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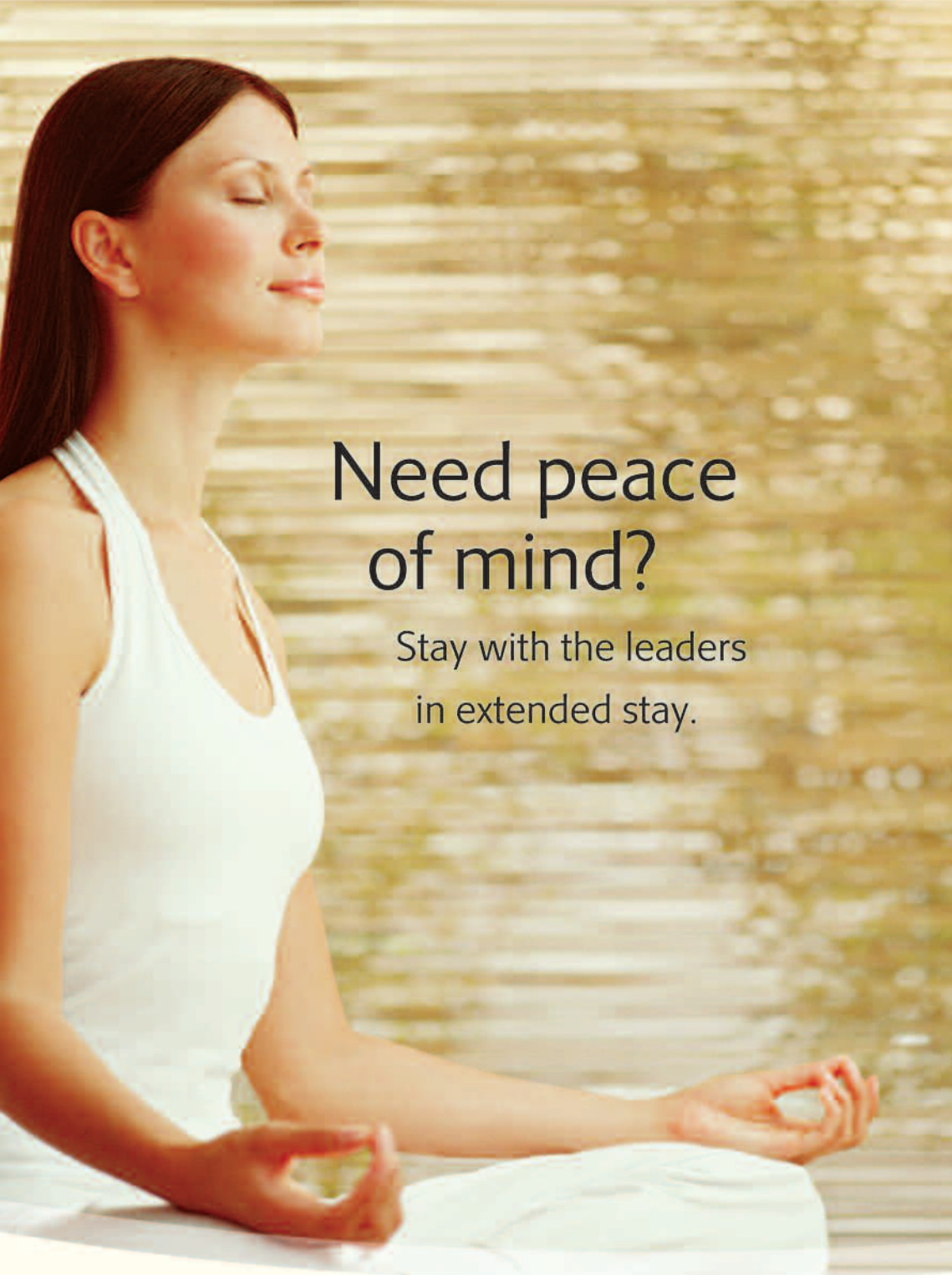
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PRESIDENT'S VIEWS

Get Smart

BY JOHN LIMBERT

This month's *Foreign Service Journal* deals with terrorism. From the perceptive articles by our colleagues, one unmistakable message comes through: pseudo-tough and phony-macho policies don't beat terrorists; smart ones do. Our enemies are clever, and assuming otherwise is dangerous folly. Cynical, brutal, murderous and callous they may be. Stupid they are not. In my personal experience, as individuals, terrorists can be almost rational. Many are well educated, from well-off families, and their ranks include engineers, doctors, teachers and journalists.



Not only are terrorist leaders not stupid, they also skillfully exploit what George Orwell, in *1984*, called "collective stupidity" — the failure to see the most obvious contradictions in an argument; the failure to apply cause and effect; and the willingness to swallow and regurgitate the most blatant claptrap. It is this same collective stupidity that makes terrorists impervious to argument or reason.

Al-Qaida and the most extreme of the so-called salafi (Sunni Islamist) groups, for example, feed their followers a mixture of anti-Semitism, xenophobia, and bad history, such as the assertion that the Crusades did not end eight centuries ago. These groups also

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

exploit the obvious shortcomings of existing governments in many Islamic countries, insisting that, "If your rulers are corrupt; if your country is weak and humiliated by foreigners; if your state cannot provide you education, health care or employment; and if you see no future for yourself and your family — then we have all the answers in a puritanical, zealous and intolerant version of Islam that admits no doubt or questioning."

The appropriate response to this message is not to "dumb down" but to get smart. Smart diplomacy, security, military operations, law enforcement, public affairs, and intelligence-gathering will all work. And being smart starts with knowing what we are facing. How much did we know about Afghanistan, for example, before the events of 9/11? Did we know how freely the al-Qaida apparatus could operate there under Taliban patronage? Did we know that the terrorists had essentially bought themselves a country using money and fighters to help the Taliban fight a civil war? Or did we somehow think that we could separate al-Qaida from the Taliban and, with the weight of evidence, convince them to hand over bin Laden and his associates to justice? In those days we spoke of "draining the [Afghanistan] swamp" to catch the alligators. Like the shark-hunters of *Jaws*, however, we needed a much bigger boat!

How do we start being smart? For one thing, we stop devaluing language and area expertise in our own ranks. We must ensure that our people — all

of them — have the training they need to represent our country's interests and protect its security. To do their job, the consular officers in Sanaa, for example, will need to talk to more than the minute percentage of Yemenis who speak English. So will their political and other colleagues.

The 9/11 Commission Report (p. 371) notes that 15 of the 19 airplane hijackers were Saudi Arabians. Yet how much did we know about militant Islamist groups in Saudi Arabia before the attacks? How much did we know about the political and socio-economic undercurrents within that troubled society and elsewhere in the region?

Besides taking training seriously, we also must offer a reasonable career path to those who choose to specialize in an area or a language. We in the Foreign Service respond very well to rewards and punishments. The person who goes deeply into Africa, China or the Indian subcontinent, for example, should be able to expect that 1) the Service will make good use of that expertise; and 2) all things being equal, he or she can expect promotions and assignments that recognize that hard-earned knowledge.

One wishes that being smart — and following many of the excellent recommendations in the 9/11 Commission's report — would guarantee that we will never again be caught off-guard by terrorists, either in New York or in Nairobi. Sadly, our being smart may not end terrorist outrages — but it is still the strategy with the best chance of success. ■

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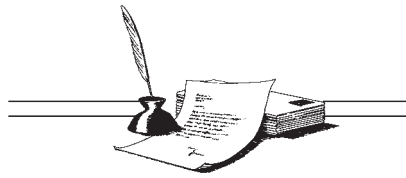


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Returning the Favor

I was the labor attaché at our embassy in San Salvador from 1985 to 1987. Jose Luis Grande Preza, the courageous leader of the General Workers Confederation trade union, once remarked to me: “You Americans are here now risking your lives to help El Salvador in its time of need. We will never forget this. A day will come when the United States will need the help of Salvadorans, and we will be there to give it.”

While reading “Foreign Service Firefight” (*FSJ*, June) in which Phil Kosnett described how members of the Salvadoran Army’s Cuscatlan Battalion helped to save his life in Iraq, I thought of how true Grande Preza’s statement was.

*Francis (Paco) Scanlan
State Dept. Adviser for
International Affairs
Air War College
Montgomery, Ala.*

Privileges for Specialists First

When AFSA recently solicited comments regarding the department’s Members of Household policy for its June *FSJ* article, I took the opportunity to express my views on what I see as an important issue that could have far-reaching effects on everything from morale to diplomatic readiness. I was impressed when I received an e-mail from the author of the article asking if I would be willing to discuss my comments on the phone. I provided a contact number but was never called.

I found the June issue a bit ironic. First, there was a letter from Editor

Steve Honley encouraging constructive dissent and expressing concern for the lack of it, and on the very next page began an otherwise excellent and informative article (“Not Quite Family: ‘Members of Household’ at State”) that did not express even one dissenting opinion about, nor discuss any negative consequences from, the department’s MOH policy.

One may ask, “What negative consequence could possibly come from giving more benefits to employees, at little or no cost to the government?” But we have hundreds of specialists overseas who are still not afforded the same privileges and protections as their generalist counterparts. Now AFSA is working with the department to give unmarried domestic partners and family members benefits and privileges. While none of these privileges appear to be anything that all employees don’t enjoy, could this lead to full diplomatic recognition and the benefits that accompany this distinction? How long will it be before those in the specialist grades will have to watch unmarried domestic partners and other MOH shopping at duty-free shops, buying tax-free gasoline, and driving cars with diplomatic plates, while they themselves are paying full price for basic essentials?

I’m not in the least opposed to granting benefits to MOHs, and overall, it is a wonderful program that I support. The Foreign Service, however, is a unique lifestyle, as are the benefits we enjoy. Will AFSA and the department seek to grant diplomatic

privileges to members of household while there continues to be significant inequality in the way an entire cadre of FS employees are treated in the field?

Benefits for MOHs would undoubtedly be an overall morale boost, but could have the opposite effect on certain ranks within the Foreign Service if they are afforded the benefits that come with being on the “dip list” while full-time FS employees at the same posts do not enjoy those privileges. It appears that the department values a domestic partnership more than my 18 years of government service. Perhaps the State Department and AFSA should first focus on pushing along those posts that make little to no effort in addressing the deficiencies that exist where diplomatic status benefits one group of employees over the other.

*Randy S. Lea
Information Management
Specialist
Washington, D.C.*

Putting a Value on Family

I wish to salute the editor, author and the editorial board for the recent cover story on Members of Household (June). “Ineligible family members” is an important topic to many officers and it deserves management’s immediate attention.

For 10 of my 15 years of service, my life has been enriched by sharing the FS experience with a domestic partner. But in addition to the costs that every FS spouse incurs in his or her own career, we face substantial

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additional obstacles and expenses due to the lack of benefits, medical coverage, work permits, visas, etc. for our partners. If there were any doubt about how much we value our families, those additional sacrifices should put a dollar figure on it.

*Eric G. Nelson
Management Officer
American Consulate
General Milan*

Not a Cent for My Cat

Your June article on MOHs contained a comment by Andy Ball saying that his cat gets more benefits than his domestic partner.

Mr. Ball, please tell me one single benefit that the department provides to your cat, or to you on behalf of your cat. I've had a cat ever since my first tour, and the department has never spent a red cent on his travel, his health, or anything else. Nada. Nor has the department ever made any effort to lobby foreign governments to stop quarantine regulations. And if I bid on an assignment in a country that subsequently bans pets, the department would expect me to get rid of the cat.

*Linda Eichblatt
Consul
Consulate General
Barcelona*

Accommodating Modern Families

Thanks for your coverage of the MOH issue in the June issue of the *Foreign Service Journal*. This is an extremely important issue for the Foreign Service of today. If the Service is unable to make these changes to accommodate diverse and modern families, our government risks losing many qualified and motivated employees.

*Jason N. Lawrence
Foreign Service Officer
Washington, D.C.*

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Changing FS Culture

Your survey of incoming FSOs was excellent (“Special Report: New Hires and the Foreign Service,” June FSJ). It would be marvelous if the “newbies” brought about some change. Of course, I heard echoes of things I have been commenting on all these years, as well as the many other “just spouses” I have known. I hope that the influx can bring changes to the Foreign Service culture, just as the mass of baby boomers made changes to U.S. culture in the sixties.

*Victoria H. Hess
Chief Executive Officer
Tales from a Small Planet*

Drumbeat of Indifference

I read John Limbert’s June AFSANET President’s Report on the studied indifference by Hill staffers to the Foreign Service, its people and its mission. The same report also noted concern over USAA’s equally studied indifference to our sister agencies — USAID, FAS and FCS. I am saddened but not surprised.

While we have always had a problem with visibility and thus credibility, the last few years have seen a steady drumbeat of indifference if not outright disdain for diplomacy and diplomats. In his 2003 State of the Union address, the president declared “the time for diplomacy has passed.” The president tasks the military with the mission of post-conflict reconstruction, after having spent a campaign denigrating “nation-building” as a worthy task of our government and our people. I understand that the same attitude and atmosphere of dismissal permeate Afghanistan and Haiti.

On June 29, Deputy Secretary Richard Armitage came to our defense at a hearing before the Armed Services Committee, but however sincere, it was an aside. In many ways, efforts by Secretary

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Powell to raise our profile, our worth and our funding have implicitly fed the assumption that diplomats are unworthy. Powell refers to us as “the front line” and as “his troops.” We have value only if we can be repainted as warriors in suits. It is demoralizing “me, too-ism” that may have gotten us more funding, but no respect ... and the funding will not last.

Philosophically, everything we stand for — internationalism, multilateralism, consensus, negotiation, etc. — is scoffed at by elements of this administration. No wonder neither staffers nor USAA takes us seriously.

We know the dangers, commitment and sacrifice that are a daily part of the Foreign Service. We have stayed with the Service. State has the lowest attrition of any government agency, despite what we expect of our people day in and day out around the world.

But until and unless who we are and what we do is valued in and of itself — consistently, publicly and as strongly as the foot-stomping support for the troops — then I am afraid that the efforts of those of us who serve in Iraq will fall as flat as efforts by others have over the years.

When my brother was in the military he used to joke that he only had to do his job if I didn't do mine. He assumed that I would, at least, get the chance to do mine before he was called upon to do his.

*Barbara Bodine
Ambassador, retired
Alexandria, Va.*

Africa's Glass Less than Half-Full

While I have a high regard for Ambassador Tibor Nagy and his many years of dedicated service in Africa, the facts make it difficult for me to share his optimism about encouraging trends on this long-suffering conti-

nent (“Africa Can Make It — And How We Should Help,” May). The reality for most places in Africa is that the average family is worse off today than it was 20 years ago. Given my own strong commitment for more than 30 years to the betterment of Africa, this is not an easy thing to admit, but denying the truth about Africa's serious development predicament is not helpful.

Things in Africa would have been hard enough, but now, the heart-breaking HIV/AIDS pandemic makes reversing the downward poverty trend for the majority of Africans even more difficult. HIV/AIDS has become both a result and cause of poverty, and we are now witnessing a decline in key human development indicators in those countries with a high HIV prevalence rate among adults. It is undermining decades of progress in Africa and we probably have not yet fully grasped the disastrous magnitude of the pandemic, which still has some years to go before reaching its peak. Sadly, the worst is yet to come in Africa.

Yes, here and there we see some positive changes, and there are many unsung heroes in Africa. But overall the situation is more daunting than when I first arrived in Africa in 1970. New leaders are making some right moves, but these changes are coming when the poverty reduction challenges are much greater and, in the meantime, the rest of the world has moved on. Africa was dealt a bad hand from the start and the leadership played this hand poorly, thereby making it more difficult to move ahead today. No matter how well managed and governed, it will take even the better-off countries in Africa decades at best to graduate from the ranks of low-income countries.

I do not want to be labeled an Afro-pessimist, but we need to consider what the facts tell us. My arti-

cle, “Thirty Years in Africa and Still Looking for Answers,” in the March 2002 edition of the *FSJ*, is perhaps my best reply to the May 2004 articles. I am working hard to find as many positive things to say when I write the “35 Years” version of my article. But for now, I am left looking for answers and the happier times like those described in my May 2004 *FSJ* reflection, “My First Christmas in Africa.”

Before I get on the plane in Maputo to go to Addis Ababa, I would like to salute the *Journal* for dedicating the May issue to Africa. I hope we can count on seeing at least one edition per year devoted to Africa.

*Mark G. Wentling
USAID Senior Foreign
Service, retired
Maputo, Mozambique*

Pay Attention to Proxy Wars

Thank you for the articles about Africa in your May issue. They were uniformly of high quality. Professors Ottaway, Herbst and Mills (“Africa's Big States: Toward a New Realism”) have done an excellent job of proposing a new approach to the majority of Africa's big states that are dysfunctional politically, economically and socially. I agree with most of their policy recommendations. However, I am deeply disappointed by their curt dismissal of proxy wars as a major impediment to the state-building that they so fervently advocate.

When the authors state that the international community should not try to offer a guarantee of survival to countries threatened by internal forces, they are missing the main point. There are no purely internal forces in Africa. All internal insurgents, rebels, bandits or whatever one calls them, have external partners. These partners are always sovereign regimes.

Sure, the giant Congo (Kinshasa)

LETTERS



could have resisted the joint invasion of its territory in 1998 by its much smaller neighbors Rwanda and Uganda if it had a functioning government with a decent military. But that invasion cost three million lives inside the Congo and set the country back in its development far more than it would have suffered if erratic President Laurent Kabila had continued in power another few years. Dysfunctional as he was, Kabila was beginning to devote state resources to rebuilding infrastructure. He even conquered inflation and stabilized the economy, weak as it was. To “punish” Uganda and Rwanda, the international community plied them with budgetary support and debt relief. After all, Uganda and Rwanda were implementing structural adjustment by the book. The so-called internal anti-Kabila rebels supported by Uganda and Rwanda were totally organized, financed and armed by these two aggressor states. The armed Congolese opposition factions were pure political fiction.

Cote d'Ivoire enjoyed decent political, economic and social institutions in 1999 when an army mutiny was financed and supplied by neighboring Burkina Faso. It went downhill from there. The French were remiss in not using their garrison near Abidjan to quell the mutiny. Five years later, the French were forced to spend hundreds of millions of dollars to pacify the southern half of the country that is now de-facto partitioned in a manner that makes no sense. A country that was once an economic engine of growth in West Africa has been set back 50 years because of internal destabilization imported from next door while the international community remained passive.

The authors are wearing blinders if they fail to see that external aggression is making state dysfunction in

Africa virtually incurable. Liberia and Sierra Leone were failed states before they became victims of external aggression via so-called internal factions. But does that mean the international community should say “we told you so” as it later spends billions picking up the pieces?

If we continue to maintain a state of denial about proxy wars in Africa, our policy toward that troubled continent doesn't stand a chance. Fortunately, the current U.S. administration has started to use its considerable leverage to begin eliminating this plague.

*Herman J. Cohen
Ambassador, retired
Washington, D.C.*

Remembering Howard Myers

While the *Journal* has noted the death of an old AFSA warhorse — Howard Myers — no one has come forward with any recounting of the terrific behind-the-scenes contributions Howard and his late wife, Hope, made to AFSA.

How well I remember the dark days of the mid-1970s, when the election of a disparate set of AFSA Governing Board members caused internal turmoil and lots of acrimony. The slate was headed by a selected-out FSO who came into office with his own personal vendetta against the Department of State. His plan was to use AFSA as his speaking pad, totally ignoring the views of the board. Howard was the steady hand guiding many of us on the board to cope with this situation.

When some of us were sued in court, again Howard provided calm and wise counsel. He then helped orchestrate the recall of this president, insisting that we follow all applicable regulations and laws irrespective of the emotions in evidence, which were admittedly at an all-time high. For this counsel,

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Howard and his wife were slandered and abused, but both stayed the course until the president was successfully recalled and board member Pat Woodring took the helm, again thanks to Howard's behind-the-scenes actions. And for the first time in AFSA history, the organization had a female president.

Howard's deeds were done with no thought of acclamation. His keen mind and great legal abilities were extremely useful at this traumatic time in AFSA's history. The association should recognize this great contribution, for it might not have survived without the contributions of someone like Howard Myers.

Roy A. Harrell Jr.
Life Member of AFSA
FSO, retired
Ozona, Texas

Praise for INR

There has been much to-do about the CIA's failure regarding pre-Iraq war intelligence. The June *FSJ* ("INR's Track Record Highlighted," Cybernotes) reports a *Washington Post* article praising the State Department's Bureau of Intelligence and Research as the best among the U.S. government's intelligence services, pointing to INR's more cautious analysis of bomb damage in Vietnam, the trouble admitting the Iranian shah to the U.S. for medical treatment might entail, and the probable outcome of a U.S. invasion of Iraq.

Intelligence is always based on imperfect knowledge and the judgment of analysts — in effect reading straws in the wind. But your Cybernotes article puts me in mind of another experience in which INR clearly outshone the competition. Back in 1973 when I was deputy director of the Office of Economic Research and Analysis, our team produced a report cautioning that

the Arab oil producers were moving toward the creation of an oil cartel and that the U.S. might expect an oil embargo within the next few months as a tool for raising oil prices significantly, thus enriching the coffers of the oil-producing countries. Exercising his "discretion," the assistant secretary for INR refused to approve the paper for distribution because he regarded it as "alarmist" and anyway, "every economist knows that cartels don't work" (though the Saudis apparently didn't know that, and the economists of the world may have a different opinion now, 35 years later).

Anyway, three weeks later, after the public announcement of OPEC's formation had taken place and there were long lines waiting to fill up at gas stations across the country, I got a call requesting the paper. The front office did a little editing, and we were the first agency in government to come out with an analysis of the probable effects of OPEC on the world economy and the cost to America.

I've always wondered whether being first in the field with an accurate prediction would have made any difference. Intelligence is always imperfect. I'm not sure whether more accurate information from the CIA would have been any more believable than its misplaced confidence that Iraq actually had WMDs rather than merely the technology to produce them.

But based on my experience working with DIA and CIA officers, I think David Ignatius' assessment that INR is the best of the pack is right on target. I have fond memories of my colleagues and two years in INR. This is another example of an assignment that is often disdained by regular FSOs, but which can be highly rewarding — and which didn't hold up my next promotion or a choice

assignment overseas following my INR experience.

David Timmins
FSO, retired
Professor of Economics,
Brigham Young University
Salt Lake City, Utah

Grading Positions, Not Performance

I am a human resources officer in Brasilia, and one of four certified "CAJE-ers" mission-wide. I read Alexis Ludwig's article on the Computer Aided Job Evaluation process ("Liberating FSNs from Their 'CAJE'") in the April *Journal* and wonder how he reached some of the conclusions he did about its shortcomings.

He states that "... the CAJE calculus implicitly assigns more value to the work done by the FSNs in the Admin/GSO fields ..." In fact, CAJE evaluates five areas: Knowledge, responsibility, intellectual skills/communication, and working environment. None of these values advantages any position over another. For example, knowledge and communication combine to weigh 50 percent of a position's overall "score." Therefore, political assistants, by virtue of their advanced knowledge (gauged by education level, knowledge of the local political scene, etc.) and their highly-valued contacts (scored under communication), would receive high CAJE rankings. My experience at this mission bears that out.

Mr. Ludwig goes on to say that "... unlike the personnel system for the rest of the Foreign Service, CAJE assigns rank to the position, not the person ..." No FS position is assigned a grade based on the incumbent's performance or personal grade. Positions are graded by the needs of the job, and the incumbent is assigned to fulfill those needs, not vice-versa. It is true

LETTERS



that when we evaluate through CAJE we are not interested in the accomplishments of a single individual who, no matter how fabulous, happens to encumber a particular position. What we are interested in is grading properly each position, based on the supervisor's and the mission's needs.

Mr. Ludwig's third assertion is that "CAJE fails to recognize or assign value to some of the most important characteristics of superior 'substantive' FSNs ..." That's right, because we are not evaluating an individual's performance. We are deliberately unconcerned with how an incumbent may perform, even if that job performance is well beyond his/her position description. Rather, we are interested in the position because for years, job-grading was often influenced by an incumbent's performance, with jobs sometimes being graded artificially high, and bearing no relationship to the actual needs of the position or the mission.

The purpose of CAJE is to bring equity to job-grading. Historically, there was a strong, if unintentional, element of elitism in the system, with positions deemed to have no "substance" graded lower than others, though they may have had enormous financial, supervisory or other responsibilities.

Thus, CAJE is not the department's "hidden agenda" to downgrade or eliminate positions in an effort to economize. It is, rather, an effort to correct past inequities and properly to define exactly what we need by way of staff. In this era of shrinking budgets, we need to know that we are getting our money's worth by defining — through our job requirements — precisely what we need to function, then hiring and retaining personnel whose knowledge, capabilities and experience fit that need.

*Catherine J. Elliott
Human Resources Officer
Embassy Brasilia ■*

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CYBERNOTES

Embassy Baghdad Opens: And Now for the Hard Part...

On June 30 Embassy Baghdad became one of the largest diplomatic posts in the world. While Embassy Cairo and our missions in Bangkok employ more staff, the new embassy in Iraq is the largest diplomatic mission of the United States. The new American ambassador, John Negroponte, and his team of nearly 200 courageous Foreign Service employees now face the difficult task of helping Iraqis rebuild their country and make it secure without acting as an overlord of the emergent Iraqi government.

The kidnapping of a senior Egyptian diplomat in Baghdad on July 23, an escalation in the wave of kidnappings that began in April to enforce demands for foreign troops and businesses to leave Iraq, underscores the dangers the diplomats face.

The new embassy, located inside the "Green Zone" of Baghdad, is the first official U.S. diplomatic presence in Iraq since the eve of the 1991 Persian Gulf War. The embassy will have a budget of \$1 billion for Fiscal Year 2005, and will oversee the distribution of \$18.4 billion in congressionally-mandated aid to Iraq.

There are currently more than 700 Iraqis employed by the embassy alongside nearly 1,000 American personnel. Over time many jobs currently filled by American contractors, such as security guards and cooks, are expected to be turned over to Iraqi workers. Staff from at least 12 agencies and departments will work in the new embassy.

