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FOCUS ON Africa

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President's Views

The 10-Percent Solution

By John K. Naland

Since its founding in 1924, AFSA has taken on a myriad of ever-changing issues in response to the evolving global and domestic environments facing the Foreign Service. However, at least one AFSA position has never changed: overseas diplomatic missions should almost always be headed by career Foreign Service members. Though many non-career ambassadors have served our nation well, an even greater number have lacked the skills and experience needed to properly represent our nation.

The problem of unqualified non-career ambassadors appointed for their political loyalty has a long history. For example, in 1957 President Eisenhower sent Earl E.T. Smith, a businessman who spoke no Spanish, to Cuba. In hindsight, more experienced leadership was needed there (he left three weeks before Fidel Castro seized power). The news media has reported the "selling" of ambassadorships at least since the Nixon administration. That reporting has criticized appointments made by presidents from both political parties.

In response, there have been initiatives over the years to limit the number of unqualified ambassadors. For example, nonpartisan groups have offered to weigh the qualifications of nominees, and lawmakers have submitted bills to limit the number of non-career ambassadors. But, those reform efforts failed.

John K. Naland is the president of the American Foreign Service Association.

The one partial success was the insertion of language into the Foreign Service Act of 1980 setting qualifications for ambassadors. Thus, current law states that they "should possess clearly demonstrated competence to perform the duties of a chief of mission, including … useful knowledge of the language … and understanding of the history, the culture, the economic and political institutions, and the interests of that country. … Contributions to political campaigns should not be a factor. " Unfortunately, to quote Johnny Depp's line as pirate Captain Jack Sparrow, that language has been treated as "guidelines rather than rules."

So why raise the issue now, given this track record? The answer is that two recent tragic events may have strengthened the prospects for reform.

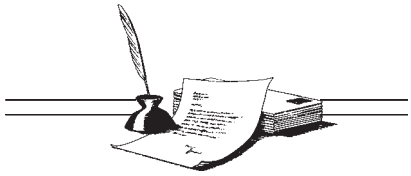
First, the devastation of New Orleans and the central Gulf Coast by Hurricane Katrina in August 2005 showed — unambiguously and in real time — the danger of placing an unqualified political appointee in a critical position. While there were also failings at the state and local levels, it is clear that International Arabian Horse Association officer Michael D. Brown, director of the Federal Emergency Management Agency, was the wrong person in the wrong place at the wrong time, with catastrophic results.

Second, the "long war" against terrorism that was launched after the Sept. 11, 2001, attacks has highlighted the need for, in the words of a 2006 U.S. Senate report, "the president [to] send to the Senate as nominees for ambassadorships only those candidates who are qualified for the sensitive and important post-9/11 role of U.S. ambassador." That report, *Embassies as Command Posts in the Anti-Terror Campaign*, urged that all ambassadorial nominees possess "the qualities of experienced judgment, knowledge of interagency missions and activities, and a solid grounding in the culture and politics of the region to which the candidate is expected to be assigned."

Those two new factors argue for immediate action to limit the number of unqualified non-career ambassadors. Absent such action, some U.S. embassy may someday experience its own Michael D. Brown moment when expert advice is ignored and top leadership fails during a crisis.

Of the proposed solutions, the easiest to implement would be for Congress to lower the non-career portion of ambassadors from the informal historical average of 30 percent to a statutory maximum of, say, 10 percent. That would allow a select number of distinguished citizens — for example, retired lawmakers — to go out as envoys, while ending the unchecked spoils system under which scores of low-level political activists are tapped for critical national security positions for which they are unqualified.

Now is the perfect time to implement a bipartisan solution to this long-standing problem. ■



LETTERS

Transform Our Budget

John Naland's February President View's column comparing today's budget situation with that of the 1990s hit my desk at a fitting time. That same day, my colleagues and I learned that, as of April 1, our post could no longer afford to continue our weekly language lessons (with a few exceptions, such as for those trying to get off language probation). Just a few days earlier, we were also forced to significantly slash our in-country travel plans for the year in order to meet the new budget constraints.

As someone who entered the Foreign Service during Colin Powell's tenure, after the dark days of the 1990s, I was rather shocked to see budget cuts affecting such critical aspects of our job. All we hear from the department's leadership is that we need to have more hard-language speakers and get out into more remote parts of the world, all in order to "transform" those societies. Well, that is a tough assignment if you do not speak the language and cannot leave the capital!

Of course, I do not blame post management, which is doing its best to manage a bad situation. But I do blame the department's leadership, which wants the Foreign Service to take an increasingly aggressive worldwide posture, yet cannot secure the funding from our own Congress to get the job done.

Getting us the resources we need — now *that* would be a remarkable transformation!

Christian Yarnell
Economic Officer
Embassy Kyiv

Remember Diplomatic History

Congratulations on the new Foreign Service Heritage feature and its initial article about Loy Henderson in the February issue. It has long been a source of disappointment to me that so many in the Foreign Service pay little attention to American diplomatic history and tend to neglect our rich professional heritage. Unless things have changed recently, these subjects are not a significant part of State Department orientation and training programs. They should be.

A recent visit to the new Marine Corps Museum at Quantico reminded me how important it is for all organizations that aspire to greatness to have a culture that proactively remembers their histories and honors their heroes as sources of wisdom and inspiration for their present members. The Foreign Service culture needs to better integrate this principle, and the *Journal* can help it do so.

James R. Bullington
FSO, retired
Williamsburg, Va.

Time for the Afghan Army to Step Up

On Jan. 14, there appeared an opinion piece in the *New York Times* titled "Afghans, Report for Duty," by former U.S. ambassador to Afghanistan, Ronald Neumann. Amb. Neumann suggests instituting a military draft in Afghanistan as a viable solution to the worsening security in the country. He also criticizes the role of the Afghan National Police in dealing with that situation.

There are several problems with this proposal. First, who would administer such an ambitious national program? The Afghan government is already managerially challenged, to put it politely, and even advanced societies have trouble running a draft program. Second, who would pay all these new draftees? The U.S.? NATO? Very doubtful. And, third, there is the question of vetting, arming and training all the new recruits.

We should instead be encouraging the existing Afghan National Army to take on a more aggressive warfighting role. After more than five years of Defense Department funding (several billion dollars), training and logistical support, this seems a more reasonable approach — and expectation.

Amb. Neumann also criticizes the Afghan National Police for its lack of effectiveness and corruption, which he calls "an enormous problem among

police departments, which are often controlled by local warlords and militia." While there is without a doubt corruption in the ANP, this is hardly a unique phenomenon in the Afghan government, including the military.

But what is interesting here is that in 2006, Amb. Neumann himself strongly supported the inclusion in the ANP of local militia — notorious for warlord connections and corruption — over the objections of State's Bureau for International Narcotics and Law Enforcement, which is responsible for managing the police training program in Afghanistan.

In Amb. Neumann's defense, he was in the difficult position of trying to ensure the survival of the freely elected Karzai government with any available legitimate tool. And the ANP was one such means. We provided the police with tactical training (putting traditional police training and functions on temporary hold), and threw them into the breach to fight the Taliban. ANP casualty figures reflect that history.

But now is not the time for vast new, expensive and probably unworkable programs, but to demand a return on our investment in the ANA. It's time for that force to step up to the plate, leave their secure bases and, with NATO leadership and mentoring, take the fight to the Taliban.

Joseph Schreiber
FSO, retired, working part of the year for the INL bureau in Afghanistan
San Jose, Costa Rica

Defending the U.S.

Dorothy Shea's February Reflections column, "Foreign Service Moments," wimps out on the subject of handling verbal attacks on our country. While the specific incidents she cites appear to cause her "intense dis-

comfort," she seems to emphasize fine distinctions, lost on me, as to whether the attacks are personal. In the grocery check-out line, for instance, she does not even respond to the man who gratuitously tells her: "You have blood on your hands."

Nor does she register a peep when some expatriate singer castigates the U.S. as the source of all ills. Shea admits that she might have at least walked out of the concert, but she did not want "to cheat myself of the music" or to appear unsympathetic to the entertainer's right to free speech.

Maybe part of Shea's problem is her blithe acceptance of the view that "We all know that U.S. foreign policy is not very popular these days." Back in the old days, no U.S. diplomat worth his salt would permit an insult to his country to go unanswered. To borrow the title from David Jones' article in the same *FSJ* issue, "Taking the King's Shilling," it appears that this is all that Shea does, at least in the two unfortunate cases she cites.

Would that she had written a more instructive and positive article, telling us of times she defended the United States and describing how she did so. Such an article, not the one the *Journal* printed, would be a credit to our Service.

Richard W. Hoover
FSO, retired
Front Royal, Va.

Honor Early FSGB Chairs

The AFSA News section of the March *Journal* included an article on the Foreign Service Grievance Board. From 1971 to 1976, I was the first (and only) executive secretary of the Interim Board and first executive secretary of the present statutory board in 1976.

Although I have had no connection with the Foreign Service Grievance Board since then, I retain a sense of loyalty and friendship with my colleagues from those early "pioneering" days, including the first two chairs of the FSGB: the late William Simkin, a past chairman of the Federal Mediation and Conciliation Service, and his successor on the FSGB, the late Alexander Porter, a distinguished nationally known arbitrator. I admired both of them for their willingness to give of their time and wisdom in sorting out difficult problems. It was, therefore, with considerable surprise that I read this in the concluding paragraph about the incoming chairman: "He follows in an honorable tradition of distinguished FSGB chairs — Bloch, Oldham, DiLauro and Reidy — that began in 1980."

As an FSO from 1960 to 1994, I was "present at the creation" of the FS grievance system and knew both Simkin and Porter well. I was also an eyewitness to the crisis and mass resignation of the board members, led by Simkin, provoked by USAID soliciting the General Accounting Office (now the Government Accountability Office) to rule that an FSGB decision was illegal — a development which led to the creation of the present system.

I would like to believe that the reference to the line of distinguished FSGB chairs beginning only in 1980 was a slip on the part of the author, and I trust that the *Journal* will find a way to set the record straight.

John A. Warnock
FSO, retired

Editor's note: A correction ran in the April Journal, *p. 52.*

Remembering Don Leahy

As the October *FSJ* article, "A Foreign Service Murder," has generated considerable interest, I hope my comments about the victim, Don Leahy, may present a more balanced picture of his professional career prior to the events in Santa Isabel.

From 1965 to 1967, Mr. Leahy was a member of the administrative staff at Santo Domingo, which, like the rest of the mission, was stretched to capacity responding to the efforts of U.S. and Organization of American States to re-establish a democratic government in the Dominican Republic. This work required that the mission coordinate the peacekeeping activities of a large U.S. military presence — the 82nd Airborne, Special Forces and U.S. Navy — as well as 10 large armed military delegations from members of the OAS. Logistical coordination and support liaison for this vast effort fell to the embassy.

Due to the fluid situation, all mission personnel became adept in fulfilling additional duties. Leahy, for a time, was in charge of all embassy transportation, which included the motor pools at the embassy; the port of La Hanna, some 30 miles away; and the international airport, an additional 30 miles away. Having a good command of Spanish, he acted as a coordinator between Dominican and U.S. armed forces and government entities. For the many mission personnel stationed at the constituent posts, he was their strong link with embassy administration. He was involved in all planning for high-level visits, particularly the visit of Vice President Hubert Humphrey for President Ballaguer's inauguration.

Leahy was next assigned to Quito where, in addition to his embassy duties, he was active at the Ecuadorian-American Cultural Institute, improving his Spanish and teaching English. He married one of the faculty members there.

Don Leahy was a quiet, unassuming individual who took great pride in

his professional competence and in being a member of the Foreign Service. Though reserved, he exhibited a wonderfully self-deprecating sense of humor when telling a joke or relating a story. The last time I saw him was in Montevideo. Newly married, he was most enthusiastic about the future and his career.

William H. Lindsey Jr.
FSO, retired
Wicomico Church, Va.

Educate the Interns

I am an eligible family member who has participated in the summer hire program in 2004 in Washington, D.C., in 2006 at Embassy Mexico City, and in 2007 at Embassy Bogotá. The internship program is a great institution, offering the opportunity to make some money and learn about the Foreign Service. The program should continue, but needs to be improved.

I have often heard that an office will receive interns and feel as though they are unprepared. Because of the lack of knowledge and preparation, they are given menial busywork. I have seen interns sitting around asking for something to do, yet their employers just come up with more busywork. I feel that I could have learned more about the sections and posts for which I was working.

Both interns and employers would benefit from making these programs more educational. The interns should attend lectures and seminars about the different sections and tasks within their embassy. The post should also take the interns out to experience the local culture and see the work of the embassy firsthand.

Field experiences are an important part of any internship. It is imperative that such a beneficial program remain meaningful in the Foreign Service.

Sarah Vann
Eligible Family
Member/Intern
Fredonia, N.Y. ■

Send your letter to the editor to: journal@afsa.org. Note that all submissions are subject to editing for style, format and length.

CYBERNOTES

The China Factor in State's 2007 Human Rights Report

On March 11, Secretary of State Condoleezza Rice and Jonathan Farrar, acting assistant secretary of the Bureau of Democracy, Human Rights and Labor, released the department's "2007 Country Reports on Human Rights Practices" (**www.state.gov/g/drl/rls/hrrpt/2007/**).

Among the changes from the previous year was the addition of Syria and Uzbekistan to the list of the world's worst offenders — and China's removal from that same list, where it was prominently located in 2005 and 2006. The latter change has raised a furor among rights activists, who say they have documented a "sharp uptick," as Human rights Watch researcher Phelim Kine put it in the March 13 *Washington Post*, in human rights violations in China during the run-up to the Olympics (**www.washingtonpost.com**).

Asked by the press about the PRC's status change, Farrar begged the question, noting that the report's introduction states that the country's human rights record remains poor and that the 63-page section detailing developments in China gives a "frank appraisal" of the status of human rights there (**www.state.gov/g/drl/rls/rm/2008/102116.htm**).

But Kine and other human rights advocates say the boost for Beijing is ill-timed, undercutting activists and other dissidents in China who are pressing the government to relax restrictions on free speech, release political prisoners and improve human rights protections. Bejing's brutal crackdown on the uprising among Tibetans has been in the headlines for weeks as we go to press.

Reporters Without Borders called the report a "major setback" for human rights organizations in China. "The situation in China is not, of course, comparable to the one in North Korea or in Eritrea, but Washington's decision occurs at the worst possible time," RWB stated on March 11 (**www.rsf.org/article.php3?id_article=26180**). "U.S. authorities are depriving themselves of yet another effective way to pressure China, without having achieved any goodwill gesture from Beijing."

State's adjustment of China's status in the report "is actually encouraging the Chinese authorities to continue the practices they are undertaking," Amnesty International USA's advocacy director for Asia and the Pacific, T. Kumar, told the *Christina Science Monitor* (**www.csmonitor.com/2008/0313/p03s05-usfp.html**).

— Susan Brady Maitra, Senior Editor

A "TIP" on Human Trafficking

An estimated 800,000 men, women and children are trafficked across international borders and millions more are trafficked within their own countries every year. So reported Shereen Faraj, an international programs officer in the State Department's Office to Monitor and Combat Trafficking in Persons, during a talk on March 25.

The special program on human trafficking was part of an International Women's Day Celebration at the International Finance Corporation-sponsored Artisan Market and Café in Washington, D.C.

A month before, on Feb. 13-15,

Site of the Month: www.yourdictionary.com

About 300 of the 6,800 known languages are represented by online dictionaries. Most of them can be found at yourdictionary.com, along with a host of other free, very helpful language aids, such as industry-specific dictionaries, grammar guides, translation sites and free search of Webster's *New World College* dictionary. The site also offers links to a wide range of the top word games.

Yourdictionary.com, with more than one million visitors per month, describes itself as a language products and services company that maintains the most comprehensive and authoritative language portal on the Web. In addition to dictionaries, grammars and games, the site has a forum (The Agora) for discussing language issues with the logophile community. As *Editor & Publisher* recently put it, *YourDictionary.com* "defines the state of the art and . . . is making a powerful bid to anchor the reference shelf in the new millennium."

— Susan Brady Maitra, Senior Editor

the U.N. Global Initiative to Fight Human Trafficking held a three-day conference in Vienna, drawing together activists and government representatives to analyze the problem and create effective tools to deal with it. UN.GIFT is a program of the U.N. Office on Drugs and Crime that was launched a year ago to catalyze action on the issue (**www.ungift.org/index.php**).

According to the UNODC, the problem has reached "epidemic proportions over the past decade," with some 2.5 million people throughout the world at any given time recruited, entrapped, transported and exploited. But, UNODC adds, because human trafficking is an underground crime, the true numbers are not known. Yet the crime is drawing increasing attention.

"There are more slaves today than at any point in human history," says investigative journalist Benjamin Skinner, whose recent book, *A Crime So Monstrous: Face-to-Face with Modern-Day Slavery* (Free Press, March 2008), is the product of four years of research during which he posed as a buyer at illegal brothels on several continents, interviewed convicted human traffickers in a Romanian prison and otherwise studied the subject from the inside (**www.salon.com/books/int/2008/03/27/slavery/**).

At the March 25 event, Faraj, together with panelists from the law firm of Holland and Knight LLP and the Vital Voices NGO, emphasized that human trafficking is a problem in every country, including the U.S. State's TIP office coordinates U.S. governmental activities in the global effort to stop human trafficking, including forced labor and sexual exploitation, Faraj explained. She cited Secretary Rice's call for all nations to become 21st-century, committed abolitionists to end the debasement of victims, primarily women and children, into involuntary servitude and sexual slavery (**http://www.state.gov/g/tip/**).

The Trafficking Victims Protection Act, originally passed by Congress in 2000, created a special "T" visa for human trafficking victims. More than $74 million in funding is allocated under the act for Fiscal Year 2008.

The State Department works with governments on action plans for prevention, protection of victims and prosecution. Washington is asking governments to increase their rescues of trafficking victims and prosecution of traffickers; to treat people freed from slavery as victims of crime, not criminals; and to take measures to dry up the market for modern-day slaves.

Led by Ambassador Mark P. Lagon, the TIP office funds 63 partnering projects in 46 countries totaling approximately $13.55 million through its competitive grant process. In addition, TIP produces an annual Trafficking in Persons report assessing the governmental response in each country that has a significant number of victims of severe forms of human trafficking.

— Alicia Campi, Business Manager

> We have overmilitarized our response to the global challenges of the 21st century and have to reach out in other ways to understand and shape what is happening beyond our borders. Yet despite this call for change, large deficits remain in the sheer numbers of people who engage in diplomacy. We need to increase the number of Foreign Service officers and enhance their skills.
>
> — Sen. Russell Feingold, D-Wis., speaking at the University of Wisconsin at Madison on March 24, *http://feingold.senate.gov/~feingold/statements/08/03/20080324.htm*

Tracking the Evolution of English in Real Time

A unique new form of online dictionary is capturing the dynamic changes taking place in our language in the here and now. Virtually as soon as they are uttered, new words and expressions — like nanoblahblah or whale tail — can be found on such Web sites as *Urban Dictionary*, *Double Tongued Dictionary* and *Wordlustitude*.

The phenomenon is explored by Jim Giles, who points out in the Jan. 31 edition of *New Scientist* that online dictionaries, Web sites and blogs can document language as it evolves, resulting in "a new kind of dictionary that can be updated every day and has no size limit."

Perhaps the most "current" of the lot is *Urban Dictionary* (**www.urbandictionary.com**), an online compendium of slang whose definitions are written by users. Founded in 1999 by then-university student Aaron Peckham, the site also contains Internet jargon and neologisms. Three-quarters of the site's users are under 25. Though a system of quality control by volunteer editors reduces hateful and personal material, the site does contain explicit and provocative material and is therefore banned in many schools and offices.

Then there are the sites and blogs run by freelance lexicographers, working editors or other word-people who share a fascination with language. Mark Peters, for example, is a contributing editor for *Verbatim: The Language Quarterly*, a language col-

Calling All FS Authors!

The November 2008 *Foreign Service Journal* will include a list of recently published books by Foreign Service-affiliated authors.

FS authors who have had a book published in 2007 or 2008 that has not previously been featured in the roundup, are invited to send a copy of the book, along with a press release or backgrounder on the book and author, to:

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Deadline:
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50 Years Ago…

The desk officer no longer serves as a "little despot," making policy on the cables. More and more consideration must be given to the wishes of other areas and bureaus within the department, to the conflicting interests of other departments, and to the coordinating agencies like the National Security Council and the Operations Coordinating Board.

— Robert E. Elder, "Country Desk Officer: Low Man on the Totem Pole (Part I)," *FSJ*, May 1958

umnist for *Babble* and a blogger for *Psychology Today*. His *Wordlustitude* (**http://wordlust.blogspot.com**) is, as he describes it, "a growing dictionary of ephemeral words, also known as nonce or stunt words." The blog also features links to a variety of language-related sites and blogs.

Double Tongued Dictionary's (**www.doubletongued.org**) founder and editor, Grant Barnett, is an American lexicographer, editor of *The Official Dictionary of Unofficial English* (McGraw-Hill, 2006) and the co-host of public radio's weekly show on language, "A Way with Words." Though his first goal for the online dictionary is to inform and entertain, he also aims to "cover carefully the lending and borrowing between English and other languages" — an aspect of language development of special interest to global nomads.

Professional dictionary editors consider many of these sites frivolous, but they clearly have their value. "They fill a gap tracking the words that didn't make it into the last edition of a mainstream dictionary and are perhaps too soon for the next edition," says Australian linguistics expert Dr. Ruth Wajnryb.

And don't forget the assistance such sites can render in helping you keep up with your teenager's vocabulary. By the way, nanoblahblah means "nonsensical minutiae" and whale tail is the term for "the upper part of a G-string that appears above hipster jeans when the wearer bends over."

— Susan Brady Maitra, Senior Editor

Cuba: Change in the Offing?

Fidel Castro's announcement on Feb. 19 that he was retiring, followed by brother Raul Castro's official designation as head of state on Feb. 24, set off a wave of speculation about what to expect next from the island republic. Cuba's dogged persistence in the face of a 50-year-old U.S. boycott was severely undercut by the 1991 collapse of the USSR and loss of extensive economic support.

The first high-level foreign representative received by the new Cuban president was the Vatican's secretary of state. Afterwards, for the first time in a decade, state television broadcast a mass in Havana's Cathedral Square attended by thousands. At the same time, at the United Nations, Cuba's foreign minister fulfilled his government's promise to sign two important treaties: the International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights and the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights (**www.msnbc.msn.com/id/23397572/**).

The European Union seized the occasion to press ahead for improved relations. The E.U.'s chief development officer, Louis Michel, was dispatched to meet with Foreign Minister Felipe Perez Roque, the first high-level visit by a European official since 2005. The European Commis-

sion, Michel's spokesman John Clancy told the Associated Press on March 7, wants to see "the resumption of an open and constructive political dialogue" with Cuban leaders.

Cuban-E.U. relations went south in 2003, when Europe imposed diplomatic sanctions in response to Cuba's imprisonment of 75 dissidents and independent journalists accused of working with the U.S. to undermine Havana. The E.U. restored diplomatic relations in January 2005, but asked Cuba to release political prisoners and grant its citizens freedom of expression. So far, 20 have been freed.

Though the E.U.'s 27 governments were united in asking Raul Castro to restart regular bilateral talks last year, Spain has led the effort to improve relations, while Britain, the Czech Republic, Poland and Sweden have been more guarded (**www.iht.com/bin/printfriendly.php?id=10814049**).

In the U.S., following President Bush's lead, officials say they will have to see what, if any, changes are in store for the Cuban people. Speaking in Rwanda on Feb. 19, Bush said that Castro's departure "should be the beginning of a democratic transition," and demanded that Cuba now hold free and fair elections for a new government. So far, U.S. officials insist, no change in policy is warranted or to be expected.

In response to press queries about an apparent divergence between American and European approaches to Cuba, State Department spokesman Sean McCormack said: "There may be some tactical differences here and there. But I think on the whole that we are on the same page in terms of wanting to see the same kind of future for Cuba." He explained that Sec. Rice had made it clear to Spanish Foreign Minister Miguel Moratinos that Washington does not believe relations with the current Cuban government would be worthwhile (**www.state.gov/r/pa/prs/dpb/2008/feb/101059.htm**).

Most independent experts agree, however, that Fidel's formal withdrawal *will* make a difference (**http://ipsnews.net/news.asp?idnews=41675**). Julia Sweig, a Cuban specialist at the Council of Foreign Relations, predicts that Raul Castro is likely to promote reforms in agriculture and small business in ways designed to reduce the role of the state in the economy — a process he had already begun during his nearly two years as acting president. In a July 2007 speech, he said it was absolutely essential to strengthen agricultural productivity and give farmers incentives to boost low production rates, adding that all necessary changes would be introduced to achieve those goals.

In his first month as head of state, the new president has lifted restrictions preventing Cubans from purchasing computers, microwave ovens, cell phones and other electronic appliances. Even more far-reaching, in a step away from the centralized distribution of agricultural inputs, farmers in Cuba can now buy their own supplies.

