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PRESIDENT'S VIEWS

The Silly Season

BY JOHN LIMBERT

Is the moon always full in Washington? You would think so if you read some of the recent press commentary criticizing the Foreign Service and the State Department. The impending change of leadership at State has, like a dinner of bad shellfish, produced a remarkable secretion of bile, which some pundits have insisted on serving us in their columns.



For example, *The New Republic's* Lawrence Kaplan, in his recent column, "Condi Should Tame Foggy Bottom," writes:

"Rice, after all, would be well within her rights to 'clean out' the State Department. ... There is no reason [the Foreign Service] should not function more like the military establishment, whose professional ethos depends on the principle of strict subordination to political control — disagreements may exist, but once the president arrives at a decision, the matter has been settled. *Needless to say, no such ethos animates the ranks of the diplomatic corps*" (my emphasis).

In *The New York Times*, David Gergen says:

"Presidents of the past would also sympathize with Mr. Bush's desire to quell rebellious voices at the State Department and the Central Intelli-

"Let no cheap shot go unanswered" remains AFSA's policy, although lately the cheap shots have been coming fast and furious.

gence Agency. For more than half a century White Houses have resounded with complaints about the striped-pants set at Foggy Bottom and renegades at Langley. Foreign Service officers are particularly out of step with the incumbent president: a rising star in the Foreign Service confided a week ago that on a scale of 0-to-10, colleagues in the Service would give a 9.5 grade to Colin Powell and a grade of 2.0 to the Bush administration. Bringing the Foreign Service on board will be one of the toughest challenges facing Secretary Rice."

In the *Boston Globe*, Anne E. Kornblutt says:

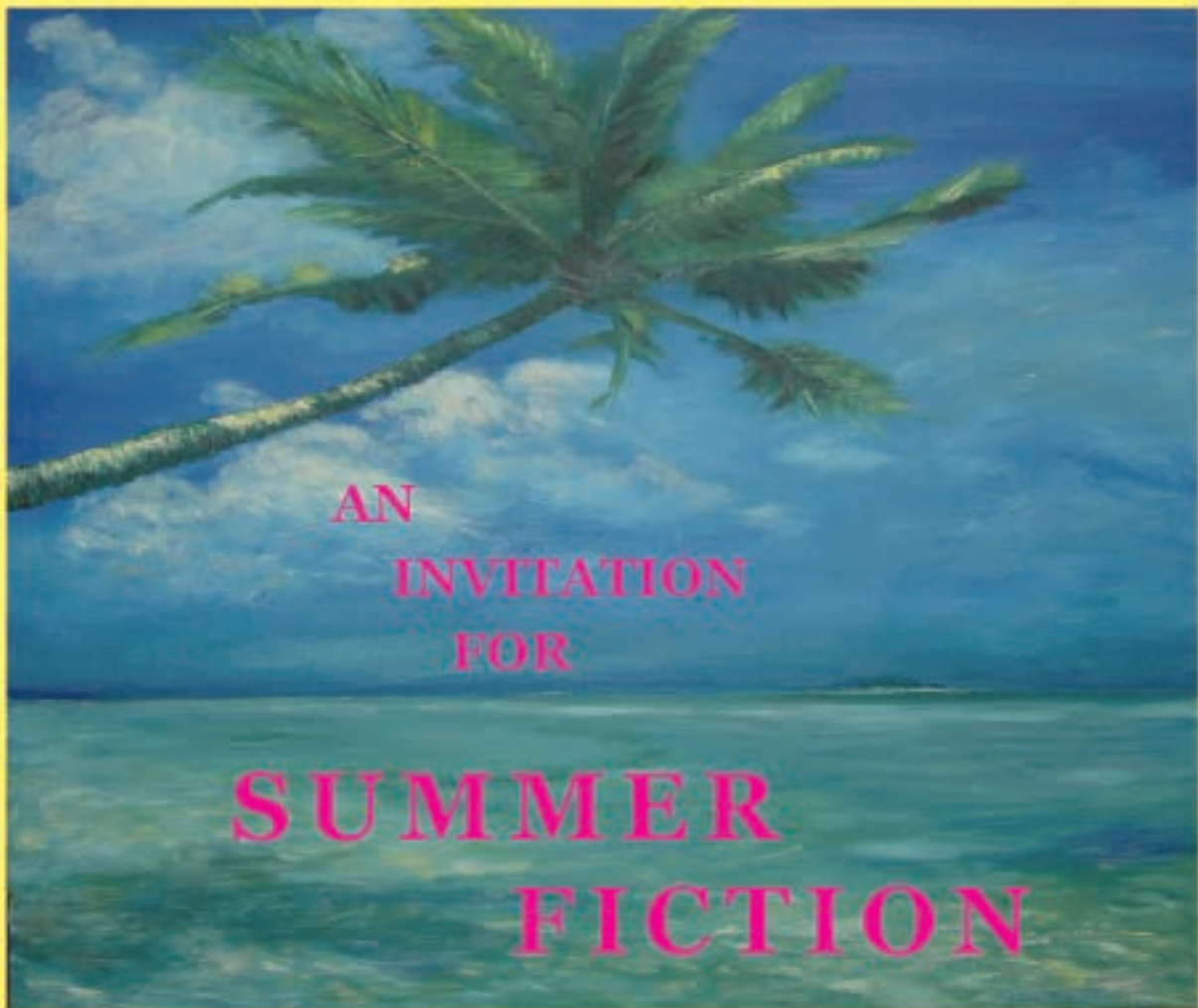
"But Bush had a second, and perhaps more important goal in mind with the selection of Rice, the advisers said: bringing to heel the rebellious voices within the Foreign Service establishment, especially among second- and third-tier appointees who

actually implement policy."

AFSA will have none of this. "Let no cheap shot go unanswered" remains our policy, although lately the cheap shots have been coming fast and furious. We will continue to stand up and fight. We will continue to honor our best (including the dissenters) and will continue making the case, by all means possible, that the Foreign Service is a cadre of qualified professionals who serve the president, the secretaries of our agencies and the American people. Far from being "out of step," "rebellious," or "the striped-pants set," we loyally serve our country in very difficult and dangerous places, including Iraq, where our colleagues have recently given their lives. Our men and women need no lessons in patriotism or courage from those urging we should be "tamed" or "brought to heel."

On issues of policy, honest men and women can (and should) disagree. Discipline and loyalty remain, however, our core values, and no one questions who calls the shots on America's foreign policy. But there remain those who, aside from any question of policy, dislike the Foreign Service simply for what we are and what we do: think for ourselves, advise, raise questions, and suggest courses of action. There is little one can do to change closed minds, however, and our service and sacrifices must always speak for themselves. In the meantime — for those who do not care about our devotion to service — as the old saying goes, "The dogs bark and the caravan moves on." ■

John Limbert is the president of the American Foreign Service Association.

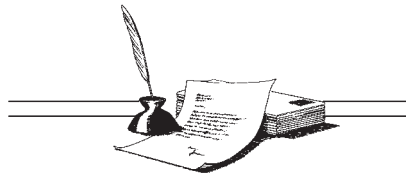


The *Foreign Service Journal* is seeking works of fiction of up to 3,000 words for its summer fiction issue. Story lines or characters involving the Foreign Service are preferred, but not required. The top stories, selected by the *Journal's* Editorial Board, will be published in the July/August issue; some of them will also be simultaneously posted on the *Journal's* Web site. The writer of each selected story will receive an honorarium of \$250, payable upon publication.

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LETTERS

A Medal Tarnished

Patrick G. Halperin's letter in the *Washington Post* (Dec. 18) on General Franks' receipt of the Presidential Medal of Freedom was right on the mark, asking whether it was given to reward the general's sole contribution as a civilian — endorsing President Bush for re-election.

Halperin correctly explained that the Presidential Medal of Freedom was instituted during World War II to recognize the outstanding efforts of certain civilians in support of the military campaigns against the Axis Powers. These medals were awarded by the president on recommendation from the War Department. There were obviously a plethora of military medals and decorations awarded to military personnel who performed exceptionally in the war effort. The Medal of Freedom was the only major wartime medal for civilians. It was seriously debased by the three medals awarded by President Bush in December.

My father, James Hugh Keeley Jr., was presented with the Presidential Medal of Freedom by President Truman in 1945, for his service as the American consul general in Antwerp from the late summer of 1944 through the end of the war in Europe. The citation for my father's Presidential Medal of Freedom reads: "James H. Keeley, American Civilian, for exceptionally meritorious achievement which aided the United States in the prosecution of the war against the enemy in Continental Europe, as

United States Consul General, Antwerp, Belgium, from 7 November 1944 to 30 March 1945. He contributed greatly to the maintaining of security and the averting of panic among the civilian population of Antwerp. His successful efforts greatly aided the war effort and reflect high credit upon him."

Dec 16, 2004, was the 60th anniversary of the terrible and decisive Battle of the Bulge in the Ardennes Forest of eastern Belgium. This was Hitler's last serious attempt to turn the tide of the war. Both sides suffered immense losses (the Americans had 40,000 casualties), but in the aftermath the Allies prevailed and drove on into Germany to end the war on the Western front.

The port of Antwerp was crucial to logistical and other support for the Allied drive on the northern sector of the front lines. Hitler tried in advance of the Battle of the Bulge to destroy the port of Antwerp with a barrage of V2 rockets on the city, numbering at least 2,000, starting on Oct. 12, 1944. These were "terror" weapons, because they killed almost exclusively civilians, were minimally guided and totally indiscriminate. In December 1944, over a hundred V2 rockets a week were launched on Antwerp. There was no effective defense. Each rocket delivered nearly a ton of high explosives at a speed of 3,500 feet per second.

When my mother and I joined my father in Antwerp in the summer of 1945, his only comment on the V2 ter-

rorism of the previous winter was that the Belgian people had shown incredible courage in the face of this cruel assault on their second city. My strongest recollection of that period is that there was no glass in the windows of the consulate building nor in the house we were assigned to live in; all the glass had been replaced by plywood panels.

I know that my father was proud-est of this single official recognition of his 40 years as a Foreign Service officer. I found the medal in its somewhat worn, felt-lined, black leather box, along with a carbon copy of the citation, in a drawer in the hospital room where he died in 1985 at age 89. I have donated the medal and citation to the Museum of Diplomacy being established in the Department of State, as an illustration of how our diplomats have been recognized for their contributions to our war efforts of the past. The final sentence of the museum curator's detailed description of the medal and its housing reads: "Medal somewhat tarnished but in good condition."

Sixty years on, the Presidential Medal of Freedom itself has now been seriously tarnished.

Robert V. Keeley
FSO, retired
Washington, D.C.

Authors in Context

I enjoyed looking through the multiplicity of books by Foreign Service associated folks in the November *Journal*. One of the most pleasing



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(and most informative) parts was the short paragraph describing each Foreign Service author. These helped put the book, the times and the writer into a useful context.

David Hughes
FSO, retired
Woodinville, Wash.

More Memories of Hume

I just saw the piece, "Appreciation: Tributes to An Outstanding Diplomat, Hume Alexander Horan, Part II" in the October issue of the *Journal*. Having missed the September issue containing the first installment of the Appreciation during our move to post, I was surprised and saddened to learn of his death. So I would like to share my own experience with him.

I was in Khartoum on temporary duty in the mid-1980s, during the thick of the Libyan-led attacks on U.S. personnel and installations. The Libyans had just shot my colleague, a new-hire information management specialist, and all dependents had been evacuated in the middle of the night. There were daily reports of "being followed," "being shot at," or "being chased." The communications center was working 24/7 with only two people for a couple of weeks, until a second TDYer was able to make it to post.

I was staying at the Acropole Hotel, a center for journalists and charity workers. Several of them would crowd around my radio to listen to Ambassador Horan's daily status report broadcasts. He always found the time, while in the communications center after his broadcast, to converse with us on subjects not relating to the crisis surrounding us. At his residence, where the second TDY information management specialist was billeted, there was a surreal sense of calm.

One day my colleague invited me

for a swim after work. As we sat by the pool, Amb. Horan came out to the patio, turned on the music, and proceeded to skip rope for an hour while, in the background, the security officer ran the local guards, armed with automatic weapons, through seek-and-destroy exercises.

The administrative counselor would come up daily to see what else he could do for us. The DCM would join us for breakfast in the cafeteria for small talk. It was hard to believe that we were constantly in danger until we stepped outside or until people reported to work wearing their bulletproof vests. Horan's influence brought about a work environment of cooperative calm that I have not witnessed since that time.

The past couple of years, while assigned to the department, I used to see Amb. Horan in the cafeteria or hallways at FSI. I would point him out to my wife or colleagues and recount the dangerous days that seemed so normal then. I kept meaning to re-introduce myself one of these days, but, as always happens, opportunities pass us by.

Rudy Garcia
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CYBERNOTES

New Studies Focus on Middle East

In the waning months of 2004, leading U.S. think-tanks put the finishing touches on a variety of new foreign policy studies and reports aimed at influencing the second Bush administration's agenda. Not surprisingly, the majority of them focus on Iraq and the Middle East. Happily, they are all available on the Web.

From the International Crisis Group (www.icg.org) come two reports that have the advantage of being based on field analysis by the organization's staff members. "What Can the U.S. Do in Iraq?" presents the ICG's conclusion that "despite valiant and ongoing corrective efforts, the transition process no longer can succeed as currently fashioned — that is, as the linear culmination of the process underway since the fall of the Ba'athist regime." The U.S. and Iraq must together make a fundamental break from this discredited process

along lines spelled out in a series of concrete recommendations.

In "After Arafat? Challenges and Prospects," the ICG warns that the onus is on all parties, especially those who have proclaimed the new reality in the Middle East a fresh opportunity, to make sure the Palestinian transition is part of "a clear and defined political horizon" characterized by active pursuit of concrete changes on the ground.

At the Center for Strategic and International Studies (www.csis.org/features/iraq.cfm), Anthony Cordesman's "Playing the Course: A Strategy for Reshaping U.S. Policy in Iraq and the Middle East" makes a detailed case for the U.S. to announce a firm statement of intentions in Iraq and focuses in on steps to improve the odds of success. Cordesman argues that the U.S. strategy for Iraq must be part of a broader, pragmatic strategy for the Middle East, and discusses specific steps to be taken in this regard — starting with elevating a set-

tlement of the Arab-Israel conflict "to the highest priority in the most visible form."

The CSIS policy proposal is complemented by numerous status reports, research reports and news analysis pieces in the "Iraq Briefing Book" section of the site.

A December report from the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace titled "Political Reform in the Middle East: Can the United States and Europe Work Together?" calls for a re-thinking of transatlantic cooperation (www.carnegieendowment.org/files/MarinaOutlookFinalDeco4.pdf). The Brookings Institution discusses the same issue in "Promoting Democracy in the Arab World: The Challenge of Joint Action" (www.brookings.edu/views/articles/fellow/wittes20041231.htm).

American Enterprise Institute for Public Policy Research expert Reuel Marc Gerech argues that it is essential that the U.S. "get it right" in Iraq

Site of the Month: Transition 2005

The Council on Foreign Relations' special "Transition 2005: Foreign Policy in the Second Bush Administration" Web site (www.cfr.org/transition2005/) is a boon to foreign policy watchers and practitioners as the second Bush administration begins and the State Department transitions from Colin Powell to Condoleezza Rice.

Simple and very user-friendly, the site features thoughtful briefs on 19 central issues of policy, from Darfur to North Korea, Arab reform to global health and terrorism, and from Russia to China. Council President Richard Haas leads with a brief on "America's Role in the World." Each brief is a status report on the topic, with a year-end summary of developments and a highlighting of extant challenges.

There are profiles of all members of the Bush II foreign policy team, and links to such documents as the thank-you message to Colin Powell and the nomination of Condoleezza Rice, as well as links to the Bush-Cheney campaigns' foreign policy statements.

One section, "T2005 at the Council," features interviews, op-eds, etc. by CFR experts on relevant foreign policy issues. Finally, the site provides links to the Department of State transition pages, and to the Senate Committee on Governmental Affairs and the White House Nominations List to monitor nominations and confirmations.



CYBERNOTES

It turns out that the majority of those nations affected [by the tsunami] were Muslim nations. We'd be doing it [providing assistance] regardless of religion, but I think it does give the Muslim world and the rest of the world ... an opportunity to see American generosity, American values in action.

— Colin Powell, *www.cnn.com*, Jan. 5, 2005.

in a lengthy piece, "The Struggle for the Middle East" (http://www.aei.org/include/news_print.asp?newsID=21761). The government of Ayad Allawi has failed, and a different approach to the Sunni insurgency is needed, Gerecht says.

In mid-December the RAND Corporation released a book-length study, "The Muslim World After 9/11" (<http://www.rand.org/news/press.04/12.15.html>). RAND senior policy analyst and former FSO Angel Rabasa, lead author of the report, said, "While only Muslims themselves can effectively challenge the message of radical Islam, there is much the U.S. and like-minded countries can do to empower Muslim moderates in this ideological struggle." A comprehensive study of the causes for the spread of Islamic radicalism over the past several decades, the cleavages within the

Muslim world, and the dilemma of democratization in friendly authoritarian states, the book calls for the U.S. and its allies to support moderate Muslims and social, economic and educational reforms in Muslim nations.

From the Century Foundation (formerly the Twentieth Century Fund) come the conclusions of a task force assembled and chaired by Richard A. Clarke, the Clinton administration's coordinator for national security and counterterrorism, titled "Defeating the Jihadists: A Blueprint for Action" (<http://www.tcf.org/4L/4LMain.asp?SubjectID=3&ArticleID=41>). Central to the action plan are proposals for significant changes in U.S. policy toward key Muslim countries.

Tsunami 2004: Internet Brings Relief

The World Wide Web significantly boosted the crisis response to the Dec. 26 tsunami, which claimed the lives of more than 150,000 people in Indonesia, Sri Lanka, India and nine other countries on the Indian Ocean littoral. At this writing, the death toll is still climbing and the full scope and implications of the tragedy are unknown. In the months, if not years, of relief and reconstruction work ahead, the Internet will continue to be an invaluable source of information and a medium for facilitating assistance.

Besides providing up-to-the-minute news and practical information from governments of the countries hit by the killer wave, the Internet has helped embassies and governments handle queries con-

cerning loved ones missing in the disaster area. The Net has also been acting as a clearing house for individual contributions to rescue and rehabilitation efforts.

For instance, CNN International's special report, "After the Tsunami," makes available all the latest news from the disaster area, including eyewitness reports of the tragedy and relief efforts as well as survivors' tales (<http://edition.cnn.com/SPECIALS/2004/tsunami.disaster/>). This site's "Resources" offering includes the posting of online appeals for information on missing individuals, and the long listing under "Reunions" attests to the efficacy of this service.

The U.S. Pacific Command's tsunami Web page (<http://www.pacom.mil/special/0412asia/>) includes information on the U.S. participation in relief operations; up-to-date links to international news stories on the crisis; and links to the State Department, Defense Department and USAID tsunami Web pages, as well as to regional U.S. embassy Web sites.

The World Health Organization's tsunami Web page (http://www.who.int/hac/crises/international/asia_tsunami/en/) contains regular situation reports from the disaster area, the latest at this writing focused on the concern for disease outbreaks among the five million persons affected. You will find an archive of these reports as well as the WHO's 100-day strategy for dealing with the emergency. A special section of the site, "How You Can Help," provides for online cash contributions. Donation guidelines for in-kind contributions and a call for emergency specialists,

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50 Years Ago...

Just prior to the opening of Congress, the Eisenhower administration announced that 3,002 federal employees had been dismissed as security risks in the first 16 months of its security program. Another 5,006 persons resigned with derogatory information in their files before their cases were acted upon. ... The Department of State was listed with five dismissals for security reasons, and USIA was listed with two.

— From "News to the Field," *FSJ*, February 1955.



with provisions for online response, are also featured. Helpful links to related sites are also provided.

The Web site for the U.N. Children's Fund (www.unicef.org) is focusing on the particular problems of the millions of children affected in the disaster and its aftermath. The site has a "Tsunami Press Room" and on-the-scene reports from UNICEF workers in India, Indonesia, Thailand and Sri Lanka.

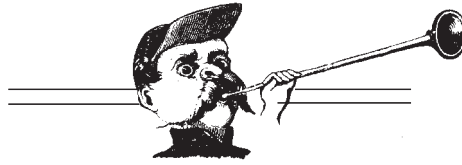
The United Nations Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs has several Internet projects that are integral to the relief effort. The *Virtual Operations On-Site Coordination Center* (<http://ocha.unog.ch/virtualosocc/login.asp?Action=newLogin>), which acts as an online message board or chat room, is an effective tool to facilitate information exchange between responding governments and organizations throughout the relief operation. OCHA's *ReliefWeb* (www.reliefweb.int) features the earthquake and tsunami in South and Southeast Asia. The site posts all the major documents of relief organizations working in the area as well as international news agency reports as they are issued.

As of Jan. 4, about \$2.5 billion had been contributed to the relief effort by governments and multinational financial institutions. Significantly, in Europe and the U.S., private donations nearly matched official assistance, at \$1.5 billion and \$337 million

respectively as of this writing. There are no figures as to how much of that is accounted for by online contributions, but it is no doubt substantial.

Here is a list of some of the aid agencies collecting donations for relief and rehabilitation work, and their Web addresses:

- AmeriCares
www.americares.org
- American Jewish World Service
www.ajws.org
- American Friends Service Committee
www.afsc.org
- American Red Cross
www.redcross.org
- Catholic Relief Services
www.catholicrelief.org
- Doctors Without Borders
www.doctorswithoutborders.org
- International Medical Corps
www.imcworldwide.org
- Islamic Relief USA
www.irw.org/asiaquak
- Mercy Corps
www.mercycorps.org
- Oxfam America
www.oxfamamerica.org
- Save The Children
www.savethechildren.org
- United Methodist Committee on Relief
www.gbgm-umc.org/umcor
- Stop Hunger Now
www.stophungernow.org
- World Vision
www.worldvision.org ■



SPEAKING OUT

Foreign Service Evaluations: A Broken System

BY MICHAEL C. GONZALES

The 2004 promotion lists were recently released. Although I was not eligible for promotion, I watched with pleasure as many outstanding officers and specialists received much-deserved recognition for excellent performance and evidence of potential. Sadly, as in past years, these employees' achievements were largely discredited by the promotion of other, thoroughly ineffective officers and specialists. These individuals who miss deadlines, fail to complete assignments and lack communication skills, yet still advance, prove the depressing fact that simply showing up or threatening to grieve will get you promoted in America's Foreign Service. The 2004 promotion lists confirm that the system of evaluations and promotions is broken. This, in turn, causes and perpetuates a Foreign Service that is fractured, and undermines America's foreign policy objectives.

Cultural & Institutional Impediments

The highly transitory Foreign Service lifestyle perpetuates a two-to-three-year time horizon in the minds of all it touches. All components of the State Department and other foreign affairs agencies — Americans and Foreign Service Nationals, officers and specialists, Foreign Service and Civil Service personnel — rely to some degree on the crutch that says, "I can ride out a bad ___ for two years." Depending on the circumstances, this blank may be a boss, employee, support staff member,

The don't-rock-the-boat culture of our Service undermines America's foreign policy objectives in much of the world.



GSO, or any of a myriad of other individuals filling roles crucial to our missions. Bureaucracy, impenetrable regulations, and Americans' growing litigiousness all pose real barriers to supervisors', clients', or subordinates' willingness and/or ability to take action to get the underperforming either to perform or be removed. Except in the cases of the most tenacious supervisors or feckless employees, most of us give up in despair and pass the problem on to our successors or other posts.

The paper trail generated by and about poor performers becomes steeped in code. In the case of an American subordinate, the rating officer crafts vague EER statements about a "fine performance" and "solid workmanship," hoping against hope that the promotion boards will appropriately identify these euphemisms near the lower rungs of the scorecard of superlatives. A perfunctory entry in the "area for improvement" box might encourage someone to "hone his time

management skills" rather than "get to work on time and stop missing deadlines." Sure, tenure may take an extra year, five more posts may suffer under the officer's incompetence, and co-workers will have to carry the burden, but we "avoided a lawsuit."

With weak FSNs, the infuriated supervisor describes the employee's performance as "satisfactory" — damning with faint praise, while high enough to permit the annual step increase and avoid a grievance from the FSN. The poor performance persists, mission goals are not optimally achieved, the FSN is bitter, and the supervisor remains angry, but finds solace in the fact that "I'm transferring next summer and it will be someone else's problem."

As for weak managers overseas, the damage is pervasive yet insidious. Subordinate employees are often left to their own devices with minimal supervision, and communication with other sections or offices is virtually severed, yet institutional rigidities and exhortations not to "rock the boat" deter senior managers from disrupting the façade of harmony in the office or mission. Compounding the problem, the employee often "manages up" well enough to keep the senior officer from realizing the full extent of the employee's shortcomings.

Even when the reviewing officer does make a good-faith effort to refer to problems, the natural tendency is to resort to canned praise and trivial areas for improvement in a naïve effort to preserve morale at post. But senior management's attempted punt



often doesn't keep the underperformer from being promoted to neglect a still-larger section or office instead of being selected out — and meanwhile, the post's effectiveness remains diminished and subordinates join the ranks of those who have lost the pride with which we used to look upon, and serve in, America's diplomatic corps.

Corridor Reputations and Onward Assignments

The optimistic and naïve may argue that the poor performers will get their due as their corridor reputations bar them from the “good jobs” and relegate them to the hard-to-fill positions around the globe or in backwaters of the department. While this does sometimes happen, it doesn't solve the problem — it merely makes it harder to address and increases frustration at posts which already tend to suffer from poor morale and neglect. Even worse, this corps of Foreign Service dregs and misfits disillusion — or worse, molds in their own image — entry-level employees on directed assignments to these garden spots.

Indeed, the broken system of Foreign Service evaluations and promotions — including the don't-rock-the-boat culture of our Service — undermines America's foreign policy objectives in much of the world. So I ask: Are posts in West Africa, South Asia, the Central Asian republics, or South Pacific island nations that most Americans have never heard of really so irrelevant to U.S. interests that we can entrust them to such a disproportionate share of personnel from the bottom of the proverbial barrel?

We Need Institutional Changes and Leadership

While these scenarios may not be factors in all cases, they certainly do occur at far too many posts. Thankfully, under Secretary Powell's leadership, the State Department has

The 2004 promotion lists confirm that the Foreign Service evaluation system is broken.

focused significant energy on promoting leadership skills and training in the Foreign Service. In the past few years, the department has introduced employee surveys and mandatory training on leadership and management.

At the same time, FSI's Leadership and Management School has sponsored a department-wide “Conversation on Leadership” with specific recommendations for promoting the practice of leadership within State, and has convened a Leadership Roundtable of individuals committed to implementing these recommendations. This progress is certainly welcome. Still, at too many posts around the world, too many officers still say, “Show me leadership in the Foreign Service and I'll show you a shocked FSO!”

Institutional changes in the implementation of Foreign Service evaluations and promotions are urgently needed.

Employee Evaluations

Performance evaluations must be changed to hold employees accountable for their performance, induce supervisors to accurately document an employee's performance, protect raters and reviewers from frivolous grievances or complaints, and allow employees to have a voice in the assessments of their supervisors' performance.

All supervisors are required to hold at least two counseling sessions with employees during each rating period, yet many of them forget this requirement until close to April 14. In the absence of counseling notes, supervisors bar themselves from including critical statements in employee evaluations because they themselves are exposed for having not done the documentary due diligence. The State Department could immediately begin sending quarterly ALDAC cables reminding all supervisors to hold counseling sessions with those they supervise. If the department can justify biannual open season reminder ALDACs for personnel benefits and monthly Visas Viper reminders, can't we justify quarterly reminders to ensure solid employee performance?

The department should immediately implement 360-degree evaluations of all personnel, not just FS-1 and above. What each of us does affects many other people at various levels, so how can we continue to justify not taking their feedback into account? This will force supervisors to evaluate rated employees' managerial and leadership skills and capacities based on the experience of those who are being managed or led. Can those skills be accurately assessed any other way? A 360-degree review would also provide documentary defense for more critical assessments of an employee's performance when the threat of a grievance or lawsuit would otherwise cause rating or reviewing officers to omit such information.

Finally, EER review panels must be given a means to provide substantive, not just clerical, feedback to rating officers when falsely buoyant EERs do not reflect an employee's performance. While serving on such panels for the past four years, I have read great works of fiction and have seen horrendous employees promoted as a result of these. A license for substantive feedback on EERs combined

SPEAKING OUT



with 360-degree reviews would provide an additional layer of accountability that ensures that the much-touted “needs of the Service,” as well as the rights of the employee, are protected.