Site of the Month: www.embassyworld.com

Have you ever been frustrated trying to find information about the Swedish embassy in Manila or the Pakistani embassy in Athens? Are you curious about what the outlet voltage is in Turkey? Have you ever wasted time trying to figure out how to make a telephone call from Bolivia to Botswana?

For most people, the answer to these questions is probably "no," but in that rare moment when you need information about that odd embassy relationship or telephone code, *Embassy World* (www.embassyworld.com) has it covered.

Embassy World provides links to nearly every diplomatic office of every country in the world. It offers links to American posts abroad, as well as links to foreign embassies and consulates in the United States. The

Web site also provides a comprehensive collection of links to foreign missions across the globe.

In addition, *Embassy World* offers useful information for those living abroad, including an international voltage directory, a collection of country maps and a telephone code listing for all of your international calls. There are also valuable links to other sites offering international employment and real estate resources.

Begun in 1996, *Embassy World* is a network of seven major Web sites, two magazines based on international investment, the largest relocation network in the world, the largest overseas employment database, the largest international real estate database, and the largest Caribbean real estate database.

— Kristofer Lofgren,
Editorial Intern

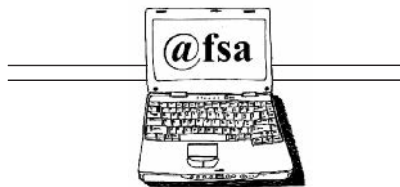
More than 190 FS officers and specialists will be posted to Baghdad and the four consulates in Basra, Mosul, Kirkuk and Hilla. In the long term, the embassy will have approximately 60 Marine guards and will make use of more than 140 armored vehicles.

However, until the security situation improves in Iraq, the work of U.S. officials will be hampered by an inability to make meaningful contacts beyond the embassy walls. Public diplomacy, in particular, faces tremendous obstacles, and will depend heavily on the work of FSNs. All personnel must deal not only with a dangerous environment but must also devise

outreach programs while overseeing the more than 130,000 American troops who continue to be the face of the United States for most Iraqis.

Though FS employees in Iraq serve just one year, after months of living, showering and sleeping in converted shipping containers under the constant threat of rocket attack, many will no doubt feel like they have been in the country much longer. For their brave efforts, they receive 25-percent hardship and 25-percent danger pay.

There are several Web sites that are useful for tracking the reconstruction efforts in Iraq. The official Web site of Embassy Baghdad is <http://>



CYBERNOTES

iraq.usembassy.gov. The Iraq Project and Contracting Office (**www.rebuilding-iraq.net**), formerly part of the Coalition Provisional Authority and now within Embassy Baghdad, manages the \$18.4 billion in aid for the rebuilding of the Iraqi infrastructure. USAID (**www.usaid.gov/iraq**) has taken the lead on health and education development. The Department of Commerce (**www.export.gov/iraq**) is working to promote American exports in Iraq and encourage Iraqi businesses. Finally, the Army Corps of Engineers (**www.hq.usace.army.mil/cepa/iraq/iraq.htm**) has worked hard to reconstruct Iraq's oil sector and to restore electricity to the Iraqi people.

— *Kristofer Lofgren,*
Editorial Intern

A New Day for Libya?

For the first time in 24 years, the U.S. government will have an official diplomatic relationship with Mu'ammar al-Qadhafi's Libya. On June 28, Assistant Secretary for Near East Affairs William Burns opened a U.S. Liaison Office in Tripoli as an introductory step toward normalizing relations. The oil-rich North African dictatorship seems poised to play a growing role in strategic equations concerning Africa and the Middle East.

Libya's return to the international fold has been a lengthy process that has shown the benefits of long-term diplomacy. In 1999, Libya surrendered two suspects in the Pan Am Flight 103 terrorist bombing case, and subsequently accepted responsibility for the atrocity and finalized a compensation package for the victims. As

This embassy [Baghdad] is going to have a thousand people hunkered down behind sandbags. I don't know how you conduct diplomacy in that way.

— Edward L. Peck, U.S. ambassador to Iraq, 1977-80, in the *Boston Globe*, June 26, 2004.

a result, in September 2003, the U.N. lifted its sanctions.

Qadhafi first offered to abandon Libya's weapons programs as early as 1999, but in March 2003 intense negotiations with American and British officials began, and on Dec. 19, 2003, the deal was finalized. Qadhafi officially swore off weapons of mass destruction and agreed to thorough inspections and the surrender of all materials related to its nuclear, chemical and missile programs. In surrendering its programs,

Libya became the first country in over 30 years to voluntarily give up its weapons of mass destruction without a change of regime.

In April 2004 the U.S. lifted its sanctions against Libya. The State Department, however, continues to list Libya as a state sponsor of terrorism due to "residual contacts with some of its former terrorist clients" (**www.travel.state.gov/libya**), thereby preventing U.S. exports, such as advanced oil and gas technologies, from reaching the economically handicapped desert autocracy.

Libya sits on 36 billion barrels of proven oil reserves, worth more than \$1 trillion at current world prices, though, according to the Department of Energy's country analysis brief (**http://www.eia.doe.gov/emeu/cabs/libya.html**), only a quarter of the country has been explored due to a lack of technical infrastructure. Libya, with Africa's largest oil supply, would like to increase production from less than 1.5 million barrels per day to over two million barrels per day by 2010 with the help of new

50 Years Ago...

Those of us whose business it is to meet our country's external dangers, however, know how much the national security depends on positive qualities, on the dedication, the vision, the energy, the intellectual development, and the accumulated knowledge of those who compose the government. Staff it with wooden Indians and the interests of our country's enemies will be abundantly served.

— From "The Interests of the National Security," Editorial, *FSJ*, September 1954.





American investment.

American energy companies had not been allowed to pump their Libyan wells since 1986, but as of June the wells began pumping again, and American companies such as ExxonMobil, ConocoPhillips, Marathon, Amerada Hess and Occidental began new exploration into Libya's untapped resources.

Though Qadhafi seems to have turned a new leaf in his relations with the international community, his enigmatic and obstinate persona has not changed. Upon the death of President Ronald Reagan in early June, Qadhafi expressed regret that Reagan never stood trial for ordering the reprisal bombings of Libyan targets in 1986. Similarly, Libya initially insisted that all foreign companies sign a letter declaring that they had no

dealings with Israel before they would be allowed to operate in the country, a requirement since dropped under pressure from the U.S.

During the long hiatus in relations, familiarity with developments in the country and knowledge of its people and their history has been limited in the U.S., confined mostly to academic specialists. For more background, there are a number of online sources. Both the CIA World Factbook chapter on Libya (<http://www.cia.gov/cia/publications/factbook/geos/ly.html>) and the State Department Background Note (<http://www.state.gov/r/pa/ei/bgn/5425.htm>) are current as of 2003. The Library of Congress has a detailed history of Libya from antiquity to 1987 (<http://lcweb2.loc.gov/frd/cs/lytoc.html>).

A short overview of Libya's disar-

mament story produced by the Congressional Research Service of the Library of Congress in April 2004 fills in some recent history (http://www.policyalmanac.org/world/archive/disarming_libya.pdf). A March 2004 report from the American Enterprise Institute advocates a cautious approach to Libya's new turn (http://www.aei.org/docLib/200402271_%2316423graphics.pdf). A State Department report details human rights abuses in Libya in 2003 (<http://www.state.gov/g/drl/rls/hrrpt/2003/27933.htm>).

One easy-to-use Web site collects all the latest news about Libya from international media (<http://www.libyadaily.com>), making current developments easier to follow.

— Kristofer Lofgren,
Editorial Intern ■

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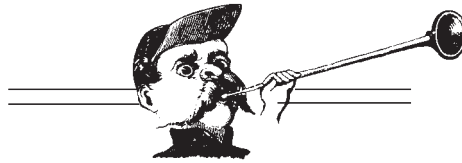
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SPEAKING OUT

A Cry for Justice

BY LARRY W. ROEDER JR.

The story of Abu Ghraib had just hit the news, complete with its crisp, ugly photographs, evidence of a system gone wrong. A lawyer who works in the field of human rights and who knew I had been in the military asked me if such behavior was illegal in the Army. Somewhat stunned by the question, I said of course it was. I went on to raise the conditions of the prisoners being held at Guantanamo Bay, and argued that they needed lawyers and access to the Red Cross and other human rights observers in order to avoid similar mistreatment, as well as to protect our reputation. My colleague replied that those prisoners have no rights, since “they are pirates.”

If an attorney that works on human rights issues doesn't know the proper answers to those basic questions, then small wonder West Virginia reservists were confused when aberrant intelligence officers claimed that the rules of war changed after 9/11 and therefore their “high-value” prisoners had no rights. Of course, unknown to both of us was a memo from Justice which contends that the president isn't bound by laws prohibiting torture and that government agents who might torture prisoners at his direction can't be prosecuted for doing so. The memo reportedly even says that the president, as commander-in-chief, can approve torture as a method of interrogation. Clearly my colleague was therefore justified in asking the question; but there can

Our failure to maintain a system of full civil rights for prisoners and detainees only encourages terrorism and weakens our alliances.



only be one comment on this policy. Hooey! For a beacon such as our nation to appear to be an advocate for torture is to seriously undermine our credibility as an advocate for human rights. It also weakens our ability to convince rogue nations to join the civilized world.

Such ignorance of what is appropriate — that America can't be above the law or even appear to trying — demonstrates the need for a long-overdue national discussion on the importance of civil rights in the war on terror. Many Americans are probably also confused. This dialogue could perhaps be conducted via a televised discussion by a panel of legal experts who would take questions from ordinary citizens in the audience.

This is not an attack on the current administration. It is an honor to serve

in the government. The trouble is that what happened at Abu Ghraib is not unique. Many administrations have held positions that went over the line. But the events of today offer bold proof that the system itself has broken. For example, evidence has now come to light that many alleged terrorists have died while in U.S. military custody. In one particularly notorious case, U.S. interrogators may have strangled an Iraqi general during questioning. If true, that was murder, no matter how valuable the prisoner. As a result, we need a change in attitude; our failure to maintain a system of full civil rights for prisoners and detainees only encourages terrorism (though evil never needs encouragement) and weakens our alliances.

Let me be clear: I am not calling for a debate on the appropriateness of the war on terrorism, which I support, or the Iraq conflict itself — both important topics upon which good, fair-minded people can disagree. Nor should this be an election-year fight. Rather, speaking as a professional civil servant, I am advocating the importance of managing our involvement in such wars in the proper way, and urging a recognition that even noble ends do not justify unethical means — certainly not those alleged to have been proposed in the Justice Department memo.

Universal Principles

After 9/11, we were told the world had changed, that al-Qaida was a new, unprecedented threat. But that claim overlooks the long history of terrorist

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SPEAKING OUT



activities before 2001. What about the takeover of the U.S. embassy in Tehran in 1979, the slaughter of Israeli athletes at the 1972 Munich Olympics, or the activities of the Bader Meinhof, Red Army and Shining Path, to name just a few groups? The response to such savage people and events was, and must remain, to bolster our democratic, constitutional principles during war, not to take away rights. Each time our citizens lose rights in the struggle against terrorism or in any conflict, the terrorists win. But when we stand on the side of justice, even when attacked, we make a mockery of the evil that is al-Qaida and Saddam Hussein.

One Pentagon adviser recently called the Geneva Conventions " quaint," and went on to challenge the whole concept of observing basic human rights in wartime. It is hard to imagine an attitude more short-sighted and destructive to our nation's image than dismissing the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights as irrelevant. Both treaties provide that no one shall be subjected to torture or cruel, inhuman or degrading treatment or punishment — period, no exceptions. You don't have to be a lawyer to understand that. It has been said that the Defense Department tried another tack to defuse criticism by refusing to use the word "torture," saying that term doesn't apply to what went on in Abu Ghraib. Yet the Convention against Torture says:

"'Torture' means any act by which severe pain or suffering, whether physical or mental, is intentionally inflicted on a person for such purposes as obtaining from him or a third person information or a confession, punishing him for an act he or a third person has committed or is suspected of having committed, or intimidating

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Princeton University 

SPEAKING OUT



*In times of war, even
democratic governments
often pass laws they
become ashamed of once
the crisis has passed.*

or coercing him or a third person, or for any reason based on discrimination of any kind, when such pain or suffering is inflicted by or at the instigation of or with the consent or acquiescence of a public official or other person acting in an official capacity.” These acts are equally illegal in Iraq, Cuba or back in the U.S., whether in war or in peace.

Every religious system and code of morality teaches that such conduct is immoral — i.e., kidnapping unproven suspects and taking them across the border for “rough treatment” — and experience shows that it is also ineffective or at least counterproductive. Yet now we are told that because of a few madmen, we must abandon the presumption of innocence when dealing with possible terrorists. Some may object that if a prisoner knows something crucial that might save the lives of many innocent people, then it is worth violating his rights to obtain that information by any means necessary, including torture — the so-called “ticking bomb” justification. Under the same reasoning, hundreds of “enemy combatants” have been sent to brigades in Cuba, Afghanistan and Iraq, and even right here in the United States, for years at a time without any trial to determine guilt. We are also told that prisoners may be held for years without trial — with no opportunity to defend themselves.

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SPEAKING OUT



This violates the very meaning of the American Revolution.

Yes, some, perhaps many, of these detainees may be “pirates,” as my colleague believes. But they are still human beings with rights we must respect. Toward that end, while we must protect secrets, trials should be public, wherever possible. The victims of tyranny in Iraq, Afghanistan and elsewhere deserve this, to say nothing of the citizens of this country, who must be convinced that American justice is open, fair and swift. For when our justice is secret, we are set up for abuses by the few and can’t deflect lies.

The Meaning of Justice

This is also why the way Saddam Hussein’s sons were killed was repugnant. The two were savages — no

doubt — but tanks and cannon are not police tools. Rather than put out the word “dead or alive,” we should have tried to bring them in alive, to be put on trial in The Hague for crimes against humanity, so the world and Iraq would know the meaning of American and international justice — a justice superior to the savagery of Saddam’s Iraq.

Every year, as we have done for decades now, the State Department publishes a comprehensive set of country human rights reports evaluating how every government around the world treats, or mistreats, its citizens. But when American officials engage in some of the very practices we rightly denounce elsewhere, as happened in Iraq and may have happened in Afghanistan and Cuba, those reports lose credibility. And that gap between

our words and our deeds only weakens our ability to speak out on behalf of victims of oppression and police-state brutality around the world — even here at home. A moral approach to justice isn’t always easy; but unethical shortcuts, though they may have quick positive returns, will in the end destroy us.

The Supreme Court has, I am relieved to note, now ruled that the prisoners at Guantanamo Bay and other “enemy combatants” are entitled to at least some of the basic due-process rights required by the U.S. Constitution. That set of decisions is not popular in many quarters, but it marks a welcome return to our country’s most fundamental values.

Our Founding Fathers launched a revolution that inspired the world, proclaiming that all humans are creat-



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ed equal, and are endowed with rights that no government can take away from them, no matter where they live or what they believe. We have not fully lived up to that idea, but it has guided our nation for more than two centuries. My own great-grandfather, Ernest Winter, like the ancestors of many *Journal* readers, fought tyranny in his homeland at great risk to himself before coming to this country. He was a national labor politician who escaped the Kaiser's secret police by crossing the German border in a hay wagon under the threat of death. He was smuggled to England and then traveled to America, where he spent the rest of his life working for the downtrodden, alongside Samuel Gompers and other activists.

In times of war, even democratic governments often pass laws they

Any gap between our words and our deeds only weakens our ability to speak out on behalf of victims of oppression and police-state brutality around the world.

become ashamed of once the crisis has passed. In 1798, the United

States almost went to war with France as xenophobia swept our country, leading to passage of the Enemy Alien Act and Alien and Sedition Acts permitting the president to arrest, imprison and deport "dangerous" immigrants on mere suspicion of "treasonable or secret machinations against the government." If such a deportee returned, he could be imprisoned for as long as the president thought "the public safety may require." Sounds like how we treat so-called "enemy combatants," doesn't it? And in an unsettling parallel with today's Patriot Act, the Sedition Act made it unlawful to write, print, publish or speak "false, scandalous and malicious" words about Congress or the executive branch — in direct violation of the First Amendment guarantee of freedom of expression.

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Though the Alien and Sedition Acts (but not the Enemy Alien Act, it is worth noting) were ultimately repealed, their spirit has resurfaced more than once during wartime. Abraham Lincoln suspended the right of habeas corpus during the Civil War, and thousands of Japanese-Americans were interned for years during World War II despite a complete lack of any evidence that they were disloyal or had harmed the United States in any way. Rights were abrogated in World War I as well, and internment camps from that conflict were used again in World War II. But those decisions were soon correctly seen as aberrations, not as precedents.

We must return to our American revolutionary roots, resisting the temptation to weaken our system of rights when under stress, and instead

***The Supreme Court
ruling that the
prisoners at
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and elsewhere do have
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the right call.***

setting an example for all to follow. Give the prisoners lawyers. Give them rights and a speedy, open, fair trial. No more deaths or torture during interrogation. Such behavior demeans us and sets American soldiers and civilians up for torture in the future.

As the Hindu poet Manu wrote in 1200 BC: "Justice, being destroyed, will destroy; being preserved, will preserve; it must never, therefore, be violated. Beware, O Judge! Lest justice, being overturned, overturn both us and thyself." ■

Larry Roeder, a Civil Service employee of the State Department, is the policy adviser on disaster management in the Bureau of International Organizations. The views expressed herein are his only.

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THE EVENTS OF 9/11 AND STATE'S NEW PARTNERSHIP WITH THE DEPARTMENT OF HOMELAND SECURITY HAVE FOREVER ALTERED CONSULAR WORK.

BY SHAWN ZELLER

to be a State Department consular officer overseas is to have one of the most challenging of all Foreign Service positions. Besides its responsibility for issuing American passports and providing American citizen services overseas, the Bureau of Consular Affairs handles visas. These CA officers — often the junior-most Foreign Service employees — have to play both the role of welcoming envoy to the millions of visitors who want to come to the United States each year to have fun, to do business, or to study, and the role of stern security guard against terrorists and criminals who would do America harm. The pressure is, and always has been, immense.

Some officers have to interview upwards of 200 people a day, with as little as two minutes to size up a prospective visitor.

The Sept. 11, 2001, attacks ushered in perhaps the darkest period in the history of Consular Affairs, after it was revealed that the 19 hijackers had entered the country on State Department-issued visas. In 2002, Congress almost stripped the State Department of its non-immigrant visa processing role, despite Secretary of State Colin Powell's staunch opposition. While unsuccessful, the attempt was a crushing blow to State and to consular officers' morale.

In the end, the State Department held onto the visa processing function, for non-immigrants as well as immigrants. (Immigrant visa processing was not an issue in Congress: these visas are processed in coordination with Homeland Security's Bureau of Citizenship and Immigration Services, the new incarnation of the now-defunct Immigration and Naturalization Service, which has always held final responsibility in this area.) Congress did shift authority over non-immigrant visa policy, including application requirements, to the new Department of Homeland Security and gave DHS a final veto over individual visas. Last September, State and DHS signed a memorandum of understanding that divides up responsibility for overseeing and carrying out visa processing, and the two agencies are working hard to streamline procedures and coordination.

It is clear that the events of 9/11 and State's new partnership with DHS have forever altered consular work. "Visa issuance has changed completely," says Louise Crane, State Department vice president of the American Foreign Service Association. For the consular officer, it's meant more training on the front end, more rigorous interviewing on the job, and enhanced capabilities to identify terrorists through biometrics and ever-larger databases. For State, it's also meant far greater cooperation with, and in some cases reliance on, other government agencies.

Shawn Zeller is a staff reporter for Government Executive magazine.

Thankfully, after years in which consular work was underfunded and ignored, it now has the attention of Congress.

Most of all, it's meant a rebalancing of priorities within the Bureau of Consular Affairs. Always under pressure from the business and travel industry, colleges and universities, and foreign governments to move people through faster, CA has now made security paramount. And, thankfully, after years in which consular work was underfunded and

ignored, it now has the attention of Congress.

"It's a challenging time, but also a great time of opportunity. Everyone feels the work they are doing is more important than ever," says Janice Jacobs, deputy assistant secretary of State for visa services. "Everyone has a healthy attitude."

An Uneasy Partnership

An order for two distinct bureaucracies to work together efficiently on a complicated and sensitive mission would invite difficulty even under optimal circumstances. But the new partnership between CA and DHS was the result of a bruising battle over the non-immigrant visa function and, simultaneously, a wholesale shakeup and reorganization of domestic security agencies into the new DHS entity. Still, both Assistant Secretary of State for Consular Affairs Maura Harty and Homeland Security Under Secretary for Border and Transportation Security Asa Hutchinson have praised each other's leadership.

Under the memorandum of understanding with State allocating responsibility for oversight and execution of the visa process, DHS now establishes most non-immigrant visa application policies, such as documentation requirements, conditions under which an applicant may apply for a visa outside his or her home country, and instances when CA can waive the interview requirement. And, as Hutchinson said at a hearing last year, Homeland Security now holds a "trump card" over nearly every decision to approve a visa.

State retains full authority over granting diplomatic visas, as well as any visa case that may affect foreign policy. For example, State will continue to be responsible for determining who is allowed to travel to the United Nations headquarters in New York City. State will also identify legitimate exchange programs for visa

purposes, and will continue to set visa validity periods and fees. Jacobs says that, if necessary, the two department secretaries — Powell and Tom Ridge — are prepared to step in to resolve disputes.

Last year, DHS began deploying visa security officers to consulates and embassies overseas, starting with Saudi Arabia. The Saudi deployments, now complete, were the only ones explicitly mandated in the 2002 legislation creating the department. Still, DHS plans to expand the deployment of visa security officers to five more posts this year, and an additional five the following year, pending adequate funding and recruitment of officers. The officers' roles, as yet, are somewhat undefined. But Harty said last year that "DHS personnel abroad will act as coordinators of source information involving threats to the United States, particularly focusing on terrorist threats ... They will provide training and intelligence support to our consular officers."

Harty adds that DHS officers have been welcomed to the team, and that they and State's consular workers are now operating efficiently together. The two departments are coordinating weekly on the new U.S. VISIT system, which is designed to track the entry and exit of foreign travelers. And CA expects to meet its goal of implementing new biometric checks during the visa interview process by October.

All visa applicants will have to allow a consular officer to take two fingerprints before a visa will be issued. The departments also worked together extensively to implement the new Student and Exchange Visitor Information System (SEVIS), which tracks foreign students at U.S. colleges and universities. As a result of those efforts, a number of wanted criminals have been captured, and about 200 foreign students were turned back after it was discovered that they were not properly enrolled in the school they claimed to be attending.

The data collected during the biometric checks is run through the Consular Lookout and Support System (CLASS), which now contains nearly three times as many records as it did before 9/11 because of new agency data-sharing requirements passed by Congress. Visa applicants are then vetted against Homeland Security's Automated Biometric Identification System, which is known as IDENT. Any hits are sent to the FBI in Washington for further review. When a visitor arrives in the United States, the Homeland Security

officer at the port of entry scans the visa, takes another pair of fingerprints, and pulls up the photo submitted by the applicant and fingerprints Consular Affairs collected to make sure the person who applied for the visa is the same one arriving in the United States.

Through no fault of either State or DHS, another October deadline threatened to test the new partnership. In 2002 Congress also passed legislation requiring all 27 of the visa-waiver countries to begin issuing passports with biometric information embedded within them by October 2004. Because none of the countries are on track to do so and because of ongoing problems with the technology, Powell and Ridge asked Congress to extend the deadline by two years. In early August, President Bush signed legislation granting only a one-year extension, to October 2005. If not resolved, CA would have had to start processing visa applications for travelers from visa-waiver countries, which include all of our closest European and Asian allies — a potential logistical nightmare.

No One Was Prepared

The post-9/11 transition hasn't been easy. In 2002, new security procedures overwhelmed an understaffed consular work force and led to long waits overseas. Even though visa applications dropped dramatically after the terrorist attacks, backlogs grew because of the new procedures. For example, whereas CA had often waived the requirement that visa applicants show up in person for an interview, after the new rules almost all applicants — except for children, the elderly and diplomatic personnel — were required to undergo an interview.

Also in the interest of security, CA dropped a 30-day time limit for comment that it had previously imposed on other agencies, such as the FBI, that had asked to review a visa application. "None of the federal agencies involved in the clearance process, including State, were technically equipped to handle the volume of data that began to come in to us," Jacobs told the Senate Foreign Relations Committee last October.

The Government Accountability Office (formerly the General Accounting Office), Congress' watchdog arm, followed up with a series of critical reports that said CA management was slow in defining the new security standards, communicating them to its work force, and setting procedures for working with other

agencies. At the same time, business and higher education groups complained of corporate executives denied visas, business deals lost, and students delayed in their studies.

Jacobs makes no apologies for CA's focus on security, but says that she and Harty have reached out to business and education groups and have tried to speed processing. Harty has asked all embassy consular sections to educate visa applicants about what they should expect, and how to navigate the new procedures.

And when security gaps have been revealed, State has taken steps to plug them. For example, in 2002 the GAO criticized CA for not taking action quickly enough in warning domestic security agencies that a visa had been revoked — GAO said at the time that at least 30 individuals were in the United States on revoked visas. Now warnings go out in near-real time through State's CLASS system and Homeland Security's Interagency Border Inspection System (IBIS). Jacobs says that in 2003, word of every revocation reached DHS before the visa-holder's arrival. Similarly, when GAO reported that CA had sent visas to the FBI for security checks with improper coding — causing long delays — the agency invested \$1 million to upgrade computer systems. Now, when consular officers send sensitive applicant information to the FBI and other government agencies for review, it travels over secure lines, rather than by telegram.

Critics have also questioned CA about whether the two-fingerprint system used by U.S.-VISIT will be adequate over the long term. At a hearing in January, House Select Committee on Homeland Security member Norm Dicks, D-Wash., noted that the FBI uses a 10-print system in its criminal database, and that two prints are sometimes not enough to make a definitive match. "I know there is very strong feeling, both in the House and Senate, that two fingers are inadequate," Dicks said. Jacobs responded that the National Institute of Standards and Technology has determined that a two-print system is adequate for the time being, and if databases eventually return too many false positives, State can expand to an eight-print system.

