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

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PRESIDENT'S VIEWS

Bad Faith and Business As Usual in FS Assignments

By J. ANTHONY HOLMES

You know the drill. It's decades-old and occurs multiple times every year: Well-qualified, in-cone, at-grade bidders are denied a plum job. Word quickly spreads that it's been "wired" for some under-grade 7th-floor staffer or they never found out about it in the first place. Business as usual in FS assignments.



Numerous employees have told AFSA recently that in their eyes the litmus test of the department's seriousness about its newly re-engineered assignments system and related calls for increased service discipline will be the degree to which the rules are applied to 7th-floor staffers. Will HR and the regional bureaus stand up to the most senior appointees, both political and career, and resist the pressure for special treatment and preferred onward assignments for their favorites? Based on the first case to come to our attention in this new, "expeditionary" environment, the answer is a disappointing "no."

AFSA recently learned that a mid-level Civil Service officer on Under Secretary Karen Hughes' staff had been given the Senior Foreign Service PD "hub" director position in Brussels, a newly-created job that is part of the Secretary's "global repositioning" exercise at the heart of her transformational diplomacy initiative. This position might have been a perfect fit for a veteran FSO coming out of an unaccompanied post like Iraq, Afghanistan,

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

Pakistan, or Saudi Arabia. The department recently banned tour-of-duty extensions in Europe in part, it said, to open up jobs for those who had answered the call to such service. But despite the lure of a high profile, cutting-edge position in a comfortable European capital, the department would have us believe that it could not find a single qualified Foreign Service officer for the job. Go figure.

We had gotten wind of this unlikely deal months earlier and urged both HR and the under secretary's office to desist. But instead of being deterred, the process played out in a way that minimized the number of SFS members aware of this job. Only the most cursory steps were taken to conform to the assignment rules. Not a single one of the normal procedures to find suitable candidates for priority jobs was followed. To those familiar with "business as usual," the entire process looked awfully familiar.

Amazingly, State made this assignment a mere two months after we had told it that AFSA would set aside its serious concerns and reluctantly refrain from appealing the naming of a civil servant as DCM in Baghdad — despite the fact that a number of qualified, at-grade FSOs had bid on the position. We reminded the department's senior leaders that, per the Foreign Service Act and department regulations, such assignments should occur only when there is no one in the FS able to do the job and the outsider has unparalleled qualifications. Such a rare case

requires an advance "Certificate of Need" to justify the assignment, something the department did not do. Not a single one of the policy imperatives or personal qualifications that led us to decide not to appeal the Baghdad DCM case are present in the Brussels PD mess. This assignment is an affront to the Foreign Service and to AFSA.

Over and above the striking breach of faith with the Foreign Service, what I find so incomprehensible about this assignment is that it directly undermines the message Secretary Rice and Director General Staples have been so determined to send about the need for service discipline and their call for sacrifice. I wrote to Sec. Rice in October on this issue and assured her the Foreign Service is indeed answering that call. But I also stressed that the FS expects this same discipline on the part of State management in terms of following its own rules. This assignment is devastating for morale and creates a cynicism that only certain employees are subject to Service discipline while others can thumb their noses at it — and at them.

AFSA has long cooperated with the department to develop and operate two open, transparent programs in which qualified Civil Service employees can serve overseas. But as I have said before in this space, personal loyalty is not a qualification for any job in the entire Foreign Service. The assignment rules apply throughout the department and must be followed — and our leaders must have the discipline to stick to them. ■

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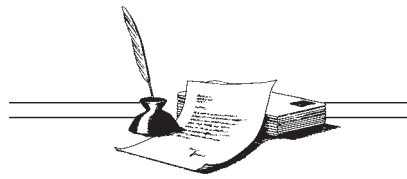
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Diplomats in War Zones

AFSA's recent message regarding its discussions with State management on new assignment procedures makes clear that it sought a reasonable balance between employee interests (particularly the interests of FSOs' children) and the State Department's needs.

But I think a deeper analysis and engagement with State's leadership are warranted. Namely, to what extent will FSOs serve in combat zones in the 21st century? When the U.S. invades a country and proposes to rebuild it in an environment overwhelmed by an armed insurgency — e.g., Iraq — is there really a role forward in the field for the Foreign Service (or USAID's cadre)? Or is that work better undertaken by politically savvy military officers of the type who effectively served the British Empire in its frontier areas (such as the Indo/Afghan borderlands)? They may be rare today, but the U.S. military has them. I have known some of them — warriors with political smarts.

The diplomatic service recruits a different sort of person than the military. Our personnel are loyal and devoted and prepared to accept hardship and some risks, but few are warriors by temperament or training. Thus, they are not well-equipped to operate in largely unprotected hinterland environments where they are prime targets of a well-organized insurgency.

One could also note in this context

the risks associated with Secretary Rice's proposed deployment of one- or two-person posts outside capitals to populous but secondary Third World cities. In today's world, that initiative, irrespective of its substantive merits (which I doubt), is likely either to invite attacks on "sitting duck" diplomats or to sink under the budgetary expense should we deploy platoons of security personnel to protect each lone FSO.

The respective roles of the Foreign Service and the uniformed military need to be re-examined as part of a wider effort at institution-building to better equip America to administer the many protectorates (i.e., occupied failed states) that are likely to come our way this century. Lacking anything akin to the bygone British Colonial Office, we need to develop a modern-day equivalent, however cloaked in politically correct terminology.

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

Foreign Service and Civil Service Civility

As a long-time Civil Service employee, I appreciated AFSA State Vice President Steve Kashkett's forthright insights into issues related to Foreign Service and Civil Service employees and cultures in the State Department. His thoughtful piece in the September *AFSA News* provided an interesting perspective on these essential yet controversial issues, which receive too little direct atten-

tion at State. This is unfortunate, as getting the Foreign Service-Civil Service relationship right facilitates winning American diplomacy.

Such FS/CS matters have been understood as important to U.S. diplomacy for decades. Former Secretary of State Dean Acheson recalled in his memoir, *Present at the Creation*, that the Hoover Commission recommended in 1947 that "the personnel in the permanent State Department establishment in Washington and the personnel of the Foreign Service above certain levels should be amalgamated over a short period of years into a single foreign affairs service obligated to serve at home and overseas and constituting a safeguarded career group administered separately from the general Civil Service."

Acheson reported that this recommendation was not enacted for a number of reasons, including a belief that "to maintain the morale of the Foreign Service, the process of recruitment required both time and painstaking methods to ensure that the quality of the recruits should be high and that it should be recognized as being high."

Nonetheless, in terms of recognizing the contributions of department employees with different careers and backgrounds, Acheson also observed that "not all the arts of diplomacy are learned solely in its practice. There are other exercise yards."

I did take minor exception to Mr. Kashkett's terminology when he referred to Civil Service employees

LETTERS



being assigned to overseas “excursion tours.” My perspective is that the term is subject to being misconstrued. Such Civil Service overseas tours should be referred to by what they officially are, according to the State Department’s Foreign Affairs Manual: “limited non-career appointments to Foreign Service” tours, or “LNA tours.”

After all, I don’t think anyone would call FS career employees’ assignments “serial excursions,” or call FS employees “serial excursionists.” Calling Civil Service overseas assignments “excursions” and CS employees “excursionists” seems similarly inappropriate.

Mr. Kashkett and I discussed my concern, and he advised me that he only used the term because it is common jargon at State. He also stated that in the future, he would refer to such assignments as LNA tours. That is much appreciated.

*Dan Sheerin
Bureau of Information
Resource Management
U.S. Department of State*

Farewell to a Young Turk

Charles W. Bray — co-organizer with Lannon Walker of the 1967 uprising that changed AFSA from a rubber-stamp organization for the State Department’s management to, in due course, the recognized representative of the Foreign Service to negotiate personnel policies with the management of all the foreign affairs agencies — died on July 23. (See the October *FSJ*, p. 87, for his obituary.) The group was known as the Young Turks, and they won election to the new AFSA Governing Board in 1967. Its mentors were two distinguished Foreign Service officers, Foy Kohler and Philip Habib.

Lannon Walker became chairman (now called president). I was vice president, and Ted Curran secretary-

treasurer. (Other key members in the early months were Bob Houdek, John Reinhardt, Charlie Rushing, Frank Wile and Larry Williamson.) Charlie Bray, in typical fashion, at the outset eschewed an officer position but served as a board member.

Lannon and Charlie made a great team, recruiting the rest of us. Charlie provided much of the intellectual force for the group. He served on the “Committee on Career Principles.” He oversaw the publication by AFSA in early 1968 of “Toward a Modern Diplomacy,” designed to focus the new administration, taking office in January 1969, on some of the reforms needed in the Foreign Service, including unifying the Foreign Services of USAID, USIA and State. (It turned out that Richard Nixon and Henry Kissinger had their own ideas about the organization of the foreign affairs agencies, but “Toward a Modern Diplomacy” remained a platform for AFSA.)

Charlie and I testified in 1968, at his initiative, before the Democratic and Republican Party platform committees on Foreign Service reform. (I no longer remember which party each of us spoke to, but I do remember he got a plank added, whereas I did not.) Charlie also sparked a public forum on Foreign Service reform held in the State Department. Finally, our board committed AFSA to running the Foreign Service Club.

In 1970, Charlie became board chair and was the first person to take a leave of absence from the Service to work full-time for AFSA. He assisted the successor board which took the new AFSA further into the roles it plays today.

During his Foreign Service career, and subsequently as head of the Wingspread Foundation and other nonprofit endeavors, Charlie exhibited a remarkable ability to bring diverse people together to chart a positive course. He did this with humor

and patience. He was a fine professional diplomat and a man of courage. AFSA, the Foreign Service and every other institution he touched owe him a huge debt of gratitude.

*Theodore “Ted” L. Eliot Jr.
Ambassador, retired, and a
former Young Turk
Sonoma, Calif.*

The Greatest Statesman

As one who came to political consciousness in the time of Franklin Roosevelt, I was pleased to see the September article on the United Nations by Tad Daley and David Lionel (“Reinventing the United Nations”) refer to FDR as “arguably the greatest statesman of the age.”

It is an apt description, but I would go further and drop the qualifier “arguably.” This is the man who led an isolationist and socially chaotic America through its deepest depression and its greatest war to widely accepted global pre-eminence and a greatly strengthened democracy at home. It was undoubtedly the seminal period of 20th-century America, as were the times of George Washington in the 18th century and of Abraham Lincoln in the 19th. This was recognized in a poll of American historians late in the last century that placed these three presidents in a pantheon of their own.

Some 30-plus years ago (good Lord!), I had a pleasant chat one evening in Manila with then-Foreign Minister Carlos Romulo. Among other things I asked him who — in a long, prominent and active life that had brought him into contact with numerous political, military and other world figures — was the greatest man he had ever met. Without a moment’s hesitation he answered, “Franklin Roosevelt.”

A final note: If there be a Providence that looks out at least occasionally for our earthly fortunes

LETTERS



(with large and currently obvious gaps of inattention in between), then surely, like the parallel lives and mutual passing on July 4, 1826, in the 50th year of our independence, of John Adams and Thomas Jefferson, the parallel tenures of the great 20th-century antagonists Hitler and Roosevelt (accession in 1933, death in 1945) — one the embodiment of tyranny, the other of freedom — was another such providential pairing in history.

So, with apologies to the authors, I will drop the “arguably.”

Gunther K. Rosinus
SFSO, retired
Potomac, Md. ■

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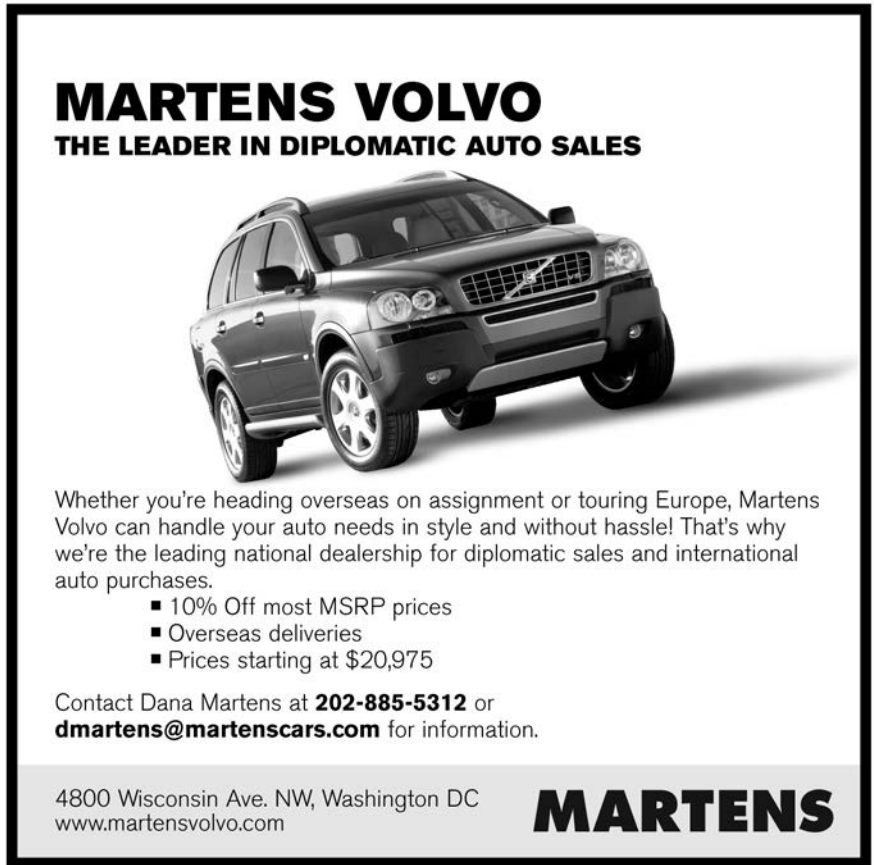
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CYBERNOTES

Making the Grade: Defining Failing States

Since the Sept. 11 attacks and the resulting war on terrorism, the international arena is no longer a stage for conflict among great powers. Prodded by the mounting concern over trans-state groups, such as al-Qaida, the focus has shifted to the problem of failed and failing states (the focus of this month's *Journal*). These vulnerable states have stumbled into the spotlight as potential hotbeds for terrorist activity and recruitment.

The term "failing states" refers to regions suffering from extreme poverty, weak governance and internal conflict, conditions with high risks of global spillover effects, such as terrorism and pandemics. As the July/August issue of *Foreign Policy* aptly puts it, "World leaders once worried about who was amassing power; now they worry about the absence of it" (www.foreignpolicy.com/story/cms.php?story_id=3098).

While the potential threat from these countries is universally accepted, there is less agreement on what actually constitutes a failing state and how the danger it poses can be mitigated. Several tests, reports and indices — each utilizing different definitions and indicators — have been created to identify fragile states and assess their implications globally.

The Independent Evaluation Group, a division of the World Bank, recently published a report listing the world's fragile states, known in Bretton Woods jargon as low-income

50 Years Ago...

There are many pros and cons on the merits of the 'conference' approach to diplomacy as opposed to the traditional, bilateral form of diplomatic relations, but it seems reasonable for us to expect that the U.N. type of diplomacy will be an important feature of international relations for the rest of our careers.



— Editorial, "Multilateral Diplomacy and the Foreign Service," *FSJ*,
November 1956

countries under stress, or LICUS. (The Bank changed the term "low-income countries under stress" to "fragile states" this past January, after the work for this report had been done.) The list encompasses 26 states and territories, including Afghanistan, Somalia and Haiti (www.worldbank.org/ieg/licus/download.html).

Part of the World Bank's broader initiative toward fragile states, the report categorizes failed states on the basis of per capita income and Country Policy and Institution Assessment ratings. The CPIA is a diagnostic tool consisting of 16 criteria reflecting the extent to which a country's policy and institutional framework support sustainable growth.

The results so far look grim: poverty and conflict among these states seem to be worsening despite efforts by international organizations and donor countries. Since the last report was published in 2003, the number of

fragile states has grown from 17 to 26. According to the IEG, eight of these states have dropped from "marginal" or "core" status to "severe," indicating significant economic and social deterioration. Only five nations — Cameroon, Equatorial Guinea, Niger, Kyrgyzstan and Yemen — have managed to shed their failed-country status, while 14 new territories have joined the list.

The IEG report also assesses the efforts made thus far by the World Bank and the international community to economically engage and stimulate these volatile regions. The report attempts to identify the obstacles faced in economic engagement, and seeks to provide possible solutions for improved assistance.

In 2005, the Fund for Peace, a research organization dedicated to war prevention, published a "Failed States Index" in collaboration with *Foreign Policy* (www.fundforpeace.org/programs/fsi/fsindex.php).



CYBERNOTES

This index, which was updated in 2006, uses 12 indicators to rank 146 countries in terms of fragility. The indicators include demographic pressures, movement of refugees, inequality and uneven development, economic decline, human rights violations and delegitimization of the state, among others.

Though more extensive than the World Bank's list, the Failed States Index is more descriptive than prescriptive. It does not attempt to suggest what ought to be done to rectify the situation, but rather serves as an instrument to measure the capacities of state institutions and to predict trends regarding failing states.

A third list comprising 46 fragile states is published by Britain's Department for International Development (www.dfid.gov.uk/pubs/files/fragilestates-paper.pdf#search=%22DFID%20fragile%20states%22). The DFID report evaluates states according to indicative factors such as state authority for security, effective political power, economic management and administrative capacity to deliver services. It attributes problems in these areas to a lack of capacity and unwillingness to deliver within failing states. Like the World Bank, the DFID also addresses the inefficiency of current systems of foreign aid and tries to put forth solutions to improve assistance to failing regions.

While the various lists on failing states differ in methods and composition, they all hit upon the same critical

point: for the sake of all, in developed and developing nations alike, the betterment of poor and conflict-ridden populations remains crucial to a more secure world.

— *Lamiya Rahman,*
Editorial Intern

Putting the "Security" Back into "National Security"

As skirmishing over policy for Iraq and the war on terror accelerates going into the November elections, a new think-tank hopes to raise the

level of debate over how to best safeguard international and domestic security despite partisan concerns.

The National Security Network (www.nsnetwork.org), dedicated to promoting "pragmatic and principled foreign policy and responsible global leadership that will make America secure and prosperous," was launched on Sept. 26 by former Secretary of State Madeleine Albright; Representative Jane Harman, D-Calif.; Rand Beers, a former special assistant to Presidents Clinton and George H.W.

Site of the Month: whatsonwhen.com

As every globe-trotting Foreign Service employee knows, much of the charm in a new post lies in the chance to discover a country's unique culture. At www.whatsonwhen.com, exploring new cities is made quick and simple.

This award-winning Web site "tells you more than a guidebook can. Quite how *Whatsonwhen* manages to keep track of events all over the world is hard to imagine, but they do it exceptionally well," says *The Guardian*. The site features upcoming events in 111 cities and 30 countries — from film festivals in San Sebastian and canal tours in Amsterdam to opera on the Nile, and more.

With its user-friendly format, you're sure to find something of interest, whether you're single or traveling with a family. Specified search options allow users to search by continent, country, city and date. In addition, the site includes a list of themes, ranging from "Clubs & Parties," to "Performing Arts," to "Kids & Family."

Whatsonwhen also offers a number of helpful travel services. Users can browse through leisure-event guides, watch travel videos, book hotels and tickets and even submit their own photos and events.

Launched in 1999, *Whatsonwhen* started out with the aim to "let people plan their leisure time according to their interests and to make sure they did not miss an event they really wanted to see." Though perfect for travelers, the site also serves high-profile clients such as Thomas Cook and Reuters.

— *Lamiya Rahman, Editorial Intern*

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Bush; and Leslie H. Gelb, president-emeritus of the Council on Foreign Relations. Beers is president of the new organization and Gelb is chairman of its advisory board.

The Washington-based think-tank draws on the expertise of over 1,000 national security specialists on both sides of the partisan divide. It intends to extend the debate to the public through town hall meetings, citizen outreach and online exchanges. The Security Framework Project, a communications hub sponsored by, and maintained for, the progressive national security community, is another key project.

“The National Security Network acts as a switchboard to connect media, political leaders and experts to ensure the best ideas are getting where they need to go,” Beers said at the launch event at the National Press Club. “NSN members are committed to fostering an informed public dialogue to ensure a secure and prosperous future for the United States and to restore America’s legitimacy as a global leader.”

One of the core missions of the Network is to strengthen citizen support for responsible foreign policy throughout the country. Chapters are currently active in three states, and are being set up in five more.

“The National Security Network aims to put ‘security’ back into ‘national security’ and do it by restoring bipartisanship,” said Network Advisory Board Chairman Leslie H. Gelb. “No other national security organization integrates policymaking, messaging and community outreach within one enterprise. Network members are the best of the next generation. They are problem-solvers addressing real challenges.”

— Susan Maitra, Senior Editor

Religious Freedom Report Draws Criticism

Despite a general trend toward religious freedom, in certain regions the past year has witnessed increased governmental efforts “to create sectarian violence and attack people of other faiths,” said John V. Hanford III, Ambassador at Large for International Religious Freedom, at a Sept. 15 briefing on the *2006 Annual Report on International Religious Freedom* (www.state.gov/g/drl/rls/rm/2006/72303.htm).

The State Department report covers conditions in 197 nations and territories, noting significant abuses in eight “countries of particular concern.” The CPC list — China, Eritrea, Iran, Myanmar, North Korea, Saudi Arabia, Sudan and Vietnam — remains unchanged from 2005 but, according to Hanford, an updated list is forthcoming.

Among the CPCs, the report traces a decline of freedom in Iran, where “government actions and rhetoric created a threatening atmosphere for nearly all religious minorities.” Both recognized and unrecognized minorities in Iran continue to suffer at the hands of discriminatory government-sponsored media campaigns, the report states.

The report cites ongoing restrictions in China, where Christians, Muslims and Falun Gong practitioners continue to be violently persecuted. It also expresses concern over intensified restriction of religious activities — on the part of both Christian and Muslim groups — in Uzbekistan, which many speculate will be included in the new CPC list.

Criticism has been leveled at the report from both the domestic and international arena. The U.S. Commission on International Religious Freedom stated that it was “shocked”



by the State Department's claims of improvement in Saudi Arabia, where it says progress has been insignificant and "freedom of religion does not exist" (www.uscirf.gov/mediaroom/press/2006/september/20060915StateDeptRpt.html). The USCIRF also denounced positive references to Vietnam's progress in the report.

Not surprisingly, the report has drawn even angrier responses from the CPCs. Iranian Foreign Ministry spokesman Mohammad Ali Hosseini denounced it, claiming that it "pursues a U.S. foreign policy agenda and is of no value" (www.rferl.org/featuresarticle/2006/09/0C3098FB-CC24-49A5-8CAF-63CE752BBBAF.html).

While expressing Vietnam's good will toward the United States, Foreign Ministry spokesman Le Dung protested his nation's being singled out as a country of particular concern. According to Dung, "Vietnam has made enormous progress on religious freedom" (www.nhandan.com.vn/english/news/190906/domestic_vn1.htm). However, the report states that despite improvements for Protestants, certain Buddhist factions are still repressed.

In Beijing, Foreign Ministry spokesman Qin Gang dismissed the report as a "groundless" interference in China's internal affairs. Ye Xiaowen of the State Administration for Religious Affairs remarked, "This subject has become a major obstacle to constructive cooperation between China and the United States" (<http://today.reuters.com/news/home.aspx>).

In Pyongyang, officials charged that the United States should stop meddling in others states' religious policies. "The United States is not a 'religious judge' but a chief culprit in the repression and extermination of religion," declared the *Rodong Sin-*

Sept. 11, 2001, has not had the same reverberations as World Wars I and II, or the end of the Cold War. America has not reshaped the world, and the world has not reshaped America. But that does not mean that the challenges brought on by 9/11 are not momentous. The challenge for the United States is managing and mitigating the turmoil in the world, while taking steps to keep the American people safe.

— Lee Hamilton, "Five Years After 9/11," Remarks at Pace University, Sept. 7
www.wilsoncenter.org/docs/staff/Hamilton_Pace.doc

mun daily newspaper, citing U.S. campaigns in Afghanistan and Iraq (<http://today.reuters.com/news/home.aspx>).

Though not on the CPC list, Russia, too, was critical. "We did not expect balanced, unbiased judgments from this document," states Russian Foreign Ministry spokesman Mikhail Kamynin (www.interfax-religion.com/print.php?act=news&id=2062). "Just like in previous years, the U.S. Department of State's report is abundant in inaccurate and often grossly erroneous wordings. It juggles facts, outdated information, and references to apparently unreliable sources."

For the full report, see www.state.gov/g/drl/rls/irf/2006/.

— Lamiya Rahman,
Editorial Intern

Answering Expatriate Booklovers' SOS

Anyone who spends long periods living overseas periodically entertains the wish that there were some easy way to find favorite English-language books abroad. *Booksfree.com*, an online, mail-order book and books-on-tape rental service, goes a long way toward making that wish come true (www.booksfree.com).

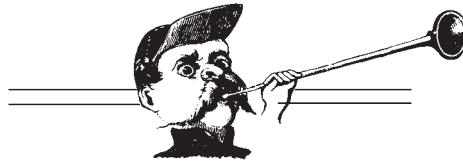
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Although *Booksfree* does not provide international service, it does ship to APO/FPO addresses. Foreign Service employees can also receive books abroad through pouch mail.

— Lamiya Rahman,
Editorial Intern ■



SPEAKING OUT

Political Appointees: A Cost-Benefit Analysis

BY WILLIAM F. DAVNIE

Political-appointee ambassadors constitute a perennial source of amazement, frustration, anger and sometimes even inspiration among career diplomats and observers of American diplomacy. A June 15 *International Herald Tribune* column by Thomas Raleigh called for an end to, or sharp restriction of, the number of “amateur (i.e., political appointee) ambassadors.” Raleigh focuses on the general failure of such appointees to meet the standards of the Foreign Service Act of 1980, both in terms of the skills and experience necessary to do the job, and the fact that they tend to be major political donors, not foreign policy experts.

He’s correct, to be sure, as far as he goes. But there are additional reasons why many, perhaps most, non-career ambassadors are profoundly handicapped in fulfilling their new duties, regardless of how successful they may have been in other fields. It isn’t that the people nominated are incompetent. Rather, few people can make the shifts needed to be effective in their new settings in the time they have available.

First, most non-career appointees have rich political experience — but it’s in domestic politics, not international affairs. Perhaps always, but certainly in the current political climate, such expertise focuses on energizing the base and boxing in the opposition. The goal is to win the next election, so slogans that sepa-

Most political appointees face massive culture shock when they enter government and arrive at an embassy.

rate, that divide — that stress ‘you’re for us or against us’ — are most effective. (Whether you like that style of politics is a different matter.)

It doesn’t work that way overseas. A foreigner can like American music, complain about our fast food (while eating at McDonald’s) and enjoy a winter vacation in Florida — and still oppose our presence in Iraq, our trade policy or, simply, our prominence. Foreign populations don’t have to be with or against America. They can ponder choices, offer alternatives, make distinctions.

So when talking points arrive at post from the White House or the Bureau of Public Diplomacy in the State Department, written by domestic political experts and sounding like they were prepared for a campaign speech, they don’t merely fall on deaf ears — they tend to alienate their recipients. Instead of engaging the overseas public in order to explain our position and the reasons for it, they try to tell it what to think.

Understandably, this does not work. Yet political-appointee ambassadors tend to believe such talking points are great, precisely because they sound like speeches they have heard or given before back home. No matter how well they may understand how to talk to Americans of their own political party, they have trouble with the need to switch mental gears once they arrive at post.

Culture and Other Shocks

Second, most political appointees face massive culture shock when they enter government and arrive at an embassy. Some insist this is the fault of an entrenched career bureaucracy fighting against reasonable policy guidance from the president’s representatives. But I’ve read the business pages long enough to have seen many an article on chief executive officers who failed because they couldn’t make the adjustment from one company or sector’s business culture to another’s. If that’s true within the private sector, why shouldn’t it be true in the world of diplomacy, an admittedly quirky corner of government?

Make no mistake: the public sector is different. In government, there’s no clear, numeric bottom line by which to measure success. There’s constant oversight by both Congress and the public, which has led to all sorts of regulations and procedures alien to the private sector. Diplomacy has a special incentive to avoid unintended



offense, having learned how long and loudly a misstep can reverberate in bilateral relations. This can lead to a cautious pace that people from the business world find somewhere between irritating and infuriating — but which they fundamentally can't change. This is not because their American staff is resistant to guidance, but because by definition diplomacy operates outside America, and must take into account the culture and customs of the host country and region. Though we represent a superpower, we aren't free actors.

Third, political appointees, who are often CEO-types, are shocked to discover the limitations on their position when they actually arrive at an embassy. On the policy side, except in a few hot spots (where political appointees only rarely land, with Iraq and Afghanistan representing exceptions that prove the rule), policy is set, and news made, back in Washington. Ambassadors are essentially seen as messengers, and thus of little interest unless they can truly build credibility on certain issues — a worthy goal but one most appointees can't achieve, because they don't have the background.

And far from running the mission, the new ambassador typically discovers that the entire staff is already tasked with a range of reports and requirements from Washington, from their home agency or department, and various subdivisions thereof. This can be profoundly disillusioning for a political-appointee ambassador, who naturally assumes that his or her staff works only for the front office. Financially, ambassadors can direct only a modest portion of the funds spent at the embassy, and have tight limits on their ability to deploy staff in different ways.

Political appointees generally spend substantial time struggling against these constraints, and nearly

***The temptation is to try
to make the embassy
work like the private
sector, instead of
utilizing the staff's skills
to advance U.S. policy.***

always lose. The outside view of bureaucratic rigidity isn't entirely wrong, to be sure. It frustrates those of us inside the system as well. (The difference is that most of us realize that a single ambassador cannot change a system as complicated as our foreign affairs representation structure, especially from what amounts to a branch office-manager position in a probably not terribly important country.) But political appointees often spend vast amounts of time and energy trying to make the embassy work like the individual's last executive office in the private sector, instead of utilizing the staff's skills to advance U.S. policy.

