500 men, as Steve Erlanger reported in the *New York Times* on Oct. 5, and if they are put in charge of reopened ground transportation windows into Gaza, then

she will have taken a critical first step. Our appetite should be for small steps, not garnering headlines.

And if the unity talks between President Abbas and Hamas fail, so that Abbas can appoint an emergency government, then both Abbas and the new government may be in a position to give the breath of life to negotiations. If Hamas is out of the government or has a minority position and does not have to be responsible for a decision to enter talks — and assuming it has not had to recant its “principled” position — then it can rhetorically oppose talks but not disrupt them politically or through terrorism. Hamas is a political animal, and if the Palestinian people want talks to go forward by a reasonable majority, which is likely to be the case, then Hamas will not want to be seen as the spoiler.

The question we have to ask is where our interests and those of our friends will be most affected. It seems to me that we have two choices: either find a way to back out of our heavy engagement in Iraq so that we can take on the other, possibly greater challenges in the region, like the Palestinian issue and Iran; or, roll up our sleeves, focus all of our attention on Iraq, and make the commitment in many more American soldiers and resources to actually accomplish the task the president has set out for us — to provide a massive security blanket over all of Iraq while its own fledgling government and military have a chance to grow and build a real democracy.

Indeed, if the stakes are as great as the president contends, then it is time to abandon the failed tactics of minimal forces and inadequate investment that some of President Bush's advisers seem to favor. Or perhaps it is time for him to abandon those who have led us to this difficult choice. These are the questions I hope the administration is asking itself now, and the questions we need to be asking ourselves as a nation. ■

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TOWARD A NEW FOREIGN POLICY AGENDA



Adam Niklewicz

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TERRORISM IN THE MIDDLE EAST IS NOT THE CAUSE OF THE VIOLENCE WE FACE, BUT THE RESPONSE TO OCCUPATION BY THOSE TOO WEAK TO USE ANY OTHER TACTIC.

BY ROBERT V. KEELEY

The latest round of fighting between Israel and Hezbollah in Lebanon this past summer only reinforces the urgent need for the Bush administration to adopt a new diplomatic approach, both toward the Middle East and in all its foreign relations. In this essay I would like to offer some thoughts on what such a new framework should encompass.

The most obvious change we should make is to emphasize the role and effectiveness of diplomacy, while resisting the

inclination to seek solutions through the threat or actual use of force abroad. As a corollary, we need a major shift in tone and style in our practice of diplomacy, away from criticizing, cajoling, denouncing and threatening toward greater reliance on consulting, listening and negotiating — both with allies and with potential or actual adversaries.

For example, in many situations unilateral action has been of limited effectiveness at best. I would hope we have now learned that some of our armed interventions abroad, while demonstrating our overwhelming military power, have also made matters worse rather than better. Instead, let us rely more on alliances and multilateral organizations to police threats to international stability and order.

A second overall change would be to abandon the so-called “war on terror” or the “war on terrorism.” We should cancel this so-called war — the term, the concept, the project. Terrorism is not an ideology, program, movement or organization, so by definition it cannot be an enemy — and, therefore, it cannot be a target. It is a *tactic*, a violent one to be sure, used mostly by the weak against the strong in an effort to alter the odds in a struggle: for example, in a struggle by the occupied against the occupier (e.g., Vietnam, Palestine, and now Iraq), or by the colonized or oppressed seeking liberation (e.g., Algeria, South Africa). So long as the underlying grievances persist, such a “war” will never end. It should also be abundantly clear, as the most recent National Intelligence Estimate (slated to be partially declassified and released as I write in late October) acknowledges, that the tactics used to fight such a “war” have only succeeded in creating more terrorism and more terrorists in more places.

A “war on terror” makes as little sense as a “war on bombing,” or on artillery, or on invasion, or on occupation, or a “war on assassination.” Intelligent people have been asking when the “war on terror” will end. The

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answer usually offered is that it will end only when all the terrorists are killed or captured or convicted and sent to prisons. When will that be? Never, of course. We might as well ask when will all the new enemies we have created give up the fight against us and surrender to be incarcerated in our prisons. Who would like to predict the date of that outcome?

Moreover, terrorism in the Middle East is not the cause of the violence we face. It is primarily the response to occupation by those too weak to use any other tactic. We simplistically label groups fighting against occupation (e.g., Hamas and Hezbollah) “terrorist organizations” because they resort to the only tactic available to them. Once those occupations end, we will see a great reduction in violence, as Louise Richardson explains in her new book-length study, *What Terrorists Want: Understanding the Enemy, Containing the Threat*.

Richardson cites the case of former Israeli Prime Minister Menachem Begin. That he became a statesman in the 1970s does not alter the fact that he was a terrorist in the 1940s. But Richardson uses that term to describe, not demonize. As she points out, it is simply a fact that Begin, like his counterparts in the Red Brigades, the Tamil Tigers, Hamas, al-Qaida and countless other groups, was a terrorist. This does not mean that he was an evil monster forever beyond understanding, or that he was insane or a criminal, or that he had no legitimate motive for the violence he committed. It simply means that he used violence against civilian targets for political ends; i.e., he was a terrorist.

Used in this fashion, of course, the word “terrorist” has quite a different value than it does in the way it is customarily used in the American press, where it is a virtual synonym for “evildoer.” Richardson rejects the widespread notion that “to understand or to explain terrorism is to sympathize with it.” She makes it clear that she regards the intentional targeting of civilians as profoundly immoral. But she, in effect, brackets or suspends issues of morality, focusing first on other characteristics of terrorism. This astringent, detached perspective allows her to situate terrorism in a larger historical and social context without falling into facile judgments or generalizations.

True Support for Democracy

A third general change would be to deep-six the current administration’s democracy promotion program, in

the Middle East and elsewhere, at least until we have resolved some of the conflicts that are destabilizing whole areas of the world. Where serious and longstanding conflicts are unresolved, our insistence on democratic elections — an admirable goal in the abstract — has brought to power more extreme groups that are antagonistic to the U.S. (with justification) and has marginalized those we might find more amenable to compromise.

Some thoughtful people feel strongly that it is wrong to try to refashion other societies in our own image. But even idealists shouldn't ignore the often deleterious consequences of such uninvited interventions. The democratization program risks the destabilization — even overthrow — of regimes we need to work with to resolve

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ongoing conflicts. This can easily happen prematurely; that is, before the states have achieved the status of civil and secular societies in which real democracy can flourish. Free, fair and democratic elections are necessary, but only after the terrain has been prepared — something that can only be done by the people concerned themselves. It cannot be imposed by outsiders.

In some cases free and fair democratic elections have brought to power or participation in govern-

nance Islamist groups that we consider hostile to our interests and therefore refuse to recognize or deal with. But if we truly support democracy, we have to accept the outcomes of the elections that we promote. We should not ostracize the winners, boycott them, try to starve them or encourage their ouster.

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The best recent example of the hypocrisy that characterizes our policies was the U.S. reaction to the Hamas victory in the Palestinian elections of January 2006. Nearly a year later, we still refuse to recognize and deal with the victors unless they agree to three preconditions we insist upon: recognize Israel; renounce violence; and accept all previous agreements signed by their Fatah opponents. But which Israel, with what borders? Hamas had already observed a truce for more than a year in order to join the political competition. Those agreements they are told to accept have been mostly ignored or violated by the other signatory, Israel.

Similarly, we refuse to deal with other Islamist parties that have achieved some electoral success: Hezbollah in Lebanon and the Muslim Brotherhood in Egypt. What about the undemocratic, authoritarian regimes in the region that are not our allies, such as Iran and Syria? Both are major actors who need to be engaged if peace is ever to be established in the Middle East. Yet we have had no relations with Iran for 27 years, and have recently threatened that country with regime change. The same goes for Syria, where we have an embassy (but no ambassador for more than a year), but constantly criticize and threaten its government.

We have followed a policy that says merely talking with them would be a reward and therefore must be earned through their good behavior. This is a remarkable change in the fundamentals of diplomacy, which traditionally considered talking with potential and actual adversaries as being as important as exchanges with one's allies. This is not rewarding them, but keeping them engaged in a useful dialogue.

A New Madrid Conference

Now would be a good time to organize a repeat of the Madrid Conference of October 1991, but with an expanded membership and host list. That conference, coming after the first Persian Gulf War, did not bring peace to the Middle East, but it did achieve new measures that facilitated the process. For the first time there were direct official talks between Israelis and Palestinians

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before an international audience, though some fictions were maintained. These talks were a prelude to the later Oslo negotiations that for a while advanced the cause of peace. The Madrid conference also led to an actual peace treaty between Israel and Jordan three years later.

This time the hosts should not be the U.S. and the USSR, but rather the U.S., U.N. and E.U. The negotiators should be Israel and all of its Arab neighbors — Jordan, Egypt, Syria, Lebanon and Palestine, plus Saudi Arabia. The agenda should be the Arab Peace Initiative adopted by the Arab League — with all 22 members approving, including the Palestinian delegation — at the League summit held in Beirut in 2002. The goal would be final implementation of U.N. Security Council Resolutions 242 and 338 and the “land for peace” formula that has been the foundation concept for any final peace agreement since 1967.

Egypt and Jordan have signed peace treaties with Israel, so the primary interlocutors on the Arab side would be the two states that still have outstanding land issues with Israel — Syria and Lebanon — and the Palestinians (most of all), who need to end the occupation and establish their new sovereign state on what remains to them of the land of the British Palestine mandate — that is, the 22 percent of the land of that entity that Israel occupied in the 1967 war. Saudi Arabia should be included both because it was then-Crown Prince, now King, Abdullah who proposed the initiative at the 2002 summit, and in recognition of that country's close proximity to Israel and its prominence in the Arab world.

The Arab Peace Initiative is in fact the very best offer still on the table and could provide the basis for a fair, just, legal, comprehensive and permanent resolution of the Israeli-Palestinian conflict, as well as peace between Israel and all of the Arab states. There is no doubt that the Palestinian delegation fully supported the initiative at the time. In a speech to the summit by video feed (because Israel would not guarantee Arafat's return to Ramallah if he left to attend the summit) the Palestinian president endorsed the offer. (How many people know

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that in his speech Arafat also censured the 9/11 attacks on the U.S. as “terrorist acts of aggression against New York and Washington, condemned first by us and then by the rest of the world”?)

Four years on, Israel has yet to respond to the Arab initiative, so far as I am aware. Is it not about time that it did so, particularly because it is doubtful that the Arab states will collectively and unanimously ever make a more generous offer? While the concessions required of Israel may seem distasteful to it, are they not outweighed by the reward of peace treaties with all of the states of the Arab world, and full and total acceptance of Israel as a legitimate, permanent state?

In any case, these steps are actually obligations for Israel, pursuant to United Nations Security Council Resolutions 242 and 338, which have never been repealed or abandoned. The essential and complete elements of the Arab Peace Initiative are the following (quoted from the resolution in its final form, text available on the Arab League Web site):

Expectations from Israel:

A. Complete withdrawal from the occupied Arab territories, including the Syrian Golan Heights, to the 4 June 1967 line and the territories still occupied in southern Lebanon.

B. Attain a just solution to the problem of Palestinian refugees to be agreed upon in accordance with the U.N. General Assembly Resolution No 194.

C. Accept the establishment of an independent and sovereign Palestinian state on the Palestinian territories occupied since 4 June 1967 in the West Bank and Gaza Strip with East Jerusalem as its capital.

In return the Arab states will do the following:

Consider the Arab-Israeli conflict over, sign a peace agreement with Israel, and achieve peace for all states in the region.

Establish normal relations with Israel within the framework of this comprehensive peace.

It is important to understand that the reference to “the problem of Palestinian refugees” does not mean that

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millions of Palestinian refugees would return to Israel, which would then no longer be a Jewish state, as some media commentators have argued. The statement about the refugees, with its reference to United Nations General Assembly Resolution 194, was carefully worded and negotiated and was no doubt a disappointment to many refugees, but the Palestinian leadership accepted it. What it calls for is an agreement, obviously by negotiations among the parties concerned, most importantly Israel, and it was well understood that Israel would never agree to massive repatriation of large numbers of refugees to its territory. But the “right of return” would be recognized (as stated in 194) and compensation would be paid to those not returning (also as called for by 194).

Here is the relevant part of UNGA Resolution 194:

11. *Resolves that the refugees wishing to return to their homes and live at peace with their neighbours should be permitted to do so at the earliest practicable date, and that compensation should be paid for the property of those choosing not to return and for loss of or damage to property which, under principles of international law or in equity, should be made good by the governments or authorities responsible;*

Instructs the Conciliation Commission to facilitate the repatriation, resettlement and economic and social rehabilitation of the refugees and the payment of compensation, and to maintain close relations with the director of the United Nations Relief and Works Agency for Palestine Refugees and, through him, with the appropriate organs and agencies of the United Nations.

Dealing with Hamas

There has, of course, been concern that Hamas, the winner in the Palestinian elections in January 2006, is committed to the “destruction” of Israel, and therefore there is no longer any serious support by Palestinians for the Arab League Initiative. That is something we should be exploring; but instead, we refuse to talk to Hamas, dismissing it as a “terrorist organization.”

We and other powers have admonished Hamas to recognize the right of Israel to exist, to renounce violence and to accept agreements previously signed by the Palestinian authorities. A rational response by Hamas might be: “We will recognize Israel if it accepts the Arab Peace Initiative and withdraws to the June 1967 lines, cancels the illegal annexations of the Golan Heights, East Jerusalem and the portions of the West Bank included in expanded

Jerusalem, returns the Golan Heights to Syria, recognizes the right of the Palestinians to establish their own state in the 22 percent of the Palestine mandate not included in Israel prior to 1967, renounces violence against the Palestinians and all of the other Arab states, and begins implementing all of the agreements made with the Palestinian authorities that it has ignored or violated.”

This would be a balanced outcome, not a one-sided proposal that requires the Palestinians to do lots of things and requires Israel to do nothing. A sweetener to this peace agreement would be the release of thousands of Palestinian and other Arab prisoners Israel is holding, and the return to Israel of the three Israeli soldiers taken prisoner by the Gazans and Hezbollah. When conflicts end there is supposed to be an exchange of prisoners of war — which is what these people are.

Is this proposed peace plan unfair to Israel? The U.N. Partition Plan of 1947 awarded 52 percent of British mandate Palestine to Israel, at a time when the Jewish population owned about 6 percent of the land, and they were perhaps one third of the territory’s population. At the end of the 1947-1949 War, Israel held 78 percent of the territory. How can Palestinians be reasonably expected to find this fair?

UNSC Resolution 242 forbade the acquisition of land by force of arms. Contrary to the phraseology employed by our media, the West Bank and Gaza Strip were not “captured” or “conquered” by Israel. They were *occupied* by Israel. This land does not belong to Israel and cannot belong to it. Israel is not free to dispose of it as it pleases. It must be returned to the millions of stateless Palestinian people, many living as refugees for the past nearly 60 years.

Israeli scholar Mark Heller long ago made an interesting suggestion for what to do with the Israeli settlements on the West Bank in the context of a permanent peace. He estimated that 80 percent of the settlers were not fanatic “redeemers” of land promised by their God to the Jewish people, but were there because of nice, inexpensive housing from which they commuted to jobs in Israel proper. So, they would be happy to be bought out handsomely so that they could move to equivalent housing in Israel.

Heller proposed that Saudi Arabia buy the settlements for, say, \$10 billion. While some might object to compensating people for something illegal they had done, it could

F O C U S

be palatable if presented as a project to provide housing for Palestinian refugees returning to a new Palestinian state rather than to their former homes in Israel.

A Just, Permanent Peace

The compromise offered in the Arab Peace Initiative is not designed simply to "appease" the Arabs or Muslims in general. Rather, it provides the only means of ensuring the near- and long-term security of Israel as a normal, legitimate state in the Middle East. It would also help restore the standing of the United States as an agent of peace rather than of conflict in the world.

These results cannot be achieved by legitimizing Israel's annexation of East Jerusalem and the Golan Heights and the incorporation into Israel of still more Palestinian land in the West Bank now occupied by hundreds of thousands of Israeli settlers. A return to the 1967 borders is the sine qua non of any comprehensive solution.

But the most difficult element to resolve is no doubt

the status of Jerusalem. Israel claims it all, even expanded far beyond its previous boundaries, as its sole and eternal capital. Is this just? Is it fair to the adherents of three great religions with indisputable ties to the city that only one of them have it all? Would it harm anyone's faith to share it with others of a different faith?

The city has had a long history marked by struggles over its possession. So would it not cement a general peace in the area to end the struggle and make it truly a city of peace, to be shared by all who hold it dear? Is there any rational reason why Jerusalem could not be the shared capital of two states living in peace with each other?

It is essential that any comprehensive peace agreement designate at least some part of Jerusalem as territory to serve as a capital city for the Muslims and Christians of Palestine. Such a gesture would enlist adherents of those two religions all over the world as strong supporters of a just, permanent peace, increasing the chances it will take root and endure. ■

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LIVING WITH IRAQ

MANY FOREIGN SERVICE PERSONNEL AND FAMILY MEMBERS HAVE ALREADY EXPERIENCED EVENTS THAT PLACE THEM AT HIGH RISK FOR PTSD. IT'S TIME TO TALK ABOUT THE PROBLEM.

BY BETH PAYNE

I left Baghdad on April 15, 2004. As the plane soared out of rocket range, I breathed a sigh of relief — I had lived through Iraq. Little did I know that my journey of living *with* Iraq was just beginning.

When I returned I was exhausted and emotionally numb, but I told everyone that I was OK.

I was sure the daze I was in would pass with time, and I just wanted to get on with my life. I was also afraid that if I told anyone I was not OK, particularly the Office of Medical Services, I would not be allowed to go to my onward assignment in Dakar. I could not relax due to thinking about Iraq, and believed that getting back to work would force me to think about something else.

Classic Symptoms

Unfortunately, things did not return to normal. For the first time in my life I had trouble sleeping, waking at 3:00 or 4:00 each night. I constantly worried about the safety of friends and colleagues still in Iraq, and obsessively followed the latest news. I also had a

Beth A. Payne is the consul general in Dakar. Her previous assignments include Iraq, Rwanda, Israel and Kuwait. She received the Department of State's Superior Honor Award and an Award for Heroism for her actions after the Oct. 23, 2003, terrorist attack on the Al-Rashid Hotel in Baghdad.

surprising amount of anger that I struggled to keep below the surface. Even worse, though, was my loss of interest in something I had always loved — living overseas. Life seemed dull, and I was no longer excited about meeting new people and learning about new cultures.

Still, it was easy to hide my symptoms from my friends and colleagues, and even from myself. I blamed my lack of

interest in being overseas on my new post, telling myself that perhaps it was just a boring assignment. I reasoned that the change in sleeping habits and lack of energy were just because I was getting older. But I could not explain away the anger or reason away the fact that, one year after I left Iraq, I was still exhausted and emotionally fragile.

Using the Internet to research my troubling symptoms, I discovered that as a result of having experienced an event that threatened death or serious injury in Iraq I was at high risk for post-traumatic stress disorder. My symptoms were classic PTSD: difficulty staying asleep, irritability and outbursts of anger, difficulty concentrating, hyper-vigilance, diminished interest or participation in significant activities, a feeling of detachment from others, and a sense of a foreshortened future. It appeared that I had chronic PTSD as my symptoms had lasted for more than three months.