One area where there is much less controversy than

One area where there is much less controversy than in years past is CA's need for more personnel.

in years past is CA's need for more personnel. After years of declining staffing, the bureau added 39 new full-time consular core positions above replacement for attrition in 2003, and another 80 this year. These new officers are going through a rigorous training course that includes four new ses-

sions on counterterrorism, one of which is given by Central Intelligence Agency personnel. One of the courses deals with visa fraud, while another focuses on interviewing skills. More experienced hands have also been required to undergo additional security training, and Harty has taken steps to standardize consular procedures so that the processes will be identical worldwide.

Overcoming Misperceptions

Harty and Jacobs have also worked tirelessly to overcome the misperceptions that they believe nearly cost State the visa function. The concern in Congress then was that "the State Department didn't understand well enough the importance of border security," Jacobs recalls, a perception she rejects. Ironically, Congress had shown little interest in or knowledge of consular operations for years, except perhaps to lobby for visas requested by constituents on behalf of foreign relatives, and had cut the consular budget and rebuffed the agency's efforts to upgrade.

Indeed, just a decade ago increased consular staffing was unthinkable. At that time, then-Assistant Secretary for Consular Affairs Mary Ryan had to beg Congress to allow the agency to retain the processing fees from visa applicants to fund its operations. At that time, consular officers had no modern lookout system; instead they checked names against a microfiche list of ineligible people that was usually outdated. Biometric checks were unheard of, and it was all the bureau could do to get Congress to agree to provide funding to let it roll out machine-readable visa systems at consular posts. In 1994, Ryan succeeded in convincing Congress, for the first time, to allow Consular Affairs to keep some of the fees that it collects from visa applicants and use the money to pay for infrastructure improvements. But congressional restrictions on the funding only made it possible to upgrade six posts with the machine-read-

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able systems each year.

At the same time, the pressure to speed processing of visas — from business and education groups as well as Congress — was relentless, eventually leading to Ryan's resignation. Just months before 9/11, in an effort to speed processing in Saudi Arabia, CA set up a program through which Saudis could submit visa application paperwork to travel agents, who would then forward the information for adjudication by consular affairs. Many of the applicants were not required to show up at a consular post for an interview. Similar programs already existed worldwide, but in Saudi Arabia the program was given the unfortunate name of "Visa Express." In 2002, under congressional pressure, Ryan stepped down after the program generated controversy.

In testimony before the 9/11 Commission early this

Even after 9/11, it took an act of Congress to require the FBI to share data with CA.

year, Ryan said she does not believe the express program harmed national security. But she also recalled the circumstances at the time of the program's creation: "It was an extremely difficult period. We were devastated by the budget cuts. We were devastated by the lack of junior officer intake."

And at the same time, federal law enforcement and intelligence agencies were reluctant to share their lookout data. Ryan said she was outraged to learn, after the attacks, that the FBI and CIA had information on two of the 9/11 hijackers — Khalid al-Midhar and Nawaf al-Hazmi — and had never shared that information with CA. The reason they hadn't: State is not a law enforcement agency. "I was outraged. I was furious. I'm still angry about it," she says. Even after 9/11, it took an act of Congress to require the FBI to share data with CA.

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Some Things Don't Change

One thing that hasn't changed since 9/11 is the lobbying efforts of travel and business industry groups, as well as colleges and universities, to encourage consular affairs to lower barriers to travelers. In June, a coalition of business groups including the Aerospace Industries Association, the American Council on International Personnel and the National Foreign Trade Council, issued a report saying that delays in visa processing have cost U.S. exporters more than \$30 billion since 2002. Of the 734 companies that responded to a survey commissioned by the coalition, 73 percent said they had experienced problems in the processing of business travel visas, including unexpected delays and denials; 60 percent said they had paid a price for processing delays, including lost sales and increased costs associated with moving personnel abroad to avoid travel problems; and 51 percent said that the problem was getting worse, not better.

"When legitimate foreign business executives and vital international customers cannot enter the U.S. to conduct normal business, it is our companies, our workers, our economy, and our international relations that pay the price," said National Foreign Trade Council President Bill Reinsch in a statement announcing the survey. The report recommended that reputable, well-known businesses be granted "gold card" status, allowing their business travelers access to expedited procedures; and that CA grant visas allowing business travelers to travel to the United States multiple times without renewing.

Theresa Brown, executive director of Americans for Better Borders, a business advocacy group affiliated with the U.S. Chamber of Commerce, says that foreign business travelers have been offended by the fingerprint requirement.

Meanwhile, in May, a group of 25 science and higher education organizations, including the American Association for the Advancement of Science, the National Academy of Sciences, and the American Council on Education, sent a letter to the White House, the FBI, the State Department, and the Department of Homeland Security, arguing that the more stringent visa process was interfering with legitimate research and scholarship. "The U.S. cannot hope to maintain its present scientific and economic leadership position if it becomes isolated from the rest of the world," the letter said.

The group recommended that visas be granted to students and scholars for longer periods of time to allow them to complete a course of study without having to apply for a visa renewal. It also said that students should be allowed to begin the process before taking temporary trips outside the United States, and that CA should provide applicants with a means of checking their status. Visa applicants waiting more than 30 days should be moved to the front of the waiting list, the group said.

A Delicate Balance

The primary cause of delays in student visa processing, according to the GAO, is the increased use of Visas Mantis checks, instituted after the 9/11 attacks. Students and scholars who plan to conduct research in a number of scientific disciplines deemed important to national security must undergo these additional checks. In the past, the FBI had 30 days to process the requests from Consular Affairs, but now the FBI must sign off on all approved visas no matter how long it takes. That's caused some headaches. The GAO found, for example, that improperly formatted requests had not gotten to the FBI and delayed processing in some cases for weeks.

Based on a random sample of Visas Mantis cases between April and June 2003, the GAO found that it took an average of 67 days for the security check to be processed. GAO auditors visited consular posts in China, India and Russia, and found that consular officers were often confused about when to apply Visas Mantis checks. Nor did they receive consistent or timely feedback on whether they were providing enough information in the security review requests they sent back to Washington. In some cases, applicants routinely waited two to three weeks just for an interview, with some cooling their heels for more than three months for a response.

But now, Jacobs says, CA's \$1 million investment in better technology is paying off with fewer errors in security review requests sent to the FBI, and the new standard operating procedures implemented by Harty have cleared up confusion over how to process Visas Mantis cases. A newly established team within CA in Washington ensures that applications flow more smoothly. Now, Jacobs says, 80 percent of all Visas Mantis checks are conducted within 30 days.

The statistics, though, still bear out some of the

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business and education groups' concerns. Foreign travel to the United States dipped by about 30 percent after the 9/11 attacks and is only now recovering. At the same time, Consular Affairs is definitely taking a tougher line with students and scholars. Visas Mantis checks have tripled since 2001 to more than 20,000 a year. In total, CA granted 474,000 student visas in 2003, down from 560,000 in 2001; and it approved only 74 percent of applications, compared to 80 percent before 9/11.

Procedures are being streamlined for other categories of visa-holders as well. In late June, the State Department announced that as of July 16 it would no longer accept applications for renewal of "E," "H," "I," "O," "L," and "P" visas by mail. Holders of these visas, who include entertainers, athletes, journalists, investors,

A coalition of business groups says that delays in visa processing have cost U.S. exporters more than \$30 billion since 2002.

executives and skilled and unskilled temporary workers, will have to go to U.S. embassies abroad where they can be fingerprinted and interviewed. The new policy could come under fire from companies who may have to pay for their employees to go abroad to be processed, but, according to State Department spokesman Richard Boucher, there are no plans to create an office in the U.S. to handle the renewals. "We want to do interviews. We want to do fingerprints. We're best set up to do that overseas," he says.

Ultimately, Jacobs says, "Consular Affairs has always had to balance the two goals: one is facilitating legitimate travel; the other is protection of U.S. borders." Jacobs is the first to admit that CA is still working on finding the perfect balance, but she believes just as firmly that the agency has come a long way. ■

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ARE WE LOSING THE WAR ON TERRORISM?



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THREE YEARS AFTER THE 9/11 ATTACKS, THE THREAT FROM TERRORISM IS GROWING, NOT RECEDING. IT IS TIME FOR A REAPPRAISAL OF OUR STRATEGY.

By PHILIP C. WILCOX JR.

he “war on terrorism,” the centerpiece of George W. Bush’s presidency, is going badly. Incidents of worldwide terrorism have actually increased since Sept. 11, 2001. Islamic terrorists have become an even more formidable enemy. The war in Iraq, based in part on the false premise that Saddam Hussein posed a terrorist threat to the U.S., has squandered international sympathy won after 9/11, shortchanged U.S. counterterrorism efforts in Afghanistan and elsewhere, and provoked rising anger in the Arab and Muslim world. Worse yet, the war, seen by Muslims worldwide as a war against Islam, has created a new hotbed of anti-American terrorism and has swelled the ranks of radical jihadis throughout the world.

Excessive reliance on the military to fight terror, disdain for diplomacy, and assertive unilateralism have also provoked strong anti-American hostility worldwide. And the Bush administration's unprecedented tilt toward the policies of the right-wing Sharon government in Israel has increased Arab and Muslim anger against the U.S.

At home and abroad, the Bush administration has used the threat of terrorism to justify radical and unjustified departures from the rule of law. And, while our domestic defenses against renewed attacks in the U.S. have been strengthened, we remain highly vulnerable.

These dangerous consequences are a result of the victory of ideology over clear analysis and experience. A flood of commentary by policy experts, journalists, and former officials from across the political spectrum basically agrees that America's war on terrorism has gone wrong and that it is time for a reappraisal. Toward that end, the next administration, Republican or Democratic, should consider the following points in reshaping American policy.

The Threat Is Growing

The U.S. has so far avoided another major terrorist attack since 9/11, thanks to improved intelligence and security measures, although there are frequent warnings that new attacks remain a threat. But terrorism worldwide has grown over the past three years, with spectacular, highly lethal terrorist events in Spain, North Africa, Turkey, the Middle East, and in South and Southeast Asia. Growing terrorism in Iraq, which was not previously a center of such activity, has become an unintended (although widely predicted) result of the American military presence.

Measuring terrorism trends with statistics is admittedly difficult and not always reliable. The Department of State's *Patterns of Global Terrorism – 2003*, after mistakenly reporting that terrorist attacks were at the lowest ebb

***The key to successful
counterterrorism is
eliminating popular
support for terrorists and
their ideology wherever
they operate.***

in the last 34 years, now contains corrected data indicating that 625 people died from acts of international terrorism in 2003. This was more than in any year since 1998, except for 2001 when the 9/11 attacks occurred. The corrected *Patterns* also recorded the highest number of "significant terrorist incidents" in 2003 than in any year since data collection began 28 years ago. These numbers suggest that terrorists are increasingly on the offensive.

Needed: A Clearer Understanding of Terrorism

After 9/11, the Bush administration conflated the problems of terrorism by al-Qaida, hostile authoritarian regimes, and weapons of mass destruction thought to be possessed by these regimes into a lurid but intellectually incoherent "axis of evil." They believed that for moral and strategic reasons, the U.S. had a mission to rid the world of terrorist-supporting authoritarian regimes and to replace them with pro-U.S. democracies. They assumed this could be done by using military power and de-emphasizing traditional diplomacy and alliances. They believed that the Clinton administration's reliance on law enforcement, intelligence and diplomacy to fight terrorism had weakened American deterrence and emboldened Osama bin Laden and other terrorists. A more robust use of military force to destroy terrorists and their state sponsors was their chosen remedy. The war in Afghanistan that overthrew the Taliban regime was the opening round. But the war to overthrow Saddam Hussein, launched at the expense of completing the job in Afghanistan and concentrating on terrorism, worldwide, was the main event.

The administration's first mistake was to assume that terrorists are a discrete group of "evildoers," who can be identified, tracked down and killed or arrested, thus eliminating terrorism and "winning the war." Although al-Qaida was an organized group before 9/11, it was always part of a larger and diffuse network of extreme Islamists who share an ideology of hatred for the U.S. and the West as well as opposition to mainstream Islam. This ideology springs from and feeds on the experience of colonialism, and pathologies of weakness, humiliation, revenge, martyrdom,

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and despair over political repression and economic stagnation.

Since terrorism is a tactic serving an ideology, defeating it requires targeting the ideology that nourishes it through political, economic and psychological means. Unless the roots of the movement are targeted, the underlying grievances will continue to produce new terrorists, even as others are killed or captured.

The Bush administration also mistakenly assumed that terrorists could not carry out major attacks like 9/11 without the help of states. This fallacy produced the tenacious view, absent any evidence, that Saddam Hussein was behind the 9/11 attacks. Today's Islamist terrorists do not depend on state sponsorship, which has declined sharply in the last decade, as states have recognized the high risk of Western sanctions and the threat terrorism poses to their own regimes.

Limited Utility and Backlash Effects of Military Force

The Bush administration's lack of understanding that ideology is the ultimate target in combating terrorism, and that terrorists usually do not depend on states that can be attacked by military force, has led to exaggerated belief in the use of military power. While armed intervention accomplished the worthy goal of ridding Afghanistan of the hated Taliban regime, that was a uniquely easy target. By contrast, U.S. forces have not captured Osama bin Laden, and the lack of a sustained follow-through to that effort because of the Iraq war increases the odds that Afghanistan will once again become a haven for terrorists.

That example should show us how difficult it is for American military forces to capture highly mobile and clandestine terrorists. Iraq, where U.S. forces are fighting a murky combination of insurgents and terrorists, thus far without much success, confirms this lesson. Elsewhere in the world, terrorists exist clandestinely in many states, often in urban areas, where they are usually beyond the reach of U.S. military force.

Moreover, the use of conventional military force and high-performance weapons against terrorists and insurgents, especially in urban environments, carries a high risk of civilian casualties and backlash. Anger over heavy civilian casualties in the war in Iraq has already intensified anti-U.S. emotions in the Arab and Muslim world.

Civilian deaths have also weakened support for the principle that terrorism against non-combatants is never

acceptable and that terrorists should be treated as criminals. This principle was gaining wide international support as recently as the 1990s, but public opinion in the Muslim world now blurs the distinction between innocents killed by terrorists and innocent "collateral casualties" killed by American forces. This plays into the hands of the terrorists, and the U.S. is blamed for the violence, not the terrorists.

Terrorists understand this dynamic better than we do. They use tactics to expose civilians to U.S. firepower, and they enhance their support and legitimacy by posturing as "warriors for Islam" and "freedom fighters." Arab media, like Al-Jazeera, are all too willing to exploit civilian deaths caused by U.S. forces to inflame popular emotions and create sympathy for the terrorists. All this undermines the principle that all terrorism, whatever the motivation, should be beyond the pale.

Since military force is often ineffective in eliminating terrorists and tends to strengthen their ideological cohesion and popular appeal, we should use it only in exceptional circumstances. For example, force might be necessary in the rare case of an imminent terrorist attack that cannot be preempted by diplomatic, intelligence or law enforcement measures, or in the equally rare case of an act of state-sponsored terror for which there is no other effective response.

Good Intelligence Requires Expert, Independent Analysis

The 9/11 Commission Report revealed many weaknesses in U.S. intelligence. At the top of the list for reform are improved collection of terrorism intelligence, better intelligence analysis (untainted by political pressure) and greatly improved sharing of intelligence among agencies.

However, expectations of vastly improved collection of human intelligence that will invariably provide advance warning of terrorist attacks are unrealistic. So is the perennial claim that the U.S. could use covert action much more effectively. Of course we need to try harder, but there are limits to our ability to penetrate terrorist networks with human agents, and to obtain tactical warning of impending terrorist attacks.

The most cost-effective investment in better intelligence would be funds for greater area and language expertise, not only for collectors of secret intelligence and analysts, but for State's Foreign Service officers. Many analysts believe that Foreign Service reporting is the best sin-

gle official source of intelligence about the political dynamics of foreign societies. Budgets for language and reporting have improved after a long decline, but these skills deserve greater resources. No less important, intelligence analysts and Foreign Service reporting officers must not be inhibited by pressure to report what their political bosses in Washington want to hear. Such constraints are heaviest when ideology and demands for conformity trump open-mindedness and respect for experience among policy-makers.

Of course, changes in the structure of the intelligence community are needed to eliminate deplorable failures in intelligence sharing and coordination, some of which contributed to 9/11. But any reform must protect competition and diversity among intelligence agencies, which help guard against inevitable pressure for homogenized and “politically correct” analysis.

Losing the Hearts and Minds of Muslims

The key to successful counterterrorism is eliminating popular support for terrorists and their ideology wherever they operate, as well as winning full cooperation from foreign governments. There was widespread sympathy for the U.S. among Muslims and Arabs, as in most of the world, following the tragedy of 9/11. But careless rhetoric from Washington about serial wars against other Muslim states suspect of terrorist sympathies, a sharp tilt toward Sharon’s policies in the Israeli-Palestinian conflict, and the war in Iraq have squandered this good will and stirred an unprecedented wave of anti-American hostility throughout the Arab and Muslim world.

The war in Iraq has created a new motivation for terrorism by resurrecting powerful memories of colonialism, domination and defeat by the non-Muslim West, just as Soviet troops in Afghanistan did in the 1980s. Today, the collapse of the WMD rationale for the war, the lack of evidence that Saddam was behind 9/11, and the belief, which the administration has not tried to rebut, that the U.S. wants oil preferences and military bases in Iraq, have all compounded Arab and Muslim anger. Polls in the region show a widespread perception that the U.S. war against

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terrorism is actually a war against Islam.

The U.S. has struck heavy blows against the operational effectiveness of bin Laden’s original al-Qaida network. But a wider Jihadi movement, ideologically linked to al-Qaida, but operationally autonomous, is growing. This movement, fueled by growing Muslim resentment over the perception that Islam itself is under attack from America and the West, constitutes the main terrorist threat today. Its cadres are dispersed, highly mobile,

sophisticated, and located worldwide. The most respected terrorism experts, inside and outside the U.S. government, regard this diffuse network as more formidable and implacable than the original al-Qaida.

Weakening the Rule of Law

The Bush administration’s view that international legal limits on unprovoked war and the treatment of detained terrorist suspects do not bind the U.S. is a major setback for international efforts to strengthen international law as a tool against terrorism. In fact, strengthening a rule-based international legal regime against terrorism and international compliance with this regime are critically important. The general indifference, if not hostility, of the Bush administration toward international law weakens the fabric of global anti-terrorism law and cooperation painstakingly stitched together over many years.

The sordid practice of torture by American forces against suspects in Iraq and the indeterminate detention of “enemy combatants” at Guantanamo Bay are egregious examples of this disregard for international law. Fortunately, the Supreme Court has overturned the Bush administration’s assertion of unlimited executive power to detain both certain U.S. citizens and foreign suspects without due process. Such practices put American troops at risk, and undermine the work of generations to adopt rules that make armed conflict more humane. All this plays into the hands of terrorists and other criminal elements that disdain civilized conduct and celebrate force and violence.

The Patriot Act, hastily enacted after 9/11, treads on traditionally protected rights against search and surveil-

lance without a warrant, and allows the secret detention of aliens without due process. The U.S. needs extraordinary legal means to pre-empt the rare case of the “ticking bomb,” but the Patriot Act goes too far.

Of course, terrorism is a serious threat to our security, and potential terrorist access to materials for constructing and deploying weapons of mass destruction increases that risk. But while we must have strong laws to protect ourselves, we must also protect liberty. If we sacrifice liberty too readily to guard against remote terrorist contingencies, we lose far more than we gain and ultimately weaken our security. Our leaders should use common sense and remember the lesson of history that “if anything goes, everything is soon gone.”

Toward a More Effective Strategy

Describing our post-9/11 efforts as a “war” against terrorism is understandable, given the gravity of the threat and the need for a determined response. But “wars” are eventually won or lost, and terrorism cannot be eliminated or protected against entirely. Nevertheless, we can and must reduce the threat.

The Bush administration has made important progress in domestic security, especially in air travel. Border controls have also been improved. But heavy-handed, protracted vetting of visa requests, especially those for visitors from Muslim countries, has discouraged visits by students, tourists and businesspeople. We pay a huge cost in ill will and contacts lost for this.

We must recognize, however, that the goal of complete homeland security is unattainable, given the infinite range of targets in the U.S., and the costs in disruption and loss of freedom that would be required. This makes it all the more imperative that we broaden our strategy.

Because of the limited utility of military force and its disadvantages in combating terrorism, we must continue to rely most heavily on the traditional tools of intelligence, law enforcement and diplomacy to stop terrorists and apprehend them. The report of the 9/11 Commission points the way toward strengthening these methods.

But given the limitations of these tools for pre-empting terrorism, and our inherent vulnerabilities at home and

Arab media, like Al-Jazeera, are all too willing to exploit civilian deaths caused by U.S. forces to inflame popular emotions and create sympathy for the terrorists.

abroad, we need a far more ambitious parallel strategy to undermine terrorism at its roots. We must find better ways to reduce the appeal of extremist ideologies that breed terrorism so that new terrorists will not emerge and that those who remain at large can be isolated, exposed and apprehended. Having identified the ideological roots of terrorism, we can then bring to bear diplomatic, economic, educational and other resources.

It is beyond the power of the U.S. alone to eliminate or even rapidly change the lack of democracy and human rights, the economic failure, the ignorance, and the historic and cultural traumas that have fed terrorism in the Arab and Muslim world. But we need to devote far greater wisdom and resources to the task than we have up to now. President Bush’s U.S.-Middle East Partnership Initiative is a good beginning, but until the war in Iraq and the Israeli-Palestinian conflict are resolved, it is unlikely to gain much traction. A new strategy should also mobilize the experience of European states and their resources. This will require a return to multilateralism and healing wounded relations with our traditional allies.

We will also need to communicate more effectively with the people in the Arab and Muslim worlds to restore their friendship and confidence in American goals. Unless these people understand and trust our policies, they will not join us against the terrorists and abandon the false notion that the U.S. is at war with Islam. Thus far, our educational and information programs have been pathetically inadequate to the challenge.

This work will take decades, and the legacy of past failures will not be overcome soon. In the shorter term, the most important policy initiative the U.S. could take would be to renew American leadership in the search for peace between Israelis and Palestinians. Nothing has done so much to anger and alienate Arabs and Muslims as the perception that the U.S. favors the policies of settlement expansion and domination of the Palestinians pursued by Israeli Prime Minister Ariel Sharon, and is indifferent or hostile toward Palestinian rights for freedom in a viable state of their own. Bin Laden and other terrorists have exploited this issue brilliantly. But even without their

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manipulation, the issue's importance cannot be overestimated. Unless the U.S. reverses its current passive and sometimes partisan policy and turns to vigorous, even-handed intervention in the Israeli-Palestinian conflict, it cannot regain the respect and confidence it needs in Arab and Muslim states to reduce and contain the threat of radical Islamic terrorism.

Terrorism Is Not the Only National Security Challenge

One final observation. Without diminishing the threat of terrorism, we must also recognize that the U.S. also confronts other dangerous national security challenges: non-proliferation, international economic growth and stability, denial of human rights and democracy, environmental degradation, HIV/AIDS and other epidemic diseases, drugs and crime also affect the well-being of Americans and the world. While less dramatic and frightening than terrorism, these problems also demand attention in our national

security policy. Yet the Bush administration's overwhelming focus on terrorism, at the cost of an estimated \$400 billion since 9/11, including the cost of the war in Iraq, has deprived these other critical issues of the diplomatic attention and resources they need.

Perhaps our worst failing in facing the broad problems of conflict and political violence abroad is neglect of what retired Ambassador Ronald Spiers describes elsewhere in this issue (see p. 43) as the "swamp of poverty and ignorance which spawns and sustains terrorism."

Although we are the world's richest nation, we are dead last among developed nations in our per-capita contribution to foreign aid, giving less than one-tenth of one percent of our GDP.

By making the "war on terrorism" the defining principle of U.S. policy, the Bush administration has neglected other foreign policy needs and tended to obscure the positive goals that have sustained and distinguished American leadership in the past.

This must change. ■

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FIGHTING TERRORISM IN EAST AFRICA AND THE HORN



Phil Foster

B SIX YEARS AFTER THE BOMBINGS OF OUR EMBASSIES IN NAIROBI AND DAR ES SALAAM, U.S. COUNTERTERRORISM EFFORTS IN THE REGION DO NOT YET MEASURE UP TO THE THREAT.

BY DAVID H. SHINN

efore Sept. 11, 2001, most Americans paid little attention to terrorism, particularly in the Third World. Since then, though the Middle East and Central Asia have figured most prominently in the war on terrorism, Africa is increasingly coming into focus as an important battleground.

This is especially true of East Africa (Kenya, Uganda and Tanzania) and the Horn of Africa (Sudan, Ethiopia, Eritrea, Djibouti and Somalia), where the practice of targeting Americans for political violence has deep roots. The Black September organization assassinated the American ambassador to Sudan, Cleo A. Noel Jr., and his deputy

chief of mission, George Curtis Moore, in 1973. And following the U.S. air attack against Libya in 1986, Libyan terrorists retaliated by severely wounding an American embassy communications technician, William Caldwell, also in Khartoum. There have been a number of other terrorist attacks dating back more than two decades against Western and Israeli interests in this dangerous region.

But it took the coordinated bombings by al-Qaida in 1998 of the American embassies in Nairobi and Dar es Salaam to make clear the full scope of the organization's menace. While the attacks killed far more Kenyans and Tanzanians than Americans, 12 Americans perished in Nairobi and many were injured in both capitals. (American and Ugandan authorities foiled another attack planned against the U.S. embassy in Kampala.)

Those bombings were, in many respects, even more of a seminal event than the 9/11 attacks for the American war on terrorism in East Africa and the Horn. The State Department responded by building new fortified embassies in both capitals, and in Kampala, with considerably more setback from the street. Other embassies in the region enhanced their physical security, as well.