Proponents of a change in U.S. policy toward Cuba view the change of leadership in Havana as a "superb opening," in the words of Lawrence Wilkerson, chief of staff of former Secretary of State Colin Powell. "Raul Castro has said now three times that he's interested in talking with the U.S. unconditionally to try to resolve all outstanding issues between the two countries," William LeoGrande, a Cuba specialist at American University and dean of its School of Government, told Inter Press Service (**http://ipsnews.net/print.asp?idnews=41257**). But analysts generally rule out a re-evaluation of policy until a new administration is in place in 2009. ■

— Susan Brady Maitra, Senior Editor

SPEAKING OUT

Heading Off More Clashes in the Strait of Hormuz

BY BENJAMIN TUA

The details of a tense Jan. 6 incident involving U.S. warships and Iranian naval vessels in the Strait of Hormuz remain murky. But even the most benign interpretation makes clear the urgent need for measures to prevent a recurrence.

Initial press reports based on briefings by U.S. military officials, including Vice Admiral Kevin Cosgriff, commander of the U.S. Naval Forces Central Command that operates in the Middle East, described a situation in which five Iranian patrol boats manned by the Revolutionary Guard Corps sped toward several U.S. Navy ships as they crossed the Strait of Hormuz into the Persian Gulf. The Iranian vessels reportedly broke into two groups, "maneuvered aggressively" along the sides of the American ships, and dropped white "box-like" objects into the water. According to the officials, as the U.S. ships prepared to fire in self-defense the Iranians turned and sped back to their territorial waters.

The Pentagon released a four-minute video showing the Iranian boats speeding toward the U.S. ships. Audio (presumably from the boats) accompanying the video contained an apparent threat to bomb the U.S. ships. Striking a somewhat cautious tone, Defense Secretary Robert Gates said that, based on the information available to him, this was a one-sided provocation, an assessment President George W. Bush quickly seconded.

The Iranian government, on the other hand, played down the event, describing it as a routine exchange in which the U.S. ships complied with a request from an officer on one of the Iranian boats that the American vessels identify themselves. The Iranians released their own video of the incident, which did not portray aggressive behavior on their part.

Talking with, rather than at, Tehran is certain to be more fruitful than pursuing retaliatory military strikes.

DOD did not directly challenge the veracity of the Iranian account; in fact, it acknowledged that the threatening message it had cited (included with the video it had released) may not have come from the Iranian boats and may not have been addressed to U.S. targets. Subsequent reports suggest that there is little, if any, evidence that the actions of the Iranian boats were intentionally provocative or actually violated international law. Some observers believe Washington may have hyped the incident initially as part of a campaign to demonize Tehran.

Whatever the truth of that claim, events of this kind go back to 1987 when the U.S. was protecting Kuwaiti oil tankers in the Persian Gulf toward the end of the Iran-Iraq War. Several clashes with U.S. forces resulted in the maiming and death of Iranian small-boat personnel. And in 1988, the USS *Vincennes* shot down an Iranian civilian airliner in the Strait of Hormuz, killing all 290 people on board.

Dangerous Encounters, Safer Outcomes

That history underscores the urgent need for a "rules of the road" understanding between Washington and Tehran. The situation in the Persian Gulf is even more perilous, and the lack of adequate channels of direct communication more severe, than was the case between the U.S. and the Soviet Union during the Cold War. The American naval buildup in the region and U.S.-Iranian differences over Iraq, Hamas and the Israeli-Palestinian conflict, and Lebanon and Hezbollah, all as well as Iran's nuclear program, all make for an environment that is highly charged, fragile and very susceptible to destructive developments.

Disturbingly, U.S. commanders in the region have no way to communicate directly with the Iranian Navy or Revolutionary Guard. DOD officials have said they want to prevent future naval interactions in the region from escalating into confrontation based on misunderstandings. Toward that end, Retired Admiral James Lyons, who has served as commander of the Paci-

fic Fleet and deputy chief of naval operations, suggested in the Jan. 29 *Washington Times* that the set of rules and regulations incorporated in the 1972 U.S.-Soviet "Incidents at Sea Treaty" could be applied as modified for naval operations in the Persian Gulf. He suggested that the navies of U.S. allies and of other Gulf states, including Iran, be invited to sign such an accord.

The absence of diplomatic relations between Iran and the United States need not be an obstacle to direct, expert-level talks on procedural issues involving the safety of U.S. and Iranian naval personnel and assets. An excellent forum for initial discussions already exists: the bilateral, ambassadorial-level talks in Baghdad conducted under Iraqi auspices. Other venues such as Geneva and Paris, where U.S. and Iranian officials have met to discuss specific issues, could also be considered.

The two sides also could meet, either bilaterally or for multilateral talks, under the auspices of the London-based International Maritime Organization, the United Nations specialized agency responsible for improving maritime safety, technical cooperation and maritime security. Both Iran and the U.S. are members.

Because of the technical nature of the issues and the benefits that would result from better communication in this area, the issue of political will should not be a major factor for the United States. An Iranian rejection of a U.S. invitation to engage in talks of this nature would put the onus of responsibility on Tehran for any subsequent loss of life or limb stemming from an encounter in the Persian Gulf.

Precedents and Approaches

The result of discussions with respect to naval vessels (and aircraft) of the two sides should be an understanding along the lines of the Agreement Between the Government of The United States of America and the Government of The Union of Soviet Socialist Republics on the Prevention of Incidents On and Over the High Seas (generally referred to as INCSEA), tailored to the situation in the Persian Gulf and possibly of a multilateral nature, as Admiral Lyons suggests. The French decision, announced by President Nicolas Sarkosy in January, to open a military base in the United Arab Emirates, strengthens the case for a multilateral agreement.

The 1972 U.S.-Soviet incidents-at-sea agreement could serve as a model.

The U.S.-Soviet agreement governing incidents at sea was signed in Moscow on May 25, 1972, by Secretary of the Navy John Warner and Soviet Admiral Sergei Gorshkov. It was designed to reduce the likelihood of misunderstanding or miscalculation and the possibility that incidents like that of Jan. 6 would lead to tragic consequences.

The agreement provided for steps to avoid collisions: not interfering in the "formations" of the other party; avoiding maneuvers in areas of heavy sea traffic; and requiring surveillance ships to maintain a safe distance so as to avoid "embarrassing or endangering the ships under surveillance." Other provisions included using accepted international signals when ships maneuver near one another; not simulating attacks at, launching objects toward or illuminating the bridges of the other party's ships; informing vessels when submarines are exercising near them; requiring aircraft commanders to use caution and prudence in approaching aircraft and ships of the other party; and not permitting simulated attacks against aircraft or ships, performing "aerobatics" over ships or dropping hazardous objects near them.

A more recent reference point may be the U.S.-Chinese Military Maritime Consultative Agreement, signed on Jan. 19, 1998, by Defense Secretary William Cohen and Chinese Defense Minister General Chi Haotian. This agreement followed talks and visits, initiated by the commander of the U.S. Pacific Fleet, Admiral Joseph Prueher, in 1996. The MMCA, initially directed at establishing a forum for dialogue on maritime communication issues, provides for working-level exchanges on issues of maritime safety and communication and expands cooperation in related areas, including search and rescue at sea and humanitarian assistance.

There is also a substantial body of international law and experience on which the parties could draw: the regulations of the International Maritime Organization, the International Collision Regulations of 1960, and the United Nations Convention on the Law of the Sea, which Pres. Bush has urged the Senate to approve.

Talking with, rather than at, each other is certain to be more fruitful than the path, suggested by some, of retaliatory military strikes to "deter provocations" by the Iranians. It is also preferable to the suggestion by Pentagon military historian David Crist in the Jan. 20 *New York Times* that we urge our allies to let Tehran know "that any attempt by the Revolutionary Guard to interfere with the free navigation of international waters will be treated no differently from a terrorist attack."

A Step Toward Reducing Tension

There is no practical reason why such talks, if initiated by the Bush administration, could not be concluded early next year by its successor. In any case, merely initiating such negotiations would be a positive step, while success would increase confidence that other steps could be taken to reduce tension in the region and could facilitate broader understandings that would benefit all parties.

U.S.-Iranian relations have been burdened for too long with a legacy of confrontation and misunderstanding. Talks to reduce the potential for additional misunderstanding and miscalculation between our forces in the Gulf could come to be seen as a turning point in the disastrous downward spiral of the bilateral relationship since the 1979-1981 U.S. embassy hostage crisis.

Events like this go back to 1987 when the U.S. was protecting Kuwaiti oil tankers in the Persian Gulf toward the end of the Iran-Iraq War.

After all, it is the tensions among, and between, the regional actors in the Middle East that are fundamental. Given U.S. interests and our presence in the area, these issues have fed into and nurtured enmity between Washington and Tehran. A cooperative venture such as a naval agreement would facilitate understandings between the local players, thereby making the environment more stable and secure for all. ■

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A Mixed Record: 50 Years of U.S.-Africa Relations

Clemente Botelho

Through the first half-century of African independence, with all its disappointments and successes, U.S. engagement has been a constant.

By Herman J. Cohen

Both within the Department of State and the National Security Council, 1958 was the year of Africa. The British colony of Gold Coast had already achieved independence as the Republic of Ghana a year earlier. And some 30 French, British and Belgian colonies would cross the independence threshold over the next five years.

The United States was initially ambivalent about that prospect. True, at the United Nations General Assembly its rhetoric was Wilsonian, calling for the self-determination of colonial peoples year after year. African intellectuals heard

this clarion call and were encouraged in their struggles for independence.

Back at Foggy Bottom, however, policymakers were much more reserved. Yes, self-determination and independence were both inevitable and desirable, but time was needed for preparation. Too rapid a process could be destabilizing.

Their caution was supported by the results of a 10-week tour of Africa undertaken in late 1957 by Foreign Service officer Julius Holmes, executive assistant to Secretary of State John Foster Dulles. Dulles wanted a firsthand analysis of prospects for post-independence Africa, and he got just that. In a memorandum dated Feb. 6, 1958, Holmes made some dire and accurate predictions: "I foresee a long period of uncertainty, bad management, retrogression and conflict." This prediction must have jolted Dulles, one of the most vocal leaders of the postwar anti-colonial movement, for he had drafted most of the "self-determination" language in the 1945 United Nations Charter.

But it was too late for second thoughts. Independence was coming, and the U.S. had to get ready. On Aug. 20, 1958, the Bureau of African Affairs was established. The National Security Council began meeting frequently to establish policy toward Africa. President Dwight Eisenhower took a strong interest in the process, personally chairing several NSC meetings.

It is remarkable that at the height of the Cold War, Eisenhower — with significant input from Vice President Richard Nixon — enunciated the following guidelines for policy toward Africa, all durable and pragmatic:

- Treat all independent African governments as sovereign equals;
- Accept African neutrality in the Cold War;
- Emphasize economic development, education and cultural exchange;
- Look first to the U.N. Security Council for stabilization solutions; and
- Refrain from putting U.S. military boots on the ground in violent African conflicts.

Engaging the Continent

With these principles in mind, U.S. agencies greeted the avalanche of independence events with enthusiasm and a variety of programs and projects. Under Secretary of State for Administration Loy Henderson interpreted the new NSC policy directives as a mandate to establish a U.S. embassy in every independent African country.

An American presidential aircraft, filled with political personalities, was dispatched to every independence ceremony to witness, and give legitimacy to, the midnight lowering of the colonial flag, followed by the raising of the new national standard. Those were heady moments.

Within a short time, Africa was swarming with U.S. experts on public health, agronomy, education, water, livestock and public administration. The Kennedy administration built on its predecessor's policies, establishing the Peace Corps in 1961, which quickly became a popular presence in Africa.

The optimism was real. Primary commodities such as tropical crops and base minerals were enjoying a global price boom. Ghana, Nigeria, Côte d'Ivoire and Kenya had higher per capita GDPs than South Korea and Malaysia.

Not all went smoothly, however. Pres. Eisenhower's first national security challenge in Africa came when the Belgian Congo gained its independence in June 1960. This vast territory, equal in size to the U.S. east of the Mississippi, was totally unprepared to govern itself (tellingly, it had only 16 university graduates). Law and order quickly evaporated. Warlords and tribal leaders filled ungoverned spaces. Soviet agents began making political deals with Marxist-leaning Congolese politicians, including the charismatic prime minister, Patrice Lumumba.

Eisenhower vowed to prevent a Soviet takeover of this mineral-rich country, by military means if necessary. He initially requested the establishment of a NATO committee to plan a possible armed intervention, but cooler

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heads prevailed. Washington opted for a U.N. peace enforcement intervention that turned out to be successful in stabilizing the Congo and restoring central government control. This served as a major precedent for future cases of state collapse in Africa.

To the chagrin and outrage of left-wing political movements worldwide, Patrice Lumumba was assassinated by Congolese political rivals a few months after independence. For decades afterward, the CIA was accused of having orchestrated Lumumba's demise in a Cold War-driven covert action. The truth was revealed in 2006 when Larry Devlin, the CIA station chief in the Congo in 1960, published his memoir, *Chief of Station, Congo: Fighting the Cold War in a Hot Zone*. Devlin acknowledged that he had received instructions to assassinate Lumumba using poisoned toothpaste, but decided to do nothing. Still, although the CIA had no actual connection with the dirty deed, those who did it knew that the U.S. would not be upset.

Going Their Own Way

While the U.S. and other donors were busy contributing to African development, the newly anointed African leaders were formulating their own political and economic policies. Rejecting Western multiparty democracy because of its supposedly adversarial nature, the early leaders opted for "one-party democracy" in keeping with the African village tradition of consensus-building. Under this system, the original anti-colonial nationalist movement became the sole legal party, and opposition political parties were prohibited by law. All civil society inherited from the colonial period, as well as all media and cultural institutions, were also co-opted into the ruling party.

On the economic front, African leaders followed the advice of their European socialist mentors in France and the U.K. to take control of the commanding heights of the economy in order to kick-start and accelerate development. As a result, thousands of enterprises, including banks, insurance companies, construction firms, plantations, transportation and mines were legally nationalized with appropriate compensation.

It was not immediately evident to the U.S. and the donor community in the early 1960s, an era when big government was still popular in both Europe and America, but these initial African decisions turned out to be disastrous — both for economic development and political evolution. For the most part, one-party democracies that faced no checks, balances or countervailing power degenerated into corrupt, rent-seeking, authoritarian systems.

The management of thousands of state-owned enterprises became a daunting challenge. Unfortunately, a very low priority was assigned to profitability. Payrolls were padded to create employment for rural Africans flocking to the cities to escape deep poverty. Government subsidies were needed to keep the enterprises afloat, thereby draining capital away from required investments in education, public health and infrastructure maintenance, all of which deteriorated. To make up for lost revenue, governments took out commercial loans from Western banks, secured by future commodity earnings or as simple sovereign debt.

By the early 1970s, a decade after the peak of the independence avalanche, the U.S. had become somewhat disillusioned about Africa's prospects. In particular, Congress was beginning to ask tough questions. What was there to show for all that assistance? Sen. Jesse Helms, R-N.C., dismissed foreign aid as "throwing one's money down a rat hole."

The Nixon and Ford administrations decided to revamp aid to Africa, instituting a "new directions" policy that shifted the focus from channeling resources through governments to delivering services directly to the rural poor. Maternal-child health centers, small water projects, farm-to-market roads and livestock management programs proliferated.

Making matters worse, between 1975 and 1980 the bottom dropped out of international commodity markets. The price of copper on the London Metals Exchange went from $1.40/lb to $0.75 almost overnight. Zambia and Zaire (now the Democratic Republic of the Congo) suddenly found their debt burden doubled, with their earnings cut in half. Throughout the continent, economies were in free fall. Government salaries were months in arrears, small businesses went under and malnutrition deepened.

It was clear by 1980 that Africa needed some tough love and some bitter medicine. The World Bank and the International Monetary Fund offered soft loans for debt restructuring, and bridge financing for vital government functions. In return, African governments had to institute macroeconomic reforms designed to prime the revenue pump, make exports competitive, discourage unnecessary imports and curb inflation.

This policy, called "structural adjustment," became controversial because so many belts had to be tightened, and the heavy hand of government had to be loosened. But it was clear by 1990 that countries like Ghana, Mali, Botswana, Uganda and Mozambique that had implemented systematic economic and political reforms had turned their economies around. Instead of shrinking by as much as 6 percent a year, the gross domestic product of these countries began enjoying annual growth of 2 to 4 percent, setting the stage for an even greater effort at poverty reduction.

It was clear by 1980 that the continent needed some tough love and some bitter medicine.

Untying the Gordian Knot

While the World Bank and IMF were acting as economic "bad cops," the Carter and Reagan administrations focused their attention on resolving several longstanding, interlocked African crises.

In southern Africa, repressive white minority regimes in the British colony of Southern Rhodesia and the independent Republic of South Africa were coming under increasing pressure from free Africa, and civil society movements throughout the world, to allow majority rule. By 1975, both regimes were facing growing armed insurgencies by black nationalist movements.

The Carter administration worked closely with London to pressure the Rhodesian regime to negotiate with the nationalist movements, leading to the Lancaster House Agreements and the emergence of the independent Republic of Zimbabwe in 1980.

South Africa was a tougher nut to crack because of the extreme racist ideology, known by the Afrikaner term apartheid (separation), that governed the wealthy and powerful two-million-strong white minority. Ending this system, and bringing freedom to 30 million South Africans of color, was the highest and very emotional priority for all independent African nations.

The Carter administration began its campaign to undermine apartheid by noting that Pretoria was in violation of United Nations and World Court directives to transition Southwest Africa (now Namibia) to independence, instead expressing determination to annex the territory. Washington drew the noose tighter by persuading the U.N. Security Council to pass a resolution demanding that the colony be freed.

By the time Ronald Reagan took office in 1981, racist minority rule in South Africa had become a significant political issue in the United States. Growing repression and violence against black South African street demonstrations provoked Sunday sermons and campus demonstrations throughout the U.S. In 1986, Congress enacted economic sanctions in a stunning override of Pres. Reagan's veto, reflecting the depth of feeling in the nation.

Meanwhile, American conservatives had become agitated by the presence in Angola of 25,000 Cuban troops and several thousand Soviet advisers, who were propping up a Marxist regime against anticommunist guerillas. Reagan persuaded Congress to authorize covert action to give military support to the guerrilla forces (known as UNITA), led by Jonas Savimbi. At the same time, the State Department engaged with all of the parties as it mediated a "no lose" grand bargain to bring about peace in southern Africa.

An intensive 24-month marathon negotiation beginning in January 1987 brought South Africa, Angola and Cuba to the same table under the chairmanship of Assistant Secretary of State for Africa Chester A. Crocker, a Republican political appointee. (Secretary of State George Shultz went out on a limb by authorizing American diplomats to deal directly with their Cuban counterparts in a special exception to the U.S. total boycott of the Castro regime.) The result was the December 1988 New York Accords that resulted in the independence of Namibia, the departure of Cuban troops from Angola, and the withdrawal of South African forces from southern Angola.

This agreement was a triumph of U.S. diplomacy in its own right. But an added benefit was the beginning of the end of apartheid in South Africa itself. Highly motivated and reassured by the fairness of the 1988 accords, a younger generation of white politicians came to power in South Africa in 1990, overseeing an end of apartheid and the start of majority rule four years later. The difficult and complex political transition in South Africa took place during the George H.W. Bush administration, which applied a steady dose of quiet mediation among the negotiating parties working through the U.S. embassy in Pretoria.

Looking Back at the Cold War in Africa

Even before the fall of the Soviet Union, many analysts had already concluded that U.S. policy toward Africa during the Cold War was totally dominated by a determination to prevent Soviet influence from gaining a major foothold on the continent. Certainly, both Republican and Democratic administrations consistently invoked the perils of Soviet communism in requesting economic and military assistance appropriations for African nations before congressional committees.

Starting in the mid-1970s, human rights groups stepped up their criticism of American support for gross human rights violators and extremely corrupt regimes in Africa. Why else would the U.S. be so generous to President Mobutu Sese Seko of Zaire and President Samuel Doe of Liberia, two of the most corrupt African rulers, if not for their total support for U.S. anti-Soviet policies in the U.N. and elsewhere? Weren't the U.S. and the Soviet Union fighting a surrogate Cold War in Africa through their respective friends?

In fact, there was very little actual tension in Africa between the U.S. and the Soviets, with two exceptions: Angola and Ethiopia. In 1974-1975, these two large nations both experienced deep, violent instability as Marxist revolutionaries replaced regimes that had been friendly to the United States. In Angola, Portuguese rule collapsed in the wake of a pro-democracy coup in Lisbon, while the feudal Ethiopian regime of Emperor Haile Selassie was overthrown by radical military officers.

The two new Marxist regimes faced strong military challenges. In Angola, pro-Western guerrilla groups such as UNITA received support from South Africa. As for Ethiopia, the neighboring government of Somalia took advantage of the chaos to invade the southeastern region where the population is predominantly Somali. Both of the new regimes called upon the Cuban government for military assistance. Fidel Castro responded by sending two expeditionary outfits of 5,000 troops each to both countries, effectively saving their governments from collapse. The Soviets followed this up with substantial logis-

tical support and a long-term commitment to supply military advisers and arms.

On the whole, however, the Cold War played a secondary role to the consistent U.S. concentration on economic development in Africa. A look at the statistics reveals that most U.S. economic assistance went to nonaligned African governments that refused to take sides in the Cold War. Looking back, we have to remember that we were working hard to keep African nations from collapse. Regrettably, important issues like human rights, good governance and democracy had to wait for better days.

The 1988 New York Accords were a triumph for U.S. diplomacy on several fronts.

Special American friends like Mobutu and Doe were rewarded for their support, but mainly with modest political and military funding. It was clear that economic development funding in these two countries was useless; therefore very little was given.

In addition, many critics of U.S. policy conveniently overlook the fact that virtually all African countries receiving our assistance were corrupt and authoritarian in those days, each in its own way.

Into the 1990s

With a view to eliminating obstacles to economic development, the George H.W. Bush administration concentrated its Africa policy on conflict resolution, intervening diplomatically in seven civil wars —- Ethiopia, Angola, Mozambique, Sudan, Liberia, Somalia and Rwanda. By the time Bush 41 left office in January 1993, Ethiopia and Mozambique were in post-conflict transition, thanks substantially to U.S. diplomacy. (The other five conflicts raged on into the Clinton administration, which continued intensive diplomacy in the search for peace, with mixed results.) Bush also initiated systematic support for democratization in Africa for the first time.

Bill Clinton's presidency was notable for two major initiatives in Africa, one military and one economic. Observing that African countries were bearing the major burden of supplying troops to U.N. peacekeeping and enforcement operations on the continent, the Clinton administration realized the importance of assisting them to do so. It created the African Crisis Response Initiative to train African military units at the battalion level for intervention in conflict situations at the request of the U.N. or the African Union. ACRI proved to be quite successful and continues to the present, though it is now known as the African Contingency Operations Training and Assistance program.

In the economic sector, the Clinton administration worked with Congress to pass the African Growth and Opportunity Act, a trade program allowing eligible African countries to export products to the U.S. duty-free with no requirement to reciprocate. The purpose was to make African products competitive so that investors would set up enterprises there, creating jobs and bringing in revenue.

This program quickly became popular, attracting investors to a dozen African countries for the production of apparel under contract to major U.S. retailers. However, AGOA's overall impact was modest, and its biggest beneficiary was South Africa, which already had a strong industrial base, especially in automobile assembly. It also could not resolve the main obstacles facing investors in Africa: inadequate infrastructure and the high cost of doing business there (e.g., utility pricing, unreliable services, port inefficiencies and low worker productivity).

A major blot on the Clinton record was his refusal to allow U.N. intervention to put a stop to genocide in Rwanda during the period April-June 1994, when approximately 800,000 ethnic Tutsis were murdered. (Admittedly, this major error in judgment was due in part to the harsh criticism the administration had endured over the disaster in Somalia the previous year.) To his credit, Clinton later went to Rwanda and apologized for his failure to intervene.

Picking Winners

The George W. Bush administration has paid a surprisingly large amount of attention to Africa, especially considering its understandable preoccupation with the wars in Iraq and Afghanistan and the threat of worldwide Islamist extremism. It quickly implemented a policy of selectivity, singling out African economic performers with the potential to forge ahead into the 12-to-18-percent growth rates needed for breakthrough economic development. The vehicle for this new policy is the Millennium Challenge Corporation, a semi-independent agency that selects winners of large five-year financing packages on the basis of independently monitored political, economic and social

criteria. It is still too early to judge the MCC's true value for African development, but it is considered to be one of the most creative foreign aid initiatives in a long time.

The Bush administration has also introduced innovative and well-financed programs designed to reduce the prevalence of HIV/AIDS and malaria in Africa. Although the President's Emergency Plan for AIDS Relief has gotten several million African victims into treatment, and helped reduce HIV prevalence in several countries, it has been criticized for the significant amount of funding that has been earmarked for the largely ineffective education of young people to practice abstinence before marriage, as well as for rules that prohibit health organizations that practice abortion counseling from participating. Both policies are considered to be counterproductive and wasteful. Nevertheless, this unprecedented program has been both popular and effective in Africa, and condom distribution has been substantial, notwithstanding all other policies.