Short-Timer's Disease

Fourth, at a human level, moving overseas and taking on a new leadership position in what usually is a totally new place and field of work would challenge anyone's adaptive capabilities. Career diplomats, who move frequently between home and abroad, from culture to culture, know that each move is a challenge, with a substantial learning curve concerning daily life as well as professional responsibilities. Naturally, the process presents even greater challenges to those who, in many

cases, have never lived outside the U.S., and who may well not have moved for decades.

Among other problems, there's an obvious tendency to continue to rely on U.S. contacts — one ambassador sent his speeches back to his office in New York for formatting! — rather than settle into the new place. And because the ambassadorial assignment is almost always an interlude in the appointee's "real life" back in the U.S., there is an inevitable tendency not to truly connect with either the country of assignment or the new culture of the U.S. embassy.

As a consequence, perhaps, of all these points, many appointees don't remain at post for the entire three-year tour they accepted. Family ties, campaign schedules, homesickness and frustration with the federal system all make an early exit attractive. Yet many observers consider even the standard three-year U.S. diplomatic assignment the minimum for anyone to learn a new position and be effective. And that's for people who know the profession and the process of settling in to a new position. What does that say for a one- or two-year assignment for those who know little or nothing about the new job?

Note, please, that I have not written at all about the burden non-career ambassadors place on their staff to educate them to their work; the number of faux pas that have to be averted (if possible) or smoothed over after the fact; or the time spent explaining everything from basic procedures to the host country's history to high policy. I'm only looking at the inevitable, normal, objective challenges that face a non-career ambassador.

Can these challenges be overcome? Sure, sometimes. But only with great personal commitment, and at substantial cost to the coherence of our foreign policy execution and the time and energy of the professional

SPEAKING OUT



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embassy staff, who already have full-time work to do.

At a minimum, the White House needs to take the real challenges of diplomatic service into greater account when deciding which of the major donors will receive posts, and the Senate needs to exercise its role of advice and consent with greater care. The issue at hand is not simply the background of the nominee, which may be sterling, but the ability of the nominee to meet the distinctive challenges of diplomatic service in a new organizational environment in a new country. ■

William Davnie, an FSO since 1981, has served in Hong Kong, Bangkok, Chiang Mai, Moscow, Dushanbe, Vilnius and Washington, D.C. He is currently public affairs officer in Helsinki.

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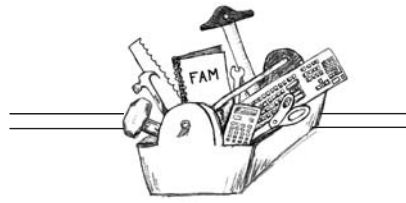
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FS KNOW-HOW

What I Wish I Had Known

BY ROBIN HOLZHAUER

The TM is signed, the household effects sealed up, and the visa — finally — delivered. No longer will people ask, “Really, for which state?” when you tell them where you work — everyone abroad knows what a U.S. embassy is. The question is, do you know what you’ll find when you arrive?

Every job has its good and bad aspects, its nuances and culture, its geniuses and oddballs. The State Department is no different. Being prepared for the twists and turns your life will take in our traveling show will help you weather the trying times and enjoy the good moments. So as you head off on your adventure, keep these tips in mind — things I wish I had known before my first assignments.

The department will not take care of you but, if you’re lucky, your co-workers will. Do not — never, ever — think the department will be there for you. It will not. It is a bureaucracy meant to move slowly and follow rules, no matter how unfair, archaic or silly those rules may seem to you. And if anything ever goes wrong with the process, it’s your fault. Did an employee evaluation report not make it into your file? It’s not the fault of the person who didn’t get it in, but your fault for not checking that your file was complete. Did someone lose a voucher you submitted? It’s your fault for not making

*As you head off
on your adventure,
keep these tips in
mind — things I
wish I had known
before my first
assignments.*



extra copies to resubmit. You must always double-check everything, save copies of everything, document everything. If you don’t, you’ll be the one who loses out, and Foggy Bottom won’t care.

The good news is that, in general, your co-workers *do* care. There are “kiss up, kick down” types in every cone and bureau, but generally your co-workers want you to do well. In how many other jobs has someone met you at the airport, bought groceries for you and made your bed for your first night’s stay? How many will take a Saturday morning to show you how the Metro works or which restaurant serves the best fare? Be good to them and, for the most part, they will be good to you. Then, when your time comes to be a sponsor, remember how nice it was to have a full refrigerator and fluffed pillow on your first day, and return the favor.

Your happiness and success often depends on the connections you make with your American colleagues and your Foreign Service National staff. Of course, those connections lead to the second tip:

Prepare for the personal. Both in your official and unofficial duties, people will either want to know about you or will know about you. Professionally, people in your host country may ask questions that would be considered rude in our culture but are perfectly normal in theirs. Be prepared for them so you don’t respond in an emotional manner. If you do, you will be the one who looks odd. After all, everyone asks those questions there.

Topics may include: “How much money do you make?” “Why don’t you have children?” “How can you leave your elderly parents all alone?” And, if you’re female and over age 21: “Why aren’t you married?” Often that one is followed by some local version of “What’s wrong with you?” These can be emotional issues for some people — imagine if you’ve been trying to have a baby for five years and someone at a reception asks you why you don’t have kids. So prepare for the personal and have ready an appropriate answer.

You also need to brace yourself for personal questions in the office. Many embassies and consulates are like small towns, where everybody knows your business. Sometimes

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FS KNOW-HOW



*Every job has its
good and bad aspects,
its nuances and culture,
its geniuses and
oddballs. The State
Department is no
different.*

that's a good thing. Other times it can feel a bit like "The Brady Bunch," and you'll want to follow Marsha's lead and move into the attic. How your child did on the big test, who left with whom from the Marine House party, who drank too much at the last reception, which couple is having a fight — all this and more is revealed. So keep an eye on how you lead your personal life, and don't be surprised if the person two cubicles down knows how you spent your weekend. Sometimes this effect is magnified at smaller posts, so it's something to keep in mind when considering the third tip:

Always research your post before you bid. This seems like a no-brainer, but many eager officers have gone off to nice-sounding places only to discover that the reality does not live up to the vision. Ask questions that are relevant to you. If you're single, is it a place that has activities you like, or does the embassy or city cater more to families? You'll hate your tour if there is no social life for you outside of work. What kind of work do you want to do? If your passion is developing small business or micro-finance but

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you accept an assignment to Western Europe, don't be surprised if you're delivering demarches telling your contacts to allow genetically-modified food into their country. Make sure the work is rewarding to you.

An area newer officers sometimes overlook is researching who their bosses will be. You could live in the country of your dreams and have work you've always wanted to do, but if your boss is a lousy manager and leader, you may find yourself dreading going to work. See what the buzz is about the person. What do fellow officers think his strengths and weaknesses are? Find out her management style and decide if it's compatible with how you like to be supervised. The relationship you have with your supervisor can make or break an assignment, so try and find out ahead of time if your styles will match.

Another thing to keep in mind when you look at possible assignments is how it will affect your career. Therefore before you submit that bid, consider the next tip:

Decide what's most important to you. Do you hope to make ambassador or deputy assistant secretary in the shortest time possible, or would you rather pursue the work that interests you most? Neither choice is a bad one, but the goal will affect your choice of assignments.

While every rule has an exception, conventional wisdom (aka the Career Development Program) dictates there are certain steps to take to make it to the Senior Foreign Service, and you need to begin taking them fairly early in your career. It may require going to a post where dependents are not allowed, or tackling issues you don't like, or working with people you'd rather not be around. You need to decide which tack you want to take, and discuss the implications with your family. You don't want to put in 10 or

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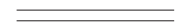


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20 years, and then become embittered that you didn't get a DCM slot because it went to the guy who served in two war zones while you went from Rome to Rio. You also don't want the flip side of the coin: finding "Amb." before your name, but bemoaning the fact that you missed so many school plays or never got around to learning the guitar or taking vacations at the beach.

In each case you made a choice that affected your career and your family. Be sure you know what you're aiming for and what sacrifices it will take to get it so you don't regret what you did or didn't do.

The final tip is one passed along by a colleague:

To be successful, you must know your country and you must know your country. That is, you must know the country you are posted to, but you must also know the United States. We usually do OK on the first part. We do what we can to internalize the culture, history and current events of where we're going. But we often don't think about the United States. Of course we know it, we think; it's our country. Yet often we haven't spent time really understand-

FS KNOW-HOW



ing our own culture. What are American values and how are those values seen overseas? What are the good things that have come from those values? How has our history shaped our current attitudes and trends? You will need to explain these things overseas and know how people in your country view them so you can best frame your ideas and message. People want to know about policy as well as people, and you must explain both.

There are a few topics people the world over seem to find especially interesting. So learn all you can about the following: the Electoral College, the U.S. Constitution, and the history and current situation of Native Americans/American Indians. Also, people always want to know about Thanksgiving, so brush up on your Pilgrim-

and-turkey-tradition knowledge.

Above all, enjoy your time in the Service. It's a unique, sometimes difficult, often frustrating career you are embarking upon. But it can also lead to a rewarding and insightful life. I've met many senior officers who said if they had it to do over again, they would join the Foreign Service. Again.

Now go catch your airport taxi — and be sure to save the receipt. ■

Robin Holzhauer joined the Foreign Service in 1998 as part of the United States Information Agency and moved to the State Department in 1999. In addition to postings in Kosovo and Russia, she has worked at the Foreign Service Institute and attended the Naval War College. She is in language training for a summer 2007 assignment in Caracas.



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SEEKING A PATIENT PATH TO NATIONBUILDING



Clemente Botelho

B

U.N. POST-CONFLICT PLANNING SHOULD TAKE INTO ACCOUNT THE RESOURCES NEEDED TO SUSTAIN AND STABILIZE COUNTRIES LONG AFTER ELECTIONS.

BY ROBERT MCMAHON

y the fourth anniversary of its statehood earlier this year, East Timor was commonly referred to as one of the great successes of U.N. nationbuilding. When violence erupted after the country's independence referendum in 1999, the U.N. Security Council handed Australia a robust mandate to restore peace. The presence of the Australians — exemplifying a “U.N.-plus-one” approach — and strong initial financial and political support from the international community created the conditions in which to build a new, democratic state.

The Security Council tasked the U.N. secretariat to administer the small territory until it held elections, drew up a constitution and created rule-of-law institutions. With its admission as the U.N.'s 191st member state in 2002, East Timor was anointed a U.N. success story. But by the spring of 2006, the call had gone out again for Australian troops to help restore peace. A dispute involving the dismissal of army soldiers flared into gang warfare that convulsed the capital, Dili, and caused more than one-tenth of the country's one million residents to flee. The unrest led to the collapse of East Timor's government and new plans for the United Nations to deploy a large security force and lend political support ahead of national elections in 2007.

The swiftness of the country's decline into violence and instability caught United Nations officials off guard. Both in New York and Dili, they acknowledged that the withdrawal of international support had happened prematurely, before security forces had become established and the country, Asia's poorest, had gained its economic footing.

As a result, now the U.N.'s experience in East Timor is being criticized in some quarters as another case of nationbuilding on the fly, with major U.N. powers eager to declare victory after elections before institutions are truly stable. Its response to the East Timor setback will be observed even more closely as other nationbuilding projects enter a critical phase and the just-formed U.N. Peacebuilding Commission seeks to develop a new mechanism for sustainable post-conflict reconstruction.

Starting from Scratch

East Timor separated violently from Indonesia in 1999 after its residents voted overwhelmingly for independence in a U.N.-run referendum. After Australian troops had restored order, ousting Indonesian-backed militias, the U.N. assumed de facto sovereign powers to build a state virtually from scratch. Post-referendum violence razed most of the country's infrastructure nearly to the ground. There was essentially no police force, judiciary or coherently organized economy. In the parlance of development experts, East Timor was at "ground zero," requiring extensive international aid and guidance to find its bearings.

The United Nations Transitional Administration in East Timor set up health and education systems after its arrival at the end of 1999 and trained East Timorese to

hold elections and develop institutions to run the country. But after three years, with the level of international assistance reaching hundreds of millions of dollars per year, and in the aftermath of free and fair elections, a number of Security Council members were eager to wind down UNTAET. U.S. envoy Richard Williamson, addressing the Security Council late in 2002, echoed other diplomats in citing the U.N.'s success in East Timor, saying it provided "the training wheels to help the Timorese build their own functioning administration, civil service, police and security force."

But some development experts argue the U.N. commitment should have lasted far longer. Ramesh Thakur of U.N. University in Tokyo and William Maley of Australia National University wrote jointly in the *Daily Yomiuri* in July 2006 that it was proper to establish a democracy in East Timor, but said it was wrong to use elections as an exit strategy when reforms were incomplete. "A 'democratic' society without justice is less appealing than a just society in which elections have been delayed until it is safe for them to be held," they wrote.

The U.N. Security Council gave the new nation a passing grade on security-sector reform, even though there were still serious institutional flaws in both the national army and police. At the core of the dispute in early 2006 were regional rivalries in the military. The government tried to dismiss nearly 600 soldiers in the national army, mostly from the west. They had been complaining of discrimination by members from the east. When their complaints spilled over into violence, the government was poorly equipped to respond. Police quickly melted away in the face of angry mobs. A U.N. assessment mission later found a weak police force throughout the country. U.N. experts also faulted the defense ministry for provisioning the armed forces inadequately. "Legislation and internal procedures for the regulation of the force and the ministry itself are almost entirely lacking, resulting in inadequate civilian oversight of the force. Allocated resources for the development of the ministry, including provision for professional posts to be staffed by Timorese, have not been utilized," the report said.

Stable security institutions are especially important in a country of such limited economic means as East Timor. With an annual per capita income of about \$550, its economy remains the poorest in Asia, according to the World Bank. Unemployment at the time of the spring 2006 vio-

lence was at about 40 percent, and even higher among the young.

Oil and gas exports are seen as the country's most promising sector, but it will take years for them to generate the jobs and revenues the country desperately needs. Most of those employed are engaged in agriculture, where wages and productivity are low. An August 2006 U.N. report urged greater focus on boosting rural areas, where three-fourths of the labor force reside. "This requires considerable investment in roads, power and water infrastructure, agriculture extension and information programs, and the fostering of rural credit programs," the report said.

Speedy economic revitalization in post-conflict zones remains a problem for international bodies, U.N. Peacekeeping Chief Jean-Marie Guéhenno told a Council on Foreign Relations briefing in May. Once new authorities have been elected, he said, "there's a window that opens, but if in the next 24 months people do not see progress and do not have jobs, [the mission] will be in trouble."

Some of the country's leaders say they need to share in the blame for both the poor functioning of their institutions and their eagerness to take the reins from the United Nations. Then-Foreign Minister Jose Ramos-Horta told the *Washington Post* this past May that Timorese were overconfident in believing they could take over their own affairs in 2002, and the U.N. itself wanted to disengage as quickly as possible. "If we are not mature

Robert McMahon, deputy director of www.CFR.org, the Web site of the Council on Foreign Relations, has covered foreign affairs since 1990 for The Associated Press and Radio Free Europe/Radio Liberty. Based in Washington, D.C., he helps shape editorial content for CFR.org, and contributes analysis, interviews and background reporting, with an emphasis on U.S. foreign policy. A former U.N. correspondent for RFE/RL, McMahon has written extensively on U.N. peacekeeping, human rights bodies and post-conflict reconstruction issues, for publications and broadcasts including the Fletcher Forum of World Affairs, the Weekly Standard, MSNBC.com and Transitions Online.

Experts say nationbuilding missions can only be judged a success after about 10 years from the time international forces withdraw.

enough," Ramos-Horta said, "let's get the Australians to stay indefinitely."

Works in Progress

As the United Nations prepares to re-engage in East Timor, it is nearing a critical phase in several other high-profile nationbuilding missions of much greater size and regional impact. Widely different circumstances brought the United Nations into Kosovo, Afghanistan and Liberia, but the organization has assumed a lead role in guiding those states toward a combination of security, political reform and economic sustainability:

Kosovo: The Timorese experience should be especially meaningful for U.N. officials involved in moving Kosovo to a "final status" that, as of this writing, is increasingly looking like independence. Still technically a province of Serbia, Kosovo has been a virtual U.N. protectorate since Serbian forces pulled out in 1999. Although the number of NATO-led forces there is steadily declining, Kosovo has had the advantage of larger than normal international peacekeeping and police forces proportionate to the local population of two million. But even that hasn't prevented some flare-ups of ethnic violence. In March 2004, thousands of rampaging ethnic Albanians killed nearly 20 Serbs and destroyed dozens of Serbian Orthodox churches and other properties.

Martti Ahtisaari, the Finnish diplomat who has handled many tough missions for the U.N., is charged with brokering a deal between the two sides. Serb officials insist they will not accept an independent Kosovo, but it is believed they will relent if sufficient security provisions for ethnic Serbs in the province are in place. Of special concern is the province's economy, which has faltered in part because of Kosovo's unsettled status.

Afghanistan. A virtual "ground zero" state, Afghanistan is patrolled by about 8,000 NATO and 18,000 U.S.-led forces. It is coping with a resurgent Taliban, which has been staging the fiercest attacks, including suicide bombings, since its ouster nearly five years ago. The U.N. mission plays a central role in guiding reconstruction, but the Afghan government's control beyond Kabul is spotty.

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with civilian and military components are the main vehicle for assisting in regional security and reconstruction, but their record has been mixed. They have tended to function better in the more peaceful northern regions than in the south, where Taliban activity is greatest. The U.N. mission has helped the country hold successful presidential and parliamentary elections and draw up a constitution. But Afghanistan's police and military remain too weak for the fledgling government to exercise full control of the country.

The chief of the United Nations Assistance Mission in Afghanistan, Thomas Koenigs, has appealed for more international support in training police and more money for the government to pay them. Koenigs told the German newsmagazine *Der Spiegel* in August: "There are districts there with 45 police officers for every 100,000 residents. That wouldn't even work in Bavaria."

Liberia. In the aftermath of a vicious civil war that destabilized a large area of West Africa, the United Nations Mission in Liberia late last year helped the country hold successful elections in which a former World Bank official, Ellen Johnson-Sirleaf, became Africa's first female head of state. She pressed for the seizure and extradition of accused war criminal Charles Taylor to The Hague for trial, and has sought to put the country on a more stable economic footing.

UNMIL, backed by a 15,000-strong force, has carried out a disarmament, demobilization and reintegration program for the country's warring factions. The United Nations also assists in police training, forming a new military and human rights activities. As of this past summer, more than 520,000 refugees and displaced Liberians had returned to their homes, a significant sign of hope for the country of three million. But despite the return of some confidence in the country's future, there remains a profound lack of expertise in many essential jobs, especially the civil service. An August report by the United Nations Development Program said of the problem: "As it now stands, the public service is not only ill-equipped to deliver essential services to the people, but is also unable to steer much-needed reforms."

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East Timor's decline
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Peacemaking Models

Experts say nationbuilding missions can only be judged a success about 10 years after the time international forces withdraw. Examined from that distance, the U.N. missions in El Salvador, Mozambique and Croatia's region of Eastern Slavonia in the 1990s serve as useful case studies of relative successes.

In El Salvador, the United Nations negotiated the settlement ending a 12-year civil war, helped reform the armed forces and reduce their size, created a new police force and reformed the judicial and electoral systems. A decade after the 5,000-member United Nations Observer Mission in El Salvador withdrew, the country has made the transition to a peaceful democracy, although it continues to struggle economically and cope with a serious urban crime problem. Despite the public safety concerns, where common crime has replaced war as the biggest security threat, there is little expectation the country can degenerate into civil conflict.

The success of the peace agreement is attributed in part to the nature of the country's civil war, in which rebels and government forces fought to a virtual standstill. But experts also cite UNOSAL's steady presence as an honest broker, and the role of regional parties in pressing the two sides to make compromises and follow through with their pledges.

Particularly important was the engagement of the United States, which had provided strong military backing to the government during the war but switched to an emphasis on negotiations under President George H.W. Bush. U.S. military assistance to the Salvadoran government dropped dramatically in the early 1990s and was then withheld contingent upon independent reports certifying reforms and progress on human rights matters in the military. Experts believe that was the first time in history that a military in Latin America permitted such external influence on its officer corps.

Mozambique's transition out of civil war happened nearly in parallel with El Salvador's. Rebels supported by South Africa and former Southern Rhodesia (now Zimbabwe) had battled the Marxist government for nearly 15 years until the United Nations brokered a peace agreement in 1992. In a country awash in small arms and

land mines, the U.N. placed emphasis on security matters ahead of holding elections.

The peace agreement established the contours of a new army and a timeline for demobilizing the former warring sides as well as integrating them into the political process. The disarmament, demobilization and reintegration process for both sides, monitored by the United Nations Operation in Mozambique, eventually helped set the stage for successful elections. A nationbuilding study issued by the RAND Corporation in 2005 said a crucial feature of the peace process was “the willingness of neighboring states to withdraw their forces and cut off support for their belligerent proxies.”

Mozambique has remained peaceful and democratic for a decade. Nearly five million people have returned to their homes (the largest repatriation in sub-Saharan Africa to that point), and the country has experienced healthy annual GDP growth since the war ended. But the country’s economy remains feeble: Mozambique continues to rank near the bottom of the U.N. Development Program’s human development index, which measures everything from poverty to life expectancy.

One of the most successful U.N. nationbuilding efforts emerged from the arena of one its biggest peacekeeping failures — the former Yugoslavia. Though not a full-fledged nationbuilding effort, the mission in Croatia’s Eastern Slavonia region was crucial to stabilizing that country, as well as neighboring Bosnia, emerging from its own even more brutal civil war.

With the consent of Belgrade and Zagreb, the easternmost province of Croatia was placed under U.N. administration in 1996 after the war between Serbs and Croats. The United Nations Transitional Administration for Eastern Slavonia, armed with a strong mandate for its peacekeepers and the promised backing of NATO firepower, oversaw the successful integration of the majority Serb area into Croatia. UNTAES demilitarized Eastern Slavonia, ensuring the safe return of thousands of refugees to their homes as well as organizing elections. Though many ethnic Serbs departed the province for good and the battered region continues to struggle economically, the U.N. mission accomplished its core goal of

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the peaceful reintegration of the region within two years.

Cautionary Tales

For all of its success in the 1990s, the decade also saw U.N. peacekeeping debacles, from Bosnia to Rwanda. Those two countries, though scarred by genocide, are at least on the path to recovery. But the period’s other high-profile failure, Somalia, remains a failed state and a source of instability in

East Africa 11 years after the last U.N. mission pulled out.

The international intervention in Somalia started out promisingly when the U.N. Security Council at the end of 1992 authorized a U.S.-led force to create a safe area to help Somalis threatened by famine and civil war. That effort is credited with saving hundreds of thousands of lives, but it was unable to rein in Somali militias. Some analysts point to an overly ambitious U.N. mandate while others note that the lead military force, the United States, could not settle on a plan for disarming the Somali factions.

The results were calamitous. In one attack in June 1993, Somali fighters killed 25 Pakistani peacekeepers. An ambush the following October killed 18 U.S. soldiers and left nearly 1,000 Somalis dead. U.S. troops withdrew, and the U.N. mission followed two years later.

Former U.S. diplomat Chester Crocker has observed in *Foreign Affairs* that the failure was a result of “strategic confusion followed by a collapse of political will when the confusion led to combat casualties.” The experience set off a debate in U.S. policy circles about what humanitarian crises constitute a “national interest” and require the commitment of U.S. blood and treasure. Since then, events in Afghanistan have demonstrated the importance of repairing failed states. And now with Somalia’s capital, Mogadishu, coming under the control of militia loyal to Islamic courts in the summer of 2006, there are concerns that a new, Taliban-style government is poised to assert control throughout the country. (See p. 30.)

Haiti represents another peacebuilding environment in which both the United States and United Nations faltered. Despite repeated intercessions, the country has been stuck in a cycle of poverty, authoritarianism, cor-

ruption and conflict. A U.S.-led multinational force entered the country under U.N. auspices in 1994, effectively ousting the leader of a military junta, Raoul Cedras, and restoring democratically elected Jean-Bertrand Aristide to the presidency. The next year the United States turned over peacekeeping duties to the U.N., which emphasized police training and other democracy-building measures in successive missions that lasted until 2001. Washington also continued to provide an average of \$100 million per year in economic and security assistance to Haiti over that period, according to the Congressional Research Service. But despite a brief period of calm and economic reforms under President René Préval from 1996 to 2000, Haiti's political institutions remained dysfunctional.

Aristide returned to the presidency in 2001 under a disputed vote, and the political and security situation worsened. He later fled into exile, facing armed rebellion and pressure to resign from Washington. In 2004, once again, U.S. forces took part in an international force that helped stabilize the country. A new U.N. mission also arrived to guide the country to elections, restore order and "foster democratic governance."

Préval was re-elected president early in 2006, pledging to revive efforts at economic and political reform. A U.N. force of more than 8,000 is in the country, but it is not yet clear whether it is more intent on peacekeeping or peacebuilding. (See p. 45.)

The New U.N. Peacebuilding Commission

Volumes have been written by various U.N. departments about the pitfalls of nationbuilding. But despite constant demand for its services, the organization until now has been forced to deal with each mission in a mostly ad hoc manner. The creation of a new U.N. Peacebuilding Commission earlier this year reflects the widespread belief among members that the organization must provide sustained support beyond the tours of the U.N. blue helmets.

The 31-member commission, which held its inaugural session in June, is an advisory body intended to coordinate resources for patient, long-term development of

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officials involved in moving
Kosovo to a "final status"
that may be independence.*

countries emerging from conflict. It aims to bring together sectors of the United Nations that work on post-conflict reconstruction.

East Timor and Haiti would appear to be priority clients for the commission. However, the first cases referred to it were Burundi and Sierra Leone. Although they need considerable help, the two African states are seen as having made steady progress in moving

beyond their civil conflicts, and thus present two manageable cases for the commission to start off with. The concern is that the commission is an advisory body, as opposed to an operational one, and is dependent on voluntary contributions, meaning nationbuilding efforts will remain subject to the whims of a Security Council and major donors, who all have short attention spans. Yet among its expected critical donors is the United States, which counts the creation of the commission as one of the few concrete results of the U.N. reform process of the past year.

Lessons Learned (and Not)

The formation of the Peacebuilding Commission is an important acknowledgment by the U.N.'s membership of longstanding institutional gaps that have impaired post-conflict efforts. The formal joining of development, political and security experts in this body is considered a prerequisite for developing sound nationbuilding strategies. The U.N. peacekeeping experience of the last two decades, with its appalling failures as well as quieter successes, has produced this consensus and other lessons.

The lessons start with the need for "clear, credible and achievable mandates" from the U.N. Security Council, in the words of a much-discussed 2000 report from a panel headed by veteran U.N. diplomat Lakhdar Brahimi. Among the many missteps in Somalia, for example, was a problem of mission creep on the part of both U.N. and U.S. forces. Having achieved a humanitarian success, they ended up getting embroiled in a disastrous hunt for a warlord. Today's many U.N. missions, whatever their failings, are rarely accused of overreaching.

The organization has also clearly learned the importance of getting combatants disarmed and reintegrated back into society as soon as possible. The success of the

F O C U S

U.N.'s disarmament, demobilization and reintegration process for the warring sides in Mozambique and other missions in the early 1990s has made "DDR" standard for nationbuilding efforts from Liberia to Afghanistan. At the same time, the U.N.'s faulty efforts to reform Haiti's security sector in the 1990s impressed upon the organization the need for such reforms to be more comprehensive, involving training and other strong hands-on guidance in policing and justice areas, as well as governance. This was further emphasized in East Timor and Kosovo, with mixed results.

It has also become apparent that powerful regional actors, whether Australia in East Timor, the United States in El Salvador, or the European Union in the Balkans, can have a positive impact when harnessed to the U.N.'s skilled mediation and development teams.

But hampering such efforts is impatience on the part

Speedy economic revitalization in post-conflict zones remains a problem for international bodies.

of the Security Council, whether in East Timor or in Haiti, where the Council this year decided to shorten the mandate of the U.N. peacebuilding mission. In both cases, successful elections seemed to put the countries on the fast track toward a reduction in U.N. involvement. That both countries remain among the poorest in the world, with recent violent pasts, should be reason enough for more sustained Security Council commitment.

Elections and political reforms are rightly ingrained in U.N. post-conflict planning, but new thinking is still required about the resources needed to sustain and stabilize even the smallest of countries long after the ballots are counted. As East Timor warily prepares for new elections and the U.N. readies a new peacekeeping mission, it is clearer than ever that the savings from the premature pullout were inconsequential. ■

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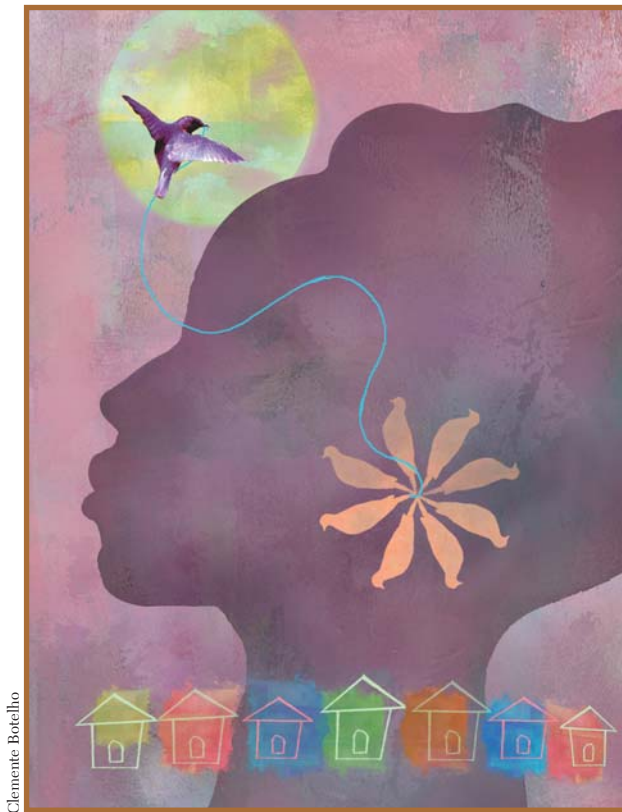
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SOMALILAND: A DEMOCRACY UNDER THREAT



D

VIRTUALLY ON ITS OWN, THIS PROVINCE OF SOMALIA HAS ESTABLISHED ITSELF AS A SOLID DEMOCRACY IN A VERY BAD NEIGHBORHOOD.