Tenuring and Promotion

A meaningful tenure system is absolutely necessary in the Foreign Service. This career and lifestyle are not for everyone, but sometimes this is not apparent to employees themselves. Is the hiring process really that reliable that the percentage of individuals for whom this is just not the right choice lies somewhere in the low single digits? Especially given how — appropriately — selective the Foreign Service is in identifying new hires, should it not remove the chaff after observing actual performance? After three or four years of demonstrated performance, an employee should already have proven his/her suitability and capacity for a career as an American diplomat. Somehow, however, a gap persists between the poor performance of some employees and the ability of tenure boards to adequately perceive that performance and appreciate the implications of retaining such employees in the Service. With accurate evaluations, the department will be better able to make tenure meaningful rather than a blind grope to weed out the truly awful.

Low-ranking must become meaningful rather than just meeting a target. A quota system of identifying any subset of employees as poor performers, be it 2, 5 or 10 percent of them, although required in the Foreign Service Act, represents arbitrariness rather than human resources management. As efforts move forward to lower the low-ranking quota from 5 to 2 percent, I wonder what may happen to the other 3 percent who would have been low-ranked? If their performance was truly poor enough to

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SPEAKING OUT



justify the low-ranking, I hope that the selection boards will have the courage to low-rank them even if the 2-percent quota has already been reached. Low-ranking provides a tool to the Foreign Service through which underperformers can be assisted to improve or be removed from the Service. By low-ranking employees, selection boards provide a service to the employee and the Service; this responsibility must be exercised based on observed performance, not simply to meet an arbitrary quota.

At the other end of the spectrum, selection panels should also resist the temptation to award sympathy promotions for "solid" but uninspired performers. Of course, solid employees represent a significant, and needed, portion of any bureaucracy. According to the Procedural Precepts for Foreign Service Selection Boards, however, "[p]romotion is recognition that a member has demonstrated the capability of performing the duties and responsibilities required at a higher level. It is not a reward for prior service." Foreign Service personnel recognize that we have signed onto an up-or-out career track and the expectations therein are well publicized. Promoting someone who has shown "fine" performance as an FS-3 without demonstrating the capability to serve at an FS-2 level would be a disservice to the department even if the employee has 13 years at FS-3 and risks TIC-ing out.

Time-in-class limits are intended to hone the Foreign Service's effectiveness by removing the dead wood from our ranks. In practice, however, if it takes someone 13 years to be promoted from FS-3 to FS-2, has he or she demonstrated the potential to tackle the greater responsibility? Would you really want to serve under such a manager? Perhaps at senior levels of responsibility one may require a dozen years to demonstrate the merit to warrant promotion from

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Weak managers often “manage up” well enough to keep their supervisors from realizing the full extent of their shortcomings.

MC to CM, but at the entry and mid-levels, at least, shouldn't the windows close faster? America deserves better than a corps of diplomats who may take up to 10 years at FS-4 to be promoted to FS-3 or an additional 13 years to get to FS-2.

The Foreign Service's chief resource is the corps of individuals scattered around the planet. They are an impressive lot with whom I am generally proud to serve.

Unfortunately, a small, but not insignificant, subgroup of poor performers continue to slip through the cracks of a broken personnel system, undermining morale and keeping the Foreign Service from realizing its full potential. The fact that a disproportionate number of these problem employees gravitate to posts in remote, unstable countries discourages more skillful performers from bidding on those assignments and disillusion entry-level officers — perpetuating a vicious cycle of hobbled diplomacy.

We can do better. We must do better! ■

Michael Gonzales has been a Foreign Service officer since 2000, serving in Dhaka and Kampala. He is currently deputy public affairs officer and AFSA representative in Kampala.

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“FAC”-CHECKING: SECRETARY POWELL’S STATE DEPARTMENT

THE FOREIGN AFFAIRS COUNCIL GIVES GENERALLY HIGH MARKS TO COLIN POWELL AND HIS MANAGEMENT TEAM FOR THEIR WORK AT STATE OVER THE PAST FOUR YEARS.

BY THOMAS D. BOYATT

Editor’s Note: The following article consists of the foreword and executive summary from the Foreign Affairs Council’s Task Force Report, Secretary Powell’s State Department: An Independent Assessment, issued in November 2004.

In the summer of 2000 some 1,400 Foreign Service personnel, a quarter of the officer corps, attached their names to an Internet protest of their working conditions. In early 2004 the State Department had 200 Civil and Foreign Service volunteers, more than it could handle, for the 146 positions it was opening in Baghdad. The difference was Colin Powell and the gifted team of senior managers he assembled at the State Department.

Secretary Powell arrived at the State Department determined to fix a broken institution. He launched a two-pronged strategy. First, change the leadership culture so that managers at all levels focus on training, empowering and taking care of their people. Second, remedy critical management deficiencies: (1) restore diplomatic readiness by rebuilding State’s staff; (2) give

State modern information technology; (3) focus on security of the nation (visas and passports), of information and of Americans abroad, including U.S. government employees (also involves holding overseas staffs to the minimum necessary — right-sizing); (4) assure safe, healthy and secure facilities, especially overseas buildings; and (5) relate budgets to agreed strategies, policies and priorities. Visa and passport security required reshaping consular affairs to deal with the post-9/11 world. Secretary Powell also had to address two other major management issues: improving State’s congressional relations and overhauling public diplomacy following the 1999 merger of USIA into State.

Extraordinary Accomplishments

- Employees at all levels, Foreign Service and Civil Service alike, feel empowered and respected. Morale is robust. “One Mission, One Team” has taken root as a value.
- Leadership and management training are now mandatory for all mid-level and senior officers. Career candidates for Ambassador or Deputy Chief of Mission appointments have the inside track if they have demon-

F O C U S

Over the years the State Department and Foreign Service have been more or less continuously analyzed by a variety of groups, commissions and individuals. Countless reports have been duly produced and duly filed to be forgotten. The goal of these efforts has always been the most effective prosecution of the nation's diplomatic business. Action to achieve this objective has been negligible.

The Foreign Affairs Council is a non-partisan umbrella group of 11 organizations concerned about the processes-management of U.S. diplomacy and the people involved therein. We most decidedly do not address foreign policy issues, but are dedicated to the most effective diplomatic establishment possible.

The Council met with Secretary Powell just after his arrival at the State Department to discuss reform issues. The Secretary made clear that there had been enough study groups calling for change, including one in which he participated. He was interested in incremental actions for change that would cumulatively establish a leadership culture in the institution and restore diplomatic readiness. We assured the Secretary of our strong support for his goals, as well as our intention to monitor the progress we sincerely hoped would occur.

Almost four years have passed since that meeting. This

report assesses the progress made by Secretary Powell and his management team toward their declared goals. In short, the achievements have been extraordinary — even historic — as our assessment details. To use the vernacular, the Powell team has “talked the talk” and “walked the walk.” The Secretary has been an exemplary CEO of the State Department. When he departs, he will leave the institution infinitely stronger than he found it.

All of the above being stipulated, our report highlights areas where significant work remains and recommends actions to deal with continuing problems. The State Department, like successful commercial enterprises, must periodically reinvent itself to meet new challenges. This, of course, is a continuous process. The Council will monitor and report on future Secretaries of State as they also confront these leadership/management challenges.

Finally, the Council would like to register its deepest gratitude to the Una Chapman Cox and Delavan Foundations for their generous support, and to Ambassadors Ed Rowell and Bill De Pree for their efforts in interviewing scores of active-duty personnel in all bureaus and at all levels in the State Department, as well as in drafting this report.

Signed,

Amb. Thomas D. Boyatt (Assessment Chair), Foreign Affairs Council

Amb. John W. Limbert (Assessment Coordinator), American Foreign Service Association

Amb. L. Bruce Laingen, American Academy of Diplomacy

Terri L. Williams, Associates of the American Foreign Service Worldwide

Amb. Kenneth L. Brown, Association for Diplomatic Studies and Training

Amb. Kenton W. Keith, Association of Black American Ambassadors

Virginia A. Weil, Business Council for International Understanding

Amb. Keith L. Brown, Council of American Ambassadors

Amb. Clyde Taylor, Una Chapman Cox Foundation

Amb. William C. Harrop, Nelson B. Delavan Foundation

Holly H. Thomas, Public Members Association of the Foreign Service, USA

strated leadership qualities. The Foreign Service employee representative, the American Foreign Service Association, wants to write this practice into the permanent rulebook.

• Congress has given State virtually all of the resources Secretary Powell requested. Congress understands that the increases for diplomatic readiness, information technology, overseas buildings and diplomatic security are per-

manent parts of the budget, not one-time catch-up costs.

• State has achieved most of its Diplomatic Readiness Initiative staffing goals. With its new, first-rate recruitment and marketing program, State has redressed in three years almost the entire personnel deficit of the 1990s (some 2,000 employees hired above attrition) and increased the diversity and quality of Foreign Service officers and specialists.

- All the hardware for modern IT is now installed and on a four-year replacement cycle. All desks are finally linked worldwide. Information security is greatly enhanced. A new, robust, state-of-the-art message and archiving system (SMART) is being tested to do away with yesteryear's inadequate telegrams and their risky distribution and storage.

- The new Overseas Buildings Office has completed 13 safe, secure, functional buildings in two years and under budget. Twenty-six more are on the way. This contrasts with the pre-2002 rate of about one building per year. Congress and OMB have praised OBO effusively. Security upgrades have thwarted terrorist attacks at several posts.

- The Deputy Secretary personally chairs the senior reviews of the bureaus' Performance Plans (policy-related budgets) and the bureaus, in turn, hold ambassadors accountable for their Mission Performance Plans.

- The senior reviews include USAID. There is a first-ever, five-year Joint State-USAID Strategic Plan. And the new State-USAID Joint Management Councils, one for policy and one for management operations, are running effectively

- There are experiments with "virtual posts" which aid "right-sizing" and public diplomacy (15 of them as of October 2004).

- Administrative operations at six embassies have qualified for ISO 9000 certification, a point of pride, efficiency and service. The goal is to certify for ISO 9000 all administrative functions at all posts, meaning that all administrative functions at all posts meet ISO (International Organization for Standardization) criteria for certification for administrative excellence.

- Visa operations use new IT systems and rigorously

Ambassador Thomas D. Boyatt is the chairman of the Foreign Affairs Council, and has served at various times since 1970 as AFSA Governing Board president, vice president, treasurer and retiree representative. An FSO from 1959 until 1985, he served as ambassador to Colombia and Upper Volta (now Burkino Faso) and chargé d'affaires in Chile, in addition to postings in Nicosia, Luxembourg and Antofagasta (Chile). In Washington, he served on the staff of the under secretary of Treasury, as assistant to the assistant secretary for Near Eastern affairs, and as director of the Office of Cypriot Affairs, among other positions.

carry out post-9/11 security requirements — sometimes to the detriment of other U.S. programs and interests, despite energetic leadership efforts to maintain "open doors" along with "secure borders."

Vulnerabilities

Many of the management improvements are institutionally well-rooted, partly because the new Foreign Service cohorts will demand that they stay. But many are vulnerable in a budget crisis, and others require more work. Key tasks:

1. State must maintain its partnership with Congress. Secretary Powell has been the critical actor in this regard, but he also has enabled his senior and mid-level subordinates to carry much of the load. This practice must continue.

2. Integration of public diplomacy into the policy process is still deficient. Experimentation on multiple fronts is needed to make the public diplomacy function more effective. Ideas include training, expansion of the ways public diplomacy officers relate to the Under Secretary for Public Diplomacy, and aggressive action to make public diplomacy a part of all policy development.

3. State's public affairs efforts need to go beyond explaining current policies to the public. They need to engage the public on a sustained basis regarding what the Department of State is and what its people do, especially overseas, as a way to build public confidence in the institution and confidence in the policies it is explaining and carrying out.

4. Diplomatic readiness is incomplete, budget outlooks are grim, and there are new needs: positions to replace those reprogrammed from diplomatic readiness to cover Iraq and Afghanistan; positions to provide surge capacity for crises; and positions to staff the new, congressionally-proposed [Office of the] Coordinator for Stabilization and Reconstruction. State should develop a ready reserve of active-duty personnel who have strong secondary skills in critical fields, plus a select cadre of recallable retirees with like skills. Continuous attention to the recruitment system is needed to remain competitive. And State must protect its training resources, including those for hard language and leadership/management training, from raids to cover operational emergencies. Sending people abroad without the requisite training is like deploying soldiers without weapons.

5. State must update its overseas consular staffing

F O C U S

model to account for post-9/11 changes in workloads and procedures, so that the U.S. can truly have both “safe borders and open doors.”

A Distance to Go

6. State has to find a way to staff hardship posts adequately, using directed assignments if necessary in order to assure Service discipline.

7. State has some distance to go before it reaps the full benefit of its new IT systems. The SMART system is almost a year behind schedule, albeit for good reasons. More formal training of users is needed and a cadre of IT coaches (today’s secretaries?) should be developed to help overseas users. A common computerized accounting and control application is still being developed: the Joint [State-USAID] Financial Management System (JFMS). It is overdue.

8. “Right-sizing” — aligning the U.S. government presence abroad to reflect our national priorities and to attain policy objectives as efficiently as possible — has

barely begun. It should be pursued in multiple venues: interagency capital cost-sharing for overseas buildings; wider use of “virtual posts;” conscious use of MPPs and, with White House support, the BPP senior reviews to manage the overseas presence of all U.S. agencies; completion of State’s regional support center program; and ISO 9000 certification for all overseas administrative operations that have “critical mass.”

9. Future Secretaries, Deputy Secretaries, Under Secretaries and Assistant Secretaries must engage fully in management and leadership processes as well as in congressional relations.

10. Finally, Congress and the executive branch have a series of management issues they need to examine together, including: the long-term relationship between State, USAID and other U.S. assistance vehicles (e.g., Millennium Challenge, U.S. Global AIDS program), and where in the budget and the appropriations structure it is most appropriate to fund State and USAID (perhaps merged under a separate “national security account”). ■



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COMPARISONS OF COLIN POWELL TO ANOTHER GENERAL WHO SERVED AS SECRETARY OF STATE, GEORGE C. MARSHALL, ONLY HIGHLIGHT POWELL'S SQUANDERED LEGACY.

BY DENNIS JETT

They will consider the record of the past four years and find it wanting because they will look at all the facts. They won't ignore some of them, as many do today, simply because they are inconvenient.

Democratic politicians praise Powell because doing so highlights the dominance of Bush administration policy by the hard-liners. Republicans say he was a great success because they want to paint a positive picture of the administration's diplomatic achievements.

Many in the media avoid negative reporting on Powell in the name of being fair and balanced, especially those who are nothing more than propaganda outlets for the "official line." Some commentators will be reluctant to be hard on him because there is a certain political incorrectness to criticizing the first African-American Secretary of State. After all, his career reflects what

Americans want to believe about their country. The son of immigrants rising to the highest levels of government is the American Dream, if not the American reality.

Finally, those who work at State will be reluctant to speak ill of him because he was a good boss. He was the kind of general who always took care of his troops. His stature helped boost State's budget, allowing equipment upgrades and additional hiring. He attended functions where secretaries had rarely been sighted, such as the ceremonies for swearing in new ambassadors and honoring retirees.

He also made the small gestures of consideration that set him apart from those secretaries who treated the department's employees with a mixture of disinterest and distrust. For instance, he obtained the money to allow business-class travel on long flights and then ensured that perk would not be denied to junior personnel by requiring permission be sought to fly in coach on such flights.

Letting Himself Be Used

Some in the Foreign Service will not want to see Powell's record attacked because he provided the rationale for justifying their own actions. After all, it takes a

large trust fund or the principles of someone like John Brady Kiesling, Ann Wright, John Brown or Greg Thielmann to resign or retire rather than defend an indefensible policy. Those who did not depart can excuse themselves by saying they stayed to advocate moderation — just as their leader did.

But Powell moderated very little and stayed as long as he did out of self-interest, not national interest. The Horatio Alger-like story of the boy from the Bronx who succeeded by working hard ignores the fact that Powell got ahead by being the consummate loyalist. Like Alexander Haig, Powell earned at least three of his four stars as a general on the bureaucratic battlefields of Washington. And again like Haig, Powell's ability to play the bureaucratic game and cultivate mentors and allies resulted in his being named Secretary of State. In short, Powell owes his stature, status and wealth to the Republican elite who rewarded him for faithfully serving them.

That is why Powell allowed himself to be used to help elect George W. Bush and to get him re-elected. Now that Bush no longer needs him, however, he has been let go. But what legacy has he left and how will historians judge it?

To hear Powell and Bush tell it, the last four years have brought nothing but success. But is there any American interest or alliance that is better off now than four years ago? For instance, in his letter acknowledging Powell's resignation, President Bush praised him for bringing democracy to Afghanistan. President Hamid Karzai is little more than the mayor of Kabul, however, and presides over a narco-state that makes Colombia look like Switzerland.

Bush also described Powell as the "key architect of

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the Broader Middle East Initiative, which is helping spread democracy and freedom in that region." Just which countries in the Middle East are now more democratic and free than they were in 2000?

In his resignation letter to Bush, Powell noted that he had brought the attention of the world to the problem of proliferation and undertook major initiatives to deal with poverty and

disease in the developing world. On the nonproliferation front, both North Korea and Iran have made significant progress in acquiring nuclear weapons as the administration has dithered.

Powell has said North Korea can be encouraged to end its nuclear weapons program through diplomacy and that Bush is willing to put his intention not to attack that country in writing. But Vice President Cheney, in one key meeting on North Korea, said, "I have been charged by the president with making sure that none of the tyrannies in the world are negotiated with. We don't negotiate with evil; we defeat it."

As for improving the plight of the developing world, the administration did launch the Millennium Challenge Account to promote economic growth and a plan to combat AIDS. This was done mainly because the administration needed a kinder, gentler face as it marched inexorably to war. Both programs have been grossly underfunded and are more designed to provide pork and patronage to the Republican faithful than relief to the world's poor.

Ineffective or Disingenuous?

Former German Chancellor Konrad Adenauer once commented that, "History is the sum total of things that could have been avoided." It is for that reason that Powell will be most remembered for his role in invading Iraq and, in particular, for his February 2003 speech at the United Nations where he made the case for war.

Despite the record, Powell has nurtured the notion that he valiantly fought the good fight only to lose to the neoconservatives. But in the Oct. 18, 2004, issue of *The New Yorker*, Nicholas Lemann wrote: "By August [2002], Powell had come around to the view that the war couldn't be headed off. He decided that his best

Dennis Jett, an FSO from 1972 to 2000, was ambassador to Mozambique and Peru and DCM in Malawi and Liberia. He also served in Argentina, Israel, and Washington, D.C., both in the department and at the NSC. Following retirement, he assumed his current position as dean of the International Center at the University of Florida in Gainesville. He is the author of Why Peacekeeping Fails (Palgrave, 2001) and has published over 50 opinion pieces in major newspapers.

chance was to influence how it was done, not whether. He argued passionately for going to Congress and the United Nations, and he persuaded Bush.”

So if the good fight was merely about style rather than substance, just how did Powell's arguments alter Bush's course? The administration would not have gone to war without the guaranteed rubber stamp provided by a compliant Congress. And while some hard-liners would have preferred to ignore the United Nations completely, it would have been hard to argue the U.S. was going to war because of Saddam Hussein's failure to comply with U.N. resolutions without consulting that body. And that effort was nothing more than a farce. Although one U.N. Security Council resolution was passed in the fall of 2002, once it became clear a second resolution actually authorizing the use of force was going to fail, Bush happily went to war anyway in March 2003.

Even if Powell did win style points with his arguments, the bottom line is they had absolutely no effect on the ultimate outcome. We invaded a country with no weapons of mass destruction and no ties to 9/11 or al-Qaida, just as the hard-liners demanded. And now we are bogged down in a war that is about to enter its third year, an estimated 100,000 Iraqi civilians killed, over 1,300 U.S. troops (as of mid-January) sacrificed, and over \$200 billion squandered — with no end in sight. The war has not only been costly, bloody and unjustified; it has made us less safe at home and more despised abroad than anytime in recent history.

Like the escalation of the war in Vietnam 40 years earlier, the *casus belli* for invading Iraq was false. There were no vital national interests at stake, and the motivation was domestic politics, not international issues. Lyndon Johnson did not want to be accused of being the first American to lose a war. George Bush needed a war to provide a flag to wrap himself in. And Colin Powell delivered.

Powell has been reported as “dismayed” by the fact that no weapons of mass destruction were found. But are we to believe that the Secretary of State spent four days and nights preparing his U.N. speech at the CIA because he wanted to verify the intelligence for himself, and yet nearly everything he said just happened to end up being false? Like Vice President Cheney, the Secretary of State does not have to leave his office to get intelligence reports. In Cheney's case, he repeat-

edly went to Langley to convey the clearest signal possible about what he wanted the analysts to conclude. In Powell's case, he crossed the river to avoid the skeptics in State's Bureau of Intelligence and Research and to practice giving the speech with a straight face.

The U.N. speech was not the only time Powell crossed the line from failure to fraud. He lied about the justification for the war just as often as other key administration officials did. As documented in a report by Rep. Henry Waxman, D-Calif., on 125 different occasions between March 17, 2002, and Jan. 22, 2004, the five highest members of the Bush administration made a total of 237 misleading statements exaggerating and distorting the threat posed by Iraq. Bush made 55 such statements, Rumsfeld, 52, Cheney, 51, Powell, 50, and Rice, 29.

A Squandered Legacy

Powell likes to compare himself to another general who served as Secretary of State, George C. Marshall. But just as Dan Quayle was no John Kennedy, Colin Powell is no George Marshall. Marshall was the architect of the Allied victory in World War II. His vision created a new spirit of cooperation, mutual help and support between Western Europe and the United States, which led to the establishment of the NATO alliance and the Marshall Plan that rebuilt Europe. He is the only soldier ever to win the Nobel Peace Prize because he was a true internationalist who promoted peace through cooperation and understanding among nations.

What will Powell be remembered for? It could have been for the doctrine that carries his name, which holds that military force should be used very selectively. Powell chose instead to use the doctrine selectively. When a Democratic president wanted to use military force in Bosnia, Powell devoted himself to thinking of obstacles to prevent it. But when a Republican president wanted to use force, Powell found it more important to obey his benefactors than to adhere to his own doctrine.

Powell's arguments in favor of moderation did not fail to become policy simply because the perverted worldview of the neocons prevailed, however. The neocon philosophy was just an elegant package in which to wrap a domestic political strategy. The unilateralists at Defense triumphed over the multilateral-

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ists at State because the political operatives of the White House cared about nothing more than re-election.

In the January 2004 issue of *Foreign Affairs*, Powell wrote that the Bush foreign policy was not unilateralist, did not favor military means over diplomacy and was not obsessed with terrorism. He instead asserted that it is a visionary strategy based on partnerships. Echoing Dean Acheson, he said he knows this is true because he was present at its creation.

Powell professed to be unable to understand why much of the world doesn't buy this line and implied those who hold a different opinion are either dishonest or irrationally partisan. He concluded that anyone who cherished freedom, human dignity and peace should recognize the nobility of the president's policy and provide the administration the only thing it really needs: encouragement.

Even if Powell did win style points with his arguments, they had no effect on the ultimate outcome.

Perhaps Powell forgot about Guantanamo, Abu Ghraib and the memos from the White House urging that the Geneva Conventions be ignored and insisting that torture sometimes was acceptable. The rest of the world has not, and sees inconsistency and hypocrisy instead of a visionary foreign policy motivated by the highest intentions and loftiest goals. What anyone who has paid

attention knows, yet Powell refuses to acknowledge, is that our men and women in uniform were used as the cannon fodder of the re-election campaign, and that the "moral clarity" of the administration's foreign policy is just a marketing device.

Powell also wrote that the doctrine of pre-emptive attacks was not a central part of Bush's national security strategy. The Republican National Committee, however, used pre-emption as a central tenet of Bush's re-election strategy. RNC Chairman Ed Gillespie

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admitted that television ads were designed to demonstrate the difference between Republicans and Democrats on “whether or not a policy of pre-emptive self-defense is the best approach to protecting our national security.”

The rest of Bush’s foreign policy is as much an extension of domestic politics as the war was and is designed to serve the desires of the administration’s core constituencies. Family-planning aid to the world’s poor was cut off to please the anti-abortion crowd. Policy toward the Israeli-Palestinian conflict was tailored to the biblical visions of the religious right. Moves to limit the small arms that sustain the civil wars in Africa were thwarted to please the National Rifle Association.

While Powell was the consummate loyalist, he did occasionally dare to suggest more moderate options to the president. Secretary of State Condoleezza Rice will undoubtedly be far worse. She is known only for her loyalty and closeness to Bush.

At the CIA, Porter Goss is not weeding out those who had it wrong about Iraq. He is eliminating those who were disloyal enough to leak the fact that they had their doubts about the evidence offered to justify the war. Since many of those who doubted the case for war are at State, Rice may conduct a witch-hunt of her own.

But Powell is beyond worrying about the fate of State. He will soon be back on the speaking circuit making double the \$60,000 he used to charge for his 20-minute motivational speech. He will also undoubtedly serve on innumerable corporate boards and get a huge advance for his memoirs.

Churchill once said: “History will be kind to me, for I intend to write it.” For that reason Powell will put a lot of effort into his version of his time as Secretary of State. Unfortunately for Powell’s legacy, the historians will also weigh in, however. And it would take a major literary miracle to find accomplishment in a record noteworthy mainly for subservience and devotion to self-interest. ■

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A LEGACY OF SUCCESS

T COLIN POWELL HAS SERVED THE NATION WITH HONOR AND DISTINCTION IN ALMOST EVERY NATIONAL SECURITY JOB OUT THERE. HIS TENURE AT FOGGY BOTTOM IS NO EXCEPTION.

BY PETER T.R. BROOKES

he rumormongers were simply wrong. Secretary of State Colin Powell didn't tender his resignation because Vice President Dick Cheney and Secretary of Defense Donald Rumsfeld wouldn't play nicely with him in the foreign policy sandbox. Nor, contrary to conventional wisdom, was he pushed out because he wasn't hawkish enough (after 35 years of military service, he's hardly a dove), or because he was a moderate square peg in a neoconservative round hole. He's too big a man to knuckle under to such pressures.

Powell was involved in plenty of heated — and, regrettably, well-publicized — disagreements over foreign policy issues, particularly over the last couple of years. But he is leaving the Bush administration as the nation's chief diplomat of his own free will after four incredibly busy years, including wars in Iraq and Afghanistan. The 67-year-old Powell has given the president his best advice and counsel during some of the most tumultuous times in recent diplomatic history, and now wants to spend more time with his family and earn some well-deserved retirement money in the private sector.

Despite the largely negative speculation about his impending departure, the exceedingly popular Powell

leaves behind a successful legacy as President George W. Bush's first Secretary of State. He can take significant credit for developing — and maintaining — the international cooperation that has done so much to advance the global war on terror. He knows very well that (outside Iraq, anyway) most terrorists are put out of business not by military action, but by international law enforcement and intelligence cooperation spearheaded by deft diplomacy. And without the diplomatic foundation provided by the State Department under Powell's leadership, the international cooperation required to win the war on terror would not be possible.

Furthermore, Secretary Powell built the international coalition that ousted the Taliban and al-Qaida from Afghanistan after the 9/11 attacks. His State Department deserves bragging rights for the recent success of Afghanistan's first national elections, just three short years after the Taliban's toppling. Moreover, Powell advanced American diplomacy in other parts of South Asia by reinvigorating our relationship with the nuclear-armed states of India and Pakistan. In particular, his personal relationship with Pakistani President Pervez Musharraf proved a tremendous asset in helping avert a war between the two nations in 2002 and in

garnering Islamabad's support in the war on terror. Powell also sustained the ongoing improvement in strategic relations with the region's rising giant, India, after years of estrangement.

Secretary Powell's force of personality proved vital in improving Sino-American relations after a volatile start early in the Bush administration. In April 2001, a Chinese fighter collided with a U.S. Navy EP-3 reconnaissance plane over the South China Sea, precipitating an unexpected crisis for the new foreign policy team. Powell not only resolved the crisis, but went on to put Sino-American relations on a more solid basis than at any time in the recent past. He concluded the Treaty Between the United States of America and the Russian Federation on Strategic Offensive Reductions (known as the Moscow Treaty), while paving the way for missile defense.