There were also policy ramifications. Prior to the embassy bombings, the U.S. had a cool relationship with Kenyan President Daniel arap Moi as a result of concerns over corruption and the pace of democratization. When senior American officials visited Africa,

***The components of the
counterterrorism
program for East Africa
and the Horn are good
as far as they go.
But the focus is not
long-term enough.***

they rarely went to Kenya. In sympathy for Kenyans killed in the bombing and in appreciation for Kenya's close counterterrorism cooperation with the U.S. following the attack, significant numbers of senior American officials traveled to Nairobi. President Moi even received a long-desired invitation to the White House before he stepped down at the end of 2002. Tanzania also experienced an increase in high-level American attention.

A Focal Point of Terrorism

Unfortunately, however, U.S. counterterrorism policy perspectives and programs in the region do not yet measure up to the threat Islamic fundamentalism and al-Qaida activity jointly pose. There are several reasons for this. Most of the countries have experienced severe internal conflict, which is frequently supported by neighbors, either directly or via dissident groups — which tends to lead to tit-for-tat support of an opposition group in the offending state. Examples of this phenomenon range from the long-standing civil war in Sudan and the collapse of any central authority in Somalia to Tanzanian support for the overthrow of the Idi Amin regime in Uganda, Somalia's invasion of Ethiopia in the late 1970s, Eritrea's war of independence, and the Ethiopian-Eritrean conflict.

Such instability prevents most governments in the region from exercising full control over their territory, providing terrorists easy access to weapons. Somalia remains a vacuum and is prey to any terrorist with money and a plan. Although Sudan appears to be nearing the end of a civil war that dates back to 1983, it now faces a new and worsening conflict in the Darfur region, along the border with Chad. Uganda has been unable to eliminate the Lord's Resistance Army in the northern part of the country. The Somali-inhabited Ogaden in southeastern Ethiopia experiences regular security incidents. And the Eritrean Islamic Jihad Movement seems to have refocused attention against Eritrea, operating out of Sudan.

Although the groups behind these attacks are not normally considered international terrorists, they

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engage in terrorist tactics and some, such as the EIJM, are believed to have links with al-Qaida. Recent actions by these groups illustrate conclusively that the security and intelligence services in all of the countries are underfunded and ill-equipped to counter terrorist tactics by local organizations or international terrorists.

Geography also plays an important role. Most of these states are located near, and have longstanding ties to, the Arabian Peninsula, the source of many of today's Islamic militants. It is easy to move between the Persian Gulf states and this region by air and sea. The governments are virtually incapable of monitoring the lengthy coastline from Eritrea to Tanzania. The land borders between all of the states are unusually porous, as well.

Further, the region sits on a religious fault line of Christianity, Islam and traditional African beliefs. All eight of the countries are either predominantly Muslim or have important Muslim minorities. Sudan, Djibouti and Somalia, including self-declared independent Somaliland, are heavily Muslim. Ethiopia and Eritrea are about half Islamic. Kenya, Uganda and Tanzania contain significant Muslim minorities, some of whose members have become radicalized in recent years. It is true that Sufism, which tends to resist the ideas of Islamic fundamentalists, remains strong throughout the region. This traditionally moderate form of Islam has not always been sufficient, however, to overcome the appeal of fundamentalism, especially when it is backed with funds from Saudi Arabia and the Gulf States. As a result, nearly all of the international terrorism in the region, as opposed to local groups that use terrorist tactics, has ties to extremist Islamic elements.

Poverty, Social Injustice and Political Alienation

Finally, the region's endemic corruption is another factor that attracts terrorists, allowing them to buy off immigration and local security officials. Transparency International surveyed 133 countries in 2003 as part of its corruption perceptions index. Five of the eight countries located in the region ranked poorly. Ethiopia and Tanzania received the best ranking of the five, tied with several other countries at the 92nd position. Sudan tied with a number of countries for position 106, while Uganda tied with others for 113. Kenya, although its

standing improved from past years, tied with Indonesia at 122. (Transparency International did not rank Eritrea, Djibouti or Somalia.)

The fact that East Africa and the Horn are home to some of the poorest countries in the world, with high levels of social injustice and political alienation, is frequently cited as a reason why the region has become a breeding ground for terrorism. But not everyone agrees that poverty is closely linked to international terrorism. State Department Coordinator for Counterterrorism Cofer Black, during a May digital videoconference with journalists and government officials in Dar es Salaam and Addis Ababa, downplayed the link between terrorism and poverty. He cited the Saudis who took part in the 9/11 attacks on the U.S., pointing out that they tended to come from middle-class families and had access to a university education. He concluded that they "turned into terrorists because they fell under the influence of the wrong people and became seriously misguided."

Yet while this may be true, it misses the point, at least as far as East Africa and the Horn are concerned. The environment created by poverty, social injustice and political alienation enhances the ability of religious extremists to export their philosophy and of terrorists to find local support for their nefarious acts. Black went on to say that instead of blaming economic conditions, "we need to encourage moderation" and follow guidelines "our mothers and fathers taught us." Good luck!

To be sure, poverty may not be a direct cause of terrorism. To dismiss its role, however, is misguided. Together with abysmally low wages for immigration and security personnel, poverty significantly increases the prospect of widespread corruption that, in turn, creates a climate amenable to terrorism. Even the President's National Security Strategy issued in September 2002 commented that although poverty does not make poor people into terrorists, "poverty, weak institutions and corruption can make weak states vulnerable to terrorist networks and drug cartels within their borders." In a recent issue of *Foreign Affairs* Senator Chuck Hagel, R-Neb., argued that terrorism finds sanctuary in "the misery of endemic poverty and despair." He added that "although poverty and despair do not 'cause' terrorism, they provide a fertile environment for it to prosper." In East Africa and the Horn,

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and probably much of the rest of the world, it is time to accept the important role that poverty plays and put in place long-term measures to deal with it.

Financing Terrorism

Charities sponsored by Saudi Arabia and several other Persian Gulf states have probably financed most of the international terrorist activity in the region, with funds coming both from private individuals and governments. In the case of Saudi Arabia, and to a lesser extent Qatar, the charities are closely linked to efforts to promote the fundamentalist Sunni Islamic creed known popularly as Wahhabism. Toward that end, in 1962 Saudi Arabia created the state-financed Muslim World League to underwrite mosques, schools, libraries, hospitals and clinics around the world. Saudi Arabia's grand mufti, its highest religious authority, serves as the organization's president.

The League encompasses a wide range of entities, including the al-Haramain Islamic Foundation and the

International Islamic Relief Organization. These charities have been active in East Africa and the Horn for years, building mosques and implementing useful social programs. But some of their branches have also funneled money to al-Qaida and associated terrorist organizations, and the U.S. has accused the former director of al-Haramain in Tanzania of planning the 1998 attacks on the embassies in Dar es Salaam and Nairobi.

After the 9/11 attacks, Washington stepped up pressure on Saudi Arabia to control these charities. In 2002, the two countries jointly designated the Somali branch of al-Haramain as an organization that had supported terrorist groups such as al-Qaida and the Somali-based al-Ittihad al-Islamiya. Early in 2004 both countries notified the U.N. Sanctions Committee that the branches of al-Haramain in Kenya and Tanzania provide financial, material and logistical support to al-Qaida and other terrorist organizations. They asked Kenya and Tanzania to seize the assets of both branches. At the request of the U.S. and Saudi Arabia, the

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government of Tanzania recently deported the two top al-Haramain officials and closed the office. In mid-2004 Saudi Arabia and the U.S. designated the al-Haramain branch in Ethiopia as a financier of terrorism. At the same time, under pressure from the U.S., Saudi Arabia outlined plans to dismantle its network of international charities and place their assets under a new Saudi National Commission for Relief and Charity. It remains to be seen if this crackdown by Saudi Arabia will put an end to the diversion of charitable donations to terrorists.

A Major Change in Policy toward Sudan

U.S. relations with Sudan began a downward spiral after an Islamic government entrenched itself in power in the early 1990s and stepped up the war against southerners. Sudan opened the door slightly in 1996, however, when it responded positively to a U.S. request to expel Osama bin Laden, who had lived in Khartoum since 1991. This offered the possibility for improved relations, but there was no follow-through by the Clinton administration. The nadir in the relationship then occurred in 1998 following the bombing of the embassies in Nairobi and Dar es Salaam, when the U.S. launched cruise missiles against a pharmaceutical factory in Khartoum. The U.S. linked the factory to the production of chemical weapons based on a soil sample containing a precursor for the production of weapons found outside the factory. The U.S. also alleged there were ties between the factory owner and al-Qaida. Sudan strongly denied any link and a number of experts who studied the case have raised serious questions about the rationale for the attack. The Clinton administration, which had been under pressure from domestic groups to take a hard line toward Sudan, nevertheless made overtures in 2000 to Khartoum concerning possible cooperation on counterterrorism. Sudan responded positively; by the time the Bush administration took power, the scene was set for improved ties.

Following the 9/11 attacks, Khartoum quickly concluded it was in its interest to increase cooperation with the U.S. on counterterrorism. This provided the Bush administration an opportunity to advance the war on ter-

Charities sponsored by Saudi Arabia and other Persian Gulf states have probably financed most of the international terrorist activity in the region.

rorism and make progress on ending the long-standing civil war in Sudan. President Bush named former Missouri Senator John Danforth as his special envoy for Sudan in an effort to end the civil war. This appointment and policy not only neutralized the American domestic constituency that wanted strong action against Sudan, but turned Sudan into an important ally in the war against terrorism.

By all accounts, the regime's cooperation on counterterrorism has been excellent. In addition, it and the Sudan People's Liberation Movement, under pressure from the U.S. and others, have also made enormous progress in ending the civil war. Consequently, Secretary Powell announced in May that the U.S. had removed Sudan from a blacklist of countries deemed not to be cooperating fully on counterterrorism. There is still in place a maze of American sanctions, including the listing of Sudan as a "state sponsor" of terrorism, but this was the first step in unraveling U.S. sanctions against Sudan. The policy change probably would not have occurred except for the traumatic events of 9/11. However, a new crisis in the Darfur region in western Sudan threatens to set back significantly the improvement in relations.

Quandary over Somalia

American and allied forces intervened massively in Somalia late in 1992 to end a famine. They stopped the famine, and all U.S. troops left Somalia by March 1994 following the "Blackhawk Down" episode in Mogadishu. The U.S. and international community effectively abandoned the failed state, though 9/11 and the war against the Taliban in Afghanistan briefly brought Somalia back into prominence in 2002, due to fears that the vacuum there would provide a safe haven for al-Qaida supporters being chased from Afghanistan. Some of the ideas being discussed in the government for dealing with the country were wildly off the mark, however — no surprise given the loss of expertise that occurred during the post-1994 interregnum. Fortunately, calmer minds prevailed and Washington did not do anything really stupid in Somalia.

That said, the country is still a failed state where terrorist elements can move with impunity. Somalia has

been home to al-Ittihad al-Islamiya, a fundamentalist organization that has carried out terrorist attacks against Ethiopia and is believed to have connections with al-Qaida. The U.S. added al-Ittihad in 2001 to its Comprehensive List of Terrorists and Groups. It also included the Somali money transfer organization, al-Barakat, on the list. There is evidence that an al-Qaida cell based in Mogadishu took part in the 2002 attack on an Israeli-owned hotel outside Mombasa and a simultaneous but unsuccessful attempt to shoot down an Israeli charter aircraft. At the same time, Somalis generally are not predisposed toward Islamic fundamentalism or entreaties by international terrorists. The situation in Somalia is worrisome and merits close monitoring, but it is not even close to the threat once posed by Taliban-governed Afghanistan. There appears, however, to be no agreed-upon U.S. policy for dealing with Somalia. It is long past time to adopt one.

A Base in Djibouti

The U.S. embassy in Djibouti has traditionally been small and sleepy. But that changed after 9/11. The country now hosts the only U.S. military base in Africa and welcomes coalition forces from France, Germany, Spain and Italy. Some 1,800 American military and civilian personnel currently occupy a former French Foreign Legion facility at Camp Lemonier outside the capital city. Established in October 2002 and known as the Combined Joint Task Force-Horn of Africa, it is responsible for fighting terrorism in Djibouti, Ethiopia, Eritrea, Sudan, Kenya, Somalia and Yemen, and in the coastal waters of the Red Sea, the Gulf of Aden and the Indian Ocean. CJTF-HOA's stated mission is to detect, disrupt and defeat transnational terrorist groups, to counter the re-emergence of transnational terrorism and to enhance long-term stability in the region. The establishment of the base represents a dramatic change for U.S. security policy in Africa since the closure many years ago of the Wheelus Air Force Base in Libya and Kagnew Communications Station in Ethiopia.

CJTF-HOA has devoted most of its effort so far to training with allied forces and the armies of Djibouti, Ethiopia and Kenya. It has conducted an impressive number of civic action programs that refurbish schools and clinics and provide medical services in the same three countries. CJTF-HOA established a temporary training facility for the Ethiopian military outside Dire

Dawa in the southeastern part of the country. Training has begun for the first of three Ethiopian anti-terrorism battalions. It is less clear how much terrorist interdiction CJTF-HOA has accomplished. Without providing details, the departing commander stated in May that they have captured "dozens of terrorists" and averted at least five terrorist attacks.

Although a good effort, the operation is not free of problems. Relations with Sudan, especially after disagreements over the new conflict in Darfur, have not improved sufficiently to engage in military cooperation. Somalia remains in too much disarray to think in terms of projects in country except for the more peaceful and self-declared independent Republic of Somaliland. The U.S. has so far been unwilling to undertake activities in Somaliland that might suggest it recognizes the country. Eritrea claims to seek cooperation with the U.S. on counterterrorism, but there have been problems translating this intention into action. There are also some operational issues. Turnover of CJTF-HOA personnel is too frequent, and area and indigenous language expertise are in short supply. American ambassadors in the region, most of whom have only dealt with a military attaché on their own staff, are still learning how to interact with an independent military commander.

The East Africa Counterterrorism Initiative

After 9/11 the State Department's Office of Counterterrorism identified East Africa and the Horn, especially Djibouti, Somalia, Ethiopia, Eritrea, Kenya and Tanzania, to be at particular risk. In response, in 2003 the U.S. created a \$100 million East Africa Counterterrorism Initiative. This encompasses military training for border and coastal security, programs to strengthen control of the movement of people and goods across borders, aviation security, assistance for regional programs to curb terrorist financing, police training and an education program to counter extremist influence. There are separate programs to combat money laundering.

The major beneficiary so far of this funding has been Kenya. The U.S. is working with Kenyan officials to develop a comprehensive anti-money laundering/counterterrorist financing regime. The State Department's Terrorist Interdiction Program has established a computer system that is now operational at select airports in Kenya, Tanzania and Ethiopia, and is scheduled to go

online this year in Djibouti and Uganda. The TIP system provides nations with a state-of-the-art computer network that enables immigration and border control officials to identify suspects attempting to enter or leave the country. The U.S. is also funding a police development program in Tanzania, Uganda and Ethiopia, developing a training and equipment program for Kenya's law enforcement agencies, and setting up forensic laboratories in Tanzania and Uganda.

As welcome as this new assistance is, it has not stemmed complaints from countries in the region. Uganda claims it is being shortchanged because it has dealt successfully with international terrorist threats on its own. In addition, Kampala's priority is dealing with local terrorist groups such as the Lord's Resistance Army and Allied Democratic Front, while Washington is focused on international terrorists like al-Qaida. Eritrea offered the U.S. access to its port facilities and, together with Ethiopia, joined the "coalition of the willing" against Iraq. But it now finds itself frozen out of counterterrorist assistance because of U.S. concerns over the continued detention of two Eritreans employed by the American embassy and other human rights issues. Both Eritrean and Ethiopian cooperation on counterterrorism are also linked to the two countries' desire to gain favor with the U.S. on their festering border demarcation disagreement.

Looking Ahead

The resources and attention devoted to counterterrorism in East Africa and the Horn are impressive but inadequate. At a House subcommittee hearing on terrorism in April, Chairman Ed Royce, R-Calif., emphasized that the U.S. needs to devote more resources for counterterrorism in Africa. He is correct. President Bush's FY 2005 international affairs budget request has as its top priority the winning of the war on terrorism. Exclusive of Iraq and Afghanistan, it requests \$5.7 billion for assistance to countries around the world that have joined the war on terrorism and another \$3.5 billion that indirectly supports the war by strengthening the U.S. ability to respond to emergencies and conflict situations. The \$100 million East Africa Counterterrorism Initiative and several other

It took the coordinated bombings in 1998 of Embassy Nairobi and Embassy Dar es Salaam to make clear the full scope of al-Qaida's menace.

modest programs just don't measure up to the threat.

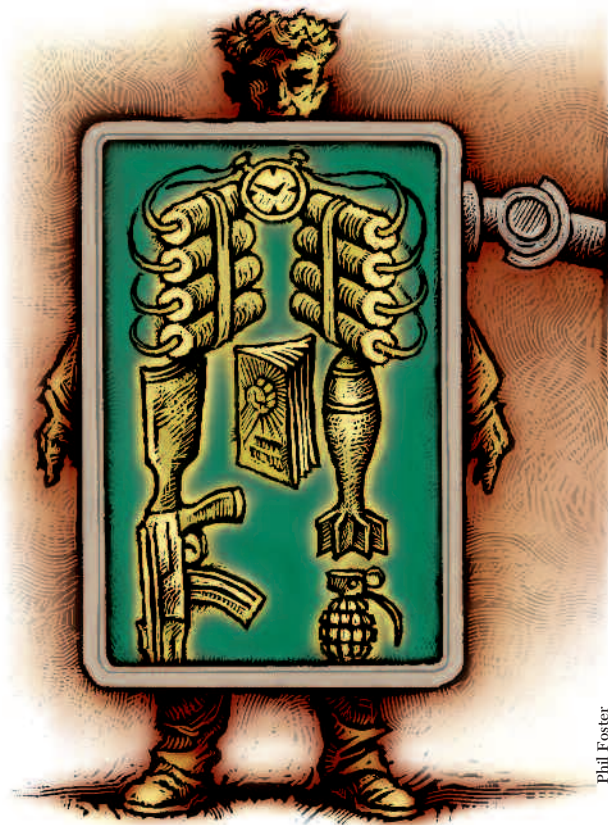
The components of the counterterrorism program for East Africa and the Horn are good as far as they go. But the focus is primarily short- and medium-term: catching bad guys, providing training and, to a limited extent, building up counterterrorism infrastructure. What is missing is a major, new, long-term program to reduce poverty and social alienation.

U.S. foreign assistance worldwide in constant dollars has declined about 44 percent since 1985 and another 18 percent since the collapse of the Soviet Union in 1991. Until the U.S. and the international community generally are prepared to put far more resources into improving the environment that encourages terrorism — namely poverty — it is difficult to see lasting progress against this enemy. If only the U.S. had had the foresight years ago to devote to counterterrorism and economic development the equivalent cost of overthrowing the Taliban and rebuilding a destroyed Afghanistan!

Assuming adequate financial assistance from outside, countries in the region must bear the primary responsibility for curbing terrorism. They know the different cultures, speak the local languages and control the security forces. Foreigners will never be able to function as effectively in the native environment as local nationals. Accordingly, action on the recent recommendation by the Africa Policy Advisory Panel (organized by the Center for Strategic and International Studies) for an annual \$200-million Muslim outreach initiative in Africa is long overdue.

Finally, the U.S. has allowed its language and area expertise among foreign affairs personnel to degrade to dangerous levels. The time has come to rebuild this expertise. In the case of East Africa and the Horn, there should be adequate numbers of Arabic, Somali, Swahili and Amharic speakers from State, the CIA, USAID and the military assigned to appropriate countries. Only then will the U.S. be able to engage in reliable information-gathering and increase the public affairs outreach to communities where Islamic fundamentalism and sympathy for terrorists are taking hold. ■

THE ANATOMY OF TERRORISM



Phil Foster

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TERRORISM IS AN INSTRUMENT OR TACTIC — A WEAPON, NOT AN ENEMY. THUS, A “WAR” ON TERRORISM MAKES NO MORE SENSE THAN A “WAR” ON WAR.

By RONALD SPIERS

My former boss, Secretary of State George Shultz, was a pretty unhappy camper whenever anyone repeated the cliché that “one man’s terrorist is another man’s freedom fighter,” but the thought carries a lot of truth. I once asked him why the French underground, which resorted to assassinations and bombings during World War II, and which was looked on by the Nazis and the Vichy regime as “terrorists” — and by us as freedom fighters — didn’t illustrate the validity of that characterization. He simply insisted that they were “not terrorists.”

As that anecdote illustrates, for many people a terrorist is someone whose objectives you don't agree with — it is not a matter of the instruments they use to advance those objectives. Thus Gavrillo Princip, the Serbian student whose shot at Austria-Hungarian Crown Prince Ferdinand in Sarajevo sparked World War I, was a hero to Serbians, but a “terrorist” to the Austrians. We have many contemporary examples, as well: the Tamil Tigers who use violence against the Sinhalese in Sri Lanka; the Palestinians who want relief from Israeli occupation; the Kashmiris who want self-determination; the Chechens who want independence from Russia; the Basques; and the IRA. Which are they, terrorists or freedom fighters — or both?

To answer that thorny question, we first have to look at other questions. What do we mean by “terrorism”? Is it a new phenomenon, or does it have a history we need to understand? What motivates it? What instruments are best suited to combat it? And what do we make of the president's “war on terrorism”? Is it winnable, and if so, how do we measure defeat or victory? Or is terrorism (as some contend) something that cannot be defeated, but only managed? Finally, is terrorism ever justified — or is all terrorism the same: evil? If there can be “just” wars, are there not cases in which it could be “justified” to resort to weapons of terror if all non-violent paths are closed to those who seek change in an unjust situation?

The definition of terrorism I find most useful

Ambassador Ronald Spiers was a Foreign Service officer from 1955 to 1989, serving as minister in London, ambassador to the Bahamas, Turkey and Pakistan, assistant secretary for political-military affairs and for intelligence and research, and under secretary for management. Following retirement from the Service, he served as U.N. under secretary-general for political affairs from 1989 to 1992. He writes and lectures on foreign affairs and is a fellow of the American Academy of Diplomacy.

Al-Qaida, estimated to have a presence of some kind in over 60 countries, is the chief threat we need to concentrate on and choose the appropriate weapons to combat.

reflects Clausewitz' famous description of war as a method of carrying on politics by other means: terrorism is the use of violence by individuals, groups or nations to intimidate or instill fear for the purpose of advancing a political objective. And like formal warfare, terrorism frequently kills innocent bystanders, either deliberately or inadvertently (think of Nagasaki, Dresden, Lidice).

Terrorism, then, is an instrument, a tactic, a technique. It is a weapon, not an enemy. Thus, in my judgment a “war” on terrorism makes no more sense than a “war” on war. I believe it was unfortunate that President Bush adopted this mantra, however politically useful the idea that we are “at war” may be for other purposes, such as rallying political support by appealing to patriotic feelings or curtailing inconvenient liberties. The president has conflated all forms of terrorism anywhere, whatever their roots, into one undifferentiated ball of wax: do we really want to declare that violently resisting an alien occupation, overthrowing a tyrant, etc. makes you an “enemy” of the United States? How un-Jeffersonian!

Or, to put it another way, the “war on terrorism” is best thought of as a metaphor, like the “wars” on crime or drugs or poverty. Taking the concept literally has led to a lot of confusion and policy errors, chief among them the assumption that military action is the primary tool with which to respond to terrorism.

Compounding the confusion (deliberately or not), the administration persists in representing the conflict in Iraq as a part of the “war on terrorism.” As a result of such overheated rhetoric, millions of Americans continue to believe — despite the president's belated admission to the contrary — that Saddam Hussein had a role in the 9/11 attacks, and that link (along with the claim we were under imminent threat from his weapons of mass destruction) justified our invasion. But in reality, Operation Iraqi Freedom's relationship to terrorism has been, predictably, to increase the appeal of Osama bin Laden and his al-Qaida organization. Indeed, support for al-Qaida has metastasized to

such an extent that the International Institute for Strategic Studies now estimates that the group's supporters number over 18,000 and that over 100,000 potential fighters have undergone training in Afghanistan and elsewhere.

A "Reverse Crusader"

Accordingly, al-Qaida — estimated to have a presence of some kind in over 60 countries — is the chief threat we need to concentrate on and choose the appropriate weapons to combat. There simply is no alternative to treating it as a continuing and fundamental threat to our security, as the network has demonstrated by a succession of costly blows, culminating in the 9/11 attacks.

Al-Qaida is not a new phenomenon. At least four previous, religiously-inspired movements in history have justified terrorism in God's name — and all have given synonyms for terror to our language: the Zealots, Jews who fought pagan Rome from A.D. 66-70; the Crusaders, who created a swath of destruction in Europe and the Middle East during the 12th century; the Assassins, an Islamic sect that wreaked havoc from the 12th to the 14th centuries; and the Thugs, Hindu sects that terrorized South Asia throughout the 18th century.

Of those precursors, by far the strongest parallel with al-Qaida comes from the Crusaders, who responded to Pope Urban II's 1095 call for a "holy war" to expel the "Infidels" from the "Holy Land." The pope proclaimed that it was a Christian obligation to respond militantly to Islam's influence, which was rapidly spreading following the Turkish victory in the Battle of Manzikert (1071). He even offered absolution from sin and special merit in heaven to those answering the call, and the Crusaders went forward under the banner of "Deus Volt" (God wills it).

The First Crusade reached Jerusalem in 1099 (the only one of the nine Crusades to do so), and led to a bloody massacre in which thousands of inhabitants were indiscriminately killed — Christian, Jew and Muslim alike. Crusader horses were said to be up to their fetlocks in blood and body parts. The Latin Kingdom of

***Osama bin Laden is a kind
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from Muslim lands.***

Jerusalem was established under European rule and lasted until 1187, when a Kurdish general, Saladin, expelled Crusaders from the city. The Crusaders eventually lost their religious focus, and in 1204 they ransacked Constantinople, then a Christian city.