BY ELIZABETH SPIRO CLARK

ahir Rayale Kahin is the president of Somaliland, a de facto independent state in northwest Somalia (see map, p. 32). Though not internationally recognized, it has, with minimum help from the outside world, established itself as a solid democracy in a very bad neighborhood. Somaliland formally presented its request for recognition to the African Union in 2004, but came away empty-handed.

Stepping up its diplomatic offensive, this past August President Kahin made a pilgrimage to the British and

German foreign ministries, but had no success. As Somaliland's foreign minister, Edna Adan Ismail, said in June, "Instead of encouraging us, we are being pushed towards Somalia, which continues to fall apart."

While Somaliland seeks recognition, the situation in Somalia has radically changed. A chaotic and violent "state" with no functioning central government at all now has a radical Islamic regime consolidating its hold on ever-wider areas of the south, following its takeover of the capital, Mogadishu, in June. The Islamic Courts Union — the armed wing of the Council of Islamic Somali Courts — defeated a coalition of warlords (the Alliance for the Restoration of Peace and Counterterrorism), then gained popular legitimacy when credible reports circulated that the warlords were clandestinely supported by Washington.

The U.S. and the international community continue to recognize the impotent and corrupt Transitional Federal Government, set up in 2004 via a Kenya-based process known as the Intergovernmental Authority on Development. They reiterated their support when the ICU seemed poised to defeat the TFG, holed up in its inland headquarters in the town of Baidoa. At present there is a cease-fire between the two factions, but as an indication of the latter's fragility, on Sept. 18 a car bomb aimed at TFG President Abdullahi Yusuf Ahmed went off outside of Parliament, killing 18 people. The U.S. is now part of a large contact group whose aim is to get the ICU and the TFG to negotiate a power-sharing arrangement.

This will be a Herculean task. TFG head Abdullahi Yusuf Ahmed is an elderly leader; his regional power base, Puntland, is in northeast Somalia. Puntland claims an autonomous status but, unlike Somaliland, within a sovereign Somalia. His clan group, the Darod, have traditionally fought the Hawiye clan from which the ICU draws its main support. Although there are moderates among its leadership, the head of the ICU, Hassan Dakir Aweys, is not just accused of harboring terrorists but is himself on the U.S. terrorist list as former vice chairman of an organization allegedly linked to Osama bin Laden, Al-Itihaad al-Islamiya.

After Aweys took power in June, he immediately pro-

***Somaliland's legal claim
to recognition rests on
persuasive grounds,
backed by exceptional
circumstances.***

claimed that five rapists would be stoned to death, imposed rigid Shariah rules on women, shut down local broadcasts of world soccer matches, denounced Western-style democracy and refused contact with U.S. officials. Yusuf has ties to Ethiopia. Aweys, on the other hand, is a decorated hero from the war with Ethiopia over the Ogaden region back in the 1980s.

A Quick Course in Somalian History

Both the ICU and TFG concur in one thing: their determination to reincorporate Somaliland into Somalia. Though this was always their intent, the TFG was never in a position to do anything about it. Now, with the ICU's ascendancy, the prospect of forcible reintegration has new momentum, especially now that leaders of the Inter-Governmental Authority on Development, an organization of six African countries focused on drought control and development initiatives, has called for sending a peacekeeping mission to Somalia. IGAD is also requesting that the U.N. lift its arms embargo on Somalia.

In response, Somaliland has vowed to fight reunification and the lifting of the U.N. ban.

That reaction is not surprising given the history of Somalia. On June 26, 1960, the "state of Somaliland" was given its independence from Great Britain, and immediately recognized by 35 nations, including the United States. Five days later the area of Italian Somalia was given its independence. The two legislatures met and decided to unify with the capital to be set in the south in Mogadishu.

Following a year of missteps by the new government, dissident northerners boycotted a referendum on unification. The subsequent period of corruption and clanism in Somalia was halted by a 1969 military coup that brought General Mohamed Siad Barre to power in Mogadishu. Barre proclaimed a socialist Somalia as the "Somali Democratic Republic," and launched a period of increasingly autocratic rule.

After Somalia's defeat in the Ogaden War with Ethiopia, Abdullahi Yusuf, among other leaders, led a failed coup against Barre. Isaaq clan leaders in what is now Somaliland formed a guerrilla movement to con-

tinue the fight against Barre and suffered heavy reprisals during the 1980s. With their help, southern opposition movements forced Barre out in January 1991. Five months later the “Republic of Somaliland” declared its independence and proclaimed Mohamed Ibrahim Egal president. Somaliland has maintained its independence ever since, while Somalia entered a 15-year period of collapse and violence.

The history of independent Somaliland since 1991 has been one of steady democratization. A process laid out in a national charter agreed to at a 1993 “Grand National Reconciliation Conference” survived a period of clan fighting to produce a national constitution, which was ratified in a 2001 referendum that was also a plebiscite on independence. The district elections that followed were judged free and fair by international observers. After Egal’s death, Dahir Rayale Kahin, the appointed interim president, won the 2003 presidential elections — whose results were so close they went to the Supreme Court for adjudication. The decision in Rayale’s favor was fully accepted by the electorate.

The September 2005 legislative elections completed Somaliland’s full transition to democracy. “In 14 years, we have created a free and stable country and held multiparty elections at the local and presidential levels, plus a referendum on our constitution,” Pres. Kahin declared. “This parliamentary poll is the final step in the process, and we have earned the right to recognition.”

However, in a foretaste of what Somaliland might expect from an ascendant ICU, terrorists — allegedly dispatched from Mogadishu to disrupt the elections — crossed into Somaliland just days before the election, though they were arrested.

Neighboring states are a confusing jigsaw of pluses and minuses for the Somaliland government. Ethiopia has opened a consulate in the capital of Hargeisa and accepts Somaliland passports, but has not formally recognized Somaliland’s independence. (According to VOA reports, it is also providing military support to the TFG.) Addis Ababa is implacably opposed to the ICU, whose leaders

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Somalia is strategically located on the Horn of Africa, jutting out into the Indian Ocean south of the Arabian Peninsula. Somaliland, a self-contained democracy roughly encompassing the five northwestern districts, seeks recognition as an independent nation. Puntland, comprising the three northeastern districts, is also an autonomous region, but does not seek independence.

not only fought Ethiopia in the Ogaden War but are rumored to support dissident and rebel groups there.

Similarly, Eritrea’s regional policy is dictated by its opposition to Ethiopia, from which it won its independence and with whom it fought a war over a border dispute in the late 1990s. Asmara does not favor a breakup of Somalia and is reportedly supplying the TFG with military equipment.

For its part, Djibouti has narrow concerns that an independent Somaliland would move to dominate commercial activity in the region through its port at Berbera, and so opposes its recognition.

Wait and See?

Washington and the rest of the international community agree with Pres. Kahin’s declaration that Somaliland’s democratic development has been exemplary, but they have stopped well short of recognition. Their attention

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is focused not on the pros and cons of recognizing Somaliland's independence, but on the terrible situation in the south of the country.

In addition to offering a safe haven for terrorists, Somalia's extreme lawlessness has spawned an epidemic of piracy off its coastline; all 47 incidents of piracy reported for East Africa to the International Maritime Organization in its last five-year report in 2005 have occurred off the Somalian coast. Pirates captured front-page headlines with their November 2005 attack on the luxury cruiseliner *Seabourn Spirit* and, earlier, on a World Food Program charter bound for Asian tsunami victims. Following the attempted assassination of TFG Prime Minister Gedi that same month, E.U. Commissioner for Humanitarian Affairs Louis Michel said of Somalia that it was "not a

In the absence of a functioning central government, a radical Islamic regime is consolidating its hold on Somalia.

situation for wait and see." Presidential statements out of the U.N. Security Council in July and November 2005 focused exclusively on initiatives to build bridges and plug holes in what seems an endless flood of bad news out of the south. A year later, following the ICU victory over the warlords, the international community is still focused on a changed but alarming situation in the south. One bad situation is being traded for another, with the consolidation of an Islamic regime that will harbor and support al-Qaida and other terrorist organizations, is anti-Western and seeks to create an Islamic state that includes Somaliland. An August 2006 International Crisis Group report warned that without "urgently needed international mediation efforts," the war in Somalia would spread across borders.

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It is unclear that the urgent action called for will be any more forthcoming in the future than it has been in the past. True, the U.S. supports regional efforts to bring stability to the south. However the September decision of the African Union to support the Inter-Governmental Authority on Development's request for 8,000 peacekeepers to be deployed to Somalia and a lifting of the U.N. arms embargo on Somalia is an unlikely path to peace and stability, given that the ICU has vowed implacable resistance to the presence of foreign peacekeepers.

The real reasons for the lack of muscle behind efforts on Somalia may have been best described by Center for Strategic and International Studies expert Stephen Morrison, who told the International Relations and Security Network's *Security Watch* that "by contrast with Sudan, there is no strong domestic U.S. constituency for serious engagement on Somalia ... I do not expect the U.S. will realistically get very serious about a policy of engagement in reconstructing Somalia versus the current strategy of containment."

Whether doomed to failure or not — and even a strategy of containment may take more diplomatic energy than is available — the focus on the disastrous situation in the south has been an argument to put the situation in Somaliland on the back burner. In August, when Pres. Kahin was in London and scheduled to visit the U.S. in a subsequently-canceled trip, a U.S. official was quoted in the Aug. 24 *Financial Times* as saying that the U.S. views Somaliland as a "regional authority." This sounds much like the longstanding U.S. position that the Somalis themselves should resolve the status question, whether through negotiations among the parties, a referendum, or a constitutional commission like the one called for in the TFG's Transitional Charter.

The Peace and Democracy Advantage

Even if the stars are not aligned for full recognition of Somaliland in the short run, there is a strong case for effective international protection and tangible support. It occupies a strategic location, with its coastline on the trade routes of the Indian Ocean, the Gulf of Aden and the Red

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Sea. It is a Muslim democracy in an important region, with a pro-American, anti-terrorist government. In sharp contrast, any hope that the TFG and ICU can reach a power-sharing agreement, or that the A.U. can impose one — much less that any resulting Somalian government would work effectively with the U.S. and international community on anti-terrorism objectives — seems to be wishful thinking.

Meanwhile, Washington and its allies can take steps to protect Somaliland now. It should beef up the international presence there that has existed for years, despite the region's isolation, and capitalize on the substantial investment in building up Somaliland's political institutions. For instance, the U.S. Agency for International Development operates programs to help build stability in Somalia, generally focusing on civic education and teacher training. Two-thirds of British assistance to "Somalia" has actually been spent in Somaliland.

On the multilateral front, the United Nations Development Program and its Office of the Coordinator for Humanitarian Assistance are both active there as well, training residents to deal with their refugee situation and providing other assistance. (Somaliland representatives sit on bodies evaluating these programs.) One organization affiliated with the U.N., the International Peacebuilding Alliance, is running programs to facilitate peacebuilding, economic and social rehabilitation in Somalia, Puntland and Somaliland. In Somaliland, its local partners were invited by the official Electoral Commission to take the lead in organizing the September 2005 elections and to run civic education programs.

The congressionally-funded National Endowment for Democracy also operates in all three regions of Somalia, conducting 29 programs (15 in Somaliland) aimed at strengthening civil society. Although the Endowment does not take policy positions on recognition, NED President Carl Gershman has made statements making it clear that NED strongly supports Somaliland's democracy. Significantly, NED's internal procedures and documents treat Somaliland and Somalia on an equal basis as separate countries. And all the Endowment's local partner organizations in Somaliland insist on its right to

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recognition as a sovereign country.

Formally, however, nongovernmental organizations including NED operate, as do their governmental colleagues, in a framework of “parallel” democratic and conflict resolution programs and initiatives, and do not take a position on final status for Somaliland. According to a 2003 UNDP document, “parallel developments could open the door to extended mediation [and] create enduring solutions to the future relations of Somalia and Somaliland.” In practice, however, all this international assistance, especially that supporting the 2005 elections, supports the Somalilanders’ desire to be a sovereign state.

It should also be recalled that the Bush administration has made the spread of democracy one of its highest foreign policy goals. It is one of two “pillars” of U.S. security policy in the March 2006 update of the National Security Strategy. And the current U.S. National Intelligence Strategy, issued in October 2005, lists the promotion of democracy as the number-three priority, behind only combating terrorism and the spread of the

weapons of mass destruction. That document also states that “collectors, analysts and operators” within the 15 American intelligence agencies should seek to “forge relationships with new and incipient democracies” in order to help “strengthen the rule of law and ward off threats to representative government.”

If the case for effective international protection of Somaliland has strengthened, objections to recognition on the grounds of “principles” have weakened. The African Union, with the international community following, has understandably expressed concern that recognizing Somaliland will set a precedent, encouraging a raft of breakaway movements and claims for national self-determination throughout the continent and possibly elsewhere. Perhaps for that reason, the A.U. continues to reject Somaliland’s 2004 application for recognition.

Precedents and Analogies

However, Somaliland’s legal claim to recognition rests on persuasive grounds, thanks to exceptional circum-

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stances. Not only did Somaliland have broad international recognition (if only for five days) when granted its independence from Great Britain in 1961, but its subsequent union with the former Italian Somaliland was never legitimated by a promised referendum. In addition, it is claiming sovereignty within its former colonial boundaries — the touchstone principle of A.U. policies regarding national boundaries throughout the continent. (Unlike Puntland, which claims to encompass areas settled by the Darod clan, the Somaliland “state” is not defined by its clan composition.) The A.U. took a step in the direction of recognizing these factors as relevant when a 2005 fact-finding mission stated that Somaliland had a “politically unique” claim to recognition, one that would not open the door to other secessionist claims.

The fact that Somaliland has politically unique characteristics does not mean there are no relevant lessons to be drawn from other cases of de facto, breakaway states, however. The main lesson to be drawn is that governments of sovereign states who reject secessionist demands can no longer take international support for granted. Kosovo is a case in point, having taken a giant step toward independence on Oct. 24, 2005, when the U.N. Security Council endorsed the start of talks on its “end status.”

As the province’s administrative authority, the U.N. has organized and run elections that clearly only deepened the commitment of the Albanian-majority population to becoming independent of Belgrade — as have, for all the differences of status, the internationally monitored and assisted elections in Somaliland. By 2006, Kosovo’s drive for independence had progressed to the point that a February report by the International Crisis Group assessed as very unlikely prospects that any Serbian government will “voluntarily acquiesce to the kind of independence ... necessary for a stable, long-term solution.” The ICG recommends that even without Serbian acquiescence, the U.N. impose a “conditional independence package” so long as Kosovo’s Albanians have made conscientious efforts to offer minorities a range of protections and guarantees.

Montenegrin independence is another example. Far from working to keep Serbia and Montenegro in a feder-

The U.S. position has long been that the Somalis themselves should resolve the status question.

al union, the E.U. made a precedent-setting agreement to start negotiating entry with Montenegro on a separate track from Serbia, anticipating that Montenegro would be able to satisfy E.U. requirements faster than Serbia. Part of the explicit justification for a two-track policy was that Serbia-

Montenegro’s federal-level institutions were too weak to be able to develop and enforce the necessary laws and regulations.

Also changing is the idea that with enough international support and pressure, weak federal solutions to fracturing states will eventually firm up into an enduring political order. Even the cheering for a Bosnia that now, after 11 years of international tutelage, has just begun to develop national institutions may be premature. Or, to take an even more obvious example, developing strong federal-level institutions in the Iraqi federation looks to be the most problematic case of all.

One would not want to push analogies between Kosovo, in particular, and Somaliland too far, of course. Kosovo is an international protectorate whose security is guaranteed by international military forces. There are U.N. resolutions that clearly admit an outcome of international recognition of a sovereign Kosovo. The incentive of European Union membership at the end of the road is keeping negotiations on track and has trumped Serbian intransigence. Conversely, there is no protection net for Somalia; no cavalry will come to its rescue.

A Model, Not a Road Map

The international community may exert pressure on the new regime in Mogadishu to resolve its issues with Somaliland peacefully, but is unlikely to do much if the ICU refuses — which it almost certainly will. Even with a (weakly enforced) U.N. arms embargo in place — and the current one is not being enforced by the African Union — the central government retains the means to instigate destabilizing acts in Somaliland. Furthermore, the parties in the south have not yet agreed to pursue a federal solution; only the ICU wants to reintegrate Somaliland into a unitary state. On the other side, the deepening of democracy in Somaliland is only likely to lead to a strengthening of its commit-

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ment to achieving sovereignty.

One could argue that the best time to recognize Somaliland — when there was truly nothing but chaos in the south — has passed. Now the issue is how to protect Somaliland's de facto independence. The elements for a road map to survival are in place, even without immediate recognition. According to Somaliland expert Anthony Carroll, international efforts should ratchet up to tangible assistance, such as infrastructure projects. The E.U. has already led the way with construction of a road to the commercially important port of Berbera. A “parallel tracks” framework of assistance by the international community should continue, as well, treating Somaliland as a de facto separate country with no assumption of an eventual federation.

Writing in *World Defense Review*, James Madison

Neighboring states are a confusing jigsaw of pluses and minuses for the Somaliland government.

Somaliland, with its 500-kilometer-long border with Somalia — and its mission to “win hearts and minds for America.” At present, however, U.S. policy forbids task force troops from even entering Somaliland.

Beyond Somaliland's legal arguments for recognition, which make the case for its exceptional circumstances, its successful democratic development should carry independent weight on the scales of international legitimacy. There has been a buildup of precedent on

University expert J. Peter Pham recommends that the U.S. establish at least a minimal consular presence in Hargeisa and pursue some security cooperation with Somaliland, through the Combined Joint Task Force-Horn of Africa, based in Djibouti. This, he notes, is in line with CJTF-HOA's mandate of terrorism interdiction — an urgent mandate vis-à-vis

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the broad equation of democracy and international legitimacy. It is inconceivable that East Timor would have been admitted to the U.N. as a sovereign state without having cleared high democracy hurdles. The same will be the case for Kosovo's coming independence.

In terms of who should lead the efforts to protect Somaliland, the Aug. 10 International Crisis Group report recommends that the U.N. is best situated to take the lead. The ICG noted that when the U.S. put together a contact group to work the issue, its initial meeting in New York in June drew representatives from 67 countries — but only one from Africa (Tanzania).

**An August 2006
report warned the war in
Somalia would spread
across borders without
“urgently needed
international
mediation efforts.”**

With all parties motivated to head off a spread of violence beyond Somalia's borders, there is an opportunity to make clear that a policy of containment must include the prevention of violent incursions into Somaliland or terrorist actions taken to subvert the Somaliland government.

Given the evolution of international norms and standards, there is an argument for democracy as a basis for according international legitimacy to Somaliland. There is no doubt that Somaliland has a claim on the international community's attention — in the words of the U.S. National Intelligence Strategy — to “ward off threats to representative democracy.” ■

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THE PACIFIC MICROSTATES AND U.S. SECURITY



Clemente Botelho

THOUGH FREQUENTLY OVERLOOKED, THE MANY SOUTH PACIFIC ISLAND-STATES ARE UNIQUELY RELEVANT TO U.S. NATIONAL SECURITY.

BY KEVIN D. STRINGER

The Pacific Ocean is the world's largest geographical feature, covering approximately one-third of the Earth's exterior. By its all-inclusive definition, the Pacific Basin accounts for approximately two-fifths of the world's surface and nearly half of the world's population. Not surprisingly, then, the nations that comprise the Pacific Rim are dissimilar in many fundamental respects — from culture to political systems to economic orders — and range from global powers like rich and stable Japan to microstates like bankrupt Nauru and volatile Fiji.

This latter category of small, Pacific island nations in what is generally referred to as Oceania — in particular, Fiji, Kiribati, Nauru, Samoa, the Solomon Islands, Tonga, Tuvalu, Vanuatu, the Cook Islands, Niue, the Federated States of Micronesia, the Marshall Islands and Palau — are uniquely relevant to Pacific security issues. These forgotten places are characterized by limited natural and human resources, lack of infrastructure and geographical isolation, making their political, economic and military significance seem minimal. But these characteristics also make them vulnerable to terrorist activity and great-power influence.

Although they are frequently overlooked diplomatically in the international system, these island-states are important for the security of the United States. For example, they play a role in its global “war on terror” and the looming strategic rivalry with the People’s Republic of China over the Pacific region. The U.S. must engage these microstates diplomatically if it wishes to secure this region.

Diplomatic Retrenchment

With the collapse of the Soviet Union 15 years ago, the perceived external threat to Oceania vanished, and there was a loss of interest in the region, particularly on the part of the United States and the United Kingdom. (The terrorist attacks on the World Trade Center and Pentagon and the subsequent focus on the Middle East, with wars in both Afghanistan and Iraq, only intensified the trend.)

Since 1991, America has steadily dismantled its diplomatic infrastructure across the Oceania region. Currently, the U.S. has diplomatic missions only in Fiji, Samoa, the Federated States of Micronesia, the Marshall Islands and Palau. In 1993, the Department of State closed its embassy in the Solomon Islands. (The embassy in Samoa

***Since 1991, America
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was also scheduled for closure, but was kept open after congressional intervention.) In 1994, Washington closed its regional aid office in Fiji due to budgetary constraints.

This retrenchment contrasts with the activity of the PRC in the region. Since 1975, when it established diplomatic relations with Samoa, Beijing has steadily built a comprehensive network of diplomatic posts in Oceania. While the United States has been closing diplomatic posts, China has opened embassies in Samoa, the Federated States of Micronesia, Fiji, Kiribati and Vanuatu. The Cook Islands has established diplomatic relations with China; Niue would like to follow, but has been blocked by New Zealand. China now has more diplomats (although not more diplomatic posts) in the region than any other country. This shift has long-term strategic repercussions for the future of the Pacific Rim.

Because the Foreign Service is often described as America’s first line of defense, this retrenchment of the diplomatic network is discouraging, to say the least. A lack of diplomatic outposts, with the ability to influence local island leaders and identify threats at an early stage, increases the potential for the growth of security risks to the U.S.

The Threat of Terrorism

In a paper prepared for the National Intelligence Council in November 2001 (“The Pacific Islands at the Beginning of the 21st Century”), Robert Kiste, an adjunct senior fellow at the East-West Center, observed that the Solomon Islands is a failed state, and warned that other microstates in the region are fragile and could easily follow the Solomons into chaos. Fiji and Vanuatu are prime candidates for this fate. In response, the Pacific Islands Forum commissioned a report in 2001 on security issues in four Melanesian states, and over half a dozen areas of common concern were identified. In particular, crime in the form of drug trafficking, gun running, smuggling of goods and people, money laundering and the illegal sale of passports were found to be on the rise. Further, the report identified a decline in the general security environment, with small, ineffective police forces sapping confidence in law enforcement. These conditions apply in varying degrees to all the other Pacific microstates.

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The collapse or weakening of any microstate would create a political vacuum, opening a large area to undesirable and potentially harmful external forces — from exploitative corporations in natural resource extraction to criminal and terrorist elements. Terrorist elements, in particular, would welcome a Pacific without borders, where the open seas allow for easy smuggling of goods and people. The islands are increasingly used for the transshipment of narcotics, and airport security measures are less sophisticated than elsewhere.

The precarious nature of the Pacific island-states' economies also creates a strong need for revenue, leading to income-generating activities of a dubious nature: unregulated ship registrations; the development of poorly supervised offshore financial centers with their inherently unregulated transactions; and the selling of passports. These activities can provide would-be terrorists with the necessary infrastructure for moving arms and people around the globe.

These concerns are not just hypothetical. Shipping

companies use flags of convenience to avoid heavy taxes and stringent inspections that would condemn their vessels to the wrecker yards. While the vessels' real owners can hide behind a wall of secrecy created by dubious ownership structures, the crews are cheap foreign labor, with no rights. As a result, the ships and the crews are vulnerable, easy targets for clever terrorists.

A few examples from Tonga illustrate this danger. On Jan. 3, 2002, the Israeli Navy seized the Tongan-flagged *KarineA*, which was carrying 50 tons of weapons and munitions that Israel claimed were destined for the Palestinian Authority in Gaza. In 2003, three vessels flying the Tongan flag were caught in the Mediterranean moving weapons, explosives and men for al-Qaida. In the same year, U.S. officials investigated a shipping company named Nova, incorporated in Delaware and Romania, after two of its Tongan-flagged vessels were used to smuggle suspected al-Qaida operatives.

The establishment of offshore banking facilities within the microstates is another area of concern. Notwith-



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standing the arguments in favor of bank secrecy, the overwhelming reality is that tax havens largely serve an unsavory clientele of tax evaders, criminals and money launderers. The proliferation of tax-haven banks and the growing sums of money they receive hardly permit any other conclusion. The tiny island-state of Nauru alone operated about 400 offshore banks, all registered to one government mailbox. Other countries, like the Marshall Islands, Niue, Vanuatu, the Cook Islands and Samoa, have dabbled in this area as well. In general, according to a February 2005 IMF report concerning offshore centers, most of these countries do not meet the international regulatory standards necessary to safeguard against terrorist-related transactions.

The sale of passports for revenue is another risk for the U.S. In April 2003, U.S. authorities reported that six alleged terrorists, including two alleged al-Qaida operatives, had been arrested in Southeast Asia carrying Nauruan passports. Under U.S. pressure, Nauru has agreed to end its passport sales and shell banks in return for U.S. assistance. Several other Pacific microstates have also sold passports as a means of attracting investment, most notably the Marshall Islands and the Federated States of Micronesia. In 1996 alone, the Marshall Islands earned \$15 million from the sale of so-called investment passports. These documents could easily have ended up in malevolent hands. Although these programs have been ended, the likelihood of recurrence is high, given revenue pressures and tendencies toward corruption in some locales.

The Developing Chinese Sphere of Influence

Overall, whether the issue is political instability, offering flags of convenience or passport sales, a lack of resident U.S. diplomatic missions in these islands and the lack of interest from Washington it reflects naturally limit the ability of the U.S. to influence governments and events in Oceania. In essence, the early-intervention mechanism provided by diplomatic missions is turned off.

The other prospect is these states' integration into an extended Chinese sphere of influence. Beijing's expand-

The collapse or weakening of any microstate would create a political vacuum, opening a large area to undesirable and potentially harmful external forces.

ing influence in Oceania has gone almost unremarked in Washington. This is partly because most Pacific island states have viewed China's growing role in Oceania with favor rather than fear. Their leaders and diplomats have not tried to focus American attention on what they deem to be non-threatening. Faced with increased political instability and a precarious economic future, even the relatively small involvement of a large power can have a

major impact on domestic developments in many Pacific states. Moreover, the generous assistance they get from benefactors such as China and Taiwan — which (unlike their Western counterparts) do not set preconditions of “good” (that is, democratic) governance for receiving development aid — is particularly welcome.

The trend in recent years has therefore been for Pacific island-states to “look north,” and China has encouraged this process. Over the past two years, the PRC has hosted the leaders of Papua New Guinea, Fiji, Vanuatu, Samoa, the Federated States of Micronesia, Tonga, Kiribati and East Timor. It is now routine for the first official overseas visit by a new head of government from the region to be made to Beijing, not to Canberra, Wellington or Washington. The extensive range of these visits means that most Pacific-island leaders have had much closer personal contact with the Chinese leadership, and thus have a greater knowledge of them than they do of senior politicians and officials in the United States. For Beijing, such personal “visit diplomacy” provides a lucrative return on a modest investment.

While China's interests in Oceania appear mainly political and diplomatic, there is also an important military dimension. Beijing is steadily gaining a military foothold in the region through defense cooperation agreements with countries such as Fiji, Tonga and Vanuatu. This military assistance is noteworthy as it focuses on the few Pacific countries that maintain forces. Even without a blue-water navy, China may be able to develop these cooperative agreements into control over large parts of the South Pacific in the future. For example, two deputy chiefs of the Chinese People's Liberation Army have visited Tonga in recent years. That country may be tiny — no

more than 100,000 people live on 700 square kilometers of land — but it is strategically located in the middle of the Pacific Ocean.

Another target is Vanuatu. Here the Chinese agreed in August 2005 to finance various police projects worth more than \$300,000. The deals include uniforms and equipment for the Vanuatu Mobile Force, a 28-seat Toyota bus to transport VMF members to their external activities, three double-cabin Hilux vehicles for police patrols and a sedan for the police traffic control section. China is committed to assisting Vanuatu with military and defense training in response to its request. Further, Beijing will provide two boats, as requested by the Ministry of Police, to be used for coastal surveillance operations that the only national patrol boat, RVS *Tukoro*, cannot undertake because of the high cost of its operation.

A third example is Kiribati, which straddles the equator, making it an ideal place for satellite surveillance. There, in 1997, the PRC built a civilian space launch tracking facility on Tarawa Island, the only one of its kind

outside China. Defense experts long suspected that China's Tarawa station also monitored American missile tests at nearby Kwajalein Atoll in the Marshall Islands. When Kiribati recognized Taiwan in 2003, the station was dismantled. It was a significant loss for the PRC, according to Professor Des Ball, an expert on signals intelligence from Australian National University. It deprived Beijing of a land base in the Pacific, where the movements and activities of the Chinese Yuan Wang space tracking ships could be coordinated. China is now believed to be looking for a new base near the equator: of the Pacific countries, only Nauru has an equally favorable location.

Beijing has two major interests in the Pacific, according to Mohan Malik, a China analyst at the Asia-Pacific Center for Security Studies in Honolulu: "In the short term it wants to isolate Taiwan in the international community. But in the medium and longer term, the goal is to challenge and eventually displace the U.S. as the guardian and protector of the Pacific. Under the cover of a China-Taiwan contest for diplomatic recognition,

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Beijing is laying the groundwork for a future contest between the United States and China for supremacy in the Pacific Ocean.” For small and nearly bankrupt countries like the Marshall Islands, offers of aid may be the key factor determining whether they should recognize Taipei or Beijing. But they may soon find themselves pawns in a much bigger game.