Secretary Powell also played an important role in strengthening relations with such key allies as Japan, Britain and Australia and, despite differences over Iraq, kept alive hopes of better trans-Atlantic ties. He championed global action against HIV/AIDS, which is killing more people than terrorism. And under his leadership, the U.S. Agency for International Development and State Department partnered to develop the Millennium Challenge Account, an innovative way of dispensing foreign aid to those countries that will make the best use of it.

On the proliferation front, Powell advanced efforts to stem the spread of weapons of mass destruction and ballistic missiles through such innovative measures as the Proliferation Security Initiative and the peaceful disarming of Libya's WMD, which provides a model for resolving both the North Korean and Iranian nuclear weapons programs. He was also instrumental in developing a multilateral approach for getting North Korea back to the negotiating table on its nuclear weapons program. The new format, known as the Six-Party Talks, includes not only the U.S., North and South Korea, Japan and Russia, but also the People's Republic of China, the country with the most influence over the reclusive Pyongyang regime. Powell also encouraged Pres. Bush to support the European Union's diplomat-

Peter Brookes is the senior fellow for national security affairs at The Heritage Foundation, a Washington, D.C.-based think-tank.

ic efforts, led by France, Germany and Britain, to end Iran's troubling nuclear program.

National Security Adviser Condoleezza Rice recently called Powell "a great and inspirational" leader. She is right. And perhaps Colin Powell's greatest contribution to American diplomacy was his leadership and management of the State Department itself. In the estimation of many, Foggy Bottom's morale had dipped to record lows when Powell took over in 2001. Using his star-quality, Powell went to Capitol Hill early on in his tenure, made his case and got more money for the department. He leaves State with improved morale, better-equipped technologically, with more manpower — and with additional foreign aid for advancing American interests abroad. Powell also instituted the State Department's first leadership training courses.

You Win Some, You Lose Some

Powell's record is not without blemishes, to be sure. High on many State-watchers' lists is Iraq, where they feel he should have tried harder to head off military action — or at least push it off until a later date with more international support. But the Secretary did convince Pres. Bush to go the multilateral route in the fall of 2002, and deserves credit for rounding up the votes required to unanimously approve U.N. Security Council Resolution 1441, which threatened Iraq with "serious consequences" if it did not adhere to all U.N. resolutions and cooperate with weapons inspectors. However, Powell ultimately lost the interagency battle over how and when the United States went to war in Iraq. In that regard, he has expressed regrets about the presentation he gave at the U.N. in February 2003 on Iraq's weapons of mass destruction program, which turned out to be based on faulty CIA intelligence.

Powell also leaves his post having made little progress on the Middle East peace process. While the political environment was certainly not conducive to negotiations, some had at least hoped for more personal involvement on his part. In the plus column, he did persuade President Bush to be the first American president to publicly support the establishment of a Palestinian state. And with Yassir Arafat's death, Powell's successor may be in a better position to finally bring peace to the troubled region.

It is true that Powell did not win every foreign-policy battle over the past four years. But what Secretary of

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State has? In interagency politics, you win some; you lose some. Yet regardless of the outcomes on these and other issues around the table at the National Security Council and in the Oval Office, Powell was always a team player. Explaining his loyalty, Powell frequently recounted an anecdote from the days when General George C. Marshall (one of his heroes) was Harry Truman's Secretary of State.

In 1948, Truman was considering whether to recognize Israel as a state. Marshall strongly opposed the idea, fearing it would ruin relations with the Arabs, and told Truman so. The president decided to ignore Marshall's advice and recognized the new Jewish state. Some of Marshall's advisers recommended that he resign in protest but he refused, reminding his staff that Truman had been elected president, not he, and it was the president's job to

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make decisions. Marshall added that the Secretary of State was to give his best advice and then support the president's decision.

Like Marshall, Powell never threatened to resign even if he did not agree with the final decision on a given issue. It is a tribute to Powell's character that once the president articulated a policy, he supported him and moved forward.

The Rice Era

When she is confirmed by the Senate as America's 66th Secretary of State (possibly by the time this issue is printed), Condoleezza (Condi) Rice will not have the distinction of being the first woman (Madeleine Albright) or the first person of color (Colin Powell) to hold the post. But more important than her race or gender is the prospect of her success as this country's next top diplomat. It has become a parlor

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game in Washington, D.C. — and in capitals around the world — to figure out whether she is up to the task of being Secretary of State in these troubling times and what her ascension means for America's foreign policy.

There is no question that she has big shoes to fill in replacing Colin Powell. An American hero, he is one of the most respected Americans at home and abroad. It's easy to understand why. He's served the nation with honor and distinction in almost every national security job out there, and done it well: soldier; chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff; national security adviser and, finally, Secretary of State.

Fortunately, Rice comes to the job with several key advantages. After four years in the administration, she

***Perhaps Colin Powell's
greatest contribution to
American diplomacy
was his leadership and
management of the
State Department.***

knows the president, the policies and the players well. Perhaps most importantly, Rice understands Pres. Bush. She has been at his side since well before the November 2000 election. (They met in 1998 at a dinner held by former Secretary of State George Shultz.) She began tutoring Bush on foreign policy before the 2000 presidential campaign and is one of his closest confidantes. She often accompanies the Bush family to the family ranch in Crawford, Texas, and spends most weekends with the

president at Camp David. It might be said they are of "one mind" on foreign policy issues.


That close personal relationship will ensure that she has unparalleled access to the president on foreign policy issues — and will also ensure she is taken seriously right away by foreign leaders. Moreover, with her

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deputy, Steve Hadley, moving up to her old post as national security adviser, Rice will likely have much more influence over foreign policy than many expect. And with the confidence of the president, there's no reason for her to walk in the shadows of Vice President Cheney or Defense Secretary Rumsfeld.

Rice is intimately familiar with the administration's foreign policy philosophy, having played a key role in its formulation. Thus, although she will have some daunting challenges in front of her, like Iraq and the war on terrorism, Rice won't have to spend time getting up to speed on the issues. The real challenge for her will be getting her arms around the Department of State — a much larger organization than the National Security Council — and managing it. Thus, her choice of a deputy secretary will prove

***There is no question
that Condoleezza Rice
has big shoes to fill in
replacing Colin Powell.
But there is also no doubt
that she is up to the task.***

critical in allowing her to focus on the pressing issues of war and peace, while keeping the State Department's bureaucracy humming.

After four years, she also knows who her likely allies are on an issue, and who her likely foes will be, as well. Depending on who stays for the second Bush term in the NSC, Rice may have a number of her former colleagues as allies resident in the Old Executive Office Building. This will, undoubtedly, bolster her

influence in the interagency process.

She will need every one of those qualities and skills, for achieving stability in Iraq and Afghanistan, dismantling Iran's and North Korea's nuclear programs, pursuing Middle East peace and fighting the war on terror just won't wait for on-the-job training. ■

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COLIN POWELL: FOUR TUMULTUOUS YEARS

FHIS PERSONAL POPULARITY CONSISTENTLY EXCEEDED THAT OF THE POLICIES HE DEFENDED. EVEN SO, WITHIN THE ADMINISTRATION HE OFTEN FOUND HIMSELF OUTGUNNED.

BY GEORGE GEDDA

For Colin Powell, it was unfortunate that some of his Bush administration colleagues did not have the same admiration for him that his countrymen did. His approval ratings among Americans were stratospheric. But in senior government councils, Powell often felt like the odd man out.

It's rare for a Cabinet officer to admit to being out of step ideologically with fellow appointees, but Powell did so in an interview with the *Washington Times* in early 2004 that was intended for a book, but some of it was used in a *Times* post-resignation story. He told reporter Bill Sammon that on a scale of zero to 100, with 100 being the most conservative, he ranked significantly lower than other key officials, including Dick Cheney, Donald Rumsfeld, Condoleezza Rice, Defense Under Secretary Douglas Feith and State Under Secretary John Bolton. "If you put, say, Cheney up around 90, and Don and Condi and company between 80 and 90, and you put Bolton and Feith at about 98, then I'd be somewhere around 60, 65," he said. "So I'm a little bit out of the mold you would expect."

Scores of foreign governments wish there had been more in the administration who thought as Powell did.

He was widely viewed as a moderating force amid a sea of dug-in rightists. With his departure, there will be no leavening presence, or so the conventional wisdom goes. But there also is the perception that his successor, Rice, will have the president's ear more than Powell did.

Powell was always careful to say he served at the "pleasure of the president," a phrase he used continuously in his final months in office when asked about his future plans. Apparently, it was the president's "pleasure" for Powell to stay on for four years and not a day longer. He converted Powell to lame-duck status with more than two months left before inauguration day and with Powell planning extensive travel between mid-November and mid-December — seven countries in total, six of them the sites of international conferences.

Cheney may have been his biggest problem. Not only did Cheney outrank him, but he decided early on that national security would be his specialty. It's quite possible that he weighed in on foreign policy more than any preceding vice president. On issues such as Iraq and North Korea, Cheney was in a position to pull rank on Powell — and did so.

Cheney had some claim to expertise on internation-

al issues, having served on the House Intelligence Committee and as Secretary of Defense to Presidents Gerald Ford and George H. W. Bush. Even more important, despite all the baggage that Cheney picked up during the first term — such as his Halliburton ties and exaggerated claims about Iraq's arsenal — he also had something else that proved decisive: the president's confidence.

Powell and Cheney have always had different world views. In early August 1990, when Iraq conquered Kuwait, Powell was chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff; Cheney, the Defense Secretary, was his boss. Cheney and Powell sat down to discuss options for dealing with the Iraqi outrage in Kuwait. Should Saddam Hussein's army be removed by force? Cheney believed there was no other choice because to do nothing would embolden Saddam to attack Saudi Arabia next. Powell, mindful of the costs of reversing Saddam's conquest, counseled simple containment of the dictator.

As recounted in their 1995 book, *The Generals' War*, Michael Gordon and Bernard Trainor quote Powell as telling Cheney and other officials: "We must start with policy and diplomatic overtures. We can't make a case for losing lives over Kuwait."

Cheney wanted Powell to develop options for using force against Iraq. "Powell kept dodging the issue," Gordon and Trainor reported. "Finally, Cheney's irritation boiled over. Dropping his familiar first-name address, he barked, 'I want some options, General!'"

Iraq, Round Two

Twelve Augusts later, Cheney and Powell were to square off again, with Cheney as vice president and Powell as Secretary of State. Powell again was the subordinate, and again, the issue was Iraq, with the stakes even higher than the first time. The issue was the degree to which the possible nexus between Saddam's Iraq and al-Qaida in the post-9/11 environment posed a danger to the United States. Given the stockpile of unconventional weapons that Iraq was perceived to

George Gedda, a regular Journal contributor, covers the State Department for The Associated Press.

Vice President Cheney may have been Powell's biggest problem.

have at the time, Cheney said the United States must take action against Iraq quickly. Powell urged caution, warning that a "go it alone" approach against Iraq could destabilize friendly countries in the Middle East and siphon energy from the war on terrorism. Powell advocated a broad coalition to deal with Iraq; Cheney, fearing catastrophic attack while diplomats dithered, was opposed. Cheney, along with Defense Secretary Donald Rumsfeld, saw renewed U.N. weapons inspections in Iraq as a waste of time; Powell favored them. In the end, Powell prevailed, convincing Bush to seek a Security Council resolution against Iraq, starting with revived U.N. inspections.

What may have been the defining moment of Powell's stewardship at Foggy Bottom occurred on Feb. 5, 2003, in his speech to the Security Council. There the most reluctant warrior in Bush's hierarchy of advisers made the case for war against Iraq. He cited Saddam's foot dragging on inspections, his supposed arsenal of unconventional weapons and his 12-year record of flouting U.N. disarmament resolutions. Ultimately, Powell could not get the Security Council to approve a war against Iraq, so the United States led a "coalition of the willing" in March to uproot the dictator.

It has been small comfort to Powell that subsequent events vindicated the cautious approach toward Iraq that he had espoused. In particular, aides say, it has pained him that the weapons stockpiles he alluded to in his February 2003 U.N. speech never materialized. He never wavered in defending the policy, but he may have hurt himself with the White House in other ways. Powell, either directly or indirectly, presumably was the source of unflattering passages about Cheney and other administration figures in Bob Woodward's book, *Plan of Attack*. For instance, when Cheney tried to convince Powell that intelligence reports established a link between Iraq and al-Qaida, Powell dismissed the vice president's evidence as "worse than ridiculous," Woodward wrote. The phrase was Woodward's, not Powell's, but it certainly gave Powell's rivals ammunition to portray him as less than a good soldier and to lobby for his early departure from the administration.

For Powell, his conflict with Cheney was part of an

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even larger problem. Powell won his August 2002 battle with Cheney over whether the United States should seek U.N. Security Council support for a tough stand against Iraq. But Powell lost other struggles, on North Korea, for example. Powell wanted a more generous economic incentives package for North Korea to encourage disarmament, but was overruled by Cheney.

As the administration's house moderate, Powell found himself outgunned much of the time. He never said flatly he was against the war but it was clear he had more reservations about it than his colleagues. Perhaps two tours of duty in Vietnam in the 1960s instilled in him a caution about going to war that non-veteran colleagues such as Cheney may lack.

Iraq was a different kind of war from any the country has ever fought. The "postwar" phase has produced more casualties than the three weeks it took to force Saddam out. Before the war, there was very little public discussion about postwar resistance in Iraq. Ironically, two of the most prescient prewar observers

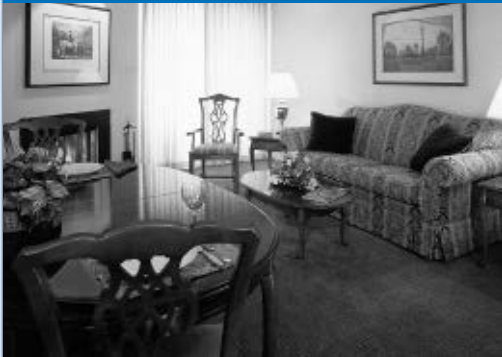
were the first President Bush and his Secretary of State, James A. Baker. In 1990, they led the charge for building an international coalition with U.N. backing to oust Saddam's Army from Kuwait. But they argued passionately against any effort to topple Saddam by force.

"We would have been forced to occupy Baghdad and, in effect, rule Iraq," the senior Bush wrote in his memoir, *A World Transformed*, published well before his son became president. "The coalition would have instantly collapsed. ... Going in and thus unilaterally exceeding the United Nations mandate would have destroyed the precedent of international response to aggression we hoped to establish. Had we gone the invasion route, the United States could conceivably still be an occupying power in a bitterly hostile land. It would have been a dramatically different — and perhaps barren — outcome."

Baker, in a September 1996 opinion piece, wrote, "Iraqi soldiers and civilians could be expected to resist

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an enemy seizure of their own country with a ferocity not previously demonstrated on the battlefield in Kuwait. Even if Hussein were captured and his regime toppled, U.S. forces would still have been confronted with the specter of a military occupation of indefinite duration to pacify the country and sustain a new government in power.”

Would the warnings of the first President Bush and Baker about the consequences of regime change in 1991 be applicable to 2003 as well? It's hard to see why not. But one obvious difference is that in 2003, the imperative of doing away with Saddam was far greater than in 1991, because of concern about possible transfers of unconventional weapons from Saddam to al-Qaida. To the second President Bush, that consideration transcended all others. If those concerns had been

Scores of foreign governments wish there had been more in the administration who thought as Powell did.

present in 1991, they could have tipped the balance in support of regime change despite the dangers.

Victories and Defeats

Powell took office in January 2001 with widespread support from the public and on Capitol Hill. It helped that Powell had served for more than 30 years in the military, as national security adviser for

President Reagan and as a top staff aide to Defense Secretary Caspar Weinberger. When he spoke to State Department employees upon taking office, he said it seemed that he had been preparing all his life to become America's chief diplomat. But to many, it seemed he was never allowed to fully fill his role as the president's top foreign policy adviser. On key decisions, Bush often heeded the advice of others. Powell never became the commanding figure that Henry



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Kissinger was 30 years ago at Foggy Bottom. In some ways, Powell's experience mirrored that of Cyrus Vance, who was kept at bay by NSC adviser Zbigniew Brzezinski during the Carter administration.

Through it all, Powell rarely showed anger publicly. But one instance occurred during a House International Relations Committee hearing in February 2004. Powell thought Rep. Sherrod Brown, D-Ohio, crossed a line when he contrasted Powell's military experience to Bush's record with the National Guard. When Brown said Bush "may have been AWOL" from duty, Powell exploded.

"First of all, Mr. Brown, I won't dignify your comments about the president because you don't know what you are talking about," Powell snapped. "I'm sorry, I don't know what you mean, Mr. Secretary," Brown replied. "You made reference to the president," Powell shot back. Brown repeated his AWOL allegation. "Mr. Brown, let's not go there," Powell retorted.

Moments later, Powell became annoyed with a committee staff aide who was non-verbally registering his disagreement with Powell's comments on Iraq's prewar weaponry. "Are you shaking your head for something, young man?" Powell asked when he noticed an aide to Brown apparently disagreeing. "I seldom come to a meeting when I'm talking to a congressman and I have people aligned behind you giving editorial comment by headshakes," Powell said. Brown, defending his assistant, said, "I think people have opinions."

Powell never let world problems overwhelm him. There was one memorable evening in August 2002, days before Powell's White House meeting with Bush about whether to seek U.N. support in the looming U.S. confrontation with Iraq. The venue that evening was the annual regional forum of the Association of Southeast Asian Nations in Brunei. As is customary, several of the delegations represented performed skits on stage after a final dinner. In Vietnam the previous year, Powell had bombed badly when he tried his hand at singing a 1950s-era hit, "El Paso," while playing a kerchiefed cowboy vying for the love of a Mexican barmaid, played by Japan's female foreign minister.

In Brunei, with delegates from 22 Pacific Rim

***Powell's February 2003
speech at the U.N. may
have been the defining
moment of his time at
Foggy Bottom.***

nations and guests looking on, the U.S. skit was built around the fallout — all fictional — of Powell's dud performance in Vietnam. A videotape showed Bush sitting in the Oval Office and delivering a mock apology to the nation for the embarrassment Powell caused. He promised it would never happen again. There was a mock demonstration outside the State Department, also video-

taped, showing protesters with placards saying, "Got a song in your heart? Keep it there!" Another tape purported to show the Chinese National People's Congress voting to oppose any effort by the Americans to sing at the Brunei meeting.

Powell sang anyway, performing much better than the previous year. The tune was "Some Enchanted Evening," but the words were tailored for the occasion:

*Some Bruneian evening, ASEAN is laughing,
Despite last year's mess, as strange as it may seem,
Our Secretary of State will still want to sing,
Who can explain it, who can tell you why,
Fools keep on singing, wise men never try.*

It brought down the house. Later that night, on a flight to Indonesia, Powell and his aides stood in the aisle of his plane to do a reprise for the press. It was a raucous scene; only Powell and a few aides knew about the critical meeting with Bush on Iraq that awaited him shortly after his return to Washington.

The Gift of Gab

Powell was very gifted at public speaking, both in formal settings and off-the-cuff; he seldom found himself at a loss for words. Indeed, no Secretary of State ever spoke more frequently than he did. But he set no travel records. According to a *Washington Post* survey, he traveled less than any predecessor over the past 30 years. When he was on the road, he assiduously avoided shopping and only rarely did he sightsee.

Powell certainly was not like some government officials, including many in the administration, who feel uncomfortable among reporters. With the exception of a five-minute appearance by James Baker in 1992, Powell is the only Secretary of State in at least 30 years to drop by the press room on the department's second floor, doing so at least three times.

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Interviews, often with foreign outlets, were the favored vehicle for conveying his thoughts. In October 2004 alone there were a total of 21, and 13 more in November. All interviews were transcribed and made available electronically to reporters covering the State Department.

During his travels, Powell could almost always count on a friendly reception. When he spoke at large gatherings, both home and abroad, he often was welcomed with standing ovations. One exception was a speech in Detroit in 2002 to a Muslim-American group. The absence of applause was notable, but perhaps not surprising given Muslim hostility to Bush's policies in the wake of 9/11.

His personal popularity exceeded the policies he was defending. A poll in June 2004 by the respected public opinion firm Zogby International showed a

***“I want to be
measured as Secretary
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the black Secretary
of State.”***

— **Colin Powell**

steep rise in anti-Americanism in the Arab world during Bush's first term. In the previous two years, unfavorable views of America among Egyptians rose from 76 percent to an astonishing 98 percent. That made Egypt the most anti-American of six Arab countries polled. More disquieting was a Pew poll, released in March, which found that Osama bin Laden's numbers were far better than Bush's in several Muslim countries that were offended not only by Bush's Iraq policy but also by his perceived tilt toward Israel at the expense of Palestinians.

Nor is anti-American feeling limited to the Middle East. Other well-documented examples include Canada and Europe, particularly France. In Latin America, says former Mexican Foreign Minister Jorge Castaneda, the Iraq War has “contributed to a wide,

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deep, and probably lasting, collapse of sympathy for the United States.” Castaneda, a candidate for the Mexican presidency in the 2006 elections, is hardly a knee-jerk leftist. He served as foreign minister in the pre 9/11 period, when U.S.-Mexican relations were at a high point. Beyond the war itself, Castaneda says Latin American faith in the United States was sullied by the disclosures that Saddam Hussein had no ties to al-Qaida and that the unconventional weapons thought to exist in Iraq never materialized.

Powell helped to persuade a substantial number of countries to assist in the war on terror through intelligence sharing and other actions. More than 30 friendly countries, including Britain, Australia, Japan, South

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Korea and Poland, committed forces to Iraq. Publicly, Powell saw these deployments as a strong show of international support. Critics derided them as meager, noting that some countries contributed only a handful of troops. Furthermore, some coalition countries — such as El Salvador — seemed to see their Iraq deployments as an opportunity for economic gain. As a reward, the administration did not require U.S.-based Salvadoran workers to return home once their visas expired. It was a double benefit for El Salvador: worker remittances continued to flow to families back home and the country was spared the need to find work, housing and employment for those citizens.

Whatever the costs of American involvement in Iraq, the ouster of one of the world’s most vicious

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tyrants was an undeniable achievement. According to estimates, it could take decades to unearth and identify the thousands of Iraqis silenced by Saddam's servants and disposed of in mass graves throughout the country. One of the most notorious examples of Saddam's bloody rule occurred on March 16, 1988, when the Iraqi army dropped poison gas on Halabja, a Kurdish town, killing an estimated 5,000. Powell went to Halabja five months after Saddam was forced from power. Standing in front of a mass grave with hundreds of headstones, he reassured the gathering that they need never live in fear for their lives again now that Saddam and his evil regime were gone. After his remarks, Powell mixed with the crowd, mostly elderly widows dressed in black carrying photos of family members slain 15 years earlier. Some wept as Powell approached, knowing they were in the presence of a man who had contributed to their liberation.

Another triumph was the liberation of Afghanistan. Although the country's future is still uncertain over the long term, the Oct. 9 presidential elections were an undeniable triumph. Powell also is clearly gratified that he was able to help bring India and Pakistan from the brink of conflict in 2002. And he is proud to have had Pakistani President Pervez Musharraf as a partner in the war on terrorism; after 9/11, it was not clear which way he would turn. Powell also bequeathes sound U.S. relations with China and Russia, even though neither one ever seems to see things exactly the way the United States does. He also is proud of increased U.S. support for combating HIV/AIDS and of Bush's new foreign assistance initiative, the Millennium Challenge Account, aimed at rewarding needy developing countries that have free markets and sound government policies.

The jury is still out on Bush's policies toward North Korea and Iran. He has relied on multilateral negotiations to end nuclear weapons programs in both countries. Progress has been elusive. Other would-be nuclear powers are watching to see whether these remaining "axis of evil" countries will bend to America's will. Powell wishes the world would see Libya's renunciation of unconventional weapons as the model all

***With the possible
exception of Dean Rusk,
no Secretary of State
since World War II was
dealt a more difficult
hand than Powell was.***

should follow. The Libya breakthrough was perhaps the high point of the Powell era at State.

An Inspirer of Loyalty

From the start, Powell certainly had the affection of State's career diplomats. While some regretted that the department was marginalized in the policy process during Bush's first term, Powell was not viewed as the culprit.

"There have been few Secretaries of State who have inspired as much loyalty and appreciation from the professional service as Colin Powell," says Ambassador John Limbert, president of the American Foreign Service Association. "The reason is simple: on his first day in the department he promised to lead and he did. He restored pride to a demoralized cadre that had been coping with neglect, disrespect and severe personnel and budget cuts. If anything characterized the Service in the 1990s it was long staffing gaps, undermanned posts and bureaus and dilapidated and dangerous buildings."

Limbert says Powell, in small but important ways, showed his appreciation for those who served him. "He swore in personally every new ambassador and every class of Foreign Service generalists and specialists. Those small steps sent a very powerful message: you are the professionals who work for me and I appreciate your willingness to serve your country, often under very difficult and dangerous conditions."

No one could have foreseen four years ago the convulsive period that the United States would face during Bush's tenure. With the possible exception of Dean Rusk, no Secretary of State since World War II was dealt a more difficult hand than Powell was. Through it all he acted with calm and grace. He never seemed overwhelmed, and appeared as much at ease with monarchs as with the cafeteria help at State.

When he was appointed by Bush, a lot was made of the fact that he was the first African-American Secretary of State. But once in office, the subject rarely arose, and he certainly never pushed the issue.

As he told an interviewer shortly before leaving office: "I want to be measured as Secretary of State, not as the black Secretary of State." ■

A BLEMISHED LATIN AMERICAN RECORD

THE SECRETARY ALLOWED A CLIQUE OF HARD-LINERS WITH TIGHT LINKS TO WHITE HOUSE POLITICAL OPERATIVES LACKING COMPREHENSION OF THE REGION'S REALITIES TO DICTATE POLICY.

BY LARRY BIRNS AND JESSICA LEIGHT

In clear contrast to President Bush's much-vaunted decision to make hemispheric relations a priority, Secretary of State Colin Powell never articulated a vision for the region. With the exception of personal efforts on behalf of jailed human rights worker Lori Berenson in Peru, the Secretary of State was relatively indifferent to Latin America. Lamentably, his record bears out this apathy, revealing major flaws in the area of staffing, an indifference toward democratic institutions, and tolerance for intervention in the internal affairs of regional nations. The Secretary of State allowed ideologues like Otto Reich, Roger Noriega and his assistant Dan Fisk, to define regional ties, primarily through an anti-Havana prism. Consequently, America's standing in the hemisphere plummeted, with 85 percent of Latin Americans eventually opposing the administration's Iraq strategy and with Powell's personal standing fast fading.

Powell's narrow focus on trade and terrorism, and his non-negotiability stance toward Cuba, guaranteed a record at least as mediocre as it had been under all Republican and Democratic predecessors. If anything, during Powell's watch, U.S. regional policy has been marked by even more acts of arrogance, squandered

opportunity and unbridled unilateralism — typified by the heavy-handed interventions in the electoral processes in Nicaragua, Bolivia, El Salvador and Venezuela.

Though a dramatically new direction is needed to restore Washington's tarnished reputation in Latin America, any prospect for constructive engagement now appears distant. One can only foresee in a Bush second term a regional policy even more disjointed and colored by ideological priorities; as a result, the hemisphere can expect four more years of the gun-slinging, bluff rhetoric and imposed "diplomacy" it has experienced at the hand of the band of hard-liners under Powell.

Blatant Meddling

Early in his first term, the president seemed to be setting the tone for a more positive U.S. role in the hemisphere, stating he saw only "opportunities and potential when he looked south." He buoyantly noted, "Some look south and see problems; not me." Yet this ebullience failed to materialize into a policy of constructive engagement under Powell. On the contrary, State Department functionaries began acting as though "free elections" were a license to openly coddle local political factions that had garnered their approval, while ominously highlight-

ing the price of the wrong decision. The U.S.-favored candidate was inevitably enthusiastic about free trade and Washington's Iraq policy, hostile to nationalist economic policies and, most importantly, ready to fight terrorism, usually very expansively defined.

An early example of blatant meddling surfaced in November 2001, during the Nicaraguan presidential elections, when U.S. Ambassador Daniel Garza sharply accused Daniel Ortega, the Sandinista leader and Reagan-era nemesis, of supporting international terrorism. These accusations were recycled from contrived claims made by Washington two decades ago to justify the unleashing of the U.S.-backed Contras. Powell failed to condemn Garza's comments or similar protocol violations by his colleagues, even though Washington produced no evidence to justify them.