Osama bin Laden seems to me to be a kind of "reverse Crusader," answering a call of

God to expel Western influence from Muslim lands (in 1998 he issued a fatwa that, in effect, declared war on the United States). Indeed, there is a family resemblance among all religious fundamentalists. Whether Jewish, Christian, Muslim or Hindu, they have a lot in common: adherence to scriptural literalism, rejection of pluralism (if we "know" the "truth," dissent serves no function and shouldn't be tolerated), an apocalyptic embrace of violence, a taste for conspiracy theories and the often vicious repression of women. Its members often regard their own lives as expendable and believe "martyrdom" is even to be welcomed.

President Bush insists that the main motivation of al-Qaida and its followers is their hatred of freedom, pure and simple. It would be hard to come up with a shallower assessment — though the administration's blithe assumption that any government that does not unquestioningly and wholeheartedly support the United States in the war on terrorism is "against us" comes a close second.

Still, the administration is correct that al-Qaida's aims, insofar as we can understand them (they have morphed over time), are not ones that we can accommodate. Bin Laden's first declared objective was to force U.S. troops out of Saudi Arabia (their "Holy Land"). He expressed outrage that "infidel" forces were "occupying" Muslim lands and held that the decadent Western culture they brought with them was contaminating Islam. U.S. troops in Saudi Arabia were withdrawn as no longer necessary during the current Iraq war, but that has not diminished al-Qaida's hostility; bin Laden now cites the fact that the same "infidel" troops attacked Iraq, another Muslim nation, and remain there.

The second issue al-Qaida has been explicit about is the U.S. role in the Palestinian problem. Most Muslims and much of the rest of the world share this objection to an American policy seen as one-sidedly favoring Israel.

At the root of bin Laden's implacable hostility, however, is probably his view of the nature of Western culture. He denounces it as secular, impure, materialistic, sex- and money-obsessed and implacably bent on undermining Islam. To him, we represent a new "Jahaliyya" (a time of ignorance before the truth was revealed by God), like the previous ones that Abraham, Jesus and, finally, Mohammed were dispatched by God to overcome. This interpretation allows bin Laden to cast himself as a modern-day successor to those prophetic figures, and he is so viewed by many followers.

For these and other reasons beyond the scope of this essay, I believe that the only way to cope with the al-Qaida threat is to destroy its supporting network, and to avoid policies that gratuitously increase its following.

The Larger Context

To craft policies to accomplish those ends, however, we need to take into account the fact that most of the terrorist problems we face in the Middle East were exacerbated by our responses to two events that took place in 1979. The first was the Iranian revolution and the second, the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan. Both served to rekindle a dormant radical movement in Islam.

The Iranian revolution was largely a reaction to the policies of Shah Pahlevi's secular regime that had had the open-ended support of Washington. In fact, the U.S. had intervened in 1953 to restore the shah to power after an election had installed a government that threatened to nationalize the oil industry. Washington had backed the shah's "White Revolution" unreservedly, selling him whatever weapons he wanted and overloading Iran with American military personnel who brought with them a culture that offended many puri-

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tanical Shiite sensibilities. (The first shot in the revolution was the bombing of a movie house showing American films that religious authorities considered morally offensive.) Then, when Iraq attacked Iran in 1980, the U.S. supported Saddam Hussein because we regarded Tehran, with its strongly anti-Western ideology, as the principal threat.

In Afghanistan, meanwhile, our response to the Soviet invasion was to work with Pakistan and Saudi Arabia in supporting the mujahideen by financing and supplying weapons for their resistance. One of the beneficiaries of our support was none other than Osama bin Laden. When the Soviets ultimately withdrew from the country in 1989 our attention wandered, leaving the chaos of "warlordism" that finally brought the Taliban to power to impose a kind of stability of the graveyard. Our policies toward Pakistan soured and exacerbated the problem.

Reacting to these developments, the U.S. gradually built up a larger military presence in the Middle East. This led to increasing culture clashes, particularly in Saudi Arabia and Egypt, where Wahhabism is particularly strong. Although only a minority of Arab Muslims practice this austere, fundamentalist strain of Islam, we need to understand it to appreciate the nature of our clash with al-Qaida.

Wahhabism took root among the tribes of the Arabian Peninsula in the 1700s in reaction to the growing secularization and decadence of the Ottoman Sultanate. It is, like its Jewish and Christian fundamentalist counterparts, a kind of Puritanism, characterized by the same messianic outlook, the same self-certain dogmatism, the same paranoia of the "true believer" — and the same tendency to idealize the rapid spread of Islamic power and influence in the century after Mohammed's death in 632.

During the Golden Era of Islamic civilization, roughly corresponding to the Middle Ages in Europe, Baghdad and Cordova were centers of world learning and culture, unequalled in the West. Cairo, Tehran and Istanbul were world-class cities compared to London or Paris. Arab scholars (e.g., the physician/philosophers

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Averroes and Avicenna) transmitted to the West the fruits of Arabic mathematics and science (algebra and the concept of “zero” are Arab inventions and the West abandoned the cumbersome Roman numerical system for the Arabic) and a rich body of classical Greek writings that they had translated into Arabic and thus preserved.

But from that zenith of Muslim dominance, Islam suffered a steady succession of attacks and reversals, beginning with the Crusades. Baghdad was destroyed by Hulagu Khan (Genghis’ grandson) in 1258; the Cordova Sultanate fell in 1492; the Muslim advance in the Mediterranean was stopped at Lepanto in 1571 and in Europe at Vienna in 1683; the British put an end to the Mogul Empire in 1858; and the Ottoman Empire collapsed at the end of World War I.

Then came a new era of Western (largely French and British) Christian imperialism beginning during World War I that produced further Arab humiliations like the Sykes-Picot Agreement of 1916 and the

Balfour Declaration of 1917; the United Nations-sponsored partition plan and the establishment of Israel in Muslim-majority territory in 1947-48; and the Cold War-era increase in Western support of authoritarian and corrupt Arab regimes for the purpose of securing oil supplies, necessitating an expanding military and political presence in the area for the U.S. And fairly or not, it is that prominence that renders us, the predominant symbol of the West, such an effective scapegoat for bin Laden and his supporters.

The Way Ahead

In some respects, we have done fairly well in dealing with al-Qaida since 9/11. Working with other governments, we have destroyed or captured key members of its leadership, uncovered many of its sleeper cells around the world, and disrupted its financing and communications networks by careful intelligence and police work. We have materially improved our defenses at home, although many holes remain and may be

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beyond our ability to close. These, more than main military force, are the instruments we will continue to need. As with an international criminal conspiracy, patience and sustained effort in a variety of areas is key.

At the same time, however, too many of our policies toward the region have had the effect of strengthening the recruiting power of the “true believers” in the Arab “street”:

Iraq. I am still appalled by the naïveté of so many in the current administration who advocated war as a first step in an American-led “democratization” of the Middle East. As Shakespeare wrote in *Henry V*, they have “a heavy reckoning to make.”

I don’t think you can spread democracy by force in areas where little or no sense of civic commonwealth and harmony exists. Democracy can only grow organically, from the inside, where the cultural soil is hospitable and the societal preconditions exist or can be readily developed. These include a modicum of literacy and education, absence of extremes of wealth and poverty, a tradition of respect for and protection of minority rights, acceptance of the rule of law, the balance wheel of a stable middle class, a minimum of ethnic and confessional conflict, etc. The fact that we went into Iraq in the face of overwhelming international opposition and on the basis of exaggerated justifications has only amplified the difficulties arrayed before us.

Yet in my view we now have no alternative to trying to fulfill our obligation toward reconstruction and encouraging political reform in Iraq. Although I believe it is a long shot, it is possible that some form of liberalization in Iraq will eventually take root and its people will ultimately be better off. But whether riding Iraq of Saddam Hussein and his sons justified the loss of life and maiming of so many Americans and Iraqis, the awesome economic costs, the damage to important international relations, the enhancing of the attractive power of al-Qaida and other terrorists, and the diminishing of the reputation of the United States,

Nothing would diminish the threat from Islamic fundamentalist terrorism, and improve relations with the billion-plus Muslims around the world, so much as a resolution of the Palestinian problem.

is doubtful at best. If we could contain the threat of a powerful and nuclear-armed Soviet Union for decades, we could certainly have done so with a weak and debilitated regime in Iraq.

In my view, our focus should have remained on Afghanistan, a difficult enough case on its own, but one where action was more justifiable and the threat unquestionable. We have probably sacrificed our potential for success there by turning to Iraq, which represented no real security threat

to the United States.

Palestine. I am sure nothing would diminish the threat from Islamic fundamentalist terrorism, and improve relations with the billion-plus Muslims around the world, so much as a resolution of the Palestinian problem. This issue has caused intense hostility throughout the Muslim world against the United States, in particular, since 1967. A further damaging setback was President Bush’s recent departure from the traditional U.S. position on Israeli settlements (they are illegal under the Fourth Geneva Convention) and the Palestinian “right of return” (most of the world believes they should have a negotiated but limited right of return and/or compensation for the loss of ancestral property since 1948). This has strengthened the perception that we are hopelessly biased toward Israel and cannot be trusted to support an equitable agreement that protects the interest of both parties.

As *The Economist* recently observed, “In just the way that many Americans see no distinction between the terrorism of al-Qaida and the terrorism of the Palestinian intifada, so many Arabs see no distinction between Israel’s occupation of the West Bank and Gaza and America’s occupation of Iraq. Both are portrayed as similar dramas of Islamic resistance.”

Economic development. We have made many strategic and tactical mistakes in our counterterrorism policy, but the very worst has been our failure to deal with the swamp of poverty and ignorance that spawns

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and sustains terrorism. Shamefully, the United States ranks last among the countries of the developed, democratic world in the percentage of its resources it devotes to international development assistance. We allot less than one-tenth of one percent of our annual GDP to foreign aid, and a lot of this aid goes to one country with a per-capita GNP of over \$17,000: Israel. If we had spent on development assistance the amount we have spent, and will spend, on Iraq, we would be much more effective in our anti-terrorism efforts.

When the gap between rich and poor widens, as it has, and half the world's population lives below the poverty line, anger and alienation are the inevitable by-product. When 30,000 children die daily of diseases readily curable in the West, envy, guilt and desperation are by-products. In the next 15 years a billion people will be added to the world population even as our populations in the West age and contract. A fertile field for

terrorism is being cultivated, and American is doing precious little about it.

Attitude adjustment. Finally, we should be aware that our historic belief in American "exceptionalism" is widely interpreted abroad as arrogance, even among our traditional friends and allies. A lifetime of living and traveling in other countries has led me to the conclusion that on the whole, Americans are no better and no worse than the rest of mankind. The advantages we have — and share with other democracies — are the institutions and rules that help shelter us from the fallen angels of our nature. We must not let these institutions be weakened in order to combat terrorism.

I believe George Washington offered us the best foreign policy advice when he said our aim should be to "raise a standard to which the wise and honest may repair." Then our virtues will speak powerfully for themselves. ■

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KAMIKAZES: PRECURSORS OF 9/11?



Phil Foster

TODAY, 60 YEARS LATER, THE STORY OF THE KAMIKAZES ECHOES EERILY IN THE PHENOMENON OF SUICIDE BOMBING IN THE MIDDLE EAST AND 9/11 ATTACKS.

By JOSE ARMILLA

It was an ironic reversal of fortune. In October 1944, Tokyo named Vice Admiral Takijiro Onishi the new commander of Japan's First Air Fleet, based in the Philippines. Onishi was the man responsible for planning the knockout blow against the U.S. Pacific Fleet at Pearl Harbor by Japan's carrier-borne aircraft on Dec. 7, 1941. But three years later, after his arrival at Clark Field, he found that his forces were on the ropes in the Philippines. Americans, after raids on several bases, had destroyed nearly two-thirds of the entire Japanese fighter-plane force in the country and were gathering a massive armada off the east coast of Leyte.

On Oct. 19, 1944, Onishi called a staff meeting. "As you know, the war situation is grave," he stated. "There is only one way of assuring that our meager strength will be effective to a maximum degree. That is to organize suicide attack units." Onishi picked the name kamikaze ("divine wind" or "divine intervention") after the legendary typhoon that prevented the Mongol fleet from invading and conquering Japan in the 13th century. The Kamikaze Special Attack Corps was born.

Kamikaze volunteers signed on just in time to terrorize thousands of American sailors and airmen during three major naval operations: the landings at Leyte, the epic Battle of Leyte Gulf, and the invasion of Luzon at Lingayen Gulf.

Today, 60 years later, the story of the kamikazes echoes eerily in the phenomenon of suicide bombing in the Middle East and the extremist terrorism brought home to Americans on 9/11.

A Secret Weapon

On Oct. 20, 1944, the liberation of the Philippines began when beachheads in Leyte were established and American troops poured inland, initially with little resistance. General MacArthur, accompanied by Philippine Commonwealth President Sergio Osmena, Brigadier General Carlos P. Romulo and American commanders, waded ashore at Beach Red in Palo. Moments later MacArthur broadcast a message to the Filipinos that he had just redeemed his pledge to return to the Philippines.

Yet unbeknownst to MacArthur, a secret weapon to counter the invasion was being readied for takeoff the next day. The weapon: a kamikaze strike using Zero fighter planes, each carrying a 550-pound bomb, with

Jose Armilla is a former Foreign Service officer who served in Vietnam, Chile and Hong Kong. He is the author of Negotiate with Feng Shui: Enhance Your Skills in Diplomacy, Business & Relationships (Llewellyn Publications, 2001) and is a feng shui consultant to CEOs.

***Unbeknownst to MacArthur,
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pilots bent on crash-diving into U.S. ships.

Early on Oct. 21, 1944, the Kamikaze Special Attack Corps made its debut from Cebu's Lahug Airport. During the launching, Lieutenant (jg) Yoshiyasu Kuno positioned his Zero fighter aircraft first on the runway, followed by Ensign Chisato Kunihara piloting the second Zero. At the rear, two more fighters were ready for take-off as escorts to protect them against American interceptors. At daybreak in Leyte, the formation

was met, not by fighter interceptors, but by heavy flak that shot down two of the planes. However, one kamikaze managed to crash-dive into the bridge of the *HMAS Australia*, damaging the cruiser and killing Captain Deschaineux and 19 other Australian Navy personnel. The Allies did not know then that what had hit them was the "inaugural" kamikaze sortie from Cebu.

The massive American flotilla off Leyte's east coast included warships from the U.S. Third Fleet under Admiral "Bull" Halsey, and the U.S. Seventh Fleet under Admiral Thomas Kinkaid. They numbered 17 fleet and 18 escort aircraft carriers, 12 battleships, 28 cruisers, 150 destroyers, and hundreds of amphibious landing craft and transport ships. On board was the vanguard of the 175,000 troops of the U.S. Sixth Army.

The aircraft carriers and cruisers were deemed priority targets by the kamikazes. The first order to the kamikazes read: "Do not be in too much of a hurry to die. If you cannot find your target, turn back; next time you may find a more favorable opportunity. Choose a death which brings about a maximum result."

MacArthur in Their Sights

While cruising in the Philippine Sea to shield the Leyte invasion, "Bull" Halsey's Third Fleet came under attack from Admiral Soemu Toyoda's Combined Fleet of the Imperial Japanese Navy. Thus began the epic Battle of Leyte Gulf, the largest naval engagement in history, on Oct. 23, 1944. The kamikazes flew 55 missions during this air and sea combat. Their participation sealed a reputation for wrecking havoc on the American fleet. Nevertheless, Toyoda met an ignominious defeat, losing

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26 of the 64 warships in his fleet. Only on the final day of battle, Oct. 25, did the kamikazes score big with the sinking of their first U.S. ship — the escort carrier *USS St. Lo*, off Samar.

When the American invasion fleet approached Lingayen Gulf on Jan. 4, 1945, kamikaze operations entered a climactic phase. All-out kamikaze strikes greeted the U.S. fleet, with the familiar suicide dive followed by burning ships and bodies of sailors in open waters. Vice Admiral Charles R. Brown wrote: “We watched each plunging kamikaze with the detached horror of one witnessing a terrible spectacle rather than as the intended victim. ... And dominating it all was a strange admixture of respect and pity.”

The kamikazes probably also had Gen. MacArthur in

“We watched each plunging kamikaze with the detached horror of one witnessing a terrible spectacle rather than as the intended victim...”

— *U.S. Vice Admiral Charles R. Brown*

their sights. As his invasion convoy proceeded from Leyte Gulf to Lingayen Gulf in Luzon, a kamikaze took a nosedive into the heavy cruiser *USS Nashville*, damaging the invasion flagship that had carried MacArthur to Leyte two months earlier. MacArthur would have been on board this flagship, but luckily changed his plans at the last minute.

MacArthur led the invasion on board the replacement flagship, *USS Boise*, a light cruiser. A Japanese submarine at Lingayen fired two torpedoes at the *Boise*. From the quarterdeck, MacArthur calmly watched their approach: both swished by, missing their target, thanks to the cruiser’s evasive action. Sometime later, a kamikaze plunged toward the *Boise*, but the plane was hit by flak and exploded seconds away

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Figure 1



Figure 2

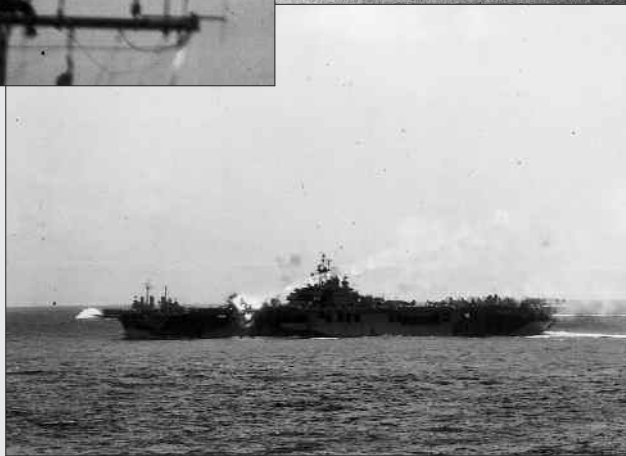


Figure 3

Kamikazes in Action

On Nov. 25, 1944, the aircraft carrier *USS Essex* sailing off the east coast of Luzon came under coordinated attack by a kamikaze shotai (a three-plane formation favored by Japanese pilots). The lead plane plunged toward the *Essex*, aiming for the flight deck of the carrier where fighters were being gassed up for takeoff. In Fig. 1, the plane dives perilously close to the radar towers. In Fig. 2, flak has set the plane aflame, and the kamikaze pilot slides open the canopy and sticks his head out as if to say “Komatta-na! (I’m in trouble). My left wing is on fire!” The code numeral 17 on the tail unmistakably identifies the Zero as the new A6M7, modified to enable the 550-pound bomb to

be fitted inside the fuselage rather than carried externally.

The demise of two kamikazes is captured in this single dramatic image (Fig. 3). The first ends in a fiery crash on the port side of the forward flight deck, wrecking its 20mm battery, but at the same time sparing the gassed-up planes on the flight line. The second kamikaze crashes into the sea, missing its target. A patch of white foam marks its watery grave — visible just beyond the bow of an escort destroyer partly hidden by the *Essex*. In this episode, the aircraft carrier suffered minor damage, and light casualties. After undergoing repairs at sea, the ship was able to continue its mission.

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from the cruiser's decks. Where was MacArthur at that moment? According to his personal physician, Dr. Roger O. Egeberg, the general was below deck asleep in his bunk. When asked how he could sleep through it all, MacArthur replied, "Well, Doc, I've seen all the fighting I need to, so I thought I'd take a nap."

According to the U.S. Navy's scoreboard at war's end, kamikazes had sunk 16 ships and damaged 80 others in the Philippine theatre. As dead pilots couldn't radio back to report their missions' results, Japanese commanders usually remained in the dark about their effectiveness. Their only feedback was from the U.S. Navy, when it announced the loss of or damage to its ships. The best photo reporting of a kamikaze up

Al-Qaida probably considered adopting kamikaze battle tactics as early as the spring of 1999, when Osama bin Laden sent Mohammed Atta to the Philippines for pilot training at Clark Field.

close was by U.S. Navy combat photographers (see p. 54).

'This Is My Last Day...'

On the Japanese side, the Navy carefully documented the kamikaze pilot's last day on earth. While waiting for orders, many would write poems extolling the emperor, in the feudal tradition of good manners and loyalty to the group and nation. Before takeoff, the pilots typically exchanged toasts of sake with their commander. Ground

crews packed boxes of delicacies with rice and tofu for their last in-flight meal. Each kamikaze wore a hachimaki (thin cotton towels or strips of cloth tied around the head, worn as a charm against evil spirits in ancient times, and later to express one's determination) to emulate the

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samurai warrior's coolness and courage, and bowed deeply to the emperor before leaving. For the memorial photograph, the pilots displayed large nametags and posed with their samurai swords.

For some, their final departure from earth was worth writing home about, as exemplified in 23-year-old Isao Matsuo's letter to his parents: "Please congratulate me. I have been given a splendid opportunity to die. This is my last day. The destiny of our homeland hinges on the decisive battle in the seas to the south where I shall fall like a blossom from a radiant cherry tree. May death be as sudden and clean as the shattering of crystal."

In postwar accounts of its operations in the Philippines, the Imperial Japanese Navy counted a total of 447 missions by kamikaze aircraft before Japan surrendered on Aug. 10, 1945. Interestingly, the success rate was only 45 percent. In other words, only 201 pilots crashed into their intended targets.

What happened to the rest? Fifteen percent failed when the planes were shot down away from their targets by anti-aircraft fire and by fighter-interceptors, or they crashed due to bad weather or mechanical failure. A significant proportion — 40 percent — returned to base to "die another day" in keeping with bushido, the "way of the warrior" in Japan's feudal past.

On the day of surrender, Vice Admiral Matome Ugaki managed to crash-dive into a U.S. warship off Okinawa for the last kamikaze mission of the war. For his part, the founder of the kamikaze, Vice Admiral Onishi, upheld the bushido tradition to the end. Instead of surrendering to the Allies, he committed seppuku — ritual suicide by ripping open the abdomen with a knife.

An Eerie Connection

Sept. 11, 2001, revived grim memories of the kamikazes. An unexpected and well-coordinated terrorist attack unfolded when two hijacked Boeing 767 passenger aircraft crashed separately into the North and South Towers of the World Trade Center in New York City. Later a third hijacked aircraft, a Boeing 757, hit the Pentagon in Washington, D.C. Did the 9/11 terrorists draw inspiration from the kamikazes? The following facts point to an eerie connection between the two groups.

Al-Qaida probably considered adopting kamikaze battle tactics as early as the spring of 1999, when Osama bin Laden sent Mohammed Atta to the Philippines for pilot training at Clark Field. There he took flying lessons on

an "ultra-light" plane, possibly a Max-Air Drifter or CGS Hawk, at a popular flying school where one could progress to solo flights within 10 hours. One can even fly (cautiously) over the familiar "Twin Peaks" of the area — Mt. Arayat in the northeast and Mt. Pinatubo in the southwest. Atta's lessons thus included a dress rehearsal of his suicide crash into the World Trade Center.

In addition to the practical advantages of that facility, Clark Field was also the perfect place for an aspiring suicide pilot like Atta to soak up kamikaze lore. Today a nearby sugar cane field marks the location of an airfield occupied by the Japanese during World War II. A Shinto torii (gateway) leads the visitor toward a historical marker established by Japanese war veterans. This local tourist attraction commemorates the exact location of the "Kamikaze First Airfield" and honors the likes of "Founder Admiral Onishi" and "The World's First Official Human Bomb." While staying in a nearby hotel, Atta may well have visited this site, which lists numerous U.S. Navy ships hit by Onishi's pilots.

There are a number of parallels between the two groups of suicide bombers. Both the 9/11 terrorists and the kamikazes were suicide bombers piloting an aircraft. The sneak attack at Pearl Harbor, planned by Vice Admiral Takijiro Onishi, killed 2,388 Americans; the suicide attack on the World Trade Center in Manhattan, the Pentagon in Washington, D.C. (and the crash of a fourth hijacked plane in Pennsylvania short of its target), steered by Mohammed Atta some 60 years later, resulted in about 2,800 dead. The two men taught Americans the grim lesson that the Pacific and Atlantic Oceans no longer protected them from foreign aggression.

Fanaticism

While the kamikaze pilots took off in Zero fighters laden with 550-pound bombs, the 9/11 terrorists flew with the intention of using the Boeing aircraft's full load of jet fuel as bombs. Both sets of combatants went after specific targets identified by their commanders. The kamikazes homed in on the aircraft carriers and cruisers of the U.S. armada in the Western Pacific, which they believed were bent on invading the Japanese homeland. Similarly, the 9/11 terrorists fought a jihad against "Jews and Crusaders that gather on our lands," their two sworn enemies. And the U.S. is a target-rich environment for jihadis. One in eight New Yorkers is Jewish, mainly in white-collar occupations, rendering the World Trade

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Center a logical target in the twisted minds of the al-Qaida plotters. The Pentagon was another logical objective, particularly if one thinks of the ubiquitous U.S. military presence in friendly Arab countries today as the latest incarnation of the 12th-century Crusaders.

Finally, the 9/11 terrorists and the kamikazes shared a fanaticism with religious overtones. The al-Qaida plotters saw themselves as moral crusaders against the infidels of the West, and claimed paradise as their just reward. In February 1998, al-Qaida formalized this crusade under the banner of "The International Islamic Front for Jihad against the Jews and Crusaders." Mohammed Atta's final sheet of instructions to fellow 9/11 hijackers read in part: "Shout 'God is great!' Know that the gardens of paradise are waiting for you in all their beauty, and the women of paradise are waiting, calling out, 'Come hither, friend of God.' They have dressed in their most beautiful clothing."

For their part, the kamikazes hewed to the bushido version of Japan's Shinto religion that states "an honor-

able death in defense of the emperor is a great blessing." They were, in the words of their commander, "gods without earthly desires." In one fell swoop, the kamikaze nosedive glorified religion, patriotism, tradition and terror — the key elements in understanding the use of suicide terrorism by America's adversaries today.

Fortunately, contemporary Japan is a far cry from Islamic societies that spawn religious terrorists. The rich Japanese live in a pacifist, cohesive and high-achieving culture. Today the kamikaze's bushido spirit is manifested in the salaryman's proverbial loyalty to the company. He spends an entire career as a desk-bound corporate warrior, making it far more likely that he will die from *karoshi* — death from overwork at the office — than *seppuku*. His loyalty is reinforced by such company benefits as borrowing against his retirement account to buy a house or to send his children to the university.