PTSD is treatable by a variety of forms of psychotherapy (talk therapy) and drug treatment. I did not want to take any

***I could not explain away the
anger or reason away the
fact that one year after I left
Iraq, I was still exhausted
and emotionally fragile.***

medication, so that left counseling. However, I was living in Senegal, and there were no English-speaking therapists there with a background in PTSD. I also wondered how my colleagues would react if they found out I was in treatment, which was inevitable in the fishbowl world of the Foreign Service. Would they think I was weak and not capable of handling difficult assignments? Would I jeopardize my medical and security clearances?

Getting Help

I eventually decided that living with my symptoms was worse than the risks of getting help, and talked to my regional medical officer about finding a therapist. Fortunately, there was an expatriate with a background in family therapy living in Dakar who was willing to see me through an arrangement with our medical unit. While she was not an expert in PTSD, the therapy was extremely helpful. After only a few sessions, I was sleeping normally again and was no longer thinking about Iraq all the time. But I still felt

detached and lacked my normal interest in activities, so while home on R&R, I saw a specialist in PTSD and was formally diagnosed.

The most effective treatment I had was a guided imagery session, in which I revisited the terrorist attack. I learned that when I knelt to assist a severely injured colleague, a part of me — the part of me that loves adventure and learning — went away. With the help of my therapist, I worked to regain my spirit and zest for life.

It is wonderful to feel like myself again. I am extremely thankful that I finally refused to accept my PTSD symptoms as a part of life, but instead pursued therapy both in Dakar and later in the U.S.

Education Needed

So why am I now sharing this story with my fellow FSOs, particularly given my concerns about clearances and my reputation? Mainly because these concerns (which were not well-founded) almost stopped me from getting help.

Suddenly there were huge explosions and my room was filled with smoke...

Sunday morning (Oct. 26, 2003), I had just woken up to the Muslim call to prayer and was lying in bed thinking about getting up and starting another day. Suddenly there were huge explosions and my room was filled with smoke — the Hotel Al-Rashid was under attack again, and this was a big one.

I rolled out of bed, grabbed my sandals and phone — and was instantly out of my room. The hallway was filled with smoke and I had almost reached the stairs when I heard an American woman screaming for help — her arm had been hit. I ran back and immediately put pressure on her wound (thanks to State Department training on emergency medical assistance when I was in Kuwait). I yelled for assistance and after ordering several guys with tourniquets away (she could have lost the arm if we'd tied a tourniquet), I found several men to help carry her down the three flights of stairs.

I remember calling for a medic once we got to the lobby of the hotel, which was already filled with people. After what seemed like forever (but probably was 15-20 minutes), the army ambulance arrived. Because there weren't many medics, I stayed with the woman in the ambulance continuing to keep pressure on her arm, using my other hand to call the State Department and tell them of the attack. We arrived at the hospital and she was immediately taken into surgery for two or three hours. The doctors saved her arm and she is doing very well.

So, there I was at the 28th Combat Surgical Hospital in my green PJs (my favorite PJs!) and sandals, clutching my cell phone! I was covered in blood and still somewhat in shock, but I called Mom and Dad and told them I was all right. I then started counting the casualties as they were brought into the hospital. ...

At one point some officer ordered me away (I had no ID and couldn't prove who I was), but luckily I knew the head of the hospital. He told the guys that I was the U.S. consul and asked them to let me hang around and give assistance to the injured Americans. ...

That night I slept in a friend's trailer (she was in the U.S. on leave) and tried to figure out what to do. The homeless from the hotel were scattered throughout the Green Zone (protected area) ...

I was at breakfast on Monday (Nov. 1, 2003) when bombs started exploding all over the city. I ran to the office of Global Risk Security (a private security company with some of the best people I've ever met). ... There were a total of eight explosions on Monday morning — luckily, miraculously, no private Americans were injured or killed.

... It's going to be a rough few weeks — there's been at least one bombing each day so far, and people in town are pretty scared.

Excerpted from Beth Payne's "Letter from Baghdad" in the January 2004 Foreign Service Journal.

Help After High-Stress Assignments

By Samuel B. Thielman, M.D., Ph.D.

With the increased emphasis on diplomatic service in war zones and high hardship-differential assignments, the possibility of exposure to violence and chronic stress is greater than ever. From the Office of Medical Services' perspective, State Department employees, both Foreign and Civil Service, should take advantage of the mental health support options that the department offers.

MED has 14 psychiatrists in various assignments around the world today. The department employed its first psychiatrist, Frank E. Johnson, in 1971, and then expanded the program significantly in the 1980s and 1990s in response to the Iran hostage crisis, the Beirut embassy bombing in 1983 and the East Africa embassy bombings in 1998. Currently, Mental Health Services has 17 domestic and overseas psychiatrists, four psychologists, seven social workers, a nurse practitioner and a nurse case manager.

Although post-traumatic stress disorder is not inevitable following exposure to a life-threatening event, some transient psychological symptoms emerge in almost everyone so exposed. A widely quoted study of soldiers serving in Iraq, conducted by Dr. Charles Hoge of the Walter Reed Army Institute of Research and his colleagues in 2004, found that 15 to 17 percent of soldiers returning from Iraq met screening criteria for major depression, generalized anxiety disorder or PTSD (www.pbs.org/wgbh/pages/frontline/shows/heart/readings/nejm.pdf).

Unlike the military, we do not have

Samuel B. Thielman is director of Mental Health Services in the State Department's Office of Medical Services.

Since the time of the East Africa embassy bombings, MED has developed relationships with some of the world's experts on PTSD.

the ability to compel returning Foreign Service officers to complete a mental health screening survey, but our impression is that the prevalence of these conditions is significant. Hoge's study also found that 23 to 40 percent of those who screened positive for a mental disorder sought mental health care, so it is important to publicize what is available through MED for employees covered by the department's medical program.

The Outbriefing

The high-stress assignment outbriefing is the most important service. Mandated for those returning from Iraq since 2004, but encouraged for those returning from Afghanistan and others who wish to take advantage of it, the outbriefing is a joint effort of FSI and MED. Details about the program were recently reissued in State 40966 (dated March 14, 2006), titled "Outbriefing Sessions and Psychosocial Support for Iraq Returnees." The briefing is designed to offer information on adjustment to more normal circumstances following Iraq service, warning signs of a psychological problem, and how to get help if a

problem develops.

From the MED perspective, if an employee develops PTSD at an overseas posting, he or she can be treated by the regional psychiatric officer, or MED will facilitate referral to whatever local resources are available. In the U.S., an employee can contact the director of Mental Health Services for guidance and referral for treatment.

Since the time of the East Africa embassy bombings, MED has developed relationships with some of the world's experts on PTSD. We can usually arrange an effective referral to a qualified clinician, depending on individual circumstances. Domestic employees with problems requiring only short-term counseling can also be seen free of charge through the Employee Consultation Service.

Effect on Security Clearances

As has been the case for years, the biggest barrier to mental health care is concern about the effect on the security clearance (and to a smaller degree, the medical clearance). Mental Health Services, which reviews mental health security clearance issues for the Bureau of Diplomatic Security, takes a very tolerant view of treatment for stress-related problems. DS, with the cooperation of MED, issued a department notice in 2004 that stated its position on this issue. I will quote from it, because it is very much to the point.

The notice says, in part: "Executive Orders 10450 and 12968 require the department to make a determination of an employee's ability to safeguard classified information. In certain situations, DS asks the Office of Medical Services to review the DS investigation, seek pertinent information, and make a 'whole person' assessment as to whether there

is a condition present that may affect judgment, reliability or stability. As dictated by law, DS is never allowed access to confidential medical information. During this process, only the final MED recommendation is communicated to DS. A mental health condition that does not impact an employee's judgment, reliability or stability will not have an adverse impact on a security clearance review."

At Mental Health Services, we recently studied the impact of mental health issues on security clearance decisions. Of 201 employees referred by DS as part of their security clearance evaluation due to a mental health issue, only 9 percent received an adverse recommendation from our experts. Most of the adverse determinations were related to psychosis, untreated alcoholism or some other severe psychiatric disorder affecting judgment, reliability or stability.

The Bottom Line

Although employees often worry about the effect of receiving counseling for psychological issues resulting from service in a war zone, our study showed that the impact on security clearance is negligible and receiving treatment is a mitigating factor. During the past three years, our mental health clearance group is aware of only one adverse recommendation involving a person with PTSD symptoms; that case involved psychotic symptoms and issues of safety.

The bottom line is this: employees suffering from mental disorders should seek treatment, both because it is likely to ameliorate the condition and it will make a favorable assessment by our mental health experts more likely. ■

PTSD Resources Online

Veterans Affairs' National Center for Post-Traumatic Stress Disorder
<http://www.ncptsd.va.gov/>

PTSD Alliance
<http://www.ptsdalliance.org/>

National Institute of Mental Health
<http://www.nimh.nih.gov/publicat/reliving.cfm>

Facts for Health
<http://www.ptsd.factsforhealth.org/who/>

Sidran Institute: Traumatic Stress Education and Advocacy
<http://www.sidran.org/index.html>

Without help, I do not think I would have recovered from PTSD — and, based on my research, my mental and, eventually, physical health probably would have become worse over time.

A significant number of Foreign Service personnel and family members have already experienced events that place them at high risk for PTSD. Given the number of people who now serve in dangerous posts and the high risk of being targeted by terrorists, the number will continue to grow over the next few years. For those who have the condition, untreated symptoms can cause medical problems, destroy families and sideline careers.

If the Foreign Service does not start talking about PTSD — educating FSOs about the disorder and its impact on clearances — I fear we will unnecessarily lose some of our most effective members. ■

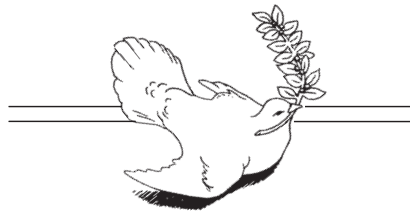
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APPRECIATION

The Best Among Us Charles W. Bray III 1933 – 2006

BY SHAWN DORMAN

Charlie Bray came from the classic old-school background: the prep school, the “tweedy” intellectual years at Princeton University. Yet, far from using this advantage for his own gain, Bray chose a career and life of public service. He is remembered as a diplomat, philanthropist and scholar; and, as his friend Peter Krogh points out, he was “equally at home” in each role.

After an overseas tour with the U.S. Army from 1956 to 1958, Bray joined the Foreign Service in 1958 and served with distinction in Cebu and Bangui before returning to Washington in 1965. Beginning in the mid-1960s, he played a major role in transforming the American Foreign Service Association into a vehicle for reforming the Foreign Service and American diplomacy.

The AFSA Foreign Service Club was a fitting place to celebrate the life of Charlie Bray, the man who helped establish the “Young Turks” reform movement in the 1960s that eventually led to the establishment of AFSA as a union, and as the exclusive bargaining agent it is today for the 14,000 members of the Foreign Service. AFSA is sometimes even called “the house that Charlie Bray built,” referring to both the AFSA headquarters building as well as to AFSA as an institution. The Oct. 17 event, attended by about 100 of Charlie Bray’s colleagues, closest friends and family members, paid tribute to his extraordinary life of service.

Shawn Dorman is associate editor of the Foreign Service Journal.

Each participant shared thoughts about the life of Charlie Bray, weaving the pieces of his life together to create a rich picture of Bray the diplomat, the reformer, the philanthropist, the academic, the loyal friend and devoted family man. The many three-minute tributes (the timing strictly enforced by host Tex Harris) all made clear that Bray was a man of vision, a man of action, someone who believed in and empowered the people around him. He was also, as many described, a lot of fun.

Remembering their days together at Princeton in the class of 1955, Amb. Tom Boyatt used three words to describe Bray: “tweediness, intellect and leadership.” Early evidence of his leadership skills was illustrated, Boyatt says, by the fact that he was chosen to lead the Tiger Club, a club for “sweaty jocks,” even though he was distinctly not one of them. Boyatt closed with this description of his lifelong friend, from the *Iliad*: “The mildest manners, and the gentlest heart. In death a hero, as in life a friend!”

The Young Turks

In the mid-1960s, against the backdrop of the Vietnam War, Bray was co-founder with Lannon Walker and Dean Brown of a reform movement inside the Foreign Service. The press dubbed them the Young Turks. They sought, in the words of former AFSA president and Young Turk Tex Harris, “to expand the connections between the Foreign Service and Americans involved in foreign affairs and to modernize the Service’s personnel system.” Charlie Bray is credited with figuring out how to win an AFSA election so that the Young Turks could take over AFSA and use it as a

launching point for reforms. His efforts led to the election in 1967 of all 18 original members of the reform group, a group that came to be known as “the Group of 18,” to the AFSA Electoral College, which was charged with choosing the new board of directors.

Bray realized that AFSA needed someone who could work on the reform agenda full-time, and he volunteered to go on leave to do it. Under his leadership, in 1968 AFSA published “Toward a Modern Diplomacy,” a book-size document that laid out the reform agenda. Some of the issues driving the support for AFSA becoming a union had to do with basic inequities in the Foreign Service system, such as discrimination against women (among other practices at that time, FS women who married were forced to resign).

The Young Turks established the core principle that the professionals in the Foreign Service accept active responsibility for the conduct of their profession and the making of rules that govern their careers. They raised the funds to convert a run-down office building into a modern headquarters for AFSA and a Foreign Service club. Significant successes of the “Bray Board” included the creation of the Dissent Channel for employees to voice differing views on policy; the launching of the first demands for an impartial grievance system through which employees could address unfair treatment; and creation of an AFSA awards program. (Note: For more details on the Young Turk reform move-

ment and AFSA’s expansion into a union, see the June 2003 *Foreign Service Journal* at www.afsa.org/fsj/2003.cfm, especially “AFSA Becomes a Union: The Reformers’ Victory,” by Tex Harris.)

Ambassador Lannon Walker, whose remarks were recorded at AFSA prior to the celebration, noted that Bray was the first to push for Foreign Service members to go to Capitol Hill and speak out on behalf of the Foreign Service. Ambassador Ted Eliot, also in prerecorded remarks, remembered that he and Charlie testified before the Democratic and Republican Party Platform Committees in 1968 to gain support for the career Foreign Service.

A Standard for Truthfulness

Dean of the State Department Press Corps Barry Schweid was covering the State Department when Bray was serving as the press spokesman for Secretary of State William Rogers, beginning in 1971. Calling Bray a dedicated spokesman for Sec. Rogers, he noted that Bray “set a standard of truthfulness and he set the standards for kindness,” and was appreciated for “his directness and dignity.”

While Bray was still press spokesman and Henry Kissinger was about to move to Foggy Bottom as the new Secretary of State, Bray heard news of the Nixon administration’s wiretapping of several Foreign Service officers. Bray resigned from that position. He was quoted as saying



The Bray Board at a meeting in 1970. From left: George Lambrakis, Alan Carter, Erland Heginbotham, Barbara Good, Richard Davies, Charlie Bray, William Bradford, Princeton Lyman, Bill Harrop, Robert Nevitt.

that he did not want to work for anyone who would wiretap his subordinates, noting that “loyalty goes both ways.”

During the Carter administration, Bray served as deputy director of the U.S. Information Agency. Former USIA Director John Reinhardt spoke at the AFSA celebration, calling Bray a different kind of Foreign Service officer, not a “striped-pants diplomat.” He explained that when he became head of USIA, he turned to Bray as “someone who knew what to do.” With his leadership skills, “he led a number of people down the right roads.” In 1981, Bray was tapped by President Ronald Reagan as ambassador to Senegal.

One of his many contributions outside of diplomatic service was as a founding member of Princeton Project 55. Bray responded to a challenge posed by Princeton classmate Ralph Nader at their 1989 reunion, Ken Webster explained, “to attack systemic ills” by putting Princeton graduates to work in public interest programs and public service projects. Bray served as president and chief executive for the project, which is still going strong and

Each time a man stands up for an ideal, or acts to improve the lot of others, or strikes out against injustice, he sends forth a tiny ripple of hope; and crossing each other from a million different centers of energy and daring, those ripples build a current that can sweep down the mightiest walls of oppression and resistance.

— Robert Kennedy (as quoted by Charles “Chip” Bray at the Oct. 17 AFSA celebration of the life of Charlie Bray)

has placed over 1,000 graduates in grass-roots and other nongovernmental organizations.

Charlie Bray was a leader in the purest, most organic, sense. He was a man who “thought everyone had a place at the table,” explained Tony Schaffer of Ten Chimneys, who worked with Bray to turn the Wisconsin home of Broadway legends Alfred Lunt and Lynn Fontayne, which was a retreat for numerous artists, into a museum. He loved conversation and “loved what each person brings to it.” Bray knew how to

bring people together, whether it was to reform the Foreign Service, to explain administration policy to a feisty press corps or raise money to save a historic landmark.

Bray later served as president of the Johnson Foundation Conference Center at Wingspread in Racine, Wis. He was also instrumental in establishing Georgetown University’s Institute for the Study of Diplomacy, and taught classes there.

Though he accomplished so much inside and outside the Foreign Service, Bray was not all about the work. He enjoyed life’s pleasures and delighted in friends and family. He enjoyed birding, major league baseball, poker, good food and wine, a wide variety of books and, most importantly, his wife, children and grandchildren. In a moving tribute, Chip Bray said that his father thought everyone had something to say, and he was “full of ideas and he put them to use for the common good.” He spoke of the way his father held an “unwavering belief in the power of human potential” as well as in the power of fate and the power to create your own luck. He also believed strongly in the importance of “travel as educator.”

Charlie Bray was, indeed, in the words of Lannon Walker, “the best among us.” ■



At the Charlie Bray Celebration Oct. 17, from left: Charles “Chip” Bray, Christopher Krogh, David Bray, Dean Peter Krogh. Inset: Charlie Bray with his daughter Katherine Bray-Merrell.

AFSA NEWS

American Foreign Service Association • December 2006

2007 AFSA DISSENT AWARDS

Call for Nominations for AFSA Constructive Dissent Awards

BY BARBARA BERGER, PROFESSIONAL ISSUES COORDINATOR

A FSA is seeking nominations for its 2007 Constructive Dissent Awards. These awards serve to honor and recognize those members of the Foreign Service who dare to challenge conventional wisdom, question the status quo or suggest alternative plans of action. An open and candid exchange of differing points of view on issues of foreign policy can only strengthen our Service and our country. Members of the Foreign Service receive years of intensive training in order to develop and practice their expertise in matters of diplomacy and promote the foreign policy goals of the United States. However, when there

Continued on page 62



2007 AFSA PERFORMANCE AWARDS

Call for Nominations for Outstanding Performance

BY BARBARA BERGER, PROFESSIONAL ISSUES COORDINATOR

A FSA offers three awards for exemplary performance of assigned duties or voluntary duties at an overseas post that constitutes an extraordinary contribution to effectiveness, professionalism and morale.

• **The Delavan Award** acknowledges the work of a Foreign Service office management specialist who has made a significant contribution to post or office effectiveness and morale beyond the framework of her/his job responsibilities.