During the 2002 presidential election in Bolivia, U.S. Ambassador Manuel Rocha made similarly explosive charges when he warned that the election of Evo Morales, who was then calling for the abandonment of coca eradication and suspension of payments on Bolivia's foreign debt, would produce retribution in the form of aid cut-offs. Outraged by the U.S. embassy's boldfaced intervention into their affairs, Bolivians voted for Morales in greater numbers than predicted, and he ultimately lost by only one percentage point. The pattern of intervention continued the following year in El Salvador, where Ambassador Rose Likins warned that a victory by the presidential candidate of the Farabundo Martí National Liberation Front, a former leftist guerrilla group turned democratic political party, would result in a cessation of U.S. investment and could complicate the scheduled ratification of the Central American Free Trade Agreement. Falsely besmirched by a terrorist label, the FMLN lost the election the following year.

One of the more notable stains on Powell's record at State was the department's indecorous and premature enthusiasm over the military coup that briefly deposed Venezuelan President Hugo Chávez in April 2002. Powell's hard-line ideological subordinates in the Western Hemisphere bureau had openly supported the Venezuelan middle-class groups behind the coup; in fact, a group of the plotters visited then-acting Assistant

Secretary of State Reich only weeks before it was staged. When Chávez subsequently regained his post with the support of key military units, an embarrassed Powell was forced to disavow his subordinates' imprudent endorsement of Chávez's ouster, offering platitudes about Washington's steadfast support for democratization. Equally embarrassing to Powell, Chávez went on to win a resounding victory in an August 2004 referendum, with the overwhelming support of Venezuela's chronically neglected impoverished classes. Not surprisingly, he received only pro forma congratulations from Washington, which continues to regard him as a Castroite rabble-rouser and a potential threat to its access to Venezuela's crucial oil reserves.

Passive In the Face of Recklessness

The Venezuela affair typified the disturbing passivity with which Powell responded to the ill-considered actions of his subordinates in a rogue Western Hemisphere Affairs bureau led first by Otto Reich and then Roger Noriega, after the former was denied Senate confirmation. (Thereafter, Reich worked to advance his ultraconservative agenda from a White House post not requiring confirmation.) Not only did Powell fail to protest these rash appointments that threatened the dignity of his department, he made no effort to control the appointees' machinations. To the contrary, he declared Reich to be an "honorable man" despite formidable evidence that he had narrowly escaped being jailed for his illegal Contra activities. He similarly ignored indications that Noriega, like his colleagues a protégé of Senator Jesse Helms, R-N.C., was an opportunistic ideologue whose appointment was a political payoff to the rightist segment of the Cuban-American community.

The White House's commandeering of relations with Cuba (making Cuba a matter of domestic not foreign policy) pre-empted the State Department, forcing it to pander to Miami politicians by supporting their boilerplate embargo strategy and reckless schemes to confront Castro. Perhaps most embarrassingly for Powell, Under Secretary of State for Arms Control and International Security John Bolton, the department's most radical ideologue, attempted to fuse the administration's pathological hatred of Cuba with the war on terror. Powell covered for Bolton in 2003 after he declared that Havana was developing biological weapons for export to rogue states. Needless to say, this outlandish charge was not supported

Larry Birns is the director of the Washington-based Council on Hemispheric Affairs, where Jessica Leight serves as a research fellow.

by any evidence, as was made clear when Bolton refused to defend his statements before a Senate committee.

The recent imposition of new restrictions on remittances and travel to Cuba, allowing only one trip every three years to visit immediate family members, has antagonized recently arrived Cubans who want to maintain family ties on the island. But this voting bloc proved to be no match for an earlier generation of Florida-based Cuban extremists — the bulwark of exile support for Washington's anti-Castro mania for decades. As a result, Powell never addressed Havana in the same spirit of constructive engagement that he preached for North Korea or other non-Cuban pariahs.

Colin Powell's Latin America policy team also lacked the basic sophistication to effectively grapple with one of

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the most significant regional developments in decades: the rise of an informal coalition of left-of-center democracies increasingly skeptical of Washington's neoliberal diktats. Led by Lula in Brazil, with the support of Chávez in Venezuela, President Néstor Kirchner of Argentina and now Tabaré Vazquez of Uruguay, this increasingly tight-knit group could thwart the White House's long-sought Free Trade Area of the Americas by refusing to consider any comprehensive pact in the absence of meaningful concessions on U.S. agricultural subsidies and other key commercial issues. In response to this regional unity, the administration adopted a divisive tactic of concluding bilateral agreements with compliant partners, led by Chile, Colombia and a six-nation group that united in the Central American Free Trade

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Agreement now awaiting ratification.

While Washington focuses on narco-trafficking and the war on terrorism, genuine democratization and the new populism emerging across Latin America are all but ignored. In fact, one of Powell's key blunders was his single-minded defense of the administration's simplistic war on terror, which alienated skeptical Latin American governments. At the U.N. Powell tried (but failed) to strong-arm the representatives of Chile and Mexico into backing the U.S. position. He reportedly then pressured the presidents of Chile and Mexico to replace the offending diplomats. The subsequent dismissals were widely viewed as an unconscionable example of U.S. bullying.

The Haiti Crisis

Perhaps the most career-damning episode, as far as Latin America is concerned, was Powell's role in the ouster of Haiti's constitutional president Jean-Bertrand Aristide. Powell made no ascertainable effort to distinguish himself from his predecessor's distaste for Aristide, whose left-of-center politics and economics once led retired Sen. Helms to declare him a Castro-in-the-making. Both the Clinton and Bush administrations tried unsuccessfully to force the Haitian leader to share power with the island's brutal military and discredited politicians. The Bush administration seized on the pretext of minor corruption and relatively small electoral improprieties to justify suspending direct aid (including desperately needed training funds for the national police force and crucial humanitarian projects) to Aristide. At the same time, the International Republican Institute, handsomely financed by taxpayer funds through the Cold War-spawned National Endowment for Democracy and USAID, began a concerted initiative to support Aristide's opposition, sparing no effort to render Haiti ungovernable and thereby force his ouster.

When an armed rebellion against Aristide reached its final stages last February, led by former paramilitary leaders with ties to the death squads that had operated under the military regime of 1991-94, Powell at first insisted that the U.S. would not support "regime change" at the hands of a "gang of thugs." But Noriega's off-the-record statements calling first for power-sharing and later for Aristide's resignation undermined Powell's credibility. Simultaneously, Powell refused to approve a regional police mission to protect Aristide and then

blocked similar action for a U.N.-sponsored Haiti peacekeeping effort, stubbornly sticking to the bankrupt formula that such an intervention could occur only after an agreement was reached between Aristide and the country's middle-class opposition. This stance reinforced the opposition's obdurate refusal to even meet with the president, thus dooming him to helplessness as the "gang of thugs" advanced on Port-au-Prince.

In the last days of Aristide's presidency, Powell abruptly reversed his earlier position that the president would not be allowed to be ousted by extra-constitutional means, demanding that he step down on "safety grounds." On Feb. 29, 2004, Aristide was whisked out of the country and replaced by Boca Raton, Fla., expatriate Gerard Latortue, who was selected as interim prime minister under pressure from the State Department. The resulting Latortue government, ostensibly made up of nonpartisan technocrats, soon lost its meager legitimacy by botching efforts to deal with last September's severe hurricanes. A campaign of persecution and abuse, led by Latortue's justice minister against Aristide's Lavalas Party, led some observers to declare the situation to be Haiti's worst human rights debacle in decades.

Expectations Stillborn

The widespread expectation that Powell would provide a rational, moderate voice for Washington's regional policy was stillborn, giving way to doubts that this was ever in fact his intention. On the contrary, the Secretary allowed a small clique of political appointees, mainly alumni of Helms' office with tight links to White House operatives, to dictate U.S. hemispheric policy and speak on his behalf despite their lack of a sensitive comprehension of the region's realities.

Powell never appeared to possess a "feel" for U.S. hemispheric relations and his tenure was devoid of any innovative initiatives; on the contrary, he seemed content to let U.S. regional affairs drift, while inviting open hostility toward U.S. policy throughout Latin America. His departure may be seen by some as the exit of an upright public servant who was shabbily mistreated by a hard-line administration. But from Mexico City to Buenos Aires, few Latin American leaders will seriously lament the departure of someone they hardly knew, who never manifested significant interest in advancing, or even considering, their basic interests. ■

THE RICE DOCTRINE

CONDOLEEZZA RICE HAS THE OPPORTUNITY TO RESTORE REALISM IN U.S. FOREIGN POLICY. THE ALTERNATIVE COULD PROVE RUINOUS.

BY CHRISTOPHER PREBLE

The departure of Colin Powell as Secretary of State marks the formal end of the Powell Doctrine. That doctrine, originally attributed to Caspar Weinberger, Ronald Reagan's Secretary of Defense, called for the United States to engage in foreign military interventions only when there was broad, bipartisan support for the use of force. The force was to be deployed with a clear, obtainable objective and applied massively so as to easily overwhelm any potential adversaries. The military was expected to accomplish its goals quickly, and then leave.

The series of hurdles that would have to be cleared under the Powell Doctrine in order to deploy such power were often seen as an attempt to discourage political elites from resorting to the use of force in a reckless or haphazard way. Critics interpreted Powell's warnings about the limits of American power as an effort to unduly constrain civilian policy-makers. This frustration was perhaps best encapsulated in Madeleine Albright's complaint, as Powell recorded in his memoir *My American Journey*, "What's the point of having this superb military you're always talking about if we can't use it?"

The Clinton administration failed to silence Colin

Powell, but the precepts of his doctrine did not deter Clinton from sending the military on missions to far-flung places with little strategic or economic relevance. Many of these missions also lacked widespread popular support or a clear exit strategy (for example, Somalia, 1993, Kosovo, 1999).

The Bush administration tried a different approach toward Powell. From his position within the Bush inner circle, Powell failed to dissuade the president from launching an ill-considered invasion of Iraq. His warnings that America would "own" Iraq if it "broke" Iraq were eerily similar to George Herbert Walker Bush's reasoning for not seeking to topple Hussein in 1991. In his memoirs, Bush Senior warned that there was no viable "exit strategy" and that, by invading Iraq, the United States would have been seen as "an occupying power in a bitterly hostile land."

It is unclear whether Condoleezza Rice appreciates the lessons of Iraq, both those from 1991 and those that the country is still learning from the current invasion and occupation. What is clear, however, is that an overly ambitious foreign policy, such as that articulated in the Bush national security strategy, is unsustainable. If Rice is not already acutely aware of this fact, she soon will be.

An Ambitious, Amorphous Strategy

For all intents and purposes, the Rice Doctrine is the Bush Doctrine, an ambitious and amorphous strategy that is perhaps best summarized in a single passage from the National Security Strategy of 2002. The aim of U.S. foreign policy, the document declares, is to “help make the world not just safer, but better.” Implied, but left unsaid, is that the United States will decide what is better. In practice, U.S. policy-makers operate on the presumption that the United States is entitled to take action against

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regimes that do not treat their people humanely — even if such states do not pose a threat to the United States.

This policy stance is not dramatically different from those of previous administrations, both Republican and Democratic. A broad, bipartisan consensus has emerged since the end of the Cold War, based on the belief that the existence of American power obligates the United States to take action on a global scale.

Consider, for example, the precedent set by the Clinton administration in the Balkans. Various voices on both the left and right of the political spectrum urged Clinton to wage war against the Serbs. A series of NATO-sanctioned air attacks, which resulted in an estimated 1,500 civilian deaths, were couched in strictly humanitarian terms. The military and diplomatic pressure on Slobodan Milosevic’s government was deemed necessary to avert an even greater human tragedy.

The humanitarian aspects of the Balkan interventions pose a special challenge to many of the current critics of the Bush Doctrine, because many of them criticized a war

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against a sovereign country that posed little if any threat to the United States (e.g., Iraq, circa 2003) yet were fully supportive of attacks against another country that posed absolutely no threat to the U.S. (Yugoslavia, circa 1999).

Many Americans are committed to the principle of humanitarian intervention. They see war as a necessary evil, but they also see the U.S. military as an effective tool for promoting change abroad. They are less clear about the true costs of such interventions. Accordingly, although there is popular support for deploying U.S. military personnel to places, and in ways, that are not directly related to defending vital interests, there is precious little support for paying the costs for these operations. If Rice pushes the Bush Doctrine to its logical conclusions, and makes good on her own pledge to transform the Middle East, she will both test the patience of the American people and further arouse the ire of those in the region who prefer to be left alone.

An Instinctive Realist?

The Bush administration, we now know, is not content to leave well enough alone. A standard line in the president's speeches contends that the spread of democracy around the globe is a national security concern for the United States because terrorism cannot flourish within democracies. Undemocratic regimes, therefore, are legitimate targets for overthrow.

Rice herself has become a leading advocate for this position. In an op-ed in the *Washington Post* in August 2003, Rice called for a long-term commitment for transforming the Middle East, similar to that made toward Europe in the post-World War II era, to close the "freedom deficit" that contributes to hopelessness and despair in the region.

Rice argued that Hussein's Iraq posed a threat to the United States, and his removal from power was warranted on those grounds. At the same time, however, Rice echoed President Bush in arguing that a just and humane Iraqi government, one "built upon democratic principles," could become a linchpin for transforming the entire region, much as a democratic Germany was at the center of Europe's revival following World War II.

This worldview is all the more remarkable given that Rice cut her intellectual teeth studying the Soviet Union and the dynamics of the Cold War. In the context of that great struggle, ideology was important but secondary to the preservation of U.S. security. Peripheral concerns were routinely ignored, and tacit alliances cut with unde-

mocratic tyrants, to advance perceived U.S. interests.

Following the end of the Cold War, however, the foreign policy coalition within the Republican Party cracked and broke apart. As Stefan Halper and Jonathan Clarke explain in their recent book, *America Alone: The Neoconservatives and the Global Order*, realists and neo-conservatives waged an ideological battle in the 1990s, both seeking to claim credit for the peaceful end of the Cold War, and to craft a narrative that reflected most favorably on their ideology.

For a while, Condoleezza Rice seemed content to side with the realists. She was openly disdainful of the types of military operations that would divert the focus of U.S. forces away from defending U.S. national interests. She was particularly scornful of the use of the American military for nation-building, famously declaring at one point that it was not the business of the 82nd Airborne to escort schoolchildren to kindergarten.

Rice's initial instincts were sound, but she erred in believing that the U.S. military could restrict itself to war-fighting, with minimal post-conflict obligations. We have learned in Iraq that our allies are not content to assume responsibility for cleaning up after us. But a foreign policy organized around the principle of destroying illiberal governments by force as a means for improving American security is flawed on at least two other levels.

First, even the "cleanest" wars that produce the smallest possible number of casualties, and thus require a minimal level of post-conflict stabilization, can only perform the first of two tasks necessary for democratization to take hold. Brute force may succeed in removing tyrants from power, but cannot teach people to "elect good men," as Woodrow Wilson declared he was going to do, starting with his invasion of Veracruz, Mexico, in 1914.

Second, any military intervention, even when practiced with the precision and skill of the U.S. military, involves killing. Such killing can never be limited solely to the supporters of the regime that is being punished, particularly given that so many of these regimes force people to serve the state against their will. Each victim of this violence leaves behind a legacy of bitterness: parents, spouses, children, friends — few of whom may have actively supported the former regime, but all of whom may well forget the noble intentions of the invading force.

The Wages of Pre-emption

The limits of American power have been obscured by the euphoria of America's post-Cold War "unipolar

moment.” Since Sept. 11, 2001, the debate has turned on whether the United States must maintain a dominant position throughout the globe in order for Americans to be safe and secure here at home. The Bush administration has succeeded in persuading the public that American security is threatened by the existence of undemocratic regimes. Accordingly, pre-emptive military action against such regimes is warranted, even if those nations pose no direct threat to American security.

The perception that autocracy leads to global instability, which, in turn, threatens the United States, has dramatically lowered the threshold governing the use of force. As stated in the Bush administration’s National Security Strategy, the doctrine of pre-emption — more accurately described as prevention — holds that America “will act against such emerging threats before they are fully formed.” But if threats to the United States are to be pre-empted, it is not immediately clear how grave they are, or might have been. Who decides which future or potential threat is most urgent? Why pre-empt Iraq but not North Korea? What about Iran? Syria? Pakistan? In the end America may find itself paradoxically encouraging world instability by attempting to control the internal affairs of countries that have neither the means, nor the inclination, to seriously disrupt American security.

The preventive war aspects of the Bush-Rice Doctrine are inherently dismissive of the continued value of deterrence. Again, given Rice’s academic experience during the Cold War — when the brutally hostile, nuclear-armed, undemocratic regimes of the Soviet Union, and later China, were prevented from ever attacking the United States, or any of our major allies, solely by dint of our threat to retaliate if they did so — this is strange. It is doubly striking that Rice herself, as late as January 2000, believed that deterrence was the best means for dealing with Saddam Hussein. Rogue states, she explained in *Foreign Affairs*, might develop WMD, but they must understand that such weapons could never be used, because to do so would “bring national obliteration.”

The trauma of 9/11 did nothing to alter this central reality, but it should have focused our attention on the most pressing threats to national security. Deterrence still works against state actors, including even bizarre tyrants like North Korea’s Kim Jong Il. Deterrence is manifestly incapable of preventing non-state actors such as al-Qaida from perpetrating acts of terrorism.

By calling for the removal of undemocratic regimes,

the Bush administration has set a very dangerous standard governing the use of force, one that threatens to replace undemocratic regimes with undemocratic non-state actors operating within the chaos of post-war environments.

Theory into Practice

Rice will be responsible for translating the Bush administration’s commitment to the transformational effect of democracy into practical policies. She will also be responsible for explaining these policies to her counterparts abroad. She may ultimately be more successful than President Bush has been, and, if she is, it may be more a function of style than of substance. Many outsiders look upon the president as a stubborn unilateralist who doesn’t care what others think. It will now be up to her to convince the world that we do care, even if we don’t. This is the very essence of diplomacy.

Still, her task is complicated by the fact that an interventionist America is viewed with suspicion and fear abroad. Many foreign governments worry that the United States does not intend to be tied down by treaties, or beholden to multilateral institutions, if vital U.S. interests are at stake. Because the United States spent most of the past 60 years defending others, particularly democratic states in Europe and Asia, these practices contributed to the mistaken notion that the United States would always subsume even its own national interest in the defense of an abstract greater global good. The concern around the world today is not that the United States acts unilaterally, but rather that such actions, inadvertently or inevitably, will someday threaten the very nations that this power was once used to protect.

In a speech to the International Institute for Strategic Studies in June 2003, Rice seemed not to comprehend the level of international unease toward U.S. power. “Power in the service of freedom is to be welcomed,” she explained, “and powers that share a commitment to freedom can — and must — make common cause against freedom’s enemies.” As the events of the past two years attest, the world does not work that way. Rice’s good intentions will not be sufficient to ease international concerns about unfettered American power.

The Central Challenge

In her article in *Foreign Affairs*, published in early 2000, Rice castigated the Clinton administration for its

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peripatetic foreign adventures. She called instead for “a disciplined and consistent foreign policy that separates the important from the trivial.” “It takes courage,” she went on to say, “to set priorities because doing so is an admission that American foreign policy cannot be all things to all people.”

Indeed, it cannot. As Secretary of State, she will be better placed than ever before to make good on her earlier rhetoric.

In this context, the logic of humanitarian military intervention, combined with the related premise of promoting democracy by force of arms, poses the central challenge for Rice in her new role. As Secretary of State, Rice must either prioritize America’s strategic interests and aims, coddling some dictators while confronting others, which will open her and the Bush administration to charges of hypocrisy; or she will make good on the Bush administration’s implicit pledge to support democratic movements anywhere in the world, which will lead to imperial overstretch and ruin for the United States.

The just-completed presidential campaign did not prompt the fundamental debate concerning the object and direction of U.S. foreign policy that we should have had in this country soon after the end of the Cold War. Must we rid the world of brutal dictators, invading and occupying sovereign states solely on the grounds of what the leaders of these countries do to their people? If the answer is yes, that we do have an obligation to liberate all of the oppressed, that we must remove or destroy all undemocratic governments (not just the ones that are not useful to us), and remain in place until a liberal democracy takes root, then we have a very long, hard fight ahead of us.

There are alternatives, however. If any single person were capable of refocusing the president’s attention, and returning U.S. foreign policy to its realist roots, Rice is that person. If she will not or cannot do that, she will bear the burdens of selling a grandiose foreign policy to an increasingly cautious and skeptical public. And she will share the blame, with the other members of the Bush foreign policy team, if the policy goes awry. ■

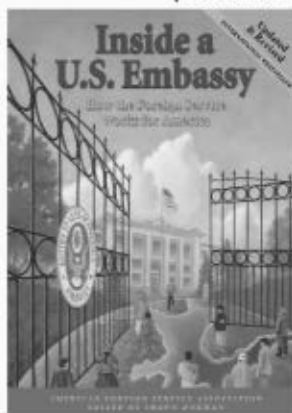
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U.S. DIPLOMACY IN THE POST-POWELL AGE

How

WILL SECRETARY RICE USE HER RELATIONSHIP WITH THE PRESIDENT TO RESTORE THE STATE DEPARTMENT AS AMERICA'S OUTERMOST LINE OF DEFENSE?

BY JOHN BRADY KIESLING

How different would the world look today had President George W. Bush not appointed as his Secretary of State the most impressive bureaucrat (and indeed human being) to hold that office since General Marshall? As Colin Powell hands over his office to Condoleezza Rice, State Department employees are fervently convinced that their leader had a positive impact. America's international image is poor, but the Foreign Service thinks it would have been worse without Powell's brains and charm and gravitas to soften the sting of U.S. unilateralism. Iraq is a shambles, but the shambles could have spread further than it did.

If a similar role of damage limitation is the best Dr. Rice can offer the State Department, she will never win that same affection from her troops. However, she can invoke presidential authority to take on policy formulation roles Powell's rivals denied him. If the State Department remains sidelined, it will be because Secretary Rice declines to use her relationship with the president to restore State as America's outermost line of defense.

Powell's record was weak in by-the-numbers diplomacy. He brought home no disarmament agreements,

no peace treaties, no lucrative trade deals. Admittedly those missing scraps of paper tell us little about the changed odds for a nuclear strike, a terrorist attack, or a catastrophic economic meltdown. The State Department had at best a minor role in the dollar's slide, the skyrocketing of oil prices, and the plummeting value of U.S. exports after 2000, the worst performance in the OECD.

The Last Four Years

Closer to Powell's mandate, however, was the erosion of the U.S. as a pole of political attraction. Africa's flirtation with democracy faded. Peace in the Middle East followed the undertakers, not the diplomats. Americans in Russia abased themselves to the new lords of the Kremlin or straggled home. Asians heeded irrefutable economic arguments in turning their gaze toward China. In Europe, NATO struggled to bridge the gulf between competing masters who seemed fundamentally indifferent whether it succeeded or not.

Sept. 11, 2001, was a turning point. Residual Cold War prudence had encouraged each administration to value the State Department as a necessary lubricant

between massive, but not unlimited, U.S. power and a planet full of potentially hostile foreigners. A Cold War response to 3,000 deaths would have dispatched Powell as well as the CIA to build a Holy Alliance against the diseased local politics that allowed Islamist terror groups to flourish. Washington quickly realized, however, that 9/11 was not only a horrible blow to America's self-esteem — it was also the largest political and bureaucratic windfall in American history. The State Department responded, correctly, in traditional problem-solving terms, but others understood better what the president thought he wanted.

In a Cabinet room emancipated from the real-world consequences of its decisions, Colin Powell became a dignified ghost. The influence of the State Department depended on expert knowledge and mutually beneficial relationships with foreigners. In the new, self-referential Washington consensus, Congress and the White House would judge success and failure not in terms of American lives and livelihoods, whose protection required specialized expertise, but by their continued ability to mobilize the spending authority of the richest nation on earth.

Bills for the Iraq War will still be trickling in two decades from now. Powell did not mobilize his experts to assess those costs. Going public with the department's superior knowledge of the Middle East would have been seen as disloyalty to the president, and Powell was loyal. Yes, he questioned the intelligence community prior to his U.N. performance on WMD, but he did not push the questions far enough.

John Brady Kiesling joined the U.S. Department of State as a Foreign Service officer in 1983. He served in Tel Aviv, Casablanca, Athens, Yerevan and Washington, D.C. His final assignment, beginning in 2000, was as political counselor at Embassy Athens. Dismayed at the course of U.S. diplomacy under the Bush administration, Kiesling resigned at the end of February 2003. His letter of resignation, protesting the Iraq War and the harm done to the U.S. image and interests, was widely republished and circulated on the Internet. Since his resignation, he has been writing and speaking on U.S. foreign policy. During the 2003-2004 academic year he was a visiting fellow and lecturer at Princeton University. He is working on a book on effective diplomacy for an unloved superpower.

Diplomatic Capital Wasted

Powell was not the only U.S. diplomat to destroy his hard-earned credibility overnight. A politely raised eyebrow will pursue a whole generation of Foreign Service officers from post to post around the world. The myth of superior U.S. intelligence information, once a prop used by every U.S. diplomat to justify America's pretensions to lead the world, has been blown to hell. From the narrowest diplomatic standpoint, the war made it political suicide for Third-World governments to align themselves too fully and publicly with the U.S. in fighting terrorism.

Powell did not fight hard enough for international law. Supported by the uniformed military, Powell could have prevailed, for example, had he mobilized his friends in the Senate and the media to defend the Geneva Conventions and other basic human rights protections from the sadists that bide their time in the bowels of even the most civilized democracies.

The results of expanding America's repertoire of approved torture techniques have been too meager to be made public. The results were more evident when we left the torturing to others. Friendly dictatorships handed the CIA, FBI and military some welcome victories against terror cells, but part of the price we have paid was a blind eye to their broken promises of political reform.

America's violation of its founding principles had a dire impact on Muslim opinion. What al-Qaida could not achieve with 9/11 — to neutralize the U.S. as a political model for the Arab world — we achieved ourselves with Guantanamo and Abu Ghraib. We convinced a generation of Middle Eastern school children that "liberty" was as cynical a slogan for us as "peace" had been for the Politburo 40 years before.

Diplomatic capital was wasted in pursuit of an ideological fantasy loosely based on the International Criminal Court. Powell dutifully fulfilled the congressional mandate that American war criminals must be protected, but this theoretical protection came at a real cost to ordinary American soldiers. Angered by our ICC stance, allies like Greece began to withhold the far more practical protection from local prosecution that American service members used to enjoy under bilateral status-of-forces agreements.

The neoconservatives did U.S. national interests a grave disservice by vaunting their victories over Powell

as proof that they were the reigning ideologues of the Bush administration. The president distanced himself from the more lurid declarations. Nevertheless, millions of once-friendly foreigners believe that U.S. hegemony has come unshackled from voluntary constraints such as human rights and international law. A basic compact between America and world public opinion has thus been broken.

Looking Forward

Secretary Rice enters a more challenging international system than the one Powell inherited from Albright. Pres. Bush framed his presidency in pre-Enlightenment terms for a domestic audience, and the international repercussions were serious. Sec. Rice has a fleeting opportunity to reframe the U.S. government in moderate terms. No, the United States is not the cartoon monster of its critics. Nor have foreign governments circled the wagons against it. But the burden of evidence required to enlist foreign support has increased, because the political legitimacy that was once the counterpart to U.S. military and economic power has eroded.

She can look at Greece as a model, 20 years ahead of its time, of the global environment. Greeks lost their faith in America's fundamental good intentions decades ago. Like Middle Easterners, they burnish their intellectual credentials by disbelieving any argument put forward by U.S. public diplomacy. Anti-American rhetoric is good domestic politics. Calls in parliament to resist "asphyxiating U.S. pressure" are guaranteed applause, and ministers shrink from putting their signature on any document that reflects a compromise between Greek sovereignty and America's superpower responsibilities.

Even in this unpromising climate, the traditional diplomatic arts of tact, discretion, patience and compromise eventually achieve the goals set for them. Personal relationships built on trust and openness, vital before, are even more essential now. Knowledge of foreign languages and cultures is useful, but the indispensable diplomatic skill is the willingness to listen carefully. America's biggest blind spot is the absurd faith that we can navigate the minefields of a strange country's domestic politics better than its own politicians.

A litmus test of Sec. Rice's commitment to effective

diplomacy will be her willingness to adapt her threat perceptions. Washington agencies have found it expedient since Pearl Harbor to overstate foreign capabilities and the degree of suicidal animosity harbored against the U.S. Few foreigners were as surprised as we were to discover that Saddam Hussein, magnified to mythic madman status by Pres. Bush, had defanged himself in 1991 as a glumly rational response to disproportionate U.S. and U.N. power.