Prescriptions

The United States does not exhibit concern about the influence of other foreign governments in the Pacific islands today, nor does it appear to realize the need for measured diplomatic engagement with these microstates. The Government Accountability Office goes so far as to state that from a broader defense and security perspective, island-nations like the Federated States of Micronesia and the Marshall Islands currently play no role in U.S. strategy in the Asia-Pacific region. The Department of Defense even describes the islands as U.S. defense obligations, not assets. (See “Kwajalein Atoll Is the Key U.S. Defense Interest in Two Micronesian Nations,” GAO-02-119, January 2002.) This is a mistaken view.

The strategic vacuum slowly developing in the South Pacific can be halted by renewing U.S. diplomatic engagement in the region through physical presence, personal diplomacy and aid. In the old days, diplomatic and consular posts were scattered like pearls throughout numerous countries. Now, with modern technology and fiscal austerity, centralization of services in regional embassies seems to be the norm. Yet certain geographic environments may require the very important symbolic and physical presence of a resident U.S. diplomatic mission. Given the potential terrorist-basing threat and the competition from China, the Pacific microstates should be made exceptions to the centralizing trend.

In line with Secretary of State Condoleezza Rice’s transformational diplomacy initiative, the prescription is not necessarily to establish full-blown embassies in these locations — hardly feasible from a budgetary or staffing standpoint, in any case — but rather representative offices of one to two Foreign Service officers and an assistant, along the lines of the American Presence Post concept.

The trend of recent years has been for Pacific island states to “look north,” and China has encouraged this process.

The advantage of this arrangement is that at lower costs it still gives the U.S. a local presence to monitor the political environment, promptly report unfavorable developments and cultivate influence among senior government officials. As Beijing clearly appreciates, the symbolic significance of a resident great-power presence should not be underestimated in the Pacific

island cultures. Similarly, the U.S. should increase the frequency of high-level visits to the microstates to offset PRC gains with island leaders, and increase aid to the region beyond current levels.

Use of the diplomatic component of national power will have a number of benefits. First, the U.S. would exercise area denial for terrorists and Chinese influence. This would be in line with statements by some policymakers that indicate the United States has an obligation to deny military access to the vast area of the Pacific Ocean. Second, the U.S. would be better positioned for early warning, monitoring and the ability to influence these states through local diplomatic interaction. Third, comprehensive diplomatic coverage of these microstates would enable alignment of their interests with the U.S. and, hopefully, secure voting support in the United Nations. Despite their small area and population, all of these states are recognized as sovereign entities, with all the diplomatic rights and privileges this status implies. Further, all except Niue and the Cook Islands are members of the United Nations, giving each voting rights in the U.N. General Assembly, other U.N. organs and a number of international organizations, where they could be valued allies on various global issues.

In J.R.R. Tolkien’s classic *Lord of the Rings* trilogy, the Dark Lord focuses so much on the conventional armies of his opponents that he overlooks the covert journey of the Ringbearer, who enters unnoticed through a back door, and ultimately destroys his realm. This analogy may be relevant for the United States, whose all-consuming focus on the Middle East has created a declining engagement toward other areas of the world such as Oceania. For a negligible investment, the U.S. could strengthen diplomatic ties with the Pacific island microstates, thus limiting the potential for terrorist activity and PRC inroads. ■

HAITI'S NEW GOVERNMENT WRESTLES WITH THE PAST



Clemente Botelho

PRESIDENT RENÉ PRÉVAL MUST USE DONORS' GOOD WILL FOR PROGRAMS THAT IMPROVE CONDITIONS NOW WHILE LAYING THE GROUNDWORK FOR SUSTAINED PROGRESS.

BY ROBERT M. PERITO

resident René Préval and a new legislature were swept into office in Port-au-Prince this past spring on a wave of international good will and pledges of new support. The U.N. Security Council extended the mandate of the U.N. peacekeeping mission there, while Argentina, Brazil and Chile, the leaders of that force, offered to provide a joint development strategy. The Caribbean Community readmitted Haiti. At a July 25 conference, international donors pledged \$750 million in aid, including \$210 million from the U.S. The Organization of American States promised

to remain to help Haiti build stronger government institutions, after helping to organize the presidential and parliamentary elections.

This positive international attitude spurred a new sense of optimism in Haiti, but it did not alter conditions on the ground. Frequently cited as an example of a failed and possibly ungovernable state, Haiti remains the poorest country in the Western Hemisphere and among the poorest in the world. Two-thirds of its eight million citizens live in abject poverty, while half of the adult population is illiterate. Haitian society is deeply divided between a small, well-educated, affluent and French-speaking elite and a large, uneducated, Creole-speaking, peasant population. The country ranks 153rd of 177 in the latest edition of the *U.N. Human Development Report*, which combines measures of income, life expectancy, school enrollment and literacy.

The challenge facing President Préval is to translate good wishes and pledges of support into constructive government programs that improve the livelihood of the Haitian people while laying the groundwork for sustained political and economic progress. His task will be made more difficult by a historical legacy that has overwhelmed earlier efforts to reform the country's social, political and economic institutions.

A Troubled Past

After an auspicious beginning as a French colony, Haiti suffered two centuries of insurrection, dictatorship and economic decline. In 1790, exports of sugar and coffee made it the richest French colony in the New World. Haitian society was composed of 30,000 Europeans, an equal number of free "gens de couleur," and a half-million African slaves. In 1804, a successful slave revolt spawned a new republic that was seen as a threat to the existing world order. European nations and the United States reacted by isolating Haiti, for fear its example would incite slave revolts elsewhere. International exclusion and economic disruption at home forced Haiti's founding fathers

Robert M. Perito is a senior program officer and director of the Haiti Working Group at the United States Institute of Peace. This article draws on views expressed by participants during the group's meetings, which are held on a not-for-attribution basis. It does not necessarily reflect the position of the United States Institute of Peace, which does not advocate specific policies.

to reinstate the old plantation system and a return to forced labor, instead of protecting emancipation by allowing small, inefficient land holdings.

Despite ending slavery, the Haitian Revolution created a tradition of imperious leadership and a hierarchical social structure based on stark class and racial divides. The polarization of Haitian society excluded the vast majority of citizens from meaningful participation in the country's political and economic life. Haiti's serial constitutions enshrined the tradition of a single, all-powerful leader who monopolized power, and a predatory state that exploited rather than served the people. Social tensions have reinforced a history of violent change in national leadership; only two of Haiti's 44 presidents completed their terms and left office voluntarily. Fortunately, one of these was President Préval, who previously served from 1996 to 2001.

Préval's predecessor, Jean-Bertrand Aristide, was re-elected president in 2000 in elections marred by allegations of irregularities and low voter turnout. Less than 10 percent of the electorate voted, as opposition parties led a boycott to protest disputed parliamentary elections held earlier. In an atmosphere of worsening political crisis, Aristide's second term was marked by increased criminal activity, allegations of public corruption and government failure to deliver services and invigorate the economy.

In February 2004, armed rebels led by former soldiers seized Gonaïves, Haiti's fourth-largest city. As the rebels marched south toward Port-au-Prince, Aristide reportedly requested U.S. assistance in leaving the country. Yet upon arriving safely in the Central African Republic, Aristide claimed that he was "kidnapped," a charge the U.S. strongly denies.

To deal with the chaos that followed Aristide's departure, the U.N. authorized a peacekeeping force composed initially of U.S. Marines and French and Canadian forces to restore order. In accordance with the Haitian Constitution, the Supreme Court chief justice was sworn in as president on Feb. 29, 2004. A government of technocrats with no party affiliations led by Prime Minister Gerard la Tortue was installed, but failed to gain traction. On June 1, 2004, the U.N. Stabilization Mission in Haiti assumed responsibility for security, although it took over a year for the full complement of 8,000 troops and police to arrive. Under the interim government, Haiti continued to be plagued by gang violence, drug trafficking, social unrest and economic calamity.

A Bitter Legacy

The deterioration of Haiti's economy is rooted in the rapacious policies of past governments and the misguided efforts of foreign donors and the international financial institutions to ameliorate their effects. Under the dictatorial regimes of "Baby Doc" Jean Claude Duvalier and his successors in the 1970s and early 1980s, the Haitian economy was starved of resources for sustained growth and development. To attract outside capital, successive Haitian regimes offered foreign investors generous incentives, including tax exemptions on income, profits and raw materials. Investors flocked to take advantage of the abundance of cheap, unskilled labor and the absence of foreign exchange controls and government interference. With an infusion of foreign investment, Haiti experienced rapid growth in its assembly, construction and public utilities sectors.

Even after the U.S.-led intervention in 1994, Haiti's economy actually shrank.

This "golden age" was short-lived, however, and failed to foster sustained economic growth and commercial development. By 1984, it was evident that the Haitian assembly industry — established according to the international community's development strategy — provided no long-term benefits to the country. Materials were imported for assembly, while finished products were exported and consumed abroad. Reliance on cheap, unskilled labor did little to enhance the skills of Haiti's labor force, encourage training or stimulate technology transfer. The dominance of the American market meant Haiti was at the mercy of U.S. import quotas and consumer preferences. Moreover, the Haitian government failed to benefit because commercial profits were tax-exempt and public services were subsidized. Thus, the system not only had a largely neutral effect on income distribution in Haiti

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but prevented other industrial sectors from leveraging its success.

Despite the negative consequences for Haiti, the donor community and the international financial institutions continued to advocate export assembly for Haiti until the country could expand its infrastructure, educate its labor force and diversify its industry. Yet these same governments and institutions were aware that Haiti's ruling elite and dictatorial governments were unlikely to implement policies that would achieve broader economic and social development.

Even after the U.S.-led intervention in 1994, Haiti's economy actually shrank, while its transportation and communication infrastructure and natural environment deteriorated. In part, this was the result of ruinous agricultural trade policies that destroyed Haiti's successful small farmers who produced exports of rice, pork and chicken. Haiti became a net importer of agricultural products, creating food insecurity and malnutrition for the majority of its people. At the same time, ownership of wealth became concentrated in a smaller percentage of the population. In 2002, the top 4 percent of the population controlled 66 percent of the country's assets.

Institutions Need Strengthening

To end the tradition of presidential succession by serial coups, Pres. Préval will have to strengthen the parliament, government ministries and civil society so these institutions can both complement and balance the power of the presidency. Parliament will require technical assistance and training from donor countries, both because many of its new members are entering public service for the first time and because the institution needs physical refurbishing after years of neglect and damage.

Préval also needs to reinforce the role of political parties and cultivate a culture of compromise by fostering an open debate on the future of the country. This will require a formal political dialogue conducted through the media and in institutional channels, without resorting to strong-arm tactics. Préval has appointed representatives from a broad spectrum of political groups and appears ready to reach beyond his own party for support. So far, however, he has been characteristically cautious in his approach to governance. He has postponed decisions and not acted in a manner that would create winners and losers. His government's five-year proposal for international support resulted in larger than requested commit-

ments from international donors. However, Préval has not dealt effectively with the challenge from heavily-armed gangs that remain a major threat to security in Port-au-Prince and other important cities. In the near term, he will need to address the major issues facing Haiti, including poverty, drug trafficking, corruption, the role of former soldiers and the gang problem.

Haiti's new leader will also have to establish local governments that are capable of providing services to the majority of the population that lives in rural areas. Decentralizing the responsibilities of the government to localities will shift the burden from the executive branch by locating authority and resources closer to the people. The new government should harness Haitian civil society and encourage it to fill the gaps in government capacity. Over the course of the last two decades, almost all civic associations — community, peasant, youth and business organizations — have been adversely affected. Winning back the confidence and restoring the vitality of civil society will be critical to the nation's political future. To encourage public trust, Préval must ensure that his actions are as transparent as possible.

Reforming Haiti's political traditions and institutions will not be easy, for the political situation remains tenuous. Préval's Lespwa Party holds only 11 of 30 Senate seats and 21 out of 97 deputy seats, far from a majority in either chamber of parliament. Progress on a range of sensitive issues will require a spirit of compromise, which has not been the tradition in Haitian politics. Former President Aristide could become a destabilizing factor if he attempts to return to Haiti from exile in South Africa before conditions warrant. Fortunately, there has been little public manifestation of support for Aristide's return beyond small street demonstrations that were held this spring to mark the anniversary of his 2004 departure from Haiti. Politics could become more fractious in the near term, particularly as popular expectations are frustrated by the government's inevitable inability to quickly satisfy a broad range of demands.

The Challenge of Stabilization

Assuring stability will also be a challenge. The 8,700 soldiers and police of the U.N. Stabilization Mission in Haiti are the only coherent security forces in the country. MINUSTAH has demonstrated the ability to maintain order in Port-au-Prince and the willingness to use armed force against disruptive elements. Already 12

U.N. soldiers and three U.N. police officers have been killed in the line of duty. However, those forces are insufficient to provide security in the many parts of the country outside government control. Nor have the peacekeepers implemented an effective disarmament, demobilization and reintegration program to remove the threat posed by former soldiers, or dealt effectively with the armed gangs that control urban slums and the isolated ports that are used for the transshipment of narcotics from South America.

The U.N. has also failed to reform and reconstitute the Haitian National Police, the country's only security force, or improve the judicial and penal systems, which are essential for the rule of law. U.N. police have determined that only 4,600 of the 8,000 Haitian officers on the police rolls are currently serving, and many of those are guilty of criminal offenses and abuse of human rights. Political manipulation, corruption and involvement in narcotics trafficking have tarnished the image of the HNP and limited its effectiveness. The U.N. is working on a comprehensive plan for police development, but effective implementation will require buy-in from the Préval government and generous support from the donor community. Making matters worse, the Haitian justice system remains corrupt and dysfunctional; the penal system is notorious for abuse and the indefinite incarceration of prisoners without trial.

Increased U.S. assistance will be focused on strengthening Haiti's security sector through vetting, retraining and reforming the police. More is needed, however. In 1994, the U.S. teamed up with Canada and France to train and equip a 5,000-member Haitian police force in just one year. This needs to be done again. New U.S. assistance will also focus on improving the effectiveness of Haitian courts and reducing pre-trial detention. However, the U.S. needs to develop a comprehensive program for police and judicial training and reform — including international mentoring — over an extended term. Without such a comprehensive and sustained effort, the Préval government will not be able to establish the rule of law.

***Winning back the
confidence and restoring
the vitality of civil society
will be critical to the
nation's political future.***

**A Dialogue on
Assistance Levels**

In pursuing its political and security objectives, the Préval government will be helped by the fact that the international financial institutions and the major donor countries appear to have learned from previous experience, and intend to engage the Haitians in a discussion of priorities for development assistance.

The international community also appears determined to stay for the long term and not to repeat the mistake of withdrawing before reforms take root and the Haitians can sustain innovations on their own. Emphasis in most programs will be on capacity-building, to overcome the critical lack of physical infrastructure and human capital. Below a thin veneer of world-class professionals, most Haitian institutions lack the appropriately educated and technically skilled manpower to operate modern systems for management and administration of government programs.

The Préval administration has requested international assistance for quick-impact public works projects to provide employment and suppress violence in Haiti's poorest slums and depressed rural areas. It has also indicated an interest in pursuing development in tourism, light industry and agriculture. As a result, USAID is concentrating on dual priorities: stability and growth. It will support Préval's request for funding to create 200,000 short-term, public works jobs in slums and other underserved areas, and to rebuild towns and villages that were devastated by Tropical Storm Jeanne in September 2004. USAID will also work to improve the government's ability at both the national and local level to plan, manage and deliver basic services over the long term.

In administering aid, it will be challenging for USAID and other donors to alter the habit of working through nongovernmental organizations, a practice developed to avoid inept or corrupt Haitian government agencies. Working through the Haitian government will be more difficult, costly and time-consuming than going it alone, but doing so will be essential to insure sustainability.

Haiti's new government may also profit from the energy and talents of the Haitian diaspora, if it engages this diverse community in a common effort to move the country forward. Last year, remittances from Haitians

living abroad totaled more than one billion dollars, or a quarter of Haiti's GDP. Haitian-Americans form a distinctive and increasingly active political force in many U.S. communities, particularly in Florida and New York. This community represents a ready reserve of needed skills and financial resources that has never been fully tapped.

Successful Haitians such as businessman Dumas Simeus, CEO of Simeus Foods International, are involved in their homeland through charity organizations, medical missions and village improvement projects. Such efforts do little, however, to raise national living standards, create permanent jobs or improve the economy. Currently, legal red tape and bureaucratic inefficiency discourage investments by expatriates. Haiti's newly-convened Parliament should make it a priority to update and streamline laws governing foreign involvement and the creation of new businesses. For his part, Pres. Préval should encourage overseas Haitians to return home by simplifying administrative procedures for travel and investment.

Moment of Opportunity

The success of Haiti's new government is of vital importance to the United States. Given its location, Haiti remains a potential source of mass, unregulated migration. A repeat of the "boat people" crisis of the 1970s is possible if conditions deteriorate. In addition, Haiti remains an important conduit for the flow of narcotics into the United States. The Drug Enforcement Administration estimates that 10 to 15 percent of cocaine entering the U.S. transits Haiti. Finally, Haiti is a potential source of public health problems, as demonstrated by the previous experience with HIV/AIDS.

Haiti is also important to the United Nations. The country has become a poster child for the failure of international interventions in crisis states. This is due largely to the revolving-door nature of U.N. missions and the fecklessness of multilateral involvement in the past decade. In March 1996, the U.S.-led Multinational Force handed off to the first U.N. Mission in Haiti; it was an extremely well-prepared and seamless transition that should have been the model for subsequent U.N. involvement. Instead, UNMIH (1994-1996) handed off to a "revolving door" of follow-on peacekeeping missions: the U.N. Support Mission in Haiti (1996-1997); the U.N. Transition Mission in Haiti (1997); the U.N. Civilian Police Mission in Haiti (1997-2000); and, final-

ly, the current International Civilian Support Mission in Haiti. With each new mission, the U.N. peace-keeping force actually became smaller and its influence waned.

The last U.N. mission in this series, the International Civilian Support Mission in Haiti, was authorized by the General Assembly (not the Security Council) in March 2000 to avoid Russian and Chinese vetoes. MICAH's mandate was to "consolidate progress" already made in developing the Haitian National Police and in promoting respect for human rights. It was authorized to field 36 U.N. police officers; but five months into the mission, only three had arrived. At the time, Haiti was at the beginning of the power struggle over the results of the May 2000 parliamentary and local elections that would eventually doom Pres. Aristide's second term. As the country headed toward political crisis, the U.N. mission was reduced to irrelevancy.

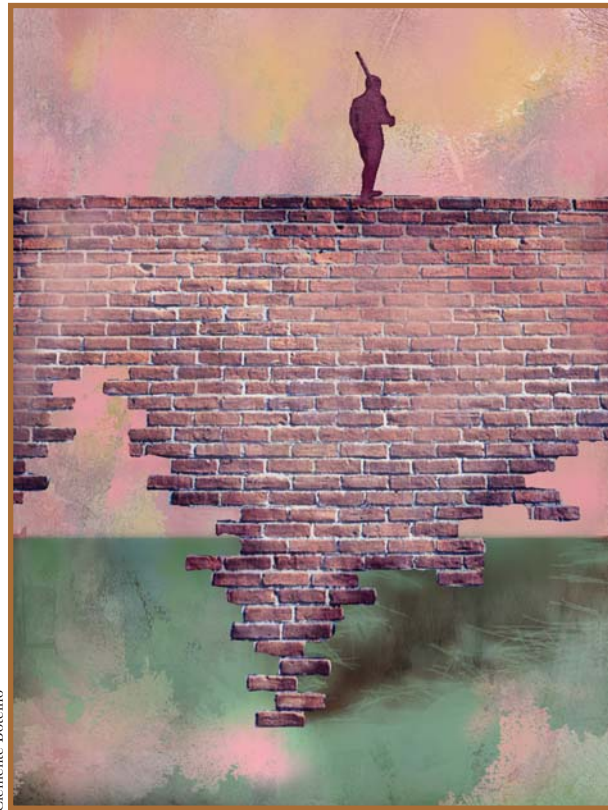
With the installation of Haiti's new government, a turning point has been reached which the U.S. and the international community cannot afford to ignore. The lessons learned during previous episodes of international intervention should be recalled and applied.

- Above all, international assistance should be coherent, consistent and implemented through the Haitian government. Circumventing it by channeling international assistance through nongovernmental organizations will be counterproductive. Haitian ministries must be engaged and held accountable. There is no other way to create sustainable administrative capacity.

- International assistance must be provided for the long term. Another attempt to execute an "exit strategy" of quick fixes to chronic problems will be self-defeating. Toward this end, Canada has proposed an assistance package extending over five years. Other donors have similarly indicated an intention to remain engaged for the foreseeable future.

- Finally, as the largest donor, the U.S. must take the lead in improving the capacity of the Haitian government to provide effective governance and ensure the rule of law. Such programs must result in the creation of a civil service that can plan, budget and implement effective programs. The U.S. must also help create a police force, courts and prisons that perform in a manner consistent with internationally recognized human rights and judicial standards. Nothing is more important than finally providing justice to Haiti. ■

THE CASE AGAINST STATE'S NATIONBUILDING OFFICE



Clemente Botello

THE ARGUMENT THAT INSTABILITY IN ITSELF REPRESENTS A THREAT TO AMERICA AND THAT NATIONBUILDING MUST BE THE CURE IS DEEPLY FLAWED.

BY JUSTIN LOGAN AND CHRISTOPHER PREBLE

In July 2004, the State Department opened the Office of the Coordinator for Reconstruction and Stabilization. The creation of the office, known as S/CRS, was inspired by a congressional resolution spearheaded by Sen. Richard Lugar, R-Ind., chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee. The resolution sought to “provide for the development, as a core mission of the Department of State and the United States Agency for International Development, of an effective expert civilian response capability to carry out stabilization and reconstruct-

tion activities in a country or region that is in, or is in transition from, conflict or strife.”

The reasoning behind the office’s creation was put succinctly by Carlos Pascual, the first coordinator for reconstruction and stabilization, and Steven D. Krasner, director of the State Department’s policy planning staff: “Weak and failed states pose an acute risk to U.S. and global security.”

Although the idea of a nation-building office has broad bipartisan support, Congress refused to grant any funding for it in the foreign appropriations bill for Fiscal Year 2006. Undeterred, the Bush administration sought creative ways to keep the office open, re-routing funds from other departments and agencies. The administration similarly plowed ahead with two new policy initiatives in support of the S/CRS mandate. In November 2005, the Department of Defense released a directive establishing that nationbuilding missions were a core function of the U.S. military; and in December, National Security Presidential Directive 44 placed the ultimate responsibility for stabilization and reconstruction missions with the State Department, specifically S/CRS.

Although Pascual departed S/CRS in January 2006, his replacement, John Herbst, was not announced until March, and did not take office until late May. Whether the time lapse reflects a lack of bureaucratic support or a search for the best person for the job is unclear. According to Pascual, S/CRS had requested roughly \$100 million for FY 2007. As of this writing, it appears that State’s failure to provide — as directed by Congress — “a comprehensive strategy, detailing how the [office] will utilize these funds to respond to international crises and post-conflict contingencies” may jeopardize the office’s funding in FY 2007, much as the funding was refused for 2006. Congress has historically been reluctant to issue blank checks to executive agencies, seeing such requests as encroachments on its spending power.

Still, S/CRS makes regular appearances in President Bush’s speeches about tools needed to address the foreign

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***This entire approach
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policy challenges facing the country, and fits neatly into Secretary Rice’s call for “transformational diplomacy.” Therefore, while the office may remain on shaky fiscal ground, the logic behind its creation shows no sign of having lost favor. That said, the arguments in favor of the office — namely, that instability in itself represents a threat to America and that nationbuilding must be the cure — are deeply flawed. Most nationbuilding

missions are far removed from U.S. national security interests. Such operations threaten to embroil Americans in an array of conflicts abroad for indefinite periods of time, with vague or ambiguous public mandates, and with little likelihood of success. In short, this entire approach to security policy is a recipe for squandering American power, American money and, potentially, American lives.

Here a Threat, There a Threat ...

The 2000 presidential election took place in the shadow of the nationbuilding adventures of the 1990s. Candidate George W. Bush seemed skeptical about the utility and necessity of nationbuilding. During the second presidential debate, Bush took a shot at the interventionism of the 1990s, stating, “I’m not so sure the role of the United States is to go around the world and say, ‘This is the way it’s got to be.’” Bush pointed to the high costs and dubious outcomes, stating, “I don’t think our troops ought to be used for what’s called nationbuilding. ... I mean, we’re going to have some kind of nationbuilding corps from America? Absolutely not.”

After Sept. 11, 2001, however, the Bush administration changed course dramatically. The U.S. National Security Strategy, released in September 2002, made “expand[ing] the circle of development by opening societies and building the infrastructure of democracy” a central plank of America’s response to the 9/11 attacks. Part of the administration’s new security policy would be to “help build police forces, court systems and legal codes, local and provincial government institutions, and electoral systems.” The overarching goal was to “make the world not just safer but better.” Clearly, the president had changed his mind about the wisdom of attempting to build nations.

The failed-states-as-security-threat fallacy now perme-

ates all aspects of strategic planning. Indeed, it has become practically an article of faith. Even the administration's October 2005 National Intelligence Strategy claims (without support) that "the lack of freedom in one state endangers the peace and freedom of others, and ... failed states are a refuge and breeding ground of extremism."

Failed States and Failed Reasoning

In fact, the overwhelming majority of failed states have posed no security threat to the United States. The blanket characterization that failed states represent anything monolithic is misleading. The dangers that can arise from failed states are not the product of state failure itself; the threats are the result of other conditions, such as the presence of terrorist cells or other malign actors within a failed state. It is not the "failure" that threatens.

In 2000, the Central Intelligence Agency's Directorate of Intelligence sought to quantify and examine episodes of state failure. Adopting a loose definition of state failure, the authors found 114 cases between 1955 and 1998. A look at the list compiled by the CIA calls into question the methodology used. The report's highly subjective standard for state failure produced a data set that characterized China, Egypt, India, Iran, Iraq, Indonesia, Israel, the Philippines, Sierra Leone and Turkey as failed states as of December 1998. Surely it discredits any discussion of failed states if Israel and Sierra Leone fall under the same general heading.

Other lists confirm that state failure in itself does not constitute a security threat. A list compiled by the British Department for International Development included such countries as Burundi, Cameroon, Comoros, East Timor, Guinea-Bissau, Guyana, Haiti, Indonesia, Kenya, Kiribati, Papua New Guinea, São Tomé and Príncipe, Sierra Leone, the Solomon Islands, Tonga and Vanuatu. It is difficult to understand how many of the above countries could present security threats to the United States in any foreseeable scenario.

The Fund for Peace and *Foreign Policy* magazine jointly published a "failed states index" recently that included some obvious cases such as Iraq and Afghanistan, but also prototypical failed states such as Cote d'Ivoire, Sierra Leone, Chad and Guinea. Simply put, these states do not warrant significant attention from the U.S. national security apparatus.

What would be more helpful, and more prudent, than issuing categorical statements about what failed states

mean for the United States would be to examine countries, failed or otherwise, on the basis of discrete measures of threat assessment: to what extent does a government — or nonstate actors operating within a state — intend and have the means to attack America?

To the extent that any state does represent a threat, a massive nationbuilding mission targeted at the condition of state failure — rather than the threat itself — is not the most appropriate response. Attacking a threat rarely entails paving roads or establishing new judicial standards. Afghanistan serves as a stark reminder that we must not overlook failed states, but it does not justify moving "state failure" in the abstract to the top of the list of security concerns.

An Unbounded Mandate

Supporters of S/CRS believe that the advancement of political and economic reforms — in particular, the spread of democracy — constitutes part of its mandate. However, that way of thinking carries with it serious risks: poorly executed or misguided nationbuilding operations might actually compound the problem of terrorism directed against the United States. During the transition from autocracy to democracy, states are vulnerable to the collapse of civil order, widespread violence and counter-revolutionary coups.

It is not only internal unrest that can follow in the wake of regime transformation. The risk of full-blown war actually tends to increase in countries where political change has recently occurred. Professors Edward D. Mansfield of the University of Pennsylvania and Jack Snyder of Columbia University point out that new democracies typically "go through a rocky transitional period, where democratic control over foreign policy is partial, where mass politics mixes in a volatile way with authoritarian elite politics, and where democratization suffers reversals. In this transitional phase of democratization, countries become more aggressive and war-prone, not less, and they do fight wars with democratic states."

Thus, if U.S. foreign policy seeks to minimize the risk of war, it may wish to eschew ambitious projects of "democratization," or else be willing and able to occupy target countries indefinitely in the hope that a fully-formed democracy will eventually emerge. If nothing else, we should be confident that any intervention will produce outcomes beneficial to U.S. interests at an acceptable cost. Unfortunately, nationbuilding has an

extremely poor track record in this regard, and it is far from clear that S/CRS can reverse the lessons of history.

The scholarly work on nationbuilding illuminates both the costs and the true nature of a broad policy of “fixing” failed states. In 2003, retired diplomats James R. Hooper and Paul R. Williams argued for what they called “earned sovereignty,” the idea being that target states would need to climb back into the good graces of the intervening power to regain their sovereignty. In some cases, that would take the form of “shared sovereignty,” in which domestic governments would perform whatever functions were allowed by the intervener, but other duties would be retained by the outside actor. The duration of shared sovereignty varies. “In some instances,” Hooper and Williams explain, “it may be indefinite and subject to the fulfillment of certain conditions as opposed to specified timelines.” The premise seems to be that countries will be returned to the control of their indigenous populations when the *intervener* decides it is appropriate.