As far as Islamic extremism and associated terrorist threats are concerned, African governments have become strong allies of the United States in efforts to anticipate, prevent and thwart attacks designed to exploit vulnerabilities in security and administrative capabilities. U.S. military trainers have expanded their programs from peace operations to counterinsurgency in those countries immediately south of the Sahara, where al-Qaida terrorists from Algeria have started to become active. In the very dangerous Horn of Africa, which is only a stone's throw from the Arabian Peninsula, U.S. Special Forces are based in Djibouti for the purpose of preventing and interdicting terrorist activity.

Approximately half of the Sub-Saharan African population are Muslims. Although most are devout in their religion, they tend to adhere to Sufism, which stresses tolerance of non-Muslims, a less restrictive attitude toward women, and the separation of religion and politics. Their fear of the extremist variety of Islam has created a favorable environment for enhanced U.S.-Africa counterterrorism cooperation in both military and non-military sectors, such as money laundering and commodity smuggling.

To capitalize on this opening, the Bush administration has created the Africa Command to focus exclusively on the continent. However, AFRICOM will not become fully operational until Oct. 1 and, for now, its headquarters will remain in Stuttgart, Germany.

Some innovative aspects of AFRICOM include a co-deputy commander position, reserved for a senior FSO (currently Ambassador Mary Yates) responsible for civic action, and a "zero option" policy that emphasizes the prevention of conflict as the best guarantor of stability.

The excessive hype by the Pentagon surrounding the initial announcement of this initiative caused some African leaders, as well as quite a few officers in State's and USAID's Africa Bureaus, to express concern about the potential for the militarization of U.S. policy. Some of them cited the total focus on the terrorist threat in Somalia's renewal of civil war in 2006 as evidence that Washington was beginning to lose interest in promoting reconciliation and democracy. Pres. Bush tried to lay this concern to rest during his February visit to five African nations by declaring that the U.S. was not planning to establish a permanent military presence anywhere on the continent, and would continue to emphasize economic development.

A cynical view of Bush's one-week trip to Africa would say that Africa is the only part of the world where he could find a little affection in his last year in office. Indeed, Bush was sincerely and highly acclaimed by both the leadership and populations of the countries he visited. The warm welcome reflected the personal attention that he has paid to the formulation of Africa policy, as well as the many creative initiatives emanating from Washington during his eight years in office.

There was the very intensive and successful U.S. effort to bring about the comprehensive peace agreement between the government of Sudan and the Southern People's Liberation Movement during Bush's first term. He also launched a new initiative on debt relief, including the adoption of a new policy increasing the grant content of World Bank lending to Africa's poorest nations. Bush's efforts to promote democracy and market-based economic growth were showcased in Benin, Tanzania and Ghana, while his stopover in Liberia reminded everyone that it was he who gave the monster Charles Taylor the ultimatum to get out and stay out.

Against the panoply of all the positive news, the Bush administration's virtual helplessness in the face of the massive atrocities being committed in the Sudanese province of Darfur during his second term certainly tarnishes his record, but does not substantially diminish it. The entire international community must bear collective guilt over its failure to intervene meaningfully there.

Staying Engaged

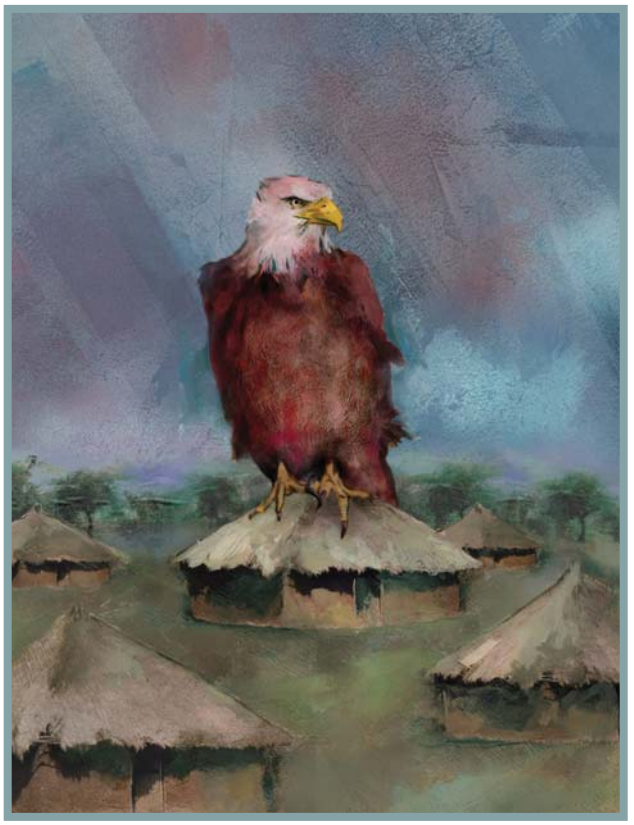
Fifty years after the establishment of the Bureau of African Affairs, the United States continues to be heavily engaged in Africa. This is remarkable considering the many disappointments the U.S. and other international donors have experienced, including the failures of so many of their initiatives designed to spur economic growth and to end conflicts. Africa's propensity for snatching defeat out of the hands of victory, especially in former success stories like Côte d'Ivoire, Zimbabwe and, lately, Kenya, has been particularly depressing.

Yet Republican and Democratic administrations alike have persisted in the belief that African nations are capable of self-sustaining economic growth, given the right mix of internal reforms and foreign aid. At the present time, African countries are playing an increasingly important role as suppliers of primary commodities to an expanding global economy. It may not be long before a half-dozen or so of them take advantage of today's favorable markets to achieve an Asian-style economic breakthrough by implementing the right policies, as Ghana and Tanzania have done.

Like everyone else in the world, Africans are following the 2008 U.S. presidential election process with great interest. The candidacy of Sen. Barack Obama, D-Ill., who has paternal family links to western Kenya, has certainly created a special focus of interest on the continent. If he turns out to be our next president, African expectations of closer ties will likely grow exponentially. For his part, Obama has not been reluctant, as during his recent trip to Africa, to talk tough about corruption and anti-democratic practices.

Whoever moves into the White House in 2009 will continue to balance U.S. interests in Africa as a source of oil and other important commodities, and our worldwide efforts to combat terrorism and corruption, rigged elections, the absence of transparency, and the continuation of human rights abuses in too many parts of the continent. American tolerance of continued African leadership failures is likely to decrease considerably, as well. ■

Implementing AFRICOM: Tread Carefully



Clemente Botelho

The Africa Command represents a reorientation that will probably work well for us, but confuse local governments.

By Robert E. Gribbin

On Oct. 1, 2007, the United States Africa Command was established as a sub-unified military command, still subordinate to the European Command, which covers most of Africa. (The Central Command is responsible for U.S. military relations with the Horn, Egypt, Sudan and Kenya, while the Pacific Command covers activities in the Indian Ocean islands.) Headquartered in Stuttgart, Germany, AFRICOM will become fully responsible for U.S. military relations with all 53 countries in Sub-Saharan Africa by the end of the current fiscal year (Sept. 30, 2008).

The command is led by General William E. Ward, whose deputies are Ambassador Mary Carlin Yates (an FSO) and Admiral Robert T. Moeller. The FY 2008 transition-year budget is $75 million; $392 million has been requested for FY 2009.

The rationale for the new command is that it will improve the U.S. military focus on the continent and enhance American interagency support for the development of African military establishments. AFRICOM's mission is to build local capacity so that African states can manage their own security issues. It is also intended to stimulate professionalization, enhance civilian control and inculcate respect for human rights.

While many African governments embrace the idea of more attention to their military needs, they are concerned about possible great-power militarization of the continent. And they are apprehensive about the perception (as much as the reality) of undermining continental neutrality enshrined in the charter of the African Union (formerly the Organization of African Unity). Others are generally doubtful about of America's intentions.

Even though the Bush administration has articulated a credible explanation for the evolution to the new command, many observers — at home and abroad — remain skeptical. Details are scarce about how AFRICOM's civil and economic objectives will be pursued. President John Kufor of Ghana, for example, seized the occasion of President George W. Bush's recent stop to ask point-blank about U.S. intentions. Clearly, concerns arising from our military posture in Iraq and Afghanistan have provided fodder to critics. They variously decry the initiative as representing the extension of a global war on Islam, a preparation to annex African oil fields, and U.S. military interference in politics, including the threat of regime change for nations that run afoul of Washington's capricious whims.

Such conclusions are balderdash, to be blunt, but they do contain kernels of truth. American policy does combat terrorism and much of the global variety does have Islamic connections. We want the world's oil supplies to be secure and we do criticize autocratic regimes, especially those like Robert Mugabe's in Zimbabwe that egregiously abuse the rights of their people.

Reaching Out to African Militaries

Shibboleths aside, it is worth examining the premise that African military establishments merit American support at all. Even though national defense is regularly cited as their primary task, African armies rarely need to repel foreign invaders. Most African conflicts — e.g., Sudan, Chad, the Central African Republic, Cote d'Ivoire, Burundi, Liberia and Sierra Leone — arise from domestic issues. Only the unresolved Ethiopia-Eritrea border war, the recent Congolese wars and the Ethiopian presence in Somalia fit the mode of external aggression.

So instead of defense, the primary job of African armies is to protect the ruling regime by keeping the life president in power (by informal count some 15 current leaders initially came to power via military means) and to thwart threats to the status quo mounted by the opposition, democratic or otherwise. To this end, militaries or special units thereof become tribal fiefdoms loyal to the president and dedicated to his well-being.

Yet history shows that this sort of Praetorian Guard has had mixed results in protecting the incumbent. Many, if not most, coups were organized by those closest to the president. The list of chiefs of staff who staged them is lengthy: Amin, Bokassa, Kolingba, Deby, Buyoya, Bagaza, Habyarimana, Barre, Mobutu, Ironsi, Obasanjo, Babangida, Eyadema, Kountche, Bashir and more.

Perhaps recognizing this fact of political life, many presidents — including military men — have been only reluctant supporters of the national army. This hesitancy, reinforced by the impecunity of most states and the fact of underdevelopment, has kept African military establishments in the last rank. Even so, there is great diversity across the continent. Some are a mere hodgepodge of ill-equipped, untrained thugs who are more of a threat to society than an asset (e.g., the Democratic Republic of the Congo, Chad, Sudan). Others are a repository of political support for a regime, either because of ethnic affiliation or because of largess handed out to military leaders (Nigeria, Gabon). In some countries, army personnel are politically astute revolutionary fighters who learned their craft prior to becoming part of the ruling apparatus (Rwanda,

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Eritrea). And a few military establishments are impartial, professional and fairly competent, with limited objectives and responsibilities (South Africa, Botswana, Senegal).

In any case, almost all African institutions suffer from a lack of resources and equipment. Their leadership structure is often internally incoherent and subject to political interference. Still, compared with other national institutions in most of these countries, the military is well organized and adequately funded. Few nations have the wherewithal to operate tanks or fly jet aircraft, but they regularly cough up salaries for the troops. The challenge is sorting out the regime-maintenance function and the brutality that occasionally accompanies that from other defense responsibilities, and then judging when and where to draw the line regarding militaries that merit support.

Over the years, former colonial powers like Britain, France and Belgium, as well as the U.S. and Russia during the Cold War, and now China have sought to modernize and professionalize African militaries, with the aim of turning them into smaller replicas of their own establishments. In contrast to earlier years when revolutionary ideology constituted the basis for China's military cooperation with countries such as Tanzania, Zambia, Namibia and Zimbabwe, today Beijing is pushing a full range of military assets, weaponry and aircraft to all buyers. At least in part, this broader approach reflects Beijing's perception that Africa constitutes a growing market, as well as a source of sympathetic partners.

Washington continues to provide training and some equipment, such as basic troop kits, communications gear and night-vision devices, but little in the way of sophisticated weapons systems. Such limited access to the African military market is unlikely to change, for our offerings are simply too complex, expensive and unsuitable for the main tasks confronting the continent's armed forces.

Hard Calls

So what can we do? On a case-by-case basis, we already evaluate each country's military forces and offer the sort of help we deem realistic for its situation. This

ranges from zero assistance for the abusive, nondemocratic regimes, through various types of individual or unit training for the less egregious ones, to communications gear, electronic equipment, transportation assets and a full range of support for peacekeeping units run by more respectable nations. Such aid is predicated on a political assessment that it supports rather than contradicts broader U.S. policy in support of democracy, development and respect for human rights.

AFRICOM's mission is to build local capacity so that African states can manage their own security issues.

The nexus of two competing objectives is where the hard calls arise. For example, an African nation's commitment to counterterrorism might entice U.S. policymakers to seek closer ties to further such activism. However, recognition that the forces in question are blatant abusers of the rights of a struggling democratic opposition ought to dampen the prospects for American support. Which side do we want to be on in such cases?

The current crises in Chad and Kenya pose policy questions that might be answered differently in a robust AFRICOM era. We have not meddled in Chad (leave it to the French!), but would we do so if we were focusing greater attention on its army? And in Kenya, except for one brief foray into Naivasha, the army has thus far stayed in the barracks — in part because it, too, is riven by tribal divisions, so any deployment might well result in internecine violence. While we can applaud this restraint, it raises the question: What use is a national military in such a crisis? And what is the value of our investment in training it?

Both situations certainly fall under the rubric of maintaining continental security, one of AFRICOM's stated objectives. Yet it is hard to see how any direct U.S. involvement, via our military or theirs, could be productive in resolving these crises. Although U.S. policy eschews direct military involvement in such situations, American attacks against purported terrorist elements in Somalia, for example, suggest a likelihood that we would use those assets if we had them available.

It is important to keep in mind that DOD and State intend AFRICOM to be different from other combatant commands (e.g., EUCOM, CENTCOM and PACOM). It has still-undefined responsibilities and tasks beyond the purely military sphere. For example, staffing plans call for an FSO as lead deputy (Amb. Yates is already in place) and up to a hundred or more interagency personnel. If nothing else, this demonstrates a clear intent to develop programs that focus on humanitarian and development issues.

Some American advocates of paying more attention to Africa, particularly in the NGO community, dismiss AFRICOM as a ruse to do that without really providing more resources. But it is a near-certainty that once the command is in place, more resources will flow to it. Pentagon cynics would add that one more four-star billet and all the accompanying support translates into more opportunities for advancement.

Do Something Dramatic!

U.S. spokesmen have said that the new command will be oriented toward humanitarian issues and military improvements. It will respond to catastrophes, help build competent national militaries, sustain nascent regional organizations, support economic development and political democracy.

What appears to be missing in all the hoopla is an unequivocal response to Africa's pressing security needs: the elimination of warlords, reduction of ethnic strife, achievement of internal peace and creation of a safer regional neighborhood. More tangible support for the continent's armed forces, including training and some equipment, is indeed desirable, both for its own sake and to facilitate effective participation in African peacekeeping operations — to wit: Sudan, Somalia, Liberia and the Democratic Republic of the Congo. But while this is a laudable objective, the U.S. contribution has a long lead time, leaving dangerous situations to fester. Why not move faster?

Three opportunities come to mind. Fortunately, the first is already under way: using the U.S. Navy to combat piracy in the Red Sea and off the Horn of Africa. A broader effort to patrol the sea lanes off West Africa in order to halt illegal oil bunkering would be similarly aimed at restoring the rule of law. Clearly, this would entail enlisting the support of littoral states.

The most dramatic initiative would be the provision of U.S. helicopters to UNAMIS, the United Nations peacekeeping operation in Sudan. The U.N. is seeking a squadron of several dozen choppers, most for lift, as well

as several gunships. Efforts to find helicopters have so far come up empty, posing the risk that the whole operation will be scuttled.

Offering up such support would indeed reinforce our intent to help Africa. But howls and arguments against the idea would be loud: we cannot bleed Iraq for Sudan; the U.S. should never participate in U.N. peacekeeping operations; Sudanese President Omar al-Bashir would never accept American forces. Undoubtedly, these are legitimate issues, but if AFRICOM wants to respond to security needs in Africa, no better task awaits. The mere willingness to fight the policy battle within the U.S. government, and with the U.N. and Sudan, to implement such assistance would show solid commitment to Africa and underscore the legitimacy of the new command.

Ambassadorial Responsibility

From the State Department perspective, we need not fear AFRICOM's advent. Not only does it have positive elements that should advance U.S. interests in various African nations, but seconding FSOs to the command will help ensure that DOD has broader thematic perspectives. However, AFRICOM does pose some issues that, if not sorted out early, might become irksome.

Existing chief-of-mission authority is adequate for AFRICOM, so long as serving and future ambassadors exercise their responsibilities pursuant to the presidential letter of authority and under National Security Decision Directive 38, and the military components follow their own chain of command. In short, the ambassador has absolute authority over personnel and operations in his or her country of assignment. We should think about and treat non-resident AFRICOM personnel exactly as we did previous command elements.

All visitors, military and civilian, will still require country clearances. All programs, whether involving exercises (JCET), training (IMET and ACOTA), sales (FMS) or counterterrorism (TSCTP), are subject to ambassadorial approval. The only exception is the forces of the Combined Joint Task Force-Horn of Africa, some 1,500 troops stationed at Camp Lemonier, Djibouti, who currently fall under the operational control of CENTCOM (but will eventually shift to AFRICOM). In accordance with existing practice, such combat elements enjoy a separate chain of command, but their in-country, non-combat activities — drilling wells in Djibouti, for example — all remain subject to ambassadorial oversight. Because the new Africa Command does not anticipate stationing any additional combat personnel on the continent or setting up other bases, there should be no other exceptions to chief-of-mission authority.

As an aside, let me note that Africa Contingency Operations Training Assistance, the program that provides training and equipment to African units scheduled for deployment as multilateral peacekeepers, will not — at least initially — become an AFRICOM responsibility. ACOTA (formerly known as the African Crisis Response Initiative) is America's most successful and useful military program in Africa, one that has helped prepare contingents from Nigeria, Rwanda, Uganda, Burundi, Ghana and other countries for service in Darfur, Somalia, Liberia and the Congo. ACOTA is funded via the peacekeeping account administered by the State Department, and State does not intend to relinquish control.

Where to Set Up Shop?

Various soundings around the continent have shown that the time is not ripe for the establishment of a large military headquarters in Africa. The issue is apparently too emotional and too tied up in the uncertainties of what AFRICOM is all about. Logistics issues also constrain a move. Whenever a relocation from Germany is approved, facilities for it will have to be built from the ground up. Only Liberia, perhaps understanding the positive economic impact of such an installation, has stepped forward to seek emplacement of the headquarters on its soil.

Even though the headquarters will remain in Germany for now, AFRICOM anticipates standing up three or four sub-headquarters around the continent to get at least some personnel into the theater of operations. About 30 personnel on standard tours of duty would be assigned to each unit. Although locales have yet to be determined, logically they would correspond to the geographic regions of Africa. Djibouti already takes care of East Africa, but sites will still be needed in the west (Ghana or Liberia are leading candidates), the south (probably Botswana) and the north (Tunisia or Morocco) — although this idea has less traction. While the structure will be important for the countries concerned, what is most crucial from an interagency perspective will be the interaction between the regional headquarters elements and the host embassy.

Note that such regional offices will be a new global element to be invented in Africa. The sub-commands of other combatant commands — Diego Garcia, Okinawa,

Korea, etc. — include operational forces that are exempted from chief-of-mission authority.

On the whole, we should consider such offices similar to USAID's Regional Economic Development Services Offices: i.e., they and their personnel fall under COM authority. Thus, when they operate in a particular country, the U.S. ambassador there is in charge. And when they travel regionally, they come under the purview of the ambassador to each nation being visited.

It is worth noting that both USAID and DOD already deal separately with African regional organizations, such as the Southern African Development Community or the Economic Community of West African States. But what if ECOWAS wants to conduct a military exercise in Togo with U.S. input, with the planning, logistical support, etc. coming from its headquarters in Abuja? Which ambassador has authority? The answer is both, but this will require coordination on the U.S. side. Such multilateral coordination will loom even larger and become more complex as AFRICOM expands its cooperation with the African Union.

Practical Constraints

According to Pentagon sources, each AFRICOM regional office should consist of about 30 personnel; some uniformed, some not. These staffers will need a lot of office space that is clearly not available inside any existing embassy. Thus, pending expansion of chancelleries or building annexes, facilities will have to be leased. These personnel and their families will also need substantial administrative support: housing, health care, shipping, transportation, contracting, cashiering and educational opportunities for dependents. Virtually all these services will place an immense burden on receiving embassies. Although many AFRICOM personnel might be assigned on a TDY basis initially, the required logistical support package is just as intimidating as for those on longer tours, except perhaps for housing.

While all concerned will do their utmost to make this work, it won't be easy. A key principle at stake is equity: keeping the playing field level so that no one gets more, better or different services at post than anyone else. The new influx of staff — particularly military personnel who are accustomed to a global standard of support — will challenge that approach, but adherence to that principle will be key to making AFRICOM offices and personnel part of the country team.

An augmented in-country military presence also raises thorny operational issues like communications. Initially, AFRICOM offices can utilize existing embassy networks, but they will soon want their own separate systems. How can this be accommodated? Similarly, AFRICOM will want its own security force, which will affect the embassy's regional security office. Who will do the hiring? How will State and DOD practices be melded? Will there be military police alongside Marine security guard detachments? And then there is the question of weapons, an operational issue related to force protection in the wake of terrorist threats. Which members of the country team can bear arms and under what circumstances?

Then we come to responsibilities for reporting, intelligence collection and analysis. Most ambassadors have existing understandings with defense attachés as to which DAO messages need clearance by the political-economic section and the front office. But a larger military element at post will necessarily intrude upon such understandings. It will be incumbent upon the ambassador and the AFRICOM chief to work out these parameters. To ensure consistency, written guidelines should be developed.

Striking a Balance

With the Africa Command's advent, turf issues will intensify — and not just in the countries hosting those personnel. Already, U.S. military resources and projects are crossing ministerial lines across the continent. While the key local client for AFRICOM remains the ministry of defense, U.S. military resources already go toward projects in various civilian ministries, including water development, women's affairs, health, interior and aviation. Undertakings include a full gamut of activities ranging from humanitarian succor and HIV/AIDS prevention to democracy promotion and public diplomacy.

Obviously, military programming risks duplication where USAID, the Centers for Disease Control, Peace Corps Volunteers and others are already engaged. That said, host governments are quick to realize where the money is, so they will increasingly address their requests to U.S. military elements.

The proposed structure of AFRICOM responds to this reality. Although the number and type of interagency billets has yet to be finalized, it is clear that the command will have a significant civilian element, including experts in economic development and complex humanitarian emer-

gencies. But the U.S. already does a pretty competent job of economic development and humanitarian relief. What additional benefits — besides money — can the new command bring to those tasks?

Initially, AFRICOM wants several dozen FSOs for a range of political/military and economic jobs. Although such assignments would certainly reinforce the interagency character of the new command, it is unlikely that the Department of State can spare many personnel for such excursion tours in light of service demands for Iraq.

Washington policymakers, as well as ambassadors in the field, need to decide how much militarization of non-military assistance is wise and ensure that such undertakings are properly vetted. Such discussions will become increasingly important when (not if) AFRICOM gets more resources to play with.

In conclusion, the Africa command represents a reorientation of American bureaucratic responsibilities that will probably work well for us, but confuse local governments. Having nothing else to distract it, the new entity will undoubtedly focus on institutionalizing programs. This augurs well for a more consistent partnership with the continent, but how it evolves remains to be seen.

I suspect that African governments will adjust to progress and that press-stoked fears of U.S. hegemony will diminish. However, the temptation on the American side to do too much is real. Even a small AFRICOM looms large compared to host-country military establishments.

Furthermore, the command's initial resources will dwarf a number of national budgets. We should bear in mind the fact that Africa's absorptive capacity is limited and, as noted above, few of its leaders really want competent generals commanding capable forces.

To misquote Teddy Roosevelt, we don't need a big stick in Africa, but we do need to tread carefully. Although Washington (as usual) will have the ultimate say, it will be up to U.S. ambassadors in the field to guide all these new boots into careful paths. ■

REFLECTING ON NAIROBI: THE AFRICA BOMBINGS AND THE AGE OF TERROR

Clemente Botelho

A SURVIVOR REVISITS THE 1998 BOMBINGS OF THE AMERICAN EMBASSIES IN KENYA AND TANZANIA AND PONDERS WHAT WE HAVE LEARNED.

BY JOANNE GRADY HUSKEY

The bombing of the American embassy in Nairobi happened 10 years ago. It has taken that long to lessen the pain enough to allow myself to think about the significance of what happened on that morning in August 1998.

I suppose Mohammed Rashed Daoud al-Owhali was told that if he offered his life to Allah there would be untold rewards waiting for him in heaven. Whether it was that promise or the desire to be part of the jihad that motivated him,

we will never know. Certainly he had dedicated his life to this version of Islam. In 1996 he had trained in explosives in Afghanistan, where he met Osama bin Laden. In 1998, when bin Laden issued his fatwa to kill Americans anywhere in the world, Ohwali asked for a mission.

When he was selected by al-Qaida to be the one to deliver the bomb in Nairobi, he enthusiastically accepted the responsibility with his distorted sense of honor. He willingly entered into a covenant to kill Americans. I often wonder how many times he drove by the U.S. embassy in downtown Nairobi, or walked around it to check out the entrances and exits and plan his attack. Did anyone ever notice him studying the building?