Rational Self-Interest

Rational self-interest is less scarce a commodity than Americans believe. In rogue states no less than in Washington, however, self-interest is calculable only in a domestic political context. Were we, for example, more sophisticated about the role nuclear programs play in Iran's bitter internal political competition, our Israeli friends and we might share Europe's lack of certainty that bathing the Middle East in fire and blood is a reasonable price to pay for a non-nuclear Iran. To elucidate those politics, and as a counterweight to alarmist clandestine reporting, we desperately need a permanent diplomatic presence in Tehran and Pyongyang.

On the terrorist front, the CIA and FBI have turned the planet inside out and largely debunked our myth that the Islamic world is swarming with superhuman psychotics whose goal is to exterminate us. The global battle against terrorism becomes more focused and legitimate (and affordable) once we pay the same attention to the social, political and practical aims of actual terrorist groups that we do to theoretical possibilities. Democratizing the Middle East — once we find some surrogate with the standing among Muslims America has entirely lost — would be a fine thing, but it is not a cure for terrorism. Some number of Americans will continue to die from terrorist attacks, as from other preventable tragedies, but America and its allies can be terrorized — induced by fear to change their behavior — only by mutual consent.

Given U.S. unpopularity and the importance and vulnerability of America's presence in the Middle East, it would have been prudent for Powell to have insisted more forcefully that his president make a sincere effort on the Israel-Palestine dispute before occupying Iraq. The death of Arafat has since provided a painless excuse for abandoning a perverse policy of punishing

Palestinian peacemakers for failing to disarm their violent political rivals. Let us see whether Sec. Rice is brave enough to follow the two-state solution to its logical conclusion.

Ability to mobilize resources is a test of leadership. Pres. Bush was effective during his first term in identifying special circumstances to excuse spending inherited long-term capital — financial, military, diplomatic and moral — on what traditionalists might regard as the ordinary recurring expenses of America's international stewardship. The State Department benefited from this willingness. Bush was less effective in assuring that those resources went to the purposes for which they were mobilized, such as Iraqi reconstruction.

It is mathematically certain that this and the next administration will face massive budget shortfalls. Sec. Rice will come under pressure to divert resources destined for international assistance and global HIV/AIDS efforts to less enlightened goals. She should be aware, as she weighs her prospective place in the history books, that her first year in office may be America's last opportunity for a decade to buy the influence it desires over Third World social and economic decision-making.

Using the Foreign Service

Dr. Rice inherits a Foreign Service rejuvenated after more than a decade of substantial cuts. Hundreds of newly-minted young diplomats, patriotic, enthusiastic, remarkably diverse, many with native fluency in a foreign language, are filling positions that in plusher times went to seasoned, cynical mid-career officers. Youthful energy can change the world.

During their first four years, Rice and her president relied heavily on their intelligence briefers. Heavily scripted 40-minute meetings with awed foreign leaders are not an adequate corrective to the CIA's inevitably jaundiced view of foreigners. Rice will marginalize herself quickly unless she revalidates the State Department as the source of reliable, unbiased and detailed information about the internal politics of foreigners, information that (oddly enough) reveals them to be remarkably like ourselves. That insight is indispensable to effective diplomacy, but she will need to ask for it specifically and regularly.

Loyalty is a virtue prized most absolutely by those with no other marketable virtue. Sec. Rice should ponder whether the "Core Values" of the 2004 State

Department Strategic Plan — "loyalty, character, service, accountability, community" — are really an improvement over the more self-confident values of 2000 — "impact, expertise, discipline, dissent, diversity, partnership, commitment." The State Department must fight and win occasional battles to protect the vital interests of our foreign allies against a destructive bureaucratic whim in Washington. Sec. Rice will be judged on her willingness to spend political capital in support of her "disloyal" department.

Even if Rice proves a brilliant bureaucratic battler, U.S. policy will continue to be driven by domestic political factors more than by abstract notions of justice or rational calculations of national interest. America's persuasiveness is undercut by an interagency clearance process that resists balanced argument and is paranoid in its approach to classified information. Rote recitation of talking points is counterproductive unless the goal is the contemptible one of currying favor back home. Sec. Powell understood the utility of not insulting the intelligence of his own foreign interlocutors. Dr. Rice should have similar faith in the good sense of U.S. diplomats to craft arguments that will work in a local context. Last summer's arrest of Don Keyser, deputy director of the State Department office in charge of Taiwan affairs, sent a chilling message that should be rescinded immediately.

America's unsung diplomatic asset is the fact that State Department employees are as diverse as the great country they represent. Every society, not only our own, has deep political cleavages. Today's lunatic fringe will be tomorrow's government, and the American superpower must have some minimum functional connection to every group that can help us or hinder us. America's tolerance and diversity offer us — when we have the wit to seek it out — the wherewithal to match every diplomatic circumstance.

Under a president with less Manichaean instincts about the world, General Powell would have been a great Secretary of State. Dr. Rice understands her president's instincts, and has built her success around them. Let us hope that, wrapped in the real-world expertise of the State Department, she will be a more influential advocate than her predecessor for weighing foreign policy risks and rewards by the only standard all Americans would accept: the long-term security and prosperity of the American people on a fragile planet. ■

THOUGHTS FROM THE FIELD

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AFSA MEMBERS WEIGH IN WITH TRIBUTES AND OBSERVATIONS
ON COLIN POWELL'S TENURE AT THE STATE DEPARTMENT.

BY SUSAN MAITRA

The following are responses from the field to an AFSANET requesting Foreign Service members, both active-duty and retired, to contribute their thoughts and observations on Colin Powell's tenure as Secretary of State.

— Susan Maitra, Senior Editor



Student Exchange Programs Boosted

During their tenure, Secretaries of State probably set many records. There are two that belong to Colin Powell that are especially important to the Fulbright program, which the Institute has the honor of administering on behalf of the department.

In his very first year, Secretary Powell mentioned the Fulbright and Humphrey programs more times in public than any of his predecessors did in their entire careers. If you "google" Powell and Fulbright, you get nearly 40,000 matches. For many other secretaries, you actually get none.

And on Colin Powell's watch, the Fulbright Program with Afghanistan and Iraq restarted after a hiatus of over two decades. The Iraqi students and scholars were also received at the White House and met the president. The

last time that happened to any group of Fulbrighters was in 1963.

After 9/11, and frequently since then, Secretary Powell urged American embassies to reach out to international students and assure them that America's academic doors remained open to them. In the process, he helped us all make the case that international educational exchange is as important to America today as it was when the Fulbright Program was created in 1946.

Dr. Allan E. Goodman
President and CEO
Institute of International Education



Looking Out for Others

Everyone reading the *FSJ* knows about our Secretary's esteemed career in public service. He is also a private citizen of the highest order.

After reading *My American Journey*, hot off the presses in 1996, I bought another copy to send to my cousin, who at that time was an Army ROTC university student. Things were rough for her then, and I thought the book would cheer her up.

Instead of mailing it directly to her, I sent it and a

cover letter to a gentleman named in the autobiography as the retired general's personal assistant. I had never heard of Col. Larry Wilkerson, USA (ret.), before reading the book, but I wrote to him in the hope that he would ask Mr. Powell to sign it for my cousin.

About three weeks later, I received a phone call from one very excited Army officer-in-the-making. The retired general not only signed the book, he handwrote a full-page letter of encouragement to her. Citizen Powell's private act of kindness and that of Col. Wilkerson's, eight years ago, is not only a family heirloom but remains a great source of inspiration to us.

My cousin is still in the Army, and I am a newly minted FSO after completing 4 ½ years of active-duty service as a naval officer. There are people in this world you would gladly follow through the gates of hell with a can of gasoline and a big book of matches. I am honored to have been led by such a man.

Michael Turner
119th A-100
Jakarta



Rocket Science

As vice president and, later, president of AFSA during Secretary Powell's first 2 ½ years in office, I can attest to numerous examples of his personal intervention on behalf of the Foreign Service and the broader State Department.

For example, every budget cycle Sec. Powell forcefully weighed in with the Office of Management and Budget and with Congress when each, in turn, proposed trimming the diplomatic readiness budget that he sought. He personally lobbied members of Congress to drop the proposal to move the visa adjudication function to the Department of Homeland Security. There are many other examples, but instead of adding another voice to sing the praise of Colin Powell, my goal here is to shine light on the critical work done by his subordinates in revitalizing diplomatic readiness during the past four years.

Top kudos go to Under Secretary of State for

***In many ways, he brought
the State Department into
the 21st century, and
assuredly improved
employee morale across
the board.***

Management Grant Green. As he drove the implementation of innumerable management improvements, he would often depreciate his own efforts, saying, "It's not rocket science." Each time he said that to me, I replied that, while getting the changes done might not require rocket science, they were certainly accomplishments that had eluded his many predecessors. For example, I remember stumbling across a 1954 report lamenting that it took two years to hire a new FSO. That was still the case in 2001, when Grant Green was sworn in, but it is no longer.

Next, we owe a debt of gratitude to Deputy Secretary of State Richard Armitage. Like Secretary Powell, he also intervened personally with the White House and Congress on budget and other issues affecting diplomatic readiness. Inside the building, his role in scrubbing bureau budget requests gave added credibility to the final consolidated funding request.

Three directors general played pivotal roles in the revitalization of human resources at State. Marc Grossman was the original proponent of the Diplomatic Readiness Initiative. Ruth Davis pushed through numerous changes during the middle of the Secretary's term. Robert Pearson worked to lock in the last of the Powell-era improvements. During almost the whole period, Ruth Whiteside held the key position of principal deputy assistant secretary for human resources.

Other assistant secretaries also deserve kudos for reinventing their respective bureaus: William Eaton in Administration, Charles Williams at Overseas Buildings Operations, Katherine Peterson at the Foreign Service Institute, and Maura Harty at Consular Affairs. Assistant Secretary Paul Kelly in Legislative Affairs played a key role in winning State's budget battles.

Below the assistant-secretary level, there are a hundred others who I would mention if space permitted. They served not only in the above-mentioned offices, but also in the Bureau of Information Resource Management, the Bureau of Diplomatic Security and the Bureau of Resource Management. Kudos to one

and all. And let's not forget AFSA, which worked in parallel with Secretary Powell on Capitol Hill, in the media and elsewhere to support the revitalization of U.S. diplomatic readiness.

John Naland

FSO

AFSA President, 2001-2003



All Carrot, No Stick

To me, it appears that Secretary Powell's approach to management of the Department of State was all carrot and no stick. Powell seemed to believe that if only he could provide the State Department in general, and FSOs in particular, with all of the funds, positions, promotions, equipment, buildings, security, and Internet access that they requested, then they would be unleashed to do wonderful diplomatic things to promote the national security and other interests of the United States.

What Powell did not recognize was that the perceived shortage of people, positions, promotions and equipment, etc. was not the primary problem. Rather, the greatest problem was the indiscipline of well over 85 percent of the FSOs of the U.S. Foreign Service, as well as the majority of the rest of the American employees of the department. Powell should have fired (in a very public manner) several of the very worst offenders during his first few months in office. This would have sent a powerful message that when orders are given, compliance or resignation is expected.

Free of any sense of restraint, many FSOs continue to pursue their own goal of domestic regime change. The result of their rogue conduct is that State is viewed more as part of the problem, and less as part of the solution. Hence, other agencies and personnel are sought to accomplish more of our diplomatic tasks.

There is a massive difference between the U.S. Foreign Service (the culture of a liberal arts college) and the U.S. Army (the culture of duty, honor, country). This difference was very apparent to me, because I served in both organizations. I started government service as an officer in the U.S. Army, serving for four years. Those of my age and I, with experience in both the Armed Forces and in the Foreign Service, have a very different view than that of the elite intellectual diplomats. We do not share their disdain for the U.S.A., nor their even greater disdain for safeguarding national security information.

The organizational culture of State continues to be its greatest problem. Failure to correct it will continue to limit the contribution of the department and tarnish Secretary Powell's legacy.

Peter D. Rice

FS retiree

Sarasota, Fla.



Going Forward, Less Military Rhetoric, Please

Secretary Powell always said that he was not just the president's Secretary of State but also the chief operating officer of the State Department. He kept his word. I think Sec. Powell, undoubtedly one of the most popular secretaries of State ever, will best be remembered for his integrity and his sincere concern for his employees, no matter what corps nor grade. During his tenure, Sec. Powell was able to secure funding for the department to upgrade its infrastructure, especially in key areas of security and information technology; improve employee training; and, most importantly, increase Foreign Service and Civil Service recruitment. In many ways, he brought the State Department into the 21st century, and assuredly improved employee morale across the board.

However, for the new, incoming State Department administration, one thing I would like to see is less military-related rhetoric and less couching of our identity in military terms. Over the last few years, we have repeatedly heard Foreign Service employees referred to as "second lieutenants" that work on the "front lines." We sell ourselves by emphasizing all the Foreign Service employees killed in the line of duty, and we've been told our diplomat and leadership training needs to be "more like the Army's." This comes not only from the 7th floor, but also via State management and, at times, from AFSA as well.

I realize that the intent of this is positive. It is designed to help employees secure recognition and funding from Congress, to ensure we get the same annual pay raise as the military, and even to help us get recognition from USAA for insurance purposes. Nevertheless, I think the constant repetition of this military rhetoric, the constant couching of diplomatic work in military terms, over time, basically tells us that diplomacy holds no value for the U.S. government. The message is: if you're a

diplomat, you're a "softie" (who might even talk and listen to foreigners), so you need to hide the "diplomacy" word; it's better to be a soldier; State doesn't know how to train leaders, and needs to take the Army's linear approach so we can be more like them; and, the Foreign Service, with tin cup in hand, is the military's "junior partner" in the war on terrorism. Ultimately, the military rhetoric and analogies degrade our profession.

We are diplomats, not "lieutenants." If I wanted to be a lieutenant, I would have joined the armed forces. Our primary job is to prevent war, not implement it. Is there something wrong with that? It's definitely less expensive for U.S. taxpayers. Overseas, we primarily work in embassies and consulates, almost always understaffed, sometimes in very dangerous places and civil war zones. However, we do not work on the battlefield "front lines."

***Our primary job is
to prevent war,
not implement it.***

***Is there something
wrong with that?***

We may have the same ultimate goal, U.S. national security, and can work together in many areas, but we do have a different mission than the Department of Defense. Let's not hide who we are and what we do just to placate particular members of Congress and the media. If the Congress does not want to fund diplomacy nor see its value, it can deal with the consequences of those actions. Then

we'll all be on the same sinking ship.

Ralph Falzone

FSO

ConGen Milan



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I was working in the Operations Center during Secretary Powell's historic and extremely stressful

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F O C U S

April 2002 trip to the Middle East. I attempted to call one of the staffers accompanying him, but when I dialed her cell number, the Secretary unexpectedly answered. Thinking the staffer might be with him, I apologized for the interruption and asked if she was available. Sec. Powell informed me he had “stolen” her phone, and politely asked if he could take a message.

I begged off, saying I would call her in the control room. He told me that she was not in the control room, and that he would be happy to take a message. I hesitated, and he asked jovially, “What, you don’t think I can take a message?” I laughed and told him who was looking for his staffer.

When the staffer called back a few hours later, she related that the Secretary had boarded the plane and said, “The Ops Center didn’t think I could take a message. You are supposed to call ___.” Even though we now knew the Secretary was very capable of taking messages, we made her promise that if he ever stole her cell phone again, she would let us know!

Do I need to state the obvious? We can only hope that all future Secretaries of State are as kind and human as Secretary Powell!

*Andrea Brouillette-Rodriguez
Human Rights Officer
United States Interests Section, Havana*



He Never Used His Ace-in-the-Hole

I retired from the Foreign Service just as Colin Powell replaced Madeleine Albright. So I speak as an outside-insider — perhaps the best position for objectivity.

Colin Powell brought to State a focus on institution-building, which is what the military does (and does far better than the Foreign Service) in between occasional wars. He brought us lessons of team-building and morale-building that the military knows well and we in the Foreign Service do not. And what a change! He attended every annual meeting of FS/CS retirees; he tried to attend as many ambassadorial swearings-in as he could. He cared,

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F O C U S

and he invested time in showing it. It made a tremendous difference in State morale.

And Secretary Powell combined those skills with his prestige to shake the money tree in Congress for more personnel and resources, and thus made the greatest contribution to institution-building for the State Department of any Secretary since George Shultz. That is a mighty legacy for us at State and for the nation. We owe Colin Powell a tremendous debt of thanks and respect.

But in policy he largely failed. He lost more battles than he won in this administration. The odds were against him as Dick Cheney reinforced Don Rumsfeld. Yet Secretary Powell never played his ace-in-the-hole — the threat of resignation as a source of leverage against an administration whose president was less popular than Powell, and who, in fact, had been elected only because Colin Powell turned down Republican offers of the presidential nomination in

*He asked jovially,
“What, you don’t
think I can take
a message?”*

2000. Instead, true to his military background, Secretary Powell stuck to the “George Marshall” model as a team player who saluted and got on board whenever he lost. In normal circumstances one understands that instinct. But given the comprehensive failures in foreign policy of this administration, such a compliant attitude on the part of a political “heavyweight” must be ranked as a failure of judgment on his part.

So we at State will always love Colin Powell as a hero who cared about our institution, and left it far healthier than he found it, yet failed to stem the tide of foreign policy disasters occasioned by the administration which he served — failed because the odds were stacked against him, but also because he was unwilling to play the ultimate card he had in order to “push the envelope.”

*Marc E. Nicholson
FSO, retired
Washington, D.C. ■*

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THE COLD WAR: A PYRRHIC VICTORY?

IT HAS BEEN MORE THAN A DECADE SINCE THE U.S. WON THE COLD WAR.
BUT THE UNINTENDED CONSEQUENCES OF OUR ANTI-SOVIET EFFORTS CONTRIBUTED
TO MANY OF THE PROBLEMS WE FACE TODAY.

BY DAVID D. NEWSOM

At the beginning of the 21st century, the United States faces threats of terrorism, antagonism in the Muslim world and suspicions of its motives throughout much of Asia, Africa and Latin America. Many of the roots of such problems lie in U.S. actions and policies of the last half-century — in the unintended consequences of the Cold War.

Conventional wisdom holds that the United States won the Cold War. With the collapse of the Soviet Union, international communism ceased to be a threat, and the United States became the “world’s only superpower.”

But accompanying that “wisdom” is an uncertainty about the global future and, in the United States, questions as to why a nation so powerful and “good” has such difficulty in wielding its worldwide influence.

David D. Newsom, an FSO from 1947 to 1981, served as ambassador to Libya, Indonesia and the Philippines, as well as assistant secretary for African affairs, among many other assignments. From 1978 to 1981, he was under secretary of State for political affairs. He received AFSA’s award for Lifetime Contributions to American Diplomacy in 2000.

Ambassador Newsom is the author of four books: The Soviet Brigade in Cuba (1987), Diplomacy and the American Democracy (1988), The Public Dimension of Foreign Policy (1996), and The Imperial Mantle (2001). This article is adapted from his contribution to a new edition of Hans Morgenthau’s book, Politics Among Nations, which McGraw-Hill will publish in June.

In light of current challenges to U.S. interests, could it be that the presumed success in the Cold War was a Pyrrhic victory? Did the unintended consequences of our anti-Soviet efforts contribute to problems Washington faces today?

The confrontation with the Soviet Union was fought actively, not on the plains of Europe, but in the arena of Asian and African states emerging from colonialism and in Latin American countries resisting oligarchs. The greater part of my own diplomatic career and that of many of my Foreign Service colleagues was spent in these regions. American policies pursued much that was positive in these areas in supporting economic development, human rights, conflict resolution and multilateral cooperation. Nevertheless, in regions important to American interests, the United States was more often perceived as an interventionist instrument of neo-colonialism than as a democratic liberator. This view was not helped by perceptions of U.S. involvement in regional issues such as the Israeli-Palestinian dispute and the Indian-Pakistani tensions over Kashmir, however positive Washington’s motives. In regions where emotions are rooted in history and memories are long, the effects of such a view continue.

In the immediate post-World War II period, communist parties in Western Europe, backed by a nuclear and ambitious Soviet Union, did represent both a political and military threat. The Soviet takeover of Eastern Europe had a profound effect on public opinion in the United States. No administration could have failed to respond. Actions of the countries of the Atlantic Alliance in initiat-

ing and supporting anti-Soviet policies were justified and understandable.

The Korean War gave further impetus to the fears of communist ambitions. The leftist rhetoric of leaders of newly independent countries and Soviet aid to these nations were seen as evidence of a continuing communist advance; in the views of Americans, nationalism became fused with Soviet ambitions.

Expanding Containment

To meet this perceived threat in the 1950s, the containment philosophy of the North Atlantic Treaty and the Truman Doctrine was extended eastward into Asia and southward to Africa and Latin America. Encirclement became the objective of global policy. The encirclement was accompanied by a series of military base arrangements in the Philippines, Thailand, Saudi Arabia, Libya and Morocco. Such arrangements often incurred local resentment; political leaders insisted on substantial military and economic aid to help them weather resulting political storms. In at least one country, Libya, the presence of a U.S. base was a factor in the overthrow of a government friendly to the United States. For strategic thinkers at the time, the world became a giant game of Risk — with scant appreciation of the game board on which it was being played. The results still haunt us today.

The first manifestation of this approach came during the prime ministership of Mohammad Mossadeq in Iran in 1953. Washington became increasingly concerned that Mossadeq's policies, by creating unrest in the country and challenging the power of Shah Pahlevi, were providing opportunities to the local communists and the Soviet Union. Accordingly, the Eisenhower administration cooperated with the British to restore the shah to power and bring in a new government in Tehran. Subsequent U.S. administrations built up the shah as an anti-communist surrogate in the region. Such support was of little avail when, in 1979, Islamic militants overthrew the shah and took 53 American diplomats as hostage. The earlier U.S. role in the removal of Mossadeq figured prominently in the anti-American rhetoric of the Iranian revolution, and is still recalled in Iranian politics today.

In the wake of the Korean War and the Mossadeq

experience in Iran, Secretary of State John Foster Dulles began the effort to create a series of treaties that would contain the Soviet Union in Asia. Beginning with the signing of the Southeast Asia Treaty Organization in 1954, the pacts were intended to close the circle between NATO and the U.S. strategic position in Japan. "Non-alignment," popular among the newly independent nations, was not, for Secretary Dulles, an option for free nations.

In the mid-1950s, the United States faced two serious threats to its perceived interests in the region: more aggressive Soviet moves and strong Arab nationalist influences emanating from Egypt's Gamal Abdul Nasser. The two were intertwined. Two initiatives intended to counter both problems led to failures and further deterioration in the American position in the region. The U.S. opposition to the French, British, and Israeli attack on Suez in October 1956 only temporarily reversed this trend.

In 1955, Washington stimulated the organization of the Baghdad Pact, ultimately to include the United Kingdom, Iraq, Turkey, Pakistan and Iran. Secretary Dulles saw the pact not only as containing the Soviets, but as an effort to divert Arab, and especially Iraqi, attention away from Israel to the communist menace. Iraq, on the contrary, saw adherence as a possible way to gain greater American support for the Arab position. The United States did not formally join the pact, but supported it financially and militarily. The pact was attacked by Arab nationalists as an effort to continue the "colonial" domination of the period of the earlier British and French mandates, with serious consequences for U.S. policy.

In Baghdad the pact was seen as a continuation of the unpopular alliance with Britain. With the overthrow of the monarchy in 1958, Iraq withdrew from the Baghdad Pact and the remaining members continued the alliance as the Central Treaty Organization. Significantly, the decision of Iraq's strongman, Prime Minister Nuri al Said, to join the pact was at least one of the factors that undermined the Hashemite monarchy and led to the revolution in Baghdad. The series of military coups that followed that event led ultimately to the rule of Saddam Hussein, with consequences clearly visible today.

Meanwhile, because of the continuing dispute with

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being played.*

India over Kashmir, the adherence of Pakistan to CENTO raised suspicions in New Delhi of U.S. motives, suspicions that lasted well into the 1970s and the prime ministership of Indira Gandhi.

In 1957, seeking greater flexibility in the administration of economic and military aid to confront the perceived communist threat in the Middle East, the Eisenhower administration gained congressional approval of a Middle East resolution that promulgated what became the Eisenhower Doctrine. Two hundred million dollars in aid was offered to those countries that would commit themselves to opposing international communism. The administration basically wanted a means of circumventing strict congressional limits on the management of aid funds; it was true throughout the Cold War that, to be successful in Congress, any initiative on aid had to be wrapped in an anti-Soviet context.

A retired member of Congress, James P. Richards, was sent through the Arab Middle East to “sell” the doctrine and obtain commitments. Middle East nations, however, did not wish to “stand up and be counted,” particularly in the wake of U.S. support for the establishment of the state of Israel seven years earlier. Only two countries, Iraq and Lebanon, endorsed the doctrine. The Iraq Revolution occurred a year later. Lebanon was saved from chaos only by the intervention of U.S. Marines.

Asian Dominoes

Across Asia in Indochina, the French lost their position in Vietnam; at the Geneva Conference in 1954, the country was divided between North and South. The Kennedy administration saw the growing threat of North Vietnam to the anti-communist South as a wider threat to the nations of the region. The administration began a U.S.

***Understanding the
results of Cold War
policies can lead to a
better understanding of
the limitations of a
superpower's ability
to control global
events today.***

involvement that escalated eventually into a full-scale war. The U.S. intervention in Vietnam was perceived in Washington as an essential battle to prevent the fall of Asian “dominoes” to the communists. But, in much of Asia, it was viewed as an effort to perpetuate French colonialism.

One of the dominoes of concern to Washington was Indonesia. The Eisenhower administration and, especially, Secretary of State John Foster Dulles and his brother, CIA chief Allen Dulles, were troubled by the policies of President Sukarno. They looked for dissident activities in the outer islands that might be supported to weaken or remove the Sukarno regime. The opportunity came in 1957 when dissident colonels in Sumatra organized a revolt and received arms from the CIA. The revolt collapsed and the CIA role was subsequently revealed, further enhancing the image of U.S. manipulation in Indonesia and the region.

Paul Gardner writes of the after-

math of this episode: “Although the U.S. denial of involvement in the PRRI/Permesta rebellion averted a situation in which the Indonesian government would have felt compelled to break diplomatic relations, it also caused Indonesians to dismiss denials of later reports of U.S. complicity in anti-Indonesian activities.”

Throughout the 1960s, Washington was obsessed with Soviet and Chinese threats to the emerging independent states of Africa. Through both covert actions and proxy wars, the U.S. opposed groups seen by Washington as pro-communist but by many Africans as pro-independence. The murder of Patrice Lumumba in 1960, an independence hero in the Congo, is still blamed on the Americans. The accession of Mobutu Sese-Seko to power in Kinshasha became a prime example of America’s willingness to support corrupt and undemocratic autocrats in the name of fighting communism.

U.S. resistance to independence for the Portuguese colonies in Africa was viewed as an effort to perpetuate colonialism. U.S. covert support for Joseph Savimbi’s UNITA movement in Angola and the long civil war that followed in the name of fighting communism devastated a significant part of Africa.

Throughout this period, the U.S. image suffered through positions taken in the United Nations General Assembly on such issues as colonialism, apartheid and Palestine. Although the UNGA positions were not binding, the posture of the U.S. was frequently seen in Africa and Asia as reflecting opposition to basic nationalistic and racial attitudes in the newly emerging nations. The Reagan administration made matters worse by seeking to tie aid levels to votes by African and Asian countries on these issues.

Washington’s reaction to per-

ceived communist threats was not confined to Asia and Africa. In 1954, alarmed by the leftist tendencies of President Jacobo Arbenz Guzman of Guatemala, the U.S. assisted in the overthrow of his government. In 1973, U.S. involvement was suspected in the overthrow and death of President Salvador Allende Gossens of Chile, another left-leaning Latin American leader. The Reagan administration saw a communist threat to the U.S. in the growing leftist movements in Central America, and undertook to support anti-communist elements in Nicaragua, El Salvador and Honduras. To many in the poorer countries of the Latin American region, such activities were further evidence of “gringo” manifest destiny.

Unintended Consequences

Undoubtedly the most damaging of the unintended consequences of the Cold War came through the support for the mujahedeen, Muslim fighters resisting the Soviet forces in Afghanistan after the invasion of 1978.