Neocolonial Logic

Stanford political scientists James D. Fearon and David D. Laitin dispense with rhetorical niceties, calling explicitly for “postmodern imperialism.” Under a straightforwardly neocolonial model, “the search for an exit strategy is delusional,” they explain, particularly with respect to returning “control of domestic security to local authorities by a certain date in the near future.” To the contrary, in some cases a complete exit by the interveners may never be possible; rather, the endgame is “to make the national level of government irrelevant for people in comparison to the local and supranational levels.” Thus, in Fearon and Laitin’s model, nationbuilding may not be an appropriate term: a better label would perhaps be *nation-ending*, replacing national governments with a supranational governing order. Evidently the nation-state then withers away and dies.

For his part, Krasner believes that the “rules of conventional sovereignty ... no longer work.” Writing in 2004, he called instead for an approach to failed states that would involve “alternative institutional arrangements supported by external actors, such as de facto trusteeships and shared sovereignty.” The implications of those policies are clear. As Krasner states: “In a trusteeship, international actors would assume control over local functions for an indefinite period of time. They might also eliminate the international legal sovereignty of the entity or

control treaty-making powers. ... There would be no assumption of a withdrawal in the short or medium term.”

This hearkens back to Woodrow Wilson’s advocacy of trusteeships in the wake of World War I in order to “build up in as short a time as possible ... a political unit that can take charge of its own affairs” — without, however, the pretense of “as short a time as possible.”

Although most Americans support sovereignty and reject the logic of neocolonialism, avowed advocates of empire have not hidden their pleasure at the creation of S/CRS. In advancing the case for an American colonial office, Max Boot, author and senior fellow for national security studies at the Council on Foreign Relations, noted that “of course, [a colonial office] cannot be called that. It needs an anodyne euphemism such as ‘Office of Reconstruction and Humanitarian Assistance.’” Boot later elaborated: “The United States needs its own version of the British Colonial Office for the post-imperial age,” and the decision to establish S/CRS is “a good start.”

If the costs of successfully administering foreign countries were low and the prospects for success high, it might make sense to try. However, a look at what it takes to “get nationbuilding right” demonstrates that the costs of making it a core object of U.S. foreign policy — as envisioned by the advocates of S/CRS — would greatly outweigh any benefits.

The Costs of Nationbuilding

Security is a paramount concern in every stabilization and reconstruction mission. By definition, the target state will be emerging from conflict or collapse, and administrators will need to be protected from violence and intimidation as they initiate and implement S&R programs. In nearly all instances, the U.S. military would have to perform these security functions. But how many troops does it take to support an S&R mission? What types of troops? And how long will they have to stay?

The answers based on the historical record are not heartening. One of the best estimates regarding the military requirements of post-conflict missions comes from the Pentagon’s Defense Science Board. A DSB study from December 2004 that assessed nationbuilding operations over the past two millennia highlights some sobering facts: “Stabilization operations can be very labor-intensive. ... The United States will sometimes have ambitious goals for transforming a society in a conflicted environ-

ment. Those goals may well demand 20 troops per 1,000 inhabitants ... working for five to eight years.”

Extrapolating from the DSB's numbers to particular countries paints an even darker picture. Achieving “ambitious goals” in Iraq, for example, under the DSB framework would have required roughly 500,000 troops in Iraq for five to eight years. Less populous countries such as Haiti, by this rule of thumb, would call for roughly 162,000 American troops.

And what of the efficacy of nationbuilding operations? The historical record is hardly encouraging. The DSB concluded that “[t]he pattern suggests a less than impressive record — one that has not improved with time and historical experience.”

Other advocates of nationbuilding agree. In 2003 Krasner admitted, “The simple fact is that we do not know how to do democracy-building.” Unless our knowledge has grown dramatically in three years, that is not exactly inspiring language coming from one of the top U.S. officials in charge of democracy-building.

If we intend to seriously embark on a plan to build nations, we must be prepared to bear heavy costs in time, money, and even in American lives — or we must be prepared to fail. As Johns Hopkins University's Francis Fukuyama concedes, nationbuilding “has been most successful ... where U.S. forces have remained for generations. We should not get involved to begin with if we are not willing to pay those high costs.”

The problem, however, is actually twofold: the United States in recent years has been overly prone to intervention, but without a proper appreciation of the costs ahead of time. S/CRS exacerbates the former problem without addressing the latter. Sec. Rice confirmed during a town hall meeting at the State Department in June 2005 that S/CRS is “working, right now, on a plan for Sudan, because it is our hope that at some point, we'll be in a post-conflict stabilization phase [there]. We know that we're going to face this in Liberia. We're doing it in Haiti.” She has never explained how to pay for these interventions.

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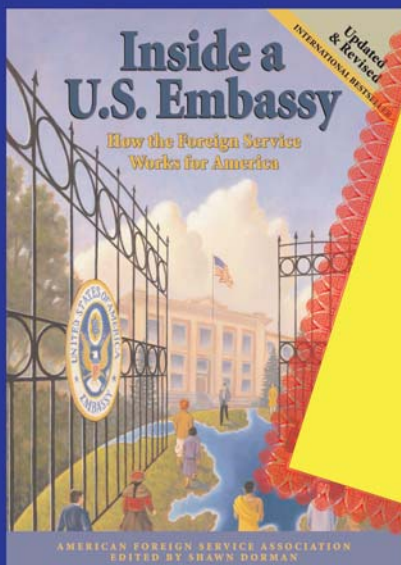
A standing nationbuilding office with dedicated funding and institutional support would likely become a vocal advocate of that approach. Bureaucracies are remarkably inventive in finding ways to justify their own existence. In the case of S/CRS, this would involve agitating for a costly, dangerous course of foreign policy that would generate reconstruction and stabilization missions to work on.

Moreover, S/CRS is simply not needed. President Bush has correctly argued that “over time, free nations grow stronger and dictatorships grow weaker.” But while this is true, direct American intervention has rarely been a factor. Obviously, the collapse of the Eastern Bloc at the end of the Cold War caused a precipitous advance in freedom — both political and economic — without U.S. officials on the ground attempting to direct the change. But apart from the end of the Cold War, between 1994 and 2004 the global freedom prognosis continued to improve. According to Freedom House, 46 percent of the world’s countries are politically “free,” compared with 40 percent

in 1994. The numbers of “partly free” and “not free” countries have declined.

Similarly, economic liberalization continues to advance. According to *Economic Freedom of the World: 2006 Annual Report*, average economic freedom has advanced even during the very recent past. Between 1995 and 2004 the mean economic freedom of countries around the world advanced from 6.1 to 6.5 on a scale of 0 to 10. When trends are moving in a positive direction, the wisest course is usually to stay out of the way.

In an age in which international terrorism could just as plausibly come from Marseille as from Tashkent, America cannot afford to lose its focus and sap its strength by attempting to build nations. Terrorism is a challenging threat that requires intelligence, discrimination and determination. To take on nationbuilding missions that aim for the capillaries of the international system is a dangerous juggling of priorities. It could well create new security challenges where none existed before. ■



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IN THEIR OWN WRITE

WE ARE PLEASED TO FEATURE OUR ANNUAL COMPILATION OF
RECENTLY PUBLISHED BOOKS BY FOREIGN SERVICE-AFFILIATED AUTHORS.

The *Foreign Service Journal* is pleased to present our annual Foreign Service authors round-up in plenty of time for holiday orders. Here is an annotated list of some of the volumes written or edited by Foreign Service personnel and family members, past and present, in 2005 and 2006.

This year's selection contains a substantial policy studies and issues section, a strong history selection, eight novels, a diverse array of works concerning people and places, and a set of memoirs that vary widely in terms of scope and focus. As in past editions, a significant portion of our titles are self-published.

Our primary purpose in compiling this list is to celebrate the wealth of literary talent within the Foreign

Service community, and to give our readers the opportunity to support colleagues by sampling their wares. Each entry contains full publication data along with a short commentary.

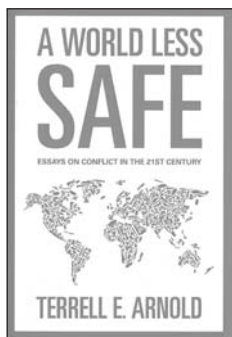
As has become our custom, we also include a listing of books "of related interest" that were not written by Foreign Service authors.

While many of these books are available from bookstores and other sources, we encourage our readers to use the AFSA Web site's *Marketplace* to place your orders (see p. 71). We have created a bookstore there with links to Amazon.com. For the few books that cannot be ordered through Amazon.com, we have provided alternate links and, when the book is not available online, the necessary contact information.

But enough crass commercialism. On to the books!

— Susan Maitra, Senior Editor

POLICY STUDIES AND ISSUES



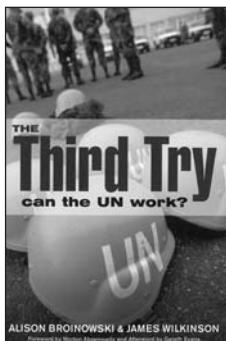
A World Less Safe: Essays on Conflict in the 21st Century
Terrell E. Arnold, BookSurge Publishing, 2005, \$19.95, paperback, 380 pages.

"It is an appalling truth that we entered the 21st century with global conditions as peaceful as they had been at any time in the 20th century,

but by the end of the year we were back at war," the author writes in the introduction to this hard-hitting book. "How we got that way is a striking tale of American leadership, its motives and its reactions to the challenges facing the United States."

After the 9/11 attacks, Arnold argues, Washington began a series of global interventions, which included the invasion of Afghanistan, the pre-emptive military attack and occupation of Iraq, torture and other abuses of prisoners of war, and unequivocal siding with Israel on Palestine issues. In his view, these decisions have "made the world less safe."

A retired senior FSO, Terrell Arnold has had diplomatic postings to Egypt, India, the Philippines, Brazil and Washington. He has also chaired the National War College's Department of International Studies. He is the author, co-author or editor of four previous books on terrorism and related issues.



**The Third Try:
Can the U.N. Work?**

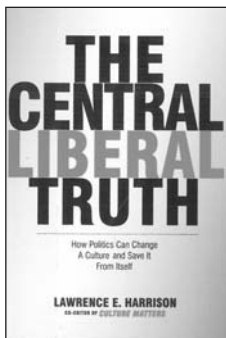
Alison Broinowski and James Wilkinson, Scribe, 2005, \$35.00, paperback, 320 pages.

In its 60th year, the United Nations is up to its neck in controversy. Launched with great hopes, it has helped keep the peace, sheltered refugees and improved world health, but has

fallen short on protecting human rights, preventing genocide and overcoming poverty. In *The Third Try*, Alison Broinowski and James Wilkinson consider the vision that inspired the founders, and ask how the world body can best move forward.

“This book, bringing to bear the views and experience of two seasoned diplomats from the U.S. and Australia, is a valuable contribution to a more informed and realistic debate about what kind of U.N. will best serve the public interest,” writes Ambassador Morton Abramowitz in the book’s foreword.

Alison Broinowski, a former Australian diplomat, is a visiting fellow on the faculty of Asian Studies at the Australian National University. James Wilkinson, a retired Foreign Service officer, has served as deputy U.S. representative on the U.N. Security Council with the rank of ambassador, and as deputy assistant secretary of State for European and Canadian affairs. His diplomatic postings included Moscow, East Berlin, Bangkok and Canberra.



**The Central Liberal Truth:
How Politics Can Change A
Culture and Save It from Itself**

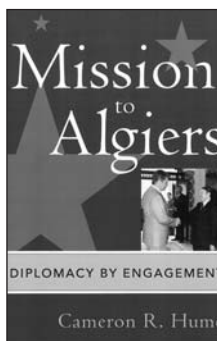
Lawrence E. Harrison, Oxford University Press, 2006, \$28.00, hardcover, 272 pages.

Which cultural values, beliefs and attitudes best promote democracy, social justice and prosperity? How can we use the forces that shape cul-

tural change to promote these values in the Third World? In this provocative and controversial book, Lawrence E. Harrison provides the answers.

Drawing on a three-year research project that explored the cultural values of dozens of nations, Harrison argues that it is cultural values that determine whether countries are democratic and rich or authoritarian and poor. To prove his point, he presents 25 values that operate very differently around the globe, including one’s influence over destiny, the importance attached to education, the extent to which people identify with and trust others, and the role of women in society. He also offers a series of practical guidelines for developing nations and lagging minority groups.

Lawrence E. Harrison is a senior research fellow and adjunct lecturer at the Fletcher School of Diplomacy. He is the author of many books, among them *Underdevelopment Is a State of Mind* (Madison Books, 2000), *Who Prospers?* (Basic Books, 1993) and *The Pan-American Dream* (Westview Press, 1998); and co-editor, with Samuel Huntington, of *Culture Matters: How Values Shape Human Progress* (Basic Books, 2001). Between 1965 and 1981, he directed USAID missions in the Dominican Republic, Costa Rica, Guatemala, Haiti and Nicaragua.



**Mission to Algiers:
Diplomacy by Engagement**

Cameron R. Hume, Lexington Books, 2006, \$24.95, paperback, 186 pages.

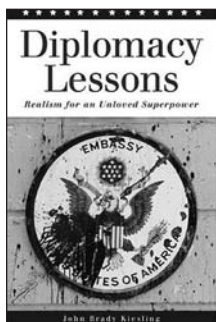
Ambassador Cameron Hume has written an important case study of U.S.-Algerian relations from 1997 to 2000. Drawing from his personal records, he describes the Algerian govern-

ment’s near-bankruptcy in the 1990s, the Islamist insurgency that killed 100,000 people and threatened the country’s stability and the slow push toward democracy.

“At a time when the United States is encouraging democratic development in the Middle East, the Algerian case of partially successful transition to democracy should be better known,” declares William B. Quandt of the University of Virginia in his review of the book (*FSJ*, September). “This is a well-written, firsthand account of recent history.”

An FSO since 1970, Cameron Hume is currently chargé d’affaires in Khartoum. He was ambassador to

the Republic of South Africa from 2001 to 2004, and earlier in his career served three tours of duty at the U.S. mission to the U.N. He has published two previous books, *The United Nations, Iran and Iraq: How Peacemaking Changed* (Indiana University Press, 1994) and *Ending Mozambique's War* (U.S. Institute for Peace Press, 1994). This book is the 26th volume in the Association for Diplomatic Studies and Training's Diplomats and Diplomacy series.



**Diplomacy Lessons:
Realism for an Unloved
Superpower**

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

In February 2003, FSO John Brady Kiesling publicly resigned his position as political counselor in Athens to protest the Bush administration's impending invasion of Iraq. His belief that the security, economic and moral costs of the war would outweigh any benefit to the American people was coupled with concern over the fact that diplomacy had lost out as the primary defender of U.S. interests overseas.

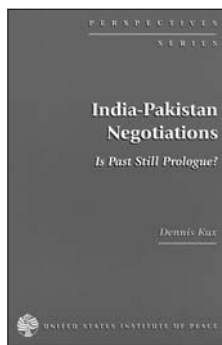
Appearing three years after his resignation, *Diplomacy Lessons: Realism for an Unloved Superpower* is a lively and incisive exploration of what U.S. power can realistically accomplish and, as he writes in the introduction, "a plea for the profession of diplomacy." As Harvard professor Stanley Hoffman declares in *The New York Review of Books*, Kiesling's book is an insider's account that "should be required reading by all students and practitioners of foreign policy."

John Brady Kiesling was an FSO for 20 years, serving in Israel, Morocco, Armenia, Washington, D.C., and Greece. Since resigning, he has been a visiting lecturer at Princeton University and a columnist and speaker on international political affairs. He lives in Athens.

**India-Pakistan Negotiations:
Is Past Still Prologue?**

Dennis Kux, United States Institute of Peace, 2006,
\$12.50, paperback, 104 pages.

Examining six India-Pakistan negotiations since independence in 1947, Dennis Kux shows that the root of the two countries' problems is not cultural dif-



ferences but their "legacy of mutual distrust and antagonism, despite occasional periods of détente." Kux argues that both countries need to "exert robust, creative and enduring leadership to achieve concrete, broad-based improvement in their bilateral relations and, ultimately, South Asian regional security." All students and diplomats

interested in the unique India-Pakistan relationship will find *India-Pakistan Negotiations: Is Past Still Prologue?* a compelling introduction.

Dennis Kux, a retired ambassador and South Asia specialist, is a senior policy scholar at the Woodrow Wilson Center. He is the author of histories of U.S. relations with Pakistan and India, and has written extensively on South Asia. Kux served three tours in India and Pakistan, and was country director for India during the 1970s. He served as ambassador to Cote d'Ivoire from 1986 to 1989.



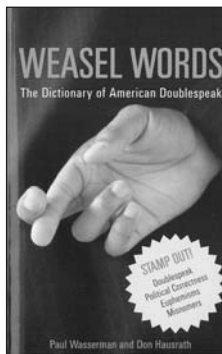
**America On Notice:
Stemming the Tide of
Anti-Americanism**

Glenn E. Schweitzer and
Carole D. Schweitzer,
Prometheus Books, 2006,
\$18.48, hardcover, 326 pages.

Here is a well-researched, highly readable analysis of America's predicament as the unloved superpower — how we got here and, more importantly, how to move forward to rebuild the bridges critical to an international effort to contain terrorism while promoting better lives for all. Reflecting on decades of experience in international relations, the authors advocate a new emphasis in foreign assistance on job creation and sustainable solutions. They also emphasize the importance of listening to and considering the views of leaders of other societies, rather than simply "proclaiming" U.S. policies and intentions.

Glenn E. Schweitzer, a retired FSO, is currently the director of Central European and Eurasian affairs at the National Academy of Sciences. Carole D. Schweitzer is executive editor of *Association Management* magazine. They have written or co-authored a number of books, including: *Techno-Diplomacy: U.S. Soviet Confrontations in Science and Technology* (Plenum

Publishing, 1989), *Swords into Market Shares* (Joseph Henry Press, 2000), *A Faceless Enemy: The Origins of Modern Terrorism* (Perseus Books, 2002) and *Scientists, Engineers and Two-Track Diplomacy* (National Academies Press, 2004).



Weasel Words: The Dictionary of American Doublespeak

Paul Wasserman and Don Hausrath, Capital Books, 2005, \$20.00, paperback, 220 pages.

From “abdominal protector” to “zippies,” this little dictionary is a delightful take on modern American culture — in the authors’ words, “a reader’s

and listener’s companion to our 21st century.” With a sharp political eye and ample wit, Wasserman and Hausrath zero in on the misnomers, euphemisms, evasions and simple flim-flam that litter contemporary political and professional discourse. Terms and phrases are arranged alphabetically, but an index grouped by category (e.g., business, health, media, social behavior, military affairs and intelligence) at the back of the book facilitates quick look-ups.

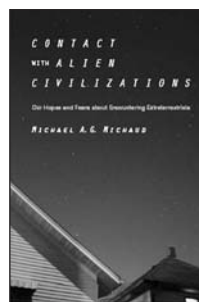
As the inspiration for this work, the authors cite long experience in government and academic bureaucracies as well as lengthy periods living abroad — “where one naturally studies our American language from an alien perspective, which is helpful in learning our home country’s use of indirection and evasions.” According to the authors, the book evolved “as a sort of crib sheet, translating evasions, distortions, circumventions, obfuscations and misleading terms back into English.”

Don Hausrath, a retired senior FSO, and Paul Wasserman, professor emeritus at the University of Maryland College of Information Studies, are co-authors of *Washington, D.C., from A to Z* (Capital Books, Inc., 2003).

Contact with Alien Civilizations: Our Hopes and Fears about Encountering Extraterrestrials

Michael A.G. Michaud, Springer, 2006, \$27.50, hardcover, 448 pages.

Whether intelligent beings exist beyond the Earth — and the implications of contact with them — has



been explored and debated for more than 2,000 years, and by no means just among science fiction writers. This comprehensive review of the subject, is meticulously documented. It contains a history of speculations about contact with extraterrestrial intelligence, descriptions of the scientific searches for extraterrestrial

life and alien signals, and consideration of the arguments concerning the probability of finding other technological societies. Also included are the major models of contact. The second half of the book is devoted to an evaluation of the main predictions that have been offered about contact, and some conclusions about the search and its consequences.

Retired FSO Michael Michaud served as director of the State Department’s Office of Advanced Technology and as counselor for science, technology and environment in Paris and Tokyo. As chairperson of International Academy of Astronautics working groups that considered this subject, he coordinated the drafting of the Declaration of Principles Following the Detection of Extraterrestrial Intelligence. He has published numerous articles and papers, and is the author of *Reaching for the High Frontier: The American Pro-Space Movement, 1972-1984* (Praeger, 1986). Mr. Michaud lives in Europe.

National Interest and International Aviation

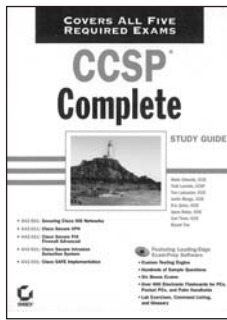
Erwin von den Steinen, Luwer Law International BV, 2006, \$122.00, hardcover, 230 pages.

How should the national interest in aviation be defined as we move into the 21st century? Should national regulatory controls progressively give way to multinational controls? Is this an either/or equation? These are some of the questions addressed in this rigorous and thoughtful study of international aviation, a cornerstone of the social and economic process of globalization. A functioning aviation system (not necessarily the fate of particular airlines) is a vital national interest, the author explains, but its safeguarding requires international cooperation. The subject of national relationships and international regulation is examined here. The national interest is explored from a producer perspective, from a consumer perspective, from a regional perspective and in the context of the North Atlantic market.

Though thorough, this work is not an academic

study but rather “a set of observations and findings” based on a general education and extensive experience, the author says.

Erwin von den Steinen is a leading analyst in the field of international aviation policy and regulation. He was director of the Office of Aviation Policy and Programs when he retired from the Foreign Service in 1988. Von den Steinen is the author of many articles; this is his first book. He lives and works in Bonn.



CCSP Complete Study Guide

Eric Quinn et al., SYBEX, Inc., 2005, \$56.69, hardcover, 1213 pages.

A book for the IT specialist, this is a comprehensive introduction to the Cisco Certified Security Professional certification track. *CCSP Complete* is a collaborative effort that was

designed for students wishing to learn security topics and their implementation on equipment manufactured by Cisco Systems. The book contains practical

examples and insights drawn from real-world experience.

The text is designed to enable the student to pass the series of five certification exams showing proficiency with those systems, and comes with leading-edge exam preparation software that includes a testing engine and electronic flashcards.

Eric Quinn is an information management specialist currently assigned to Manila. He has a background in network infrastructure and information security, and spent several years teaching those topics to professionals. He has written five books on networking and security topics, and edited several others.

Eating for Lower Cholesterol: A Balanced Approach to Heart Health with Recipes Everyone Will Love

Catherine Jones and Elaine B. Trujillo, Marlowe & Company, 2005, \$16.95, paperback, 300 pages.

“Welcome to the world of cholesterol!” With this opening, readers will immediately realize that Catherine Jones’ book is not just another recipe book. Co-author Elaine B. Trujillo is one of the nation’s leading

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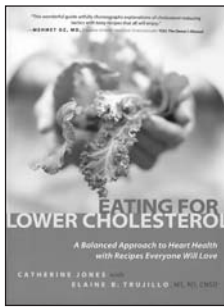
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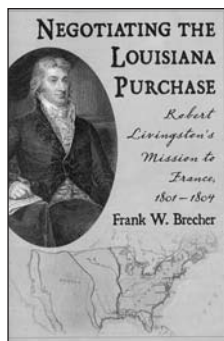


nutritionists working at the National Institutes of Health. After Jones' mother suffered a heart attack, Jones combined her love of cooking with her new passion for healthy eating to educate Americans about the cause of coronary disease.

This book provides all the nutritional information you need, with a no-fuss layout and casual writing style. So before packing your consumables for your next hard-ship post, or rushing off to the nearest McDonald's when the embassy store runs out of your favorite staples, buy this book.

Catherine Jones is a Foreign Service spouse and the author of *Eating for Pregnancy: An Essential Guide to Nutrition with Recipes for the Whole Family* (Marlowe & Co., 2003) and *A Year of Russian Feasts* (Jellyroll Press, 2002), for which she received critical acclaim. She has also written articles for *Fit Pregnancy* and *Saveur*, and has a column in *Moms and Babies* and *Health Today* magazines. She and her family are currently posted in the Philippines.

HISTORY



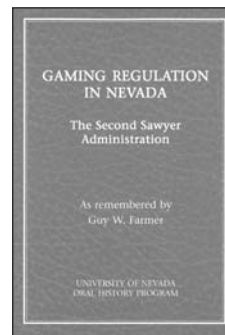
Negotiating the Louisiana Purchase: Robert Livingstone's Mission to France, 1801-1804

Frank W. Brecher,
McFarland & Company,
2006, \$35.00, paperback,
200 pages.

In *Negotiating the Louisiana Purchase*, Frank W. Brecher details the political maneuvering that took place between the United States and France during negotiations over the Louisiana territory from 1801 to 1804. Studying letters and memoranda from the time, Brecher examines the role Robert Livingstone, the U.S. minister to France, and other politicians played in bringing the issue to a successful conclusion for the United States. He discusses the economic and military ramifications that would have resulted from a French return to North America, the threat of domestic disension and the ways in which a French Louisiana

would have affected the international political landscape. Brecher also provides summaries of Livingston's Louisiana memorandum, two Talleyrand-Napoleon memoranda and an analysis of Marbois' book on Louisiana. Readers will find this book an interesting and thorough account of one of the most important transactions in U.S. history.

Frank W. Brecher, a retired Foreign Service officer, resides in New York. This is the final volume of the author's trilogy on early Franco-American relations.



Gaming Regulation in Nevada: The Second Sawyer Administration

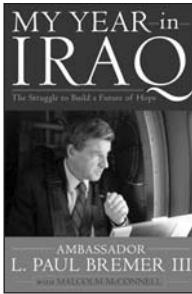
Guy W. Farmer, *University of Nevada Oral History Program*, 2006, \$12.95, paperback, 54 pages.

This booklet contains an insider's view of a fascinating slice of American history: Nevada's effort to get organized crime out of the casinos during the 1960s, an effort that established the state as a gaming control model for many other states and foreign jurisdictions. The insider is retired FSO Guy Farmer, who was the public information officer for the Nevada Gaming Commission and Gaming Control Board from 1963 to 1967. In this publication, one of a series by the University of Nevada Oral History Program's Gaming Regulation Project, he recalls the Frank Sinatra gaming license revocation case that created nationwide media interest at the time, details the dubious role of the Kennedy administration, and draws portraits of the many colorful characters and events of the time.

Guy Farmer joined the U.S. Information Agency in 1967. During a 28-year Foreign Service career, he served in Colombia, Grenada, Mexico and Spain. For the last 11 years of his career, he served as public affairs officer in Lima, Caracas and Canberra. Upon retirement, he returned to his adopted hometown of Carson City, Nev. To order this book, go to <http://www.unr.edu/oralhistory/catalog.htm>.

My Year in Iraq: The Struggle to Build a Future of Hope

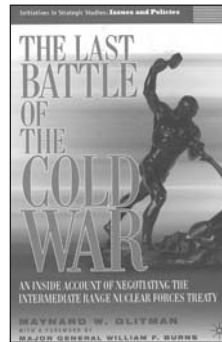
Ambassador L. Paul Bremer III and Malcolm McConnell, *Simon and Schuster*, 2006, \$27.00, hardcover, 417 pages.



Here is the first insider account from a senior figure on the scene in Iraq after the fall of Baghdad. Ambassador L. Paul “Jerry” Bremer was named presidential envoy to Iraq on May 6, 2003. As the administrator of the Coalition Provisional Authority, he led reconstruction and stabilization efforts until June 28, 2004, when he handed over power to the new interim Iraqi government. “This book is an important component of the history of this war, though critics will find it self-serving,” writes retired FSO Dave Dunford in his review of the book for the April 2006 issue of the *FSJ*. “But there should be no doubt that Jerry Bremer took on one of the toughest tasks ever given to a U.S. diplomat and handled it with skill, discipline and grace.”

Amb. Bremer had a 23-year career in the Foreign Service. During the 1980s he served as ambassador to the Netherlands and ambassador at large for counterterrorism, among other positions. Following retire-

ment, he became managing director of Kissinger Associates, and also served as chairman of the bipartisan National Commission on Terrorism (1999-2000). Malcolm McConnell is a former Foreign Service officer and the author of numerous books; he most recently collaborated with General Tommy Franks on his memoir, *American Soldier* (HarperCollins, 2005).



The Last Battle of the Cold War: An Inside Account of Negotiating the INF Treaty

Maynard W. Glitman,
Palgrave MacMillan, 2006,
\$69.95, hardcover, 272 pages.

This volume is an important contribution to our understanding of the causes and implications of the end of the Cold War by a key actor in the drama. The Soviet effort to intimidate Europe with modern intermediate nuclear forces required a sophisticated alliance response. Negotiating a treaty eliminating these systems and securing its ratification

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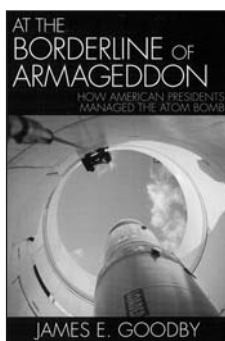


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in the U.S. Senate was a decade-long process in which the author played a critical role as the chief negotiator for the Intermediate-Range Nuclear Forces Treaty. Here he analyzes the complex struggles over U.S. INF deployments and allied negotiating strategies, as well as handling confrontations with the Soviets, that ultimately produced a treaty widely recognized as a turning point in post-World War II history (see David Jones' review, *FSJ*, June 2006).

Maynard W. Glitman is a former ambassador to Belgium and deputy assistant secretary of Defense for Europe and NATO. Of the four ambassadorial posts he held, three were in arms-control activities. Following retirement from the Foreign Service, he has written on U.S. foreign policy and arms control and taught political science as an adjunct professor at the University of Vermont.



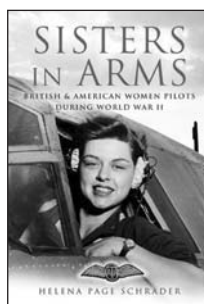
At the Borderline of Armageddon: How American Presidents Managed the Atom Bomb

James E. Goodby, Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, 2006, \$24.95, paperback, 224 pages.