I was in Kenya because my husband, Jim, was assigned to the embassy as a political officer. We had been in the Foreign Service for close to a decade by that time, having served in Beijing and Madras (now Chennai) before coming to Nairobi in 1996. We were there to represent our country, and because we both believe in and love the international life. We enjoy getting to know other cultures and people from different backgrounds and histories. We believe in the power of personal diplomacy. Moreover, we want our children — "made in China" and raised in India — to experience and understand the world.

Although Jim represented the United States in his role as diplomat, I had many differences with the way my country conducted its foreign policy. I was often critical of what our government did, like many Americans.

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On the morning of Aug. 7, 1998, after we'd been in Nairobi for two years, I went downtown with our two children, Caroline (5) and Christopher (8), to see the embassy doctor for a school physical. Afterwards we were going to meet Jim for lunch. We were all dressed up. I remember Christopher wore his blue blazer and khaki shorts; I wore a pink silk sheath and a blue blazer; and Caroline had on a little red smock dress with red sandals and white ankle socks. We wanted the day to be special for our family.

Driving into the city, I learned that the children had hidden our little cocker spaniel, Jingle Bells, in the car to surprise their daddy. I had to turn around and drive Jingles back home, explaining to the children that dogs were not welcome at the embassy, and then set out again.

By the time we arrived at the embassy, we were late for our appointment. We pulled into the parking lot behind the embassy at precisely 10:33 a.m., and parked next to an unfamiliar truck covered with canvas, with two men sitting in the front seat. I didn't pay much attention to them, though I did notice that there weren't many other cars in the back parking lot that day.

Perhaps Owhali watched as we walked past his truck. He saw my little red-haired daughter in her red dress and my son all dressed up, scampering excitedly to see their father. He saw me animatedly chatting with the guard at the back gate as he let us in. Was Owhali swearing under his breath that we were intruding on his plans? Did it bother him that we were going into the very building he was about to blow up? Did it even cross his mind that he was planning to kill us? Or perhaps he was saying his last prayers before he committed suicide and did not even notice us. Even if he had, I suspect we were only an image in his mind, not real human beings — just representations of the American "hegemonic evil empire."

While I was entering the building and walking my children down the long corridor into the embassy medical unit in the basement, Owhali was demanding that the embassy guard let his truck into the compound, through the gate we had just entered on foot. The guard adamantly refused — even when threatened. As I handed the school physical forms and the children's shot records to the embassy nurse, Owhali threw a stun grenade at the guard to scare him off.

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"What was that loud noise?" I asked the nurse.

"Probably a bus has blown out its tires in front of the embassy," she surmised.

As Christopher and Caroline were building a Lego tower on the floor in the doctor's office, fear must have

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A cross-cultural trainer and international educator, Ms. Huskey founded Global Adjustments in India, a relocation company that specializes in cross-cultural training. She is also a co-founder of the American International School in Chennai and a former international director of Very Special Arts International at the John F. Kennedy Center. She has published articles in Newsweek, *the* Washington Post, State *magazine, the* Foreign Service Journal, *and* Centered on Taipei.

seized Ohwali. Things were not going according to his plan, and he fled in panic. Seconds later, Owhali's colleague in the truck, known only as "Azzam," gave up on getting into the embassy basement and pushed the remote detonator button. The bomb exploded in the parking lot a few feet from our car.

Ten years after the bombings in Nairobi and Dar es Salaam, what have we learned?

I was thrown to the floor in pitch darkness. As I was trying to figure out what had happened, searching frantically for my children, Owhali was running away as fast as he could from the building he had helped destroy and the people he had helped kill. While I crawled through the rubble in the darkened embassy holding tightly to my children's little hands, desperately searching for a way through the chaos, down the long basement corridor and an escape from the devastated embassy, he passed hundreds of shocked people, many injured, all looking in horror at the burning building. As he ran past Kenyans whose lives had been thrown into turmoil, did it occur to him that he had helped kill many of them?

Of the dead, 212 were Kenyans and 12 were Americans. In the days that followed, while I helped organize the American Women's Association Relief Fund and worked with many Kenyan victims of the bombing, Owhali was cowering in hiding. Though he had hoped to destroy us, we — Americans and Kenyans — took care of each other, re-established a functioning embassy, set up blood banks, located bodies in morgues, attended memorial services, and buried our friends and family members. Even before he was arrested in Nairobi, we were already mobilizing funds for the rehabilitation of Kenyans injured in the bombing and getting to know them as friends united in grief.

I met Owhali again two years later, but only briefly. Kenyan authorities had turned him over to America to be tried for the bombing. In March 2001, I was invited, as a victim, to witness the trial — *United States v. Osama bin Laden, et al.*, held at the U. S. Department of Justice building in the Southern District of New York City. Owhali had not only admitted his guilt, but had boasted about driving the truck into the embassy compound.

I sat in the gallery with Sue Bartley, who had lost both her husband, Julian, and her 19-year-old son, Jay, in the bombing, and with other victims and their families. We watched as the four men charged with bombing the embassies in Nairobi and Dar es Salaam filed into the courtroom. Owhali looked right at me, but only for a second. His gaze was blank. I remember thinking what slight, passive-looking little men they all were. How could they hate so vehemently and indiscriminately?

As we listened to the testimony connecting Osama bin Laden to terrorist incidents going back to the 1993 bombing of the World Trade Center, Owhali sat comfortably, enjoying the full benefits of the American legal system. That evening, when I went to stay in the Marriott Hotel on the lower floors of the World Trade Center, he went back to his cell.

Six months later, in September, during the week the World Trade Center was obliterated, he would be sentenced to life in prison. When Owhali went to jail, was he laughing, as I and other Americans lit candles and mourned our dead?

Ten years after the bombings in Nairobi and Dar es Salaam, what have we learned? Although he had been ready to die as a martyr, Owhali sits in a maximum-security prison for life, while my family is serving at yet another overseas diplomatic post. Does Owhali feel any remorse for the horror he created, or would he do it again? As the families that lived through the bombings try to heal and forget, do we have any understanding of why it happened? Has there been any progress toward a peaceful solution? Has there been productive dialogue between leaders and diplomats from our respective cultures, or are we stuck in a "clash of civilizations" and a spiraling of endless violence?

Ironic and frightening as it may seem, our only hope is many more honest, nonviolent meetings between cultures — not accidental, but purposeful encounters between human beings who see and hear one another and try to understand, although our perspectives may be as different as night and day. Otherwise, this insanity will continue. The African bombings will be nothing more than two more horrific incidents among hundreds of others, and the suffering in Kenya and Tanzania will have been for naught.

LESSONS LEARNED 10 YEARS LATER
Interview with Prudence Bushnell, former U.S. ambassador to Kenya

JGH: *For the last 10 years you have been speaking around the country about your experiences as the ambassador in Nairobi at the time of the embassy bombing. What has been your main message?*

PB: I talk about leadership during times of crisis, based not only on what I learned after the bombing of the embassy in Nairobi, but what the community taught me as it responded to what had happened. The foreign affairs community, both the American and locally employed members, were a group of professionals who, despite the fact that they had just been blown up, picked themselves up, set their objectives and rebuilt everything from the bottom up. I put my own needs on hold to make myself worthy of the community I was leading. I, too, was a victim, and having empathy for what others were experiencing was critical to me as a leader.

JGH: *Do you think the State Department has become better at helping people cope with Post-Traumatic Stress Disorder since 1998?*

PB: I noted a lot of anger at the town meeting that Director General Harry Thomas hosted last October. I think it comes in part from a need for validation from department leadership for what employees are experiencing. In the case of Nairobi, no one in a leadership position ever said to us, "I am sorry for what you all have gone through." There is still a belief in the department that if you reward people who have been through danger and trauma with a good onward assignment, you have taken care of them. Most people need more validation of their experience and their response to it, whatever that may be. This is the foundation of reconciliation.

JGH: *What is the reason that our relations with Kenya remain strong, despite the trauma of the bombing and the fact that so many Kenyans died?*

PB: Our relations were shaken after the bombing because so many Kenyans were angry at the overwhelming death and devastation. But almost all of the American community stayed, met with Kenyans and faced their anger. I think the fact that we were on the ground and could show empathy, weep at funerals, help orphans, shake hands with mutilated teenagers, and provide rehabilitation assistance helped validate what the Kenyans had gone through.

JGH: *There seems to be such a fine line between the incredible need for personal diplomacy and the safety of Foreign Service officers. How can it be defined?*

PB: It comes down to defining what we, as a country, stand for. I have not seen that defined either by the current administration or by our presidential candidates. The lack of an articulation of the values on which we base our foreign policy makes it difficult to rationalize decisions, including the security risks. I do not think that fighting terrorists is a value; it may be an imperative, but that is different. If it is a world at peace we are seeking, then we would likely be creating a different range of policies and strategies. For example, if the U.S. seriously articulated the value of peace in the world, we could create a range of strategies to have diplomats promote peacemakers, rather than relying so heavily on our military to train warriors, as we are doing now. Without a definition of what we stand for as a country, it is hard to create coherent policies or correctly balance the need for safety and outreach in a way people can understand.

JGH: *Have we learned anything, as a country or as a State Department, in the decade since the bombing?*

PB: As an organization, we have learned a lot. I think Aug. 7, 1998, was the State Department's 9/11. I know that ambassadors and employees are far less likely to complain about security restrictions. One of the differences that the East Africa bombings created was a shift in attitude about the responsibility of department leadership — from the idea that our leadership doesn't owe us anything because we choose to be at a post, to: By God, they do owe us something because we have seen colleagues die and we could die, too.

As a country, unfortunately, we didn't really pay any attention to the bombings in East Africa. That changed, of course, on Sept. 11, 2001.

The Dalai Lama has expressed it eloquently: "Amid our perceived differences, we tend to forget how the world's different religions, ideologies and political systems were meant to serve humans, not to destroy them. Today, more than ever, we need to make a fundamental recognition of the basic oneness of humanity the foundation of our perspective on the world and its challenges."

We must demand more and better diplomatic efforts from all government leaders, and we must ask our religious leaders to lead us out of this morass. Most important, we must individually take on this universal responsibility to promote dialogue and understanding at every level, publicly and privately.

Secretary of Defense Robert Gates put it this way while speaking last November at Kansas State University: "We must focus our energies beyond the guns and steel of the military. We must focus our energies on the other elements of national power that will be so crucial in the years to come. The military is no replacement for civilian involvement and expertise. Where civilians are on the ground, even in small numbers, we have seen tangible and often dramatic changes."

How should we mark the tenth anniversary of the embassy bombings in Africa? We need to renew hope and each make efforts at global understanding the goal for this next decade, if we want to survive until the twentieth anniversary of the East Africa attacks. ■

THE AFRICA BUREAU'S INTELLECTUAL GODFATHERS

THOUGH THEY REPRESENTED VERY DIFFERENT PERSPECTIVES, RALPH BUNCHE AND RICHARD NIXON HELPED MAKE AF A REALITY 50 YEARS AGO.

BY GREGORY L. GARLAND

The Eisenhower administration's creation of the Bureau of African Affairs half a century ago signaled a bold step away from what had been a Eurocentric, quasi-colonial policy view of Africa. Far from being a decision made in a bureaucratic vacuum, AF's birth resulted from the interplay of three of the great forces of the mid-20th century: the civil rights movement, the Cold War and decolonization.

Ralph Johnson Bunche (1903-1971) and Richard Milhous Nixon (1913-1994) personified these forces and, in a very important sense, are the intellectual godfathers of AF. These towering and very different men of the mid-20th century embodied the many, often contradictory threads of U.S. policy toward Africa. Their paths rarely crossed, but the power of the ideas and interests they personified to a large extent determined and help explain the course of America's relationship with the continent for decades to come.

Interestingly, both men hailed from early 20th-century Southern California, a kind of post-frontier open society far from the racial castes of the Jim Crow South and the class tensions of the industrial North. Both rose from humble backgrounds with the aid of academic scholarships to college. And both considered themselves Californians first and last, even as they bucked the westward national migratory trend by living out much of their adult lives in the New York City metropolitan area.

A Professional Africanist …

By the 1940s, Ralph Bunche had established himself as a pre-eminent political scientist, a Harvard Ph.D.-holder who built up from scratch an African studies program at Howard University in Washington, D.C. He grasped acutely the intimate connection between institutionalized racism in the U.S. and colonialism in Africa. "As African-Americans," he wrote, "we are not permitted to share in the full fruits of democracy, but we are given some of the peelings from the fruit."

This professional Africanist had a far broader outlook, however. In 1941, he joined Swedish sociologist Gunnar Myrdal's team as it conducted a Carnegie Endowment-funded study of American race relations. Bunche wrote much of the groundbreaking work that study would pro-

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duce, *An American Dilemma* (1944), which provided the blueprint for the next two decades of the civil rights struggle. He also understood the full implications of the Atlantic Charter, the 1941 U.S.-U.K. document that proclaimed the freedom of all peoples as a central objective of the Allied war cause.

Nixon and Bunche crossed paths for the first time in 1957 at the ceremonies marking the independence of Ghana.

After Pearl Harbor, Bunche briefly worked for the Office of Strategic Services — precursor to the CIA — as an Africa specialist. He then joined State's Bureau of Near Eastern, South Asian and African Affairs as the resident Africanist, before moving to the newly established United Nations in 1945. There he focused on decolonization when he wasn't inventing international peacekeeping or serving as the U.N.'s premier troubleshooter, winning the 1950 Nobel Peace Prize for mediating the 1948 Israeli-Arab cease-fire.

In 1949, President Harry Truman offered Bunche a job as assistant secretary of State for Near Eastern, South Asian and African Affairs, but Bunche turned it down. After having taught at Howard University and served in the U.S. government in World War II, he refused ever again to live in a Washington, D.C., ruled by Jim Crow, or to work in a department where Africa was, at best, a professional afterthought. As he explained at the time, "It is well known that there is Jim Crow in Washington. It is equally well known that no Negro finds Jim Crow congenial. I am a Negro."

He spent the rest of his career and life at the United Nations, where he deserves considerable credit for the organization's leadership in pushing ahead with an early timetable for decolonization in Africa. As the organization's ranking American, he provided crucial behind-the-scenes encouragement to Washington to pressure Europeans to accelerate the independence of their African colonies. And it is here that Bunche's career intersected with that of Nixon.

… And a Hard-Nosed Realist

A decade younger than Bunche, Richard Nixon was a member of the Greatest Generation, a Navy veteran from World War II. As a member of the House Un-American Activities Committee, he built a reputation as a Cold War attack dog. His most famous target was Alger Hiss, who had worked at State from 1936 to 1946 in a variety of jobs focusing on post-World War II planning. Showing a genius for publicity, Nixon pressed a HUAC investigation of Hiss's links to the American Communist Party, which led to a conviction for perjury and 44 months in prison. His anticommunist credentials burnished, Nixon went on to the Senate, and then won a place alongside Eisenhower on the 1952 ticket.

Africa did not rank high on the White House's list of favored parts of the world in the 1950s. As for the State Department, it treated Africa functionally as an adjunct of Europe — which, politically, it was. The Bureau of Near Eastern, South Asian and African Affairs encompassed not only the African continent but the whole colonial world. Until Ghana gained its independence in 1957, there were only three sovereign countries in Sub-Saharan Africa: Liberia, Ethiopia and South Africa.

The rest of the continent consisted of colonies possessed by our Western European allies. There were some U.S. consulates scattered around what would eventually become national capitals but, as such, they reported to and took instructions from our embassies in London, Paris, Brussels and Lisbon. These colonial powers were the heart of NATO, and it was the security and reconstruction of Western Europe that mattered most to them and to Washington. No ambassador to a NATO member-state was going to advocate placing support for African decolonization ahead of completing reconstruction and containing communism.

Ever the realist, Nixon saw the stakes differently, particularly after a 1957 trip to Africa awoke his strategic imagination. There he witnessed firsthand the dynamic changes under way and recognized Africa's potential: Support for decolonization meant cultivating potential allies against communism, or at least deterring communist expansion.

It was during that trip that he and Bunche literally crossed paths for the first time. Nixon was representing the U.S., and Bunche the U.N., at the ceremonies marking the independence of Ghana, the first British colony in Sub-Saharan Africa to win full independence. However, there is no record of any conversation between the two high-ranking Americans. A charismatic third American,

Dr. Martin Luther King Jr., attracted the lion's share of attention from both the media and Ghanaians themselves.

Nixon's trip report recommended a new and assertive Africa policy of universal presence, economic development assistance, support for education, vibrant and visible cultural and information programs, and the creation of a Bureau of African Affairs headed by an assistant secretary. His approach offered a coherent vision of partnership with a region that has remained the hallmark of U.S. policy.

Until the late 1950s, State treated Africa functionally as an adjunct of Europe.

Nixon pressured State in subsequent months to move forward with creation of the new bureau. Historian Jonathan Helmreich has concluded that Nixon's aggressive needling was crucial in pushing the department's bureaucracy to follow through quickly on what was already a widely supported objective. In fact, Nixon's report dovetailed with Secretary of State John Foster Dulles' well-established view that an orderly decolonization process was in the American interest to minimize Soviet influence. It is also clear that the ambitious Nixon was moving to beef up his foreign policy resumé for a presidential run, and Africa offered a non-controversial opening that neither Eisenhower nor Dulles opposed.

All that said, Nixon's legacy is more than a bureaucratic reorganization. Over the ensuing years, the Africa Bureau would succeed in nurturing a corps of Africanists. AF's first assistant secretary, career FSO Joseph Satterwhite, set this process in motion, taking full advantage of the positions at all ranks suddenly being offered in dozens of new embassies. During the Kennedy and Johnson administrations, former Michigan Governor G. Mennon Williams raised the bureau's public profile in Washington and around the country with his campaign skills and political access.

Serving under Secretary of State James A. Baker III a generation later, FSO Herman Cohen seized the opportunity presented by the end of the Cold War to achieve a remarkable series of policy successes in southern Africa that helped pave the way to majority rule in South Africa itself. (For a full chronology of AF assistant secretaries, visit www.state.gov/r/pa/ho/po/12045.htm.)

These and other assistant secretaries, and the professionals they led, have become what one renowned Africanist, Professor Emeritus Crawford Young of the University of Wisconsin, describes as "regionalists within the system." These advocates did not often win the big policy battles with other regions and with what Young called "globalists," but they generated the kind of well-informed perspective that had been missing.

Burying Jim Crow

Eisenhower and Nixon also faced the changing landscape of racism back home. They saw clearly that segregationist policies were undermining America's credibility as the world leader for freedom and democracy. Those policies stood in stark opposition to the principles of the Atlantic Charter and the 1948 Universal Declaration of Human Rights, the seminal human rights documents of the post-World War II era.

Africans perceived this contradiction more acutely than anyone. As the rhetoric of the Cold War heated up, the Soviet Union took full advantage of Jim Crow to win African hearts and minds. Africans didn't have to be reminded that white Europeans had built up their empires on the backs of black men, leveling or co-opting their pre-European institutions in the interest of imperial stability and profit while keeping them subordinate within the colonial system. Soviet propaganda had only to add that white Americans had built their own prosperity on the back of black descendants of Africans, and kept them subservient under Jim Crow. Marxism offered the easy answer of an ideology that categorized racism as capitalistic, promising that the dictatorship of the proletariat would eliminate such prejudices.

At the same time, it is not commonly known that the State Department, beginning during the Truman administration, had encouraged civil rights efforts to defeat legally based racial discrimination. In a landmark 1948 restrictive covenant case, *Shelley v. Kraemer*, the Justice Department filed an amicus curiae (friend of the court) brief that used State Department language asserting the damage to foreign relations of racial discrimination at home. A similar amicus brief was filed in support of what became *Brown vs. Board of Education* (1954), in which the Supreme Court ruled racially segregated public schools inherently unequal and therefore unconstitutional. The Brown

decision was a classic example of the diplomacy of deeds, actions speaking louder than words: America was finally living up to its ideals.

Three years later, Eisenhower faced another civil rights crisis in Little Rock, Ark. The White House took account of official embassy reports from Africa and elsewhere about how foreign publics were closely following the crisis as a test of American intentions to enforce *Brown v. Board of Education*. Eisenhower's decisive handling of the crisis further strengthened the image of an America living up to its creed. It was in the immediate aftermath of Little Rock that the Bureau of African Affairs was born.

To be sure, as with so much else in his career, political opportunism featured in Nixon's support of civil rights — the backing of African-Americans in the pivotal northern industrial states. Still, there's a consensus that his position at this point in his career was driven as much by morality and Cold War strategy as by ambition. In 1960, Jackie Robinson, the gifted second baseman of the Dodgers who had integrated professional baseball, wrote a favorable commentary about Nixon. Then a presidential candidate, Nixon thanked Robinson in a letter, noting that, "I have consistently taken a strong position on civil rights, not only for the clear-cut moral considerations involved, but for other reasons which reach beyond our nation's borders." Without strong action on civil rights, Nixon continued, "we will suffer in the eyes of the emerging nations and uncommitted peoples. Beyond this, our present struggle with the forces of atheistic communism is an economic as well as an ideological battle. To deny ourselves the full talent and energies of 17 million Negro Americans in this struggle would be stupidity of the greatest magnitude."

Forging Close Trans-Atlantic Ties

Ralph Bunche's legacy epitomized the profound interest of African-Americans in Africa. Decades before Vice President Nixon called for cultural exchange programs to help educate future African leaders, a handful of colleges and universities (many of them historically black) were already performing the task, largely unnoticed by white America. Ghana's Kwame Nkrumah, a graduate of Pennsylvania's Lincoln University and the University of Pennsylvania, led Ghana to independence. Mozambique's Eduardo Mondlane, founder of the FRELIMO liberation movement, graduated from Oberlin College and received a Ph.D. from Northwestern University.

Starting in the 19th century, American missions operated schools that brought primary education to Africans where none had existed. These schools — open to all — educated generations of African leadership and in many countries have bequeathed a heritage of good will toward Americans. Ellen Johnson Sirleaf, the current president of Liberia, attended a United Methodist high school. President Jose Eduardo Dos Santos of Angola has said that he learned to play basketball in a Methodist mission. His long-time nemesis, the late Jonas Savimbi, attended school in a Congregational mission. And Holden Roberto, leader of Angola's third and weakest liberation movement, graduated from a Baptist mission school, where he learned fluent English.

Today, historically black colleges and universities and the Protestant missionary community remain the core constituencies for African affairs in the United States. This base has expanded to take in a broad swath of universities who have developed their own African studies curricula and have benefited from grants conferred by USAID and other agencies. Clemson and UCLA (Bunche's alma mater) are just as likely to weigh in on African issues as Howard or Fisk.

The evangelical movement among American Protestants has prompted the Assemblies of God, Christian Missionary Alliance, the Church of Latter-Day Saints, Southern Baptists and many other denominations to expand missions around the continent. Faith-based nongovernmental organizations such as Samaritan's Purse and World Vision have established themselves as credible suppliers of humanitarian and development services. Rick Warren, pastor of Saddleback Church in Orange County, Calif., and Franklin Graham (Billy's son) stand out as only two of the most visible and influential evangelicals active in Africa. And the exchange is two-way. Recently, when a number of theologically conservative Episcopal congregations broke away from the parent organization, they joined the Church of Nigeria (Anglican), home to the fastest-growing Anglican communion in the world.

One crucial African legacy of the civil rights movement is the current U.S. immigration regime. The Immigration and Nationality Act of 1965 scuttled the national quotas that had long favored European countries, opening the doors to large-scale immigration from the developing world. Africans lagged at first, but by

the 1970s, the first influx of Ethiopians reached the U.S. as refugees from the brutal dictatorship of Mengistu Haile Mariam. Nixon the politician would have appreciated the fact that Ethiopian-Americans now constitute a sophisticated, well-organized ethnic community, following in the pattern of Armenian, Polish and other powerful ethnic lobbies. Somalis, Eritreans, Kenyans, Cameroonians and Nigerians have all settled in the U.S. in large numbers, and are wielding influence in the foreign policy debate.

Another legacy of the civil rights movement is the generational change in attitude toward Africa on this side of the Atlantic. Bunche would have been proud to behold the engagement that Americans are conducting with Africans and vice versa. The Peace Corps has remained active since 1961, with thousands of alumni maintaining a lifelong commitment to Africa. And churches around America learn about Africans through their missions and routinely welcome them to our shores in this age of instant communication and travel measured in hours instead of weeks.

Celebrities ranging from Bono and Danny Glover to Mia Farrow have carried the banner for African causes and, most important, drawn the attention of young people to the continent. A series of commercially and critically successful Hollywood films such as "Blood Diamond" and "Hotel Rwanda" have featured serious African themes, starred African actors and been made in Africa. U.S. business is beginning to pay closer attention to Africa, as well, with the Corporate Council on Africa and Business Council for International Understanding serving as voices of the private sector.

Over the past half-century, the U.S.-Africa relationship has grown as deep as it has become wide. African-Americans not only make up a significant part of the population, but have spent four centuries building America and defining socially, culturally and morally what it really is. As Bunche implicitly assumed, Africa is a part of who we are as Americans. Nixon's realistic acknowledgment was simpler: Africa matters geopolitically. America ignores that fact at its own peril. ■

Three Days in N'Djamena

An eyewitness account of the recent civil war in Chad and attendant evacuation of embassy personnel.

By Rajiv Malik

Editor's Note: Life in Chad, like most Foreign Service hardship posts, poses major challenges even on the best days. But it takes something like civil war for such countries to make the news even briefly. The following account of a recent evacuation from N'Djamena to Yaoundé is based on a letter the author e-mailed to friends and family back in February.