The Soviet invasion set off alarms in the Carter administration that the Soviets were about to realize their dream of gaining access to the Persian Gulf. The United States saw the opportunity to make the Soviets pay a price for the invasion through providing arms and assistance, in cooperation with Saudi Arabia and Pakistan, to the resistance. Muslim fighters from Arab countries and other Islamic regions were accepted and trained for jihad against the infidel invader. Islamic militantism was mobilized to fight the Soviets, but, once the Soviets left in 1989, the militants looked for new targets. Out of that effort to train and encourage militant Muslim forces to fight the Soviets — with extensive CIA help — grew the influence of Osama bin Laden and the al-Qaida

***In the 1950s, the
containment philosophy
of the North Atlantic
Treaty and the Truman
Doctrine evolved
into a strategy of
encirclement.***

movement, arguably one of the most serious of the unintended consequences of the Cold War period.

The Cold War fears of communist advances were replaced in the 1990s by concern over the threat of Saddam Hussein to dominate the oil-rich region of the Gulf. But a consequence of the first Persian Gulf War was the strengthening of al-Qaida, fed by resentment over the presence of U.S. forces in Saudi Arabia.

Opposition in the Middle East region to the U.S. invasion of Iraq is undoubtedly a reflection of beliefs fostered during the Cold War that America was anti-Muslim and sought to dominate the oil-rich region for its own purposes.

In the actions taken that led to the unintended consequences of the Cold War, policy-makers were, in the main, responding to fears and attitudes in the public, the media and Congress that overwhelmed contrary views. To be sure, some prescient observers did express concerns, but they were brushed aside.

Specifically, throughout the period a constant tension existed

between a view of the world held by many top policy-makers and members of Congress and the views of many with experience in the regions involved, whether diplomats, scholars, journalists or foreign observers.

Officers in the embassy in Baghdad in 1955 raised questions about the wisdom of pressing the Iraqi government into an anti-communist pact. Those serving in Tehran in later years expressed their doubts about the stability of Iran under the shah. But these views were unwelcome to decision-makers in Washington unwilling to hear challenges to established policy.

The debate over Vietnam policy is well documented. In his recent biography of Ellsworth Bunker (*Ellsworth Bunker: Global Troubleshooter, Vietnam Hawk*, University of North Carolina Press, 2003), who served as U.S. ambassador to Vietnam from 1967 to 1973, Howard Schaffer writes: “As he settled into a steady, mutually confident relationship with [President] Thieu in the Nixon-Kissinger years, his messages presented a picture of sustained if uneven advance toward stability, security and a measure of prosperity for South Vietnam.

“Some on the embassy staff differed sharply with his assessments, especially officers in the political section but others, mostly younger officers, as well. These negative views about Vietnam’s prospects were shared by many American correspondents, with whom they regularly compared notes. This pattern, senior officials taking an optimistic view of developments, more junior ones and media representatives more skeptical, was not uncommon throughout the war.”

Foreign observers were equally skeptical. Indonesians were part of an international commission in Vietnam and traveled throughout the country. In January 1975 (four

months before the fall of Saigon), Graham Martin, the U.S. ambassador to Saigon, came to Jakarta to brief Indonesians. He painted a rosy picture of progress and denigrated U.S. critics of the war. One of the Indonesian observers later said to an American embassy officer: "We were most interested in what Ambassador Martin had to say. He must be working in a different country than we are."

Available information on the growth of al-Qaida in Afghanistan contains little evidence that doubts were raised about the possible long-term risks of assisting militant Islamic groups to oppose the Soviets. Debates during the mujahedeen period seemed to revolve mostly around doubts about collaboration with Pakistani intelligence and with various possible radical elements among the Afghan warlords. It was only after three major terrorist attacks on U.S. targets — the World Trade Center in New York in 1993, the U.S. embassies in Nairobi and Dar Es Salaam in 1998, and the *USS Cole* in 2000 — that the full extent of bin Laden's role and of the al-Qaida threat became known. But, even then, the worst consequences of the unintended results of the U.S. war against the Soviets in Afghanistan still lay ahead.

This pattern of U.S. ambassadors faithfully pursuing policies devised in the political and strategic arena of Washington in the face of contrary assessments by others has been repeated in every one of the U.S. Cold War crises in Asia, Africa and Latin America.

The Road Not Taken

Should the United States, then, have been inactive in the face of threats to pro-Western, anti-communist governments beyond Europe? Would the U.S. position be better today if it had not intervened in the

Non-alignment was not, in the view of John Foster Dulles, an option for free nations.

countries of the Middle East, Indonesia, Vietnam, Angola and Nicaragua? Would the Soviet Union have collapsed without the U.S. challenges in the Third World?

Certainly many of the long-range assessments that drove U.S. policy were off the mark. The dominoes did not fall in Southeast Asia. The U.S. today has friendly relations with Vietnam. Indonesia has had two consecutive directly elected presidents. The perceived threat to U.S. interests in Latin America has faded.

Information on the origins of the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan suggest the action was less part of a drive to the oil-rich Persian Gulf than an effort to curb the influence of Islamic militants on Soviet Central Asia. It is tempting to wonder whether recent history, including the 9/11 attacks, would have been different if the U.S. had not supported the fight against the Soviet Union in Afghanistan, a fight against a weakening USSR that was ultimately forced by its own weakness to withdraw from its Asian satellites.

It is difficult to predict what might have happened in Iran and Iraq. It is hard to imagine that, under a continuation of the Mossadegh government in Tehran, the U.S.

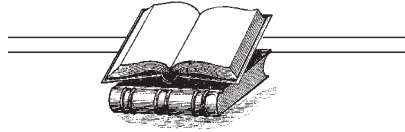
position today would be any worse. Clearly, the end result of the expenditure of U.S. lives and resources in Iraq is yet to be determined, but the American dream of a pro-American, democratic Iraq is still far from realization.

The fall of the Soviet Union demonstrated the inherent weakness of that nation and certainly raises questions about its long-range capacity to alter societies in Asia, Africa and Latin America. The endless hours spent by U.S. officials seeking to counter Soviet and Chinese offers of aid to these continents seemed essential at the time, but, in retrospect seem less justified.

U.S. interventions beyond Europe during the Cold War did not create the current terrorist threat. They did create fears of Western intervention and emotions against the West in areas that had experienced colonialism and European domination in other forms.

Such fears of renewed occupation lie dormant throughout the region, subject to exploitation by demagogues and autocrats. In the Middle East, the continuing U.S. identification with the unresolved Israeli-Palestinian issue makes the exploitation possibility especially real.

The clash between Washington's perceptions of an issue, created by the inevitable interplay of politics, pressures and interests that characterize U.S. foreign policy-making, and a different reality seen by observers on the ground will never end. The results of Cold War policies cannot be reversed, but setting forth the consequences can, perhaps, lead to a better understanding of the limitations of a superpower's ability to control global events today. That understanding can also demonstrate how difficult it is, under the pressures of immediate action, to foresee the longer-term consequences of that action. ■



BOOKS

Why Do They Hate Us?

Understanding Anti-Americanism: Its Origins and Impact at Home and Abroad

Paul Hollander, editor; Ivan R. Dee Publisher, 2004, \$18.24, hardcover, 372 pages.

REVIEWED BY CHRISTOPHER TEAL

“You put someone on the moon, so why couldn’t the U.S. take all the water from the Amazon?” Someone asked me that during an embassy event in Peru in early 2004. As crazy as the question seemed, it prompted many in the audience to nod their agreement with the premise that America wanted to do such a thing.

Peruvians are far from alone in this attitude: it is truly amazing to see how much power and malicious intent are ascribed to the United States around the world. Whether these suspicions stem from distorted information or a lack of critical (or realistic) thinking, or both, they greatly hinder the transmittal of our messages to foreign audiences, spurring resentment and even anger at America.

That is the challenge for the modern diplomat. The perceptions that foreign publics have about our country can often be so far removed from the truth as to be comical. But given that perception is reality, understanding and addressing anti-Americanism requires unmasking these perceptions and finding their root causes.

Toward that end, *Understanding Anti-Americanism: Its Origins and Impact at Home and Abroad*, a compilation of 15 essays edited by

*Understanding
and addressing
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requires
understanding
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reality.*



University of Massachusetts professor Paul Hollander, serves as an important source for those concerned about foreign public opinion. In his introduction, Hollander lists five factors that he believes explain anti-Americanism: the fall of communism (and decline of an alternative “pole” of power); U.S. power and superior military capabilities; the personal qualities of President Bush; globalization; and Arab fundamentalism (and other cultural antagonisms).

The notion of America as an ideal — as communism or fascism might have been in the past — is a particular target of criticism, ridicule and even attack. But what is it about the American ideal that stirs hatred? Contributor James Ceasar answers that question by pointing to a real ambivalence about modernity throughout the world. Whether it’s the belief in South America that the U.S. is trying to steal the Amazon’s headwaters, or religious extremists in the Middle East pushing their brand of fundamentalism, this ambivalence about change and loss of tradition leads to actions ranging from simple intellectual hostility to more

violent expressions aimed at America and the West.

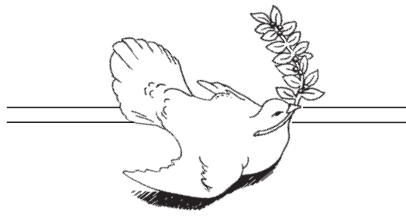
Accordingly, anti-Americanism — which Ceasar identifies as the only current global “ideology” — has become the focus of a new generation of activists across the world, anxious to find a scapegoat for their problems and complaints.

In particular, many of the sundry “isms” discussed here are rooted in resistance to globalization.

One principal strength of this work is that it analyzes several regions. The collection includes, for instance, an insightful chapter by current FSO David Brooks on the Latin American strain of anti-Americanism. It is regrettable, however, that just one chapter is devoted to the Middle East variant, particularly as so much of the global “war on terror” is centered there. It is also highly disappointing that the discussion of anti-Americanism here in the U.S. seldom rises above a polemical condemnation of the left.

Those shortcomings aside, this collection of essays makes a crucial point: the U.S. is synonymous with modernity and globalization throughout the world, and will continue to face a backlash on that account. For that insight, as well as many others, *Understanding Anti-Americanism* is a useful tool to spur thinking about the subject of anti-Americanism and how to combat it. ■

Christopher Teal, an FSO since 1999, is currently a desk officer in the European Bureau and a member of the FSJ Editorial Board. The opinions expressed herein are his own.



IN MEMORY

Jean Phillips Cootes, 82, the widow of FSO Merritt N. Cootes, died at her home in Princeton, N.J., on Nov. 24.

Born in Portland, Ore., Jean Cootes attended the University of Oregon, graduating Phi Beta Kappa with a degree in music. She then began a promising career in government service, working in postwar Germany in the Foreign Service and on the staff of General Lucius Clay with the United States Occupation Forces.

In 1946, on a mission to Moscow, she met her husband-to-be, Merritt Cootes, a Princeton graduate and rising Foreign Service officer from Virginia. After a wedding in Paris, the couple proceeded to postings in Trieste, Karachi, Algiers and, finally, Florence, where Mr. Cootes served as consul general for eight years (from 1958 to 1966).

At each posting, Mrs. Cootes studied the language of the country — Italian, French and Urdu — and she also continued her serious study of the piano. In Florence, she organized countless receptions and musical recitals in the consulate's 19th-century palazzo on Lungarno Vespucci, introducing young American musicians, artists and scholars to the best Italy had to offer. The years of the Cootes consulate,

which coincided with the first flush of postwar prosperity in Italy, are still remembered as a golden period in Florence by the many Americans and Italians who knew the couple.

Following Merritt Cootes' retirement in 1966, the couple moved into a restored farmhouse in the hills outside of Florence called "Il Palagetto," and for 19 more years American musicians, art connoisseurs and historians mingled with Italian aristocrats, orchestra conductors and museum directors at Mrs. Cootes' dinner parties. Mrs. Cootes was also active in flood relief efforts, in the American Church in Florence and in the Amici della Musica.

In 1986 the Cooteses returned to the United States, to a home near Princeton University that became another gathering place for leading musicians, composers and artists.

Merritt Cootes died in 1998. Mrs. Cootes is survived by a sister, Barbara Phillips Ford, and a brother-in-law, Dr. Peter Ford of Portland, Ore.; three nieces, Anne Ford Matthews of Stonington, Conn., Bronwyn Ford Rhoades of Mendocino, Calif., and Paula Ford Ciecieski of Eugene, Ore.; and four nephews, Harry Belin of Washington, D.C., Marcus Ford of Flagstaff, Ariz., Eric Ford of Seattle, Wash., and John Ford of Snohomish, Wash.

Marion Dudenhoeffer Hinke, 96, a retired FS member and the widow of FSO Frederick William Hinke, died Nov. 27 at Silver Oak Manor in Livermore, Calif.

Mrs. Hinke was born in Erie, Pa. She worked in Washington, D.C., at the Division of Labor Statistics of the Department of Labor from 1934 to 1945, and then joined the clerical staff of the State Department.

As a secretary in the Foreign Service, Mrs. Hinke traveled the world. In Lisbon she served as an assistant in the office of the ambassador. She was appointed secretary and administrative assistant to the counselor of the embassy, and worked on the evacuation to Japan during the Korean War. Upon her transfer to Paris in 1952, she served as secretary to the deputy special assistant for major defense acquisition programs.

While in Paris, she met and married FSO Frederick William Hinke in 1953. She retired from the Foreign Service, and accompanied him to Monrovia. When her husband retired from the Foreign Service in 1958, the couple settled in Santa Barbara, Calif. They both attended classes at the University of California, Berkeley. After her husband's death in 1960, Mrs. Hinke moved to San Francisco.

There she graduated from the Rudolph Schaeffer School of Design

IN MEMORY



in 1964, and enjoyed a second career in interior decorating. Upon retirement, she traveled extensively in Eastern Europe, Central and South America and Asia. Her health began to fail in 1995, when she moved to Livermore, Calif.

Friends and family remember Mrs. Hinke as a fun-loving, gracious and hospitable person who deeply loved her family, her friends, her faith, and the world. There was no limit to her enthusiasm, curiosity and generosity toward her relatives and charities.

Mrs. Hinke is survived by her stepdaughter, Helen Karnes; a sister, Helen Skinner; and many nieces and nephews. She was preceded in death by her husband Frederick W. Hinke and her stepdaughter Margaret Woods.



William E. Knepper, 75, retired FSO and an expert in Latin American economics, died Nov. 4 at his home in Oakland, Calif. He had Parkinson's disease.

A native of Kansas City, Kan., Mr. Knepper received an economics degree from the University of Kansas. Following service during the Korean War in the Navy, he received a master's degree in economics and political economy from Harvard University, and completed all but his dissertation for a doctorate in economics at Harvard.

Mr. Knepper joined the Foreign Service in 1956, and in a 32-year career served in Monterrey, Santo Domingo, Montevideo and Washington, D.C. He retired in 1988 with the rank of minister-counselor. In the early 1960s, Mr. Knepper was staff assistant to Secretary of State Dean Rusk. He was posted to Uruguay from 1967 to 1971, when threats from the Tupamaros terrorist group targeting U.S. interests and representatives

forced him to keep a pistol under his pillow and a shotgun in the corner of his bedroom.

From 1978 to 1983, Mr. Knepper served at the Bureau of Intelligence and Research; he left with the title of deputy assistant secretary of State. At INR he was liaison to the intelligence community on Latin American intelligence, and helped prepare the Kissinger Commission report on Central America. He also conducted trade negotiations with members of Latin American delegations. Mr. Knepper's final assignment was teaching economics at the Inter-American Defense College at Fort McNair.

After retirement, Mr. Knepper edited the *Washington Report*, a newsletter of the Council of the Americas business group. He also served as vice president for research for Consumers for World Trade, a nongovernmental organization, and as vice president of St. Georges Corp., a Washington real estate investment firm. He was a member of the Cosmos Club and the Harvard Club of Washington. His hobbies included collecting pre-Columbian pottery and textiles.

Mr. Knepper had a home in the Washington, D.C., area from 1956 to 1996, when he moved to Oakland from Annapolis. His marriage to Virginia Steven Knepper ended in divorce.

Survivors include his wife of 17 years, Dr. Alberta Flashman-Knepper of Oakland; two sons from the first marriage, Christopher Knepper of McLean, Va., and Michael Knepper of Mill Valley, Calif.; and five grandchildren.



Suzanne Dunning Manfull, 85, the widow of Ambassador Melvin L. Manfull, died of cardiac arrest at Sibley Memorial Hospital on Oct. 29, after a long illness.

Born in Gonzales, Tex., Mrs.

Manfull received a bachelor's degree summa cum laude from the University of Texas. She came to Washington, D.C. in 1941 to study at The George Washington University, and while there met and married then U.S. Navy Lieutenant Manfull. During World War II, she worked as a relocation specialist for the War Department, helping young secretaries who came to the city find a safe place to live. She danced with the Washington Ballet Company, and later became a special assistant for war correspondent Martin Agronsky. In the early 1950s, she worked as a congressional researcher.

Mrs. Manfull accompanied her FSO husband to Paris in 1952, where they lived until 1958. She also traveled with him to postings in Saigon, London, Brussels, Bangui and Monrovia. She engaged in volunteer work at each posting. Mrs. Manfull had a passion for flowers (especially orchids), and left lovely gardens wherever she lived abroad.

In the early 1960s, in Vietnam, Mrs. Manfull organized the South Vietnamese Chapter of the (Red Cross) Grey Ladies volunteers, and cared for children at Go Vap Hospital. She lobbied some of the high society women of South Vietnam to join the chapter. Later, in her Washington, D.C., living room, she taught English for Welcome to Washington, a group helping diplomatic spouses adjust to the American capital. Mrs. Manfull moved to McLean, Va., in 2002.

Mrs. Manfull volunteered for the Washington chapter of the American Orchid Society, and was for years a docent at the Dumbarton Oaks Museum in Georgetown, where she was an expert on its gardens.

Her husband died in 2001. Mrs. Manfull is survived by three children, Lisa S. Harper of Rockville, Md., Gregory L. Manfull of Evergreen, Colo., and William T. Manfull of Portsmouth, N.H.; and three grand-

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children. It was her wish that donations be made to the AFSA Scholarship Fund in lieu of flowers.



James Mollen, 48, Embassy Baghdad's special adviser to Iraq's Ministry of Higher Education and Scientific Research, was killed Nov. 24 in an insurgent attack in Baghdad. He was the second American diplomat to be killed in Iraq.

A political appointee who had worked in the 2000 election campaign for President Bush, Mollen joined the State Department in 2002. He worked in the Bureau of International Information Programs, heading its Global Technology Corps, a public-private partnership engaged in technology projects abroad. He first went to Iraq in 2003 to work for the Coalition Provisional Authority.

Mollen's goal with the Iraqi Education Ministry was to rebuild the country's 20 major universities and 40 technical institutes, research centers and colleges. In a *Washington File* interview in December 2003, he expressed concern with Iraq's "intellectual isolation," and explained his work to bring online digital video conference capabilities to universities and colleges so students and faculties could exchange information with their counterparts in the U.S. He had assembled a medical technology program to bring state-of-the-art information to Iraqi medical students, and was working to develop Western-style graduate business schools and executive management education programs.

In a condolence message, Secretary of State Colin Powell said: "Jim dedicated his life to a noble cause: improving the quality of education for thousands of Iraqis. ... His sacrifice and heroism embody the greatest American virtues: courage, commit-

ment, charity and an abiding faith in the promise of a better tomorrow. Jim's sacrifice will not be in vain. His State Department colleagues and the American people will not waver in their commitment to building a peaceful and prosperous Iraq. We will stand resolute against the forces that took Jim's life, and we will prevail."

Before joining the Bush administration, Mr. Mollen worked as a computer systems analyst for the Coca-Cola Company in Atlanta, Ga. He had been involved with programs to help orphans overseas for more than a decade, and as a member of the board of directors for Orphanage Outreach had made many trips to the Dominican Republic.

Mr. Mollen was unmarried and had no children. He is survived by his father John and his mother Anne of Binghamton, N.Y., and brothers Gerald, Bob, Dan and Tim.



Eunice M. Rogers, 73, wife of retired FSO Jordan T. Rogers, died Sept. 7 in Mechanicsburg, Pa., after a long battle with colon cancer.

Mrs. Rogers was a graduate of William and Mary College in Williamsburg, Va., and later received a master's degree from Shippensburg University in Pennsylvania. She worked as a mental health counselor for over a decade.

Mrs. Rogers was active in working with day care centers and with the homeless in Harrisburg, Pa., and was president for several years of the Board of Directors of Neighborhood Day Care Centers in Harrisburg. In 2003, the Market Square Presbyterian Church of Harrisburg, her church, honored her service to the homeless by establishing the Eunice Rogers Compassionate Ministries Fund.

In addition to her husband of 23

years, Eunice Rogers is survived by three sons, four stepdaughters, and a number of grandchildren and step-grandchildren.



Ted M. G. Tanen, 78, an FSO with USIA who in retirement initiated major cultural exchanges between the U.S. and India, Indonesia, Mexico and other nations, died Nov. 17 at a hospital in Santa Monica, Calif., after a struggle with cancer.

Mr. Tanen was born in Lancaster, Calif., in 1926, and entered the U.S. Navy after graduating from high school in 1944. He was assigned to the V-12 wartime officer training program, and was released to the Naval Reserve in 1946. He did his undergraduate studies at the University of California at Los Angeles and, after earning a master's degree at the University of Southern California in international relations in 1951, joined the Foreign Service. His Foreign Service career spanned 27 years, with assignments in Burma, Laos, Vietnam, Hungary, Senegal, Mauritania, Nigeria, Tunisia and France, accompanied by major awards from the U.S. and France.

As a young officer, Mr. Tanen served in Budapest two years after the crushing of the Hungarian uprising against Soviet control in 1956. One of his assignments was to serve as principal embassy liaison with Jozsef Cardinal Mindszenty, Primate of Hungary, who had been released from a communist prison during the uprising and had taken refuge in the U.S. embassy. He became a close friend of the cardinal, who was finally permitted to leave for Austria in 1971.

Much of Mr. Tanen's Foreign Service career was dedicated to cultural affairs. One of his most successful tasks was looking after the all-star delegation of African-

IN MEMORY



American cultural participants in the 1966 World Festival of Negro Arts in Dakar, Senegal. Among the luminaries were Duke Ellington, poet Langston Hughes, the Alvin Ailey dancers, choreographer and anthropologist Katherine Dunham, Leonard De Paur and his chorus, and actress Marjorie Dawn, star of the classic film "Black Orpheus."

In 1972, Tanen was named cultural attache at Embassy Paris, an assignment reserved for the most sophisticated among U.S. cultural diplomats. For his work in coordinating events for the American Bi-Centennial in France, he won awards not only from the U.S. government, but also was made a Chevalier des Arts et des Lettres by the French government.

Following retirement in 1978, Mr. Tanen became executive director of the Indo-U.S. Subcommittee on Education and Culture based in New York City, overseeing exchanges between India and the United States. In 1983 he was appointed American coordinator for the Festival of India. With more than 800 events taking place in 150 cities in 44 states between 1985 and 1986, the Festival of India, with a budget of \$25 million, was the largest single-nation cultural program ever presented in this country. Its exhibits were displayed in the Metropolitan Museum, the Brooklyn Museum and the Public Library in New York, the National Gallery and the Freer Gallery in Washington, D.C., and the Cleveland, Boston and Philadelphia Museums.

In 1986, he formed Tanen Associates to carry out international exchange projects for other governmental cultural and educational programs. He oversaw the Festival of Indonesia, a U.S.-wide cultural program conducted from 1990 to 1992. He also coordinated the major New York Metropolitan Museum exhibit of

3,000 years of treasured Mexican art, as well as a Greek art exhibit, and consulted on the preservation of archeological sites in Fez, Morocco, and in Sri Lanka under UNESCO auspices.

Mr. Tanen was an avid horseman, and regularly rode with the Indian Army polo team during his frequent working trips to New Delhi. When he moved to New York from Washington, D.C., he became a member of the New York City auxiliary mounted park patrol, and regularly rode with it in Central Park.

Mr. Tanen and his family maintained a home in Washington, D.C., during his long Foreign Service career. He is survived by his wife, Phyllis Cooke Tanen of New York City; his daughter Tina Tanen and two grandchildren, Jesse and Sophie-Beatrice, of Los Angeles; and his brother, Ned Tanen, of Los Angeles. ■



Note

The following paragraph was inadvertently omitted from the obituary for R. (Rayford) Glynn Mays Jr., which appeared in the December 2004 issue of the FSJ:

Mr. Mays was predeceased by his wife, Matilda Frances Leonardo Mays, who died in 2001. He is survived by a daughter, Mildred Agate-Mays of Cambridge, Mass.; four sons, Glynn Mays of Halethorpe, Md., Robert Mays of Chapel Hill, N.C., and David Mays and Christopher Mays, both of Gaithersburg, Md.; a sister; and 16 grandchildren.

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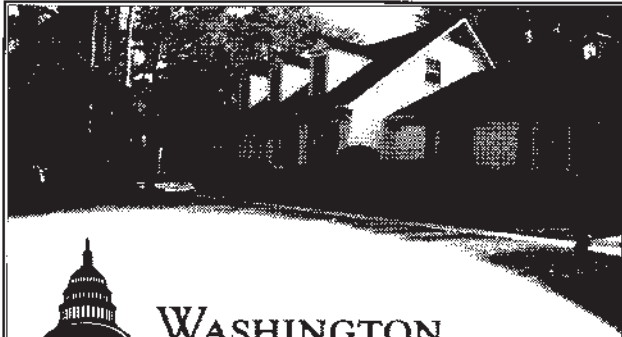
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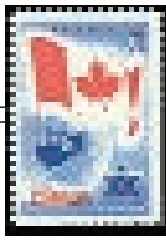
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REFLECTIONS

Bring a Pundit to Work Day

BY KEITH W. MINES

My son's school had a "job shadowing" day not long ago that brought him to the U.S. embassy in Ottawa, where I work in the political section. We had what I considered to be a very active day: finishing a scensetter for President Bush's upcoming visit to Canada, meeting with the head of a prominent think-tank, visiting the Canadian Parliament during Question Period, and making a demarche to the Foreign Ministry on Sudan.

But all that apparently did not add up to much for a 15-year-old, for when Jonathan wrote up his school report he said: "It isn't very exciting work, not as boring as I imagined but still not very lively ... Diplomatic work involves a lot of talking and discussing and brainstorming, [yet] not much is accomplished, much like in school." I guess I'm lucky he didn't come back the next day and watch me write reports on our activities.

His reaction was kind compared with what many others are saying about the Foreign Service, however,

Since joining the Foreign Service in 1992, Keith Mines has served in Tel Aviv, Mogadishu, San Salvador, Port-au-Prince, Budapest, Kabul, the al-Anbar province of Iraq (on TDY) and Washington, D.C. He was the 2004 winner of AFSA's William R. Rivkin Award for constructive dissent by a mid-level FSO. The stamp is courtesy of the AAFSW Bookfair "Stamp Corner."

judging by many recent op-ed columns and editorials on Colin Powell's imminent departure. Condi Rice is being urged to wield a firm hand against all the disloyal, insubordinate, rampaging diplomats who are supposedly indifferent or actively hostile to President Bush's agenda. And these exhortations aren't confined to the usual suspects, either: mainstream publications like *The New Republic* and the *New York Times* have run such columns.

Somehow I'm not sure how my son missed all the excitement. Or was it the critics who missed something? Either way, inspired by Jonathan's experience, I'd like to propose that Dr. Rice institute the first-ever "bring a pundit to work day" so they can see for themselves what we do.

Of course, they have already missed some of the really good opportunities to shadow diplomats. They could have come to Kabul in January 2002 when the new embassy's staff was living in a bunker outside the chancery. Those who served there describe how showering, food preparation and going to the latrine all occurred within 10 feet of each other. My colleagues didn't have much time to exercise their "rampant disloyalty," either; they were too busy trying to stay warm.

I served in the Al-Anbar province of Iraq for seven months in 2003. We didn't get many commentators shadowing us there, either. I wonder which part of my job would have

interested them most: driving through the bomb-laden streets of Ramadi to get to my office each day? Going into Fallujah to set up a city council? Slipping out to the Syrian border to check on the newly formed border guards? It's also too bad the mavens missed the engagement with foreign publics that Foreign Service officers conducted after the Abu Ghraib revelations. Far from exhibiting hostility or indifference to the president's agenda, we were the glue that held the coalition together at this difficult time.

What our critics miss is that the business of foreign policy is messy because the world is messy. It will not get any tidier by silencing the views and combined experience of those with the most exposure to the world. The vast majority of State Department employees involve themselves assertively in debates as policy is being formed, and then just as assertively execute policy once decisions are made. The rare exception no more impugns the honor of the entire diplomatic profession than Dr. Kevorkian dishonors the whole of the medical profession.