"At the Borderline of Armageddon recalls the fascinating and terrifying history of the nuclear age. James Goodby

has written an extraordinary and engaging book that has much to teach leaders and ordinary citizens alike," says former Rep. Lee Hamilton, president of the Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars and vice chair of the 9/11 Commission. Goodby zeroes in on the issues that American presidents have faced and how they dealt with them. He adds details that are not generally known or not available elsewhere in cases where he was directly involved — and that is a majority, because for 60 years from the Trinity test at Alamogordo, N.M., and the bombing of Hiroshima and Nagasaki, the author was closely in touch with nuclear policy at the national level.

Retired Ambassador James Goodby is a non-resident senior fellow at the Brookings Institution and a research affiliate at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology. Over the course of a long and distinguished Foreign Service career he held several senior positions dedicated to arms control and nonproliferation. He served as ambassador to Finland from 1980 to 1981.



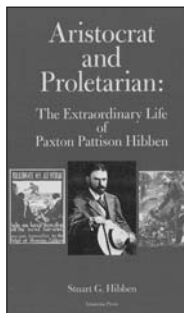
Sisters in Arms: British & American Women Pilots during World War II

Helena Page Schrader, Pen & Sword Books Ltd., 2006, \$25.16, hardcover, 240 pages.

During World War II, a small number of carefully selected women were given the unprecedented opportunity to fly military aircraft in both the U.S. and Britain. That story, by itself, is fascinating. But *Sisters in Arms: British & American Women Pilots during World War II* also explores what happened next on each side of the Atlantic: while the women of the British Air Transport Auxiliary steadily won nearly all the privileges and status enjoyed by their male colleagues, their American counterparts of the Women Airforce Service Pilots were denied the same status, rank, pay and benefits as their male colleagues. Furthermore, the female pilots of the ATA — no less than their male colleagues — were praised for their contribution to the war effort, whereas the WASP was disbanded and the women sent home early, their contribution to the war publicly ignored and soon forgotten.

What accounts for this dramatic difference? Helena Schrader analyzes the cultural context and military traditions, and traces the organizational development and accomplishments of both the ATA and the WASP. To the extent possible, she lets the women speak for themselves.

Helena Schrader joined the Foreign Service in 2005. A historian specializing in ancient Sparta and the medieval age, she has published two novels set in Ancient Sparta, *The Olympic Charioteer* (iUniverse, 2005) and *Are They Singing in Sparta?* (iUniverse, 2006), as well as a novel based on the experience of the pilots, *The Lady in the Spitfire*, published earlier this year (see p. 76).



Aristocrat and Proletarian: The Extraordinary Life of Paxton Pattison Hibben

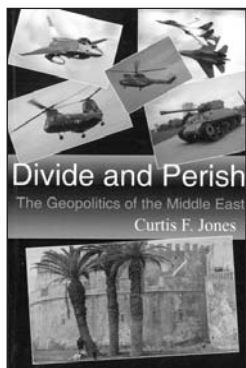
Stuart G. Hibben, Llumina Press, 2006, \$29.95, hardcover, 252 pages.

This is the story of Paxton Hibben, an American (and distant relative of the author) who, despite the cold relations between

his country and the Soviet Union, organized a humanitarian effort to rescue starving children in the terrible Russian famine of 1921-1923. Hibben, the son of a well-to-do Midwestern family and a distinguished graduate of Princeton and Harvard, was an “astonishing American” to the Russians. In honor of his courage and selflessness, he was given a hero’s burial in Moscow alongside the Russian masters of arts, letters and sciences.

This inspiring biography is a tribute to Hibben’s achievements — the “sheer scope and drama of his adventures” and the magnitude of his humanitarian efforts.

Stuart G. Hibben is a retired civil servant, Navy veteran of World War II, and a Princeton graduate. In spite of frequent travels abroad as the spouse of a career American diplomat, he finished this account for publication in 15 years.

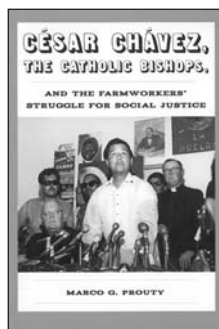


**Divide and Perish:
The Geopolitics of
the Middle East**

Curtis F. Jones,
AuthorHouse, 2006,
\$20.49, paperback,
512 pages.

The product of 60 years of specialization in Arabic and the Middle East, this book is a timely and all-embracing background guide to a little-understood part of the world now dominating the headlines. From a historical analysis of the curse of communalism, to a review of the five types of autocracies in the region (tribal, military, partisan, ethnocracy and theocracy) and the rise of the “American-Israeli Diarchy,” the author presents the many factors that have shaped this area for centuries — not the least of which is its unique geography.

Curtis Jones joined the Foreign Service in 1946 after service in the Army during World War II. Having studied Arabic in the military, he was one of the first participants in the Arabic program at the Foreign Service Institute, and went on to devote most of his 30-year Foreign Service career to service in the Middle East. Since retirement he has worked as a government consultant, writer and speaker. He is a regular contributor to the electronic journal *American Diplomacy* at www.americandiplomacy.org.



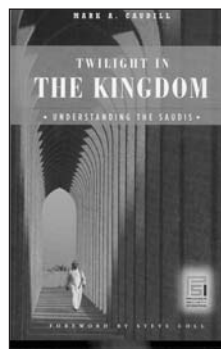
**César Chávez, the Catholic
Bishops, and the Farmworkers’
Struggle for Social Justice**

*Marco G. Prouty, University
of Arizona Press, 2006, \$40.00,*
hardcover, 185 pages.

César Chávez and the farmworkers’ struggle for justice polarized the Catholic community in California’s Central Valley during the 1965-1970 Delano Grape Strike. Because most farmworkers and landowners were Roman Catholic, the American Roman Catholic Church was placed in the challenging position of choosing sides in an intrafaith conflict. Twice Chávez petitioned the Church for help. Finally, in 1969, the American Catholic hierarchy responded by creating the bishops’ Ad Hoc Committee on Farm Labor, a committee of five bishops and two priests. Chávez later declared the committee’s intervention over the next decade on behalf of the United Farmworkers “the single most important thing that has helped us.”

Former Foreign Service officer Marco Prouty has drawn on rich, untapped archival sources at the U.S. Conference of Catholic Bishops to provide a valuable addition to the fields of labor history, social justice, ethnic studies and religious history.

PEOPLE AND PLACES



**Twilight in the Kingdom:
Understanding the Saudis**

*Mark A. Caudill, Praeger
Security International, 2006,*
\$44.95, hardcover, 176 pages.

Active-duty FSO Mark Caudill bases *Twilight in the Kingdom: Understanding the Saudis* on his own dispatches from Consulate General Jeddah, where he served as a political officer from 1999 to 2002 — in the crucial period before and after the 9/11 attacks. “Caudill’s book is an important and unique look into Saudi Arabia that is not available in all the previously published material on the country,” says Saudi journalist Faiza Saleh Ambah of the book.

A converted Muslim who could pass for Syrian,

Caudill lived outside the embassy compound, traveled widely and participated in the local life and culture. He was rewarded with important insights into the reality of Saudi Arabia behind the mask of official clichés maintained by the ruling family. History will show, he believes, that American leaders should have paid more attention to these realities.

Mark Caudill joined the Foreign Service in 1991. He is currently vice consul in Istanbul.

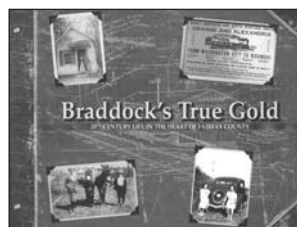


Carrizo: Portrait of a New Mexican Family

Victor A. Abeyta, *BookSurge Publishing*, 2005, \$15.99, paperback, 310 pages.

In this reminiscence and tribute to his parents, Victor Abeyta brings to light a slice of New Mexican history and a way of life that has vanished. The authors' mother and father are the central characters whose lives, along with other major figures of the homestead, are traced against the social and political background of the 20th century. Two wars, the Great Depression, changes in land-use laws and the advance of technology all left their marks on the family. The narrative is crisp and very well-written, making this book of genuine interest to the general reader as well as a valuable contribution to regional and social history.

Victory Alejandro (Alex) Abeyta is a retired senior FSO who served from 1969 to 2002 in Mexico, Portugal, Uruguay, Spain, Canada, El Salvador, Colombia and Washington, D.C. He wrote this book while in Moscow, where his wife, a Foreign Service officer, was on assignment.



Braddock's True Gold: 20th Century Life in the Heart of Fairfax County

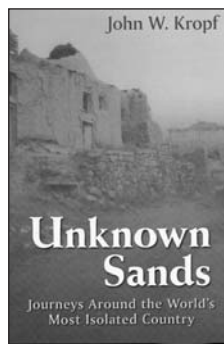
Marion Meany and Mary Lipsey, with Gilbert Donahue and John Browne, *Fairfax*

County Board of Supervisors, 2006, \$25.00, paperback, 168 pages.

This is a beautiful and unusual coffee-table book that looks at the history of Fairfax County's Braddock District through the eyes of more than 60 of its

longtime residents. Supplemented with a variety of excellent maps and photographs, the narrative captures everyday life in the community from the 1930s through the 1980s — their shops, workplaces, schools, modes of transportation and special events. “The 168 pages of oral histories, photos and maps document the passage of Braddock, and the surrounding county, from an outback of dairy farms and sawmills to a mega-suburb. Even longtime residents are likely to learn something,” says *The Washington Post* review of June 22.

Retired FSO Gilbert Donahue served as digital archivist, contributing the graphic design, photographs, captions and cover design for the history project, which began in 2004 when Braddock District Supervisor Sharon Bulova organized the first of a series of town meetings on the topic “A Look Back at Braddock.” The book is available at the Fairfax County Government Center Maps and Publications Sales Office, (703) 324-2974.



Unknown Sands: Journeys Around the World's Most Isolated Country

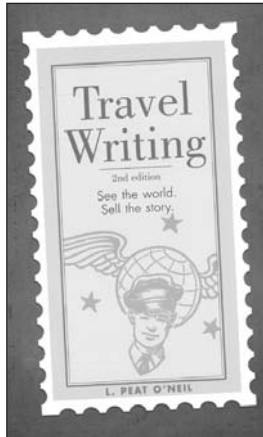
John W. Kropf, *Dusty Spark Publishing*, 2006, \$26.00, hardcover, 224 pages.

For centuries, Turkmenistan was the world's most feared territory, the fierce nomadic tribes of its vast desert wastes deemed ungovernable. Today the country is independent, sits atop one of the planet's largest natural gas reserves, and is strategically located between the hot spots of Afghanistan and Iran — but is still virtually unknown.

This book begins to bring this remote country to life in a most engaging way. The author skillfully blends his own two-year adventure there with the history of Turkmenistan to present an insightful and accessible profile of the country and its people — from the bazaars to the ancient Silk Road and Oxus River, the country's unique brand of Islam and the post-9/11 confrontation with the Taliban.

FS spouse John W. Kropf served in Turkmenistan as country director for USAID from 2000 to 2002. A government attorney specializing in international law, he had worked at the State Department for eight years prior to his wife's posting to Ashgabat. He is currently director of international privacy programs

at the Department of Homeland Security. His creative nonfiction and humor articles have appeared in the *Foreign Service Journal*, *Washington Post* and *South Florida Sun-Sentinel*.



Travel Writing

L. Peat O'Neil, *Writer's Digest Books*, 2nd edition, 2006, \$14.99, paperback, 311 pages.

In this newly revised second edition of *Travel Writing — See the World, Sell the Story*, L. Peat O'Neil, a travel writer who worked for the *Washington Post* for nearly two decades, offers a second round of invaluable advice to aspir-

ing travel writers on writing engagingly, effectively marketing articles and getting published. This time, Ms. O'Neil addresses the ways the Internet and new technology have affected both travel

and the traveling-writing world. Using examples from real travel accounts, she offers both her personal perspective and advice from a wide range of industry experts.

“O'Neil's writing exercises ... are helpful and encouraging and her instruction is presented in a clear, conversational, and interesting manner,” a *Writers Digest* review comments. “The book is travel-sized for convenience — pack it in your suitcase or carry it along on a day trip close to home ... This is the best-selling travel writing how-to book on the market.”

L. Peat O'Neil joined the Foreign Service as an office management specialist in 2004. In addition to writing this book, she is a co-author of *Making Waves — 50 Greatest Women in Radio and Television* (Andrews McMeel Publishing, 2001). After completing a two-year assignment at Embassy Mexico City, O'Neil will study Mandarin at FSI and move to Shanghai in June 2007. She currently teaches writing for UCLA Extension in the journalism program online, and writes for many periodicals, Web sites and newspapers.

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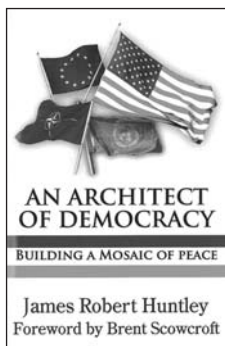
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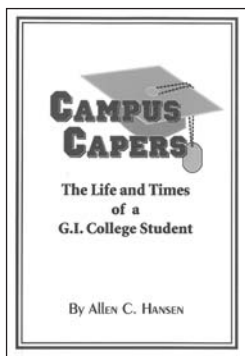
Architect of Democracy: Building a Mosaic of Peace

James Robert Huntley, *New Academia Publishing*, 2006, \$30.00, paperback, 716 pages.

“James Huntley shares with us his incomparable experience of diplomacy and the organization of civil society in a book rich with his wise insights,” says the Rt. Hon. Lord

Chris Patten, former European commissioner for external relations and governor of Hong Kong, about *Architect of Democracy: Building a Mosaic of Peace*. A Foreign Service officer with USIA during the 1950s, Mr. Huntley was involved in postwar rehabilitation in Europe. His memoir provides a detailed and insightful background to the history of the U.S. occupation of Germany, the early days of NATO, the European Union, the Council of Europe and other important international institutions that have shaped the postwar world. This sixth volume in ADST’s Memoirs and Occasional Papers Series includes a foreword by Brent Scowcroft.

Following retirement from the Foreign Service, James Huntley spurred creation of the Atlantic Institute of Paris, was a program executive at the Ford Foundation, a fellow of the Batelle Research Institute and president and CEO of the Atlantic Council of the United States. He is a founder and current vice president of the Council for a Community of Democracies. His previous writings include *Uniting the Democracies* (New York University Press, 1980) and *Pax Democratica* (Palgrave Macmillan, 2001).



Campus Capers: The Life and Times of a G.I. College Student

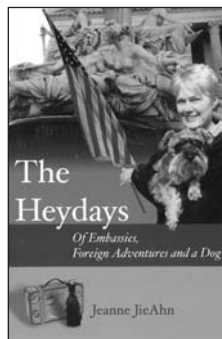
Allen C. Hansen, 2006, \$25.00, paperback, 219 pages.

Here is a memoir of what it was like to be a World War II veteran attending college after the war with the help of the G.I. Bill. Thousands of

veterans who may not have been able to afford college could now do so, and there is no doubt that the U.S.

government and Americans generally were repaid manifold by the contributions later made to society by the great increase in formally educated veterans who became doctors, lawyers, educators and, yes, Foreign Service officers as well. Those who became “G.I. students” will identify their own experiences with those of the author, and those born later will find this book to be a lively view of a different and distant world.

Allen C. Hansen retired from the Foreign Service in 1987 after 32 years with USIA. Since retirement he has written four books, including a second edition of *USIA: Public Diplomacy in the Computer Age* (Praeger, 1989). To purchase the book, contact the author at (703) 893-2756.



The Heydays of Embassies, Foreign Adventures and a Dog

Jeanne JieAhn, *Studio Publishing and Design*, 2006, \$16.00, paperback, 256 pages.

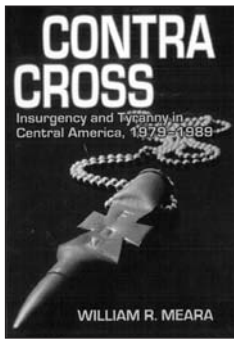
This memoir describes Foreign Service officer Jeanne JieAhn’s “16 years of foreign adventures” with her dog, Nipper, from 1985 to 2000. JieAhn began her diplomatic career as a “middle-aged, highly naïve, single mom with empty-nest syndrome.” Nipper was a “young, enchanting sage in a mini-Schnauzer disguise.” Together, this dynamic duo traveled the globe and navigated through the unique diplomatic lifestyle: foreign culture shock, the “darker side of embassy life,” homesickness and the difficulties of being uprooted and transplanted to unfamiliar societies. JieAhn writes candidly about her challenges abroad, but whether she describes being placed under house arrest in Paris, taking a Finnish-style sauna bath in Helsinki or being stalked by an old ex-Nazi in Santiago, she always maintains a lively and humorous nature.

Jeanne JieAhn served as an office management specialist at Khartoum, Bonn, Santiago, Paris, Helsinki and Brussels. She currently lives in Phoenix, where she writes and paints. This book, her first, can be ordered at www.TheHeyDays.com.

Contra Cross: Insurgency and Tyranny in Central America, 1979-1989

William R. Meara, *Naval Institute Press*, 2006, \$26.95, hardcover, 168 pages.

“A boots-in-the-mud personal memoir from the



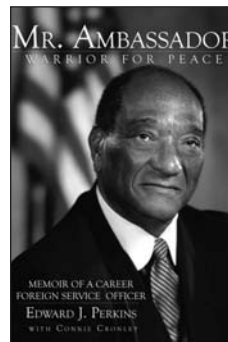
battlefields of El Salvador's Marxist Revolution and Nicaragua's Contra War, *Contra Cross* is also an eerily timely admonition of the challenges and pitfalls of today's 'transformational' efforts to democratize the world," says Dr. Timothy C. Brown of the Hoover Institution and Stanford University. "It is a warning that

victory will require both a very long-term commitment of major national resources and some serious attitude adjustments by us, beginning with our military and diplomatic corps."

William Meara takes us into the world of an American adviser struggling with cultural differences and human rights violations while trying to stay alive in murderous El Salvador in the 1980s. His experiences with insurgency and counterinsurgency allow him to provide important insights into the difficulty of such missions.

William R. Meara joined the Foreign Service in 1988, following four years as a U.S. Army officer on

active duty in Honduras, El Salvador and Panama. As a diplomat he served in Honduras (where he was one of the embassy's liaison officers to the Nicaraguan democratic resistance), Spain, the Dominican Republic, the U.K. and the Azores.



**Mr. Ambassador:
Warrior for Peace**

*Edward J. Perkins and
Connie Cronley, University of
Oklahoma Press, 2006,
\$39.95, hardcover, 576 pages.*

"Had *Mr. Ambassador: Warrior for Peace* only recalled his 24-year diplomatic career, it would be well worth reading," wrote retired FSO

and former Assistant Secretary of State for African Affairs Herman J. Cohen in his review of this memoir in the July-August *FSJ*. "But as a bonus, it gives us a total picture of his life. And what a fantastic life it has been!" Perkins' life took him from a cotton farm in segregated Louisiana to the elite ranks of the

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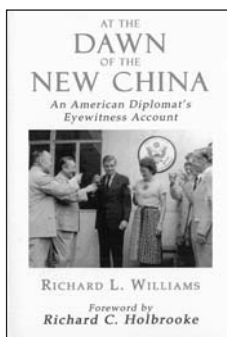


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Foreign Service, where he became the first black officer to ascend to the top position of director general.

Sent by President Ronald Reagan in 1986 to help dismantle apartheid without violence, Amb. Perkins was the first black U.S. ambassador to South Africa. His presence as a strong, articulate, unflappable black man gave hope to South Africans of color, and his advice to President-elect George H.W. Bush helped modify American policy and hasten the release of Nelson Mandela and others from prison. Amb. Perkins' three-year experience in the land of apartheid is a high point of the book.

Now retired, Amb. Perkins is the William J. Crowe Professor of Geopolitics and executive director of the International Programs Center at the University of Oklahoma.



At the Dawn of the New China: An American Diplomat's Eyewitness Account

Richard L. Williams, EastBridge, 2005, \$24.95, paperback, 196 pages.

“Only rarely do diplomats write insightful books about the societies to which they are posted. Even more infrequently is there a convergence between momentous events and an insightful observer. In *At the Dawn of the New China*, Richard L. Williams writes insightfully of historic events,” says David M. Lampton, director of China Studies and dean of the faculty of Johns Hopkins-SAIS.

Sent to Canton in 1979 as full diplomatic relations with the People's Republic of China were established, Ambassador Williams was the first American consul general in mainland China in 30 years. His Chinese wife, Jane, saw her family for the first time since her departure in 1950. Williams combines the personal and professional sides of this historic assignment in a very interesting and informative book. Richard C. Holbrooke, who as assistant secretary of State for East Asian and Pacific Affairs was intimately involved in opening diplomatic relations with the People's Republic of China, provides a foreword.

In a more-than-30-year career in the Foreign Service, Richard Williams served as the first U.S. ambassador to Mongolia, as consul general in Hong

Kong and director of Chinese affairs at the State Department during the Tiananmen crisis, in addition to opening the first American consulate in the PRC.



It's A Jungle Out There! Memoir of a Spook

Rafael Fermoselle, Trafford Publishing, 2006, \$24.50, paperback, 344 pages.

“Straight Talk about Information Superiority” is the subtitle of this passionate memoir. The author believes that the events of 9/11 could have been prevented; and that they could happen again if lessons are not learned from the intelligence failures of the late 1970s and 1980s, failures he traces to the series of actions Congress took beginning in 1976 to “rein in” the intelligence community. The book is unabashedly personal. Based on his own experience working, among other places, with the FBI, the author makes an appeal for an understanding of the critical importance of both human and signal intelligence. He explains the process of becoming a spy and how intelligence agents work.

Retired FSO Rafael Fermoselle was born in Havana and paroled into the United States as a political refugee in 1962 at the age of 16. He graduated with a Ph.D. from American University in 1972. Since 2002, he has worked as a contractor for the Department of Defense.



War Whispers in the Wind

Joann LaMorder Hickson, 2005, paperback, 28 pages.

War Whispers in the Wind is a heartfelt and wistful memoir of Joann LaMorder Hickson's life overseas as a Foreign Service spouse and mother of three sons. Written in the form of short and simple vignettes, this book uses colorful language, metaphorical descriptions and dreamlike illustrations to remind readers of the beautiful yet transitory nature of the Foreign Service life. Despite the childlike narrative form, the author introduces the realities of political strife through the pervading refrain, “war whispers in the wind.” Anyone who has experienced any of the

20 countries Hickson has resided in will surely appreciate her artistry.

Joann LaMorder Hickson was married to USAID controller Donald Hickson for 48 years. After his retirement in 1987, they continued to live abroad on contracts. Hickson wrote, illustrated and published *War Whispers in the Wind* herself after her husband passed away in 2004. The book can be ordered by contacting the author directly, either by e-mail at dhickson@gowebco.com or by phone at (352) 382-3188.

NOVELS

Days of Atonement: A Novel

Ellen Boneparth, iUniverse, Inc., 2005, \$16.95, paperback, 262 pages.

Days of Atonement tells the story of Beka Freeman — an American sociologist, single mother and daughter of a feisty widowed mother — who searches for her Jewish identity and spiritual path by traveling to Greece. Set against the historical backdrop of the Greek Holocaust, the novel follows this contemporary



Jewish woman as she unearths never-revealed stories of struggles for human survival during the Nazi occupation of Greece; discovers the secrets of members of the Solomonides family stretching from Athens to Israel to Hollywood; and finds love with a Greek man who compels her to redefine herself. Carol P. Christ, author of

She Who Changes and *Rebirth of the Goddess*, says: “Ellen Boneparth’s story of the Jews of Greece is a gift to be grateful for. Beka’s spiritual quest will appeal to readers searching for meaning in a multivalent world.”

Ellen Boneparth launched her study of the Jews of Greece while serving as a U.S. diplomat in Athens during the late 1980s. A writer of fiction and political commentary, this long-time Philhellene and part-time resident of Greece makes her home in Santa Rosa, Calif., with her husband, Jim Wilkinson, and their two Greek-immigrant cats.

Continued on page 74

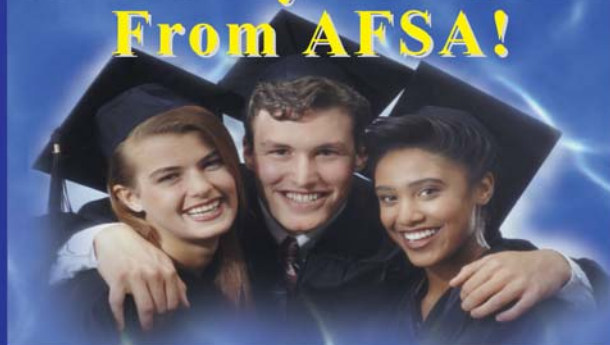
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Radio: A Post Nine-Eleven Strategy for Reaching the World's Poor

Stephen Sposato and W. A. Smith, University Press of America, Inc., 2005, \$34.00, paperback, 243 pages.

In the era of fiber optics, high-speed Internet connections, and ever-faster communications technology breakthroughs, it is useful to ponder the revolutionary potential of the humble radio. In this interesting book, development practitioners Steven Sposato and William A. Smith review the history of distance communication and the rise of information radio in the 1930s through its peak in the 1970s. They present a series of case studies examining the innovative use of radio in fostering development. In bringing to light these little-known stories, the authors make a compelling case for radio's ability to play a critical role in teaching as well as entertaining today.

Stephen Sposato has 25 years of experience as an economist with USAID, specializing in development communication issues for the last five years. William A. Smith is executive vice president of the Academy for Educational Development, a nonprofit that specializes in applying modern communication to social change and development.

A New Vision for America: Toward Human Solidarity through Global Democracy

John Richardson, Ruder Finn Press, 2006, \$25.00, paperback, 225 pages.

In a lively, personal style, John Richardson traces the evolution of his worldview from his elite prep-school days to service as a World War II paratrooper, and on to careers in the private sector and in public service. He was CEO of Radio Free Europe for eight years, and later served as assistant secretary of State for educational and cultural affairs. He has also had leadership responsibilities in a host of educational and service organizations. With a foreword by former deputy secretary of State John C. Whitehead,

this memoir is part of the ADST-DACOR Diplomats and Diplomacy Series.



Africa Reawakening: What the Continent Did with International Aid

James F. Conway, Beckham Publications Group, 2004, \$19.95, paperback, 100 pages.

For decades, development professionals have wrung their hands over the failure of political and economic development in Africa despite massive injections of assistance and the continent's own plentiful natural resources. "What is the secret formula? What are the mistakes not to be repeated? Why is the aid not working like a Marshall Plan?" These are some of the questions author Jim Conway asks. Refreshingly, in this book, he neither presents universalistic formulas nor proposes easy solutions. Instead, we have the insights from his own 15-year experience working in Africa, which "suggest successes and open a door to tomorrow," as he puts it in the introduction.

James Conway worked in Africa from 1974 to 1987 and from 1993 to 1994, through organizations such as the Church World Service and the U.N. World Food Program. Since 2003, he has worked for USAID's Office of U.S. Foreign Disaster Assistance in Angola and Sudan; he is now working in the Democratic Republic of the Congo.



U.S. National Security and Foreign Direct Investment

Edward G. Graham and David M. Marchick, Institute for International Economics, 2006, \$23.95, paperback, 224 pages.

Foreign investment in the U.S. raised alarm bells in Congress and the nation following the Dubai Ports World

Company bid to acquire American port operations and the earlier Chinese attempt to buy Unocal. This study proposes ways to reduce the risks associated with foreign direct investment without forfeiting economic gains. Brent Scowcroft, national security adviser to presidents Gerald Ford and George H.W. Bush, calls this book “a very important and comprehensive assessment of a critical issue in a post-9/11 world.” He adds: “Protecting national security and maintaining an open investment regime are twin imperatives for the United States.”

Edward M. Graham, a senior fellow at the Institute for International Economics, has been an adjunct professor at Columbia University since 2002. He is the author or co-author of numerous studies. David M. Marchick, a partner with Covington & Burling, served as deputy assistant secretary of State for transportation affairs, deputy assistant secretary for trade policy and principal deputy assistant secretary of commerce for trade development during the Clinton administration (1993-1999).



Half-Life of a Zealot

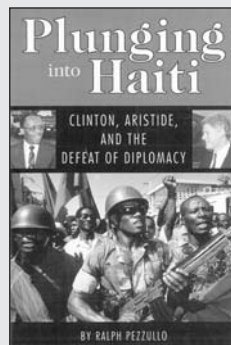
Swanee Hunt, Duke University Press, 2006, \$29.95, paperback, 360 pages.

In this absorbing memoir, H.L. Hunt's daughter recounts her journey from the wealth and ultra-conservatism of her family background to involvement in pioneering progressive causes — specifically, the

inclusion of women in peace processes around the world — and her recognition today as an expert on foreign affairs and diplomacy. She seamlessly combines discussion of her views on policy and philanthropy with explanations of how she has maintained a balance among her roles as wife, mother, ambassador, professor, philanthropist, commentator and activist.

Swanee Hunt served as ambassador to Austria from 1993 to 1997 and, among other accomplishments, played an important role in securing the

peace in the neighboring Balkan states. She is the director of the Women and Public Policy Program at Harvard University's Kennedy School of Government and president of the Hunt Alternatives Fund, a private foundation. Her previous book, *This Was Not Our War: Bosnian Women Reclaiming the Peace* (Duke University Press, 2005), won the 2005 PEN/New England Award for nonfiction.



Plunging into Haiti

Ralph Pezzullo, University Press of Mississippi, 2006, \$45.00, hardback, 312 pages.

Here is a detailed insider's account of the U.S. role in Haiti from the election of President Jean-Bertrand Aristide in 1990, to his overthrow shortly thereafter, Washington's ambivalent response, and the Clinton administration's decision in 1993 to intervene to restore Aristide. Through his father, Lawrence Pezzullo, who served as the U.S. special envoy to Haiti, the author gained access to important players on all sides. An instructive study of the strengths and weaknesses of American diplomatic and military efforts, presented with the energy of a political thriller, this book is also a contemporary history of Haiti. It is part of ADST's Diplomats and Diplomacy series.