Because of the rapidly deteriorating security situation in the capital, the embassy Emergency Action Committee decided at 4 p.m. on Thursday, Jan. 31, 2008, to ask all Foreign Service National employees to go home immediately and all Americans to go home before sundown. A sundown-to-sunrise curfew was imposed and all Americans were asked to consolidate into the embassy housing compound. Post management then decided to close the embassy on Friday, Feb. 1.

The next day, there were reports of fighting and high casualties between the Chadian government forces and rebels about 50 kilometers outside the city. Throughout the day, we were on a high-alert status and constantly monitored radio communications from our homes. Around 2 a.m. on Sat., Feb. 2, we were awakened with orders that all family members needed to get ready for evacuation within two hours.

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A Difficult Farewell

My wife Sandy and I hurried to get the kids' bags packed and woke them up. Even though we had tried to prepare them in advance for this eventuality, they were not ready for the reality. My 5-year-old son Nikhil broke into tears about not being able to take his new magic box with him, while my 7-year-old daughter Sonali couldn't understand why Daddy wasn't coming along. By 5 a.m., Sandy and the kids, along with all other family members of the American embassy staff, were driven off in a convoy to board a military aircraft to Yaoundé.

Because I was part of the embassy's essential personnel complement, I was scheduled to stay back along with several colleagues. It was still early Saturday morning, so

I decided to go back to my bedroom. However, I soon began hearing machine-gun fire and bombings in the background, followed by a burst of gunfire ominously close to the housing compound.

Immediately, we all received orders by radio to consolidate at the assistant regional security officer's home right next to mine. With bullets flying around us, we each ducked and ran there. Once we were all inside, the ARSO did a head count. He ordered all 11 of us to get down on the floor in his bedroom as incessant machine-gun fire broke out around us.

We were caught in a crossfire between the rebel forces heading towards the Presidential Palace and the government forces trying to stop them.

We soon realized that we were caught in a crossfire between the rebel forces heading toward the Presidential Palace and the government forces trying to stop them. Soon thereafter, a Chadian Army tank drove up to the boundary wall of the compound, barely 50 meters from where we were hunkered down, and started lobbing artillery shells. The rebel forces were armed with rocket-propelled grenades and kept shooting in our direction, trying to take out the tank. The sound of the shelling and the heavy machine-gun fire was truly deafening. As we kept low on the cement floor with our heads covered to protect ourselves from stray bullets and shrapnel, I prayed that the shells would not land on us and everyone would get out safely.

God was watching over us. While my home and the one on the other side were both hit by RPG shells, losing part of their roofs, the ARSO's home where we were gathered stayed intact, despite violent shaking as bombs went off. Heavy fighting continued all day Saturday, but it was only sporadic at nighttime, so we could grab a little shuteye.

Assessing the Damage

We learned that the chancery had taken several hits and one RPG had penetrated the upper offices but, thankfully, no one was hurt. The regional security staff, Marines and the DOD folks at post all did a great job of protecting us. However, several embassy homes were looted and many of us lost everything. Accordingly, post management decided to destroy all classified material and shut down the embassy as soon as possible.

Conditions were even worse elsewhere. There were bodies scattered all around the embassy housing complex and throughout the city. Many of the offices and restaurants along Charles De Gaulle Avenue, the capital's main thoroughfare, were destroyed.

Early Sunday morning, Feb. 3, I got a call from Sandy, who was safely in Yaoundé with the kids. She had heard reports of the fighting and was very worried about all of us. Then she mentioned that if I evacuated, she wanted me to get the kids' pictures and my daughter's special snow globe that I had given to her as a gift. Since there was a lull in the fighting, I asked for permission to run out to my home and was allowed to go back for just five minutes.

Once inside my home, I saw the hole in the ceiling from the shell that had come through the roof, piercing my graduate diploma from the University of Virginia that, amazingly, was still hanging on the wall. As I hurried to gather family pictures, I was flooded with memories from our 10 years of marriage and the birth and life of our two dear children. There was no time for decisions about what to take and what to leave; I simply grabbed what I could fit into my small backpack.

On to Yaoundé

The fighting resumed soon thereafter, and it was another miserable morning. Later that afternoon, we got the order to evacuate and boarded armored cars for the perilous drive to the French military base. There we were reunited with the rest of our colleagues who had stayed in the embassy over the last two days, before being airlifted in a helicopter.

After spending the night in a tent, we left for Cameroon in a C-130 early on Monday morning, Feb. 4. There I was reunited with my wife and kids. My son saw me from a distance at the hotel entrance and came out running to give me a hug; it was the best welcome I could have gotten. I arrived in Yaoundé exhausted and without even a change of clothes. But I had made it out alive and was able to enjoy dinner with my family, and for that I am grateful.

We stayed in Yaoundé for a few days before depart-

ing for the U.S. I am now working in the Africa Bureau with some other colleagues from post. We are living in temporary accommodations in Falls Church, Va., and have enrolled our children in elementary schools there. N'Djamena remains under ordered departure, but the embassy has reopened and I will be returning to post soon — though without my family this time.

Fighting in the Chadian capital caused extensive damage. At left, an embassy employee's car that had been stripped. Right, looking thru the shattered windows of a gutted embassy residence.

In Washington, we witnessed an outpouring of generosity from our friends and colleagues, who picked us up from the airport and provided us with warm clothing and jackets. It has been a humbling and gratifying experience, and I want to deeply thank everyone for their kindness, prayers and best wishes for our safety. ■

AFRAID OF OUR SHADOW: CORRUPTION DEVOURS AFRICA'S MIDDLE CLASS

THE U.S. NEEDS TO MOVE MORE AGGRESSIVELY AGAINST ENTRENCHED CORRUPTION IN AFRICAN SOCIETIES FOR THE SAKE OF THE CONTINENT'S FUTURE.

BY DANIEL WHITMAN

Corruption presents the United States with as urgent a challenge as any in the developing world, but also one of the easiest to tackle. Terrorism follows the money, and failed states are terrorism's playground. The African Union estimates that corruption costs its members at least $150 billion per year, or about one quarter of the continent's meager GDP. In many African capitals, opulent palaces serve as blatant, daily reminders of where the treasure resides.

Dig below the surface of wealth in a corrupt country, however, and you will discover the most prized possession in a cache of ill-gotten gains: the foreign visa, especially one issued by the U.S. The psychological comfort of the visa is incalculable: it is the safety net of egress in times of civil unrest or coup; a destination for shopping sprees and medical treatment; and an educational platform for the sons and daughters of the plutocracy.

George W. Bush's Presidential Proclamation 7750, issued at the January 2004 Summit of the Americas in Monterrey, Mexico, provides a tool to intervene constructively to help break the cycle of misery and injustice. The proclamation, which strengthens U.S. immigration laws, mandates the denial of visas to "persons engaged in or benefiting from egregious official corruption."

No unilateral foray, the proclamation meshes with the "No Safe Haven" approach of our Group of Eight partners. In the Evian Declaration of May 2003, G-8 members resolved: "We will each seek in accordance with national laws to deny safe haven to public officials guilty of corruption, by denying them entry, when appropriate, and using extradition and mutual legal assistance laws and mechanisms more effectively."

Yet four years later, Proclamation 7750 has hardly been used. Though it has apparently been applied with some success in the Western Hemisphere, according to State Department officials who declined to provide any further information, it has been used only "dozens, not hundreds of times" worldwide. Moreover, in Africa, where it is most needed and where it could arguably be most effective, it has rarely, if ever, been invoked.

The Scourge of Kleptocracy

Loyalty to clan and family notwithstanding, the extent of theft in many African nations disproportionately limits

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productivity and even reduces the pool of wealth available to those who would steal it. Cultural relativism does not apply here: the pilferage is flagrant and visible on any street corner in the form of trickle-down graft as gendarmes hit up taxi drivers, pedestrians and fruit sellers for their meager earnings. All clans suffer.

There are many countries, both in Francophone Africa and beyond, where one can see the kleptocracy in action. These eyewitness accounts happen to stem from my last overseas post, Cameroon, though they are commonplace elsewhere, as well:

• A security guard at the American embassy, working on a salary of $80 per month, is hit up for a $250 bribe to register his teenage daughter in public school.

• The manager of a tiny hair salon, after bribing her way into the rear annex of an automobile repair shop, is approached by self-appointed tax collectors who threaten to cordon off the salon if she does not pay, on 24 hours' notice, a quickly improvised impôt de bail (renter's tax) on the rent she has already paid for use of the premises. She borrows the 50,000 FCFA ($100, a month's income) to keep her precarious microbusiness alive. She then pays an impôt libératoire (estimated tax on business profits) on the income received, and yet another tax on the actual use of the rented space. The total comes to one-third of her yearly income of $2,000, in exchange for zero services rendered by the state.

• Gendarmes stop a hundred taxis per day in December, in plain view in the city's busy social center, to provide money for Christmas gifts to their families. The armed "mange-milles" (thousand-franc scavengers) — who demand the equivalent of $2 — are cordial to those who pay up, threatening to those who don't.

• A local restaurateur has his papers confiscated by gendarmes three times in one evening as he drives his private vehicle through a prosperous section of the city to visit friends. He pays $10 and spends an hour each time to retrieve his documents.

• A citizen from the northern part of the country gives up a week's earnings to endure a 20-hour bus trip to the capital, in order to obtain a national ID card that will entitle him to vote, travel to neighboring countries and obtain a bank account. After five days in the sweltering heat of an outdoor facility (no water, no bathroom), the citizen must either return home empty-handed or pay hefty bribes to four officials along the bureaucratic chain who can "facilitate" the issuing of the document.

• A 23-year-old victim of three muggings in six weeks seeks to report her losses to the police, who turn her away. She travels at the cost of a month's income to her native village, where she must give local officials $100 for a copy of her birth certificate as proof of identity.

Who Will Bell the Cat?

These abuses will shock no reader of this publication. That the system of corruption helps maintain the wide gap between a tiny, obscenely rich elite and the mass of impoverished citizens, cannibalizing the middle class, is well understood. But such anecdotes remind us that while corruption in rich nations leaves a bitter taste, in poor countries it destroys lives. And they also lead us to ask why the U.S. does not act resolutely to redress this scourge with the tools at hand — in particular, Proclamation 7750.

Official words and declarations have had little effect. Intercepting illegal financial transactions is praiseworthy; but it is highly technical, difficult to do and ineffectual while other countries siphon off the lucre that we bar. Legal action requires confidentiality and stealth. But 7750's use, together with more public discussion of the subject, would cost little, energize and encourage victimized majority populations, and create a badly needed deterrent.

To his credit, Ambassador R. Niels Marquardt broke the sound barrier on the corruption issue in Cameroon on Jan. 19, 2006, in a public statement in Yaoundé that changed the tenor of public discourse in that country. Willing to use the C word, he noted in a televised statement: "It saddens me to say that a well-developed culture of corruption appears to have taken root … over recent years. No institution seems to be immune from this scourge."

The ambassador continued: "With the war [on corruption] declared, the authorities must have the tools to fight it. It is not enough to publish the names of those suspected of corruption or even to fire them from their positions. Those accused must be investigated, formally charged, tried in court and sentenced if found guilty."

Amb. Marquardt's popularity in Cameroon soared, ramparts were breached, and conversation at all strata and in every milieu scarcely strayed from the topic for more than two months. Six minor local officials were brought to trial and, under Western eyes, sent to the slammer. The familiar names of the most corrupt, pillars of the elite,

were on the tongues of a highly informed and sophisticated public that waited for the other shoe to drop.

Embarking on a cogent and consistent strategy, Amb. Marquardt met regularly with high-ranking local officials behind closed doors, offering an open hand of cooperation in a campaign against corruption to the country's officials.

Proclamation 7750 put a significant new tool into the hands of American officials.

At the same time, one "Most Corrupt Official" was working to derail, for personal gain, a $100 million airline deal that promised enormous mutual benefit for both the U.S. and the host country. But when the MCO sought a visa, the embassy gave him a tip-off to withdraw his application instead of invoking Proclamation 7750 to deny it — apparently on instructions from Washington.

In the official silence that ensued, unfounded rumors began percolating that the ambassador had been on the take or was successfully threatened to halt an effective anti-corruption campaign. In the end, the airline deal fell through.

Now, however, more than two years later, the MCO in question — and another — have been removed from their government positions, and appear to have been arrested, on March 29, for embezzlement. A symbolic number of other crooked ministers have also been dismissed, though none of the important ones has yet been prosecuted.

Amb. Marquardt deserves ample credit for managing the quiet process that led to these arrests. Still, questions remain: Will the arrests lead to real convictions, and restitution of stolen public funds? Were they staged to placate Western embassies, with a wink to the accused? Can the public trust be regained after years of disappointment and dashed hopes? In February of this year, rage boiled over and cities burned; 100 people were killed and 1,500 arrested, many of them arbitrarily. Might the process have been accelerated to spare the violence?

A New Weapon

The Cameroon experience shows that a U.S. effort to work with host governments to challenge corruption can strike a responsive chord in Third World countries when carried out with persistence. It also suggests that even more aggressive action on the issue could be successful and beneficial.

Proclamation 7750 is a potentially powerful tool in the hands of American officials for this purpose. As published in the *Federal Register* on Jan. 14, 2004, the order bars entry to the U.S. not only to corrupt public and former public officials whose behavior "has serious adverse effects on the national interests of the United States," but also to their families. It specifically bars entry in instances where individuals' actions result in "serious adverse effects on … the stability of democratic institutions and nations."

Under the measure, now part of Section 212(f) of the U.S. Immigration and Nationality Act, a visa should be denied to individuals in the following categories:

"(a) Public officials or former public officials whose solicitation or acceptance of any article of monetary value, or other benefit, in exchange for any act or omission in the performance of their public functions has or had serious adverse effects on the national interests of the United States.

"(b) Persons whose provision of or offer to provide any article of monetary value or other benefit to any public official in exchange for any act or mission in the performance of such official's public functions has or had serious adverse effects on the national interests of the United States.

"(c) Public officials or former public officials whose misappropriation of public funds or interference with the judicial, electoral, or other public processes has or had serious adverse effects on the national interests of the United States.

"(d) The spouses, children, and dependent household members of persons described in paragraphs (a), (b) and (c) above, who are beneficiaries of any articles of monetary value or other benefits obtained by such persons."

In an explanatory cable sent by the Department of State to all diplomatic missions on March 1, 2004, Secretary of State Colin Powell noted that "the threshold for ineligibility under the proclamation is quite high." Required is "evidence indicating whether the person has engaged in or benefited from public corruption." Further, the "serious adverse effects" of the corruption on the "international economic activity of U.S. businesses, U.S. foreign assistance goals, the security of the United States against transnational crime and terrorism, or the stability of

democratic institutions and nations" must be spelled out.

Visa officers or other embassy officials must submit their cases to the Bureau of Consular Affairs and the Under Secretary for Political Affairs in Washington, with P making the final call.

The Case for Implementation

The case for broadening the implementation of Proclamation 7750 is compelling. Corruption devalues the foreign assistance dollar: after skimming at each level, only a relatively small fraction gets to the intended project or beneficiary, and its productivity is thereby greatly reduced. And, under some circumstances, institutionalized graft makes private investment absolutely prohibitive, thus undermining the basis for economic growth and prosperity.

As Colin Powell noted in his explanatory cable: "Corruption fundamentally threatens public trust and the integrity of basic institutions, and therefore undermines both democracy and security." He linked 7750 explicitly to the formula for eligibility for the Millennium Challenge Account, whose aims and objectives its use would complement.

Powell also noted in his 2004 cable that the initiative is linked to the "No Safe Haven" approach. Indeed, two years later, at their 2006 summit in St. Petersburg, the G-8 underlined its importance: "Corruption by holders of public office can deter foreign investment, stifle economic growth and sustainable development, and undermine legal and judicial systems. The net effect of corruption is felt most directly, and disproportionately, by the poor." They also called for greater cooperation on prosecution and implementation of the OECD Anti-bribery Convention, regional and bilateral trade agreements, fiscal transparency, combating money laundering, and global ratification and implementation of the U.N. Convention Against Corruption.

So far, however, according to Global Financial Integrity, a think-tank based in Washington, D.C., the declarations have not blocked the entry of corrupt officials to any of the G-8 countries as intended. Clearly this multilateral initiative needs some leadership.

Suspension of U.S. visas does not require indictment or conviction in the judicial sense; it simply entitles and obliges consular officers to deny entry to persons "we believe have engaged in corruption." The measure is sound, ethical, potentially effective and not hegemonic. Alas, we seem to lack the backbone to use it.

A Cameroonian view of a U.S. ambassador preparing his exit from an African country. His carry-on luggage is marked "Champion in the struggle against the fat cats of corruption." He thinks: "I just hope I will have left a legacy." Meanwhile, "the corrupt and the pillagers" piled into a wheelbarrow collectively ruminate: "Whew, finally he's on his way. Now we'll have some breathing room." By Nkumbe Joseph Epie, in The Humorist.

In fact, it is nearly impossible to obtain any clear, concrete information about 7750's use to date. While U.S. visa law understandably forbids divulging the findings of individual cases, the reluctance of government officials even to mention the measure in public echoes the scene from "Dr. Strangelove" in which a nasal and stressed American Peter Sellers addresses a stolid Soviet Peter Sellers: "But Dmitri, if you had a doomsday weapon, why didn't you *tell* us you had a doomsday weapon?!"

Lesson: deterrence works only if you talk about it.

A Patriotic Act

Making Presidential Proclamation 7750 an effective deterrent by actually using it will cost the American taxpayer nothing. It will engage the United States in a valuable multilateral effort and will demonstrate that Washington means business without creating perceptions of swaggering, which the populations of many developing

countries rightly or wrongly associate with our current foreign policy.

Tolerance for corruption is rampant on all continents, but the scourge can be effectively addressed in much of Africa, where U.S. prestige is still high. It can help release large populations from the insult of silence that stifles their hopes for fair play or a chance to live decent if modest lives. Such an initiative threatens the sovereignty of no nation, requires no military or constabulary to deploy, and restores hope to the large majority of people who look to the outside merely for validation of their circumstances, seeking no handouts.

Cameroonian writer Jean-Claude Shanda Tonmé pondered the well-intentioned 2005 "Live 8" demonstrations in Edinburgh, Paris, Johannesburg and Philadelphia that were meant to draw attention to Africa's material needs and secure commitments of assistance from Western countries to meet them. As he wrote then in the July 15 *New York Times*:

"We Africans know what the problem is, and no one else should speak in our name. Don't insult Africa, this continent so rich yet so badly led. Instead, insult its leaders, who have ruined everything. We need to rid ourselves of these cancers. We would have preferred for the musicians in Philadelphia and London to have marched and sung for political revolution. Instead, they mourned a corpse while forgetting to denounce the murderer."

Public denunciation of specific wrongs would be an act of American patriotism in a time of generally undermined U.S. prestige abroad. It would remind us, and others, of who we are as a nation, and how we may best honor and assist the people of foreign nations and their enormous, betrayed potential.

We should send a clear message: those who cheat the people of their modest wealth and dignity are not friends of the U.S., and will not be welcome to our shores. The job of prosecuting them may belong to the local government, but whether they are formally prosecuted or not, we will deny them entry. It is our right and obligation to do so. ■

AFSA NEWS

American Foreign Service Association • May 2008

REPORT FROM CAIRO

AFSA VP Attends Entry-Level Conference

AFSA State Vice President Steve Kashkett traveled to Egypt to participate in the March 10-12 Near Eastern Affairs Bureau's regional entry-level conference. Entry-level Foreign Service members at Embassy Cairo did a superb job organizing this annual event, which brought together more than 60 first- and second-tour FS generalists and specialists from every NEA post.

Like most entry-level conferences over the past two years, this one was divided between presentations on regional policy issues and sessions devoted to career-development concerns. VP Kashkett's role was to address the latter subjects, including career planning and family management in the era of Iraq/Afghanistan and the proliferation of unaccompanied posts; strategies for securing assignments and promotions; family-member employment overseas; and Member of Household policies.

The attendees displayed keen interest in AFSA's views on the future of an "expeditionary" Foreign Service that is more focused on transformational diplomacy and dealing with active war zones and areas of conflict than ever before. Not sur-

Continued on page 53

SMALL INCREASE IN SEPARATE MAINTENANCE ALLOWANCE

Involuntary SMA Gets a Boost

A long-awaited increase in the Involuntary Separate Maintenance Allowance — which AFSA has been fighting for over the past three years — was announced March 14. AFSA appreciates the efforts of Under Secretary for Management Patrick Kennedy to get an increase through the system. Unfortunately, the boost was much less substantial than AFSA had urged, amounting to about 10 percent.

Involuntary SMA at the posts in question (which differs from the Voluntary Separate Maintenance Allowance in that these assignments are mandatorily unaccompanied, no families allowed) should cover most of the costs of maintaining a family at a separate location when the employee is assigned to an unaccompanied post. In fact, ISMA has long been woefully inadequate, failing to cover the cost of a D.C.-area rental home, not to mention food, household needs and transportation.

AFSA's contention was that a dramatic increase — perhaps even a doubling of the ISMA — was needed and would send an unmistakable signal to the Foreign Service community that State was now going to start taking proper care of families separated by unaccompanied postings.

The new rates took effect March 16, and can be found on the Internet at: http://aoprals.state.gov, and on the intranet at http://aoprals.a.state.gov/. ❑

In This Issue:

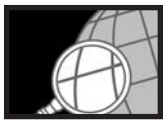
JOSH

AFSA HQ Renovation Project Update

The AFSA headquarters renovation is progressing. The current expected move-in date will be late this year. We'll keep you posted.

In the meantime, please continue to reach AFSA staff and officers at their regular phone numbers and e-mail addresses, or stop by the Labor Management office in Room 1251 of the Truman Building or the temporary headquarters in Suite 1250 of State Annex 15, located at 1800 North Kent St., Arlington VA 22209.

AFSA NEWSBRIEFS



PIT Buyback Contribution Refunds

If you worked as a PIT (part-time intermittent temporary) employee and contributed to the Federal Employees Retirement System for less than five years — which is the minimum length of service needed to qualify for a FERS annuity — you may wish to ask for a refund of your retirement contributions.

You can apply for a refund of your retirement contributions if you have been separated from federal service for at least 31 days (or have occupied a position not covered by FERS for at least 31 days). If you have more than one year of service, interest on the contributions will be part of the refund.

Please be aware that if you receive a refund for your PIT service and later are re-employed by the federal government, you will not be able to repurchase credit toward retirement for your prior PIT service.

Applicants who have been separated from federal service for at least 31 days may request a refund by submitting Form SF-3106, Application for Refund of Retirement Deductions, to this address: Office of Personnel Management, Federal Employees Retirement System, P.O. Box 45, Boyers PA 16017-0045. The form can be downloaded at www.opm.gov/forms/pdf_fill/SF3106.pdf.

Collective Grievance for Newly-Promoted SFS Members

At the request of a majority of those promoted across the senior threshold in 2006, AFSA has prepared a collective grievance to contest the denial to them of any annual performance-based salary increase. The claim for redress is based on the grounds that the effective date of their promotion to the Senior Foreign Service — which is a product of the paper flow between the White House and Congress — did not occur until less than 120 days before the end of the 2006-2007 rating cycle. Nearly three-fourths of this promotion cohort have signed onto this grievance.

FSJ Welcomes New Business Manager

We are pleased to report that former FSO Alicia J. Campi joined the *Foreign Service Journal* staff as the new business manager in March. (Former *Journal* Business Manager Andrew Kidd moved on in January.) The holder of a Ph.D. in Mongolian studies, Ms. Campi served in Singapore, Taiwan, Tokyo, New York, Ulaanbaatar and Washington, D.C. After leaving the Foreign Service in 1991, she became president of the U.S.-Mongolia Advisory Group, and remains in this position today. Her book on the history of U.S.-Mongolian diplomatic relations is due for publication this year.

As research coordinator for the Immigration Policy Center from 2004 to 2007, Ms. Campi gained extensive publication experience. In addition, since 1996 she has been teaching courses on China at the Washington Center for college students doing a Washington semester. She can be reached at campi@afsa.org.

Seeking Information from Vietnam, 1965

Peter M. Hunting was working with International Voluntary Services in Vietnam when he was killed in the Mekong Delta by the Vietcong on Nov. 12, 1965, on Highway One, 15 kilometers southwest of Can Tho. His sister, Jill Hunting, is conducting research for a book that expands on an article she wrote for *Washington Post Magazine* (March 18, 2007).

Ms. Hunting would like to hear from anyone who knows something about the incident or who is familiar with the U.S. Operations mission in the Delta at that time. She can be contacted at info@jillhunting.com, or (202) 834-5339.

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Overseas Pay Disparity: Debunking the Myths

The ever-widening overseas pay disparity remains the top concern for Foreign Service employees, increasingly frustrated at having to swallow what has now become a *21-percent cut in base salary* when they leave Washington to take an overseas assignment. It drags down morale and discourages people from seeking foreign postings. It is a glaring inequity that Congress and the administration should have corrected long ago.