So the pundits owe the Foreign Service an apology, though I'm not holding my breath for one. Meanwhile, my invitation stands. Come out and shadow me for a while, or go observe my colleagues in Mosul and Fallujah and Ramadi and Khandahar.

Otherwise, you can eat my pin-striped shorts. ■

AFSA NEWS

American Foreign Service Association • February 2005

AFSA 2004 TAX GUIDE

Federal and State Tax Provisions for the Foreign Service

A FSA's annual Tax Guide is designed as an informational and reference tool. Although we try to be accurate, many of the new provisions of the tax code and IRS implementing regulations have not been fully tested. Therefore, use caution and consult with a tax adviser as soon as possible if you have specific questions or an unusual or complex situation.

FEDERAL TAX PROVISIONS

The Military Families Tax Relief Act of 2003 continues to provide a significant benefit for Foreign Service families who sell their homes at a profit, but would have been unable to avail themselves of the capital gains exclusion (up to \$250,000 for an individual/\$500,000 for a couple) from the sale of a principal residence because they did not meet the IRS "two-year occupancy within the five years preceding the date of sale" requirement due to postings outside the U.S. Under the new law, in relation to the sale of a principal residence after May 6, 1997, the calculation of the five-year period for measuring ownership is suspended during any period that the eligible individual or his/her spouse is serving on qualified official extended duty as a member of the uniformed services or the Foreign Service.

The five-year period cannot be extended by more than 10

years. In other words, Foreign Service employees who are overseas on assignment can extend the five-year period to 15 years, depending on the number of years they are posted away from their home. Note that the provision is retroactive, so that anyone who has already paid the tax on the sale of a residence that would have qualified under the new law may file an amended return to get the benefit of the new rule. There is, however, a three-year statute of limitations, after which one cannot obtain a refund.

Foreign Service employees most frequently ask AFSA about home ownership, tax liability upon sale of a residence, and state of domicile. We have devoted special sections to these issues.

For 2004, the five basic tax rates for individuals remain at 10, 15, 25, 28 and 33 percent, with a top rate of 35 percent. The 10-percent rate is for taxable income up to \$14,301 for married couples, \$7,151 for singles. The 15-percent rate is for income up to \$58,101 for married couples, \$29,051 for singles. The 25-percent rate is for income up to \$117,251 for married couples, \$70,351 for singles. The 28-percent rate is for income up to \$178,651 for married couples and income up to \$146,751 for singles. The 33-percent rate is for income up to \$319,101 for

married couples and singles. Long-term capital gains are taxed at a maximum rate of 15 percent and are reported on Schedule D. This rate is effective for all sales in 2004, except for those people who fall within the 10- or 15-percent tax bracket: their rate is 5 percent. Long-term capital gain is defined as gain from the sale of property held for 12 months or more.

Personal Exemption

For each taxpayer, spouse and dependent the personal exemption is \$3,100. There is, however, a personal exemption phaseout of 2 percent for each \$2,500 of adjusted gross income (AGI) over \$142,700 (singles), \$178,350 (head of household), \$214,050 (joint) and \$107,025 (married, filing separately). For those taxpayers in the last category, the phaseout is 2 percent for each \$1,250 of adjusted gross income over \$107,025.

Extension for Taxpayers Abroad

Taxpayers whose tax home is outside the U.S. on April 15 get an automatic extension until June 15 to file their returns. When filing the return, these taxpayers should write "Taxpayer Abroad" on the first page and attach a statement of explanation. There are no late filing or late payment penalties for returns filed by June 15, but the IRS will charge interest on any amount owed from April 15 until the date they receive payment.



Standard Deduction

The standard deduction is given to non-itemizers. It has been steadily increasing since 1987, but there was a big jump last year for married couples filing jointly. For couples the deduction is now \$9,700 and for singles, \$4,850. Married couples filing separately get a standard deduction of \$4,850 and head-of-household filers receive a \$7,150 deduction. An additional amount is allowed for taxpayers over age 65 or blind.

Most unreimbursed employee business expenses must be reported as miscellaneous itemized deductions, which are subject to a threshold of 2 percent of adjusted gross income. This includes professional dues and publications, employment and educational expenses, home office, legal, accounting, custodial and tax preparation fees, home leave, representational and other employee business expenses, and contributions to AFSA's Legislative Action Fund. Unreimbursed moving expenses are no longer an itemized deduction. Since Jan. 1, 1994, moving expenses have been an adjustment to income, which means that you get to deduct them even if you are taking the standard deduction. However, the deduction has been narrowed to include only the unreimbursed costs of moving your possessions and yourself and your family to the new location.

Medical expenses (including health and long-term care insurance, but not health insurance premiums deducted from gov-

ernment salaries) are subject to a threshold of 7.5 percent of adjusted gross income. This means that to be deductible, the medical cost would have to exceed \$2,250 for a taxpayer with a \$30,000 AGI. There is also an additional 3-percent reduction of itemized deductions (excluding medical, casualty, theft, and investment interest) if the AGI exceeds \$142,700. This 3 percent is applied to the AGI over \$142,700 and not to the total of itemized deductions on Schedule A. The maximum loss of deductions is capped at 80 percent.

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

For 2004 tax returns, any interest paid on auto or personal loans, credit cards, department stores and other personal interest will not be allowed as itemized deductions. Interest on educational loans will be allowed as an adjustment to gross income. If the above debts are consolidated, however, and paid with a home equity loan, interest on the home equity loan is allowable. Mortgage interest is, for the most part, still fully deductible. Interest on loans

intended to finance investments is deductible up to the amount of net income from investments. Interest on loans intended to finance a business is 100-percent deductible. Passive-investment interest on loans in which the taxpayer is an inactive participant (i.e., a limited partnership) can be deducted only from the income produced by other "passive income." Interest on loans that do not fall into the above categories, such as borrowing money to buy tax-exempt securities, is not deductible.

Home Leave Expenses

Employee business expenses, such as home leave and representation, may be listed as miscellaneous itemized deductions and claimed on Form 2106. In addition to the 2-percent floor, only 50 percent for meals and entertainment may be claimed (100 percent for unreimbursed travel and lodging). Only the employee's (not family members') home leave expenses are deductible. Maintaining a travel log and retaining a copy of home leave orders will be helpful, should the IRS ever question claimed expenses. It is important to save receipts: without receipts for food, a taxpayer may deduct only \$31 to \$51 a day (depending upon the federal meals and incidentals per diem rate at the home leave address), no matter how large the grocery or restaurant bill. Lodging is deductible, as long as it is not with friends, relatives, or in one's own home. The IRS will disallow use of per diem rates and any

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expenses claimed for family members. If a hotel bill indicates double rates, the single room rate should be claimed, and, if possible, the hotel's rate sheet should be saved for IRS scrutiny. Car rental, mileage and other unreimbursed travel expenses, including parking fees and tolls, may be deducted. The rate for business miles driven is 37.5 cents for miles driven during 2004. Those who use this optional mileage method need not keep detailed records of actual vehicle expenses. However, they should keep a detailed odometer log to justify the business use of the vehicle and track the percentage of business use. This optional mileage method applies to leased vehicles as well.

Official Residence Expenses

Since Oct. 1, 1990, employees who receive official residence expenses (ORE) have not been allowed to reduce their reportable income by five percent. The IRS ruling regarding ORE states that "usual expenses," defined as 5 percent of salary, are not deductible. Therefore the only expenses that are deductible are those above the 5 percent paid out of pocket. Employees should save receipts for any out-of-pocket expenses associated with their representational duties. These expenses can be deducted as miscellaneous business expenses.

Home Ownership

Individuals may deduct interest on up to \$1 million of acquisition debt for loans secured by a first and/or second home. This also includes loans taken out for major home improvements. On home equity loans, interest is deductible on up to \$100,000, no matter how much the home cost, unless the loan is used for home improvements. The \$100,000 ceiling applies to the total of all home equity loans you may have. The same generally applies to refinancing a mortgage. Points paid to obtain a refinanced loan cannot be fully deducted the same year, but must be deducted over the life of the loan. It is advisable to save the settlement sheet (HUD-1 Form) for documentation in the event your tax return is selected by the IRS for audit.

Qualified residences are defined as the taxpayer's principal residence and one other

residence. The second home can be a house, condo, co-op, mobile home, or boat, as long as the structure includes basic living accommodations, including sleeping, bathroom and cooking facilities. If the second home is a vacation property that you rent out for fewer than 15 days during the year, the income need not be reported. Rental expenses cannot be claimed either, but all property taxes and mortgage interest may be deducted.

Rental of Home

Taxpayers who are overseas and rented their homes in 2004 can continue to deduct mortgage interest as a rental expense. Also deductible are property management fees, condo fees, depreciation costs, taxes and all other rental expenses. Losses up to \$25,000 may be offset against other income, as long as the AGI does not exceed \$100,000 and the taxpayer is actively managing the property. Retaining a property manager does not mean losing this benefit.

Sale of a Principal Residence

The current capital-gains exclusion on the sale of a principal residence on or after May 7, 1997, applies to all homeowners regardless of their age. Previously, qualified individuals who were age 55 or older were allowed a one-time capital-gains exclusion of \$125,000. Also, under previous law, if you had a gain when you sold your home, you could defer all or part of the gain if you purchased or built another home (of equal or higher value) within two years before or after the sale.

The current tax laws allow an exclusion of up to \$500,000 for couples filing jointly and up to \$250,000 for single taxpayers on the gain from the sale of their principal residence. One need not purchase another residence to claim this exclusion. All depreciation taken after May 7, 1997, will, however, be recaptured (added to income) at the time of sale, and taxed at 25 percent.

The only qualification for the capital-gains exclusion is that the house sold must have been the taxpayer's principal residence and owned by the taxpayer for at least two of the last five years prior to the date of the



sale. As stated above, the five-year period may be extended based on any period in which the taxpayer has been outside the U.S. on Foreign Service assignment, to a maximum of 15 years (including the five years). There are some exceptions to the two-year requirement, including a sale for the "change in place of employment" reason (this would include foreign transfers). This exclusion is not limited to a once-in-a-lifetime sale, but may be taken once every two years.

When a principal residence is sold, capital gains realized above the exclusion amounts are subject to taxation. This exclusion replaces the earlier tax-law provision that allowed both the deferral of gain and a one-time exclusion of a principal residence sale.

Temporary rental of the home does not disqualify one from claiming the exclusion. The new tax law requires only that you have occupied the house as your principal residence for the required period (two years out of five, extended).

Under Internal Revenue Code Section 1031, taxpayers whose U.S. home may no longer qualify for the principal residence exclusion may be eligible to replace the property through a "tax-free exchange" (the so-called Starker exchange). In essence, one property being rented out may be

exchanged for another, as long as that one is also rented. In exchanging the properties, capital gains tax may be deferred. Technically, a simultaneous trade of investments occurs. Actually, owners first sign a contract with an intermediary to sell their property, hold the cash proceeds in escrow, identify in writing within 45 days the property they intend to acquire, and settle on the new property within 180 days, using the money held in escrow as part of the payment.

It is important to emphasize that the exchange is from one investment property to another investment property — the key factor in the IRS evaluation of an exchange transaction is the intent of the investor at the time the exchange was consummated. The IRS rules for the exchanges are complex and specific, with a number of pitfalls that can nullify the transaction. An exchange should never be attempted without assistance from a tax lawyer specializing in this field.

Calculating Your Adjusted Basis

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

STATE TAX PROVISIONS

Every active Foreign Service employee serving abroad must maintain a state of domicile in the United States, and the tax

liability that the employee faces varies greatly from state to state. In addition, there are numerous regulations concerning the taxability of Foreign Service pensions and annuities that vary by state.

This state guide briefly reviews the laws regarding income tax and tax on annuities and pensions as they affect Foreign Service personnel. Please note that while AFSA makes every attempt to provide the most up-to-date information, readers with specific questions should consult a tax expert in the state in question at the addresses given. Information is also available on the states’ Web sites listed below.

Most Foreign Service employees have questions about their liability to pay state income taxes during periods posted overseas or assigned to Washington. It is a fundamental rule of law that all U.S. citizens must have a domicile somewhere. There are many criteria used in determining which state is a citizen’s domicile. One of the strongest determinants is prolonged physical presence, a standard that Foreign Service personnel frequently cannot meet, due to overseas service.

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

Foreign Service personnel must continue to pay taxes to the state of domicile (or to the District of Columbia) while residing outside of the state, including during assignments abroad, unless the state of residence does not require it.

A non-resident, according to most

states’ definitions, is an individual who earns income sourced within the specific state but does not live there or is living there for only part of the year (usually, less than six months). Individuals are generally considered residents, and are thus fully liable for taxes, if they are domiciled in the state or if they are living in the state (usually at least six months of the year) but are not domiciled there.

Foreign Service employees residing in the metropolitan Washington area are required to pay income tax to the District, Maryland or Virginia, in addition to paying tax to the state of their domicile. However, most states allow a credit, so that the taxpayer pays the higher tax rate of the two states, with each state receiving a share.

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

There are also eight states which, under certain conditions, do not tax income earned while the taxpayer is outside of the state: California, Connecticut, Missouri, New Jersey, New York, Oregon, Pennsylvania and West Virginia. The requirements for all except California are that the individual not have a permanent “place of abode” in the state, have a permanent “place of abode” outside the state, and not be physically present for more than 30 days during the tax year. California allows up to 45 days in the state during a tax year. Also, please note that these eight states require the filing of non-resident returns for all income earned from in-state sources.

Pennsylvania holds that “quarters provided by the government at no cost to petitioner cannot be considered as maintaining a permanent place of abode.” Thus members of the Foreign Service domiciled in Pennsylvania who occupy government housing overseas must pay income tax to Pennsylvania. If they rent their own home overseas, however, they will be exempt from these taxes. AFSA has not heard of a similar ruling in any

of the other seven states, but Foreign Service employees should be aware that states could challenge the status of government housing in the future. Minnesota also has rules excusing its domiciliaries from filing a resident tax return while living outside the state.

The following list gives a state-by-state overview of the latest information available on tax liability, with addresses provided to write for further information or tax forms. Tax rates are provided where possible. For further information, please contact AFSA's Labor Management Office or the individual state tax authorities. As always, members are advised to double-check with their states' tax authorities. To this end, we give the Web sites for all states; all provide useful information for their taxpayers.

James Yorke, who compiled the tax guide, would like to thank M. Bruce Hirshorn, Foreign Service tax counsel, for his help in preparing this article.

State Overviews

ALABAMA: Individuals domiciled in Alabama are considered residents and are subject to tax on their entire income regardless of their physical presence in the state. Alabama's tax rate is 5 percent of taxable income over \$3,000 for single filers or over \$6,000 for joint filers. Write: Alabama Department of Revenue, 50 N. Ripley, Montgomery, AL 36132. Phone: (334) 242-1170.

Web site: www.ador.state.al.us

ALASKA: Alaska does not tax individual income, or intangible or personal property. It has no sales and use, franchise or fiduciary tax. Write: State Office Building, 333 Willoughby Ave, 11th Floor, P.O. Box 110400, Juneau, AK 99811-0400. Phone: (907) 465-2300.

Web site: www.state.ak.us

ARIZONA: Individuals domiciled in Arizona are considered residents and are taxed on any income that is included in the federal AGI, regardless of their physical presence in the state. Arizona tax rate ranges from 2.87 to 5.04 percent depending on income and filing status. Write: Arizona Department

of Revenue, Taxpayer Information & Assistance, 1600 W. Monroe, Phoenix, AZ 85007-2650. Phone: (602) 255-3381. E-mail: TaxpayerAssistance@revenue.state.az.us

Web site: www.azdor.gov

ARKANSAS: Individuals domiciled in Arkansas are considered residents and are taxed on their entire income regardless of their physical presence in the state. The Arkansas tax rate ranges from 1 to 7 percent depending on income and filing status. For 2004, there is also a surtax of 3 percent of computed tax. Write: Department of Finance and Administration, 1509 W. 7th St., Little Rock, AR 72201. Phone: (501) 682-1100.

E-mail: Individual.Incom@rev.state.ar.us

Web site: www.state.ar.us/dfa/taxes

CALIFORNIA: Foreign Service employees domiciled in California must establish non-residency to avoid being liable for California taxes (see FTB Publication 1031). However, a "safe harbor" provision was introduced in 1994, which provides that anyone who is domiciled in-state but is out of the state on an employment-related contract for at least 546 consecutive days will be considered a non-resident. This applies to most FS employees and their spouses, but California residents are advised to study FTB Pub. 1031 for exceptions and exemptions. Non-residents use Form 540NR. Address: Franchise Tax Board, P.O. Box 942840, Sacramento, CA 94240-0040. For account information, phone: 1(800) 852-5711.

Web site: www.ftb.ca.gov

COLORADO: Individuals domiciled in Colorado are considered residents and are subject to tax on their entire income regardless of their physical presence in the state. Colorado's tax rate is a flat 4.63 percent of federal taxable income attributable to Colorado sources plus or minus allowable modifications. Write: Department of Revenue, Taxpayer Service Division, State Capitol Annex, 1375 Sherman St., Denver, CO 80261-0005. Phone: (303) 238-7378. E-mail: Revenue@spike.dor.state.co.us

Web site: www.revenue.state.co.us

CONNECTICUT: Connecticut domiciliaries may qualify for non-resident tax treatment under either of two exceptions as follows: Group A: A domiciliary who satis-

fies all three of the following will be treated as a non-resident: 1) The individual did not maintain a permanent place of abode inside Conn. for the entire tax year; 2) The individual maintains a permanent place of abode outside Conn. for the entire tax year; and 3) The individual spends not more than 30 days in the aggregate in Conn. during the tax year. Group B: A domiciliary who satisfies all three of the following will be treated as a non-resident: 1) In any period of 548 consecutive days, the individual is present in a foreign country for at least 450 days; 2) During the 548-day period, the individual is not present in Conn. for more than 90 days and does not maintain a permanent place of abode in Conn. at which the individual's spouse (unless the spouse is legally separated) or minor children are present for more than 90 days; and 3) During the non-resident portion of the taxable year, the individual is present in Conn. for a number of days that does not exceed an amount which bears the same ratio to 90 as the number of days contained in the nonresident portion of the taxable year bears to 548. For details of these exceptions, go to IP 2003(23) on the state tax Web site. Write: Department of Revenue Services, 25 Sigourney St., Hartford, CT 06106. Phone: (860) 297-5962. Fax: (860) 297-4929.

Web site: www.ct.gov/drs

DELAWARE: Individuals domiciled in Delaware are considered residents and are subject to tax on their entire income regardless of their physical presence in the state. Delaware's tax rate ranges from 2.2 to 5.95 percent depending on income and filing status. Write: Division of Revenue, Taxpayers Assistance Section, State Office Building, 820 N. French St., Wilmington, DE 19801. Phone (302) 577-8200.

E-mail: personaltax@state.de.us

Web site: www.state.de.us/revenue/

DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA: Individuals domiciled in the District of Columbia are considered residents and are subject to tax on their entire income regardless of their physical presence there. Individuals domiciled elsewhere are also considered residents for tax purposes for the portion of any calendar year in which they are physically pre-

sent in the District for 183 days or more. The District's tax rate is 5 percent if income is less than \$10,000; \$500 plus 7.5 percent of excess over \$10,000 if between \$10,000 and \$30,000; and \$2,000 plus 9 percent of excess over \$30,000 if over \$30,000. Write: Office of Tax and Revenue, 941 N. Capitol St., N.E., Washington, DC 20002. Phone (202) 727-4TAX.

Web site: www.cfo.dc.gov/cfo

FLORIDA: Florida does not impose personal income, inheritance or gift taxes. However, Florida taxes "intangible assets" (which include stocks, bonds, mutual funds, etc.) and real property. There are personal exemptions of \$250,000 for single filers and \$500,000 for joint filers. See Form DR-6011 for details. Florida imposes a sales tax and a use tax of between 6 and 7.5 percent, depending on county of residence. Write: Tax Information Services, Florida Department of Revenue, 1379 Blountstown Highway, Tallahassee, FL 32304-2716. Phone: 1(800) 352-3671 (in Florida only) or (850) 488-6800.

Web site: sun6.dms.state.fl.us/dor

GEORGIA: Individuals domiciled in Georgia are considered residents and are subject to tax on their entire income regardless of their physical presence in the state. Maximum tax rate is \$340 plus 6 percent of the excess over \$10,000 of Georgia taxable income for joint filers, or \$230 plus 6 percent of the excess over \$7,000 for single filers. Write: Georgia Department of Revenue, Taxpayer Services Division, 1800 Century Blvd., N.E., Atlanta, GA 30345. Phone: (404) 417-4477. E-mail: taxpayer.services@dor.ga.gov, or for forms: taxforms@gw.rev.state.ga.us

Web site: www.gatax.org

HAWAII: Individuals domiciled in Hawaii are considered residents and are subject to tax on their entire income regardless of their physical presence in the state. Hawaii's tax rate ranges from 1.4 to 8.25 percent depending on income and filing status. Write: Oahu District Office, Taxpayer Services Branch, P.O. Box 3559, Honolulu, HI 96811-3559. Phone: (808) 587-4242 or 1(800) 222-3229. E-mail: Taxpayer.Services@hawaii.gov

Web site: www.state.hi.us/tax

IDAHO: Individuals domiciled in Idaho for an entire tax year are considered residents and are subject to tax on their entire income. For the 2004 tax year, Idaho's tax rate is between 1.6 and 7.8 percent, depending on earned income. Idaho offers a safe-harbor provision: a resident individual who is outside Idaho for a qualifying period of time will not be considered a resident. If an individual qualifies for the safe harbor, he or she would report as a non-resident and be taxed only on income from Idaho sources. A non-resident must file an Idaho income tax return if his or her gross income from Idaho sources is \$2,500 or more. To request forms write: Idaho State Tax Commission, P.O. Box 36, Boise, ID 83722-0410. Phone: 1(800) 972-7660.

Web site: tax.idaho.gov

ILLINOIS: Individuals domiciled in Illinois are considered residents and are subject to tax on their entire income regardless of their physical presence in the state. The Illinois tax rate is a 3-percent flat rate, with a personal exemption for all taxpayers of \$2,000. For information, write: Illinois Department of Revenue, PO Box 19001, Springfield, IL 62794-9001. Phone: (217) 782-3336 or 1(800) 732-8866.

Web site: www.revenue.state.il.us

INDIANA: Individuals domiciled in Indiana are considered residents and are subject to tax on their entire income regardless of their physical presence in the state. However, a credit is granted for any taxes paid to another state where the income was earned. Those who claim federal Foreign Tax Credit will need to submit Federal Form 1116 to claim it in Indiana. Indiana's tax rate remains 3.4 percent. Write: Department of Revenue, 100 N. Senate Ave., Indianapolis, IN 46204. Phone: (317) 232-2240.

Web site: www.in.gov/dor

IOWA: Individuals domiciled in Iowa are considered residents and are subject to tax on their entire income to the extent that income is taxable on the person's federal income tax returns. Iowa's tax rate ranges from 0.36 to 8.98 percent depending on income and filing status. Write: Iowa Department of Revenue, Taxpayer Services, PO Box 10457, Des Moines, IA 50306-0457. Phone: (515) 281-3114

Web site: www.state.ia.us/tax

KANSAS: Individuals domiciled in Kansas are considered residents and are subject to tax on their entire income regardless of their physical presence in the state. The Kansas tax rate rises from a minimum of 3.5 percent to a maximum of \$2,925 plus 6.45 percent of excess over \$60,000 for joint filers, or \$1,462.50 plus 6.45 percent of excess over \$30,000 for single filers. Write: Kansas Taxpayer Assistance Center, Room 150, 915 SW Harrison, Topeka, KS 66612. Phone: (785) 368-8222. E-mail: tac@kdor.state.ks.us

Web site: <http://www.ksrevenue.org>

KENTUCKY: Individuals domiciled in Kentucky are considered residents and are subject to tax on their entire income regardless of their physical presence in the state. Kentucky's tax rate is 2 percent on the first \$3,000 of taxable income, plus 3 percent on the next \$1,000, plus 4 percent on the next \$1,000, plus 5 percent on the next \$1,000, and \$3,000 plus 6 percent on all income over \$8,000. Write: Kentucky Department of Revenue, 200 Fair Oaks Lane, Frankfort, KY 40620. Phone: (502) 564-4581.

Web site: revenue.ky.gov

LOUISIANA: Individuals domiciled in Louisiana are considered residents and are subject to tax on their entire income regardless of their physical presence in the state. Resident individuals are entitled to a tax credit for income tax paid to another state on the amount of income earned in the other state and included in that state's taxable income. Louisiana's tax rate ranges from 2 percent for the first \$12,500 for single filers or \$25,000 for joint filers rising to 6 percent for over \$25,000 for single filers or \$50,000 for joint filers. Address: Taxpayer Services Division, Personal Income Tax Section, Louisiana Department of Revenue, P.O. Box 201, Baton Rouge, LA 70821-0201. Phone: (225) 219-0102.

Web site: www.revenue.louisiana.gov

MAINE: Individuals domiciled in Maine are considered residents and are subject to tax on their entire income regardless of their physical presence in the state. Credit is allowed for taxes paid in another jurisdiction. Maine's tax rate ranges from 2 to 8.5 percent depending on income and filing status.

Write: Maine Revenue Services, Income Tax Assistance, 24 State House Station, Augusta, ME 04333-0024. Phone: (207) 626-8475. E-mail: income.tax@maine.gov

Web site: www.maine.gov/revenue

MARYLAND: Individuals domiciled in Maryland are considered residents and are subject to tax on their entire income regardless of their physical presence in the state. Individuals domiciled elsewhere are also considered residents for tax purposes for the portion of any calendar year in which they are physically present in the state for 183 consecutive days or more. Maryland's tax rate is 4.75 percent depending on income and county of residence. Baltimore City and the 23 Maryland counties also impose a local income tax, which is a percentage of the Maryland taxable income, using line 31 of Form 502 or line 9 of Form 503. The local factor varies from 1.25 percent in Worcester County to 3.2 percent in Montgomery and Prince George's Counties, depending on the subdivision of domicile. Write: Comptroller of Maryland, Revenue Administration Center, Taxpayer Service Section, Annapolis MD

21411. Phone: (410) 260-7980 or 1(800) MD-TAXES. E-mail: taxhelp@comp.state.md.us

Web site: www.marylandtaxes.com

MASSACHUSETTS: Individuals domiciled in Massachusetts are considered residents and are subject to tax on their entire income regardless of their physical presence in the state. Salaries and most interest and dividend income are taxed at 5.3 percent for Calendar Year 2004. Write: Massachusetts Department of Revenue, Taxpayer Services Division, P.O. Box 7010, Boston, MA 02204. Phone: (617) 887-MDOR or 1(800) 392-6089.

Web site: www.dor.state.ma.us

MICHIGAN: Individuals domiciled in Michigan are considered residents and are subject to tax on their entire income regardless of their physical presence in the state. Michigan's tax rate for 2004 is 3.95 percent. Address: Michigan Department of Treasury, Lansing, MI 48922. Phone: 1(900) 827-4000. E-mail: treasindtax@michigan.gov

Web site: www.michigan.gov/treasury

MINNESOTA: Individuals domiciled in

Minnesota are considered residents and are subject to tax on their entire income regardless of their physical presence in the state. Minnesota exempts domiciliaries who meet the foreign earned income exclusion, even though they may be federal employees. Minnesota's tax rate ranges from 5.35 to 7.85 percent depending on income and filing status. Joint filers with taxable income of at least \$29,000, where each spouse has earned pension or social security income of at least \$17,000, may be eligible for a marriage credit. Write: Department of Revenue, Mail Station 5510, Saint Paul, MN 55146-5510. Phone: (651) 296-3781.

E-mail: indinctax@state.mn.us

Web site: www.taxes.state.mn.us

MISSISSIPPI: Individuals domiciled in Mississippi are considered residents and are subject to tax on their entire income regardless of their physical presence in the state. Mississippi's tax rate is 3 percent on the first \$5,000 of taxable income, 4 percent on the next \$5,000, and 5 percent on taxable income over \$10,000. Contact MSTC, PO Box 1033, Jackson, MS 39215-1033.



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Phone: (601) 923-7089.