• **The M. Juanita Guess Award** goes to a community liaison officer who has demonstrated outstanding leadership, dedication, initiative or imagination in assisting the families of Americans serving at an overseas post.

• **The Avis Bohlen Award** recognizes the accomplishments of a family member of a Foreign Service employee whose relations with the American and foreign communities at post have done the most to advance

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CALL FOR NOMINATIONS FOR THE 2007-2009 BOARD

Make a Difference: Join the AFSA Board

“I have always believed that AFSA is the one entity looking out for the Foreign Service, and so have been active since I joined the Service. Being in Washington gave me a chance to help shape AFSA’s direction and contribute instead of just complaining about policies or work conditions. AFSA helped me out in the past, and I felt it was time to give back.” — *Joyce Namde, State Representative and Governing Board Liaison to the FSJ Editorial Board*

“Participation on the AFSA Governing Board was one way of giving back to the Foreign Service community that had given me so much pleasure. I have realized that the depth and breadth of issues that AFSA, its board and its staff handle far exceeded my expectations. I’m proud to serve this community.” — *David Reuther, Retiree Vice President*

“Serving in AFSA has given me two of my most satisfying years in the Foreign Service.” — *Steve Kashkett, State Vice President*

Continued on page 67

AFSA NEWS BRIEFS



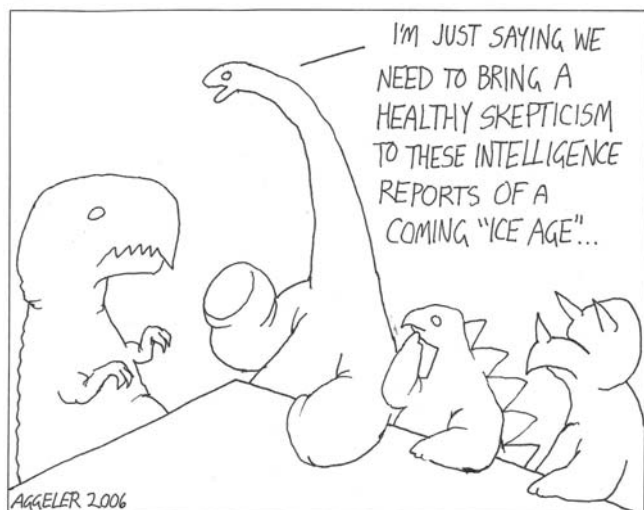
News from the AFSA Board

In October, Al Pessin of the International Broadcasting Board was appointed to fill the IBB representative position on the AFSA Governing Board. That position was left open when Sheldon Daitch resigned from the board in June to take an assignment to Morocco.

The board welcomed two new State representatives this September. Sandy Robinson, who joined the Foreign Service in 1984, is a management officer currently serving as executive director in the Bureau of Legislative Affairs. Andrea Tomaszewicz, who joined the Foreign Service in 2001, is an economic officer currently serving on the Iraq desk in the Bureau of Near Eastern Affairs. They replaced James Roseli who resigned June 30 for an assignment to Embassy Baghdad, and Brad Bell, who resigned Aug. 27 for an assignment in Vienna as the U.S. liaison to the U.N. Special Envoy for the Future Status of Kosovo.

Life in the Foreign Service

BY BRIAN AGGELER



Two Names Approved for Memorial Plaque

At the October AFSA Governing Board meeting, the board approved the recommendation from the Awards and Plaque Committee to add two names to the AFSA Memorial Plaques in the State Department's C Street lobby: Margaret Alexander and Doris Knittle.

Margaret Alexander, an FSO with USAID, was killed on Sept. 23, 2006, in a helicopter crash in Nepal. She was the deputy director of the USAID mission in Nepal. (See In Memory, page 80.)

Also killed in the crash was Foreign Service National Dr. Bijan Acharya, who had worked for USAID/Nepal since 1999. He served as the environment and forestry program specialist.

Doris Knittle was a Foreign Service nurse assigned to Kabul when she was found murdered in her home there in August 1970. Recently obtained documentation confirms that the circumstances of her death met the criteria for inclusion on the plaque: that she was killed "in the line of duty."

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Stepping Up to the Plate in Iraq



We hear it all the time from right-wing pundits who are always looking for an excuse to bash the State Department, from neocon ideologues hunting for a scapegoat to blame for the failure of their grand schemes to reshape the Middle East, and — sadly — from some of our military colleagues at the Pentagon. Our detractors love to whisper that we diplomats of the Foreign Service are just not on board with the president's agenda, that we are not taking the tough jobs in the tough places, that we are not “stepping up to the plate” in Iraq.

Meanwhile, the Secretary of State has created the largest U.S. diplomatic mission in the world in Baghdad and is also staffing 16 provincial outposts scattered across Iraq with dozens of our people. The director general has made far-reaching changes in our assignment system and is conveying repeatedly to our members that service in Iraq is the administration's highest priority.

The Foreign Service is answering the call. The facts speak for themselves: during the past four years, more than 1,400 members of the Foreign Service have volunteered to serve in Iraq. Many State civil servants have leapt at the opportunity to serve there as well. All these patriotic employees assume the risks of living in a war zone, taking on an incomparably difficult task and spending a year or more away from their families. The number of volunteers is striking when you consider that the entire active-duty State Foreign Service worldwide, which has to staff 250 other embassies and consulates around the world — most of which are also in hardship spots — only hovers around 10,000.

Contrast this 10,000 with the Pentagon's 2.5 million members of the combined uniformed armed forces and reserves. Unlike our military counterparts, who go to war when their units are called up and ordered to go, our 1,400-plus Foreign Service members have all volunteered for Iraq; State has had no need to order anyone to go. Unlike our military counterparts, Foreign Service members courageously plunge into that war zone unarmed, untrained for combat and willing to take on the daunting task of trying to establish a new, democratic society and to rebuild a country while the war rages on around them.

Some would consider this task to be impossible to accom-

plish until the military has succeeded in pacifying and securing the country.

The stated mission of the Iraq Provincial Reconstruction Teams, which are led by Foreign Service members, includes ensuring stability and transparent democratic governance in each region of Iraq, fostering respect for human rights and the rule of law, ending corruption, establishing civil-society institutions, stimulating economic development and overseeing reconstruction

of the country's infrastructure. Members of the Foreign Service and State Department Civil Service in Iraq are daily undertaking heroic efforts to accomplish this ambitious mission under the most difficult and dangerous conditions imaginable — but it is a tall order for unarmed diplomats struggling to function in a country still at war.

Security problems over which our people have no control affect every aspect of their work. Foreign Service members can only venture out of the International Zone in Baghdad with extensive protec-

tion and under military escort. These limitations on our members' ability to move about the country are often even more severe at PRTs, which are supposed to cover vast regions of Iraq, some of which remain dangerous even for U.S. military convoys. Threats and fears of reprisal often inhibit Iraqi contacts from coming to meet with our people in the IZ or at the PRTs.

Despite all this, Foreign Service employees have bravely put themselves in the forefront of the mission to rebuild Iraq and are doing their best in the chaotic environment created by the ongoing sectarian violence and the struggle between the U.S. armed forces and the insurgency. We understand the insurmountable challenges confronting our military colleagues and do not blame them for the lack of progress in bringing peace to Iraq. In the same vein, we expect understanding of the extreme constraints on unarmed Foreign Service members when they try valiantly to accomplish the Herculean tasks that have been left to them in Iraq.

We at AFSA hear frequently from our members serving in Iraq, and we know better than most the personal sacrifices they are making and the obstacles they have to overcome in their daily work. They deserve our highest consideration. □

Foreign Service employees
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Dissent Awards • Continued from page 59

is an opportunity to offer their expert advice, many of our best personnel choose not to present a reasoned and constructive stand if it differs from the status quo view, because they fear negative repercussions to their careers.

Our country is facing enormous challenges in the conduct of foreign policy today in many areas of the world. When addressing critical issues relating to Iraq and Afghanistan, North Korea and Iran, to name a few, there is a need for the best expertise and creativity available in the Foreign Service.

As Senator Richard Lugar, R-Ind., chair of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, declared when he accepted AFSA's 2005 Lifetime Contributions to American Diplomacy Award in June of that year, "Our country depends on the Foreign Service to temper a world that is often uncertain and dangerous. We take for granted that FSOs will venture into hostile circumstances to advance American interests, often with far less protection than corresponding military units. Many Foreign Service officers have given their lives in service to their country. Innumerable others have made the deep personal sacrifices of being away from their families, of risking their health in difficult posts and of forgoing more lucrative financial opportunities in other fields. Rarely are these sacrifices celebrated or even understood by casual observers."

AFSA's Constructive Dissent Awards provide a means to honor and recognize the men and women of the Foreign Service who have demonstrated the courage and integrity to take an unpopular stand because they believe passionately that their professional opinion should be valued. Consider these examples of Constructive Dissent Award winners from the past few years:

- A mid-level officer sent a Dissent Channel cable in 2003 titled, "Let the U.N. Manage the Political Transition in Iraq." He was one of the first FSOs to volunteer for duty in Iraq with the Coalition Provisional Authority, and continued to identify issues

and propose alternative policies throughout his tour there.

- A mid-level officer felt the Department of Homeland Security's policies were hurting relations between the U.S. and Muslims in Panama, so he challenged and ultimately influenced DHS's passenger-screening procedures, as well as the embassy's approach to engagement with Panama's Muslim community.

- A Foreign Service specialist authorized the broadcast of a controversial news interview on the Voice of America, despite intense pressure against it, in an effort to defend VOA's congressional charter, which requires reporting to be "accurate, objective and comprehensive."

These examples demonstrate the intellectual courage and integrity of Foreign Service personnel who were willing to work within the system to bring about change. AFSA believes that members of the Foreign Service should not just be rewarded for superior performance of duties, but also for their willingness to ask tough questions, to present alternatives to the status quo and to take a stand for what they believe, despite the consequences.

AFSA's Constructive Dissent Awards have been a proud tradition for almost 40 years, with the establishment of the first award in 1968 in honor of Ambassador William R. Rivkin. Amb. Rivkin was first appointed to Luxembourg by President John F. Kennedy, and later served as ambassador to Senegal until his death in 1967. He was described by colleagues who had the privilege of working with him as someone who had "a fiery passion for truth and fairness." He was known for asking tough questions and expecting serious answers. He had the deepest respect for the career professionals in the Foreign Service, and he advocated that they be proud of their service and courageous in their convictions. The William Rivkin Award is presented to a mid-level officer.

Nomination Procedures

Please consider nominating someone for one of these four Constructive Dissent Awards:

The Tex Harris Award for Foreign

Service specialists;

The W. Averell Harriman Award for entry-level officers (FS 6-4);

The William R. Rivkin Award for mid-level officers (FS 3-1);

The Christian A. Herter Award for senior-level officers (FE OC-CA).

The nomination should include the following:

Part I — The name of the award for which the person is being nominated; the nominee's name, grade, agency and position.

Part II — The nominator's name, grade, agency and position, and a description of the association with the nominee.

Part III — The justification for the nomination. This narrative should discuss the actions and qualities which the nominator believes qualify the nominee for the award, giving **specific** examples of accomplishments that fulfill the criteria stated in the previous paragraph. Part III should not exceed 700 words.

All winners receive a monetary award of \$2,500 and a framed certificate, and are honored at a reception in late June at the State Department's Benjamin Franklin Diplomatic Reception Room. The Secretary of State is invited to participate in the ceremony.

Please note that the Constructive Dissent Awards are not for performance of assigned duties, however exceptional. Submissions that do not meet the above criteria of initiative, integrity and intellectual courage, which contributes to constructive dissent, as determined by our judges and the Awards & Plaque Committee, will not be considered.

Further details on nomination procedures, additional guidelines and a nomination form can be found on the AFSA Web site at www.afsa.org/awards.cfm. From there, you can also link to articles about the AFSA awards and find a comprehensive listing of past award winners.

Questions should be directed to Barbara Berger, Coordinator for Professional Issues, by e-mail: berger@afsa.org; telephone: (202) 338-4045, ext. 521; or fax: (202) 338-8244. The deadline for submitting all nominations is **Feb. 28, 2007**. □

If It Quacks Like a Duck ...

One of my favorite sayings goes like this: If it looks like a duck, walks like a duck and quacks like a duck, it must be a duck. This is a good analogy for the situation facing us at USAID. Are we being merged with State or not? Some of us can remember the days when Senator Jesse Helms, R-N.C., was intent on forcing a shotgun marriage between the State Department and our agency. Congress did not go along, and we seemed to have dodged that bullet. We were fairly sure that the issue had been put to rest, and became complacent. But today, we see signs all around us that the camel's nose is again sneaking back into our tent.

While we have heard official protestations from the likes of Secretary of State Condoleezza Rice, USAID Administrator Randall Tobias and others that "No, we are not merging," the duck keeps waddling back. Is it a matter of semantics or am I just paranoid? How does one explain these facts: the USAID administrator now has an additional title — director of foreign assistance — and occupies a very high-level position at the State Department, where he is spending most of his time. A large contingency of our Policy and Program Coordination staff has physically established residency at Main State. There are close to 50 State management officer positions listed for USAID executive officers to bid on in our latest Assignment Cycle Major Listing? Let's look at each of these developments.

The USAID administrator's office has, in the organizational charts as well as physically, been merged into the State Department structure under something called the "F" office. Ambassador Tobias reports directly to the Secretary of State, and the USAID program implements her transformational diplomacy initiative. USAID's budget and planning function now falls under the direct control of State. The result is that development programs, which are now under increasingly centralized control, have been redefined and in some cases cut to accommodate political imperatives of State Department staff over the advice of USAID technical experts and even mission directors.

As I indicated above, the Policy and Program Coordination staff, about 40 of them, have already relocated in offices at Main State. Since PPC is the heart and brains of our organization, this is more than a symbolic act. It is major surgery. Another



telling sign that a merger has been in progress was the creation of country core teams in which hundreds of USAID staff were combined into planning teams with State experts. The first big meeting at the Loy Henderson Auditorium created some awkward, even comical situations. When a mass of about 500 USAID employees showed up at the appointed time at the diplomatic entrance, the guards became so annoyed at the large, unruly crowd, most of whom did not have State badges, that there was actually chaos, mass confusion and lots of head-shaking. Eventually everyone got through the gates, but the meeting started more than 30 minutes late. Not a very good start to our partnership. Now there has been talk about whether there is a need to have duplicate country desk officers at both USAID and State.

"We see signs all around us that the camel's nose is again sneaking back into our tent."

The latest sign of the merger was the inclusion of over 50 State positions (primarily management officer jobs, those people who run our embassies overseas) in the USAID 2007 Foreign Service Assignment Cycle Major Listing. This is called the "CAP" (Crossover Assignment Program), a program in which State and USAID employees can bid on each other's jobs. A lot fewer positions are available to State officers, however, who wish to bid on USAID jobs. The interesting thing here is that it seems that State is willing to allow USAID executive officers to manage embassies and USAID missions overseas, but most of the positions are in Africa and predominantly at hardship posts. As far as I know, none are in Paris or London. It makes sense to do this for many reasons, but does anyone doubt this is also a merger? Or did I miss something?

You might think that I am against such a merger. Maybe yes, maybe no. There probably are many excellent reasons to merge, such as increased efficiency, cost savings, alignment of program strategies and so on. There are also many reasons not to do so, such as weakening long-term development achievement for short-term political gains, losing the good faith of the international community concerning our true goals, and reducing our technical edge.

This is a political decision that the president and Congress have a right to make, for us to implement. I am concerned, however, by this death by a thousand little cuts. Let's just admit to what is happening and stop trying to keep the merger under the radar. It's quacking, so it must be a duck. □

Performance Awards • Continued from page 59

the interests of the United States, in the tradition of the late Avis Bohlen.

The Avis Bohlen Award was established in 1982 by the late Pamela Harriman to honor family members of Foreign Service employees. Avis Bohlen was the wife of Ambassador Charles E. Bohlen, and the Bohlens and Harrimans were close friends for many years. Mrs. Bohlen was known for her concern for the American staff at posts as well as for charitable works directed at the local community. While Pamela Harriman was alive, she personally funded this award each year and, whenever possible, would present it in person at the annual AFSA awards ceremony. After her death, the Mary W. Harriman Foundation, which also funds the Harriman Constructive Dissent Award, agreed to take over the funding of the Avis Bohlen Award as well. Every year since 1983, a family member of a Foreign Service employee has been honored with the award, except for last year, when we received not one nomination. Please help us continue this tradition of honoring FS family members by sending a nomination to AFSA.

The M. Juanita Guess Award was first given in 1995. Clements & Co. established it to honor community liaison officers for their valuable work assisting Foreign Service members, their families and the local embassy community with a multitude of issues regarding relocation and living overseas. Their efforts have contributed dramatically to improving the lives of Foreign Service communities worldwide, and AFSA is proud to recognize their achievements. The work of the community liaison officer has become more multifaceted and complex during these turbulent and dangerous times, but many posts continue to maintain a high morale and a strong sense of community due in large part to the outstanding work of CLOs worldwide.

The Delavan Award was established in 1990 to recognize the enormous contribu-

tions of office management specialists, both overseas and in the Department of State. As with the job of the CLO, in recent years the work of the OMS has become more complex and a much more integrated part of the embassy workforce. The OMS often works long hours for demanding bosses, and rarely receives appreciation and acknowledgment. The Delavan Award serves to highlight the recognition this group deserves.

Please help us continue this tradition of honoring FS family members by sending a nomination to AFSA.

Nomination Procedures

The nomination should include the following:

Part I — The name of the award for which the person is being nominated; the nominee's name, grade, agency and position. (For the Bohlen Award, also include the family relationship.)

Part II — The nominator's name, grade, agency and position, and a description of the association with the nominee.

Part III — The justification for the nomination. This narrative should discuss the actions and qualities which the nominator believes qualify the nominee for the award, giving **specific** examples of accomplishments that fulfill the criteria stated above. Part III should not exceed 700 words.

All winners receive a monetary award of \$2,500 and a framed certificate, and are honored at a ceremony in late June at the State Department's Benjamin Franklin Diplomatic Reception Room. The Secretary of State is invited to participate in the ceremony.

Further details on nomination procedures, additional guidelines and a nomination form can be found on the AFSA Web site at www.afsa.org/awards.cfm. From there, you can also link to articles about the AFSA awards and find a comprehensive listing of past award winners.

Questions should be directed to Barbara Berger, Coordinator for Professional Issues, by e-mail: berger@afsa.org; telephone: (202) 338-4045, ext. 521; or fax: (202) 338-8244. The deadline for submitting all nominations is **Feb. 28, 2007**. □

AFSANEWSBRIEFS**Final Reminder: Support AFSA with Your CFC Contribution**

Don't forget to make your Combined Federal Campaign pledge to support AFSA in 2007. When you select which worthy organizations to support, please consider an AFSA fund:

- (#2422) **The AFSA Scholarship Fund** provides scholarship money to Foreign Service children to help pay for their college education.
- (#2460) **The Fund for American Diplomacy** educates the public on the critical role of U.S. diplomacy in the world. Through grassroots education programs we show how the Foreign Service helps America's national security and economic prosperity.

For more information contact Lori Dec at dec@afsa.org or 1 (800) 704-2372, ext 504.