While the pay gap may not yet be driving good people out of the Foreign Service in large numbers, what will happen in the next few years as it keeps widening? D.C. locality pay for federal employees usually increases by at least a couple of percentage points annually, so three or four years from now we will take a 30-percent drop in base pay to serve overseas. And how about five or six years from now, when you will need a maximum hardship 35-percent differential posting just to earn what you would have earned staying at a desk job in Washington? There will be a breaking point when this gross injustice starts seriously undermining recruitment and retention.

Yet this looming crisis facing our profession is barely on Congress's radar screen and is widely misunderstood by Hill staffers, the media and the public. As AFSA lobbies constantly for overseas comparability pay — and when members raise this issue with visiting congressional delegations (and even with friends and family) — we confront the same yawning disinterest and cynical questions: Aren't you diplomats already overpaid compared to other government employees? Don't you already get perks that nobody else enjoys? And of course: Doesn't your free housing overseas make up for the pay cut?

These questions reflect the myths we struggle against in trying to convince Congress to act. Debunking these myths is vital if we are ever going to get overseas comparability pay. All of us in the Foreign Service need to speak out to set the record straight. Some thoughts on how to answer these questions:

MYTH 1: Overpaid diplomats. The Foreign Service pay scale is directly parallel to the Civil Service schedule, and — as anyone trying to rise through the FS mid-level ranks can attest — our highly competitive promotions are slower than for most U.S. government workers. All other federal employees in the U.S., however, get locality pay added to their base salary as a way to bring professional government salaries a bit closer to those in the private sector. But because Congress never legislated an overseas counterpart to locality pay, FS employees abroad simply do not get this adjustment. Why should foreign affairs professionals serving in some of the most difficult hotspots around the globe be excluded? Other U.S. government agencies, notably our friends up the river, have adjusted their overseas employees' salary structure internally to compensate for the loss of locality pay.

MYTH 2: Foreign Service "perks." The insinuation that other allowances authorized by the Foreign Service Act make up for the 21-percent pay cut is just plain offensive. Those allowances exist to address specific costs and hardships unique to working for long years overseas.

Danger pay compensates for the extreme risks of living in a country wracked by war, terrorism, political violence or endemic lawlessness. Educational allowances make it possible for FS members to cover their kids' schooling in countries where no viable public schools are available. Cost-of-living allowances help defray the cost of food and other daily needs of life in countries where those things are vastly more expensive than in the United States. These were never meant to obviate the need for the basic locality pay adjustment that all other federal employees get.

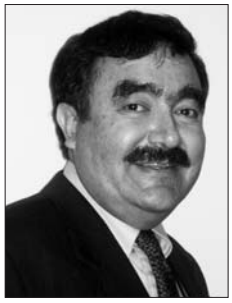
MYTH 3: Free housing. Just because FS members are placed in government-supplied housing when posted overseas does not mean that they reap a financial windfall. Most of our members own a home in the U.S. on which they have to pay a mortgage, upkeep, insurance and property taxes — and renting it out (often impossible) rarely covers all of these expenses and is itself a costly proposition. Moreover, numerous "hidden" costs of overseas service vastly outweigh any benefit from government housing:

- Pursuing an overseas career makes it virtually impossible for Foreign Service families to maintain two professional incomes, which is the norm for domestic federal employees. Rarely can FS spouses successfully pursue a professional career when moving from one foreign location to another. Lack of opportunities, licensing obstacles and language barriers often force FS families into a single-breadwinner situation, which translates into tens or hundreds of thousands of dollars in lost income.
- Numerous, frequent out-of-pocket costs of pursuing an overseas career far outweigh any benefit from government-supplied housing. Examples: flying your family back to Omaha from some remote central African post for your brother's wedding, for your sister-in-law's life-threatening illness, for a beloved relative's funeral, or for many other important family/friend occasions not covered by authorized visitation travel. These common expenses routinely cost FS members thousands of dollars.

AFSA's latest briefer on overseas comparability pay is at: www.afsa.org/OCP2008Jan.pdf. Debunking these myths is a battle we all must fight, before it is too late. ❑

V.P. VOICE: **USAID** ■ BY FRANCISCO ZAMORA

If It's Broken, It's Time for a Trade-in



The repeated mention of "wheels" in the May *FSJ* article by Gordon Adams, a professor at American University, "Don't Reinvent The Foreign Assistance Wheel," reminded me of the old Toyota Camry station wagon that served me well for more than 12 years. Although it got me where I needed to go most of the time, it started breaking down more and more frequently. I replaced two broken electric window motors, brittle door handles and had problems with the wheels.

When the automatic transmission stopped working, I finally decided it was time for a trade-in for a more dependable new car. I knew that pouring more money into the old car was not smart in the long run.

This is the situation we find ourselves in with foreign assistance today. We can no longer just fix it by installing an "F" Bureau in the chassis. The foreign assistance model itself must be replaced.

When President John F. Kennedy created the U.S. Agency for International Development back in 1961, his intent was to establish a new agency that would eliminate the "bureaucratically fragmented, awkward and slow … multiplicity of programs" that constituted foreign assistance then. During the next 40 years of the Cold War, USAID worked fairly well at bringing good will and development assistance to the underdeveloped world.

Now the foreign assistance machine, like my old car, is showing its age. The situation has changed dramatically and, as Prof. Adams correctly observes, the current administration has again created a multiplicity of additional mechanisms — including the Millennium Challenge Corporation, the President's Emergency Plan for AIDS Relief, the President's Malaria Initiative and the Middle Eastern Partnership Initiative — outside the USAID vehicle, generating confusion.

Unfortunately, Adams and others believe you can keep driving the same old foreign assistance model forever by creating another mechanism, this one known as "F." Instead, we need to trade it in for a new model, a Cabinet-level agency with clout and support from the administration, Congress, the public, our partners and the international community.

The F framework supposedly targets individual countries, emphasizing that they are at different stages of development and need. In reality, it pigeonholes them within a one-size-fits-all mold. Countries are complex entities, and it is important that country-specific development take place with the full participation of our counterparts. USAID missions, our greatest strength, have historically been adept at doing this because of their in-country presence. The F process misses the point entirely, making cookie-cutter decisions established by the hypercentralized operational plan system.

In reality, the F framework pigeonholes countries into a one-size-fits-all mold. Countries are complex entities, and it is important that country-specific development takes place with the full participation of our counterparts.

Adams notes that the F process organizes foreign assistance into different strategic goals: promoting peace and security, strengthening just and democratic government, helping populations improve their quality of life, fostering economic growth and development, and providing humanitarian assistance. Guess what? USAID has been doing all that for decades. Nothing new about it.

Adams disagrees with the plan to create a Cabinet-level Department of Development, citing three basic flaws with the idea. First, he says, it would "just take us back to those unhappy days when USAID and State were at each other's throats on a regular basis … and would only worsen the problem by elevating disputes about assistance to senior policymakers." My response is that disputes can be healthy, and that policymaking, a much higher-level activity, should be in the hands of the political leadership, not the implementers of strategy.

Development strategy (under a Cabinet-level department) and diplomatic strategy (under the State Department) should, of course, be coordinated, but they are not the same animal. Unresolved disputes on policy should be raised to a higher level, just as they would be if the Department of Defense and the State Department were in disagreement. Would anyone advocate that DOD be subjugated under the State Department?

The chief fallacy of the F process is that the State Department is now solely in control of interpreting policy, strategy and tactics when it comes to development. State micromanages development assistance by overcentralizing even decisions that are better left at the country level. Under the guise of aligning policy with strategy, the State Department is now approving every tactical detail of development program implementation. This is the reason many USAID personnel are so unhappy with the operational plans into which they are straightjacketed. Housed inside

the State Department Truman Building, the F Bureau does not have the staff, talent or resources to manage thousands of complicated technical activities being implemented worldwide.

The second objection to creating a Cabinet-level development department is that "it would create a large, expensive and unmanaged orphan." That is debatable: the fragmented programs that exist today could at last have some logical, efficient and well-managed structure. Some activities, such as the MCC and PEPFAR, could be brought under the control of the new entity. The expertise exists to create a well-designed department that would eliminate current duplicative administrative structures and provide logical lines of authority. That would also gratify our development partners and the international community, which would finally understand the points of reference for dealing with us.

The third objection, and in my opinion the most absurd, is that development assistance does not have the heft and popularity at home needed to command additional funding, leading to the dwindling away of development assistance rather than its growth. This defeatism goes along with the idea that we need the State Department to protect our interests. Such paternalistic attitudes can only be answered by, "Please don't do us any favors!"

State micromanages development assistance by overcentralizing even decisions that are better left at the country level.

Who can deny that foreign assistance has grown more and more into our national conscience? When rock star Bono and the president himself make very public exhibitions of their support for helping the less fortunate of the world, this is no indication of "dwindling away." And, as Defense Secretary Robert Gates made abundantly clear, DOD is anxious to pass off to another agency the increasing foreign assistance burden they have been forced to manage more and more often.

In addition, there are many champions of foreign assistance in Congress whose support for development programs and USAID is increasingly felt. The bottom line is that the establishment of a Cabinet-level Department of Development has a better chance of occurring now than ever. At least two of the presidential candidates have expressed interest in the idea.

The most disturbing recommendation that Adams makes is that State's best option is to "build on the F model, not to return to the past or accelerate the diaspora of our foreign relations institutions." I agree that we can't return to the past because the current model is showing its age. However, repairing the vehicle with the F model has not moved us closer to a solution. F does not stand for "fix," as Adams states, but for "failure."

We should not keep wasting money on repairs. We need a bolder, JFK-type program to bring us into the 21st century, one that will serve us far into the future. ❑

Report from Cairo • Continued from page 49

prisingly, as many of these entry-level employees had received Arabic-language training prior to arrival at their NEA posts, there was considerable discussion of the impact of foreign language training on assignments and the need for more extensive courses and other options for perfecting abilities in particularly hard languages.

As was the case in previous entry-level conferences, Kashkett explains, most of the attendees expressed readiness to take on the challenges of the "new" Foreign Service career. But they are eager to see what measures State Department management is prepared to adopt to ensure fairness and equity in assignments and family-friendliness under the increasingly difficult circumstances that State's more junior colleagues will face in coming years.

"The conference participants thoroughly enjoyed the participation of Steve Kashkett and his candidness addressing department issues and participant questions," comments Embassy Cairo Vice Consul Tammy Crittenden Kenyatta. "He was a big hit!" ❑

AFSA NEWS BRIEFS

Overweight Household Effects

During the past year, AFSA has assisted in quite a few cases in which members have run afoul of the weight limits for household effects because the department-approved packing companies had grossly underestimated the weight of the employee's shipment. In some cases, employees have been assessed overweight charges in the thousands of dollars after they had departed post.

Unfortunately, in almost all of these instances, the department has taken refuge behind the rule that the traveler is responsible for ensuring that his/her shipment is within the weight limit (14 FAM 612.3), and in general the Foreign Service Grievance Board has supported the department. The lesson in these cases is: schedule your packout as early as possible, don't rely on the pre-packout estimate, and insist on receiving the final weight prior to your departure. This will give you time before getting on the plane to ensure that items are either removed altogether or moved to storage to bring your shipment under the limit. ❑

THE OVERSEAS BRIEFING CENTER AT 30

Thinking Outside the Box: Reinventing Resources at OBC

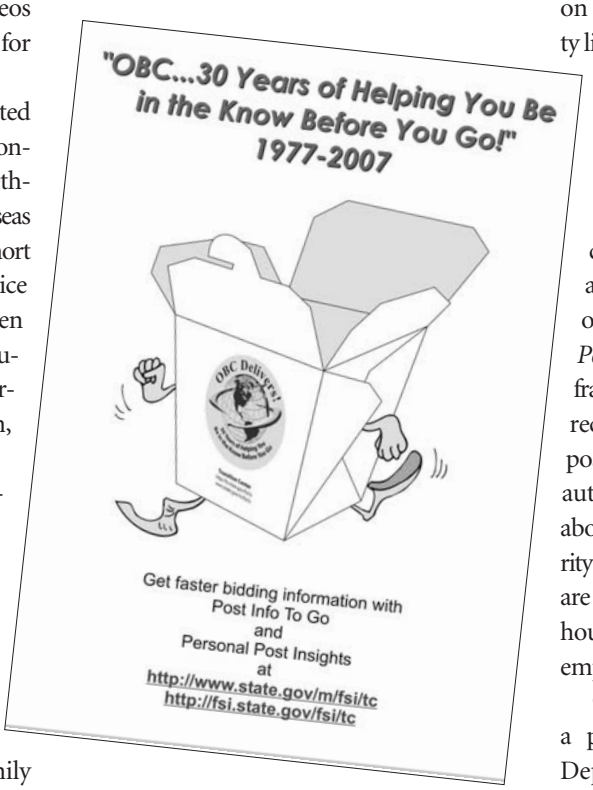
BY KATE GOGGIN, WRITER EDITOR FOR FSI'S TRANSITION CENTER

The halls of the Foreign Service Institute are abuzz with talk of a new YouTube video about Niamey, Niger. Discussing life in a foreign country is not unusual at FSI, of course, but the ability to access post-specific videos on the Internet is a huge step forward for FSI's Overseas Briefing Center.

The YouTube videos were generated by participants in OBC's *Clips to Go* contest, sponsored during the office's 30th-anniversary celebration last year. Overseas contestants were challenged to create short but interesting videos of Foreign Service life at post. Winning entries were then added to the growing list of audiovisual resources available online and in person at the OBC's offices in Arlington, Va.

The OBC's resource center, traditionally a source for hard-copy information and videos, takes a step forward with the YouTube video links, part of a creative effort to provide research materials to the greater Foreign Service community, including all the foreign affairs agencies, Members of Household and family members — many of whom cannot visit the briefing center or access the State Department's intranet where the majority of OBC's online research tools reside.

The anniversary allowed OBC to shine a spotlight on other innovative products, too. The *Clips to Go* program was an offshoot of a popular OBC resource, *Post Info To Go*, an online application that collates photos, documents and intranet Web links from posts, as well as from other offices, such as the Family Liaison Office and the Office of Overseas Schools. Because every post has an intranet Web site that is organized somewhat differently, it can be confusing to locate key information quickly. *Post Info To Go* offers a predictable format so specific information is accessible without wading through variously organized Web sites or waiting for responses from post personnel. In addition, the collection allows users to share the results of post-specific research through a built-in e-mail mechanism. As a result of these innovations, the program's usage has increased by almost 300 percent since September 2006.



Still, only a small portion of the foreign affairs community currently benefits from the database. To better market the technology and make the Web resources more widely known, OBC secured a small grant from the Cox Foundation for an information campaign during the 30th-anniversary event. OBC Coordinator Connie Hansen designed Chinese carry-out "to go" boxes with the tag line "OBC Delivers!" The boxes were filled with fortune cookies highlighting OBC Web resources.

Ms. Hansen organized briefings for everyone from staff in bureau executive offices to career development officers. As attendees munched on fortune cookies, they learned that these resources are not only for Foreign Service members bidding on jobs. Post management, community liaison office coordinators and human resource officers also use *Post Info To Go* to save time answering the most frequently asked questions from family members and bidders.

Long-term goals for OBC include creating password-protected Internet access to *Post Info To Go*, as well as other online resources such as the *Personal Post Insights* collection. This frank and anonymous collection of 1,400 recent first-person opinions on life at post from those under chief-of-mission authority answers practical questions about daily living, such as: How do security concerns at post affect activities? What are the conditions at school? Where is the housing? What are the family member employment opportunities?

Other current outreach efforts include a partnership with BNET, the State Department's video broadcast unit. There are 19 post on-demand videos accessible online at: (intranet) http://obc.bnet.state.gov/category.asp?category_id=146, and more will be available soon. According to BNET, post videos are the most requested of its offerings. OBC encourages all posts to update their audiovisuals to present their best information to colleagues and a realistic view of life for bidders. Details about producing a post video are on the intranet at: http://fsi.state.gov/rd.asp?ID=123.

So, get online and join more than 3,890 viewers of the Niamey *Clips to Go* entry. Anyone interested in creating *Clips to Go* may view recent winners and entry guidelines at: www.state.gov/m/fsi/tc/92015.htm. Submissions will be accepted until Aug. 1. ❑

FAMILY LIAISON OFFICE CELEBRATES MILESTONE

30 Years of Support for FS Family Members

BY KATHRYN VIGUERIE, FLO COMMUNICATIONS AND OUTREACH COORDINATOR

Three decades ago, in March 1978, the Family Liaison Office opened its doors for the first time. FLO began its service to the broad Foreign Service family with a staff of just two full-time employees. Its mandate was considerable: to both disseminate information to family members and communicate the views and needs of Foreign Service families on the policy matters that affect their welfare to U.S foreign affairs officials.

To celebrate this milestone, Director General of the Foreign Service and Director of Human Resources Harry K. Thomas Jr. hosted a ceremony and reception in the Benjamin Franklin Diplomatic Reception Room at the Department of State on March 5. Deputy Secretary John D. Negroponte, Under Secretary for Management Patrick F. Kennedy, FLO Director Leslie Brant Teixeira and one of the founders of FLO, Leslie Dorman, all spoke.

For Teixeira and the current staff, this anniversary year is a time to step back and remember the past and the efforts of the small group of people who were responsible for the creation of the office. It is also a time to look to the future.

The 30th-anniversary celebration was also the launching pad for a brand-new FLO logo, which ties in well with the event's focus on meeting the needs of an ever-changing Foreign Service. FLO wanted a visual image that would reflect the fact that it is a dynamic and energetic organization that embraces, supports and empowers a unique community and is ready to respond to changes in demographics, family structure and client needs. Teixeira says she is thrilled with the new design, with its "movement, reassuring sense of encirclement and abstract figures that represent our diverse client base."

FLO has always been poised to adapt to the changing needs of the Foreign Service. In 1978, nobody was talking about family-friendly workplaces. The idea of an office designed to improve the morale of families, and by extension employees, was greeted with skepticism in many quarters. But a revolutionary 1977 report, "The Concerns of Foreign Service Spouses and Families," produced by the Association of American Foreign Service Women — now known as the Associates of the American Foreign Service Worldwide — changed that. The report recommended the creation of an office within the Department of State dedicated exclusively to improving the quality of life of the Foreign Service family.

AAFSW went on to convince State management and members of Congress of the necessity for such an office. When Secretary of State Cyrus R. Vance opened FLO the following year, it was formally established as a presence within the bureaucratic structure of the department.

That same AAFSW report also suggested that overseas posts fund a similar office to coordinate community activities, locate community resources and work to maintain or improve post morale, thus heralding the creation of the FLO program overseas, which evolved into the Community Liaison Office Program. Although family-friendly workplaces are now more common, back then the State Department was ahead of the times with the creation of FLO and CLO.

FLO was established primarily as an advocacy organization, and for 30 years the FLO staff has worked to effect policy changes and create programs and services for the benefit of the Foreign Service "family" — employees, spouses, partners, MOHs, children and other family members. FLO's successes include the CLO program; improved educational allowances; voluntary and involuntary Separate Maintenance Allowances; family member employment programs like the Global Employment Initiative/Strategic Networking Assistance Program; access for Members of Household to many services and resources (to the extent currently permissible under the law); expedited naturalization help for family members; support for unaccompanied tours; and a host of publications and support services designed to help employees and family members navigate significant life events including post evacuation, divorce and adoption.

For the past 30 years, FLO staff have been identifying issues of concern, advocating for solutions and providing programs and client services to make the Foreign Service way of life easier and more productive. Says Teixeira, "We have made a difference, and we are proud of that — but we don't want to rest on our laurels. There will always be more we can do and, like our predecessors, we are well prepared for the challenge." ❑

HONORING SERVICE TO THE FS COMMUNITY

Family Member Advocate Leslie Dorman Receives Tragen Award

BY ANNE KAUZLARICH, DACOR EXECUTIVE ASSISTANT

Lifetime advocate for Foreign Service family members Leslie Dorman was honored with the Eleanor Dodson Tragen Award on Dec. 4 during an awards ceremony held in the Benjamin Franklin Diplomatic Reception Room of the State Department. The Tragen Award is presented annually at the Associates of the Foreign Service Worldwide event, where the Secretary of State Awards for Outstanding Volunteerism Abroad are also presented (see the April *Journal* for details on the SOSA volunteer awards program).

Daniel A. O'Donohue, president of Diplomats and Consular Officers, Retired, presented the Tragen Award to Leslie Dorman for her decades of work for the AAFSW, her instrumental role in establishing the Family Liaison Office and her continuous advocacy for the rights, benefits and welfare of FS spouses.

Endowed by Mr. Irving Tragen in memory of his late wife, "Ele," the award honors a Foreign Service spouse or Member of Household who, like Ele, advocated effectively for rights and benefits for FS spouses and family members. In creating this award, Mr. Tragen recognized the contribution of spouses/life-partners who "saw injustice and worked hard to eliminate it. They saw critical gaps in coverage for families, widows and divorced people and took steps to fund remedies. They saw the family as an integral part of the Foreign Service and took initiatives to promote and protect it. They became our conscience and took bold steps to goad the Foreign Service to respond to these human challenges."

Mr. Tragen, unable to attend due to weather-related flight cancellations, sent congratulatory remarks that were read by O'Donohue. The comments recalled how the efforts of his late wife, Mrs. Dorman and other spouses resulted in the issuance by State in 1972 of a "Policy on Spouses" and paved the way for establishment of the Overseas Briefing Center (1977) and the Family Liaison Office (1978). "This year's honoree is a woman Ele admired for her energy and leadership of the AAFSW and her contribution to its modernization and expansion," Mr. Tragen noted in his remarks. "Ele's words still echo in my ears about Leslie's efforts to deal with injustices in the rules and regulations as well as the need to fill critical gaps in the department's support of Foreign Service families, widows and divorced people."

Commenting on the current generation of spouses/life-partners, Tragen said, "Today is as challenging to the Foreign Service spouse and family as was the Cold War and the U.S. civil rights revolution," noting that the Tragen Award is meant to stimulate action by members of the FS community to benefit future generations.

Mrs. Dorman's comments were punctuated by pungent commentary about the past, delivered in the unmistakable accents of her English upbringing. Inspired by her mother, who was a suffragette, Leslie Dorman was commissioned as a lieutenant and served during World War II as a plotting officer and lecturer at a cadet instructional school. She was working as a speech pathologist when she met her future husband, FSO Philip Dorman. They married in 1950, and she accompanied him around the world for the next 26 years.

In Zambia, she was a founder of the YWCA Craft Shop, still going strong today. She traveled the country, encouraging different ethnic groups to make jewelry and other items for sale. A portion of the funds helped build the YWCA hostel. At other posts, she produced and acted in plays. Philip Dorman retired from the Foreign Service in 1976, the same year Mrs. Dorman became president of AAFSW. ❑

ANNE KAUZLARICH

DACOR President Daniel O'Donohue presents the Eleanor Dodson Tragen Award to Leslie Dorman.

Thanks for Your Service ... Now Here's Your Pay Cut

"There are First-World types in the Foreign Service, and Third-World types, but the Gormans," a friend once said of us, "are Second-Worlders." It's true. We always seem to pick those middle-of-the-road places: hard, but not to the point that we can't take the kids. Our current post, Beijing, is our fourth hardship post (15-25 percent) in a row.

There's a method to our madness. Because we have three small children, with another on the way, it makes sense for me to stay home right now and care for them — the day-care costs would make short work of my husband's government salary. But this means we have to find posts where we can afford to live. One of the reasons we bid on Beijing was because of the 15-percent hardship pay.

When you go to a hardship post, you expect hardships. And we've had plenty. The pollution here can be so bad that a thick fog settles over everything, making your eyes feel like they're bleeding whenever you step outside. My husband's commute — most nights well over an hour — combined with the long working hours required at a vast post such as this pretty much guarantee that we'll never eat dinner as a family.

The Gorman family at the Great Wall of China.

In October, my previously healthy husband developed severe breathing troubles. A lifelong runner, he began wheezing as he climbed the stairs; at night, it sounded like he was drowning in his sleep. He was initially diagnosed with reactive airway disease and then a severe sinus infection. After an inhaler, steroids and some four to five courses of antibiotics, his condition improved. But only after a trip to Hong Kong, where the air is cleaner, did his symptoms subside.

And the worst hardship of all, in my opinion? About two months into our tour, I caught a mysterious virus that caused me to go deaf in one ear. The doctors in Beijing weren't equipped to handle the emergency, so I was medevaced to Hong Kong. There, doctors tried to restore my hearing, though warned that the odds were against me, given how much time had elapsed. Back home in the States, or at a post that was more medically advanced, I would have been able to get treatment at the ER within hours, improving my odds. Here, not so. I'm now permanently deaf in one ear. Then again, as a colleague pointed out, "I suppose that's one of the reasons you get hardship pay over there."

I suppose it is. Imagine my shock, then, when a few months later, State decided to reduce our hardship pay. One of the reasons cited was the "improved quality of locally provided health care." I could relate numerous examples why this simply doesn't ring true, and so could many other family members here in Beijing. Many of us have a story of some health problem we've developed since arriving at post. Another reason cited: improved air quality. We spouses all had a good laugh at that one. At the time, our kids were having an indoor playdate, because the air that day was so bad that they couldn't go outside. In fact, two days after Christmas the air pollution index was 433 in downtown Beijing, 500 in the suburbs where we live. To put things into perspective, on an unhealthy pollution day in a major U.S. city the API is between 40 and 60.