Web site: www.mstc.state.ms.us

MISSOURI: No tax liability for out-of-state income if the individual has no permanent residence in Missouri, has a permanent residence elsewhere, and is not physically present in the state for more than 30 days during the tax year. Missouri calculates tax on a graduated scale up to \$9,000 of taxable income (TI). Any TI over \$9,000 is taxed at a rate of 6 percent. File a return yearly with an attached "Statement of Non-Residency" (Form 1040C). Also use this form if you have income of more than \$600 from Missouri sources. For information write: Individual Income Tax, P.O. Box 2200, Jefferson City, MO 65105-2200, or phone: (573) 751-3505. E-mail: incom@dor.mo.gov

Web site: www.dor.state.mo.us

MONTANA: Individuals domiciled in Montana are considered residents and are subject to tax on their entire income regardless of their physical presence in the state. Montana's tax rate ranges from 2 to 11 percent depending on income and filing status. See the Web site for various deductions and exemptions, or write: Montana Department of Revenue, P.O. Box 5805, Helena, MT 59604. Phone: (406) 444-6900.

Web site: www.discoveringmontana.com/revenue

NEBRASKA: Individuals domiciled in Nebraska are considered residents and are subject to tax on their entire income regardless of their physical presence in the state, with credit allowed for tax paid to other states. The 2004 individual income tax rates range from 2.56 to a maximum of \$1,888.20 plus 6.84 percent of the excess over \$46,750 for joint filers. Write: Department of Revenue, 301 Centennial Mall South, P.O. Box 94818, Lincoln, NE 68509-4818. Phone (402) 471-5729.

Web site: www.revenue.state.ne.us

NEVADA: No personal income tax. There is a sales and use tax of between 6.5 and 7.5 percent, depending on the county, and an ad valorem personal and real property tax. Write: Nevada Department of Taxation, 1550 E. College Pkwy, Suite 100, Carson City NV 89706. Phone: (775) 684-2000.

Web site: www.tax.state.nv.us

NEW HAMPSHIRE: No personal income tax on earned income, and no general sales tax. There is a 5-percent tax on interest and dividend income, 8.5 percent on business profits including sale of rental property, and an 18-percent inheritance tax. Write: Taxpayer Assistance Office, 45 Chenell Drive, P.O. Box 2072, Concord, NH 03302-2072. Phone: (603) 271-2191.

Web site: www.nh.gov/revenue

NEW JERSEY: A New Jersey domiciliary is considered a non-resident and has no tax liability for out-of-state income if the individual has no permanent residence in New Jersey, has a permanent residence elsewhere, and is not physically in the state for more than 30 days during the tax year. Filing a return is not required (unless the non-resident has New Jersey source income), but is recommended in order to preserve domicile status. Form 1040 NR is required for revenue derived from in-state sources. Tax liability is calculated as a variable lump sum plus a percentage from 1.4 percent of taxable income up to a high of 8.970 percent on taxable gross income over \$500,000. Write: State of New Jersey, New Jersey Division of Taxation, Office of Information and Publications, PO Box 281, Trenton, NJ 08695-0281, or phone: (609) 292-6400.

Web site: www.state.nj.us/treasury/taxation

NEW MEXICO: Individuals domiciled in New Mexico are considered residents and are subject to tax on their entire income, insofar as that income is taxable federally, regardless of their physical presence in the state. Persons physically present in New Mexico for at least 185 days are residents for income tax purposes. The 185 days need not be consecutive. The basis for New Mexico's calculations is the Federal Adjusted Gross Income (FAGI). For the 2004 tax year, New Mexico has a graduated rate table with six brackets ranging from 1.7 to 6.8 percent, based upon New Mexico taxable income and filing status. The top bracket drops in annual increments until it reaches 4.9 percent for tax year 2007. Write: New Mexico Taxation and Revenue Department, Tax Information and Policy Office, 1100 St. Francis Drive,

P.O. Box 630, Santa Fe, NM 87504-0630. Phone: (505) 827-0700.

Web site: www.state.nm.us/tax

NEW YORK: No tax liability for out-of-state income if the individual has no permanent residence in New York, has a permanent residence elsewhere, and is not present in the state more than 30 days during the tax year. Filing a return is not required, but it is recommended to preserve domicile status. The highest tax rate in New York State is 7.7 percent and in New York City it is 4.45 percent. Filing is required on Form IT-203 for revenue derived from New York sources. Write: NYS Tax Department, Personal Income Tax Information, W.A. Harriman Campus, Albany, NY 12227. Phone: 1(800) 225-5829.

Web site: www.nystax.gov

NORTH CAROLINA: Individuals domiciled in North Carolina are considered residents and are subject to tax on their entire income regardless of their physical presence in the state. The tax rate ranges from 6 percent for taxable income up to \$12,750 for single or \$21,250 for joint filers, rising in three steps to \$8,722 plus 8.25 percent of the amount over \$120,000 for single, or \$14,537.50 plus 8.25 percent of the amount over \$200,000 for joint filers. Residents must also report and pay a "use tax" on purchases made outside the state for use in North Carolina. Write: Department of Revenue, P.O. Box 25000, Raleigh, NC 27640. Phone: 1-877-252-3052

Web site: www.dor.state.nc.us

NORTH DAKOTA: Individuals domiciled in North Dakota and serving outside the state are considered residents and are subject to tax on their entire income. Tax rates vary according to income and whether the standard method (Form ND-1) or the optional method (Form ND-2) is used. Write: Office of State Tax Commissioner, State Capitol, 600 E. Boulevard Avenue, Bismarck, ND 58505-0599. Phone: (701) 328-2770.

Web site: www.ndtaxdepartment.gov

OHIO: Individuals domiciled in Ohio are considered residents and their income is subject to tax, using their Federal Adjusted Gross Income figure as a starting base. Ohio residents are given a tax credit to reduce the Ohio tax due if another state or the District

of Columbia taxed part or all of their income. Ohio part-year residents are allowed a tax credit for income not earned or received in Ohio for the period of time they resided in another state. Ohio's tax rate ranges from 0.743 percent rising in nine stages to a maximum payment of \$11,560.20 plus 7.5 percent of the excess over taxable income of \$200,000. Write: Ohio Department of Taxation, Taxpayer Services Center, 800 Freeway Drive North, Columbus, OH 43229. Phone: 1(800) 282-1780.

Web site: www.tax.ohio.gov

OKLAHOMA: Individuals domiciled in Oklahoma are considered residents and are subject to tax on their entire income regardless of their physical presence in the state. Oklahoma's tax rate is based upon income and various exemptions with a maximum of \$1249.50 plus 10% of taxable income over \$24,000 after federal tax deduction. Write: Oklahoma Tax Commission, Taxpayer Services Division, 2501 Lincoln Blvd., Oklahoma City, OK 73194-0009. Phone: (405) 521-3160.

Web site: www.oktax.state.ok.us

OREGON: Individuals domiciled in Oregon are considered residents and are subject to tax on their entire income regardless of their physical presence in the state. However, under a 1999 law, Oregon exempts domiciliaries who meet the foreign residence requirement for the foreign earned income exclusion, even though they may be federal employees. Oregon's tax rates range from 5 to 9 percent of taxable income. Write: Oregon Department of Revenue, 955 Center Street N.E., Salem, OR 97301-2555. Phone: (503) 378-4988.

Web site: egov.oregon.gov/DOR

PENNSYLVANIA: No tax liability for out-of-state income if the individual has no permanent residence in the state, has a permanent residence elsewhere, and spends no more than 30 days in the state during the tax year. Filing a return is not required, but it is recommended to preserve domicile status. File Form PA40 for all income derived from Pennsylvania sources. Pennsylvania does not consider government quarters overseas to be a "permanent place of abode elsewhere," so Foreign Service Pennsylvania residents in gov-

ernment quarters abroad must continue to pay Pennsylvania income tax. Pennsylvania's tax rate is a flat 3.07 percent. Write: Commonwealth of Pennsylvania, Department of Revenue, Taxpayer Services Department, Harrisburg, PA 17128-1061. Phone: (717) 787-8201. E-mail: pavev@state.pa.us

Web site: www.revenue.state.pa.us

PUERTO RICO: Individuals who are domiciled in Puerto Rico are considered residents and are subject to tax on their entire income regardless of their physical presence in the commonwealth. Normally, they may claim a credit with certain limitations, for income taxes paid to the United States on income from sources outside Puerto Rico, and for any federal taxes paid. Write: Departamento de Hacienda, P.O. Box 9024140, San Juan, PR 00902-4140. Phone: General Inquiries: (787) 721-2020, ext. 3611, or 1(800) 981-9236. E-mail: InfoServ@hacienda.gobierno.pr

Web site: www.hacienda.gobierno.pr

RHODE ISLAND: Individuals domiciled in Rhode Island are considered residents and are subject to tax on their entire income

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regardless of their physical presence in the state. Although Rhode Island tax is now being calculated based on the federal adjusted gross income, it will still be very generally about 25 percent of the federal tax liability. Please refer first to the tax division's Web site not only for current information and handy filing hints but also for forms and regulations to download. Additional assistance can be obtained over the phone between 8:30 a.m. and 4 p.m. EST. Phone (401) 222-1040, and select option #3 from the menu of choices. Write: Rhode Island Division of Taxation, Taxpayer Assistance Section, One Capitol Hill, Providence, RI 02908-5801.

Web site: www.tax.state.ri.us

SOUTH CAROLINA: Individuals domiciled in South Carolina are considered residents and are subject to tax on their entire income regardless of their physical presence in the state. South Carolina imposes a graduated tax ranging from 2.5 percent on the first \$2,500, rising in six steps to a maximum of 7 percent for income over \$12,500. Write: South Carolina Tax Commission, 301 Gervais Street, P.O. Box 125, Columbia, SC 29214. Phone: (803) 898-5000. E-mail: iitax@sctax.org

Web site: www.sctax.org

SOUTH DAKOTA: No state income tax. Property and sales taxes vary depending on city and/or county. Write: South Dakota Dept of Revenue, 445 E. Capitol Ave., Pierre, SD 57501-3185. Phone: (605) 773-3311

Web site: www.state.sd.us/drr2/revenue

TENNESSEE: Salaries and wages are not subject to Tennessee income tax, but Tennessee imposes a 6-percent tax on dividends and certain types of interest income received by Tennessee residents. For information write: Tennessee Department of Revenue, (attention: Taxpayer Services), 500 Deaderick Street, Nashville, TN 37242. Phone: (615) 253-0600. E-mail: TNRRevenue@state.tn.us

Web site: www.state.tn.us/revenue

TEXAS: No state income tax. Sales Tax ranges from 6.5 to 8.25 percent depending on jurisdiction. Write: Texas Comptroller of Public Accounts, P.O. Box 13528, Capitol Station, Austin, TX 78711-3528. For general information phone: 1 (800) 252-5555. E-mail: tax.help@cpa.state.tx.us

Web site: www.window.state.tx.us

UTAH: Individuals domiciled in Utah are considered residents and are subject to Utah state tax. Utah requires that all federal adjusted gross income reported on the federal return be reported on the state return regardless of the taxpayer's physical presence in the state. Utah's tax rises from a minimum of 2.3 percent in five steps to a maximum of \$362 plus 7 percent of taxable income over \$8,626 for joint filers. Write: Utah State Tax Commission, Taxpayer Services Division, 210 North 1950 West, Salt Lake City, UT 84134. Phone: (801) 297-2200 or 1(800) 662-4335. E-mail: taxmaster@utah.gov

Web site: www.tax.utah.gov

VERMONT: Individuals domiciled in Vermont are considered residents and are subject to tax on their entire income regardless of their physical presence in the state. Tax rates should be obtained from the tax tables in the Vermont income tax booklet or from the Vermont Web site. Write: Vermont Department of Taxes, Taxpayer Services Division, Pavilion Office Building, Montpelier, VT 05609-1401. Phone: (802) 828-2865. E-mail: vttaxdept@tax.state.vt.us

Web site: www.state.vt.us/tax

VIRGINIA: Individuals domiciled in Virginia are considered residents and are subject to tax on their entire income regardless of their physical presence in the state. Individuals domiciled elsewhere are also considered residents for tax purposes for the portion of any calendar year in which they are physically present in the state for 183 days or more. Individual tax rates are: 2 percent if taxable income (TI) is less than \$3,000; \$60 plus 3 percent of excess over \$3,000 if TI is between \$3,000 and \$5,000; \$120 plus 5 percent of excess over \$5,000 if TI is between \$5,000 and \$17,000; and \$720 plus 5.75 percent of TI over \$17,000. Write: Department of Taxation, Office of Customer Services, P.O. Box 1115, Richmond, VA 23218-1115. Phone (804) 367-8031. E-mail: TaxInd>Returns@tax.virginia.gov

Web site: www.tax.virginia.gov

WASHINGTON: No state income tax. No tax on intangibles such as bank accounts, stocks and bonds. Sales tax ranges from 7.5 to 8.8 percent depending on jurisdiction. Address: Washington State Department of Revenue, Taxpayer Services, P.O. Box

47478, Olympia WA 98504-7478. Phone: (360) 786-6100 or 1(800) 647-7706.

Web site: www.dor.wa.gov

WEST VIRGINIA: No tax liability for out-of-state income if the individual has no permanent residence in West Virginia, has a permanent residence elsewhere, and spends no more than 30 days of the tax year in West Virginia. Filing a return is not required, but is recommended to preserve domicile status. Filing is required on form IT-140-NR for all income derived from West Virginia sources. Tax rates range from \$150 plus 4 percent of income over \$5,000 for single filers, rising in four steps to \$2,775 plus 6.5 percent of income over \$60,000 for joint filers. Write: Department of Tax and Revenue, Taxpayer Services Division, P.O. Box 3784, Charleston, WV 25337-3784. Phone: (304) 558-3333 or 1(800) 982-8297. E-mail: wvtaid@tax.state.wv.us

Web site: www.state.wv.us/taxdiv

WISCONSIN: Individuals domiciled in Wisconsin are considered residents and are subject to tax on their entire income regardless of where the income is earned. Wisconsin's current tax rate ranges from 4.6 percent on income up to \$8,610 for single filers, rising in four steps to a maximum of \$10,934.70 plus 6.75 percent of income over \$172,200 for joint filers.. Write: Wisconsin Department of Revenue, Individual Income Tax Assistance, P.O. Box 8906, Madison, WI 53708-8906. Phone: (608) 266-2772.

Web site: www.dor.state.wi.us

WYOMING: No state income tax. No tax on intangibles such as bank accounts, stocks or bonds. Write: Wyoming Department of Revenue, Herschler Building, 122 West 25th St., Cheyenne, WY 82002-0110. Phone: (307) 777-7961. E-mail: dor@state.wy.us

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State Pension & Annuity Tax

The laws regarding the taxation of Foreign Service annuities vary greatly from state to state. In addition to those states that have no income tax or no tax on personal income, there are several states that do not tax income derived from pensions and annuities. Idaho taxes Foreign

Service annuities while exempting certain portions of those of the Civil Service.

ALABAMA: Social security and federal pensions are not taxable.

ALASKA: No personal income tax.

ARIZONA: Up to \$2,500 of U.S. government pension income may be excluded for each taxpayer. There is also a \$2,100 exemption for each taxpayer age 65 or over.

ARKANSAS: Up to \$6,000 exempt.

CALIFORNIA: Fully taxable.

COLORADO: Up to \$24,000 exempt if age 65 or over. Up to \$20,000 exempt if age 55 to 64.

CONNECTICUT: Fully taxable for residents.

DELAWARE: Two exclusions: 1) Up to \$2,000 exempt if earned income is less than \$2,500 and Adjusted Gross Income is less than \$10,000; if married and filing jointly, up to \$4,000 exempt if earned income is less than \$5,000 and AGI is under \$20,000. This is applicable for those 60 years or older or totally disabled. 2) If under age 60, the amount of the exclusion is \$2,000 or the amount of the pension (whichever is less) and for age 60 or older, the amount of the exclusion is \$12,500 or the amount of the pension and eligible retirement income (ERI), whichever is less. The combined total of pension and ERI may not exceed \$12,500 per person age 60 or older.

DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA: Pension or annuity exclusion of \$3,000 if 62 years or older.

FLORIDA: No personal income, inheritance, or gift tax, but Florida has an "intangibles tax."

GEORGIA: Up to \$15,000 exempt for those 62 years or older, or permanently and totally disabled for the 2003 and subsequent tax years

HAWAII: Pension and annuity distributions from a government pension plan are not taxed in Hawaii.

IDAHO: Foreign Service retirees whose annuities are paid from the FSPS are fully taxed on their pensions. Those persons retired under the Civil Service Retirement Act are exempt up to \$21,900 for a single return and up to \$32,850 if filing jointly. Up to \$21,900 is exempt for the unmarried survivor of annuitant. Must be 65 years or older, or

62 years or older and disabled. Amount reduced dollar for dollar by Social Security benefits.

ILLINOIS: Full exemption; U.S. government pensions are not taxed.

INDIANA: Up to \$2,000 exemption for most 62 or older, reduced dollar for dollar by Social Security benefits.

IOWA: Fully taxable. However, there is a pension/retirement income exclusion of up to \$6,000 for individuals whose filing status is single, head of household or qualifying widower, and up to \$12,000 for married taxpayers whose filing status is joint or married filing separately. To take this exclusion, the taxpayer (or spouse) must be 55 years of age or older on Dec. 31, 2004, or disabled, or be either a surviving spouse or a survivor having an insurable interest in an individual who would have qualified for the exclusion in 2004 on the basis of age or disability. The same income tax rates apply to annuities as other incomes.

KANSAS: Full exemption; U.S. government pensions are not taxed.

KENTUCKY: Government pensions attributable to service before Jan. 1, 1998, are not taxed. The portion of annuity income attributable to service after Dec. 31, 1997, is subject to tax at the appropriate rate, but is eligible for the pension exclusion of up to \$40,200 in 2004.

LOUISIANA: Exemption of \$6,000 of annual retirement income received by any person aged 65 or over.

MAINE: Recipients of a government-sponsored pension or annuity may deduct up to \$6,000 on income that is included in their federal AGI, reduced by all Social Security and railroad benefits.

MARYLAND: For individuals 65 years or older or permanently disabled, or if their spouse is permanently disabled, all pensions may be excluded up to a maximum of \$19,900 under certain conditions. Eligibility determination is required. Social Security is not taxed. See the worksheet and instructions to Maryland Form 502.

MASSACHUSETTS: Full exemption; U.S. government contributory pensions are not taxed.

MICHIGAN: Federal government pensions may be deducted from Michigan tax-

able income to the extent included in federal AGI. Retirement benefits from private sources included in the AGI may be deducted to a maximum of \$38,550 for a single filer or \$77,100 for joint filers for the 2004 tax year. This maximum is reduced by the deduction taken for the government pension. Those 65 or over may be able to deduct part of their interest, dividends or capital gains included in AGI up to \$8,565 for single filers and \$17,190 for joint filers.

MINNESOTA: Certain people over 65 with incomes under \$42,000 may be eligible for a "subtraction." The maximum subtraction is \$12,000 for married filing jointly and \$6,000 for singles, which is reduced dollar for dollar by untaxed Social Security benefits, and by one dollar for each two dollars of income over \$18,000 for married filing jointly and \$14,500 for singles. The marriage credit also applies to annuity and pension recipients.

MISSISSIPPI: Social security and qualified retirement income from federal, state and private retirement systems are exempt from Mississippi tax.

MISSOURI: Up to \$6,000 exempt if the pension income is less than \$32,000 when married filing jointly, \$16,000 if married filing separately, or \$25,000 for a single or head-of-household filer.

MONTANA: \$3,600 pension income exclusion if federal adjusted gross income is less than \$30,000. Pension income exclusion reduced for income levels above \$30,000 with no exclusion if federal adjusted gross income is greater than \$31,800 for single taxpayer and \$33,600 if married filing a joint return and both spouses have pension income.

NEBRASKA: Fully taxable.

NEVADA: No personal income tax.

NEW HAMPSHIRE: No personal income tax; federal pensions are not taxed.

NEW JERSEY: Pensions and annuities from civilian government service are subject to state income tax with exemptions for those who are age 62 or older, or totally and permanently disabled. Singles and heads of households can exclude up to \$15,000; married filing jointly up to \$20,000; married filing separately up to \$10,000 each.

NEW MEXICO: All pensions and annuities of New Mexico residents, if taxable fed-

LES is More: Support Our FSNs

The December terrorist attack on U.S. Consulate General Jeddah in Saudi Arabia once again highlighted the role locally engaged staff play in our mission and the price they pay for doing so. This attack cost four Foreign Service Nationals their lives. Seven others were wounded. The news brought back memories of the August 1998 attack on our embassies in Dar es Salaam and Nairobi, and the 1983 and 1984 bombings of Embassy Beirut and its annex. These attacks killed 68 FSNs, plus others who worked for the U.S. government as members of the local guard force and as contractors.



How are the families of these FSNs compensated? There is an interesting story here, probably unknown to most readers. FSN victims of terrorism can be compensated as though they were direct-hire Americans. Their cases are adjudicated by the Office of Workmen's Compensation at the Department of Labor. This is the same office which handles U.S. federal workers' claims. There is a lot of paperwork required to substantiate a claim — birth certificates, marriage certificates, death certificates, etc. The State Department Office of Casualty Assistance shepherded the cases of FSNs killed in the Dar es Salaam and Nairobi blasts through the system. The Department of Labor's decision on whether or not to accept these cases was slowed because of the issue of multiple spouses. (As you can imagine, the law governing compensation to federal employees killed on duty did not anticipate claims from multiple spouses.)

Once a claim is adjudicated, the Department of Labor decides whether or not to accept it. If the decision is between the U.S. compensation level or that of the other country, the department is likely to rule in favor of the local compensation scheme if it is less costly to the U.S. government, except if the FBI certifies that the deaths occurred as the result of an act of terrorism. If so, then the employees' families will be compensated in the same way as the family of a U.S. citizen federal employee. The argument is that the U.S. was the target and clearly, the locally engaged staff died because they worked for us. We are the target; they are the collateral damage. Since 1983, terrorist attacks have killed and wounded more FSNs, not including contractors, than American Foreign Service employees as the result of working for the target, the United States.

I urge you to donate to the department's FSN Compensation Fund. The department recently issued a plea for funds to assist the families of those affected by the attack on Consulate General Jeddah. The fund needs replenishment. The funds are not reserved solely for those killed or injured by terrorist bombings. When Hurricane Mitch slammed into Central America in October 1998 and El Salvador was struck by an earthquake in 2001, the fund helped out those employees whose homes had been demolished.

The department's gift coordinator is Donna Bordley, reachable by e-mail: bordleyds@state.gov. Her office fax is (202) 647-8194. She can forward the department's recent notice about replenishing the fund to you via e-mail or fax. Department employees can, of course, view it on the department's Intranet web site. Your contributions are fully tax deductible. You can make them via payroll deduction, check or credit card.

Your contribution is one measure of our appreciation for these employees' loyalty and dedication and for the risks they take in working for us. □

erally, are fully taxed as part of Federal Adjusted Gross Income.

NEW YORK: Full exemption; U.S. government pensions and annuities are not taxed.

NORTH CAROLINA: Pursuant to the "Bailey" decision, government retirement benefits received by federal retirees who had 5 years of creditable service in a federal retirement system as of Aug. 12, 1989, are exempt from North Carolina income tax. Those who do not have five years of creditable service on Aug. 12, 1989, must pay North Carolina tax on their federal annuities. Up to \$4,000 of any federal annuity income is exempt.

NORTH DAKOTA: All pensions and annuities are fully taxed, except first \$5,000, which is exempt less any Social Security payments, but only if the individual chooses to use Form ND-2 (optional method). Individuals are cautioned to check both Form ND-1 and Form ND-2 to ascertain which one yields the lowest tax for the year. Qualifying for the exclusion does not mean that Form ND-2 is the better form to choose.

OHIO: Taxpayers 65 and over may take a \$50 credit per return. In addition, Ohio gives a tax credit based on the amount of the retirement income included in Ohio Adjusted Gross Income, reaching a maximum of \$200 for any retirement income over \$8,000.

OKLAHOMA: Up to \$5,500 exempt on all federal pensions.

OREGON: Generally, all retirement income is subject to Oregon tax when received by an Oregon resident. This includes non-Oregon source retirement income. However, federal retirees who retired on or before Oct. 1, 1991, may exempt all of their federal pension; those who worked both before and after that date must prorate their exemption using the instructions in the tax booklet. Oregon-source retirement income received by non-residents who are not domiciled in Oregon is not subject to taxation by Oregon.

PENNSYLVANIA: Government pensions and social security are not subject to personal income tax.

PUERTO RICO: The first \$8,000 of income received from a federal pension can

be excluded for individuals under 60. Over 60 the exclusion is \$12,000. If the individual receives more than one federal pension, the exclusion applies to each pension or annuity separately.

RHODE ISLAND: Fully taxable; no exemptions available.

SOUTH CAROLINA: Individuals under age 65 can claim a \$3,000 deduction of qualified retirement income; those 65 years of age or over can claim a \$10,000 deduction of qualified retirement income. A resident of South Carolina who is 65 years or older may claim a \$15,000 deduction against any type of income, but must reduce the \$15,000 by any retirement deduction claimed.

SOUTH DAKOTA: No personal income tax.

TENNESSEE: Social security and pension income is not subject to personal income tax.

TEXAS: No personal income tax.

UTAH: Individuals under age 65 may take a \$4,800 exemption. However, the deduction is reduced \$.50 for every \$1.00 that federal adjusted gross income exceeds \$32,000 (married filing jointly) or \$25,000 (single). Over 65 years of age a \$7,500 exemption may be taken for each individual. However, the exemption is reduced \$.50 for every \$1.00 that the Federal Adjusted Gross Income exceeds \$32,000 (married filing jointly) or \$25,000 (single).

VERMONT: Fully taxable.

VIRGINIA: Individuals over age 65 on Jan. 1, 2004, can take a \$12,000 deduction; those age 62 or 63 on Jan. 1, \$6,000. Those reaching 62 after Jan. 1 will not be able to claim any deduction until they reach 65. For those reaching 65 after Jan. 1, 2004, the \$12,000 deduction will be reduced by one dollar for each dollar their AGI exceeds \$50,000 for single and \$75,000 for married taxpayers. All taxpayers over 65 receive an additional personal exemption of \$800.

WASHINGTON: No personal income tax.

WEST VIRGINIA: Up to \$8,000 of income received from any source is exempt if 65 years or older.

WISCONSIN: Pensions and annuities are fully taxable. However, benefits received from a federal retirement system account established before Dec. 31, 1963, are not taxable.

WYOMING: No personal income tax. □

Directed Assignments: A Possible Case Study



For several weeks at the end of 2004, many USAID FSOs were seized with a heightened sense of anxiety as the specter of a directed assignment to Iraq or another hot spot loomed over their heads. The last time anyone remembered “directed assignments” being mentioned at USAID was in the Vietnam era, and few current FSOs were on board back then.

AFSA dealt with many members’ angst over this issue. A variety of family and professional concerns surfaced. Some officers even said they were ready to resign/retire if faced with a directed assignment. Others said they joined USAID to carry out development work, and they questioned how development work was possible in a war zone. They argued that movement was severely restricted (especially in Iraq), as was interaction with counterparts, and that adequate security had to be an absolute prerequisite to development activity. Many pointed out that rather than sending people to war zones, USAID traditionally evacuates them from such places, such as Haiti.

When employees are given a voice, the chances of organizational success are greatly enhanced.

It is constructive to pause and examine how this matter was handled. It may be less constructive to dabble for a moment in the role of organizational shrink, but we are going to do it anyway. AFSA noticed something deeper in the reaction of people — it was not a question of bravery or cowardice, but that officers

felt alienated from the organization, without voice, and disempowered. Their trust in the organization was low, because there was no confidence that the directed assignment selection process would be fair and transparent.

To its great credit, USAID management listened to employees and AFSA about the negative side effects of directed assignments. As a result, management modified its strategy. It launched a campaign to rearticulate and clearly communicate its organizational objectives. It underscored the bureaucratic stakes for the organization. At the same time, it reinvigorated the campaign to get volunteers, through e-mail notices, a worldwide Internet broadcast and an “All Hands” meeting.

We have all heard of Stephen Covey’s famous book: *The 7 Habits of Highly Effective People*. Well, you knew it had to happen: he has a new book, and it’s about the eighth habit. The concept is that when the voice of the employee is heard and when it is aligned with that of the organization, you get higher trust, more commitment and greater motivation. That seems to be what happened at USAID. Employees do not want to be flotsam on the sea. They want to have a voice, and they want to take their destinies in their own hands.

When employees are given a voice, the chances of organizational success are greatly enhanced. We saw that happen in this case, as sufficient volunteers stepped forward, making directed assignments unnecessary (at least for the time being). We cannot say whether volunteers will continue to step forward and directed assignments can be completely avoided in the future, but at least there are lessons learned from this initial experience that should not be forgotten. Employees’ voices were heard. AFSA’s voice was heard. □

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