**Let AFSA Help Fund Your Child's College Education**

High school seniors and college undergraduates of Foreign Service employees (active-duty, retired and deceased) are eligible to apply for one-time-only AFSA Academic/Art Merit Awards and renewable need-based AFSA Financial Aid Scholarships. Awards range from \$1,500 to \$3,000. The submission deadline is Feb. 6, 2007. Visit AFSA's Scholarship Program Web page at www.afsa.org/scholar/index.cfm for complete details or contact Lori Dec at dec@afsa.org, (202) 944-5504 or 1 (800) 704-2372, ext. 504 (toll free).

Parents and students can also visit free, online scholarship search engines such as www.fastweb.com, www.wiredscholar.com, www.srnexp.com and www.brokescholar.com.

AFSANEWSBRIEFS

The System and You: A Successful Outcome

We are pleased to report that the problem described by Kenya Owens in the first edition of the feature “The System and You” has been resolved in his favor. In “A Housing Loss” (*AFSA News*, September), Owens explained how he and his wife, both Foreign Service specialists but assigned to different training facilities, were penalized for sharing lodging during training, even though they were married and it saved the government money.

Owens recently let us know that the vouchers have been recalculated, and it was determined that a mistake was made. He has been reimbursed for the difference. He tells *AFSA News*, “When I originally asked about challenging this, I was led to believe that the decision from the travel claim technician and/or the supervisor was final. The only reason I contacted AFSA was in an attempt to identify this to other couples so they did not potentially make the same mistake that we did. It is pretty daunting to think that if I had decided not to e-mail AFSA, the claim would have never been reviewed.”

The lesson? It can pay to question something that just seems wrong. Share your story of a struggle inside the bureaucracy with *Journal* readers by sending your submission (300-500 words) to dorman@afsa.org.

Inside Embassy for the Holidays: 5 for \$45

AFSA is offering a holiday discount on purchases of five or more copies of *Inside a U.S. Embassy*. This book is a great gift for family, friends and contacts who may not understand what the Foreign Service is and how an embassy works.

Go to www.afsa.org/inside for more information and to order, or call (847) 364-1222. Send questions to embassybook@afsa.org.



V.P. VOICE: FAS ■ BY ROBERT CURTIS, FAS REPRESENTATIVE

A Reorganized FAS



As you read this, the Foreign Agricultural Service will already have flipped the switch to implement the long-overdue reorganization. This is an exciting time for those of us in Washington as we attempt to make the reorganized FAS function as we envision it. For staff stationed overseas there will be less adjustment. The “new” FAS permits development of an overall USDA country/regional strategy to focus efforts and monies on the same policy goals. For years we have bemoaned missed policy opportunities: now we should be able to take full advantage of them with coordinated responses across the agency. Most FAS FSOs worked on — or provided valuable input into — the reorganization to address our concerns.

It surprises me how the reorganization magnifies the differing work attitudes and perceptions held by FAS employees from our two main personnel systems. FAS FSO comments focused on how to make the reorganization better for all employees. Most FAS overseas posts are now regional in nature, so we work in virtual offices within our region with our computer and cell phone. This work experience influenced reorganization comments expressed along the lines of, “just give me a computer and a phone and I can figure out how to work anywhere.”

Many of our Civil Service colleagues, on the other hand, asked career-focused questions about the reorganization, such as: “Exactly what will I be doing?” “What are my career advancement opportunities?” “What if I don’t enjoy my work?” “Where/when can I change positions?” While developing program area work strategy, the civil servants seemed more concerned about how activities and responsibilities would mesh with the other program areas (who would actually do what?), while the FSOs’ basic approach has been to figure things out over time. This reminds me of something Senior Executive Service member Richard Schroeter said 15 years ago, when he was assistant administrator for international trade policy: “I try to fill half of my (90-member) staff with FSOs: you guys just need a task, any task, and are happy to go off and do whatever is necessary to get the job done.” I believe these differing work attitudes, concerns and perceptions of employees in our two personnel systems combine to make FAS a much better agency, covering all aspects of the reorganization to be more responsive and to better serve our customers.

As overseas postings loom, a few of us reluctantly contemplate the task of addressing the procedure for assigning returning FSOs to Washington-based positions. This year’s Summer Placement Plan matched FSOs to positions in a bidding process in much the same way they were done prior to the establishment of the Washington Placement Plan. Now is the time to provide us your guidance and ideas on these two assignment systems and possible alternatives.

FAS/AFSA remains without a vice president to lead upcoming contract negotiations. Currently, a group of FAS AFSA advisers picks up many of the tasks normally handled by the VP. FAS needs one person to handle and effectively coordinate these various tasks. If you are interested in filling the vice president position, please contact me at roberto.curtis@fas.usda.gov, or call AFSA Executive Director Susan Reardon at (202) 338-4045, ext. 505. □

They Lost Me Over Day Care

I passed the Foreign Service written exam. Then I passed the oral exam. I passed the medical clearance and the background check. I even passed the Russian-language exam. After clearing all of those hurdles, I was finally offered a position as a Foreign Service officer. Then the real challenge began.

I had no idea how hard it would be to find good, affordable child care in Northern Virginia. When I called FSI's day-care center in July, I was told that they were full, but they expected an opening some time in December. They referred me to a list of day-care providers, but as I worked my way down the list, looking for someone with space available for an infant, I quickly grew discouraged. Every facility was full. Many didn't even bother to return my phone calls. One woman who did return my call informed me that the waiting list for infants at her facility was one-and-a-half years long. That's right — you have to put your baby on the waiting list nine full months before you even conceive.

Next, I began interviewing live-out nannies. But most of the people I could afford on a government salary spoke limited English, had limited experience or had questionable references. One woman forgot to show up for the interview. One listed her husband as her only reference. Another — who was actually my favorite — had no CPR certification and a fondness for heavy perfume.

Ultimately, I decided I had no choice but to turn down the

job — a job I'd been actively pursuing for almost two years. It's unfortunate. I think I would have made a good Foreign Service officer. Having served at three posts as an FS spouse, I understand the lifestyle and know what is expected of officers. As a Russian speaker, I would have been able to help fill a gap in the knowledge base of the Foreign Service. I was excited about the opportunity. But it wasn't worth jeopardizing the health and safety of my children.

I have no idea how much money the State Department spent to recruit me, but it couldn't have been cheap. After all, they had to pay for my background investigation, along with a full medical workup, a Russian-language exam and a daylong oral exam. State's Web site lists some of the benefits of joining the Foreign Service, and these benefits include on-site day care. Shouldn't they make sure this benefit is actually available? Couldn't they take some of the money they spend recruiting candidates and use it to expand the on-site day-care center at FSI?

It is too late to change the outcome of my job search, but money spent on expanding the day-care center might well net the State Department other qualified candidates down the road. □

Donna Scaramastra Gorman is a freelance writer whose work has been published in *The Washington Post*, *The Christian Science Monitor*, *The Seattle Times* and *Horizon Air Magazine*. She and her family have been posted in Almaty, Yerevan and Moscow. They are leaving for Beijing in 2007.

AFSANEWSBRIEFS

Celebration of Charlie Bray

On Oct. 17, over 70 friends and colleagues of former AFSA chair Charlie Bray gathered at AFSA headquarters to celebrate and remember his many important contributions to his university, his profession and his community in Wisconsin. Charlie Bray was a leader of the Young Turk movement that turned AFSA into a change agent for the Foreign Service, based on the key concept that Foreign Service professionals must participate in the making of the rules that govern their careers. Charlie Bray was the force who led the design team and funding campaign to create the AFSA headquarters building. See the Appreciation on page 56 for more details.

New Assignment Rules: How's It Going?

The new assignment rules have changed the process for bidding and assignment, and AFSA would like to track the way the new process is playing out in implementation. One way for us to know is for you to tell us of your own experience navigating the system.

Send a note to FSJ Associate Editor Shawn Dorman at dorman@afsa.org and tell us how the bidding season is going for you.

AFSA Members Receive Service to America Medals

Two AFSA members, Ambassador Nancy Powell and Mark S. Ward, have won Service to America Medals. These awards are supported by the Atlantic Media Co. (which owns *Government Executive*, *National Journal*, and *The Atlantic*) and the Partnership for Public Service. Amb. Powell received a medal in the category of homeland security for leading a U.S. initiative to establish a worldwide protocol for response to avian influenza.

Mark S. Ward of USAID received the medal for the international affairs category. He was honored for his work in planning the allocation of millions of dollars in federal aid following the Asian tsunami and the earthquake in Pakistan.

Also, State Department lawyer Christina Sanford won the award for "Call to Service." An article on the awards can be found at: www.govexec.com/story_page.cfm?articleid=35135&sid=7 □

Governing Board • Continued from page 59

“I would recommend serving on the Governing Board without reservation.”

— *Andrew Winter, Treasurer*

Every two years, AFSA members worldwide elect a new Governing Board. AFSA is currently seeking nominations for the 24 positions on the next Governing Board, which will serve from July 15, 2007, through July 14, 2009. The Governing Board directs the policies of this 82-year-old institution that represents all Foreign Service employees. As both the professional association and the union for the Foreign Service, AFSA’s principal mission is to enhance the effectiveness of the Foreign Service, to protect the professional interests of its members, to ensure the maintenance of high professional standards for both career diplomats and political appointees, and to promote understanding of the critical role of the Foreign Service in advancing America’s national security and economic prosperity.

Please consider running for a position on the next board, or nominate a colleague. Help make sure the voice of the Foreign Service is heard by management, on the Hill and around the country. Instructions on how to submit a nomination are in the November *AFSA News*, posted at www.afsa.org/news/index.cfm.

The officer positions to be filled in this election are:

- President (full time)
- Vice President for State (full time)
- Vice President for USAID (full time)
- Vice President for FCS (half time)
- Vice President for FAS (full time)
- Vice President for Retirees
- Secretary
- Treasurer

The constituency representative positions to be filled in this election are:

- State Department Representatives (eight positions)
- USAID Representative (one position)
- FCS Representative (one position)
- FAS Representative (one position)
- IBB Representative (one position)
- Retired-member Representatives (four positions)

Important dates in this election cycle:

Feb. 1, 2007 — Deadline for nominations

March 26, 2007 — Ballots and candidate statements mailed

June 1, 2007 — Ballots counted

July 15, 2007 — New board takes office

Why Serve on the AFSA Board?

In order to give a clearer picture of what service on the board is about, we asked our current board members to comment on their experiences. State VP Steve Kashkett says, “At a time when the role of the Foreign Service is under fire from many quarters — and when we are fighting to preserve a career with good promotion opportunities and flexibility in terms of assignments that are good both for professional advancement and for families — AFSA’s mission is vital.” He adds that “The AFSA board can speak out in defense of the Foreign Service in ways that no one else can — or will.”

“There is nothing more important that we can do for our colleagues than ensure the FS remains a professional, respected entity that fully utilizes the talents of those who join,” says State Rep. Namde. “It is vital that we all participate to help shape the FS tomorrow while keeping it a good place to work now. Especially in this era, AFSA is having a major impact and say in what the FS will look like and how management will treat its employees for years to come.”

State Representative Andrea Tomaszewicz, a newcomer to the board who entered the Foreign Service in 2001, says she joined the board because the Service “is at a moment of change for the way we work overseas, and I want to make sure that the way forward is an inclusive process. I believe AFSA plays an important role in this.” She found her first board meeting interesting, noting that “everybody was very welcoming.”

“The board and executive committee meetings are intellectually stimulating and personally fulfilling,” says Foreign Commercial Service Vice President Don Businger. “Each time we meet, I gain more respect and admiration for my AFSA board

colleagues, whether dealing with general issues, State Department problems, the Finance Committee or other functions.” He adds that “It is precisely the broad outward-looking function of being Commerce VP that I enjoy, the contacts with State, USAID, FAS and IBB in an attempt to make sense of our collective interests, as opposed to navel-gazing in a smaller function inside an HQ operation.”

Retiree Representative Gil Sheinbaum says that service on the board “has been very stimulating, since we have a hands-on role in following how the Foreign Service has had to cope with the needs of our foreign policy. There have been very interesting and impressive people on the board, including from the other agencies.”

Your Time

The president and the State, USAID and FAS vice presidents are full-time positions detailed to AFSA. The FCS vice president is detailed 50 percent of his or her time to AFSA. These employees are assigned over-complement and are eligible for time-in-class extensions. The Retiree VP position is a volunteer position that can take as much or as little time as desired, with a minimum of four hours a month for the board and executive committee meetings.

Board representatives are only required to spend a couple hours a month on AFSA business. “The State active-duty reps on the board make a small time commitment — just one two-hour board meeting each month,” says State VP Steve Kashkett. “But they get to have a big voice in helping define the future of the Foreign Service.”

The treasurer and secretary positions are volunteer positions. The secretary attends the board and executive committee meetings. The treasurer must be available for more hours, because he or she heads the Finance Committee. Treasurer Andrew Winter says that his position requires about six to 10 hours per month, which “is a little more work, but very rewarding.”

This is a challenging and critical period for the Foreign Service. Consider a term on the AFSA Governing Board, so you can contribute to ensuring the Foreign Service career is protected. □

LETTER TO THE SECRETARY

AFSA Protests Assignment System Abuse

FROM AFSA PRESIDENT J. ANTHONY HOLMES TO SECRETARY OF STATE CONDOLEEZZA RICE

October 24, 2006

Dear Madam Secretary,

I am writing today with a sense of deep sadness to express AFSA's dismay at the recent, unfathomable decision by the Department of State — in violation of the department's own regulations, its negotiated agreements with AFSA, and the guidelines in the Foreign Service Act — to assign a mid-level civil servant from Under Secretary Karen Hughes' office to fill the recently established Senior Foreign Service position as chief of the department's highly-touted new Public Diplomacy Rapid Response Team in Brussels, which is meant to serve as the "hub" for our media outreach efforts throughout Europe on Iraq, Afghanistan and the war on terrorism. The creation of this important position and the manner in which it was assigned were processes that minimized employees' awareness of its existence and excluded many Senior Foreign Service officers who have extensive career experience in public diplomacy in Europe, the Middle East and South Asia.

As you know, the Foreign Service Act of 1980, bolstered by the Foreign Affairs Manual and subsequent administrative case precedents, makes it clear that only in truly exceptional instances should Foreign Service positions overseas be filled by non-FS personnel. In such rare cases, you or your designee justify this anomaly by executing a Certificate of Need that explains why the department was unable to find a qualified FS employee and what unique qualifications the non-FS employee has to warrant assigning someone from outside the Service. In this Brussels PD case, there are many highly qualified Senior Foreign Service officers with appropriate experience, far exceeding that of the non-FS person brought in, who might have jumped at the chance to take this key position in Brussels — if they had been made aware of its existence and given the opportunity to bid on

the position. At a time when the department is asking our members to devote a greater part of their careers to service in more difficult hardship and danger-pay posts — and when the global repositioning exercise is shrinking the number of positions at more comfortable European posts — it is incomprehensible that the department would deny this senior Brussels opportunity to career Foreign Service officers. This position might well have been a perfect fit and an ideal onward assignment for a veteran FSO coming out of an unaccompanied tour of duty in Iraq, Afghanistan, Pakistan or Saudi Arabia.

**The AFSA Governing Board
has voted unanimously
to initiate an institutional
grievance to undo this
assignment.**

I regret to tell you, Madam Secretary, that the department did not even follow its own standard practices to find a Foreign Service officer for a newly created, immediate vacancy. During your tenure as Secretary, the department has sent out 119 formal calls via cable for volunteers for 193 priority positions. Many of these positions came open unexpectedly, after the normal assignment cycle had run its course, and needed to be filled urgently. Yet the department made no such call to fill this Brussels PD position. Its refusal to issue such an announcement sends the message to our members worldwide that either it was a low-priority position (and thus one in which a non-Foreign Service employee would never be considered), or that the assignment process was manipulated so that the possible attention of unwanted applicants would be minimized. In either case, AFSA decries the failure of the department to follow its

own rules, its negotiated agreements with us, and its abuse of the assignment powers the Foreign Service Act provides you.

Moreover, other important rules were disregarded. The Senior Assignments Division did not "cede" the position, as must be done before a senior-level job becomes available to a non-senior officer for assignment. And particularly egregiously, the department did not execute, as required in advance of such an assignment, the Certificate of Need discussed above until well after the fact, and only after AFSA expressed its deep displeasure over the way this position had been handled. The cursory, minimalist nature of the department's efforts to find a Foreign Service officer feed our conclusion that this was a "pre-cooked" deal done in contravention of the department's own rules and standard practices.

Madam Secretary, over and above the inexplicable abuse outlined above, what AFSA finds so incomprehensible about this assignment is that it goes such a long way to directly undermine the message that you have been so determined to send about the need for Service discipline and your call for sacrifice. In his recent "The Future Is Now" cable to the field, the director general called for the Foreign Service "to renew our commitment ... to the principle of Service need." I can reiterate to you what you already know for yourself, that the Foreign Service is meeting this call. In your cable to all FS personnel sent last week, you asserted that "our assignment process must be fair to all employees." I must tell you that the Foreign Service also expects this same discipline on the part of State Department management in terms of following its own rules and resisting attempts to give special treatment and preferred onward assignments to staff members of senior department officials, be they career officers or political appointees. This assignment is devastating for morale and is both an abuse of the department's authority and an affront to the Foreign

Service. It creates a cynicism that only certain employees will be subject to Service discipline, while others will be able to thumb their noses at it — and at them.

Madam Secretary, as you know, AFSA has long cooperated with the department to develop and operate an open, transparent system in which qualified Civil Service employees can serve overseas. Formally designated “hard-to-fill” positions become available after a months-long process in which exhaustive efforts are made to find qualified Foreign Service applicants. Separately from the hard-to-fill program, we also work with HR to minimize vacancies at unaccompanied posts through Civil Service excursion tours. It has long been, and it remains, AFSA’s view that the department’s Foreign and Civil Service employees are all foreign policy professionals and part of the same team. But how these assignments are made, and why they are made, are issues crucial to the effective functioning of the carefully balanced sys-

tem the department has enjoyed until now. Unfortunately, this assignment compromises the integrity of both the FS assignment process and the “hard-to-fill” and unaccompanied posts programs.

One example of the good faith that AFSA has shown in cooperating on this sensitive issue, one that we have discussed before, is the recent case of a Civil Service officer being assigned to the high-profile, much-sought-after Foreign Service position of DCM in Baghdad. Baghdad is our largest embassy in the world, the ambassador there is a political appointee, and the DCM plays a number of roles of vital importance to both the huge FS contingent in Iraq and our foreign policy interests — roles that only a Senior Foreign Service officer can fulfill. You assured me that you believed the combination of the imperatives of the administration’s highest foreign policy priority and the truly exceptional circumstances that existed in Iraq justified that exceptional assignment.

On that basis, AFSA set aside its concerns and accepted your decision without protest or appeal. I would ask that you contrast those circumstances with this Brussels PD assignment, where not a single one of those special circumstances or policy imperatives exist.

For all of these reasons it is my somber duty to inform you that AFSA has concluded that it must defend the Foreign Service and the integrity of the Foreign Service Act and our negotiated agreements. The AFSA Governing Board has thus voted unanimously to initiate an institutional grievance to undo this assignment, which has now been formally filed.