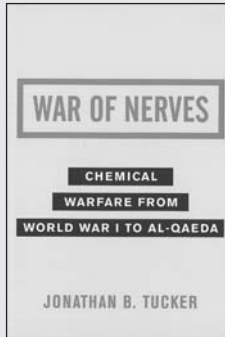
Ralph Pezzullo is an award-winning playwright, screenwriter, novelist, poet and journalist. He is the author of *Jawbreaker: The Attack on Bin Laden and Al-Qaeda* (Crown Publishers, 2005) and *At the Fall of Somoza* (University of Pittsburgh Press, 1994). His articles have been published in the *Wall Street Journal*, *Newsweek* and other national media.

War of Nerves: Chemical Warfare from World War I to al-Qaeda

Jonathan B. Tucker, Pantheon Books, 2006, \$30.00, hardcover, 496 pages.

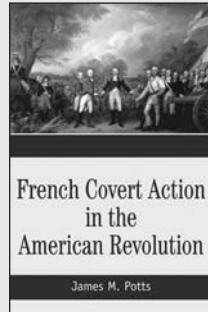
Statesmen, generals and diplomats have long debated the military utility and morality of chemical

OF RELATED INTEREST



warfare. Today, despite a treaty banning chemical arms that some 175 countries have signed, the chemical arms race is alive and well. This book offers an insightful narrative history of chemical warfare from World War I to the present — including such events at the accidental discovery of the first nerve agent, Tabun, in 1936 in Hitler's Germany and U.S. and British plans to mass-produce the far more toxic agent, Sarin. The book makes the threat of this constituent of WMD much more palpable.

Jonathan B. Tucker, a senior fellow at the Monterey Institute's Center for Nonproliferation Studies, was previously an arms control fellow at the Department of State, an international security analyst at the U.S. Congress' Office of Technology Assessment, and a specialist in chemical and biological weapons policy at the U.S. Arms Control and Disarmament Agency.

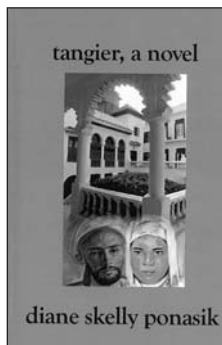


French Covert Action in the American Revolution
James M. Potts, iUniverse, 2005, \$17.95, paperback, 336 pages.

A veteran U.S. intelligence officer recounts the story of France's covert support for the American Revolution prior to 1778, when Paris allied openly with the Americans against Britain. This aid included the provision of vital arms and ammunition to George Washington's army and subsidies to the Continental Congress, among other things. The author brings the colorful leading characters in the drama to life, and also describes the highly effective British counterespionage operations.

James Potts served as an intelligence officer for over 30 years, heading stations in Western Europe, and was twice awarded the Distinguished Intelligence Medal. His book is the fifth volume in ADST's Memoirs and Occasional Papers Series.

Continued from page 71



Tangier, A Novel
Diane Skelly Ponasik, BookSurge Publishing, 2006, \$17.99, paperback, 410 pages.

Set in Tangier, where Jews, Christians and Muslims mingled freely during the late-19th and early-20th centuries, this novel tells the story of Lili, a Moroccan girl raised by the American consul, who is convinced her future lies in becoming a Western woman; Lili's stepbrother, Ted, an American educated in Moroccan palaces who becomes a respected journalist reporting on Moroccan issues; and Ted's Jewish wife, Meriam. Under conditions of mounting political unrest and civil war, as a young sultan tries to fend off European powers interested in annexing Morocco and bandits and pretenders threaten his throne, each of the characters faces a crisis of identity and allegiance.

During her 27-year career as an FSO with USAID, Diane Skelly Ponasik served in the Yemen Arab Republic, Mali, Egypt, Haiti and Macedonia. She was a Peace Corps Volunteer in Morocco in the 1960s, and then spent 10 years on and off there. She is now retired and lives with her husband in Washington, D.C.



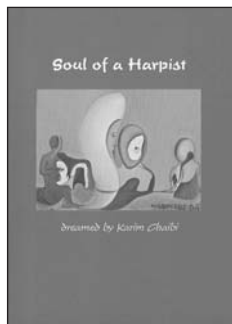
No More Boss Man: A Novel
Frank P. Catanoso, iUniverse, Inc., 2006, \$15.95, paperback, 222 pages.

In April 1980, 13 enlisted men, along with Samuel Doe, an obscure 28-year-old army sergeant, launched one of the bloodiest coups in the history of Africa by staging a military takeover of Liberia and disemboweling Liberian President Albert Blamo. Doe, like most military dictators, started with good intentions but, after surrounding himself with a cadre of yes-men

and fellow tribesmen, lost sight of his objectives to fight corruption and help the poor.

No More Boss Man follows this turbulent era in African history with a fictional, behind-the-scenes look at the key players in the coup. Frank Catanoso, public affairs officer in Monrovia at the time and the first American to have an audience with Sergeant Samuel K. Doe, provides a vivid account of a military takeover of a corrupt Third World government and a critical examination of U.S. foreign policy in Africa.

Frank Catanoso was an FSO with the U.S. Information Agency. He served in Addis Ababa, Monrovia, Calcutta, Milan and Trinidad & Tobago.



**Soul of a Harpist:
DREAMED BY KARIM CHAIBI**

*Karim Chaibi, Petrus, 2005,
£7.00, hardcover, 190 pages.*

Soul of a Harpist is a book of short stories and original paintings told in the Tunisian storytelling tradition. Written from the perspective of an Arab-American, these imaginative tales discuss topics related to intercultural understanding, identity, philosophy and surrealism, while incorporating North African cultural references, from pre-Islamic gods to Islamic traditions to images from Christianity. Karim Chaibi's seamless shifts among Arabic, French and English make this book "at once surreal and charmed, peopled by talking shadows, melting bodies and drunken sculptors."

A storyteller and painter, Karim Chaibi was born in Tunis. He is currently in Washington with his wife, FSO Lora Berg, where they are working together on a project of Arab-Jewish understanding for the Una Chapman Cox Foundation. The couple and their three children have also lived and worked in Tunisia, Morocco, Saudi Arabia and Slovakia. To order the book, go to www.arabsurreal.com.

China Gate: An International Thriller

*Fritz Galt, Pagefree Publishing, 2005, \$13.95,
paperback, 380 pages.*

This new novel by acclaimed thriller writer Fritz Galt is "a tale of modern-day pirates, political blackmail, vast sums of money at stake, and terrorists on the loose." Protagonist Raymond O. Flowers gets involved in a political scandal in Washington and, as



spy thrillers boom!"

Novelist Fritz Galt is a Foreign Service spouse who has lived in Cuba, Switzerland, Yugoslavia, Taiwan, India and China. He has published essays on travel and expatriate and diplomatic life in numerous publications, and is co-founder of *The SUN: The Spouses' Underground Newsletter* and *Talesmag.com: Tales from a Small Planet*. For an in-depth look at his work, visit his personal Web site at www.sigmapbooks.com.

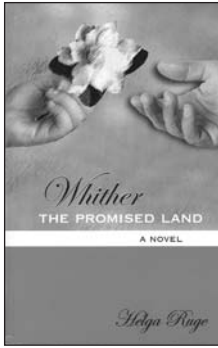


The Banquet Bug: A Novel

*Geling Yan, Hyperion East,
2006, \$24.95, hardcover,
288 pages.*

Geling Yan's novel chronicles the adventures of Dan Dong, an unemployed factory worker who poses as a journalist to eat gourmet meals for free at state-sponsored banquets. At first, Dan enjoys exquisite meals at the drop of a fake business card, but when he becomes privy to a scandal and is arrested during a crackdown on "banquet bugs," the story shifts into a twisted, intrigue-laden plot. Will Dan be able to uncover the corruption without revealing his true identity? *Publishers' Weekly* called Yan's "multifaceted mistaken-identity farce" a clever and "pointed critique of capitalism's rise in her native China."

A Foreign Service spouse, Geling Yan was born in Shanghai and began writing in the late 1970s as a journalist. Her first novel was published in China in 1985. Following the Tiananmen Square massacre, she left China for the United States. Since then she has written many short stories, including one for the award-winning *Xiu Ciu: The Sent-Down Girl*. This is her first work in English. She lives in San Francisco and Africa.



Whither the Promised Land

Helga Ruge, Clay and Marshall Publishing Company, 2005, \$11.95, paperback, 307 pages.

In this romantic novel, the torrid love affair between a beautiful Sicilian immigrant and an American diplomat at the height of the Cold War draws readers into an exhilarating world of diplomatic intri-

gues, shocking cultural experiences and larger-than-life characters with a passion for adventure.

The story is set in 1960 and 1961. It begins when Sicilian native Octavia Angelini emigrates to America to reunite with her lover, U.S. vice consul Jeff Carpenter. Once in the Promised Land, however, their love is challenged by the strict State Department rules regarding marrying non-U.S. citizens and Jeff's dedication to his government career. Drawing from her own experiences as a foreign-born diplomatic spouse, Helga Ruge fashions a beautifully crafted tale of "passion, jealousy, conviction, honesty, joy and sadness, and so many of the eternal variables of human relationships." Book columnist Dan Barnett of the *Chico-Enterprise Record* notes, "It is clear Ruge had immense fun with this confection and readers can look forward to future work as she blossoms as a novelist."

Helga Ruge was born in Germany and came to America with her FSO husband in 1950. Together with their two children, they have lived in Casablanca, London, Cardiff, Munich, Guatemala City and Washington, D.C. After her husband's retirement in 1969, they settled in California, where she taught German at California State University. Her career as a writer began with the publication of her memoir, *Flashbacks of a Diplomat's Wife* (Marshall Publishing Company, 2002).

Moscow at Dawn

Will Sutter, PublishAmerica, 2005, \$19.95, paperback, 236 pages.

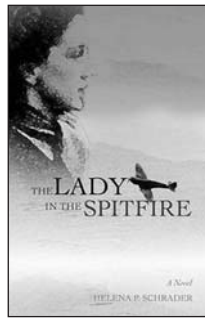
Dick McCarthy, star journalist of Philadelphia's *Omnium* newspaper, returns to Moscow to cover the rapid-fire developments in a newly revived round of arms control negotiations just as the glasnost era begins. McCarthy and his partner, Frank Trudeau, get involved with a group of artists who are testing emerging political reforms, and Trudeau lands in a Soviet



prison. Both the Soviet government, which is using Frank's arrest to force the media to accept restraint, and the U.S. embassy, which is reluctant to disturb improving relations between the U.S. and USSR, choose to ignore the situation. Will McCarthy be able to foil both governments and spring Trudeau with nothing but jour-

nalistic weapons at his disposal?

Will Sutter is a retired Foreign Service officer. Over a 21-year career with USIA, he was posted to Bangkok, Moscow, Vientiane, Kinshasa and Nouakchott. Following retirement Mr. Sutter lived in Rome and Vienna, where he began writing. He is the author of *Star Over Chingai* (PublishAmerica, 2004), and currently lives in Frederick, Md.



The Lady in the Spitfire: A Novel

Helena P. Schrader, iUniverse, 2006, \$19.95, paperback, 322 pages.

Returning from his first combat mission over Germany during World War II with a damaged B-17 and a wounded tail gunner, Lt. Jay Bronowsky of the U.S. Eighth Air Force is forced to divert due to weather. In heavy clouds he nearly collides with an RAF bomber that is piloted — he is shocked to learn after landing — by a woman. He soon finds himself fascinated by the attractive and highly professional pilot.

Emily is a sharp contrast to his American fiancée, who seems to have no understanding for what he is going through. Emily has not yet recovered from the loss of her RAF pilot husband, Robin, who has been reported missing, but is gradually drawn into a relationship with Jay, whom she discovers she likes very much.

In this work of fiction, Helena Schrader imagines more fully the life experiences of the intriguing women whose history she has recorded in *Sisters In Arms: British & American Women Pilots* during World War II, also published this year (see p. 64).

Ms. Schrader is a historian and writer. She is also an active-duty FSO. She joined the Service in 2005 and is currently posted in Norway. ■



Director, Center for International and Regional Studies Georgetown University School of Foreign Service in Qatar

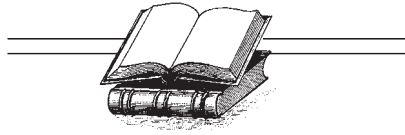
Georgetown University invites applications for the position of Director of the Center for International and Regional Studies, which is located within the Georgetown University School of Foreign Service in Qatar (www.georgetown.edu/sfs/qatar). The ideal candidate will have vision, commitment and the ability to conceive and realize a world-class program of research, scholarship, and outreach on the major issues of international affairs, especially as they bear on the United States and the Middle East.

Requirements include administrative experience in the fields of higher education and/or policy related to international affairs, exceptional communication skills and the ability to supervise and motivate others. The successful candidate will have extensive experience in the field of international affairs in the university, government, media, or public policy setting. An advanced degree is preferred. The incumbent will also teach in the undergraduate (and later graduate) program of the SFS-Q. The compensation package is highly competitive and includes generous allowances and benefits.

The School of Foreign Service in Qatar (SFS-Q), located in Education City in Doha, Qatar, is a branch of the Edmund A. Walsh School of Foreign Service and offers a four-year undergraduate curriculum leading to the Bachelor of Science in Foreign Service (BSFS) degree. The Center for International and Regional Studies, located within the SFS-Q, supports scholarly research and public affairs programming on international affairs, with an emphasis on the study of the United States and the Middle East. The Center Director will join a community of scholars in Education City who include members of the branch campuses of Georgetown, Carnegie Mellon, Cornell, Texas A&M, and Virginia Commonwealth Universities and the Rand Corporation.

Applications, including a letter of application and curriculum vitae, are now being accepted and will be considered beginning on December 15. Candidates may be asked for references following initial discussions. Georgetown University is an equal opportunity-affirmative action employer.

**Applications should be sent to: Chair, CIRS Search Committee
c/o Peter Dunkley Associate Dean for Faculty Affairs
Edmund A. Walsh School of Foreign Service
Intercultural Center, Room 301
Georgetown University Washington, D.C. 20057**



BOOKS

Toward a World Trade Organization

Fair Trade for All

Joseph Stiglitz and Andrew Charlton, Oxford University Press, 2006, \$30, hardcover, 315 pages.

REVIEWED BY JAMES PATTERSON

Concerned about a longstanding imbalance between developed and developing countries in trade negotiations, Nobel Prize-winning economist Joseph Stiglitz and Andrew Charlton, a research officer at the London School of Economics, have written *Fair Trade for All* to make the case that “trade policies can be designed in developed and developing countries with a view to integrating developing countries into the world trading system.”

Both authors are critics of the Washington Consensus, a set of market liberalization methods some policymakers see as vital to economic growth in developing countries. The authors do not reject the concept out of hand, but do argue that liberalization must be carefully managed. As evidence, they cite the Mexican experience under the North American Free Trade Agreement.

In what is perhaps the book’s most controversial line, Stiglitz and Charlton assert that “NAFTA is not really a free trade agreement.” As they document, since NAFTA was signed in 1993, U.S. farm subsidies have grown, not declined. As a result, Mexican imports of subsidized farm products

Stiglitz and Charlton assert that “NAFTA is not really a free trade agreement.”



have plunged their rural sector into extreme poverty. Clearly, trade liberalization hasn’t worked to our southern neighbor’s benefit.

Paradoxically, however, the NAFTA experience also provides the authors with support for their argument that trade liberalization can work if it is carefully managed. Toward that end, they support a “Development Round” of global negotiations under the auspices of the World Trade Organization that, in their view, would do a far better job of protecting the economic interests of developing countries than have previous multilateral trade agreements.

Under previous accords, developing countries have not realized the benefits that have accrued to developed countries. Some analysts argue this inequity is calculated, even immoral, while others attribute it to other factors. Stiglitz and Charlton strongly advocate trade as a development tool. However it is judged, there has been an increased worldwide sense of responsibility for the economic plight of developing countries, particularly since the riots at the 1999 WTO meetings in Seattle.

Policymakers in the U.S. and Europe have gradually moved to seek trade agreements that provide more benefits to developing countries.

The authors analyze the principles that would underlie a development round of trade negotiations. Their framework concentrates on producing “development-friendly” agreements that incorporate such unquantifiable elements as equity and social justice. This approach would also afford developing countries special treatment in negotiations. As they point out, once developed countries are open to imports, the increased flow of trade from developing countries, primarily in textiles and farm goods, brings them economic and social benefits.

Economics is often called the “dismal science,” in part because individuals and countries with a lack of resources have such limited choices. Recognizing this power differential, developed countries have traditionally protected their industries with their own “special treatment” at the expense of developing countries. This approach may change over time; but once applied, protectionist measures become difficult to remove.

The authors have selected a timely and important subject, recognizing that the general public needs to know more about government trade agreements. Unfortunately, their book is as dry and complex as an economics journal. This is doubly disappointing because it is possible to write best-selling books on trade; in fact, Stiglitz himself did so with his 2002 work, *Globali-*



zation and Its Discontents, a far easier book to digest.

That said, *Fair Trade for All* will appeal to serious readers, and deserves a wide audience.

James Patterson is a former FSO whose writing and reviews have appeared in the Foreign Service Journal, Washington Post and The Christian Science Monitor.

The Sunni Side of the Street

Iraq Ablaze: Inside the Insurgency

Zaki Chehab, I.B.Taurus & Co. Ltd., 2006, \$34.31, paperback, 220 pages.

REVIEWED BY
GEORGE B. LAMBRAKIS

The main contribution *Iraq Ablaze: Inside the Insurgency* makes, for the specialist as well as the general reader, lies in its focus on the Sunni insurgency and its explanation of how American missteps and local suspicions have turned so many Iraqis against coalition forces. Indeed, the title's reference to "insurgency" by itself suggests that the opposition is broader than just foreign fighters and Baathist diehards. While the narrative centers on Sunnis, it details the political costs of Washington's failure to provide effective security and reconstruction immediately after the fall of Saddam Hussein.

A Palestinian journalist who grew up in a Lebanese refugee camp, Zaki Chehab appears to have established excellent contacts in Iraq (his first trip there was in 1978) and elsewhere in the region. This has led to his gaining the confidence of the types of people that Western journalists would never

***Chehab relays a
common Iraqi belief that
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occupiers.***

dare approach, even if the opportunity were offered them — especially now that so many journalists have become targets of the insurgency.

The book has useful chapters on foreign fighters, the Shia religious leadership and the Palestinian connection, and offers a tour d'horizon of the regional powers most interested in Iraq (Saudi Arabia, Syria, Jordan, Kuwait and Turkey).

Chehab clearly enjoys insider accounts of secret manipulations, as when he claims a Baghdad-based human rights activist, Safieh Al-Suhail, hosted three different meetings between Iraqi politicians Ahmed Chalabi and Iyad Allawi at a time when the press was portraying them as not on speaking terms. He reports that during those talks, the two agreed "to postpone their fight for another day" and allow the formation of a coalition government "using Prime Minister Al-Jaafari as a figurehead."

Saddam Hussein is, of course, a pivotal figure in the narrative. In one meeting, he reportedly impressed a delegation of visiting Palestinians with a promise, made while standing before a huge regional map, to free all Arabs

from oppression. Toward that end, he provided Iraqis to participate in actions against Israel by the various rejectionist Palestinian terrorist groups that opposed Fatah. Chehab makes no bones about the dictator's ruthlessness, however. He says Saddam ordered the assassination of Abu Nidal when that terrorist leader appeared in Baghdad as an uninvited guest.

Chehab castigates the U.S. for sins such as Abu Ghraib. He also relays a common Iraqi belief that the Americans came to Iraq primarily for its oil and are sure to remain there indefinitely as occupiers. He goes so far as to list four military bases that the United States plans to hold onto. And he reports that even Ayatollah al-Sistani, who has been relatively cooperative to date, is now pushing for the Americans to leave.

Chehab is clearly not a stickler for details, misidentifying Donald Rumsfeld as Secretary of State and Douglas Feith as U.S. national security adviser. He also shares a Middle Eastern tendency for exaggeration and emphatic misstatement, asserting that Arab Sunnis make up 35 percent of the Iraqi population — nearly double the true proportion.

Nor should the reader look to him for a balanced weighing of pros and cons in Iraq (though a partisan attitude is understandable as a way for Chehab to protect his privileged entree to anti-Western sources). Yet his central message is quite reasonable — one might even say indisputable: "As history shows, a military can never defeat a guerrilla force without the support of the indigenous people."

A retired FSO, George Lambrakis spent over half of his 31-year career working in or on the Middle East. He now heads the international relations and diplomacy program at Schiller International University in London.

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Voyages of Self-Discovery

So Far and Yet So Near: Stories of Americans Abroad

Various authors, American Citizens Abroad, 2005, \$15.95, paperback, 223 pages.

REVIEWED BY LISA CONNER

T.S. Eliot wrote, “The end of all our exploring will be to arrive where we started and know that place for the first time.” While self-discovery is not often cited as a reason for living abroad, it frequently is a by-product.

So Far and Yet So Near: Stories of Americans Abroad is a compendium of personal stories from a diverse group of overseas Americans, including Peace Corps Volunteers, students and diplomats. The collection was compiled by American Citizens Abroad, a nonprofit, nonpartisan, nongovernmental association dedicated to serving and defending the interests of individual U.S. citizens living all over the world. Headquartered in Geneva, ACA welcomes new members, including Foreign Service members; visit its Web site, www.aca.ch, for more information.

This collection allows readers to share in the triumphs, tragedies and personal insights of their expatriate compatriots. Their stories span the gauntlet from hilarious to sad; some will undoubtedly provoke a sense of déjà vu for many Foreign Service folks.

True, many FSOs and other people who’ve lived abroad have their own stories of cross-cultural misunderstandings, life-threatening experiences and aha! moments, so they may not think strangers’ stories would hold much interest.

But this book transcends the stan-

dard collection of funny/exotic/weird stories in exotic settings. It distills the authors’ experiences and offers them up for scrutiny in a thought-provoking, meaningful and relevant way. Organized thematically, it touches on nationalism, tolerance, guilt, fairness and change. Synergy is at work — perhaps due to the diversity of authorship — with the result that the whole is far more than the sum of its parts.

In “Living History,” a survivor of the December 2004 Asian tsunami retells his chilling experience in a way that will forever change how readers view an ocean wave. A Peace Corps Volunteer in Sierra Leone contracted tumba fly, giardia, malaria, amoebic dysentery, ascariis and unciniara — all during her first four months. This onslaught, she recounts in “The Lessons of Culture Shock,” resulted in her “lower intestinal tract becoming a 24-hour roadside motel with the comings and goings of all these critters.”

Another contributor recalls being on the scene for a military coup in Peru, while a Foreign Service spouse recalls tending her rose garden in Tehran in the early 1970s.

Anyone who has been overseas will understand and enjoy these stories. But for “official” overseas Americans, who operate under an embassy or consulate infrastructure with social support mechanisms, *So Far and Yet So Near* opens up a much wider window onto the lives of those who don’t benefit from these luxuries we so often take for granted. The book will also prompt many readers to recall how we got the “bug” to live overseas ourselves. One warning, though: Reading it may cause nostalgia for the simple days when our cars weren’t searched for bombs before being allowed to proceed to work! ■

Lisa Conner, an FSO since 1991, is a consular officer in Ulaanbaatar.

AFSA NEWS

American Foreign Service Association • November 2006



CALL FOR NOMINATIONS FOR THE 2007 AFSA GOVERNING BOARD

Want to represent your colleagues and make sure the voice of the Foreign Service is heard by management, on the Hill and around the country? If you do, please consider running for a position on the 2007-2009 AFSA Governing Board.

This election call, issued in accordance with Article VII (2)(a) of the AFSA bylaws, constitutes a formal notice to all AFSA members of the opportunity to participate in the nomination and election of a new Governing Board.

Take a look at the positions available and consider putting your name forward or nominating a colleague. This election is for a board that will take office July 15, 2007, and serve for two years. We are beginning this process at this early date because of the time needed for overseas ballots and in order to complete the process by March 2007 for active-duty members who may need to transfer or bid on other jobs. Below are instructions on how to be nominated and run for the 2007-2009 AFSA Governing Board.

Important Dates in 2007

Feb. 1 — Nominations deadline

March 26 — Ballots and candidate statements mailed

June 1 — Ballots counted

July 15 — New board takes office

Positions to be Filled

The AFSA bylaws require that all Governing Board members shall be resident in the Washington, D.C., area within 60 days of taking office and shall remain resident there throughout their term in office. The officer positions to be filled in this election are:

- President**
- Vice President for State**
- Vice President for USAID**
- Vice President for FCS**
- Vice President for FAS**
- Vice President for Retirees**
- Secretary**
- Treasurer**

The president and the State, USAID and FAS vice presidents are full-time positions detailed to AFSA. The FCS vice president is detailed 50 percent of his or her time to AFSA. These employees are assigned over-complement and are eligible for time-in-class extensions.

Article V (4)(b) of the AFSA bylaws authorizes a constituency vice president for each constituency with a minimum of 100 members and one constituency representative position for every 1,000 members or fraction thereof. Representatives are re-

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Dissent is the highest form of patriotism.

— Thomas Jefferson

AFSA Constructive Dissent Awards

Do you know anyone in the Foreign Service who deserves to be recognized for constructive dissent? Let AFSA know. Look for the official call for nominations for the AFSA Constructive Dissent Awards in the next issue of *AFSA News* and on our Web site at www.afsa.org/awards/index.cfm.

quired to attend monthly luncheon board meetings and may volunteer to serve on additional committees.

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

- State Department** (eight positions)
- USAID** (one position)
- FCS** (one position)
- FAS** (one position)
- IBB** (one position)
- Retirees** (four positions)

Continued on page 88



AFSA NEWS BRIEFS



Congress Breaks for Recess: Much Work Remains

Late on Sept. 29, Congress went on recess, allowing members to focus their full attention and energies on the upcoming November elections. Many items remain unresolved, including critical decisions related to funding of key foreign and humanitarian assistance programs. Of particular interest to AFSA is pending legislation that would close the locality pay gap.

Addressing the locality-pay inequity has been a priority for AFSA for this session of Congress. The waning days of this session had AFSA playing an aggressive but largely behind-the-scenes role engaging key decisionmakers. In separate letters to Senate Foreign Relations Committee Chairman Richard Lugar, R-Ind., and Ranking Foreign Relations Committee Democrat Senator Joseph Biden, D-Del., AFSA President Tony

Holmes wrote: "With the increasing difficulty of service overseas and a continuing threat against American officials abroad, this measure (bill) may be the single most important morale booster that Congress could provide at this time."

While significant progress was made in brokering a final agreement, Congress unfortunately missed a golden opportunity to at last tackle the pay-equity problem. Despite the six-week recess and an election that may completely shift power in Congress, AFSA remains cautiously hopeful that a solution can be achieved in the "lame-duck" session prior to official completion of the 109th Congress. The 109th will reconvene for final votes on the evening of Nov. 13. AFSA will continue to hold congressional feet to the fire.

Combined Federal Campaign Kickoff: Choose #2422 and #2460

It's that time of year again, time to consider which worthy organizations you want to support through your CFC donation. Please consider designating #2422 and #2460 on your CFC pledge card to support AFSA.

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

Visit www.afsa.org or call (202) 944-5504 for more information. State Department employees (active-duty or retired) can obtain a CFC pledge form from and return it to Shelly Kornegay in the Office of Employee Relations, reachable at (202) 261-8166 or kornegaysv@state.gov.

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Gilbert Sheinbaum

Punishing “Fraternization”

The Cold War ended two decades ago, yet the Department of State continues to carry on the books and selectively enforce obsolete regulations that require employees to report personal contacts with citizens of “communist” countries, as well as “romantically or sexually intimate” relationships with any foreign national as long as they are deemed to be “continuing.” These rules date back to an era when the Soviet Union and its Warsaw Pact satellites posed the biggest threat to the United States in the world, and when their intelligence services used “honey traps” to lure unsuspecting Western diplomats into relationships that could be exploited to gain access to U.S. classified information. Though the department revised the regulations for diplomatic security (12 FAM) more than 10 years ago to do away with non-fraternization and pledged to revise other similar regulations (in 3 FAM) accordingly, it never did so.

Failure to report these contacts was always considered a serious breach of security that carried severe consequences for members of the Foreign Service. Back in the Cold War days, employees would lose their security clearances, undergo extensive investigations and occasionally be forced out of the Service. It may surprise many to learn that some of this is still happening today.

Despite the dramatic changes that have occurred in the world — the demise of the Soviet Union, the end of the international communist threat and the rise of new dangers from stateless terrorism and Islamic radicalism — key portions of the department’s foreign contact-reporting policy have remained frozen in the past. The Foreign Affairs Manual states that employees must “... report any relationship (not only continuing relationships) with a national of a communist-governed/allied country.” The 3 FAM also states that a reportable relationship with a national of a communist country will “preclude continued security clearance for ... assignment to sensitive duties/posts which relate to the nationality of the ... partner in a relationship.”

Notwithstanding the reality that Foreign Service members spend much of their careers living and working overseas, developing a wide range of personal and professional relationships with hundreds of citizens of other countries, the regulations still impose complex and Byzantine contact-reporting obligations. Anyone who wants a compelling example of this muddle should just sit down and try to make sense of all the provisions of 3 FAM 4100.

So what do these regulations mean for the Foreign Service employee who has a one-night “fling” with someone in Hanoi, a weekly tennis game with a professional colleague in Beijing, an intimate nightly cyberchat with someone in Havana, or even Paris? Do employees really have to report “any relationship,” no matter how fleeting, with a national from a “communist”

country? At what point does “sporadic” contact become a “continuing relationship” anyway? Who defines “romantic or sexual intimacy”? The reality is that — not surprisingly — casual social, romantic or sexual encounters with foreigners are fairly common among U.S. government employees who spend 10 or 20 years living overseas. Anyone who looks at the number of FS employees with foreign-born spouses knows how true this is.