We're all just a bit suspicious about this pay cut we've been slapped with, following as it does on the heels of the decision to take away business-class travel for flights over 14 hours. (Our travel time to post is right around the 14-hour mark.) But, okay. Reduce the hardship pay if you must.

Here's the thing, though: we chose this post based in part on what it meant for our pocketbook. We knew the risks involved, though we couldn't have imagined what the reality would be. We need that money, and it isn't right to take it from us, and from families like ours, who came here in good faith, believing they would be compensated for the risk they chose to take.

If State needs to reduce hardship pay, for financial or other reasons, they ought to grandfather in the policy. People who are already assigned to post should not be given pay cuts — they should be allowed to keep what they were promised when they moved here. Future bidders can be promised less, and they can make decisions for their families based on their own financial calculations.

But please, don't try to tell me that the quality of life in Beijing has risen to such an extent that my family deserves a pay cut. Given all that we've been through in our first six months at post, I don't buy that argument — I just can't afford it anymore. ❐

Donna Scaramastra Gorman is a freelance writer whose work has appeared in Newsweek, *the* Washington Post *and the* Christian Science Monitor. *Her family has been posted in Moscow, Yerevan and Almaty. They are currently assigned to Beijing. Editor's Note: A letter signed by a majority of Foreign Service members at Embassy Beijing — 98 employees — was sent to the director general to express concern about the decrease in the differential.*

Field Notes from Belgrade

FROM BILL WANLUND, PAO BELGRADE AND FORMER *FSJ* EDITORIAL BOARD MEMBER

When Embassy Belgrade was attacked on Feb. 21 by demonstrators angered by American support for and recognition of an independent Kosovo, a protestor ripped the brass embassy identification plaque from the building's facade.

The plaque was later found in a pile of debris at the German embassy, which had also been attacked by rioters, by none other than the German ambassador, who returned it to U.S. Ambassador Cameron Munter. Amb. Munter turned the battered plaque into a one-of-a-kind award, which he presented to Regional Security Officer Tim Riley as "partial compensation for many sleepless nights and unwavering professional devotion to duty." ❑

U.S. EMBASSY BELGRADE

BILL WANLUND

U.S. EMBASSY BELGRADE

Clockwise, from top: Burned debris removed from Embassy Belgrade; Ambassador Cameron Munter (left) presents the special plaque award to RSO Tim Riley; scorched embassy façade.

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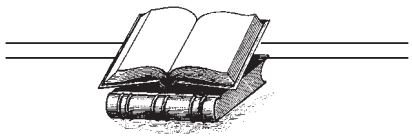

BOOKS

An Elusive Figure

The Confidante: Condoleezza Rice and the Creation of the Bush Legacy
Glenn Kessler, St. Martin's Press, 2007, $25.95, hardcover, 288 pages with index.

REVIEWED BY BEN JUSTESEN

Condoleezza Rice is an intriguing figure, as Glenn Kessler reminds readers early on in this biography: a glamorous, tough-minded African-American woman in a world dominated by middle-aged white men; flawed but perhaps destined for greatness; a world-famous person about whom the world knows surprisingly little.

Based largely on interviews with friends, colleagues and (unnamed) critics, and Kessler's reporting for the *Washington Post*, *The Confidante: Condoleezza Rice and the Creation of the Bush Legacy* paints a mixed portrait of the current Secretary of State. She is generous to her friends and happily vindictive toward those who cross her; unhappily trapped in Washington and wistful for escape.

The book is well-written, though not exceptional — a disappointment because Kessler, described in one blurb as "a tough, independent beat reporter of the old school," has won Pulitzer Prizes. Some call him Rice's favorite reporter. So the book promises much, yet delivers somewhat less. Then again, it was written to sell, like so much of the "instant history" that passes for thoughtful journalism these days. History requires distance, perspective, detachment. Journalism deals in relevance, timeliness, deadlines. They are, in short, opposing disciplines.

No one will go away unrewarded from this feast, but many will be hungry again an hour later.

Both critics and defenders of Rice will find things to please or infuriate, if not to illuminate, for there is less news here than one would hope. What one never finds, however, is the heart of the elusive subject herself. One hears her words; one hears her friends praise her, and (unnamed) State Department snipers taking their best shots at her. One sometimes sees even the portrait Kessler tried to paint, but never the finished product — for this is, at day's end, only a sketch. There is no flesh here, nor blood. There is only façade: steely, stubborn, glittering, opaque façade.

What emerges is a hastily-assembled pastiche of overlong newspaper articles, stitched together by two uneven premises. First, Dr. Rice — admirer of George Shultz, imitator of James Baker, eschewer of Colin Powell — is determined to burnish the image of her friend, President George W. Bush, as a grand planner and foreign policy champion. To do so, she must atone for her previous weaknesses as his loyal but inept national security adviser.

According to the author, Rice's "options and opportunities … are limited by one deeply ironic fact: She was one of the weakest national security advisers in U.S. history." Nothing new here; intellectual brilliance aside, Rice lacks high-level managerial experience and shows little aptitude for details or imagination for sweeping, long-range planning. But whose opinion is this? Kessler's? Dare he risk Rice's fabled, icy wrath by confessing? Not here.

Yet Kessler is a thorough, observant reporter. He chronicles Rice's many trips abroad — and offers vignettes, particularly amusing regarding counterparts Jack Straw and Tang Jiaxuan — in fact-filled style. Interesting biographical details abound. But he should have omitted the fashion notes — and mystifying references to sexuality — as more "Style Section" than "World News." No one will go away unrewarded from this feast, but many will be hungry again an hour later — or, worse, suffer indigestion trying to remember what they ate.

Kessler intends his account to serve as "a rough guide for historians of the future as they puzzle out this period in U.S. foreign policy." As a former journalist, I, too, view it as

rough, but not much of a guide (and not history at all) — and advise Kessler to keep his day job.

After his days as a reporter, Ben Justesen was an FSO from 1983 to 1997, before becoming an author and historian. His latest book is Broken Brotherhood: The Rise and Fall of the National Afro-American Council *(Southern Illinois University Press, April 2008).*

Making the Earth Move

The Elephant and the Dragon: The Rise of India and China and What It Means for All of Us
Robyn Meredith, W.W. Norton, 2007, $22.95, hardcover, 252 pages.

REVIEWED BY JIM PATTERSON

Throughout *The Elephant and the Dragon: The Rise of India and China and What It Means for All of Us*, Robyn Meredith, a foreign correspondent for *Forbes* magazine, uses the word "tectonic." It is an apt term for, as she observes, the rise of these two Asian giants "has caused the entire earth's economic and political landscape to shift before our eyes."

In both cases, a change of national leadership was the key ingredient. The late Deng Xiaoping almost singlehandedly put China on its course to becoming an economic powerhouse in 1976, when he succeeded Chairman Mao Tse-tung and immediately instituted massive economic reforms. As Meredith observes, "Deng may have betrayed Mao's memory, but he did so to preserve the party that Mao brought to power. The result was 'a perpetual dragon economy.'"

To her credit, Meredith doesn't overuse statistics to make her points and draws on considerable reporting experience in both countries.

Next door, the Indian economy would remain a lumbering elephant until 1991. When Rajiv Gandhi, the ruling Congress Party's candidate for prime minister, was assassinated, the party selected 70-year-old P.V. Narasimha Rao to run in his place. Upon taking office, Rao's administration initiated broad changes that truly opened India to international economics and trade for the first time since its independence.

Meredith competently catalogs the benefits globalization has brought the two Asian giants, such as lifting 200 million Indians and Chinese out of poverty during the 1990s alone. China doubled its per capita GDP in just nine years starting in 1978, and then doubled it again by 1996. Yet, as she acknowledges, it has been a mixed blessing. Both countries suffer from poor infrastructure and massive environmental pollution, with associated health problems. Meredith suggests both countries would be ideal markets for U.S. environmental companies, especially those with experience in massive cleanup operations.

Challenging a common misconception, she also asserts that U.S. companies are currently drawn to India and China not to exploit cheap labor, but because they want to establish their products and services in two countries that each have a billion people. They know that as Chinese and Indians become wealthier, they will have the economic means and the desire to buy the products and services they can now ill afford.

"Chinese factory workers, whether making light bulbs, talking toys or tennis shoes, earn each day about what Americans pay for a latte at Starbucks," Meredith writes. And Starbucks is already doing very well, even in a nation where tea has long been favored over coffee. Indeed, it has become a status symbol, not despite but because of its extravagant prices: A tall latte costs 22 renminbi, about $2.75, enough money to buy a substantial lunch for an entire Chinese family.

As American factories have relocated to China and customer call centers and IT centers have moved to India, unprecedented job losses in the U.S. have stirred angry workers to push Washington to take protectionist measures.

Fortunately, recognizing economic reality, U.S. politicians have done little more than offer retraining programs for workers who have lost jobs to the international labor market. Meredith agrees that protectionism and unrestrained free trade are undesirable policy choices, arguing that Americans must become more innovative and better educated to enjoy the benefits of globalization.

This is a reader-friendly book because the author doesn't overuse statistics to make her points and draws on considerable reporting experience in both countries. Her analysis is balanced throughout, though she does put slightly more emphasis on China

than India. In sum, this book would be a valuable addition to any Foreign Service employee's bookshelf.

Jim Patterson, a former Foreign Service officer, is an economist and freelance journalist whose work has appeared in the Foreign Service Journal, New York Times, San Francisco Chronicle, The Hill *and the* Columbus (Ohio) Dispatch, *among other publications.*

Joe Was Right

Blacklisted by History: The Untold Story of Senator Joseph McCarthy and His Fight Against America's Enemies
M. Stanton Evans, Crown Forum, 2007, $29.95, hardcover, 672 pages.

REVIEWED BY BOB MCMAHAN

It is conventional wisdom that the efforts of Senator Joseph McCarthy, D-Wis., to reveal and contain the extent of Soviet infiltration of our government and society back in the 1950s were both wrongheaded and counterproductive. Even at the time, senior members of the Truman and Eisenhower administrations chose to attack him and his supporters instead of removing communists from government positions. (In fact, many suspected Soviet agents were allowed to transfer to other federal agencies or to the United Nations and other international organizations.)

McCarthy was a discredited figure when he died in 1957, at the age of 48. But in *Blacklisted by History: The Untold Story of Senator Joseph McCarthy and His Fight Against America's Enemies*, M. Stanton Evans persuasively argues that, however disagreeable his tactics, the senator was indeed on the right track.

Over the past half-century, many closely held documents, including FBI files and Senate records, have now been declassified. We also now have access to the Venona intercepts, U.S. Army recordings of Soviet telegraphic message traffic that could not be decrypted until recently. And after the fall of the Soviet Union, scholars were (all too briefly) given access to the Soviet archives. Evans, a journalist, author and Cold War scholar, calls upon much of this newly available evidence to make his case.

Many Soviet agents are profiled in this volume, but the ones of most interest to Foreign Service readers are probably John Paton Davies, John Service and John Vincent. All three of these State Department officers served in China and worked hard to throw sand in the gears of the Nationalist Chinese, led by Chiang Kai-shek.

In 1946, before Soviet military aid and training began flowing to Mao Tse-tung's forces, they were weak and on the run from the Nationalist armies. Drawing on numerous sources, Evans concludes that such Soviet agents as Alger Hiss and Harry Dexter White (inter alia) in high positions at both State and Treasury successfully delayed the provision of economic and military aid to the Nationalists, blunting what might have been an early victory over the communists. This effort included reporting by several Foreign Service officers assigned to the communist base at Yenan, including Service and Davies, to the effect that Mao was simply a democrat, opposed to the rule of "privilege."

General (later Secretary of State) George Marshall was apparently under the influence of both Davies and Service. He developed the idea that the two competing Chinese entities should seek "peace and unity." Accordingly, Chiang was instructed to seek accommodation with Mao and then denied arms and economic support when hostilities flared up, in effect giving the communists a veto over U.S. aid to the Nationalists.

In the same vein, Evans cites fascinating evidence of a proposal — apparently a John Vincent project — after the Nationalist government's removal to Taiwan to offer Gen. Sun Li-jen money and arms if he would agree to overthrow Chiang. The author notes that this incident eerily presages events in Vietnam, where U.S. officials conspired in the overthrow and murder of President Ngo Dinh Diem.

Sen. McCarthy got into trouble and discredited himself with a lot of Americans when he accused prominent officials, including Gen. Marshall, of being under Soviet influence. As Evans observes, just because an official makes bad decisions does not mean that he does so intentionally. Thus, in this case at least, McCarthy overstepped. But on the whole, his fears of communist subversion were well placed.

One of the truly nifty benefits of growing old is learning that what we were sure we knew is all wrong, or at least not as clear as we thought. This book will change forever how you think about Sen. McCarthy and the Soviet penetration of the U.S. government and society. ■

Bob McMahan was a Foreign Service officer from 1976 to 1999, serving in Ecuador, Thailand, Taiwan and Washington, D.C., among other posts. He currently seeks, somewhat ineffectively, to influence the political process at the local level. Though he serves as secretary/treasurer of the Foreign Affairs Retirees of Northern Virginia, this review represents his personal views only.

In Memory

Mabel Irene Conley Barrows, 97, widow of the late Ambassador Leland Barrows, passed away on Feb. 24 in Washington, D.C.

Mrs. Barrows was born in Cleveland, Kans., in 1910. She earned a B.A. and M.A. in English and world literature, respectively, at the University of Kansas, and was admitted to Phi Beta Kappa in 1934 while pursuing graduate studies. In 1935, she married Leland Barrows, accompanying him to postings with the Marshall Plan, the Foreign Operations Administration, and the Foreign Service in Paris, Rome, Athens, Saigon and Yaoundé.

Following her husband's retirement, Mrs. Barrows served for a number of years as a tutor for the Kingsbury Center in Washington, D.C., and then freelanced as a tutor.

Irene Barrows is survived by her son, Leland Conley Barrows, and daughter-in-law, Adra Benaissa Barrows of Blackville, S.C.; her daughter, Jennifer Golden of Washington, D.C.; and her granddaughter, Nassima Irene Barrows.

Craig Baxter, 78, a retired FSO, died on Feb. 7 in Huntingdon, Pa.

Mr. Baxter was born in Elizabeth, N.J., on Feb. 16, 1929, and raised in Union, N.J., and Cleveland, Ohio. He entered the Foreign Service in 1956, and, during a 25-year career, served in Bombay (Mumbai), New Delhi, Lahore, Accra and Dhaka, as well as Washington, D.C. From 1971 to 1974, he was the Foreign Service visiting faculty member at West Point.

After retirement in 1981, Mr. Baxter joined the faculty of Juniata College in Huntingdon as professor of politics and history. He also served as a consultant to several groups involved with South Asia.

Mr. Baxter was the author, coauthor or editor of 19 books on South Asia, including the textbook *Government and Politics in South Asia* (Westview Press, 2001), now in its fifth edition. He is also the author of numerous articles in academic journals and chapters in collective works. He was the founding president of the American Institute of Bangladesh Studies and also served as president of the American Institute of Pakistan Studies.

Mr. Baxter's wife, Barbara Stevens Baxter, preceded him in death on Dec. 23, 2003. He is survived by a son, Craig Baxter II of McLean, Va.; a daughter, Louise S. Baxter of Vienna, Va.; and a brother, William J. Baxter Jr. of Chadds Ford, Pa.

Maurice M. Bernbaum, 98, a retired Foreign Service officer who served as ambassador to Ecuador and Venezuela, died on March 9 at his home in the Collington Episcopal Life Care Community in Mitchellville, Md.

Born in Chicago in 1910 to immigrant parents, Maurice Bernbaum attended public school and graduated magna cum laude from Harvard College in 1931. With a degree in economics, he had planned to go into investment banking; but because the Depression was in full force at the time, that was not an option. He worked briefly as a social worker in Chicago and then took jobs in 1935 and 1936 with the Treasury Department and the Tariff Commission, respectively, in Washington, D.C. There he met his wife-to-be, Elizabeth "Betty" Hahn, on a blind date.

Intrigued by the idea of diplomacy and travel, he took the entrance examination and joined the Foreign Service in 1936. His first posting, as vice consul, was in Vancouver, followed by Singapore in 1939. There he took the initiative, for which he was later reprimanded, to grant visas to Jewish refugees on a ship bound for the Philippines, thereby saving their lives. He himself left Singapore shortly before the Japanese took it from the British in World War II.

On returning to the U.S., he married Elizabeth Hahn in Washington, D.C., in 1942. The newlyweds spent their honeymoon shopping for house-

hold goods in New York on their way to his next post, Caracas, where he worked to limit the commercial influence of the Axis powers.

In 1945, they were transferred to Managua, which temporarily had no U.S. ambassador. In a surprising development for someone so junior, Mr. Bernbaum found himself chargé d'affaires, the highest-ranking officer in the embassy. For 18 months he managed to prevent the United States from recognizing a Nicaraguan government installed in a coup by the dictator Anastasio Samoza.

In 1947, the couple moved to Quito, where Mr. Bernbaum served as deputy chief of mission. Ecuador suffered a devastating earthquake, and both Bernbaums helped the country deal with the disaster. The couple also survived a whirlpool in a jungle river after their dugout canoe capsized and they were left for dead.

Returning to Washington in 1950, Mr. Bernbaum attended the National War College, worked on a detail at the United Nations with Eleanor Roosevelt, and handled North and West Coast Latin American affairs at the State Department. In 1952, he was transferred back to Caracas, this time as DCM under his favorite ambassador, Fletcher Warren. He had the difficult job of dealing with another dictator, Marcos Perez Jimenez.

Mr. Bernbaum returned to the department to become director of South American affairs in 1954. During this period he accompanied Vice President Richard Nixon on his controversial trip to South America. At his next post, as DCM in Buenos Aires from 1959 to 1960, he worked with Ambassador Willard Beaulac to reestablish good relations with the Argentine government following the overthrow of Juan Peron.

In 1960, just before leaving office, President Dwight Eisenhower ap-

APPRECIATION

The Passing of a Humanitarian

Rep. Tom Lantos, 1928-2008

By Ian Houston, AFSA Legislative Affairs Director

Growing up in the San Francisco Bay Area, I was surrounded by places of great splendor and spots uniquely blessed by nature's strokes. Shorelines, golden-grassed valleys covered with rolling fields of wildflowers and soaring redwoods are but a few of the marvelous and subtle brushes on the surface of the area's canvas. No place, however, reaches its true potential for beauty without quality and varied people. Attracting and embracing distinct people of diverse backgrounds is a particular attribute of the Bay Area. Tom Lantos was such a person.

As a young boy and teenager, I particularly admired the complexity of those who seemed to genuinely step off the pages of history — people who were deeply patriotic and served with pride in the local community while laying claim with a textured accent to distant countries. Like my own immigrant parents, and countless other examples, all were unique and sturdy in their own right.

Tom Lantos was born on Feb. 1, 1928, in Budapest and raised in Hungary. He was a strapping 16-year-old when Nazi Germany shattered his family's world with a brutal invasion. Forced into labor camps in Budapest, he eventually escaped the senseless grip of the Holocaust, which claimed the lives of so many he loved deeply. These experiences profoundly shaped his outlook and course in life.

After receiving a Ph.D. in economics from the University of California at Berkeley, Lantos and his wife, Annette, began to settle into the unique culture and life of the Bay Area — first in a small apartment in San Francisco, then in San Bruno and then Millbrae, a few miles south of San Francisco. A Democrat, he was elected to Congress in 1980 and served there until his death on Feb. 11 from cancer.

Lantos, the only Holocaust survivor elected to Congress, was the co-founder of the 24-year-old Congressional Human Rights Caucus. Advancing human rights, alleviating poverty and enhancing democracy were the pillars marking his congressional record. A particular area of success was finding legislative vehicles to support the process of democratization in Central and Eastern Europe and in Russia and the republics of the former Soviet Union.

I watched and listened to Tom Lantos closely, albeit at a formal distance, like an admiring student studies his teacher's words in a crowded lecture hall. Through the years and right to the end of his life, I paid attention to what he said about human rights and the ideas he pursued to protect innocent victims in the backyard of his district and in countless patches around the world. There was a wisdom, a boldness, a grace in the caring eyes and rich voice of Tom Lantos.

I learned as a youth and continue to appreciate that Tom Lantos was like an architect whose craft, done well, resulted in the design and construction of a bridge across which people link to improved and more fulfilling lives. But he was more than this. He evolved into the bridge itself. On his shoulders, across his strong back, over the firmness of an extended arm, we who have been touched by his vision, safely cross, suspended well above the tides he himself toiled through. Perhaps befitting one of San Francisco's most treasured landmarks, his life represents a Golden Gate, a bridge, a guide to peace through the world's fog.

pointed him ambassador to Ecuador, an appointment that President John F. Kennedy renewed. During the next four years, Mr. Bernbaum dealt with complex issues such as Ecuador's disputes with Peru over borders and with the U.S. over tuna fishing rights. He managed to deal skillfully with two challenging Ecuadorian presidents, both overthrown in coups, and the military governments that followed them; and he oversaw the birth of the Alliance for Progress program in Ecuador.

In 1964, President Lyndon Johnson appointed Mr. Bernbaum ambassador to Venezuela. He devoted much of his four years in Caracas to dealing with problems with petroleum and Venezuelan resentments over preferential treatment for Canada. He took special satisfaction in playing a key role in averting a war between Venezuela and neighboring Guyana.

Amb. Bernbaum retired as a career minister in 1969, and he and his wife moved back to Washington, D.C. He continued to take a keen interest in foreign affairs, and was an active member of the International Club. He served as the president of Diplomatic and Consular Officers, Retired, from 1981 to 1983, and maintained close contact with his colleagues in the Foreign Service. And he was a member of the Cosmos Club to the end of his life.

When he and his wife left their home in Bethesda to go to the Maplewood Park Place retirement community, Amb. Bernbaum started and ran a popular current affairs discussion group there. In his later years, when he could no longer pursue his lifelong love of golf, he became an avid walker, covering three miles a day well into his 90s. He also traveled widely with his wife and loved to spend time with her, his children and his grandchildren.

Not long after the couple moved to Collington in 2003, Amb. Bernbaum's wife, Elizabeth, passed away. He is survived by his two children, Edwin Bernbaum of Berkeley, Calif., and Marcia Bernbaum of Washington, D.C.; four grandchildren, Shana and Leah Zallman, and David and Jonathan Bernbaum; a sister, Sandra Feigenberg; and a brother, Harry Bernbaum.

Memorial contributions may be made in his name to the Senior Living Foundation of the American Foreign Service, 1716 N Street NW, Washington DC 20036 (www.slfoundation.org).

Patricia M. Byrne, 82, a retired FSO and former ambassador to Mali, Burma and the United Nations, died on Nov. 23, 2007, at The George Washington University Medical Center in Washington, D.C.

Ms. Byrne was born in Cleveland, Ohio, and graduated from Vassar College. She received a master's degree from the School of Advanced International Studies at Johns Hopkins University in 1947.

In 1949, she joined the Foreign Service, serving in Greece, Vietnam, Turkey, Laos, France and Sri Lanka, where she was deputy chief of mission, in addition to Washington, D.C. In 1969, Ms. Byrne became the first female graduate of the National War College. She was named ambassador to Mali in 1976 by President Gerald Ford, and in 1979 President Jimmy Carter dispatched her to Burma. President Ronald Reagan named her deputy U.S. permanent representative to the United Nations, with the rank of ambassador, a position she held from 1985 to 1989.

Ms. Byrne retired in 1989, but returned to the State Department for two more years to help establish procedures for declassifying documents. She settled in Washington, D.C., where she was active in Diplomatic and Consular Officers, Retired, serving on the group's education committee and, twice, as a member of the board. She also volunteered with the Senior Living Foundation and the Asia Society.

Ms. Byrne is survived by a sister.

Thomas P. H. Dunlop, 73, a retired FSO, died on Feb. 1 at his home in Alexandria, Va.

Mr. Dunlop was born on June 12, 1934, in Washington, D.C., but spent his youth in Asheville, N.C. He attended both the University of North Carolina and Yale University, receiving his bachelor's degree cum laude from Yale in 1956. He was also a member of Phi Beta Kappa. After spending a year in Berlin as a Fulbright scholar, he served in the United States Air Force in France and Germany as an intelligence officer.

In 1960, Mr. Dunlop joined the Foreign Service. During a 33-year diplomatic career, he served as a political officer in Yugoslavia, Vietnam and Korea. Washington assignments included a tour as country director for Romania and Korea, as well as details to the Defense Department and the office of the Director of Central Intelligence. Mr. Dunlop also attended the Senior Seminar.

Upon retirement in 1993, Mr. Dunlop served on a civil rights mission to Yugoslavia, obtained a master's degree from George Mason University in linguistics, and taught English as a second language. He was also employed by the State Department to review classified official documents with a view to making them available to historians and the general public.

Mr. Dunlop is survived by his sons, Preston and Alexander; a daughter, Angela; and his former wife, the Rev. Betty Dunlop. Gifts in remembrance can be made to Parents and Associates of the Northern Virginia Training Center (www.parentsandassociates nvtc.com/).

Donald C. Ferguson, 79, a retired FSO, died on March 1 in San Diego, Calif., after a nine-year battle with cancer.