Finally, Madam Secretary, even though all assignments are made in your name, we are not sure that you were aware of this issue before receiving this letter. If that is the case, it is an issue that we believe warrants your personal attention.

Respectfully yours, J. Anthony Holmes,
AFSA President □



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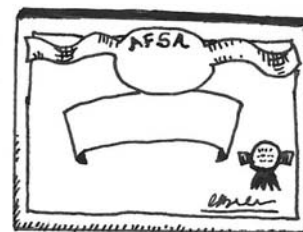
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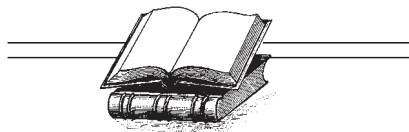
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BOOKS

A Unique Perspective

Diplomacy Lessons: Realism for an Unloved Superpower

John Brady Kiesling, Potomac Books, Inc., 2006, \$19.11, hardcover, 320 pages.

REVIEWED BY TED WILKINSON

Diplomacy Lessons: Realism for an Unloved Superpower is really three books rolled into one. It combines a short autobiographical sketch of a rich and engrossing 20-year Foreign Service career with a searchlight examination of several specific policy issues author John Brady Kiesling experienced in Greece, Armenia and the Indian subcontinent. It then concludes with a wide-ranging critique of Washington's drift away from true "realism" in its international relations, particularly under the current administration.

While Kiesling is perhaps the most famous FSO to resign in recent years, at least two others (John Brown and Ann Wright) also resigned in 2003 over the Iraq War. Nor, as Kiesling notes, were they the first to take such a stand over a policy issue: a group of five FSOs resigned in the early 1990s in frustration over the initial U.S. refusal to intervene in Bosnia. Still, judging from the recent acclaim that *Diplomacy Lessons* has received and the rebroadcasts of his book launch talks on National Public Radio, Kiesling may have come closer than anyone else to capturing the zeitgeist of

Kiesling's broad scope and incisive wit are reminiscent of some of Sir Harold Nicolson's best essays on diplomacy.



the dissenters and their many sympathizers.

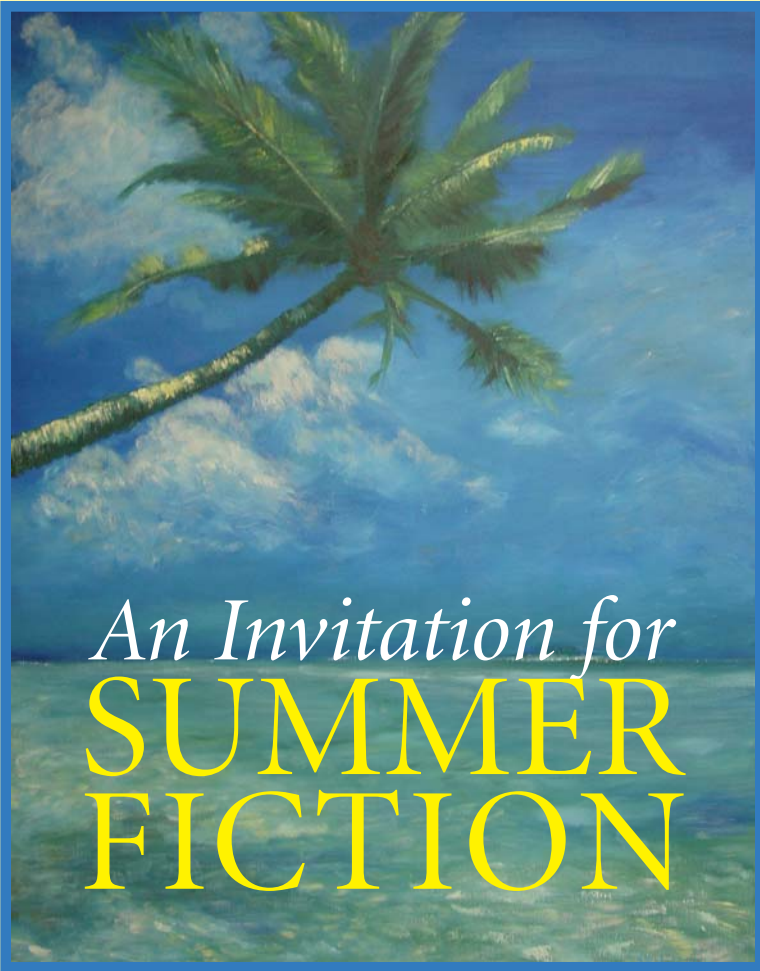
Throughout the book, Kiesling's broad scope and incisive wit are reminiscent of some of Sir Harold Nicolson's best essays on diplomacy. His critique of the Bush administration, for example, is so acute and acerbic that some might group him with Lewis Lapham and Sidney Blumenthal (whose just-published books, in at least one reviewer's eyes, display "a distorting case of Bush-phobia"). Kiesling asserts that President Bush and Vice President Cheney allowed themselves to be duped into an Iraq adventure by a known con-man (Ahmed Chalabi) in ways that an experienced diplomat would easily have seen through.

Apart from its Iraq mistakes, the administration seriously undermined any claims to international moral support — or to legitimacy, or "soft power" by other names — by abrogating or ignoring the ABM Treaty, the Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty, the Geneva Conventions, the Kyoto Protocol and the International Criminal

Court. As Kiesling ruefully comments, the United Nations may be a "large, unwieldy, inconsistent body that Americans are taught by their nationalist politicians to despise," but by underfunding and/or bypassing it with "coalitions of the willing," the U.S. is forgoing "the world's main source of transnational legitimacy."

Kiesling saves many telling ad hominem barbs for the president and vice president themselves. Whereas "Pres. Clinton had a rare gift for expressing American values in a way that recognized that foreigners had them too, Pres. Bush prefers, for domestic political reasons, to imply that America is a uniquely virtuous and legitimate purveyor of freedom and democracy." In press conferences, the president's "inability to articulate a logical response to a difficult question frightens the world more than he wants the world to be frightened." Instead, Kiesling avers, Bush should "leave to his diplomats the job of answering the unanswerable questions about the contradictions inherent in the foreign policy of any great power." Vice President Cheney's specific transgressions include transparent attempts to manipulate pre-invasion intelligence on Iraq and belligerent public statements about Iran's nuclear program.

But the United States is not an "unloved superpower" just because of the Bush administration; Kiesling lists several systemic problems that predate and will outlast the Bush/Cheney era. One is excessive executive



Mikkela Thompson

Once again the *Foreign Service Journal* is seeking works of fiction of up to 3,000 words for its annual contest. Story lines or characters involving the Foreign Service are preferred, but not required. The top story, as selected by the *Journal's* Editorial Board, will be published in the July/August issue; the runners-up will be published in subsequent issues as space permits. All winning stories will be posted on the *Journal's* Web site at www.fsjournal.org. The writer of each story will receive an honorarium of \$250, payable upon publication.

Deadline for submissions is March 1.

Please also note the following:

Authors are limited to one entry, which should be unsigned.



All stories must be previously unpublished.



Submissions should include contact information and a short biographical statement.



Entries will only be accepted by e-mail (preferably in the form of Word or Word Perfect attachments and with the text copied into the body of the message).



Please send submissions (or questions) to the attention of Andrew Kidd, *Journal* Business Manager, at kidd@afsa.org.

reliance on clandestine intelligence sources, which tends to produce skewed perspectives at the top, and not just on Iraq (e.g., persistent exaggeration of Soviet military capabilities during the Cold War). Both the sources of secret data and the agencies that oversee them often have their own policy axes to grind. Another common policy distortion comes from bureaucratic rivalries in Washington, where hyperactivist solutions to international problems that look good on paper often prevail, but fail to serve either U.S. interests or those of the affected countries.

Kiesling's prescription is to resurrect "realism" in U.S. foreign policy. But "realism" is no longer the classic Metternichean model of pragmatic, amoral pursuit of one's own defined national interests. Now "principles matter." So does an understanding of the perspectives of other countries that only the Foreign Service can provide.

Kiesling's list of "lessons" constitutes a *cri de coeur* against a system that suppresses "realism," suggesting a career trajectory that makes his eventual resignation seem almost foreordained. Earlier, he details his passionate Dissent Channel messages over the sensitive issue of naming the newly independent Macedonia in 1992, and in 1993 over Washington's initial refusal to be drawn into collective intervention in Bosnia (for which he and his co-drafters won an AFSA award for constructive dissent).

Kiesling may not be the "possible new Kennan" that Ron Spiers labels him; for one thing, he doesn't offer any geostrategic formulas. Nor is he an iconoclast, though he does have some interesting ideas for systemic change. One is to train new CIA case officers and FSOs together, so that they have a better understanding of each others' missions. Another is to weaken the

veto power of permanent U.N. Security Council members without actually eliminating it, so that no single veto can stymie action. The most important change he suggests, however, is more than systemic. He declares that American leaders must be conditioned to make policy decisions only after listening to and absorbing foreign government concerns, rather than cooking them up in an interagency near-vacuum with little regard for world reactions (e.g., the Iran-Contra arms transactions).

Scattered among Kiesling's "lessons" are some splendid vignettes with incandescent lighting from his personal experience — the long saga of bringing the November 17 terrorists in Greece to justice; our vain efforts to control nuclear proliferation on the subcontinent (foreshadowing North Korea and Iran today?); and struggling with the Azeri-Armenian dispute over Nagorno-Karabakh and observing Armenian elections.

Diplomacy Lessons is marred a bit by the ugly black marks of deletions, which Kiesling deliberately left in to show the pointlessness of government editing. In almost all cases what has been left out is a transparent reference to an embassy CIA station. Kiesling could just as easily have written around those redactions without any loss. However, there is one intriguing deletion in Kiesling's description of (at the time) Under Secretary John Bolton's role in the dismissal of José Bustani as head of the chemical weapons treaty organization: "Judging from press reports about Bolton's unsavory bureaucratic habits, I assume ... (deleted)." One wonders if what followed was classified or simply unprintable.

One of the most refreshing aspects of the book is the author's self-deprecating sense of humor, which is a good antidote for an otherwise somewhat

pretentious effort. I found the following explanatory note particularly appealing: "Defending my assertions more formally would require several books this same size. No one would read them." He's probably right about that, but what he has produced in the volume at hand is both readable and thought-provoking.

Retired FSO Ted Wilkinson is chair of the FSJ Editorial Board.

Art for Art's Sake?

Fallout Shelters for the Human Spirit: American Art and the Cold War

Michael L. Krenn, University of North Carolina Press, 2005, \$39.95, hardcover, 312 pages.

REVIEWED BY JOHN BROWN

The title of this book by Michael L. Krenn, a professor of history at Appalachian State University, comes from a quotation by Lloyd Goodrich (1897-1987), the art critic and ardent supporter of government support for the arts. In the alarming world of the Cold War, Goodrich wrote in 1962, "the arts provide fallout shelters for the human spirit vastly more essential, more urgently needed and at infinitely less cost than those for the human body."

But what kind of fallout shelters should these be? And whom exactly should the shelters spare from the threat of communist ideological radiation? These questions — the subject of much debate among Americans, both in and out of government, during the first 25 years of the East-West struggle — are at the core of Krenn's penetrating monograph. Focusing on the complex, and often comic, story of

B O O K S



the promotion of American painting abroad in the post-World War II era, primarily by the State Department and the United States Information Agency but also by private groups (including the American Federation of Arts), he delineates two approaches toward American international art programs.

The first, upheld by the handful of U.S. government officials who saw a role for the arts in fighting the Soviet cultural offensive, was that art was essentially another propaganda tool for, among other things, “assuring the world’s peoples that America was not a militaristic, materialistic, anti-intellectual nation; and, particularly through the use of modern and abstract art, serving as a message of freedom and

Krenn’s subtle study explains why “arts diplomacy” plays such a minor part in our foreign policy today.

individuality in contrast to the strict dogmas of the Soviet Union’s ‘socialist realism.’” The second view, held by members of the art world in the

United States, was that the mission for American art was to “serve as an international language of understanding and healing in a world left scarred and divided by global war.”

Krenn illustrates the tensions — and compromises — between these two groups in an illuminating and detailed treatment of some key episodes of the U.S. international art programs saga between 1945 and 1970. He begins with the “Advancing American Art” fiasco of 1946-1947, a modern art exhibit organized by the State Department that had to be abruptly terminated while on display in Czechoslovakia after the U.S. media, Congress and even President Truman himself severely criticized it (“the vapors of half-baked, lazy

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people” is how Truman characterized the show).

He then offers revealing and sometimes amusing chapters on the exhibit of American modern art in Berlin in 1951; the cancelled Sport in Art show in the mid-1950s; and the display of American paintings at the Brussels World’s Fair in 1958 and at the American National Exhibition in Moscow in 1959. He ends with a chapter dissecting the disastrous U.S. participation in the Venice Biennale of 1970 (“the naïve, know-nothing exhibition of the American pavilion is, quite simply, humiliating,” wrote one U.S. critic), which was handled by the Smithsonian and effectively marked the end — in Krenn’s view — of official U.S. support for the promotion of American art abroad. (USIA, he notes, had already decided to get out of the arts business.)

While he acknowledges that the U.S. enjoyed some kudos for its overseas exhibits among foreign audiences, Krenn concludes his book on a pessimistic note: “In the end, the international art program provided neither an ideological ‘fallout shelter’ for American propagandists, nor an avenue for speaking to the ‘human spirit’ so desired by American art lovers.” Given how well written and researched Krenn’s subtle study is, it is hard — but not particularly comforting — to disagree with his less than cheerful conclusion, and to understand better why “arts diplomacy” plays such a minor part in our foreign policy today.

John Brown, a former Foreign Service officer who practiced public diplomacy for more than 20 years, now compiles the Public Diplomacy Press and Blog Review (<http://www.uspublicdiplomacy.org/pdpr>) for the University of Southern California’s Center on Public Diplomacy.

Staving Off Disaster

At the Borderline of Armageddon: How American Presidents Managed the Atomic Bomb

James E. Goodby, Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, Inc., 2006, \$24.95, paperback, 240 pages.

REVIEWED BY HARRY C. BLANEY III

There are few more important subjects than how to deal with nuclear weapons in an age of conflict. Much can be said of the many issues and crises our nation has faced over the last half century, but few rival the consequences of badly managing the so-called “balance of terror” which, despite the end of the Cold War, remains a calamitous threat.

At the Borderline of Armageddon: How American Presidents Managed the Atomic Bomb provides both a historical perspective and careful analysis of how America dealt with the nuclear challenge over the last six decades. It also provides an insider’s view of this critical time and gives the reader a ringside seat into the process by which various U.S. decisionmakers not only handled the nuclear weapons crisis of the moment, but also addressed long-term challenges in a fast-changing security landscape.

Retired FSO James Goodby is balanced in most of his judgments and perceptive in understanding what was at stake and the role of key players. He describes such milestones as President Eisenhower’s early order on the use of nuclear weapons, Kennedy’s handling of the Cuban Missile crisis and ratification of the Limited Test Ban Treaty. Goodby also analyzes Johnson’s decision to build and fund multiple warheads, the Nixon/Ford era’s nuclear arms control efforts (with

special emphasis on the Strategic Arms Limitation Talks), Jimmy Carter’s response to the Euromissile debate and other nonproliferation decisions, and Reagan’s “Star Wars” decision and Reykjavik negotiations. He also discusses arms control policy under both Bush presidencies and Pres. Clinton.

Though Goodby does not hesitate to criticize certain decisions as myopic, he generally regards past administrations as wiser than more recent ones in grappling with national and global security. One place where this reviewer differs with that assessment is the credit Goodby gives Reagan, both for ending the Cold War and for setting a positive course in nuclear arms control. Given the impact of Reagan’s “Star Wars” decisions and his administration’s general hostility to arms control, many of us have a somewhat less generous interpretation of the Reagan record.

One of the most telling sections of the book is the chapter on the current administration. Goodby cogently outlines the significant changes that Bush and his team ushered in with major departures in key policies that undermined America’s role and capacity to gain the support of our allies. He explores the main challenges of this period, which have included the essential destruction of the ABM treaty, the doctrine of pre-emptive war, the Iraq debacle (including the misuse of intelligence regarding Iraq’s non-existent weapons of mass destruction), and the North Korean stalemate. Here is his stark perspective:

“The Bush administration’s foreign policy is based on a conviction that the defense of American interests is best served by retaining the freedom to act, unfettered by other obligations. ... Temporary coalitions, rather than entangling alliances, are seen as the best way to achieve American aims. ...

BOOKS



America's friends see in this a departure from the America they knew, a nation that pursued a foreign policy based on norms and rules, and steadiness in commitments."

For those who believe that intelligent and effective diplomacy still can and should be a major tool to preserve American security, this book is a must-read. Speaking as one who has devoted a long and distinguished career to trying to put the genie back into the bottle, Goodby concludes: "If states fail to act together to uphold the constraints imposed by international law and custom, the terrorists will win."

The second major insight in the book's concluding section is this: "After each great historic turning point in world affairs, mistakes have planted the seeds of future catastrophe. This

***For those who believe
that effective diplomacy
should remain a major
tool to preserve American
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is a must-read.***

can happen again. Many of the issues the United States will face as it confronts the challenge of nuclear weapons in the 21st century involve

the basic terms on which the nation chooses to be involved in the world."

I suspect very few thoughtful diplomats would come to a different conclusion. Yet as one reads this book, it seems that we are living in an era in which nothing was learned from the past and we are blind to the reality of the present. ■

Retired FSO Harry Blaney served at the U.S. missions to NATO and the European Community, and on the Policy Planning Staff and in the White House, among other assignments. He is now the president of the Coalition for American Leadership Abroad (COLEAD), an alliance of 50 non-profit U.S. foreign affairs groups that includes the American Foreign Service Association.

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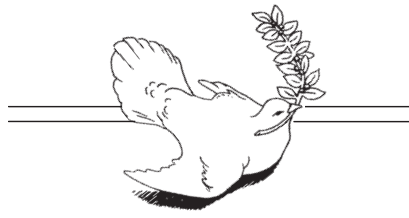
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IN MEMORY

USAID FSO Killed in Nepal

A helicopter crash in Nepal, near Mount Kanchenjunga, the world's third-highest peak, took the lives of FSO **Margaret Alexander** and FSN **Bijnan Acharya** of the USAID mission in Nepal on Sept. 23. They and 22 others were returning from a ceremony in the village of Ghunsa marking the handing over of a World Wildlife Fund conservation area to the local community, part of a USAID project to develop a national park at Kanchenjunga.

The cause of the crash is unknown. The helicopter was flying to a local airport in Taplejung district when it lost radio contact and disappeared. The crash site was located two days later. There were no survivors.

"We mourn these two dedicated professionals who gave their lives in service to Nepal and the United States," USAID Administrator Ambassador Randall M. Tobias said in an official statement on Sept. 25. "They both were instrumental in ensuring the sustainable use of Nepal's rich natural resources while promoting democratic principles and transparency," Secretary of State Condoleezza Rice stated in extending official condolences to the officers' families. "They will be missed by their State Department and USAID colleagues and friends."

Margaret Alexander, 57, an FSO with USAID, was deputy director of the USAID mission in Nepal. She had recently been confirmed as the new mission director to the Democratic Republic of the Congo.