Will a similar peaceful transformation be the fate of today's would-be religious terrorists? Let us hope so. ■

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HUMANITARIAN MERCENARIES

After the horror of the 9/11 attacks, the big, gray U.S. Air Force C-17 cargo plane landing at Ashgabat International Airport in November 2001, after a long flight from an Air Force base in Charleston, S.C., was a beautiful sight. True, the plane didn't have the sleek lines of a fighter bristling with weaponry, but it did have a small American flag on its tail and, in black lettering, "United States of America" along the side — a reassuring sign America remembered that a few of its own were out here in Turkmenistan, at the edge of the new war on terrorism.

For the past several years, Osama bin Laden and his al-Qaida forces had been treated as "guests" of the Taliban and had used Afghanistan as a base of operations for terrorist activities, including the 9/11 attacks. So in October 2001, Afghanistan — one of several "hot spots" bordering Turkmenistan — became the focus of America's military response.

The C-17 was carrying the first load of humanitarian aid destined for the war-ravaged and drought-stricken Afghan people: pallets of blankets, tents, medical kits and high-energy biscuits, all lashed down with cargo netting. Though the shipment had taken a couple of months to arrive, USAID, Embassy Ashgabat and a variety of international organizations had begun organizing truck convoys for the aid shortly after the 9/11 attacks. With U.S.-taxpayer funding, the World Food Program opened a bagging operation in the western town of Turkmenabat, from which wheat was trucked into the most severely ravaged Afghan regions.

While some expected that the bulk of the aid would flow from Uzbekistan across the "Friendship Bridge" at Termez, Uzbek authorities (citing security reasons) frustrated attempts by international relief groups to use this route. Thus, Turkmenistan became a critical land corridor, second only to Pakistan, through which was delivered over a third of the American aid to Afghanistan during the next few fateful months.

"Surrounded by Danger"

My odyssey in Turkmenistan had begun more than a year earlier, in August 2000, when my wife Eileen was assigned as the political/economic officer to the small embassy in Ashgabat. I took a leave of absence from my

position as an attorney with the State Department to accompany her, and used my legal skills to work with USAID.

Strategically located in Central Asia, Turkmenistan is about the size of California but with the population of metropolitan Houston, and sits atop one the world's largest reserves of natural gas. At the time we packed our bags to go there, it was the most isolated and unexplored of the former Soviet

republics and had only come into existence as an independent country in 1991. But the United States was already actively working to nudge Turkmenistan away from its Soviet past of one-party rule and a centrally-planned economy.

When I arrived, I bought T-shirts from the embassy's newly established Marine Security Guard detachment. Under a map of the country that showed it surrounded by Afghanistan, Iran, Kazakhstan and Uzbekistan, a slogan summed up the complex geopolitical situation: "Surrounded by Danger — We Got 'em Right Where We

IN THE TENSE DAYS FOLLOWING 9/11, THE SMALL U.S. EMBASSIES IN CENTRAL ASIA SUDDENLY FOUND THEMSELVES ON THE FRONT LINES OF THE WAR ON TERRORISM. HERE IS ONE ACCOUNT.

BY JOHN W. KROPF

Want 'em." The Marines were pre-scient.

On Sept. 11, 2001, the chargé d'affaires was out of the country for the day on official business, leaving Eileen as acting chargé. We both had a busy but routine day and were happy when the workday drew to a close. It was after 6 o'clock in the evening, Ashgabat time, when we returned to our home on the American compound.

I came in ahead of Eileen and turned on CNN as usual, just in time to see the first tower of the World Trade Center burning from a crash by a passenger plane. I could hear her in the doorway outside saying to a colleague, "Thank God nothing happened today."

Within minutes of my calling Eileen to the television, a second plane flashed across the screen like a black crow and disappeared behind the second tower. Plumes of flaming jet fuel erupted out the other side of the building.

By evening's end, most of the families on compound had gathered in our living room watching CNN. It seemed unreal to witness the disintegration of the Twin Towers, especially from the other side of the globe.

Turkmenistan state TV took the unprecedented step of breaking from its highly predictable pattern of news stories devoted to the country's president, Saparamurat Niyazov (self-declared as Turkmenbashi, "leader of all Turkmen"), showing the attacks as the lead story and devoting about 10 minutes of coverage to it. Although its coverage soon reverted to the president's achievements, the cotton harvest, and preparations for the country's 10th anniversary, private citizens left hundreds of bouquets of flowers as offerings of condolence along the front fence of

A Civil Service employee, John Kropf has been an attorney in the State Department's Office of the Legal Adviser since 1992. From 2000 to 2002 he was part of a tandem couple with his wife, a Foreign Service officer, in Ashgabat. He has published articles on Turkmenistan in the Baltimore Sun, The Washington Times and Marco Polo Magazine, and is currently writing a book on the country. The views contained in this story are his and not necessarily those of the State Department or the U.S. government.

T-shirts sold by Embassy

Ashgabat's Marines

***showed a map of the
region with the slogan:***

"Surrounded by Danger

— We Got 'em Right

Where We Want 'em."

the embassy. They created a colorful stripe down the sidewalk.

On the Front Lines

Once our chargé returned the next day, we began the difficult task of preparing for the uncertain days ahead. In light of the Taliban's threat to attack any country that provided assistance to the U.S., we took seriously the rumors that Taliban followers were already on the streets of Ashgabat.

As a front-line state in what the U.S. media called the "first war of the

21st century," we attracted a great deal of newfound attention. Network news anchors displayed giant "war room" maps of Afghanistan and its neighbors, including Turkmenistan (though FOX News labeled it "Uzbekistan" for the first two days of its coverage). Friends and relatives sent us e-mails saying they had never realized exactly where we were.

In the weeks following 9/11, the Department of State issued a travel warning advising Americans not to travel to Turkmenistan and evacuated all Peace Corps Volunteers back to the States. The embassy began a process of authorized departure of employees that included my wife and 3-year-old daughter. On Oct. 5, our new ambassador, Laura Kennedy, arrived. A few days later, U.S. Air Force and Navy planes began bombing targets over the horizon in Afghanistan.

Despite the war next door, most activity in Ashgabat continued to focus on Turkmenistan's 10th-anniversary celebration in October 2001. In preparation for the Independence Day parade, rectangular blocks of soldiers with AK-47s practiced their formations around the presidential square and the Olympic-sized stadium across the street from USAID's office. Construction on a 10th-anniversary monument — a fountain with 10 larger-than-life Ahal-Tekke horses — continued around the clock.

Meanwhile, international media and relief workers were desperately trying to enter the country so they could use it as an alternate route into the Afghan war zone. But foreign journalists, including the BBC, were routinely denied entry visas, reflecting Turkmenistan's historic suspicion of foreigners. As a practical matter, there was little the embassy could do to change the minds of Ministry



Above: Trucks line up to receive humanitarian relief supplies. Right: Humanitarian cargo is unloaded for transport to Afghanistan.



Bottom Right: Interior of C-17 after offload of food supplies.



Below: John Kropf (right) with crew members of the first C-17 relief flight to arrive in Ashgabat, from Charleston, S.C.



of Foreign Affairs officials responsible for issuing the American journalists entry visas.

The relief workers fared slightly better, thanks to the embassy's strenuous efforts (reflecting how high a priority humanitarian assistance was). The American employees of USAID's partners who had left at the end of

September, were replaced by humanitarian relief workers funded by USAID. One enterprising group of relief workers displaced from Afghanistan closed their field offices in Afghanistan's Balkh province and flew themselves to Pakistan; from there, they traveled to the UAE, where they obtained tourist visas to Ashgabat. They planned to work with USAID and the U.N. to deliver relief supplies to the Afghans until the fighting died down and they could return.

All's Quiet on the Afghan Border

We were keenly aware of U.N. estimates that as many as 50,000 Afghan refugees might soon be displaced into Turkmenistan, many of them ethnic Turkmen already concentrated mostly along the border. They had been nomadic tribes that had crossed freely back and forth until the Soviet Union closed the border in the 1930s. But most of our discussions with the Turkmenistanis about organizing relief efforts went nowhere, as every government office was occupied with preparing for the celebrations.

However, the government did facilitate a trip we made on Halloween 2001 to assess the situation along the Turkmen-Afghan border — our first journey outside the capital since 9/11.

I knew we would be riding in a Soviet-made helicopter that had probably last seen service during the Soviet-Afghan war. The morning I was to go to the airport, I was overtaken with a moment of anxiety. Had the helicopter been maintained since the collapse of the Soviet Union? All this was a long way from being a government lawyer safely behind a desk, looking through the Code of Federal Regulations! My anxiety got the better of me, and I wrote an "if-something-should-happen" letter to my daughter Charlotte, now 3 years old. I tried to tell her everything she might want to know about me and what advice I thought she might need — all in the span of five minutes.

Our embassy delegation flew from Ashgabat to a town called Mary to board the helicopter. It looked like a giant bulging insect that had been painted in a mixed desert

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camouflage. Alongside it were a couple of dozen helicopters whose rotors had been removed. I looked twice to make sure the rotors had not been left off ours.

Inside were bench seats with two 100-gallon auxiliary fuel tanks on either side. I thought to myself, "Yes, please; take all the fuel you need. Don't want to get caught short near the Afghan border." The windows looked like portholes that had been removed from a ship.

On takeoff, the intense noise, vibration and smell of aviation fuel combined to start an immediate headache. "Only a couple more hours of this," I told myself.

The landscape was a flat, arid waste covered by a dirty white sky heavy with heat and sand. Dusty hills rolled on to the horizon. There were no signs of refugees. The land formed a natural barrier that seemed incompatible with human beings. Occasionally in the middle of this vastness was a shepherd herding a flock of black-haired sheep.

We landed at Kushgy, the southernmost point in Turkmenistan. Our hosts drove us through the small town, past a whitewashed Russian Orthodox cross on a

hilltop that had marked the southernmost point in the Russian empire.

At the border checkpoint we looked across two red-and-white wooden gates into a small cluster of buildings. That turned out to be the village of Turgundi in Afghanistan. An irregular ridgeline of tan colored mountains loomed in the background. A set of train tracks, a branch line of the Trans-Caspian Railroad that originated in Mary, ended about a kilometer inside the border.

It was all strangely quiet. There was no activity to be seen on the Afghan side of the border. Over the ridgeline, 80 miles down the road, was Herat, where some of the heaviest bombing had taken place. Somewhere over there, Americans were already fighting the Taliban and al-Qaida. It was a drama that we could only imagine.

We flew along the Afghan border before banking west toward Mary. The terrain was beautiful in its rugged desolation. On the Turkmen side were several patches of wild pistachio trees. Looking into Afghanistan, the smooth, undulating hills made it look like we were flying

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Artist and Foreign Service youngster Caroline Huskey, daughter of Joanne and James Huskey, currently resides in Taiwan. In 1998, when the embassy in Nairobi was bombed, she narrowly escaped on hands and knees. Caroline, who has also lived in India, remains thankful that her father's career has allowed her to see so much of the world.

over an ocean of brown swells and troughs. There were no signs of refugees to be seen. If someone wanted to hide, however, never to be found, the Afghanistan landscape looked like the place to do it.

Humanitarian Mercenaries

By November 2001, NGOs were finally able to get some workers into Turkmenistan, thanks in large part to substantial U.S. lobbying. USAID had also sent out a special disaster team to help organize shipping non-food items, including plastic sheeting, tents, wool blankets and coats. The World Food Program came equipped with people and money. Finally, the first of many humanitarian flights to deliver aid by way of Turkmenistan began arriving, starting with the C-17 from Charleston, S.C., I mentioned at the beginning of this article. During the first week of November alone, six C-17s landed with humanitarian relief, both food and other necessities.

“Humanitarian mercenary” was how Simon, an American relief worker I’d known for some time, described himself. The combination of his small frame and the bushy red beard he’d only recently grown gave him the air of an oversized leprechaun — albeit one with a serious demeanor. The day after he fled Afghanistan, I met him at the embassy. Simon had been living in Afghanistan for the last year and had grown the beard in an attempt to minimize scrutiny by the Taliban, who had issued edicts that men not shave their facial hair. (I remember reflecting on the futility of keeping a red beard from standing out in a world of black beards.) Just two days before that initial encounter, he had been expelled by the Taliban and found his way to Turkmenistan by way of Pakistan.

When I next saw Simon, he had shaved his beard. In the coming weeks, he would organize relief convoys of hundreds of trucks that carried blankets, tents, food and medical supplies. The Afghan truck drivers and scores of day laborers that loaded the supplies by hand became his army of humanitarian mercenaries, as USAID Administrator Andrew Natsios saw for himself during a swing through the region.

***By November 2001,
NGOs were finally able to get
some workers into
Turkmenistan, thanks in large
part to substantial U.S.
lobbying, and humanitarian
assistance started flowing to
Afghanistan.***

During November and December 2001, USAID provided tons of relief supplies and Simon was indispensable in organizing them for shipping on hundreds of trucks. They drove more than two hundred miles over horribly rutted tracks in the desert to the Afghan border. But because there were no news media here, the outside world did not know of this extraordinary effort.

Things continued to move quickly. The Northern Alliance forces now controlled the upper half of Afghanistan, including the area along the Turkmen and

Uzbek borders, and it was clear the Taliban would soon be routed from power. In December, during the month of Ramadan, President Bush personally saw off two American Red Cross humanitarian flights originating from Maryland.

The first C-17s carried over 1,600 winter jackets, 1,500 winterized, family-size tents, and 10,000 gift parcels of clothes and school supplies and candies for the children of Afghanistan, funded by donations from American schoolchildren. All of it was flown to Ashgabat and loaded onto waiting trucks headed for the Afghan border.

I saw Simon and many of the relief workers together in the week before Christmas 2001. They had gathered for a “last supper” at a hotel that boasted Turkmenistan’s only Italian chef. The relief workers, a diverse group of Americans and Europeans who knew each other from providing assistance after all kinds of disasters, were a culture unto themselves. Many had worked overseas for years, as if they knew no other life. They greeted each other with a carefree camaraderie: “Were you in the Congo? Or was it Kosovo?” Even if they did not know each other, they usually knew the same people.

That supper was the last time I would see Simon in Turkmenistan. He and the other “humanitarian mercenaries” all went separate ways: some back to Afghanistan, some to Europe to spend a short Christmas holiday. I went home myself for the Christmas holiday, feeling more in the spirit of the season than I could ever remember. ■

REMEMBERING 9/11 IN MANHATTAN

In retrospect, Sept. 10, 2001, has an idyllic glow. It was Foreign Affairs Day, and the Dean Acheson Auditorium was filled with people eager to see Secretary of State Colin Powell preside at the opening ceremony.

Children of award recipients in the front row leaned over their parents and fidgeted. The FBI agents to my left discussed four new hires. Active-duty officers slipped in to listen. The tides of diplomacy were rhythmic. The sky was clear.

At the end of the day I stopped by the coatroom, where I spoke with a tall volunteer of advanced years. She inquired as to where I was posted. I told her that my office was at the World Trade Center in New York. "I didn't know we had an office there," she said, peering at me through thick glasses.

I took the evening bus back to New York, arriving just after midnight on Sept. 11. As I always did when returning to the city, I looked at the Twin Towers, not knowing it would be the last time I'd see them.

I slept later than usual the next morning. When I woke I called a friend who worked downtown. In the middle of our conversation there was a commotion. He told me that a plane had just crashed into the World Trade Towers. "Oh, some kid in a Piper Cub," I sighed.

"No, no," he replied. "This is something else. Everybody is by the window. I've got to go. I've got to go." And he was gone.

My routine upon awakening is to turn on the radio while in the kitchen. Soon after I tuned in, another plane hit the second tower. I continued to listen, frozen in place, as the news came that the Pentagon had been hit, followed by a report (inaccurate, thank God) that a car bomb had gone off at the State Department. I immedi-

ately went to the phone and called every number I had for Main State, but no one answered.

"You Will Remember This Day"

My old roommate was posted to Tel Aviv as an economic officer, so I called his parents to tell them I was well. When his father asked me how we were taking it, I assured him I was in a safe area. That was when I realized that I did not want to remain safe in my apartment. So I went to a nearby hospital to help, passing people clustered around window displays of flat televisions. As I crossed Lexington Avenue I heard a woman say to her trailing daughter, "You will remember this day; you will remember this day."

The hospital had closed off the street, but a security guard moving barricades into place said they were receiving injury cases. He expected it to get worse. I told him I was going to push on, so he filled me in. The trains were down. The phones were dead. The bridges and tunnels were sealed. There was no way into Manhattan and the city was empty-

ing out.

For the first time in my life I saw American refugees. They were streaming north in overwhelming numbers. The buses were so full that people hung on for dear life as I had seen them do in Pakistan and Kenya. Yuppies bearing portable computers poured north. Tourists queried helpful locals who directed them off the island.

Nine blocks further south was Hunter College. Classes had adjourned. Everyone was trying to figure out how to get away. One student sitting on a huge concrete flower container said to someone on the other end of a cell phone, "There are no Twin Towers anymore."

I passed the China Institute. Two employees were standing outside. A man, moustachioed, large-bellied,

AN EYEWITNESS ACCOUNT
OF WHAT SEPT. 11, 2001,
WAS LIKE IN NEW YORK
CITY REMINDS US OF HOW
PROFOUNDLY THE WORLD
CHANGED THAT DAY.

BY DAVID CASAVIS

and middle-aged, said, "This is Pearl Harbor. Where were they? We were asleep. Didn't anyone figure this out?!" The other, a Chinese woman, clasped her hands and appeared to be in prayer.

I kept thinking of my colleagues at One and Two World Trade Center. I was sure that they had all perished.

My own building, Six World Trade Center (the Customs House), I assumed was covered with debris or damaged.

Third World patterns emerged as I pressed south against the human tide. Men in suits sat at tables at open-air bistros. Refugees flowed north on one side of the cafe's sidewalk barrier. The summer sun reflected off the sparkling water, served from a pitcher, in the absurdly disparate scene on the other side.

Strangers exchanged information as eagerly as if they were talking about a huge, oncoming storm. Storekeepers stood at their doorsteps. Here and there people clustered around radios. Magazine and tobacco shops turned on the news stations and blared them out to the street, though much of what we heard was unsubstantiated speculation.

"Why Us?"

When I reached midtown the buses were not so crowded. I managed to hop onto one going south. I kept hearing variations on the same refrain: "Why us? Why do this to us?" A Pakistani quietly said, "We come here to work. We come here for a better life, to educate our children."

At the end of the line, north of New York University, the scene changed drastically. Soot appeared as I scampered across Houston Street. For the first time I heard military jets over Manhattan.

The billowing cloud was enormous. Uptown I could see the smoke against the Chrysler Building as I walked. Then the cloud became a huge backdrop to a flag flying high atop a downtown building. Wending my way through once-familiar streets grew more difficult as the cloud got thicker. I used the flag to chart my course.

David Casavis, a frequent book reviewer for the Journal, formerly worked for the Department of Commerce in New York City. He now works for the Department of Homeland Security.

For the first time in my life I saw American refugees, streaming north in overwhelming numbers.

When I arrived at Ground Zero the police were setting up barriers. Their priority was getting everyone out. I asked about the federal workers at Six World Trade, one of those empty questions one asks when there isn't anything else to say.

One police officer said that they were taking volunteers. There was nothing else to do but dig my people out. So I went to the collection point.

There I found a bevy of construction workers who had spontaneously come to volunteer. They were mixed in with locals who had brought shovels, ropes and picks. All I had brought was a bag of cough drops. "Where are you from?" one husky guy asked.

"I walked here from 82nd Street," I said. "I used to work at Six World Trade, the Federal Building. I don't know if anyone is left in there. I came to help."

"Well," the man held his hand out to shake mine, "you walked all the way here from 82nd Street? You can join us." The camaraderie was overwhelming. I began to weep.

Like any government activity, volunteering is about 'hurry up and wait.' So I did. The reason, this time, was evident. Number Seven was burning.

We were north of Number Seven, the northernmost building of the World Trade Center, which was hard by Number Six. We could not be deployed until the fires of Number Seven were either put out or the building collapsed. Whole squads of men were wiped out when the towers fell. Secondary explosions punctuated the rescue efforts. It was no use sending more men in until the situation stabilized. Those still alive under the rubble would have to wait.

The staging area filled up as we waited. Dogs were brought in. A truck with klieg lights backed in. After a long day, it was going to be a long night.

Displaced persons wandered in. They added to the confusion. One poor fellow only had a pair of shorts and a bandanna. He lived a few doors down, but was kept away from his apartment by the police cordon.

One fellow showed up in a neatly pressed business suit. He asked what he could do. I said this was where the construction volunteers were. He said, "I'm just a pencil pusher." Then he took his tie off. I suggested he go home and change, but he wouldn't hear of it. He didn't care

F O C U S

what happened to his clothing. He was going in with us.

Indeed, I had walked out of my house in my dress shirt. I had jeans but I had no hat or bandanna. I said to one fellow who had brought his working gear that I should have worn another shirt, though I didn't mind losing the one I had on. "Well," he said thoughtfully, "there are people who lost a lot more than that this day."

"At least you have a shirt," the shirtless displaced person chimed in. We all laughed. It was the only comic relief any of us would have that day. We found him a shirt.

"Do Something"

They kept us waiting so long that I decided to get something to eat. A Greek diner, just outside of the police cordon, was furiously cooking and serving up food through the whole ordeal. There I sat next to a lady who, like so many, could not get home. Like the rest of us she was upset.

That was a turning point. I hardened as she broke

down. I took her by the shoulder and said, "Get some work clothes. Change. Come back. Volunteer. The best thing is to do something about it." Something inside had taken over. After that I wasn't able to weep again for a month.

Another woman stood by, her hand over her mouth. She was in a summer dress. She was also badly shaken. When I addressed her, she replied with a German accent. She was a tourist who had planned to go to the top of the World Trade Center first thing that morning, but had left her key back in her midtown hotel. So she returned to get it. By the time she got to Grand Central Station, the World Trade Center was burning. She had escaped by the narrowest of margins.

St. Vincent's Hospital set up a triage unit and briefed us on how it would work. They posted themselves at the end of a street leading directly to the towers, the better to receive the dead and wounded. I asked the hospital workers for a face mask, as did my companions.

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The laborers I was with kept asking me where I got it. They were right to ask. No one had prepared anything. An emergency coordinator by the hospital area kept calling for construction workers. I grabbed him and pointed, shouting "There they are, there they are!"

The laborers, professionals all, were sitting in the shade of a building. They were resting up because they all, each and every one, knew they'd need every ounce of strength they could muster once they got to what was now a moonscape. "If you want construction workers," I said, pointing, "There! There they are."

The volunteer sign-in procedure was probably the best-run aspect of the staging area. Some men took our names, addresses, and next of kin (in the event we didn't make it). Women hung signs up directing people on how to sign-in. St. Vincent's hospital hastily distributed appeals for blood donors. One man came up to an impromptu coordinator with a clipboard asking where the sign-in center was. The clipboard coordinator just looked at him. "He's the sign-in center!" I exclaimed.

"Hey, You! Big Guy!"

One fellow with a bullhorn began organizing us into construction, search and rescue, food service, and medical groups. "All you big guys! Over to construction," the bullhorn called out. "Everyone over 5'9" and over 225 pounds, in the back! All you strong guys over there!"

One of the drawbacks of looking younger and stronger than you are is that you don't get any breaks. I haven't turned gray yet. I must appear robust because every time I tried to join the search and rescue line the man with the bullhorn shouted, "Hey, you! Big guy! Over there!"

For the rest of the day I would be known as Big Guy. I joined the steelcutters, as they would be called later that night. These volunteers were professional construction workers. Thanks to my longtime association with New York real estate, I knew a bit about them. They were people from the laborers' union, welders, heavy equipment drivers, and even an electrician.

We were further broken out by those who knew how to organize work crews. "Big Guy" was assigned to a

I asked about the federal workers at the World Trade Center, one of those empty questions one asks when there isn't anything else to say.

pick-and-hammer crew without explanation or ceremony. It wasn't until we were preparing to board donated trucks and don hard hats that I told one of the contractors that I hadn't done anything like this for 15 years. (And I was long in the tooth for it back then, too.)

As we waited, the reporters started to infiltrate us, and we jeered them. The steelcutters saw the reporters as parasites and opportunists. They were daytrippers from

the safe world. This was not the Roman arena. We all just wanted them to go away so we could get on with it.

When I lined up with a tall man to collect hammers and picks he said to me, "What's the sense? You are going to die anyway. If you are going to die, you might as well die helping someone."

Number Seven was in its death throes. The word went out that it was coming down. We all wanted it gone so we could get survivors out before nightfall. I walked to an open road to watch the inferno.

It looked like those demolition clips I had seen while channel-surfing. The windows blew out. The skyscraper imploded. Then the backdraft hit. The cloud billowed down the urban canyon. It swelled and a strong wind blew. An overweight policeman was in a dead run just ahead of the cloud. We scattered.

I ducked into the corner of an apartment building. The fellow next to me hid his face against the glass framing. "Not a good idea," I thought, remembering the one air-raid drill I participated in as a kid. You never lean against glass. It could splinter out into your face.

There was a second backdraft. That was when I decided to act like a New Yorker and stop running. Ashamed of myself, I deliberately walked through the second dust cloud.

Whenever the fire department drove by there was applause. But when the firemen cycled off, they were plainly exhausted. They were covered with white ash. I watched them as one would watch tired troops trudging to the rear. After that I looked at the billowing cloud with apprehension. The more so after the word was passed to me, "It's not going to be nice. It's going to be pretty grisly. You'll pick up an arm here, a leg there. There'll be a lot of dead bodies."

“Save Those You Can”

Another man said, “Careful how you dig. You have to have the stomach for it.”

Still another said, “Just dig. Move the rubble. You see a body, you call out,” gesturing with his left hand as he spoke. “Let the professionals handle it.”

One of the pick-and-hammer crew, a kid not half my age, looked at me in horror. “We are going in like this? No masks?”