Moreover, it is our job to cultivate personal and professional relationships with citizens of the countries where we serve. This is how diplomats can best influence developments in other parts of the world, get the U.S. message out and represent our nation abroad.

Today there are hundreds of loyal Foreign Service members who have inadvertently run afoul of these archaic and sometimes contradictory regulations. The department has penalized employees, sometimes in capricious and arbitrary ways, for perceived violations of these rules. Even though the department has not always enforced the current requirement mandating the reporting of all relationships with nationals from communist countries, many employees have nonetheless sustained lasting damage to their otherwise productive and distinguished careers for failing to report such relationships. Numerous employees have been curtailed from post. Others have had their security clearances suspended or proposed for revocation for neglecting to report a relationship that they honestly did not believe to be reportable under the FAM. These suspensions can often last months or years, effectively preventing the employee from working in all but a few jobs and from being tenured or promoted.

The current rules were designed to accompany the draconian ban on “fraternization” with communist-bloc nationals back in the bad days of the Cold War and are no longer relevant to the threat confronting the United States today. There is nothing, for example, that would currently require a Foreign Service member to report a “non-continuing” romantic or sexual relationship with an Iranian or Syrian citizen, with a member of Hamas or Hezbollah, or with Osama bin Laden himself!

AFSA believes this is an urgent problem, and we have offered to work with the department to produce a new, more coherent set of foreign contact reporting requirements that focus on today’s threats to the United States and protect our members from the profoundly unfair consequences that many have faced. We should not punish our diplomats for doing what they are supposed to do: “fraternize” with people from other countries. □



Where's Service for the FCS?

As I write this in mid-September, we are on the cusp of possible, but not assured, major changes both for the Foreign Service as a whole and for the Commercial Service in particular. The Foreign Service Modernization Bill has just been introduced in Congress, and we believe it has at least a 50-50 chance of approval. AFSA supports the bill, because it meets our number-one objective of getting overseas comparability pay (also known as locality pay) for FS-1s and below.

Comparability pay was implemented for the Senior Foreign Service in 2004, and is now embedded in base pay regardless of domestic or overseas assignments. The linkage of locality pay to pay for performance will undoubtedly cause major changes in the Foreign Service appraisal and board review systems, despite the fact that we, as a Service, already incorporate the principle of pay for performance in human resources management — certainly more than do our Civil Service colleagues at GS-15 and below.

Aside from comparability pay, what else have your vice president and representative been working on during their first year in office? I try to post regular updates on the AFSA Web site at www.afsa.org/fcs, though I cannot go too far into details if the issues are still under negotiation with management. But I offer the following update on key activities:

- Management took about 11 months to respond formally to our fall 2005 midterm proposals (outlined on the AFSA Web site), and it now appears that we will reach agreement on our time-in-class proposals for the AFSA vice president and representative and, more importantly, for our members. Stay tuned!
- Management has not warmly embraced our spring 2006 midterm proposals (also outlined on the Web site) and, indeed, initially claimed “non-negotiability” for the most important proposal, which concerned revisions in pay-for-performance for seniors. There was some hope after a recent meeting that at least informal changes in a positive direction may be made. We have certainly laid down a marker concerning our deep interest in this subject for non-seniors as well, though management has not yet given us even a hint about the allegedly-pending “balanced scorecard.”
- Management has extended the deadline for the fall 2006 proposals to Sept. 30. We hope to table a couple of proposals, even though there has been little input from members.

FCS Representative Will Center and I have attempted to follow a middle ground, seeking improvements in FCS and a cooperative relationship with management insofar as possible, both in terms of AFSA member benefits and the professionalism of the Service. While some progress may yet be made, after one year in office our glasses are considerably less rosy due to the lack of responsiveness by management overall and the slowness of the process. The planned quarterly meetings with the director general are a figment of the imagination.

The Senior Service again had to wait, this time until July 2006, for the Commerce Secretary to approve a pay-for-performance system for the period ending May 31, 2005! Indeed, while FCS rightfully prides itself on customer service to external customers — especially to our business clients — management can take little pride in the non-service it provides to internal customers, to its recognized bargaining unit — AFSA — and to its members, the Foreign Commercial Service officer corps. □



AFSA NEWS BRIEFS

USAID AFSA VP Enters Blogosphere

In an effort to increase USAID members' awareness of and involvement in the work AFSA does, AFSA USAID VP Francisco Zamora has “dipped his toes” into the turbulent waters of blogging. He saw the need for a blog while reading the many comments he got related to the Lafayette Federal Credit Union plans to become a commercial bank. For the uninitiated, a blog is a “Web log” — in effect, an electronic journal on the Internet. A blog can give members a forum to provide information and input, as well as to express concerns on issues that affect the whole USAID FS community.

Zamora intends to keep members updated on AFSA's day-to-day efforts and to solicit comments. He will update the blog regularly, and readers can comment on each entry. This feature will act as a supplement to the regular AFSA net messages.

Find the USAID VP blog at www.afsa.org/usaid. Click on the (unmistakable) blog link. If you want to leave a comment (which you can do under your own name or anonymously), simply click on the “comment” link at the end of each posting. Zamora only asks that you please keep it civil. Any comments that include derogatory or inflammatory statements will be deleted. Zamora will respond to comments when appropriate, and will incorporate member views into the work of USAID/AFSA.

AFSA is using a commercial host for the blog, and thus takes no responsibility for any links or advertising overseen by it. It is our hope that this new enterprise will increase the transparency of AFSA's work and, as an added bonus, the often murky procedures of the agency. Send VP Zamora an e-mail (fzamora@usaid.gov) and let him know if you like (or don't like) the blog.

AFSA on the Hill

One of the insights I have gained from serving on the AFSA Board is how much Congress dominates the lives of retirees. Your annuity, benefits, cost of living and reputation are in the gentle hands of Congress. Another insight I've gained is that many AFSA members are not aware of the association's efforts and successes on their behalf on Capitol Hill.

We recently had to bid a sad farewell to Legislative Affairs Director Ken Nakamura, who leaves AFSA after years of outstanding service to the organization and to the Foreign Service. (He has taken a position at the Congressional Research Service.) I would like to share with you Retiree Representative Gil Sheinbaum's notes from the farewell ceremony.

"On Sept. 14, the AFSA Governing Board, four former AFSA presidents, AFSA staff, the Department of State's director general and other guests paid tribute to Ken Nakamura who, for over 11 years, was AFSA's point person on Capitol Hill."

Now don't turn us off here — these notes are about why active-duty FS employees and retirees should become and remain AFSA members! "The evening was about how a single member of the AFSA staff — Ken Nakamura — the first full-time legislative affairs staff member for AFSA, made the most of his job by getting to know intimately how Congress functions and, in turn, how to cultivate key members of Congress. He knew how to win their assistance and support for legislation important to the Foreign Service, whether it involved funding, security of FS personnel, training, improving living and working conditions abroad or helping when we face retirement from the Service. Basically, the indefatigable Ken always worked to spread the word to our representatives on the Hill that our personnel are smart, well-motivated to work for our country and absolutely loyal, and that the Foreign Service itself is a unique and highly qualified organization indispensable in the conduct of the foreign affairs of our country.

"One former senior official at Ken's farewell lamented that it is too bad the State Department's Bureau of Legislative Affairs was not up to the same standard as AFSA's efforts on the Hill. [In all fairness, the bureau has many different responsibilities, and everyone knows that the Pentagon's contingent on Capitol Hill, by comparison, is far more extensive, can offer more incentives and is very well-funded.] To active-duty members of the Foreign Service, and retirees as well, our bread-and-butter issues are those mandated by or resolved by congressional action.

"One key issue has been locality pay, enacted more than a decade ago, which disadvantages our personnel serving abroad. After intensive efforts by Ken and many others over the years, that aberration may soon be corrected. Ken was also among those responsible for amending Virginia's constitution so that

those Virginians living abroad for several years because of their job could still vote in state and local elections. The constitution had required a person to both have a residence and be in abode in order to vote in Virginia's state and local elections. Another success was his work with the Military Coalition and the Military Officers Association of America, to push for an amendment to the tax code (now in effect) regarding the waiver of the tax on capital gains resulting from the sale of a principal residence. Prior to the change, many Foreign Service personnel found they could not waive the capital gains tax, because they had spent too many years abroad and fell outside the residency requirements.

"AFSA has two roles to play for its members: as our professional association, stressing the need to continue and enhance the widely-recognized high standards of the Service; and as the bargaining unit for most American Foreign Service employees. What happens on Capitol Hill is vital to maintaining our high standards in recruitment, performance and morale. Ken has worked closely with department officials in establishing our credentials on the Hill.

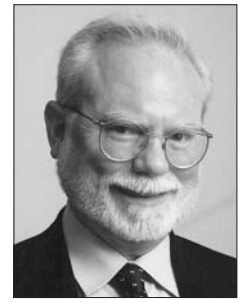
"Hats off to Ken Nakamura for his accomplishments — and also to the AFSA membership that supports these efforts and lets its congressional representatives know how they feel about life in our cherished profession."

The torch has been passed to our new director for legislative affairs, Ian Houston, and I ask you to support the continuing fight for your benefits and reputation. We need to increase AFSA's retiree membership, which is the lowest percentage of any AFSA constituency. After a multiyear effort, State now allows retirees to have their membership dues deducted from their annuity. Ask us for the forms.

We need to encourage retirees to make their presence known. You'd be surprised how many members of Congress and staffers, both in Washington and your local district, don't know they even have Foreign Service constituents. Yet retirees reside in every state and probably every congressional district.

Contacting your representative or senator's office, whether in Washington or locally, doesn't require commenting on specific legislation or a foreign policy issue. It just means informing your representative that he/she has a Foreign Service constituent who was proud to have served in the front lines of defense for the American people.

Finally, consider bringing that pride to Washington, D.C., and join us for AFSA's Day on the Hill, scheduled for May 2007. Join us and meet your representatives and senators, as American citizens and former Foreign Service employees. AFSA — Your Voice, Your Advocate. □



FS VOICE: AFSA MEMBER MATTERS

In place of the Family Member Matters column this month, we are printing a submission from a group of Foreign Service employees calling themselves “Concerned AFSA Members in Belgrade.” They are reacting to the recent assignment rules changes, which are being discussed around water coolers in the State Department and in embassies and consulates worldwide (summary in October AFSA News at www.afsa.org/news). AFSA heard from more than 200 members in response to its Aug. 31 message, “Straight Talk on the New Assignment Rules.” Many issues of concern with the new rules have been raised by AFSA members. While little debate was possible before the new rules were announced, AFSA believes that a dialogue between employees (directly and through AFSA) and management will be of great value as the department implements the new procedures that directly affect the way employees are assigned.

September 15

Letter from Belgrade: New Assignment Rules

A group of officers and AFSA members at Embassy Belgrade met recently to discuss the new assignment rules. The group included a cross-section of Foreign Service employees at post, from the junior to the senior level, and from various sections of the embassy. While we agreed that many of the new rules could have a positive impact, employees also expressed certain concerns, many of which are obviously shared by our colleagues worldwide as expressed in AFSA’s Aug. 31 message.

All of us recognize that it is a privilege to serve the U.S. government as Foreign Service employees. We also recognize that FS employees commit to being available for worldwide service when they join the Service. Moreover, we fully respect the authority of the Secretary of State to manage the assignments process in a way that best serves the interests of the U.S. — including her authority to direct assignments to high-priority posts to meet the needs of the Service.

We also agree that one of the main strengths of the Foreign Service is its flexibility in adapting to reflect the priorities of the United States. As we are all currently serving in a hardship post, we certainly agree with the “fair share” rules that require all officers to serve in difficult posts. However, we are concerned that the new assignment rules announced by the department leadership are motivated primarily by the need to staff positions in Iraq. The Aug. 31 e-mail from AFSA succinctly addresses many of these fears in its opening paragraph: “No one can doubt the intent of these changes, which were designed to increase the incentives and pressure on Foreign Service members to bid on the growing number of extreme hardship, danger-pay and unaccompanied positions that now need to be filled every summer, particularly those in Iraq.”

We strongly believe that service in Iraq, as well as service in most other hardship posts, is motivated less by incentives and pressure than by a sense of loyalty and commitment. We are all proud to serve our country — we do so willingly and out of a sense of duty to our country and our fellow Americans. We are motivated neither by money nor glory. We love the Foreign Service because it not only gives us a clear way to fulfill these drives, but a flexible career path that also allows us to have fulfilling personal and family lives. All of us in Belgrade have chosen a hardship tour; indeed, many of us have *only* served in hardship posts. Not one

of the officers in this discussion has regretted serving in hardship posts, and most have enjoyed it (personally and professionally). Financial incentives or promised future benefits did not figure as primary motivators for assignment to this post.

Rather than cajoling officers to serve in Iraq — by changing the bidding process, or by raising the specter that non-service will have an impact on one’s career — and rather than promising incentives like a top-five bid, the State Department should instead look for ways to attract good officers to serve in Iraq, or other hardship tours, and to make these jobs desirable. What is “desirable”? Our group wants the promise of an interesting job, a fulfilling experience and, especially, great leadership. We want to know that our service in Iraq, or another hardship post, will make a difference to the U.S. and to our host country. We want to work with inspired colleagues and for excellent leaders who will make this entire experience even more fulfilling. We also want to have confidence that the department is staffing Iraq and other active combat zones in a way that is consistent with past practice and with realities on the ground.

As one member of our group pointed out, if Iraq were any other country in a similar situation (say, Sierra Leone or Liberia), the department would be drawing down to minimal staffing, not exposing an additional 200 officers and support and security staff to hostile action directed at them. As in other posts with hard-to-fill positions, the department might also consider accepting that certain jobs in Baghdad may simply be unable to attract strong, qualified bidders, and that such positions could remain vacant.

This is not to say we do not appreciate the benefits of hardship service — in particular, assurances that our families will be cared for while we are gone and that we will be cared for while we serve. In order to encourage greater interest in Iraq service, several ideas were mentioned, including non-monetary assurances such as proper training for service in a hardship zone (suggestions for making us safer in hardship posts included everything from defensive driving classes to serious combat-zone training with weapons and first aid) and assurances that our families would be supported at our “losing post” or in the U.S., including housing for our families, schooling for our kids and job assurances for our spouses (whether tandem FS or accompanying family member).

Finally, we are concerned that the new bidding unnecessarily complicates the Foreign Service system by valuing location of service rather than quality of service, and by adding another layer

of “hardness” to hardship. A top-five bid for any Iraq service with a Provincial Reconstruction Team becomes an award for attendance rather than for quality service. It struck several of us that the current system, by skewing so heavily in favor of Iraq service, actually works *against* the Secretary’s stated goals of global diplomatic repositioning — that is, making sure all of our policy priority areas are adequately staffed. Thus, it would seem more logical to, for instance, structure the bid season so that our top policy-priority posts are filled (Baghdad, Moscow, Beijing, Tokyo, Tel Aviv, to name a few) instead of forcing the Service to first fill lower-priority posts simply because they carry higher differentials.

We are also concerned that the effort to reshape the assignments process to meet the staffing needs of Baghdad and Kabul could have unforeseen, distorting effects on the Service itself. For instance, it is conceivable that the bidding and promotion preferences offered to Baghdad employees could relatively quickly lead to the creation of a senior “Iraq cadre” of employees holding top positions that might better be filled by other employees with stellar track records and more relevant regional or functional experience. We suspect that other consequences could also ensue. If it has not already done so, we recommend that the department review what effects the assignment of large numbers of employees to Vietnam four decades ago had on the Foreign Service at large. Such a review could determine what lessons — good or bad — were learned from that experience.

The State Department thrives on the flexibility of its employees. We come from different socioeconomic and ethnic backgrounds. We aspire to different goals, and have different ideas of where and how we want to serve. This diversity and flexibility are what makes the Foreign Service a rich, productive and strong institution that we are proud to serve. By changing the nature of this volunteer force to one based on pressure, one changes the nature of American diplomacy.

*Sincerely,
Concerned AFSA members, Belgrade*

AFSA NEWS BRIEFS

AFSA Connects with Entry-Level Employees

AFSA’s president and State vice president took to the road in September to consult with over 160 entry-level employees in the field. AFSA President Tony Holmes attended the conference in Prague for all entry-level employees working at posts in the Bureau of European Affairs, while AFSA State Vice President Steve Kashkett attended a similar event in Sao Paulo put on by the Bureau of Western Hemisphere Affairs.

Holmes participated in two panel discussions on FS careers and gave a solo presentation on AFSA’s present priorities, with a particular focus on recent changes to the assignments system, efforts to eliminate the disparity between overseas and Washington salaries and the linked introduction of a pay-for-performance system, as well as the challenges of institutionalizing transformational diplomacy. He gave a similar talk to AFSA members at Embassy Prague.

The Sao Paulo conference was also a positive, productive event, Kashkett tells *AFSA News*, attracting more than 80 employees from almost every post from Chile to Canada. The attendees were mostly Foreign Service generalists, though a couple of dozen specialists attended as well. Conference speakers on the ground included WHA Principal Deputy Assistant Secretary Charles Shapiro, Director of the Human Resources Bureau’s Entry-Level Career Development Office Dean Haas and several other senior WHA and department officials.

Haas and Kashkett led separate panel discussions on promotion/EER concerns, assignment/bidding strategies and FS family/lifestyle issues. Kashkett then gave a stand-alone presentation on major challenges facing the Foreign Service today. The participants were very receptive. In addition to interacting with the entry-level employees during the panel discussions and presentations, Kashkett had the opportunity to speak privately with probably about half of the attendees at some point during the three days.

Although a lot of different subjects came up in these discussions, the main themes that the participants repeatedly raised at both conferences were concern about unfairness in the new assignment rules, dissatisfaction with what they see as the 7th floor’s exclusive focus on Iraq and apprehension that the future Foreign Service will be inhospitable to families. Kashkett and Holmes got positive feedback about AFSA’s candor and efforts on behalf of our members.

Kashkett and Holmes believe there is high value both for AFSA and for AFSA members to have AFSA officers participate in these entry-level conferences. It is an opportunity for AFSA to reach out to a key membership constituency and make valuable face-to-face connections, and it gives entry-level employees a chance to share ideas with AFSA in person.

FREE MONEY FOR YOUR CHILD’S COLLEGE EDUCATION

High school seniors and college undergraduates who are children of Foreign Service employees (active-duty, retired and deceased) are eligible to apply for one-time-only AFSA Academic/Art Merit Awards and renewable need-based AFSA Financial Aid Scholarships. Awards range from \$1,500 to \$3,000.

The submission deadline is Feb. 6, 2007. Visit AFSA’s Scholarship Program Web page at www.afsa.org/scholar/index.cfm for complete details or contact Lori Dec at dec@afsa.org or (202) 944-5504 or 1 (800) 704-2372, ext. 504 (toll-free).

Parents and students can also find information through free online scholarship search engines such as www.fastweb.com, www.wiredscholar.com, www.smexpress.com and www.brokescholar.com. □

Governing Board • Continued from page 81

Nomination Procedures

1. Any AFSA member in good standing (i.e., a member whose dues are automatically deducted or who has paid dues as of Feb. 1, 2007) may submit names (including his or her own name) in nomination for any of the above-mentioned positions for which the nominee is eligible. No member may nominate more than one person for each officer position or more than the number of representatives established for each constituency. No member's name may appear on the ballot for more than one position.

2. In order to be nominated, a person must be a member in good standing and remain in good standing through the election process and, if elected, for his/her term of office.

3. The Foreign Service Act restricts employees occupying certain positions in the foreign affairs agencies from serving on the Governing Board. Only employees in AFSA's bargaining unit may serve on the board or nominate others to serve. Therefore, individuals who will be serving as management officials and confidential employees (as defined below) when the new board takes office on July 15, 2007, are ineligible to occupy a position on the Governing Board. In addition, management officials and confidential employees may not make nominations for Governing Board positions. For the purpose of the above discussion, management official means an individual who: is a chief of mission or principal officer; occupies a position of comparable importance to chief of mission or principal officer; is serving as a deputy to the foregoing positions; is assigned to the Office of the Inspector General; or is engaged in labor-management relations or the formulation of personnel policies and programs of a foreign affairs agency. Confidential employees are employees who act in a confidential capacity with respect to an individual who formulates or carries out management policies in labor-management relations.

Furthermore, the Foreign Service Act also places a two-year restriction on the movement of Foreign Service personnel between certain positions in AFSA and certain Washington-based jobs in the foreign affairs agencies. *Pre-AFSA restrictions:* Any individual who has served 1) in a management position in Washington in which he or she has engaged in labor-management relations or the formulation of personnel policies and programs or 2) as a confidential employee (as defined above) within two years prior to taking office in AFSA, is ineligible to hold the position of AFSA president or constituency vice president. *Post-AFSA restrictions:* In addition, any individual who has held one of the foregoing positions in AFSA may not serve 1) in a management position in Washington that involves labor-management relations or the formulation of personnel policies and programs or 2) as a confidential employee, for two years after leaving AFSA.

Members should consider these restrictions before deciding whether to run for

AFSA Governing Board positions covered by these restrictions. Please direct questions regarding this issue to Sharon Papp, General Counsel, at phone: (202) 647-8160; Fax: (202) 647-0265 or e-mail: papps@state.gov.

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

5. All nominations must be submitted in writing by letter, cable, fax or e-mail. All written nominations must be addressed to the AFSA Elections Committee, 2101 E Street NW, Washington DC 20037. To be valid, they must, without exception, be received at this address no later than 5 p.m. on Feb. 1, 2007. Members overseas can send "AFSA Channel" cables marked for delivery to the AFSA Elections Committee. They must be received in the State Department's Communications Center within the same time limit. Faxes can be sent to (202) 338-6820, and e-mail to election@afsa.org.

Alternatively, nominations can be hand-delivered to a committee member who will be in the AFSA office, Room 1251, Department of State, from 11 a.m. to 12 noon on Feb. 1, 2007, or to an Elections Committee representative at AFSA headquarters, at 2101 E Street NW, during that same time period.

6. A nominee can indicate his or her acceptance of a nomination by appending a letter to the letter of nomination or by appropriate notation on that letter, or by communicating with the AFSA Elections Committee at the addresses, fax and e-mail noted above. Otherwise, an authorized representative of the Elections Committee will communicate with each nominee (excluding members who nominate themselves) as quickly as possible after the receipt of each nomination to determine whether the nominee wishes to be a candidate. Any member who accepts the nomination must confirm his or her acceptance in writing through one of the channels described above, addressed to the AFSA Elections Committee, to be received no later than 12 noon on Feb. 7. Any nominee whose written acceptance of nomination has not been received by the Elections Committee by the above time limit will be considered to have declined candidacy.

Election Campaign

1. All candidates nominated under the procedure outlined above

will be given the opportunity to submit campaign statements for dissemination to the AFSA membership with the election ballots. Further information regarding such statements and editorial deadlines will be contained in the "Instructions to Candidates," which will be issued by the Elections Committee on or before Feb. 1, 2007.

2. The AFSA bylaws provide that, should candidates wish to mail supplementary statements to the membership, the association will make available to them on request, and at their expense, the membership mailing list or address labels. Further information

ELECTIONS COMMITTEE MEMBERS

Robert J. Wozniak, Chair	Rjwozniak@aol.com (202) 686-0996
Geoff Cleasby, FCS	Geoffrey.Cleasby@mail.doc.gov (703) 235-0326
Anita Katial, FAS	anita.katial@fas.usda.gov (202) 720-8777
Richard Thompson, Retiree	RISATH@aol.com (301) 229-6442
Karen Welch, USAID	kwelch@usaid.gov (202) 712-1423
Frontis Wiggins, State	WigginsFB@state.gov (703) 302-7381

on this and other campaign procedures will be included in the "Instructions to Candidates" mentioned above.

Voting

Ballots will be distributed on or about March 26, 2007, to each person who is a regular AFSA member as of March 1. Candidates or their representatives may observe the ballot distribution process if they so desire. Each member may cast one vote for president, secretary and treasurer and, in addition, one vote for a constituency vice president and each representative position in the member's constituency. Votes may be cast by selecting candidates listed on the official ballot, by writing in the name(s) of eligible member(s), or by doing both. To be valid, a ballot must be received by May 31, 2007, at the address indicated on the envelope accompanying the ballot. More detailed balloting instructions will accompany the ballots.

Vote Counting and Announcement of Results

On or about June 1, 2007, the Elections Committee will count the ballots and declare elected the candidate receiving the greatest number of votes for each position. Candidates or their representatives may be present during the tally and may challenge the validity of any vote or the eligibility of any voter. The committee will inform candidates

individually of the election results by the swiftest possible means and will publish the names of all elected candidates in the next issue of the *Foreign Service Journal*. The elected candidates will take office on July 15, 2007, as provided in the bylaws.

Questions, Suggestions, Complaints or Challenges

Any member may file a written question, suggestion or complaint concerning the conduct of the 2007 election. These should be addressed to "Chair, AFSA Elections Committee" and mailed or delivered to AFSA, Room 1251, Department of State, Washington DC 20520, or AFSA, 2101 E Street NW, Washington DC 20037, by July 2, 2007.

Members may also file a written challenge to the outcome of the election. Such challenge must be filed by July 16, 2007, and should be addressed to "Chair, AFSA Elections Committee" and mailed or delivered to either address stated above. The AFSA Elections Committee will respond in writing to the challenge within three months of receipt of the challenge. If the member is not satisfied with the AFSA Elections Committee's response, the member may file a written complaint with the U.S. Department of Labor, Office of Labor-Management Standards. Such complaint must be filed within one month of receipt of the Elections Committee's response. □

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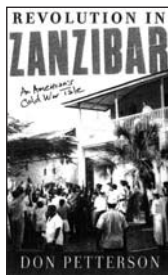
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An Architect of Democracy: Building a Mosaic of Peace (New Academia Publishing, Washington, D.C., June 2006) is being issued in the Memoirs and Occasional Papers series of the Association for Diplomatic Studies and Training (ADST). Mr. Huntley is a former Foreign Service officer (1952-1960). Copies may be ordered from ADST, 2814 N. Underwood St, Arlington VA 22213, Tel: (703) 302-6990, e-mail: info@adst.org; from the publisher; or from online booksellers. \$30 + S&H.

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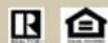
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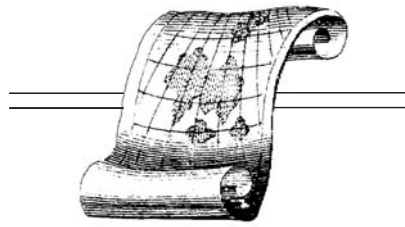
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REFLECTIONS

Fortuneteller

BY JOYCE BARRETT

The best news from the future is that my granddaughter will grow up to be “a hero to the world.” Based on her Sept. 1, 2004, birth date, she’s a hen, but she’ll grow into a swan.

Nipon, a Chinese astrologer, came walking up my street in Bangkok with a black canvas bag slung over his shoulder. I had been led to believe that the person I had hired to feng shui my apartment was a monk, so I was expecting someone in orange robes. Prepared for an emissary from Lord Buddha, I wore an ankle-length denim skirt and a long-sleeved white blouse to receive him. Yet I found myself nodding to a man with a crew cut in a light-blue shirt and navy pants, shiny with wear.

We walked into my high-rise and rode the elevator in silence. He didn’t even stop to check out the vibrations in the tiled hallway outside of our three elevators, much less take note that we live on the 13th floor. He just slipped off his shoes and walked in.

I had arranged for a young man, Supak, who works at the reception desk in our building, to be our translator. I stood in my dining room, clutching my notebook to my chest and smiling and nodding politely so he’d pick up on all my positive wavelengths.

“What is your birthday?” Supak asked. Nipon took out a dog-eared calendar. They conferred. Supak turned to

Joyce Barrett lives in Bangkok with her husband, William A. Marjenhoff, an FSO in the embassy’s Financial Services Center.

I had prepared for an emissary from Lord Buddha, and wore an ankle-length denim skirt and a long-sleeved white blouse to receive him.



me, “You’re a snake. A big snake.”

That was a disappointment.

“No, that’s a good thing,” Supak nodded emphatically. “A snake is good.”

Rereading the attributes of the snake later mollified me. Snakes have highly developed qualities of sensitivity, perception and suppleness, with an uncanny ability to enjoy life. Others should take care never to make an enemy of the snake. There was no question of my snakesness.

Nipon prowled my house. He instructed me to repaint my bedroom’s blue ceiling white; he ordered that some pictures be taken down and others moved. He rearranged potted plants. Entry lights should be left on, he said, to protect from evil outside.

“You have one son,” Supak said. That was the linchpin of my fortuneteller’s credibility: I had yet to put out any pictures of Barrett. We have lived in Bangkok for just a few months, and are still unpacking boxes.

“And one granddaughter,” I said. I showed Nipon a picture of Sloane, taken on her first birthday. She had the winsome smile of a little girl just

discovering the world.

Nipon stared hard at her picture. His hands circled her head and forehead. I held my breath. Finally, he spoke to Supak, who then spoke to me: “She has a good brain,” he said. “She’s intelligent. She’ll study hard and be a hero to the world.”

“What about her relationship with me?” I asked. Here I am in Thailand, and this child whom I desperately want to know lives in West Virginia.

“She will love you so, so much,” Supak said after conferring with Nipon. “You were born on the same day of the week. Hen and snake are good together.” Nipon held up two side-by-side fingers to indicate how close Sloane and I would be.

I wept. Nipon pointed to the 50-pound chicken lamp next to my front door. “That’s a hen, like your granddaughter,” Supak translated. “Good.”

“Anything else?” Nipon gestured.

“Yes, just one more thing,” I said, as I pulled out a picture book and plat of the house in Charleston, S.C., that we are renovating. It’s an ambitious project, considering we moved halfway around the world days after buying it.

Fortunately, our front door faces north, which means power; and our street number, 49, is lucky. You’ll have “no problems there and will share everything,” Supak said. “It will be powerful. Very good. Happy.”

Nipon was ready to go. Whether anything he said is true, I can’t say. But I am counting on Sloane loving me so, so much when she’s a young woman and I’m living in my lucky house in Charleston. ■

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