Ms. Alexander was born in New York and grew up in Iowa. She graduated from Bryn Mawr College in Pennsylvania in 1971, and then did graduate work in art and anthropology at Columbia University. She worked on archaeological projects in Tunisia in the 1970s. In 1980 she received a law degree from the University of Pennsylvania, where she was editor of the law review. She was a law clerk for a U.S. district judge in Delaware and then, from 1981 to 1987, practiced law with the Washington, D.C., firm of Covington & Burling.

In 1987, Ms. Alexander joined USAID as a regional legal counsel. From 1988 to 2001, she had Foreign Service assignments in the Ivory Coast, Swaziland and Haiti. From 2002 to 2005, she was based in Nairobi as senior regional legal adviser to USAID's missions in East and Central Africa. She was assistant general counsel for the Europe and Eurasia Bureau in Washington before taking up her position as deputy mission director in Nepal one year ago.

Ms. Alexander is survived by her sister Harriet of Iowa City, Iowa.

FSN Dr. Bijnan Acharya has worked with USAID Nepal for more than a decade. He was serving as an environmental officer and managing USAID environmental programs with the NGO community. He is survived by his wife Sujata and two children.

Jake M. Dyels Jr., 72, a retired FSO, died in Brentwood, Calif., on June 12, only a few days after being diagnosed with a rare form of cancer.

Mr. Dyels had an exemplary career in public service. In the late 1950s and early 1960s he was an enlisted man in the U.S. Naval Reserve and, during the same time frame, became the first African-American firefighter with the Richmond, Calif., fire department. In a big career change in 1966, Mr. Dyels was named an assistant Peace Corps director, serving in Cartagena, Colombia, until 1968. He joined the Foreign Service in 1969, and began a 28-year diplomatic career that ended with his retirement from the ranks of the Senior Foreign Service in 1997.

Mr. Dyels earned a B.A. in international relations from San Francisco State College, an M.A. in public administration from Oklahoma University, trade-union certification from the Harvard School of Business and public administration certification from the John F. Kennedy School of Government at Harvard University.

Accompanied always by his wife, and by their children when they were young, Mr. Dyels served in consular and labor-officer positions in Newfoundland, Bogota, Panama City, Colombo, Amsterdam and Monterey. At the latter two posts he was both consul general and principal officer. He also served several years in Washington, D.C., including a stint in the Bureau of Western Hemisphere Affairs (then ARA) as regional labor adviser.

IN MEMORY



In addition to Joanne, his wife of 50 years, Mr. Dyels is survived by their three daughters, Jocelyn Dyels Fuller, Karen Ann Dyels, Janice Dyels Strong; and their son, Kevin Richard Dyels. Mr. Dyels was the proud grandfather of April, Ryan, Jasmine, Joy, Ronald, Ashley, Jonathan, Vanessa and Brandon; and he was able to enjoy beautiful twin great-grandchildren, Kyan and Kyree.



Hermann Frederick Eilts, 84, a retired FSO and ambassador to Saudi Arabia and Egypt who helped negotiate the Camp David peace accords, died on Oct. 12 of complications of heart disease at his home in Wellesley, Mass.

Ambassador Eilts was born in Weissenfels Saale, Germany, and immigrated to the U.S. as a child, becoming a citizen in 1930, at the age of 8. He grew up in Scranton, Pa., and graduated from Ursinus College in Colledgeville, Pa. During World War II he served in Army intelligence in North Africa and Europe, receiving a Purple Heart and Bronze Star. Following the war, Amb. Eilts attended Johns Hopkins University's School of Advanced International Studies. He received a master's degree in 1947, and immediately joined the Foreign Service.

One of the State Department's first Middle East specialists, Amb. Eilts was a figure in major events during his distinguished 32-year Foreign Service career. Described as "a man with unflappable self-control" in a 1979 *Washington Post* profile, Amb. Eilts helped maintain peace during some of the major crises of the 1970s and 1980s. He served in Egypt, Libya, Iran, Iraq, Saudi Arabia and Yemen, in addition to Washington and a tour in London

as a political officer monitoring the Middle East.

Amb. Eilts' first tour of duty in Saudi Arabia was in 1948, when the kingdom had just begun pumping oil for the international market; later he served as ambassador there during the 1967 Arab-Israeli Six-Day War. In 1973, he reopened the embassy in Cairo, which had been closed by the break in relations during the 1967 war. As ambassador to Egypt, he assisted Secretary of State Henry Kissinger in conducting shuttle diplomacy between 1974 and 1975.

A letter from Amb. Eilts to President Jimmy Carter on July 30, 1978, reporting on President Anwar Sadat's impatience with what he saw as Israeli intransigence, set in motion the summit meetings that produced the historic Camp David agreement in 1979. Amb. Eilts' critical role made him a target of Libyan assassins during this period.

Amb. Eilts retired from the Foreign Service in 1979. He then joined Boston University as founder and director of its Center for International Relations. He often wrote, lectured and was quoted as an expert on Middle East political crises. He served on the board of trustees for the American University in Cairo, and was a charter member of the American Academy of Diplomacy.

Survivors include his wife of 58 years, Helen Brew Eilts of Wellesley, Mass.; two sons, Conrad Marshall Eilts of Bahrain and Frederick Lowell Eilts of Wichita, Kan.; and four grandchildren.



Clifton Forster, 82, a retired FSO with USIA, died Sept. 19 following a fall at his home in Tiburon, Calif.

Mr. Forster was born in Manila, where his father was director of the

Red Cross and field director for the Far East. He traveled with his parents and sister throughout Asia in the prewar years. In 1941, when Japan invaded the Philippines, Mr. Forster was a senior in high school there. With all the foreigners, he and his parents were rounded up and interned at camps in Santo Tomas and Los Banos. His father had a heart attack soon after, and was removed from the camp along with his mother, leaving Mr. Forster to fend for himself.

In 1943, he was returned to the U.S. in a prisoner exchange, and promptly enlisted in the Navy. Shortly before shipping out to duty in the Far East, Mr. Forster was transferred to the office of the Chief of Naval Operations, where his vast experience in the Philippines was useful in intelligence work.

Following the war, Mr. Forster studied international relations at Stanford University, and joined the Foreign Service in 1949. His first assignment was to Davao, in the southern Philippines, to establish headquarters for the Mindanao-Sulu U.S. Information Service Center. He was then sent to Yale University for intensive Japanese language and area studies.

During a 34-year FS career, Mr. Forster served a total of 15 years in Japan. He lived and worked on the islands of Shikoku and Kyushu, in Kobe and in Tokyo. There he was instrumental in developing "sister city" programs between San Francisco and Osaka, and between San Jose and Okayama. He also served in Burma and Israel, and was assigned to the U.S. delegation to the U.N. under Adlai Stevenson. He retired in 1983 as director for East Asia and the Pacific for the U.S. Information Agency, with the rank of minister-counselor.

Mr. and Mrs. Forster lived in

IN MEMORY



Hawaii from 1983 to 1995. There, he was senior associate director for the Pacific Forum, vice president for institutional relations at Hawaii Loa College, director of the Honolulu International Visitors Program for the U.S. government, and executive director of the Pacific and Asian Affairs Council. He and his wife moved to Tiburon in 1995.

Mr. Forster is survived by his wife, Nancy; sons Thomas Forster of Orcas Island, Wash., and Washington, D.C., and Douglas Forster of Mill Valley, Calif.; daughter Cindy Forster of Claremont, Calif.; and four grandchildren.



Harvey E. Gutman, 80, a retired FSO with USAID, died on Sept. 1 at his home in Sarasota, Fla.

Born in St. Gall, Switzerland, on July 1, 1921, Mr. Gutman moved to the U.S. in 1938. He served in U.S. Army Combat Infantry Intelligence during World War II and in the military government in Germany for two years following the war. He was awarded the Bronze Star.

Mr. Gutman earned a bachelor's degree from the University of Portland in Oregon, and a master's degree from American University in Washington, D.C. After initial employment with the Department of Commerce, he joined USAID as a Foreign Service officer in 1958. During a 22-year career, he was posted to Vientiane, Lome, Paris, Bangkok, Rabat, Monrovia and Niamey. He retired from the Foreign Service in 1980, and subsequently worked as an economic consultant on projects in Africa.

In 1991, Mr. Gutman moved from Virginia to Sarasota, Fla., where he was active in planning international lectures at the Sarasota Institute of Lifetime Learning and hosting re-

tired ambassadors and other career friends when they came to speak. He was on the board of the Sarasota-Manatee U.N. Association and a member of the Foreign Service Retirees Association of Florida and the American Foreign Service Association.

Friends remember Mr. Gutman as a man of unparalleled character and intellect; an avid world traveler; a natural wit and humorist in many languages; and a student of people and all aspects of cultures.

Mr. Gutman was predeceased by his long-term companion, Anne M. Keen, in 1991. He is survived by a niece, Tara H. Gutman, and grandnephew, Maxim Gutman, of Canberra, Australia.



Elizabeth Marie Jordan, 79, the spouse of retired USIA FSO Robert F. Jordan, died at her Silver Spring, Md., home on Sept. 23 after a 13-year struggle with mesothelioma cancer.

Born Elizabeth Dabareiner in Wisconsin, daughter of the late Norman H. and Marie (Schulz) Dabareiner, she was a graduate of Janesville high school, class of 1945. She attended Milton College, and in 1947 moved with her family to Framingham, Mass., where she met her future husband. She attended Framingham State Teachers College and worked as a property tax officer in a local bank.

In 1956 she married and thereafter accompanied her husband throughout a 36-year career with USIA, serving in Asuncion, Rosario, Monterrey, Tegucigalpa, Palermo, Port-au-Prince, Dublin, Lisbon, Havana, Manila and Brasilia.

While overseas, she learned four foreign languages and taught English in binational centers. She became proficient at playing the Paraguayan

harp, at weaving Portuguese Arraiolos rugs and tapestries and at preparing ethnic cuisine. She collaborated with embassy spouses on compiling three cookbooks of ethnic recipes. She was honored by the Honduran government for her extensive volunteer work in local hospitals.

An avid bridge player, she was a winner of the Department of State's annual worldwide duplicate bridge tournament. A staunch Boston Red Sox fan, she followed the team's ups and downs from around the globe.

In 1993 Mrs. Jordan was an office volunteer and later an employee of Saint Luke Lutheran Church in Silver Spring, Md., where she became a Stephen Minister.

She is survived by her husband, Robert F. Jordan of Silver Spring, Md.; a daughter, Linda J. Winnard of Leawood, Kan.; two sons, Michael S. Jordan of Damascus, Md., and David P. Jordan of Lake Worth, Fla.; a sister, Donna D. Good of East Greenwich, R.I.; brothers Norman H. Dabareiner Jr. of Oconomowoc, Wis., and Larry C. Dabareiner of Bellingham, Mass.; and five grandchildren.



James George Sampas, 79, a retired FSO, died on Sept. 5 at his home in Chevy Chase, Md. He had Parkinson's disease.

Mr. Sampas was born in Lowell, Mass., the son of George and Mary Tsouprakakis Sampas. He was educated in the Lowell public school system, and graduated from Lowell high school in 1945. He left high school early to serve in the U.S. Army Air Force from 1945 to 1946 in the U.S. and Germany.

He received B.A. and M.A. degrees from Boston University, and a J.D. degree from American University's Washington College of Law. He

IN MEMORY



moved to Washington, D.C., in 1952.

As an FSO, Mr. Sampas served in Bangkok, Paris, Ottawa, Brussels and Reykjavik, in addition to Washington. He retired from the Foreign Service in 1980, but continued to serve the Department of State on a part-time basis until 1990. In addition to working on Freedom of Information Act requests in the department, he assisted the culture and press section of Embassy Beijing, especially during the Tiananmen Square crisis.

Married to Dorothy Myers Sampas, also a career Foreign Service officer, on retirement Mr. Sampas accompanied her to her posting in Beijing, to the U.S. mission to the United Nations in New York and to Mauritania, where Mrs. Sampas served as ambassador. There, he assisted youngsters in reading at the American International School of Nouackchott. In retirement he also served on the Department of State's Board of Appellate Review and on the town council of Somerset, Md.

Mr. Sampas was a member of Chevy Chase Presbyterian Church. He was also a member of the District of Columbia Bar, the American Foreign Service Association and Diplomatic and Consular Officers, Retired, and served as an assistant Boy Scout master.

Survivors, in addition to his wife, include two children: Lawrence Sampas of Washington, D.C., and George Sampas of New York City. He is also survived by a brother, John G. Sampas of Lowell, Mass., and two sisters, Claire Paicopolis of Woburn, Mass., and Helen Surprenant of Cracut, Mass., as well as many nieces and nephews.



Judith Ann Thurman, 62, spouse of the late FSO Richard Thurman,

died of lung cancer in Boulder, Colo., on Sept. 26.

Mrs. Thurman was born on April 22, 1944, in Newport News, Va., the daughter of Joseph and Thelma Basham. She attended Oklahoma City University, and in 1965 married Richard Thurman. The couple settled in Nashville, Tenn., where Mrs. Thurman worked as a reporter for the *Nashville Tennessean*. After her husband joined the Foreign Service, she accompanied him on postings in Chile, Turkey, Cyprus, Mexico and Brazil, along with several Washington-area assignments.

Following Mr. Thurman's death in 1997, Mrs. Thurman moved to Santa Barbara, Calif., and then Boulder, Colo., to be near her daughter Diana.

She is survived by her two children, Diana of Louisville, Colo., and Alex of Brooklyn, N.Y., and two grandchildren.



Donald A. Wetherbee, 79, a retired Foreign Service officer, died on Aug. 8 at Holy Cross Hospital in Silver Spring, Md., after a brief illness.

Mr. Wetherbee was born in New York City, and graduated from Fordham Preparatory School. He served in the U.S. Marine Corps from 1945 to 1955, including stints in China, Korea, Paraguay and Chile. In Korea his responsibilities included the Pusan Perimeter, Inchon Landing and Chosin Reservoir. He was wounded in the line of duty, and was awarded the Bronze Star Medal and the Purple Heart. In Paraguay and Chile, he was assigned to marine security detachments.

Mr. Wetherbee entered the Foreign Service in 1955, and was assigned to Santiago as a communications clerk. In 1958, he was transferred to Vientiane as a general ser-

vices officer. Two years later, he received orders to proceed to Elisabethville (now Lubumbashi) to serve as an administrative officer. He was transferred to Marseille in 1963, and sent to Paris as a GSO in 1965. He was posted to Algiers in 1967, and transferred to London in 1970, where he was commissioned in 1972. In 1973, he was assigned to the Bureau of East Asian Affairs at State, where he was post management officer for Japan and China. He later served at the fledgling U.S. Liaison Office in Beijing.

Mr. Wetherbee received the State Department Meritorious Honor Award in 1978, and retired from the Foreign Service that same year. He settled in Washington, D.C., later moving to Silver Spring in 2005. He was a member of the American Foreign Service Association and Diplomatic and Consular Officers, Retired.

Mr. Wetherbee's first wife, Mickey Joan Wetherbee, a Foreign Service secretary, died in 1990; his second wife, Josephine "Jo" Wetherbee, whom he married in 1992, died in 2005. He is survived by a sister-in-law, Althea Wetherbee of Huntington Station, N.Y.; a niece, Jule Nelson of Mequon, Wis.; nephews Lawrence Wetherbee of Centerport, N.Y., James Wetherbee of Seabrook, Texas, and Daniel Wetherbee of Sherman Oaks, Calif.; and several cousins, grandnieces and grandnephews. ■

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THE INTERNATIONAL BACCALAUREATE PROGRAM: A PRIMER

THE IB IS A CHALLENGING ACADEMIC PROGRAM WITH MANY PERKS —
FOR THE RIGHT TYPE OF STUDENT.

BY FRANCESCA HUEMER KELLY

“**T**here is simply no way to earn an IB diploma without learning to write, and more importantly, to think on one’s feet.”

Those words, spoken by Cambridge University student Aaron Curtis, sum up the strength and rigor of the International Baccalaureate Diploma Program, a special, worldwide school curriculum that was started in the 1960s by a group of educators who wanted to provide children of internationally mobile families with an uninterrupted, quality education.

The organization that sprang out of this learning program is now officially called the International Baccalaureate Organization, based in Geneva with offices and representatives around the world. The IBO offers three academic programs for three different age-groups (elementary school, middle school and high school). It is the high school program, also called the Diploma Program, which will be discussed in this article. (For more information about the primary and middle school programs, go to www.ibo.org.)

The International Baccalaureate Organization is proud

Francesca Huemer Kelly, a Foreign Service spouse presently based in Brussels, is a professional freelance writer whose work is published regularly in American and international magazines. A founder of Tales from a Small Planet (talesmag.com), she was the Web site’s editor-in-chief from 1999 to 2003, and currently serves in an advisory capacity. Ms. Kelly, a trained concert singer, has lived in Milan, Leningrad, Moscow, Belgrade, Vienna, Ankara and Rome. She is the mother of four children.

of the fact that students “learn more than a collection of facts.” Independent research and writing are a key component of the program.

The IB diploma is awarded once students successfully complete a rigorous two-year program. Students are usually 16- to 19-year-olds in 11th and 12th grade, although some students start courses in 10th grade, and some finish in the 13th grade. The program aims to encourage students to love learning and develop critical thinking and writing skills, and to promote a lifelong commitment to public service. Writing an extended essay is required, and students must pass comprehensive exams before earning the diploma.

This demanding program is not for everyone. Roughly 20 percent of students in the diploma program worldwide fail one or more of the IB diploma exams every year. But it is possible for high-schoolers to take certain IB courses, just as American students take AP (Advanced Placement) courses, without taking part in the full diploma program. When people refer to “the IB,” or “full IB,” they’re almost always referring to the complete IB Diploma Program, as opposed to individual IB-level courses. Individual courses are often referred to as “IB classes,” or “IB certificate classes,” because a certificate is earned for each IB class successfully completed by those students not enrolled in the full program.

The IB diploma has traditionally been thought of as a European program geared for students attending the top world universities, and that is probably still its main focus. However, its presence is growing around the world — particularly in the United States, where institutions of higher learning are increasingly recognizing the IB’s merits when evaluating college applicants.

The IB Curriculum

The curriculum is made up of six subject areas, or groups: Language A1 (the student's most "comfortable" language); Second Language (which can include A2, a language in which the student is fairly competent; B, a language in which the student has had some previous experience; or "language ab initio," for beginners); Individuals and Societies; Sciences; Mathematics; and the Arts.

Within each of these subject areas dozens of courses may be offered, depending on the school and country. Courses are offered at both a "high" level and a "standard" level, so that students can choose even more rigorous courses for subjects in which they need a greater challenge. Students must take three subjects at a high level and three at a standard level, although taking four high-level subjects and two standard is allowed. The high-level

The IB has traditionally been thought of as a European program geared for students attending the top world universities, and this is probably still its main focus.

classes take much more time (240 course-hours) than the standard-level classes (150 course-hours).