I reached into my pocket and pulled out the bag of cough drops. “Take some. Wait until you gag. Then put it in your mouth. They’ll have to last all night,” I said as I rationed them out.

When they finally got us moving, the bullhorn had donned a white jumpsuit. He pulled us together shouting, “If you are drinking alcohol, go home! If you are on drugs, go home! If you have asthma, go home!”

“I love this country!” a stringy welder at the head of the construction volunteers ferociously bellowed.

“We’re not here for that,” the white jumpsuit shouted back. “We are here to save a child from under the rubble. We are here to save a woman who has been trapped.”

Over the last few hours young people of college age had made their way to the staging area. The women were in skimpy attire. Many were covered with just enough material to make two bikinis. They were sent to the back of the search and rescue line. The boys with jeans hung around the steelcutters, eager for action.

Finally we walked off to the trucks. The steelcutters were the first volunteer shift. The boys in the waiting area cheered us on, doubtless in hope of getting under way themselves. I talked to the first laborer I met. Shovel in hand he said, “It’s still burning. If you hear someone screaming, try to get him out. If he’s too deep under, ignore him. We’ve got to stop the fire from spreading first. We’ve got to save those we can. This is triage.”

All order was lost when we embarked. I had read about the exuberance of young men going to war for the first time. Here it was. The boys could not restrain themselves. They broke ranks and ran for the donated trucks. They grabbed whatever was available, climbed on board, and rode into the holocaust.

I had read descriptions of this phenomenon at the outbreak of wars, but never thought I would see it. The

husky guy and I picked up our gear and followed them in.

It was dark when I quit. The city looked abandoned when I got to a working subway. I don’t know how far I walked to get there, but it must have been two miles. Intermittent sirens dotted the night. The absence of activity asserted itself, hanging in the air.

The train back was nearly empty. Unlike the people of downtown, uptown stayed put. So I was a rare find when I returned. As I slumped in my subway seat, a British tourist asked how it was going. “I’ve had better days,” I replied.

My old office doesn’t exist anymore, nor does the world as I knew it on Sept. 10, 2001. For me they both belong to a bygone era. Scorched earth divides us.

In the three intervening years I have attended every Foreign Affairs Day held at Main State, stopping by the coatroom to inquire into the whereabouts of a tall woman, of advanced years, with a thick pair of glasses. If ever I find her, I will tell her that we still have an office in New York. ■



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APPRECIATION

Hume Alexander Horan 1934 – 2004

Hume Alexander Horan, 69, retired Foreign Service officer and ambassador to five Middle Eastern and African countries, died of prostate cancer at Inova Fairfax Hospital in Falls Church, Va., on July 22.

A man whose conscientiousness and compassion were as deep as his prodigious intellect, Hume Horan was a fluent speaker of Arabic and spent most of his career in the Middle East during some of the region's most turbulent times. He spent six months in 2003 as a senior counselor with the Coalition Provisional Authority in Baghdad, dealing with religious and tribal affairs — an experience he wrote about in the March 2004 *Foreign Service Journal* (“Restoring a Shattered Mosaic”).

Wide-ranging as Amb. Horan's career was, he is probably best known to the general public for the circumstances of his 1988 departure from his ambassadorial post in Riyadh, just nine months after arriving. In the spring of that year, the United States discovered that Saudi Arabia had bought and accepted delivery of medium-range ballistic missiles from China. Amb. Horan was instructed to make a strong demarche to King Fahd about the unacceptability of the missiles.

Ever since his previous tour as DCM in Riyadh (1972-1977), Amb. Horan had cultivated his own contacts throughout Saudi society. Knowing that this had already annoyed the ruling family, he called Washington to be sure officials understood how offended the king would be

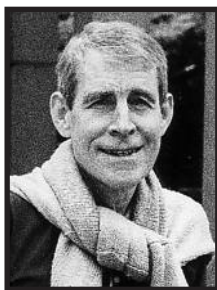
by the verbal rebuke, and was again ordered to deliver the message. Soon after he did so, he received a telegram from the department informing him that “a message different in tone and substance” had also been communicated to the Saudi Embassy in Washington. “My goose was cooked,” he told *The Washington Post* in 2002. Adding insult to injury, State then directed Amb. Horan to personally present the U.S. request for approval of his successor, after which he was recalled to Washington.

Despite that experience, Amb. Horan retained an optimism and idealism about the diplomatic corps. In a 1992 article for *The Washington Post*, he wrote that Foreign Service officers “are the infantry of American diplomacy. We'll never be able to dispense with them. Consistently to work at our national purposes, someone has to be on the scene, speak the language, meet with the leaders, make the argument and report back — saying what he or she thinks we should do.”

Amb. Horan was a native Washingtonian whose mother, Margaret Robinson Hume, came from a prominent family and whose father was Abdollah Entezam, an Iranian diplomat who served as foreign minister long before the 1979 downfall of the shah. They divorced when he was 3, and his mother remarried Harold Horan, a newspaperman.

He served in the Army from 1954 to 1956, graduated from Harvard College in 1960 and joined the Foreign Service. He received a master's degree from Harvard's Center for Middle Eastern Studies in 1963.

Mr. Horan requested a first assignment in Baghdad, a choice unusual enough that the under secretary for man-



agement remarked, "I don't get many volunteers for Baghdad." Mr. Horan studied Arabic in Beirut and later in Libya. From 1966 to 1970, he served as Libyan desk officer in Washington during Mu'ammar al-Qadhafi's coup and as a congressional fellow to Rep. Brad Morse, R-Mass., and Sen. Edmund S. Muskie, D-Maine.

In 1970, Mr. Horan was assigned to Amman as a political officer, and from 1972 to 1977, he was deputy chief of mission in Jeddah (then the site of the U.S. embassy in Saudi Arabia). After several years in Washington, culminating in an assignment as principal deputy assistant secretary of state for consular affairs, Mr. Horan was named ambassador to the Republic of Cameroon and non-resident ambassador to Equatorial Guinea in 1980.

His next ambassadorship (1983-1987) was to Sudan, a time that included the rescue of Ethiopian Jews and their transport to Israel, terror attacks against the embassy and the overthrow of President Gaafar Muhammad al-Nimeiry. After that assignment ended, he spent 1987 as a diplomat-in-residence at Georgetown University and then was assigned to Saudi Arabia. After the incident in Riyadh, he was recalled to Washington, where his assignments included service as president of the American Foreign Service Association from 1991 to 1992.

In 1992, he was named ambassador to Cote d'Ivoire, which he described as "a pleasant and stable country, at least until the death of the country's founder." Upon returning to the United States, Amb. Horan spent a year at Howard University as diplomat-in-residence, directed the African training program at the Foreign Service Institute and then retired from the Service in 1998.

Amb. Horan was a longtime member of Chevy Chase Presbyterian Church and, more recently, the Georgetown Presbyterian Church. He was an enthusiastic cyclist who toured in France, New Zealand and many parts of the United States. His many other interests included French, German, Spanish and Arabic literature; he translated a novel and several short stories from Arabic into English. He was also the author of a novel about the Foreign Service, *To the Happy Few* (Electric City Press, 1996), and served as an analyst on Middle Eastern affairs for MSNBC, NPR, the BBC and FOX News.

For his work with the Coalition Provisional Authority in Baghdad in 2003, he received the Department of Defense's Distinguished Public Service Award, the Pentagon's highest honorary award for private citizens.

His marriage to Nancy Reinert Horan ended in divorce. Survivors include his wife, FSO Lori Shoemaker of Annandale; two children from his second marriage, Michael Harry Horan and Elizabeth Hume Horan, both of Annandale; three adult children from his first marriage, Alexander Hume Horan of San Diego, Margaret Bond

Horan of Annandale and Jonathan Theodore Horan of Boston; a sister; and four grandchildren.

A memorial service was held for Amb. Horan at Georgetown Presbyterian Church on July 30, after which he was buried at Arlington National Cemetery.

In response to an AFSANET message announcing Amb. Horan's passing, the *Journal* received many tributes from friends and colleagues, all of which have been forwarded to his family. In fact, we received so many contributions that we will run more next month.

— Susan Maitra, Senior Editor

HUMBLE YET GREAT

I would like to offer my condolences to the Horan family and the Foreign Service family in general on the death of a great officer and an experienced diplomat, the late Ambassador Hume Horan.

The passing of Amb. Horan marks an important chapter in the history of the U.S. Foreign Service. He took with him a wealth of information and experience that will be hard to replace.

I am a Foreign Service National employee in the political section of the U.S. consulate general in Dhahran, Saudi Arabia. I have good memories of Mr. Horan, particularly his tenure as United States ambassador to Saudi Arabia in 1988, when I had the good fortune and honor of working under his expert guidance during several visits by the Secretary of Defense to Dhahran. While he was a real pro, Amb. Horan was also a humble man who led by example. I and my colleagues found him quite accessible, knowledgeable about his work, and willing to go the extra mile to help his staff.

I was also struck by his linguistic skills, particularly his fluency in Arabic. I do not believe I have met an FSO, or any American, for that matter, who spoke Arabic as fluently as he did. Nor do I believe that I will ever meet one. I recall that most of his conversations with me and others, among them several Saudi officials, including the Saudi ambassador to the United States, Prince Bandar, were entirely in Arabic. In my book, that's an accomplishment that few people can ever hope to match.

May his soul rest in peace.

*Ibrahim M. Nur
Political/Economic Specialist
American Consulate General
Dhahran, Saudi Arabia*

AMONG OUR BEST

Ambassador Hume Horan was among our legendary ambassadors. He had enormous intelligence, good humor, grace under fire and an incredible knowledge of Africa. He was a scholar, teacher and diplomat — an

exceptional leader and example for the Service.

Although I had often heard about Amb. Horan from many of my colleagues, I had not met him until he inquired whether Embassy Conakry would have any objections to a former ambassador coming to post with his Foreign Service spouse. I was surprised and touched that he would make the effort to ensure that the embassy was comfortable with his presence in Conakry. This kind of concern for others, however, was typical of Hume Horan.

Amb. Horan will long be remembered as among the best of our Foreign Service ambassadors.

Vicki Huddleston
Ambassador
Bamako

KITING IN KHARTOUM

I worked at USAID in Khartoum when Hume first came to Sudan as the U.S. ambassador in the early 1980s. One of his initial experiences was accompanying an embassy-organized outing to fly kites at a small hill south of the capital. We were all having a great time enjoying the wind and flying our kites from this “bump” in the dreary landscape when suddenly we were all arrested. It seems we were inadvertently adjacent to a military camp. (I doubt we would have been spotted except that one of the group went to answer the call of nature on the “other side” of the hill.)

We were all carted off to the base and placed in a large cell that must have been part of the base prison. Hume kept his cool! He did not announce to our captors that he was the U.S. ambassador; instead, he calmed everyone and just listened to what the Sudanese were saying about us. Being fluent in Arabic and surmising what the Sudanese planned to do worked to all our advantage and we were released,

minus our kites, and allowed to return to Khartoum.

I wonder if Hume ever put on his resumé that he once spent time in a jail cell in Sudan?

Gary E. Leinen
Interim CTO
USAID/Sudan Field
Office
Nairobi

A PHENOMENAL MIND

It's hard to be concise about an individual as multifaceted as Hume Horan, especially after knowing him 31 years, but I'll do my best.

Serving with Hume was like being in a nonstop graduate seminar. The intellectual stimulation was never-ending. His ability to see connections in facts and events that ordinary mortals would never notice was phenomenal. His linguistic abilities were equaled by few. His ability to coin the apt phrase, dipping into his internalized version of *Bartlett's Quotations*, enriched by a multilingual *Roget's Thesaurus*, never flagged. I have seen him launch instantly into energetic and entertaining conversation in French, Arabic or Spanish, either at receptions or on receiving visitors in the office, peppering his talk with proverbs and quotations to the amazement and amusement of his interlocutors. Added to this, he read German newspapers for pleasure when he could get them.

I first worked for Hume as pol-mil officer in Jeddah in the early 1970s, when he was DCM. The fact that he filled that position for five years, serving three ambassadors, testifies to how greatly his knowledge and his language ability were valued by the chiefs of mission he served.

Many years later he asked me to be his DCM in Abidjan. I jumped at the chance, despite my thought that sending two Arabists to a West

African post was a misdirection of State Department resources. But before I knew it, Hume was meeting with the imams and religious leaders of Cote d'Ivoire's Muslim community, amazing them with his knowledge of Arabic (sometimes exceeding their own), the Quran, and Arabic history and literature. His understanding of the importance of Islam in that country, I dare say, has not been equaled since in our Service.

Unfailingly optimistic, always polite, considerate and gracious to his staff, Hume Horan showed that one can rise to the peak of our Service with none of the aggressive, combative career instincts we sometimes see in those who rise to the top. Profound knowledge, insatiable curiosity, an incredible reading speed (combined with an equally rapid if undecipherable handwriting), and unending courtesy were the keys to his success. The Foreign Service will have few like him.

Charles O. Cecil
Ambassador, retired
Alexandria, Va.

PROBLEM SOLVED

I was USAID mission director in Cameroon during Amb. Horan's assignment there. While I certainly share the professional respect and personal affection sure to be expressed by others, I would like to comment on a little-known event that reflects his sensitivity and kindness.

As it happened, the American presence in Cameroon had an unusually large number of Jewish members during the early 1980s. Several were devout and wished to organize services for the benefit of the local Jewish community. In the course of one of my regular meetings with Amb. Horan, I mentioned that there was no Torah in all of Yaoundé, and wondered aloud how we might be

able to get one. He immediately offered to write to a colleague in Israel about the problem.

Within a few weeks, courtesy of Embassy Tel Aviv, a Torah arrived in Cameroon. Apparently made for traveling, it was about one-quarter the size and weight of a normal volume, but complete in every way. Services could be held with a proper Torah!

Ronald D. Levin
FSO, retired
Longboat Key, Fla.

A SOURCE OF INSIGHTS

Hume Horan was the most intriguing member of the 20th class of the Senior Seminar, 1978-79. Of obvious brilliance, he was always a source of wonderful insights, and he was capable of rolling off long, vivid monologues, as if they had been written in advance. One I will always remember occurred at a dinner party following the collapse of the Iraqi army, which brought an end to the first Persian Gulf War. We asked Hume, whose son was a tank commander in the Mother of All Battles, to tell us what the Middle East would be like as the scope of the defeat became known. I cannot quote his words verbatim, but without missing a beat he held us all rapt as he painted an unforgettablely vivid description of young men walking through dusty, unpaved streets under gray skies, kicking stones in sullen anger, cursing the day they were born, feeling the defeat as if it were their own, and looking forward to a future without hope. Every observation, in retrospect, was on the mark.

Hume was an uncommonly serious and reflective man who also had a well-developed appreciation for the absurd. In a bureaucracy in which that was not always a welcome attribute, he won the respect,

affection and admiration of his colleagues.

Stan Zuckerman
FSO, retired
Mclean, Va.

REPAYING A DEBT OF GRATITUDE

Hume Horan's distinguished and varied career attests to his extraordinary dedication and commitment to the Foreign Service. Indeed, his profound understanding of the Arabic language and Muslim world is legendary.

Less well known are his service as president of AFSA from 1991-92 and as ambassador to Cote d'Ivoire from 1992-95 — the two assignments where our paths crossed. As AFSA president he recruited me to be a candidate on his slate. And on the eve of his assignment to Abidjan in 1992, we met over dinner to discuss the country where I had served some 34 years earlier.

In a June 1992 letter, Hume asked the fundamental question that arises often in a career: "Why does one join [the Foreign Service] ... or better put, why does one stay?" He answered his own question as follows: "An important part of that answer is the company and friendship of other Foreign Service people. It is they that make up the community we live in — that 'global village' we inhabited before Marshall McLuhan devised the term ... All that is good about our experience was there ... the discussion of exciting events and interesting people (past and present)." He concluded: "We are thankfully in your debt."

It's particularly appropriate that we now record our deep debt of gratitude to Hume Horan for the selfless dedication of his prodigious talents to the service of the country — and the world.

Donald R. Norland
Ambassador, retired
Washington, D.C. ■



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AFRICAN-AMERICAN CONSULS ABROAD, 1897-1909

AT LEAST 20 BLACK CONSULS SERVED DURING THE REPUBLICAN ADMINISTRATIONS OF WILLIAM MCKINLEY AND THEODORE ROOSEVELT, WITH EIGHT OF THEM REMAINING ABROAD FOR A DECADE OR MORE. HERE ARE SOME OF THEIR STORIES.

BY BENJAMIN R. JUSTESEN

Ever since the Reconstruction era, when President Ulysses Grant appointed the first black U.S. envoys to Haiti and Liberia, African-American diplomats have represented the United States with distinction abroad. To the limited extent that diplomatic historians have recognized these men's contributions and achievements, attention has traditionally been paid to the small number who served as U.S. ministers — precursors of ambassadors — to those two nations.

Yet the last decade of the 19th century and the first of the 20th also found African-Americans performing consular duties at more than a dozen foreign posts, both in independent nations like Brazil, France, Honduras, Nicaragua, Paraguay, Russia and Venezuela, and in a number of European colonies in Africa and the Caribbean, including the Danish and French West Indies, Jamaica, Madagascar, Senegal and Sierra Leone. In all, at least 20 black consuls served during the Republican administrations of William McKinley and Theodore Roosevelt, between 1897 and 1909, with eight of them remaining abroad for a decade or more.

One consul trained an African queen in the equestrian arts and later became a fixture in French society circles for two decades; another, in his seventies, helped trap wild animals for shipment to the U.S. national zoo. A third held off rebel troops until U.S. troops could arrive to protect a Central American president from being overthrown, while a fourth received commendations from foreign governments for humanitarian and collegial efforts during two Asian wars.

Almost all were college graduates, many with professional degrees. A century later, however, these pioneering fig-

ures are scarcely known (partly because many of their posts no longer exist, long ago absorbed into larger consulates and embassies). But several of them have dramatic stories highly deserving of inclusion in the annals of diplomatic history.

Sharing the Spoils

Almost from his first week in office, Pres. McKinley was besieged by crowds of Republican applicants for consular positions and other federal patronage jobs, after the four-year Democratic hiatus under Cleveland. African-American office-seekers were especially persistent, visiting the White House on nearly a daily basis in March and April 1897, according to "At the White House," a column in the Washington, D.C., *Evening Star*. They were well aware that only a few applicants could receive the presidential favor they sought, due to the limited number of posts available. Even a strong recommendation by the nation's only black congressman, Rep. George Henry White, R-N.C., was not enough, as Capt. John Leach, recommended for the consulship at Victoria, British Columbia, discovered.

Perhaps the most celebrated failure was that of Chicago politician and journalist Cyrus Field Adams, a much-touted candidate for a high diplomatic post. Adams sought appointment in June 1897 as the first black U.S. minister to Bolivia, boasting exceptional linguistic skills — he spoke fluent Spanish and three other languages — and strong recommendations. But his resumé could not overcome historical and political obstacles. McKinley was keenly aware that the 1894 nomination by Grover Cleveland of Charles Henry James Taylor (1856-1899), briefly minister to Liberia in Cleveland's first term, to head the U.S. mission to Bolivia had ended badly — Senate opposition had forced Taylor to

withdraw and settle instead for the Recordship of Deeds for the District of Columbia. McKinley had no desire to repeat history.

Adams' quest led to no comparable consolation prize, although he later became assistant register of the U.S. Treasury. Also unsuccessful was Bostonian C. H. Kemp Spurgeon, who sought a West Indies consular appointment from McKinley in 1897. Spurgeon's favorable comments, however, on his treatment by State Department officials during his consultations were duly reported by the *Evening Star*: "I can say without fear of challenge, that the gentlemen I have met in the State Department and other public officials stand second to none for courteous and gentlemanly conduct. Such officials must cause the nation to be looked upon with respect. It makes one feel proud to be an American, either by birth or adoption."

But other candidates were successful in approaching McKinley and went on to prominence:

Mifflin Wistar Gibbs (1823-1915) was an influential Arkansas politician and lawyer who served as U.S. consul in the Madagascar seaport city of Tamatave (now Toamasina) from 1898 until 1901. (Gibbs was just one of at least 10 black consuls appointed during McKinley's first year in office.) The Oberlin College graduate and longtime federal officeholder, 74 at the time of his appointment, was one of the oldest men ever to serve as consul, but remained energetic, at one point helping to trap wild animals on the island for shipment back to the U.S. national zoo.

Gibbs resigned his consular commission in mid-1901, reportedly for reasons of ill health, but only after securing the appointment of vice consul William H. Hunt as his replacement.

William Henry Hunt (1869-1951), a New York Republican, began as a secretary to Gibbs, became vice consul and succeeded his future father-in-law as consul in Tamatave in 1901 — the first post in a 31-year career, and

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one of McKinley's last consular appointments before his death by assassination. In 1904, Hunt returned home on leave to marry Ida Gibbs, who had once urged her father to hire him, and the pair lived abroad for the next quarter-century. An accomplished horseman, Hunt had already gained some renown by reportedly teaching the Malagasy Queen Ranavalona III to ride.

After their 1906 transfer to Saint-Étienne, the Hunts became popular social leaders for 20 years in the French community, before a final series of briefer postings in Guadeloupe, the Azores and Liberia. Hunt retired in 1932, living quietly thereafter with his wife in Washington, D.C.

Richard Theodore Greener (1844-1922), a native of Philadelphia, was the first black student to graduate from Harvard. He later became dean of the Howard University Law Department. Financial difficulties impelled him to seek a consular appointment in 1898, while living in New York. But he declined his first post — Bombay — as "not acceptable," apparently due to reports of a bubonic plague epidemic there. Reassigned to Vladivostok, his original title as consul was adjusted to commercial agent at the Russians' request. During a highly regarded seven-year stay, Greener oversaw the interests of vacated diplomatic missions during the Russo-Japanese war and earned a decoration from the Chinese government for famine relief efforts in North China after the Boxer Rebellion.

Unsubstantiated charges of improper conduct forced his dismissal in 1905, however, and despite strenuous efforts to gain a formal hearing, Greener never managed to clear his name or return to service. Considered one of the most brilliant black intellectuals of his generation, Greener wrote extensively in retirement, supporting women's rights and Irish liberation, among other causes.

Other McKinley appointees in 1897 and 1898 included **Mahlon B. Van Horne** (1878-1910) of Rhode Island, a Lincoln University graduate who served as consul for six years in St. Thomas, Danish West Indies; **John N. Ruffin** (dates not available) of Tennessee, consul for a decade in Asuncion, Paraguay; attorney **Louis Addison Dent** (1863-1947) of Washington, D.C., named consul for a second time in Kingston, Jamaica, after a brief posting there late in the Harrison administration; and Dr. **John Taylor Williams**

*As soon as he took office,
President McKinley was besieged
by crowds of Republican
applicants for consular positions
and other federal patronage jobs.
African-American office-seekers
were especially persistent.*

(1859-1924) of North Carolina, consul for eight years in Freetown, Sierra Leone. Three other trained physicians selected as consuls by McKinley were Dr. **George H. Jackson** (b. 1877) of Connecticut, who was assigned first to Cognac, France, then quickly transferred to La Rochelle; Dr. **Lemuel Walter Livingston** (1861-1930) of Florida, consul for two decades in Cap Haitien, Haiti; and Dr. **Henry Watson Furniss** (1868-1955) of Indiana, consul in Bahia, Brazil, until 1905, when he was named U.S. minister to Haiti.

In addition, attorney **Campbell L. Maxwell** (d. 1920) of Ohio, first appointed consul in Santo Domingo in 1892 by President Harrison, was recalled to service in 1898 by McKinley and elevated to consul general, a title Maxwell retained for six years. There he replaced Grover Cleveland's consul, African American attorney **Archibald H. Grimké** (1849-1930) of Massachusetts, who

*After McKinley's initial
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appointments, the
emergence of the "lily
white" Republican
faction ended the surge.*

had stubbornly hoped to be retained by McKinley despite political differences.

Not all posts previously given black consuls received them again under McKinley, however. Santos, Brazil, where **Henry C. Smith** (dates not available) of Alabama had served for

three years under Cleveland, went to a Caucasian applicant; likewise, Saint Paul de Loanda, Portuguese West Africa, where **Henry Francis Downing** (1846-1928) of New York had served for a year under Cleveland in the 1880s. And those who were selected sometimes had to settle for a second or third choice. Livingston, for example, had initially sought the consulship in Valparaiso, Chile, but adjusted well to Cap Haitien, where he served for more than two decades and remained until his death.

A "Lily White" Resurgence

After McKinley's initial flurry of black diplomatic appointments — which also included New Jersey educator **William Frank Powell** (1848-1920), U.S. minister to Haiti and chargé d'affaires in Santo Domingo from 1897 to 1905, and North Carolina clergyman **Owen Lun West Smith** (1851-1920), U.S. minister to Liberia from 1898 to 1902 — the



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surge of applicants subsided. The emergence of the “lily white” Republican faction, followed by McKinley’s assassination in September 1901, ended lingering hopes for a second large round of African-American appointments.

New president Theodore Roosevelt, who depended heavily on the cautious advice of Booker T. Washington, was generally apathetic toward black appointments. But Roosevelt retained many McKinley appointees and made limited efforts to appoint other black consuls during his first term. When he took office in 1901, the consular service was a vast, far-flung operation, with 39 consulates general, 255 consulates and 23 commercial agencies. According to a State Department report described the next month in the *Evening Star*, the consular service had 1,100 employees, compared to a work force of 99 for the department proper.

Roosevelt’s most well-known appointment was probably that of future civil rights leader **James Weldon Johnson** (1871-1938), a Florida native and attorney who entered consular service in 1906. Between 1906 and 1913, he served as consul in Puerto Cabello, Venezuela, and in Corinto, Nicaragua. During the Nicaraguan Revolution of 1912, he helped stall rebel fighters from entering Corinto until U.S. military forces could arrive to shore up the regime of President Adolfo Diaz. His performance was highly rated, leading to his serious consideration for two more demanding posts outside the Western Hemisphere (Goree-Dakar and Nice).