Born on April 1, 1928, in Wichita, Kans., Mr. Ferguson graduated from East High School in 1946, and joined the Navy, completing his boot camp and electronics training at Great Lakes Naval Training Center near Chicago. He was stationed in Newport News, Va., and served as an electronics technician aboard the USS *Mt. Olympus*, a communications ship in the Caribbean.

In 1953, Mr. Ferguson married Daryl Emerick, a fellow student in the School of International Relations at the University of Southern California. Mr. Ferguson studied under the G.I. Bill and earned a master's degree in international relations from USC in 1956, joining the Foreign Service the same year.

During a 30-year career with the Department of State, Mr. Ferguson served in Colombia, Taiwan, Hong Kong, Vietnam and Thailand, in addition to several tours in Washington, D.C. Mr. Ferguson became a distinguished graduate of the National War College in 1976. His language specialty was Chinese. He was honored by the State Department with the Commendable Service Award for work in Washington during the early 1960s and with the John Jacob Rogers Award in 1985.

The citation for the latter award reads, in part: "for outstanding dedication and distinguished accomplishment during 29 years as a Foreign Service officer. Your achievements in Asia during the period of transition of United States and Taiwan relations and overall bilateral science and technology relations between the two governments reflected the highest standards of public service."

Mr. Ferguson retired in 1986, and settled in Vista, Calif., where he began a new career as a computer consultant and grew avocados and exotic fruits. He enjoyed travel — to China, England, Italy and other places — as well as bridge, opera, theatre and friends and family. In 1996, he relocated to Point Loma in San Diego.

Survivors include his wife of 54 years, Daryl Ferguson; daughters Andrea Leach and Holly Rio; and grandchildren Tony Leach, Jamie Leach, Andre Rio and Melanie Rio. The family requests that commemorative donations be made to the Scripps Health foundation, 10666 North Torrey Pines Road #109N, La Jolla CA 92037. The donations will be designated to the bone-marrow transplant program.

Samuel J. Hamrick, 78, a retired FSO who wrote spy novels under the pseudonym W.T. Tyler, died of colon cancer on Feb. 29 at his home in Boston, Va.

Mr. Hamrick was born on Oct. 19, 1929, in Lubbock, Tex. A 1951 graduate of the University of Louisville in Kentucky, he served with U.S. Army counterintelligence from 1951 to 1953.

After working in the private sector for eight years, Mr. Hamrick joined the Foreign Service in 1961. During a 19-year diplomatic career, he served in Beirut, St. John's, St. Pierre and Miquelon, Montreal, Kinshasa, Addis Ababa and Khartoum. "One of the greats of the Foreign Service in my time" is the way former colleague Bob Keeley remembers Hamrick, adding that he was "outspoken, ethical, serious, intelligent, humorous, reliable and 'not successful' for all of the right reasons."

Shortly after leaving the State Department in 1980, Mr. Hamrick published his first novel. *The Man Who Lost the War* (Dial Press) tells the story of a disillusioned Central Intelligence Agency operative at the time of the Berlin Wall crisis in the early 1960s. Two novels on East-West proxy wars in Africa followed: *The Ants of God* (Dial Press, 1981), set in Sudan; and *Rogue's March* (Harper & Row, 1982), set in the Congo. Mr. Hamrick wrote three more novels: *The Shadow Cabinet* (Harper & Row, 1984), *The Lion and the Jackal* (Linden Press/Simon & Schuster, 1988) and *The Consul's Wife* (Henry Holt, 1998), the latter two set in Africa.

Rogue's March, which features a traitorous intelligence officer modelled on British counterspy Kim Philby, was rejected by Mr. Hamrick's British publisher. As Stuart Lavietes wrote in his obituary of the author for the *New York Times*, this decision reinforced Hamrick's admitted anti-British attitudes, a predisposition that had earlier led him to a pen name derived from Wat Tyler, the leader of a bloody peasant rebellion in 14th-century England. In a 1984 profile in the *New York Times*, Mr. Hamrick expressed displeasure at being compared to British writers John le Carré and Graham Greene because he felt both were hostile to Americans.

In 1994, he served briefly as a State Department consultant in Somalia, a country he knew well.

Mr. Hamrick wrote one book under his own name, *Deceiving the Deceivers* (Yale University Press, 2004). In this revisionist history of the Kim Philby case, he argues that Philby and his associates, exposed in 1967 for passing top-secret information to the Soviets, had, in fact, been unwitting tools in a disinformation campaign staged by their superiors in British intelligence.

Mr. Hamrick's marraige to Joan Neurath Hamrick ended in divorce.

In addition to his companion of 12 years, Nancy Ely-Raphel, Mr. Hamrick is survived by four children from his marriage, Samuel Jennings III of Seattle and John of Port Angeles, Wash., Hugh of Paris, and Anne Hamrick Burns of Greencastle, Pa.; three sisters; and five grandchildren.

George M. Humphrey, 72, a retired FSO living in Berlin, Germany, died there of a sudden cardiac arrest on Sept. 11, 2007.

Born in Albany, N.Y., Mr. Humphrey grew up in State College, Pa. He graduated from Antioch College in 1958 and, in 1960, received a master's degree in international relations from the Johns Hopkins School of Advanced International Studies. That same year, he joined the Foreign Service.

His first assignment, along with several other Russian-speaking junior officers, was to act for a year as a guide/interpreter on U.S. traveling cultural exhibitions in the USSR. With these exhibits, Mr. Humphrey spent considerable time in Moscow, Leningrad (now St. Petersburg), Kiev, Kharkov, Tbilisi and Stalingrad (now Volgograd). Having daily contact with Soviet citizens gave him a deeper than usual insight into the mindset of persons belonging to all strata of Soviet society. Following this, he spent two years on short assignments to the Soviet and Cuban desks.

In 1964, Mr. Humphrey was assigned to Port of Spain as a consular officer. From Trinidad, he moved to Vienna, serving as aide to Ambassador James Riddleburger. In 1970, Mr. Humphrey was sent again to the USSR, this time spending one year in the consular section and one year in the political section at Embassy Moscow.

Having been awarded a congres-

sional fellowship, he then spent a year on Capitol Hill. Before returning abroad again, Mr. Humphrey served for two years in the Arms Control and Disarmament Agency, followed by two years on the Soviet desk and two years on the German desk.

In the summer of 1977, Mr. Humphrey was assigned to the U.S. mission in Berlin, serving there as public safety adviser until 1981. He returned to Washington and worked for two years on the Yugoslav desk. In 1983, he was assigned a second time to Berlin, this time as political counselor.

Mr. Humphrey retired from the State Department in 1986, remaining in Berlin, where he was selected in 1988 to direct the Allied Mediation Bureau that had just been established by the three occupying powers in the Western sectors of the capital. Until June 1991, the bureau served as an entity to which Berlin citizens could bring claims they might have had against any or all of the three Allied powers.

Mr. Humphrey is survived by his three children, Lisa, Nina and Peter; his former wife, Sandra Humphrey; two sisters, Phyllis Brown and Phoebe Cottingham; a niece and nephew; and his companion of many years, Heidemarie Rennman.

Louis H. Kuhn, 66, a retired FSO with USAID, died on Feb. 15 in Naples, Fla., after a long illness.

Mr. Kuhn was born on April 6, 1941, at the Schofield Barracks Army Hospital on Oahu, Hawaii, and grew up in Fairborn, Ohio. He received his high school diploma from Chaminade High School in Dayton, and his undergraduate and graduate degrees in economics from Xavier University in Cincinnati (1963) and Ohio State University in Columbus (1965), respectively. He joined USAID in 1967.

During his 30-year career as a Foreign Service officer, Mr. Kuhn specialized in Asia and the Pacific Islands. He spent 23 years on assignment as a program officer with USAID in Thailand, Indonesia, Fiji, Papua New Guinea and Sri Lanka. In addition, he was on assignment for seven years at the Department of State.

Mr. Kuhn served as an officer in the U.S. Army reserves for nine years, and was on active duty in Thailand, Georgia and Indiana. In October 1972, he was honorably discharged as a captain in the U.S. Army Finance Corps.

Following retirement from the Foreign Service in 1997, Mr. Kuhn settled in Naples, where he served as an adjunct instructor in economics at both Edison College and Florida Gulf Coast University. He was also a periodic lecturer on foreign affairs at FGCU's Renaissance Academy and other local groups. He actively volunteered on both the program and school outreach committees of the Naples Council on World Affairs, and was a board member of the Foreign Service Retirees Association of Florida.

Mr. Kuhn is survived by his wife of 26 years, C. Iswati "Wati" Kuhn from Jogyakarta, Indonesia, who is a teacher's assistant at St. Ann School in Naples; their two children, Ardi Robert of New York City, and Isti Pauline of Naples; and four brothers and sisters: Christopher B. of Annapolis, Md.; Robert B. of Bangor, Maine; Cesarea Miday Belden-Johnson of Avila Beach, Calif.; and Katherine F. Kuhn of Naples.

Memorial contributions may be made to the Salesian Missions, 2 Lefevre Lane, New Rochelle NY 10801-5710.

William Claude Nenno, 80, a retired Foreign Service officer, died on Jan. 10 at Caritas Holy Family Hospital in Methuen, Mass.

Mr. Nenno was born on Aug. 5, 1927 in Olean, N.Y., the youngest of four children. He was raised in East Aurora, N.Y., and graduated from East Aurora High School in 1945. He served overseas with the U.S. Navy from 1946 to 1948. Mr. Nenno earned his bachelor's degree from Brown University in 1951 and went on to Georgetown University, earning an M.A. in 1954 and a Ph.D. in 1964 in political science.

Mr. Nenno joined the Foreign Service in 1955. During his diplomatic career, he was posted in Frankfurt, Vienna, Madras, Canberra and East Berlin, in addition to Washington, D.C. A specialist in politico-military affairs, he was a State Department representative for the Mercury space program and in 1974 helped to establish the first U.S. embassy in East Berlin. Following his retirement in 1982, Mr. Nenno continued to work for the Pentagon, the National Archives and the Department of State until 2003.

Delivering a eulogy for her father on Jan. 12, Claudia Trombly recalled his diplomatic career with pride: "Language was his gift and he used it well. In Frankfurt, his first post, he hung out mainly with native Germans so much so that he became fluent in German. Even years later, when he helped open the first U.S. embassy behind the Iron Curtain in East Berlin, he was mistaken for a native speaker all the time. Dad had a quiet charm that drew people to him, not only at embassy functions and the local restaurants of India but also in the vegetable section at the grocery store."

Mr. Nenno was a resident of Washington, D.C., until 2005, when he moved to Haverhill, Mass. He was married to the late Shirley E. (Rickard) Nenno. He is survived by two daughters and sons-in-law, Nancy P. Nenno and Michael Marano of Charleston, S.C., and Claudia G. Trombly and Michael W. Trombly of Haverhill; a granddaughter, Tatiana Trombly of Haverhill; and several nieces and nephews.

The family requests that memorial donations be made to WGBH, 1 Guest St., Boston MA, or to HOPE Worldwide, 353 W. Lancaster Ave., Wayne PA.

David Taylor Paton, 85, a retired Foreign Service courier, passed away at the Masonic Village in Sewickley, Pa., on Oct. 9, 2007.

Mr. Paton was born and raised in Tenafly, N.J., and graduated from Tenafly High School in 1940. Following his service in the Navy during World War II, he attended Miami of Ohio College, earning a bachelor's degree.

In 1951, Mr. Paton joined the Department of State as a diplomatic courier, traveling constantly from overseas courier bases in France, Germany, Thailand and Panama. Mr. Paton's final overseas posting was Mexico City, where he served as the embassy conference attaché for approximately 12 years. His last assignment prior to retiring from the Foreign Service was as a Pearson Fellow for the city of San Antonio.

Mr. Paton was a member of AFSA, as well as a 32nd-degree Mason and member of the Alzafar Shrine in San Antonio. He will be missed by his many friends and family, one of whom recalled: "Dave was big on wit and personality. In social gatherings, he was often the center of attention, keeping things stirred up."

Mr. Paton's beloved wife, Agnes de Lima Paton, passed away in 2004. He left no immediate survivors.

Contributions in his memory may be made to the Senior Living Foundation of the American Foreign Service, c/o AFSPA, 1716 N Street NW, Washington DC 20036-2902, or to Forbes Hospice, 115 S. Neville Street, Pittsburg PA 15213.

Max Newton Robinson, 64, a retired FSO, died on Jan. 18 at a hospice in Burlington, Wash., following a lengthy, debilitating illness.

Mr. Robinson was born in 1943 in Scottsbluff, Neb., and grew up in Coeur d'Alene, Idaho, and Yakima, Wash. He earned his B.S. from Seattle Pacific University in 1965, and a master's degree in social work from the University of Washington in Seattle in 1971. After a tour with the Peace Corps in Uganda and employment as a social worker, he joined the Foreign Service in 1974.

Over the course of 24 years, Mr. Robinson attained the Senior Foreign Service rank of minister counselor. A consular officer, he retired in January 1998 from London where he was consul general. His other overseas postings included Dakar, London, Moscow and Helsinki, where he served as deputy chief of mission. His tours of duty in Washington included postings in the Bureau of Human Resources, the Operations Center and the Bureau of European Affairs, as well as a tour as deputy executive secretary. In addition to several Superior Honor Awards, Mr. Robinson received the President's Meritorious Service Award and an Award for Valor, both in 1993.

Mr. Robinson enjoyed working with stained glass, framing art and home remodeling projects. He was known for his patience with children and his uncanny ability to calm fussy babies. He also had a reputation as a dog whisperer because of his knack with border collies, and he loved books, flea markets, long-distance bide rides, saltwater boating and chopping wood. Family and friends recall that he was a man who loved life and lived it to the fullest.

Mr. Robinson is survived by his wife, Anne, of Mt. Vernon, Wash.; his son Daniel and daughter Natalie, who reside in Big Lake, Wash.; and by two children from his first marriage: a son, Joel, an FSO currently at Embassy London with his family, and a daughter, Elisabeth (Lisa) of Newtonville, Mass.; three granddaughters; a brother, Bill Robinson; and many nieces and nephews.

Memorial contributions may be sent to The Senior Living Foundation of the American Foreign Service, 1716

N Street NW, Washington DC 20036-2902.

Nathan Rosenfeld, 85, a retired FSO who served with USIA, died on Dec. 28, 2007, at Fairfax Hospital in Fairfax, Va.

Mr. Rosenfeld was raised in Herkimer, N.Y. He graduated from Utica College in 1952, and received a master's degree from the University of Pennsylvania in 1959. A decorated veteran of World War II, he served with the U.S. Army Air Forces in Europe and the Pacific and the U.S. Air Force in Korea and Japan.

Prior to entering the Foreign Service in 1963, Mr. Rosenfeld held academic positions in East Asia, Latin American and at the University of New Mexico. During his Foreign Service career he served with USIA as a cultural affairs officer, director of the Binational Center, and an American studies officer in Latin America. Domestic assignments included postings at State, the Fulbright Commission and USIA.

Mr. Rosenfeld is survived by his wife, Maria Rosenfeld of Burke Station, Va.; and two daughters, Stephanie Sursi and Yillah Rosenfeld.

William E. Schaufele Jr., 85, a retired Foreign Service officer and former ambassador and assistant secretary of State, died on Jan. 17 at Noble Horizons in Salisbury, Conn., following a long illness.

Born in Lakewood, Ohio, the son of William Elias Schaufele and Lillian Bergen, he entered Yale in 1942, then enlisted in the Army in March 1943. He served in Europe with the 10th Armored Division of Patton's Third Army, and was at Bastogne, Belgium, during the Battle of the Bulge.

In 1946, Mr. Schaufele returned to Yale, where he majored in government and international affairs and graduated in 1948. He received an M.A. from the Columbia School of International Affairs in 1950.

Mr. Schaufele joined the Foreign Service in 1950. His first assignment was to Frankfurt as a "resident officer." Later that year, he was transferred to Pfaffenhausen, and in 1952 to Augsburg and, finally, to Dusseldorf as a labor officer. A transfer to Munich as an economic and consular officer followed in 1953. He returned to Washington in 1956 to fill an economic affairs position, and was detailed to the faculty of the Foreign Service Institute in 1957.

Mr. Schaufele was next posted to Casablanca in 1959 as a political/labor officer. In 1963, he opened the consulate in Bukavu (formerly Costermansville) in the newly independent, turbulent Congo. He returned to State a year later to serve as Congo desk officer, and between 1964 and 1969 held increasingly responsible positions in the Bureau of African Affairs.

In 1969, President Richard Nixon appointed Mr. Schaufele ambassador to Upper Volta (now Burkina Faso). Two years later, he was named U.S. representative to the U.N. Security Council with the rank of ambassador. After four years in New York, he became assistant secretary of State for African affairs.

President Jimmy Carter named him U.S. ambassador to Poland in 1978. There he witnessed the election of Carol Cardinal Wojtila, archbishop of Krakow, as Pope John Paul II, and the rise of the Solidarity movement.

Amb. Schaufele retired from the Foreign Service in 1980 with the rank of career minister. He received the Wilbur Carr Award in recognition of "a distinguished career of creative contribution to American foreign policy, of unerring execution of that policy often under crisis conditions, and of leadership that instilled in [his] subordinates a sense of pride in and dedication to the service."

Following his retirement, Amb. Schaufele served as president of the Foreign Policy Association until January 1985. He was also director of the Institute of World Affairs in Taconic, N.Y.

He is survived by his wife, Heather, of Salisbury, Conn., and two sons, Steven and Peter, and two grandchildren, Alaric and Margaret. ■

E-mail your "In Memory" submission to the Foreign Service Journal, attention Susan Maitra *at FSJedit@afsa.org, or fax it to (202) 338-6820.*

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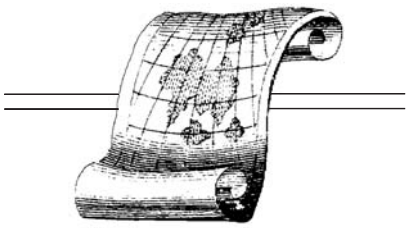

REFLECTIONS

"Wow — You Must Really *Like Winter!"*

BY JOAN B. ODEAN

I don't know how many times people have said this when I tell them that my husband and I have served for the past 10 years in Oslo, Moscow and, now, Ottawa — three of the coldest posts where the U.S. maintains a diplomatic presence.

I know that these are not *the* coldest posts (Ulaanbaatar, I hear you!), but these capitals definitely put on a good show of a real winter for more than six months each year. And when one is talking about a temperature range of between 5 and minus 15 degrees F over a period of several months, trying to define "coldest" becomes moot.

Let me say up front that, no, actually I really don't enjoy winters. The day after Christmas, it's time for spring to arrive in my book. I was born and raised in Texas. My husband, on the other hand, is from Chicago. For him, the colder the winter, the happier he is. I can still hear my mother-in-law saying, "Cold weather is good for you — it kills germs."

Our first foray into an arctic climate was an assignment to Oslo after departing Tel Aviv. While Norway is situated quite far north, its winters actually were not too bad because they were moderated by the Gulf Stream. And the beauty more than made up for the cold.

Our apartment was halfway up Hollmenkollen Mountain, at the top of which is one of the longest ski jumps in the world. When it was snowing heavily — big, fat snowflakes drifting down — my four-mile evening commute home would take more than an hour. It seemed that every Norwegian in Oslo was on their way up the mountain to hit the city's 130 kilometers of lighted cross-country ski trails.

The beauty more than made up for the cold.

But Oslo *is* dark — as in long, dark winters. Toward the end of December, night would settle in by 3:30 p.m., and the sun would not rise until 9 a.m. the next day. Norwegians rejoice in this darkness. Candles are everywhere, even on the tables in McDonald's.

From Norway, I chose Moscow as my next post. I will be the first to sheepishly admit that I had starry-eyed adolescent memories of "Dr. Zhivago" when choosing this assignment. But when my husband and I arrived at the dreary, decrepit Sheremetevo Airport, there was nary a Cossack in sight. Instead, there were eight lanes of whizzing traffic one block from the embassy, and Russians passed-out on icy sidewalks on Sunday mornings after a night of being fueled against the cold with vodka.

After Moscow, I wanted to be closer to home, and so I sought an assignment in Canada. But nothing prepared me for the cold in Ottawa — and the length of the winters!

Although Canadians do not embrace winters with the zeal of Norwegians, the Rideau Canal in the middle of the city becomes "the longest ice-skating rink in the world," as Canadians are quick to boast with the backing of Guinness World Records. My morning commute to work takes me along the length of the Canal; the skaters, who move with grace and stamina to an inner song, never fail to enthrall me.

People ask me how I coped with the winters in Oslo and Moscow. Truthfully, my negative memories of cold so intense that it hurts are receding. What I do remember is the lovely, muted early morning light on firs, their boughs coated silver with hoarfrost, surrounding and overlooking Oslo Fjord. And I remember Red Square on Christmas Eve, with snow softly piling on the tops of the multicolored turrets of St. Michael's.

So while I am looking toward my last winter here in Ottawa with a bit of trepidation, I know that when I depart, my strongest memories will be of skating on the frozen Rideau Canal, drinking mugs of hot chocolate and savoring hot, buttery, flaky "beavertail" cookies.

Who knows? I *may* just convince my husband that Ulaanbaatar would be an interesting onward assignment. ■

Joan Broyles Odean, an office management specialist who joined the Foreign Service in 1985, has served in Geneva, Bonn, Tel Aviv, Oslo, Moscow and Washington, D.C. Currently posted in Ottawa, she was second-place winner in the Journal*'s 2007 FS fiction contest.*

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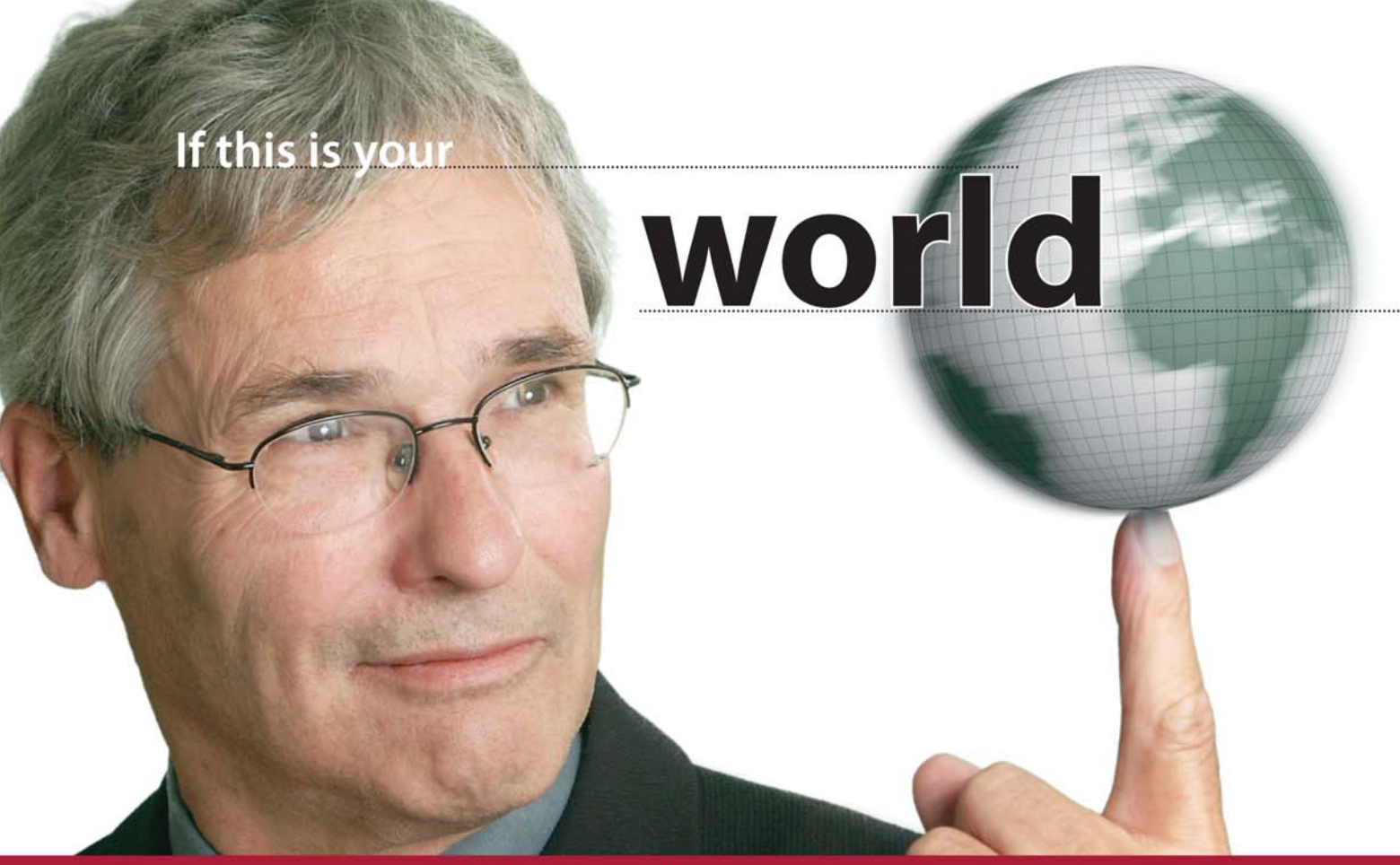

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