In addition to the six subject areas above, the following three "core"

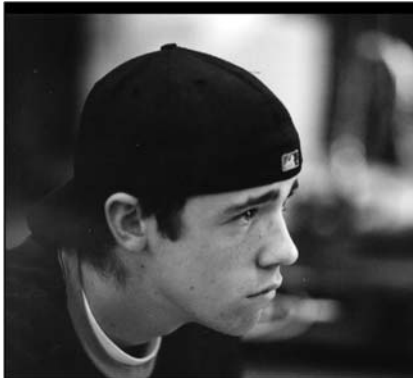
areas are central to the program:

1. Extended Essay. Students are required to write up to 4,000 words (on a topic chosen by the student but with curricular and teacher guidelines), usually due in the first term of the 12th grade. This is an opportunity for students to utilize research techniques independently, and to write in depth at a college level.

2. Theory of Knowledge. This is an interdisciplinary seminar course exploring knowledge itself, including perception, cognition, philosophy and diverse viewpoints. Here, students hone their critical-thinking skills and learn to cogently present an argument by using supporting evidence.

3. CAS (Creativity, Action, Service). Students are required to participate in creative endeavors, either in or outside the classroom (e.g., art classes, choral singing, the-

Continued on page 88



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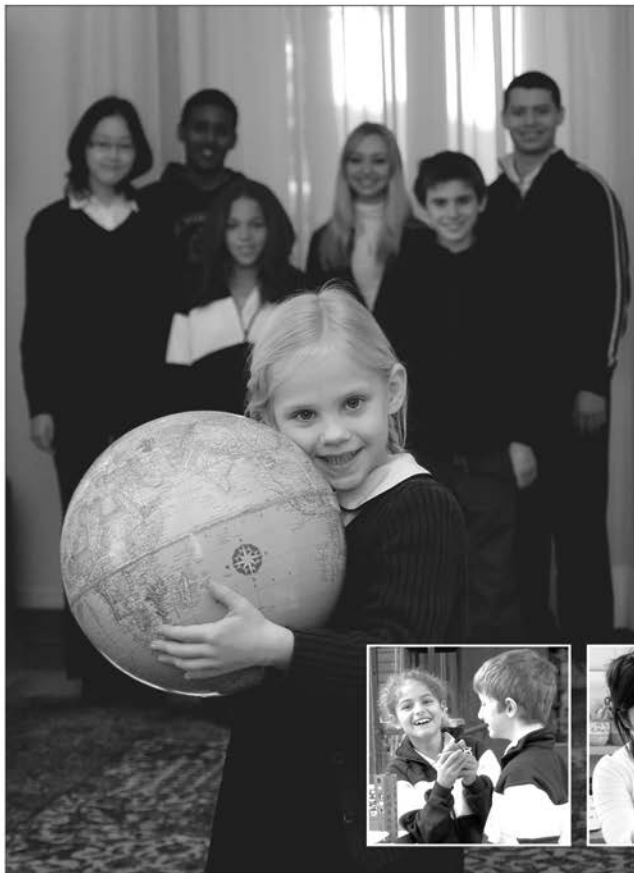
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(Continued from page 86)

ater productions, etc.). They are also required to take part in sports, either on teams or individually. Finally, they must be involved in community service, which can include anything from volunteering at school events to organizing a drive for the homeless — usually at least three to four hours a week or, at many schools, a total of 150 hours.

The IB grading system uses a numerical scale from 1 (lowest) to 7 (highest). At the end of the two-year program, students take exams in each subject. The diploma is awarded to those students who have achieved at least a sum of 24 (in other words, an average grade of 4 in each of the six subject areas) and who have successfully completed the three core elements of the program: TOK, CAS and the Extended Essay. The maximum score that can be attained is a 45: 42 points for a perfect 7 grade in each

Perhaps the most negative aspect of the IB diploma is the amount of work and accompanying amount of stress it entails.

subject, plus up to 3 “extra” points if a student has done excellent work in TOK and the Extended Essay. The students are graded by their own high school teachers and also by external IB examiners.

For a complete description of the

program, go to the IBO’s manual for schools: http://www.ibo.org/programmes/documents/schools_guide_diploma.pdf

Is the IB Necessary?

If a student wishes to attend higher university in most countries, particularly European countries and the U.K., the IB is most certainly necessary. American high-schoolers who intend to go to U.S. colleges and universities do not need to take on the full IB Diploma Program and, in fact, it is not available at many schools in the States.

However, if they have access to the program, and are strong students who wish to apply to the most competitive U.S. colleges (or universities abroad), it would be a smart move to enroll in the full IB program, according to Keith Todd, director of under-

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(Continued from page 88)

graduate admissions at Northwestern University, one of the top-ranked universities in the U.S. “Admissions officers at the nation’s most selective colleges, including Northwestern, recognize the exceptional rigor and range that the International Baccalaureate program offers students,” he says. When Todd and his admissions officers review applications, they look “not only at letter grades, but at the overall challenge of an applicant’s curriculum, and we recognize that IB courses, and especially the full diploma, are evidence that applicants are challenging themselves academically at the highest level. This is a definite plus in the admission decision-making process.”

Mari O’Connor, a Foreign Service spouse who recently accompanied her daughter on stateside college visits, agrees. “When we toured highly-ranked American universities such as

***If you are enrolling in
the IB Diploma Program
solely to receive college
credit, it is essential to
investigate the possibility
thoroughly.***

Middlebury or Carleton,” she says, “the admissions officers all said, ‘Do the full IB diploma because it will give your application a boost.’”

The IB diploma has a lot going for it. The goal of producing a well-rounded, critical thinker who knows

how to write and has engaged in public service, creative endeavors and athletics is certainly a noble one, and may be enough right there to fuel the decision to enroll in the program.

But there are other perks, as well. Because of its level of academic challenge, the IB diploma prepares students for college perhaps better than any other experience. The curriculum, required readings and amount of writing are all at a university level. Probably the first thing current university students say about the IB diploma is that their adjustment to college was far easier because they had gone through the last two years of high school in such a demanding program.

“Nothing I have done since the IB has seemed difficult by comparison,” says Samantha Huffman, who attended George Mason High School in Falls Church, Va. “In fact, my first

Continued on page 92



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(Continued from page 90)

year at McGill University wasn't nearly as challenging. I did an honors degree in international development, and always felt I was on top of my classes." Huffman, who now works at the World Bank, went on to write two masters-length honors theses on AIDS in Cambodia. She adds, "I was always reminded of my IB dissertation — because it really was an initiation to doing independent research for a full year and developing a mentoring relationship with a professor, which is an invaluable skill for any kind of graduate research."

**Requirements:
Work and Stress**

So, if it's such a wonderful program, why wouldn't every student enroll? In fact, there are some disadvantages to the program. Perhaps the most negative aspect of the IB diploma is the amount of work and

The goal of producing a well-rounded, critical thinker who knows how to write and has engaged in public service, creative endeavors and athletics is certainly a noble one.

accompanying amount of stress it entails. IB diploma candidates have, in many ways, begun university two years early. In fact, as one parent whose daughter is currently in 10th

grade in northern Virginia points out, it's even earlier: "Because you have to be planning to do the diploma ahead of time in order to have all your prerequisites under your belt, the kids here refer to themselves as being in the IB Diploma Program long before junior year."

Although there are no formal requirements for admission to an IB program, preparation is definitely necessary. "You have to be 'ready' for the level of intensity of the IB courses, and have had the right group of courses to be ready for the IB curriculum," is the way Rebecca Grappo puts it. Grappo, an FS spouse, is an educational consultant and former education and youth officer at State's Family Liaison Office.

"Preparation is necessary for any high-level subjects, and you also need to be prepared to enter one of the

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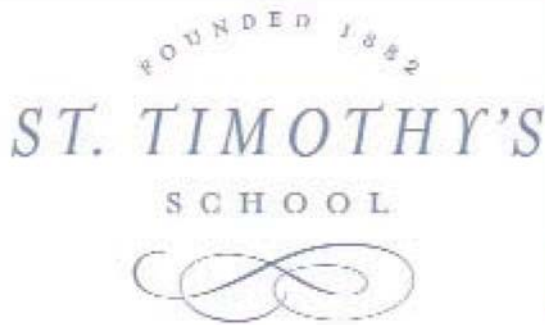
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(Continued from page 92)

four levels of IB math offerings,” says Mari O’Connor, whose daughters both did the full IB Diploma Program. “Both my daughters did IB Math Methods Standard Level,” O’Connor explains. “To prepare for entrance into this course, both were in the highest math class available in grades 8, 9 and 10 (Algebra I and II and Geometry).” A student may have less flexibility with certain classes, and with what he or she ends up taking at the high level or standard level, if they aren’t put on track in the 9th grade.

American students who do not want to spend their last two years of high school with an intensely demanding workload generally avoid the IB Diploma Program. Although no student intending to go to university should ever “coast” in any year of high school, particularly the last two, even good students just may not be cut out for the height-

Because of its level of academic challenge, the IB diploma prepares students for college perhaps better than any other experience.

ened demands of the IB. Teens who do the bare minimum of studying to get by in a course, or who have a huge roster of extracurricular activities that already take up a large amount of time, or who simply prefer taking Advanced Placement

courses in just a few subjects they’re strong in, would be better off without the full IB program.

“It really depends on what program exists where you are, and whether or not you want to take the most rigorous course load available,” says Stuart Symington, who attended high school in Virginia and is now a sophomore at Yale. “Sometimes, a mix of IB and non-IB classes is a perfect fit; in the end, it depends on the individual.”

Another downside to the IB program, according to some students, is less flexibility and choice in high school classes. Because most of the classes in the IB program are two-year courses, there may be no time left for one-year classes in additional or elective subjects.

About IB’s two-year courses, Cambridge University student Aaron
Continued on page 96



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(Continued from page 94)

Curtis says: “On the bright side, this means you have a chance to build very deep and solid knowledge in a few areas. However, you lose the flexibility of one-year courses; you simply aren’t introduced to as many subjects. If I had been at a U.S. high school I might have had the freedom to take something like photography or music theory.”

Some families report problems as a result of relocating when their students are in the middle of an IB Diploma Program. It can be challenging to make a smooth transition from one IB school to the next, because of curriculum differences.

One negative aspect of the IB is, ironically, due to its strength: because the IB Diploma Program is at a high academic level, only 80 percent, on average worldwide, actually receive the diploma after two years in the program. However, students

who fail to receive the IB diploma may still earn a general high school diploma and graduate from high school, as well as receive certificates for those IB classes they do pass.

Although this is not common in the U.S., in other parts of the world students who do not receive the IB diploma after two years will often stay a 13th year in school to “finish up,” retaking the IB classes they did not pass the year before. It’s regarded in much the same way as American students treat a “gap year” between high school and college.

What about College Credit?

Can you get college credit for the IB diploma or for IB courses? This varies from college to college. FS spouse O’Connor, whose daughter is now at the University of Edinburgh, says, “The higher-ranked schools that

are receiving the cream-of-the-crop applications give different amounts of credit for the scores you receive in higher-level classes. Typically, you need to receive a grade of 5, 6 or 7 in high-level subjects in order to receive credit for those classes. Students can sometimes cut out a full year of expensive schooling by doing the full IB diploma.”

In fact, Florida and Oregon now require their public universities to give a full year’s college credit for those students entering with an IB diploma — and more states may join them.

However, be forewarned: While there is no question that the IB Diploma Program is advantageous in getting admitted to college in the first place, high school students investigating colleges need to ask questions about credit, and get firm answers, from college admissions



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officers and registrars. If you are enrolling in the IB Diploma Program solely to receive college credit, it is essential that you investigate the possibility thoroughly with the schools to which you intend to apply. Even if colleges and universities give a full year of credit, graduate schools may frown on students who have only been at an undergraduate institution for three years instead of four.

Kate Duguid, who graduated from the International School of Brussels and is now a sophomore at the highly selective Bryn Mawr College in Pennsylvania, has this to say:

"I took four higher-level courses (English A1, French A2, Theatre Arts, and History) and two standard-level courses (Math Methods and Biology). Bryn Mawr gave me credit for my four higher-level courses (because I had received a 6 or above) and for my math course, because it

"It's a great program if your child thrives on that kind of academic challenge and is prepared to make the commitment, but many students find it overwhelming."

— *Rebecca Grappo*

had covered calculus. In addition, they were going to allow me to graduate a year early."

However, Duguid was advised to stay for the full four years at Bryn Mawr. "Although I had received a year's worth of credit, graduate schools do not see IB and AP high school courses as being 'college-level,' but rather as challenging high school courses which are required to get into a top-tier college," she explains. "Thus, it was highly recommended that I take four years of college classes if I wanted to go to a good graduate school."

Many students have found that U.S. colleges and universities are often more willing to give college credit for AP classes than for IB certificates in the same courses. While the IB diploma should, and usually does, carry the most weight, IB certificate classes taken outside of the diploma program are not always recognized as readily as AP courses, even

Continued on page 100

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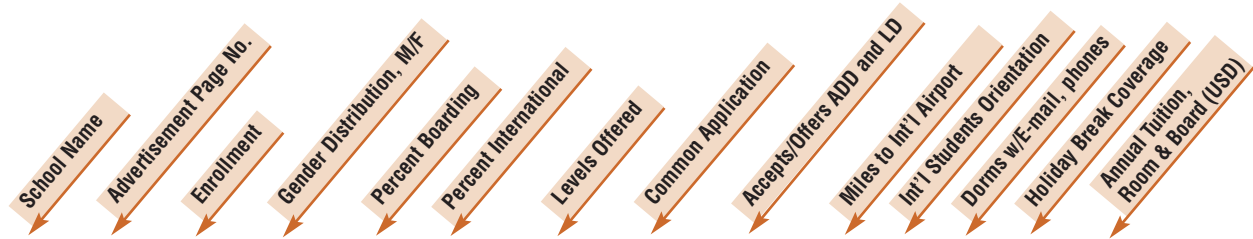
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ELEMENTARY SCHOOL

Alexandria Country Day School	88	240	47/53	NA	NA	K-8	N	N	20	NA	NA	NA	16,693-18,095
Browne Academy	94	276	49/51	NA	1	PS-8	N	N	5	NA	NA	NA	17,502
Langley School, The	90	466	50/50	NA	0	PS-8	NA	N	15	NA	NA	NA	22,900

ELEMENTARY/JUNIOR HIGH SCHOOL

Congressional Schools of Virginia, The	91	345	53/47	0	20	PS-8	N	N	22	N	N	N	14,150-17,650
Rock Creek International School	104	220	47/53	0	25	PK-8	N	N	20	Y	NA	N	19,775

ELEMENTARY/JUNIOR/SENIOR HIGH SCHOOL

British School of Washington	93	300	50/50	NA	50	PK-12	N	N	10	Y	NA	NA	19,465
Hockaday School, The	94	1,020	All girls	9	1	PK-12	Y	Y	30	Y	Y	Y	36,800
Indian Mountain School	108	260	60/40	37	12	PK-9	N	Y	50	N	Y	N	35,180
Perkiomen	89	265	60/40	60	20	5-12, PG	Y	Y	50	Y	Y	N	36,000
Stone Ridge School of the Sacred Heart	95	740	All girls	NA	5	PK-12	N	N	15	N	NA	NA	10,000-19,275
Sandy Spring Friends School	106	548	48/52	7	6	PK-12*	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	15,680-21,400
Washington International School	101	825	49/51	NA	37	PK-12	N	Limited	8	Y	NA	NA	21,375

JUNIOR HIGH SCHOOL

Cardigan Mountain School	96	180	All boys	95	20	6-9	N	N	130	Y	Y	N	36,450
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JUNIOR/SENIOR HIGH SCHOOL

COEUS International School	103	80	48/52	NA	50	5-10*	N	Limited	25	N	N	NA	22,975**
Dana Hall School	101	465	All girls	40	10	6-12	Y	Limited	12	Y	Y	N	39,405
Queen Margaret's School	106	300	All girls***	33	25	PK-12	Y	N	38	Y	Y	Y	29,200-35,700

SENIOR HIGH SCHOOL

Cranbrook School	105	770	53/47	34	11	9-12	Y	N	30	Y	Y	Y	31,900
Foxcroft School	97	190	All girls	69	16	9-12	Y	Y	30	Y	Y	Y	37,500
Idyllwild Arts Academy	95	262	40/60	85	27	9-12, PG	Y	N	120	Y	Y	N	35,800
Interlochen Arts Academy	108	475	40/60	89	18	9-12, PG	N	N	16	Y	Y	N	34,100
International School of Brussels	84	1399	53/47	NA	NA	PK-13	Y	Y	12	NA	NA	N	32,050****
Kents Hill School	100	230	60/40	75	20	9-12, PG	Y	Y	50	Y	Y	Limited	37,645
King George School, The	91	72	60/40	100	5	9-12	Y	Y	60	N	N	Y	5,800/mon
Madeira School, The	97	302	All girls	55	13	9-12	Y	Y	15	Y	Y	Limited	34,780
Miss Hall's School	103	175	All girls	75	18	9-12	Y	NA	40	Y	Y	N	37,800
Oregon Episcopal School	86	300	50/50	25	25	9-12	Y	Limited	20	Y	Y	Y	35,450
St. Timothy's School	93	132	All girls	55	22	9-12, PG	Y	N	19	Y	Y	N	34,500
Subiaco	87	165	All Boys	85	20	9-12	N	Limited	110	Y	Y	Limited	15,500
White Mountain	92	100	50/50	80	14	9-12, PG	Y	Y	110	N	Y	N	37,100

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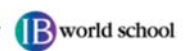
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(Continued from page 97)

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though both cover university-level material. “The IB program is a wonderful challenge and you come out of it having learned and accomplished so much,” says Yale student Stuart Symington. “But if the AP alternative exists, I would take it if credit is what matters most. It all depends on the college/university you would want to go to, but AP is more widely accepted.” However, Symington feels that “a good educational foundation — and the full four-year experience — are more important than the credit you receive in college.”

“At Richard Montgomery High School (Maryland),” reports Gina Ruebensaal, who attended Williams College and later Harvard’s Kennedy School, “they encouraged us to take the AP exams in the same subjects as our IB exams. Although I had technically taken the IB classes instead of the AP, I was prepared for both exams, and had both IB and AP credits when I graduated. In the end, I only used two IB/AP credits in college: my school accepted both, but only as a mechanism for skipping introductory courses, not as substitution credits.”

Offerings Vary

Ask a dozen Foreign Service 12th-graders around the world what their IB programs are like, and you’ll get a dozen different answers. That’s because the makeup of IB Diploma Programs varies greatly from school to school — and there are currently 1,466 schools in 123 countries offering the IB diploma. As with any curriculum, the classes are more likely to be good if the teachers, administrators and students are motivated. However, there are more external controls on the IB program, exerted by the IBO in Geneva and in regional offices, and this ostensibly keeps the quality of IB programs worldwide at a high standard.

“Every IB World School is subject to an extensive authorization process (typically lasting two years) and then a review every five years,” states Jenan

*As with any curriculum,
the classes are more
likely to be good
if the teachers,
administrators and
students are motivated.*

al-Haddad, communications manager at IBO. "Teachers regularly participate in international teacher training workshops. The organization takes these quality-control processes very seriously."

Yet some parents and students have found that IB programs can still vary in quality. One parent, whose child went from high school in Arlington, Va., to an IB World School in Africa, has commented sadly that "the IB work here is not as challenging as the 9th-grade honors courses there. So I would not agree that the IB program is superior to the better private schools. The other possibility is that this is just a bad implementation of the program. The IB structure is there, but the depth of thought and exploration and quality of teaching are not. I think my son would have ended up with a better high school education had we stayed in Virginia."

"I guess the moral is that all IB schools are not equal," adds another parent who has put several children through various IB programs. "It does depend so much on the director, on the teaching staff, on the school board and on the community — just as at any school. All the same basic issues (economics, demographics and size of the student body, etc.) still apply in an IB school."

IBO's al-Haddad counters: "From
Continued on page 104

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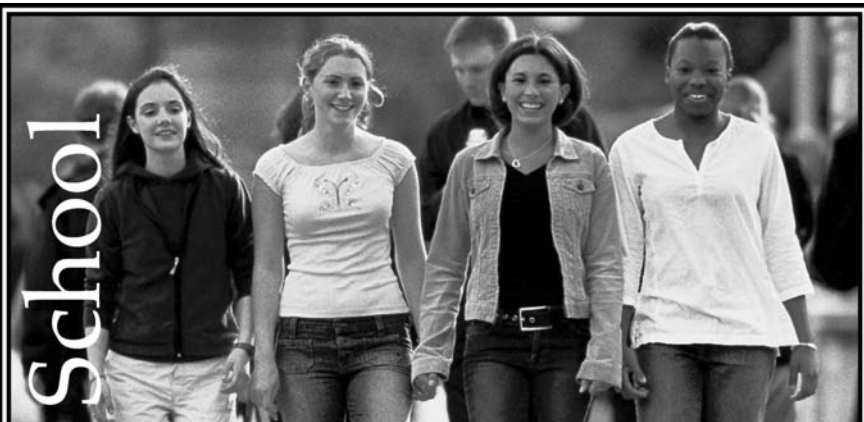


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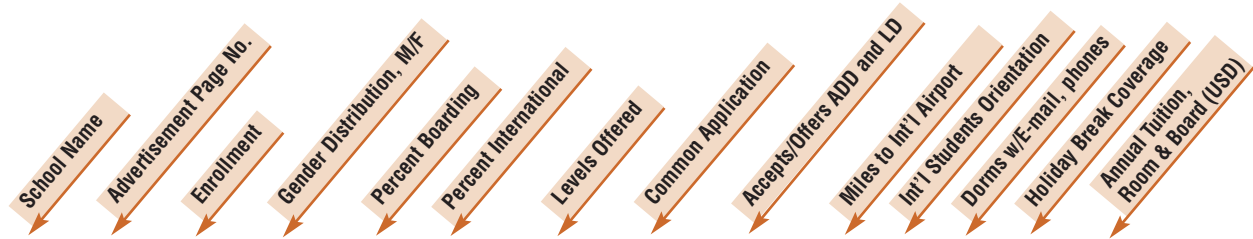
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CONTINUED FROM PAGE 98

MILITARY SCHOOLS

Missouri Military Academy	88	218	All boys	100	25	6-12	Y	Y/N	115	Y	Y	Limited	27,500
Randolph-Macon Academy	109	407	71/29	81	21	6-12	Y	Y/N	60	Y	Y	N	24,000 US- 28,500 Int'l

SPECIAL NEEDS SCHOOLS

Benedictine School, The	90	200		80	5	NA	N	Y	60	Y	Y		Call School
Frederic L. Chamberlain School	108	112	61/39	82	2	6-12, PG	Y	Y	50	Y	N/Y	Y	116,227
Gow School, The	99	143	All boys	100	27	7-12, PG	N	All LD	20	Y	Y	N	41,900
Oakland	91	NA	NA	50	5	NA	N	Y	60	Y	N	N	37,000
Riverview School	100	180	45/55	99	7	6-12, PG	N	All LD	75	Y	Y	N	62,015

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OVERSEAS SCHOOLS

American Overseas School of Rome	89	630	50/50	NA	65	PK-PG	N	Y	30	Y	N	N	12,750- 21,500
CCI Renaissance School	96	120	40/60	100	5	10-12	N	N	175	Y	Y	N	26,500
Jakarta International School	107	2,535	50/50	NA	80	K-12	NA	Limited	30	Y	N	N	5,350- 16,350
John F. Kennedy International School	89	65	50/50	50	70	K-8	N	Limited	90	Y	Y/N	N	37,000
Leysin American School in Switzerland	99	350	52/48	100	65	9-12, PG	Y	Limited	75	Y	Y	N	34,000
Marymount International School - London	93	240	All girls	43	75	6-12	N	Limited	12	Y	Y	Y	44,600
Marymount International School - Rome	87	750	49/51	NA	50	PK-12	N	Limited	15	Y	N	N	10,125- 19,500
St. Stephen's School	86	211	45/55	18	63	9-12, PG	N	N	12	NA	Y	N	35,978

OTHER

AAFSW (Associates of the American Foreign Service Worldwide)	NA	Bringing the Foreign Service community together to promote a better quality of life. Go to www.aafsw.org											
FSYF (Foreign Service Youth Foundation)	104	Assists Foreign Service Youth by coordination development programs Go to www.fsyf.org											

* 28,000 euros Notes: NA - Not Applicable ADD - Attention Deficit Disorder LD - Learning Disability



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(Continued from page 101)

a student's perspective, every school will look and feel different. This tends to reflect the culture, traditions, infrastructure and experience of the faculty who take and deliver our programs. We welcome this diversity of schools in the IB community and would be disappointed if our contribution to international education was to create a 'global sameness,' in the same way you might expect a beef burger to look and taste the same anywhere in the world." Al-Haddad concedes that "good education is much more complex than that," yet goes on to assert: "Our assessment standards are high and consistent ... universities worldwide understand what an IB Grade 7 means, wherever the student comes from."

School size can make a difference, of course. A larger program with more course offerings and several sections of the same subject may trans-

late into higher student (and parent) satisfaction with the program. Says Cambridge student Curtis, "Every IB school is different. Each offers a different set of subjects, and it's important to check that your interests are satisfied. Also, some have serious scheduling conflicts. At Kungsholmen Gymnasium (Stockholm), for example, no one could take both biology and physics because they conflicted in the schedule, so an aspiring biomedical engineer might have been in a bit of a jam. This is exacerbated by the disadvantages of the two-year system. In a U.S. school, the scheduling conflict could be avoided by offering biology one year and physics the next. Larger IB programs can generally escape such conflicts."

IBO's al-Haddad acknowledges that "a student transferring from one school to another would be wise to check out subject availability in

advance." But al-Haddad insists that the high standards of the IB diploma should not vary much between schools, no matter what the size or course offerings. "It would not be feasible for every school to offer every subject, and so the choices that a school makes will typically be driven by student demand, staff and local resources. However, certain popular subjects will be found in nearly every IB school, and all schools have to offer at least one subject from each of the IB subject groups, as well as the core elements of the Extended Essay, CAS and Theory of Knowledge."

Still — as in any school anywhere — one bad teacher can diminish the quality of the experience. One student who is generally very positive about the IB Diploma Program laments: "Theory of Knowledge is another opportunity for interesting,

Continued on page 106

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The IB: Resources

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<http://www.washingtonpost.com/wp-dyn/content/custom/2005/12/14/CI2005121401454.html>

The “*Washington Post* Challenge Index” rates Washington, D.C.-area schools based on how challenging the curriculum is, including IB and AP courses.

<http://www.geocities.com/calcfreak901/ib.html>

A little unofficial IB-related humor.

<http://www.state.gov/m/dghr/flo/rsrscs/pubs/1992.htm>

The Family Liaison Office’s online listing (with active links) of Washington, D.C.-area high schools that offer the IB diploma.

http://www.agateny.com/News_lbornot.html

This article by *Washington Post* writer Jay Mathews describes how colleges are biased, giving more AP credit than IB credit.

<http://www.ibmidatlantic.org/>

List of Mid-Atlantic region IB schools

<http://www.ibscrewed.net/>

“So you’ve sold your soul to the International Baccalaureate Program ... what’s next?” A great site where kids doing the full IB diploma can let off steam and bond with other stressed-out souls.

Books:

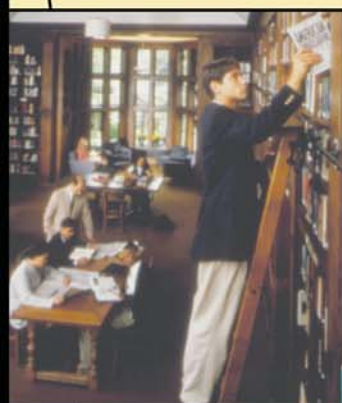
Jay Mathews and Ian Hill, *Supertest: How the International Baccalaureate Can Strengthen Our Schools* (Open Court Publishing, 2005).

A.D.C. Peterson, *Schools Across Borders: The Story of the International Baccalaureate and the United World Colleges* (Open Court Publishing, 1991).

Tim Pound, *The International Baccalaureate* (RoutledgeFalmer, 2005).

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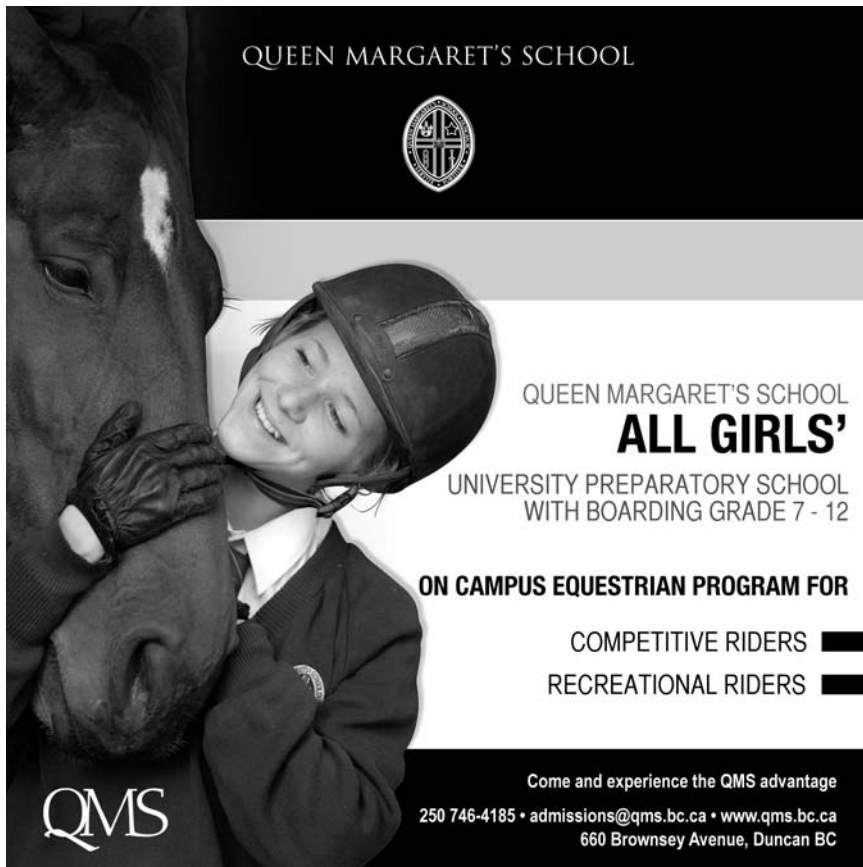


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(Continued from page 104)

The full diploma is appropriate for bright students who are good writers and highly motivated.

creative thought. Without the right teacher, however, it can be a complete waste of time, as I found out. Our TOK teacher was simply not interested in anything anyone had to say, nor did he actually seem to plan any lessons."

Foreign Service families can relax a bit when considering IB World Schools in the Washington area, as most students who've attended them report that they are very good. Symington, who attended J.E.B. Stuart High School in Falls Church, Va., felt the IB program there was "a great synthesis of varied disciplines." And the program is still paying off at Yale: "In a recent 'Peoples and Cultures of Latin America' lecture we talked about quilombos (escaped slave communities) in Brazil, which I had learned about in my IB history class."

Additionally, in the D.C. metropolitan area, if your local high school does not offer the IB diploma, you may be able to attend an IB World School even if it's not in your school district. Check with your county public schools authority for more information.

Is the IB for You?

Pamela Ward, education and youth officer for State's Family Liaison Office, feels it is, provided you're bright and — just as important — motivated. "I have talked with many students who have done the full IB diploma. Most think it has prepared

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them well for college. It is, however, very challenging and the full diploma is most appropriate for bright students who are good writers and highly motivated. Motivation is critical because of the add-ons such as the Extended Essay and CAS.”

Kristin Pollock, an 11th-grader at Frankfurt International School, says, “At my school we’re almost required to take the IB.” When asked about how difficult the program is so far, she reports: “While you are required to take three high-level courses, you can make it hard or easy. Lots of students take art, music, or drama as a high-level at my school. On the other hand, I decided to take history and English ‘high,’ which require a lot of essays. I also take biology high; and I haven’t taken it since 9th grade in the U.S. So far, it really isn’t that bad.”

“It seems very much worth it,” agrees Faye Hammond, who’s in 11th grade at George Mason High School in Falls Church, Va. “I have fantastic teachers, am interested in all my subjects, have met very interesting classmates, and haven’t had to stay up late to do homework yet,” she says.

Perhaps Hammond and Pollock will feel differently in 12th grade, although Aaron Curtis at Cambridge is still glad he completed the IB: “The strongest aspect of the IB program is that it is really designed to let students think for themselves. The curriculum seems devised to avoid needless memorization of facts and to encourage individual thought.” But he adds a caveat: “To some extent, IB does drop you off in the deep end. If you can’t motivate yourself to study, you may not realize how far behind you are until it is too late because IB offers little in terms of quizzes, tests or progress reports. Other than the one-off ‘mock exams,’ there’s nothing to stop you from slacking off and bombing the exams at the end of two years. You could call it the ‘sink or swim’ diploma.”

Rebecca Grappo urges both parents and students to weigh the deci-

Continued on page 109



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(Continued from page 107)

sion on the IB carefully. “It’s a great program if your child thrives on that kind of academic challenge and is prepared to make the commitment, but there are many other students who find it burdensome and overwhelming,” she says. “Some parents get caught up in the cachet of the program and push their kids into it when they really don’t want to do it.”


Grappo raises another concern. Often, she points out, the most talented teachers and kids and school resources go into a program that serves the top tier. “In many smaller schools there is no good alternative, or fewer alternatives, for a student who doesn’t want to do the IB,” she says. “But I want to make sure that students who choose not to do the IB program aren’t marginalized in the school setting.”

Lesley Chritton, a freshman at Wellesley College in Massachusetts, attended the International School Nido de Aguilas in Santiago, Chile. Chritton is perfectly happy she chose not to do the full IB diploma. “I found that the U.S. schools I was interested in didn’t place as much importance on, or even recognize, the IB diploma as many schools in the U.K. or Canada do. Instead I decided to take IB classes and earned certificates in two of them, which meant doing the IB requirements for those classes only. Earning the full diploma wasn’t necessary for me, so instead of stressing about CAS hours and the Extended Essay, I had time to do three varsity sports as well as Habitat for Humanity, journalism, the year-book — and even sleep every now and then.”

On the other hand, Samantha Huffman, the George Mason student who went on to McGill, concludes, “Even though I remember my last two years of high school as probably the most sleep-deprived of my life, I am a fervent defender of the IB program.”

For FS high-schoolers and their parents the best advice is this: while the IB is a great program, it is necessary to proceed with caution. ■

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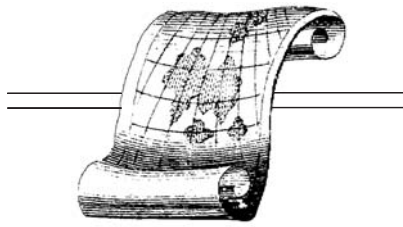
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REFLECTIONS

The Lucky Pole

BY NICHOLAS REY

I am probably the most fortunate Pole who ever immigrated to the United States, and not only because I have a three-letter last name.

I was born in Warsaw on Jan. 23, 1938, and escaped to the United States with my family during the blitzkrieg. Knowing several languages, I dreamed of a diplomatic career. But upon graduation from college, I proceeded to flunk the State Department orals and ended up working for 30 years in the Treasury Department and on Wall Street.

In 1990, the U.S. created a fund to jump-start private enterprise in the new Poland. At the time, I was the only white-haired investment banker in captivity who spoke Polish, and was chosen to be on the board of the fund. Three years later Bill Clinton nominated me to be ambassador to Poland.

Sending me to Warsaw was like sending Geoffrey Chaucer to the Court of St. James: I am a direct descendant of the father of Polish literature, Nicholas Rey (Mikolaj Rey, 1505-1569), the first poet to write in Polish and not Latin.

After I presented my letters to President Lech Walesa in December 1993, my wife and I took up front-row seats on history. Poland's democracy and free enterprise system were consolidating. Moreover, Poland's security

Nicholas Rey is a principal at Intelligence Corporation, an Internet provider of global business intelligence solutions. He served as ambassador to the Republic of Poland from 1993 to 1997.

Were it not for Amb. Biddle, I certainly would not be an American today; let alone one of his successors.



was assured for the first time in its 1,000-year history when the country was invited to join NATO in July 1997.

As ambassador I had two equal challenges. The first was to convince the Poles that the U.S. truly did view Poland's security as a high priority. In the eyes of most Poles, the U.S. had let the country down after World War II: "Roosevelt sold us down the river at Yalta and he was a Democrat. Why should we trust Clinton?" My other task was to move them to do the things they needed to do to ensure that they would be cemented into Western structures, particularly NATO.

Given the times and the things I had to say, I ran a serious risk of being accused of replacing the Soviet (Russian) ambassador as Big Brother. But my Polish ancestry allowed me to speak not as an American but as Mikolaj Rey. Talking one Pole to another made it a lot easier to speak candidly, whether in public or telling Pres. Walesa he needed to fire his top military man and take a whole new approach to civilian control of the military.

But these were not the only reasons for my great good fortune, as I came to learn when I returned on home leave. My then-87-year-old aunt described to

me how my family had actually escaped Warsaw on Sept. 5, 1939, and it blew my mind. She told me she had known the American ambassador at the time, Anthony J. Drexel Biddle Jr., socially. When our family decided to leave, she asked him if she could borrow some gas for our car. He said he, too, was leaving, and invited our family to join his motorcade.

The next morning they discovered Amb. Biddle and his people trying to camouflage his canary-yellow Cadillac convertible. My aunt recounted helping to drape pine bows over it. The group then drove south to Romania, dodging stukas (dive bombers) all the way. So, were it not for Biddle, I certainly would not be an American today, let alone one of his successors. Ironically, my picture was placed directly under his in the embassy's rogues' gallery after I departed.

The team at Embassy Warsaw was truly fabulous. I take great pride in the fact that of the dozen senior FSOs who served on my country team, five are now ambassadors.

A week before my wife and I left, in late October 1997, our friends the Russian ambassador and his wife hosted us at an informal farewell dinner at the former Soviet embassy. The other guests were the German ambassador, Poland's foreign minister and their wives. We joked and laughed and enjoyed each other's company that night, truly appreciating that we were witnesses to the end of the Cold War and a millennium of Polish insecurity — the fruit, in no small part, of 50 years of American foreign policy. ■

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