Johnson’s efforts to gain a European posting, particularly after his marriage, may have undermined his chances to continue as a consular officer after the election of Democrat Woodrow Wilson in November 1912; tentatively slated for reassignment to

***Of all the appointees
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Two went on to serve as
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under the terms of the
1924 Rogers Act.***

the Azores, he resigned six months after Wilson’s inauguration. But Johnson went on to fame as an attorney, teacher, author and secretary of the NAACP.

Both Johnson’s credentials and references had been impeccable. But in some cases, the political patronage associated with consular appointments made selection a riskier task. The disgrace of Roosevelt’s first major African-American ministerial appointment, Dr. **John R. A. Crossland** (1864-1950) of Missouri — sent to Monrovia in 1902 — may have dampened his already limited enthusiasm for black appointees. Crossland eagerly accepted the posting as minister to Liberia, but his diplomatic career ended abruptly, just eight months later, when a spicy local scandal forced his hasty departure and replacement. His successor, **Ernest Lyon** (1860-1938), a minister and naturalized U.S. citizen born of African parents in Honduras, served more creditably — and circumspectly — as U.S. minister to Liberia for seven years, from 1903 until 1910.

Most notable among the new consuls was **Christopher Harrison Payne** (1848-1925) of West Virginia, a minister, editor and lawyer named in 1903 to the consulship at St. Thomas, Danish West Indies. Payne, 55 when he succeeded Van Horne at St. Thomas, remained there for the rest of his life. After the U.S. government purchased the islands from Denmark in 1917, Payne retired from federal service to practice law there, also acting as prosecuting attorney and police judge in the capital, Charlotte Amalie. Also appointed in 1903, Dr. **G. Jarvis Bowens** (b. 1869), a Norfolk, Virginia, physician, became consul in Guadeloupe, where he remained for nearly five years.

Former Kingston consul **Louis Dent**, once a favored aide to Secretary of State James G. Blaine, sought to return to consular service in 1904. He had resigned the Kingston consulship in 1899, after an admirable performance during the war with Spain, to be appointed as D.C. Registrar of Wills. Offered an appointment with less appealing geography this time — Dawson City in Canada’s Northwest Territories — Dent accepted, but two months later chose to resign rather than proceed to post. Another 1904 appointment went to New York journalist **Jerome Bowers Peterson** (1860-1943), who became consul in Puerto Cabello, but resigned a year later.

Two early Liberian appointments below the rank of consul were also notable. In 1902, Roosevelt selected 25-year-old lawyer **George Washington Ellis** (1875-1919) of Washington, D.C., later confirmed by the Senate, to succeed **James Robert Spurgeon** (dates not available), the outgoing legation secretary in Monrovia. Ellis was induced to accept the post primarily because of his passionate interests in the ethnological, sociological and linguistic characteristics of Liberia’s inland tribes. In addition to

official duties, he was allowed to conduct lengthy expeditions into the hinterlands, sending back both a wide variety of specimens and well-regarded reports. Despite poor health, Ellis served with distinction in Monrovia for nearly eight years. In 1903, Roosevelt gave the title of vice consul-general in Monrovia to **Alexander Priestly Camphor** (1865-1919) of Louisiana, an American minister already living in Liberia, where he served as president of the College of West Africa. Camphor served in his dual capacity until his 1908 return to the United States; he was succeeded as vice consul-general by Texan **John H. Reed** (b. 1862), who served there for seven years.

Roosevelt retained several McKinley appointees at their existing posts, including Williams, Ruffin and Greener, whose tours all ended during Roosevelt's second term; Furniss (who would soon receive a significant promotion); Jackson, who returned to Cognac in 1908 and remained in France for a total of 16 years; and Livingston, whose Haitian posting ended in 1919. One of the few McKinley appointees not serving past 1904 was Maxwell, who resigned after the appointment of the first U.S. minister to the Dominican Republic that same year.

In 1904, Roosevelt also made two significant innovations at Port-au-Prince, first by promoting the long-time vice-consul-general, **John B. Terres** (d. 1920) of North Carolina — at post since 1880 — to the rank of consul, and then making history by assigning West Point graduate Major **Charles Young** (1864-1922) of Ohio as the first black U.S. military attaché.

During his second term, beginning in 1905, Roosevelt appointed a handful of new African-American consuls, first selecting attorney **Herbert Richard Wright** (b. 1879)

Teddy Roosevelt was cautious in his appointments of African-American diplomats, but did retain many of McKinley's choices and appointed a few more.

of Iowa as consul in Utila, Honduras. Reassigned in 1908 to Puerto Cabello, Wright remained in Venezuela until his 1917 retirement. Also in 1905, Roosevelt elevated Furniss, then consul in Bahia, to succeed Powell as U.S. minister to Haiti, where he remained until 1913.

In 1906, Secretary of State Elihu Root decided to reorganize the nation's consular service, instituting an entrance examination and raising annual salaries — ranging from \$2,000 to \$12,000 — in an attempt to attract a higher caliber of applicant. Soon after Root's recommendations were adopted, Roosevelt named three new black consuls: **James Weldon Johnson**, who succeeded Peterson in Puerto Cabello; **James G. Carter** (b. 1870) of Georgia, to succeed Hunt at Tamatave; and Dr. **William James Yerby** (1867-1950) of Tennessee, to succeed Williams in Freetown. Johnson's next post was Corinto (1909), while Carter remained at Tamatave until his 1916 transfer to Tananarive. Yerby moved on in 1912 to Dakar, Senegal, as the next post in a lengthy career including postings in La Rochelle and Nantes, France; Oporto, Portugal; and Freetown,

Sierra Leone.

In 1906, Roosevelt also re-assigned Hunt to Saint-Étienne, while offering a lower-level appointment to **Edmond Autex Burrill** (b. 1874) of Washington, D.C., a recent graduate of the Howard University pharmacy department, as vice consul in Puerto Cabello, under Hunt. Transferred a year later to Saint-Étienne, where he again served as vice consul under Hunt, Burrill resigned in 1912.

Of all the appointees during the 12-year period, only four continued their careers into the 1920s. Two went on to enter formal careers as Foreign Service officers, under the terms of the 1924 Rogers Act legislation: Hunt and Yerby, who each served a variety of posts before their retirements in the 1930s. Terres died at his post in Haiti in late 1920, a remarkable four decades after entering government service. Carter remained in Madagascar until 1927, declining the appointment as U.S. minister to Liberia offered him that year by President Calvin Coolidge. Assigned instead as consul to Calais, France, Carter remained there until 1940. After a brief wartime tour as consul at Bordeaux, he returned in 1941 to Madagascar, where he was promoted to the rank of consul general before retiring in 1942.

Eventually their trail would be followed by many more African-American Foreign Service officers, gradually expanding career horizons well beyond Africa and the Caribbean and their professional responsibilities into all functional specialties. Gibbs and Johnson, among others, penned compelling autobiographies highlighting their adventures abroad. Yet the legacy of these early African-American consular officers remains a barely explored, fascinating niche of America's diplomatic history. ■

PROMOTING DEMOCRACY

CAN A FOREIGN POLICY APPARATUS CONFIGURED TO FIGHT THE COLD WAR IMPLEMENT
THE BUSH ADMINISTRATION'S NEW DEMOCRACY-LED U.S. FOREIGN POLICY?

BY AARON M. CHASSY

In November 2003, President Bush announced a major shift in American foreign policy in several speeches both at home and abroad. He elevated democracy promotion to a strategic priority, asserting that a new rationale would drive U.S. foreign policy in the Middle East, and by extension the rest of the world. The United States would now focus its foreign policy on promoting three pillars: encouraging the strength and effectiveness of international institutions; using force when necessary in the defense of freedom; and promoting an ideal of democracy in every part of the world.

Democracy promotion has been a part of U.S. foreign policy to varying degrees over the past 50 years, but it has always been secondary to higher-level U.S. strategic and commercial priorities. The U.S. foreign policy apparatus was grounded in a *realpolitik* approach. U.S. national interests, not values, were supposed to be the primary determinant for decision-making in the pursuit of foreign policy objectives.

The Bush administration's success in reorienting U.S. foreign policy to achieve its stated strategic objective of promoting "an ideal of democracy in every part of the world" will depend in part on external factors — whether societies in developing and transitioning countries can overcome a myriad of institutional and cultural obstacles. More importantly, however, its success will also depend on internal factors — chiefly, whether the administration can articulate, form and implement a coherent, cohesive and consistent foreign policy with an apparatus that remains largely unchanged from the Cold War era.

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During the year leading up to his announcement, State and USAID were preparing the joint U.S. Department of State-U.S. Agency for International Development Strategic Plan, FY 2004-2009. Published last fall, before the president's recent proclamation, the plan will serve as these two institutions' shared blueprint for achieving the three strategic objectives in the new U.S. foreign policy agenda.

However, while the State-USAID plan creates a policy and a management council to conduct regular high-level discussions between the two organization's leaders, it provides little detail on how such discussions will systematically transform the State Department and USAID bureaucracies so that their missions, cultures and incentive structures will support the elevation of democracy promotion to the top of their policy and program agendas. The Strategic Plan states that democracy promotion, which falls under "development," will support and be supported by complementary initiatives and efforts that fall under the "diplomacy" and "security" pillars. Yet nowhere does the plan describe how the State Department and USAID will fundamentally change the way they carry out their work to accommodate democracy promotion's new status as a foreign policy priority.

Meanwhile, the limits of current interagency relationships are shown rather dramatically in the following examples from each of the four regions comprising the USAID world. All represent recent major U.S. foreign policy initiatives or high-priority countries in their respective regions. They also point up the fact that unless the U.S. foreign policy apparatus undergoes significant structural reform, it is highly unlikely that the president's recent proclamations will be sufficient to reverse decades of institutional practice and habits at the State Department and USAID.

Europe & Eurasia: The Freedom Support Act

Russia provides an interesting case study of the relative importance of democracy promotion in U.S. foreign policy toward a major strategic ally, and challenges the effectiveness of the State Department-USAID relationship.

Since 1997, USAID has invested approximately \$200 million in promoting democracy in Russia. The Freedom for Russia and Emerging Eurasian Democracies and Open Markets Support Act of 1992 (Freedom Support Act, P.L. 102-511) authorizes U.S. government assistance to the new independent states of the former Soviet Union, which are referred to as Eurasia in USAID. The USAID democracy and governance program includes the following components: strengthening civil society, building the capacity of Western-oriented political parties to promote political reform, improving the effectiveness of local government, and strengthening judicial sector institutional actors to encourage the rule of law and protection of human rights.

USAID/Moscow's Democracy and Governance Office has historically supported several Russian human rights organizations, many of which are fighting to bring Russia's federal government to account for the atrocities it has committed against innocent civilians during its two invasions and subsequent occupations of Chechnya. But the work of Russian NGOs to instill and promote democratic values and practices directly at the grassroots is undermined, at least indirectly, by the U.S. embassy's practices of turning a blind eye to these atrocities.

U.S. foreign policy places a greater priority on preserving the two countries' strong bilateral relationship. This relationship is predicated on two considerations, one strategic and one

The relationship among USAID, State and the Justice Department has often been "difficult" when it comes to rule-of-law programs.

commercial: Russia's continued support of the U.S. war on terrorism and the continued liberalization of its economy, making it more stable and lucrative for U.S. foreign direct investment. This obvious contradiction is not lost on either the Russian people or the Russian government, and ultimately reduces the effectiveness and credibility of U.S. democracy promotion efforts there.

While USAID was spending, on average, \$26 million per year on democracy promotion, Russia was becoming increasingly more authoritarian, especially under President Vladimir Putin's administration. Most major independent media outlets were harassed out of existence; the Russian federal government increasingly recentralized to consolidate its authority; competition dwindled among rival political parties; and the judiciary continued to remain mostly under the control of the executive branch.

In 2001, the U.S. Government Accountability Office (then known as the General Accounting Office) delivered a glum assessment of the impact and sustainability of the rule-of-law programs implemented in Russia (as well as in Ukraine, Armenia and Georgia). The report (GAO-01-354)

states: "It is not clear whether U.S.-supported reforms and innovations are likely to be sustained. ... Continuation or expansion of the innovations depends on further funding from the U.S. government or other foreign donors. Despite the accomplishments of the program, progress toward establishing the rule of law has been slow in the new independent states, and in several countries, including Russia and Ukraine, the situation appears to have deteriorated in recent years."

To be fair, \$26 million per year allocated to democracy and governance programs is a disproportionately small amount for a country of Russia's size — an estimated population of 145 million as of July 2003 — and strategic importance. Moreover, Russian government officials as well as officials of the U.S. embassy, albeit off the record in the latter case, have questioned the need and relevance of a USAID mission in Russia, a country which considers itself to be among the world's major economic and political players. The United States certainly validates this slightly inflated self-perception by supporting Russia's continued participation in the annual Group of Eight summits without any conditionality for progress achieved in its political transition.

Latin American & Caribbean: Rule-of-Law Programs

The rule-of-law programs in Latin America are funded and administered by both the U.S. Department of Justice and USAID, but coordinated ostensibly by the State Department in both Washington and at the country level. As such, they offer a good case study in interagency policy coordination and coherence.

In a recent evaluation of the U.S. democracy programs in Latin America, the GAO reported that these programs have had a "limited impact," and that where gains have

been made there are questions regarding their sustainability. This affects U.S. credibility in promoting democracy in the region. As the 2003 report (GAO-03-358) states: "In many cases, the size and scope of U.S.-supported programs have been relatively limited, and countries have not adopted them on a national scale. The inability or unwillingness of host governments to provide the necessary financial, human, and political capital has often negatively affected democracy program outcomes in these countries." As host-country political and financial resources to sustain democracy programs are difficult to mobilize, it is all the more important that U.S. government agencies manage the assistance resources and programs efficiently.

But, as the GAO report notes, the relationship among USAID, State and the Justice Department has often been "difficult" when it comes to rule-of-law programs, one of the four elements of U.S. democracy assistance, and this has hindered long-term joint planning. The GAO goes on to state: "As we noted in a 1999 report, interagency coordination on rule-of-law assistance has been a long-standing problem."

From a technical standpoint, the Justice Department focuses on strengthening police forces (through its International Criminal Investigations Training and Assistance Program) and building up prosecutors' offices (through the Office of Overseas Prosecutorial Development, Assistance and Training) in the operational and tactical aspects of administration of law and implementing criminal (procedural) codes.

USAID, by contrast, assumes a more institutional or developmental approach to strengthen other justice-sector actors, including members of civil society, to engender greater respect for human rights and the rule of law. Both approaches

have merit, and both are required to address the region's complex challenges.

The Justice Department has an ally in the State Department's Bureau of International Narcotics and Law Enforcement, which supports its "drugs and thugs" approach to promoting the rule of law. This strong emphasis on enforcement often overlooks the high level of corruption and low level of institutional credibility of many of the region's state security forces. USAID democracy and governance programs struggle to support the institutional development of countervailing forces, such as national human rights ombudsmen and civil society watchdog organizations. They do so in an effort to help create checks and balances for state security forces, which for decades enjoyed impunity for their human rights abuses under U.S.-supported semi- and authoritarian regimes. Many of these regimes were and continue to be U.S. allies in brutal wars and counterinsurgency campaigns, either as part of the Cold War or more recently the U.S. war on drugs.

Besides being unable to manage and balance multiple objectives at either the policy or bureaucratic level, the State Department lacks sufficient technical knowledge and leadership to synthesize the different approaches to promoting the rule of law. Charles Call, of the Governance in War-Torn Societies Project at Brown University's Watson Institute for International Studies, conducted a detailed assessment of the ICITAP's history and performance. He concluded: "(W)herever political will for change and institutional development have been lacking, (Justice Department) police training programs have had little or no success."

Yet many ICITAP and OPDAT programs have been undertaken in this kind of implementing environment, usually at the insistence of the

State Department, which views them as integral to higher-priority policy initiatives to promote regional stability or to complement anti-narcotics programs. The Justice and State Departments' preoccupation with "going after the bad guys," i.e., their focus on enforcement at the expense of prevention and awareness, leads them to overlook recipient country government security forces' considerable shortcomings in their respect for human rights and the rule of law.

A forthcoming book titled *Drugs and Democracy in Latin America: The Impact of U.S. Policy*, edited by Washington Office on Latin America staffer Eileen Rosen, which evaluates the impact of such programs, reinforces this conclusion: "The United States has spent more than \$25 billion to date on international drug control programs without achieving its goal of reducing the supply of cocaine and heroin entering the U.S. However, the escalation of the drug war has wrought varied but widespread, often profoundly damaging, consequences in the region, straining fragile democratic political systems and turning a blind eye to abusive tendencies in the region's military and police forces."

Asia & the Near East: The Middle East Partners Initiative

According to the State Department's Office of the Middle East Partnership Initiative Director Alina Romanowski, MEPI seeks to: "support economic, political, and educational reforms, as well as women's empowerment in the region. It provides funding to the Arab private sector, academic establishments, think tanks, nongovernmental organizations and other sectors of civil society, drawing upon 'their creativity, resourcefulness and drive' to encourage reforms from within."

The State-USAID Strategic Plan touts MEPI as an example of strong interagency collaboration, but it, too,

suffers from a lack of coordination and is a good example of the challenge of cooperative program development and management. USAID would like to leverage MEPI to anchor its democracy and governance programs with a view to addressing the political and institutional aspects of democratic transition. The State Department, on the other hand, is compelled to consider other, more strategic and/or commercial priorities, and as a result is more hesitant to confront the crux of the democracy problem: most of the states in the region are governed by authoritarian regimes.

Daniel Brumberg underscored this assessment of MEPI: "Take a close look at the State Department's Middle East Partnership Initiative, and you will find a longstanding emphasis on the usual liberalization formula: economic reform, promotion of women's rights and the building of civil society. These piecemeal reform programs are designed not to tinker with the fundamental ruling institutions." Other Middle East observers and experts, while commending the president for his bold statement of principles, have expressed similar doubts and skepticism about the efficacy of MEPI, especially as its activities are currently targeted, designed and implemented.

To begin with, problems exist with MEPI's internal administration. Individuals in the USAID Democracy & Governance Office, responsible for representing the agency in joint State Department-USAID committee meetings for programming decisions on MEPI, have experienced great frustration in their dealings with State. State Department officials reach their own decisions on how to allocate and program the money, with little input from USAID. USAID generally has very little time, sometimes less than 24 hours, to review and sign off on the State Department's proposed program

The first program component, anti-corruption, was severely hampered by the Nigerian government's move to repeal the Corrupt Practices and Other Related Offences Act.

and issue a request for application to potential grantees. Anyone familiar with the USAID system of grant administration, which is designed to operate more flexibly than the contract procurement process, will recognize that it simply cannot function under these circumstances.

On the receiving end of this process, representatives from U.S. nongovernmental grantees and for-profit contractors tasked with executing MEPI projects, generally agree that these circumstances provide them with little chance for success. They cite several reasons. First, the accelerated project development process is often based on faulty assumptions and mis- or under-informed analysis of the implementing environment. Second, the projects' intended results are often unrealistic because they generally target strengthening recipient-country, nongovernmental political actors, who have little power and no formal authority to effect change at the institutional level. Third, the level of

funding and the life of projects are both relatively small, precluding any realistic chance of achieving lasting reform or even building a solid foundation.

Finally, recipient-country political actors put themselves at great risk by participating in the MEPI projects. A front-page article in the Jan. 6, 2004, *Washington Post* detailed these risks for Egyptian subgrantees of the National Endowment for Democracy, many of whom were confronted with the choice of either refusing to use the grant funding for its intended purpose or going to jail. In taking this approach, the Egyptian government is hardly the exception in the region, which is dominated by authoritarian regimes considered to be strategic allies of the United States.

Africa: Economic Support in Democracy Promotion

Economic Support Fund monies in Africa have also been targeted at achieving "piecemeal reform," even in countries that are considered to be U.S. strategic allies. Nigeria, the region's most populous country boasts the second-largest USAID democracy and governance program in Africa. Compared to other, similar programs in the African region, Nigeria received one of the highest amounts by far of ESF and total funding for democracy and governance programs in both FY 2003 (\$7,373,000) and FY 2004 (\$5,267,000).

According to the USAID/Nigeria FY 2004 Budget Justification, Nigeria uses its ESF monies to "fund anti-corruption activities for civil society oversight of national budget preparation and implementation, policy reform and advocacy" and "strengthen the capacity of local NGO networks and conflict resolution practitioners to mediate conflict as well as the capacity of community groups to institute conflict avoidance and peace maintenance mechanisms." Nigeria is an

excellent example of the challenge of interagency policy coordination and coherence for the success of democracy programs. In Nigeria one can clearly see that U.S. democracy promotion efforts, such as these ESF-funded programs, would benefit if the State Department worked through diplomatic channels to generate greater political will for reform.

The first program component, anti-corruption, was severely hampered by the Nigerian government's move in February 2003 to begin the process of repealing the Corrupt Practices and Other Related Offenses Act. It is difficult to imagine the level of potential impact of any such civil society-led efforts when the regime in power repeals the major piece of enabling legislation needed as a starting point for such efforts. Moreover, President Olusegun Obasanjo's political corruption, including his manipulation of the April 2003 presidential elections to assure his re-election, casts additional doubt on the level of his regime's political will for reform.

The second component, conflict reduction and peace building, was undermined by Obasanjo's decision to harbor Charles Taylor, Liberia's former president, after he fled Liberia under pressure from the international community and from a rebel siege of Monrovia in August 2003. Obasanjo refuses to hand over Taylor, who is wanted by the United Nations-backed Special Court for Sierra Leone on charges of "murder, mutilation, abduction of children and mass rape and ... crimes (that) took place under Taylor's orders..." Without a doubt, Taylor has created the greatest amount of conflict and violence in the subregion, causing incalculable levels of suffering and instability. His presence in Nigeria, the Obasanjo regime's protection of him and the U.S. tolerance of this deci-

sion all undermine the effectiveness and credibility of the USAID program activities aimed at preventing, reducing and mitigating conflict.

There may be any number of explanations for the apparent contradictions among U.S. government objectives, but the most likely is that the State Department places a higher priority on achieving the foreign policy objectives of maintaining strong commercial ties to Nigeria, the fifth-largest petroleum product supplier to the U.S. In addition, the U.S. government would prefer to reinforce the Nigerian government's continued leadership in the U.S. Department of Defense's push for a greater African role within a mechanism, to be supported financially and logistically by the U.S., for a rapid response to the region's conflicts. This mechanism would rely heavily on the leadership of Nigeria's military, which is the largest, best-equipped armed force in West Africa. Unfortunately, the Nigerian military's leadership of the Economic Community of West African States' interventions over the last 14 years has been characterized by international and regional civil society organizations as ruthless, including large-scale corruption, looting property, arming local militias and conducting summary executions.

Summing Up

The examples above illustrate the challenges inherent in achieving multiple foreign policy objectives simultaneously, especially without either (a) an overriding policy rationale or (b) the effective collaboration of the U.S. government agencies involved. When a tension exists between competing policy objectives, it will often disrupt the working relationship between the organizations tasked with implementing the policy.

The State-USAID Strategic Plan fails to address these and associated other challenges: How will the U.S. Department of State, through diplomacy and other core functions, help create a more enabling environment where USAID democracy and governance programs can achieve success? Or, at the very least, how will State diplomats reconcile competing, sometimes conflicting U.S. foreign policy objectives more effectively and more consistently so as not to undermine USAID democracy and governance programs?

If the Bush administration is truly committed to elevating democracy promotion to the same level as U.S. strategic and commercial interests in our foreign policy, then it must face up to several challenges. Foremost among these is a long-overdue restructuring of the foreign policy apparatus — not just USAID, but also the Department of State and all other organizations that play major and minor roles in U.S. foreign policy. This restructuring must assure a greater degree of coherence in the pursuit of multiple, sometimes competing strategic goals and objectives.

As this article has tried to demonstrate, the United States ignores the linkages between democracy promotion and other foreign policy priorities at its own peril. Doing so only reduces U.S. credibility as a partner and ally, and detracts from its legitimacy as the leader among the world's democracies. It is possible to protect our interests without sacrificing our values, but doing so will require a concerted effort across the entire foreign policy apparatus to narrow the gap between policy rhetoric and reality. Efforts to narrow this gap will in large part determine whether U.S. foreign policy can continue to secure peace and promote prosperity, both at home and abroad. ■

TELLING OUR STORY: THE NATIONAL MUSEUM OF AMERICAN DIPLOMACY

THE FOREIGN AFFAIRS MUSEUM COUNCIL IS WORKING TO ESTABLISH THE DEPARTMENT OF STATE VISITOR CENTER AND NATIONAL MUSEUM OF AMERICAN DIPLOMACY IN MAIN STATE.

BY STEPHEN LOW

Of all the memorials and historical museums in this country, including some 220 administered by the federal government alone, not one focuses on our relations with the rest of the world or describes the proud record of American diplomacy.

This sad situation reflects the fact that in our country, diplomacy is neither highly valued nor well understood, and its contribution to the development of our modern nation is unappreciated. Many Americans have little idea what an embassy is, or what an ambassador does. Nor are they aware that our diplomats and other Foreign Service personnel work 24/7 around the world in the interest of the American people. They do not understand the anticipation we experience as we approach every new assignment, whether in Canada or Burkina Faso; the hours dedicated to learning languages, new customs and laws, and meeting new people; or the pride we feel when we see an important agreement that we have toiled over signed, a business opportunity opened, an exchange student back home full of new experiences, a dispute resolved and hostilities averted, and Americans protected abroad.

Several years ago, I discussed this problem with former Senator Charles (Mac) Mathias, R-Md. He responded: "Let's do something about it." And together, we started to investigate the establishment of a new National Museum of American Diplomacy on the Washington Mall.

The timing for pursuing our initiative was auspicious. Through the private, nonprofit Association of Diplomatic Studies and Training located on the Foreign Service

Institute campus, I had already been involved in helping create an exhibit and pamphlet called *A Brief History of American Diplomacy*. Working with Nick Burns, then acting assistant secretary for public affairs, we had put together a diplomatic history display in Main State's exhibit hall, which Secretary of State Warren Christopher opened in one of his last official public acts.

Then, in 1999, the White House called on every federal agency to create a project celebrating the new millennium. The United States Agency of International Development had moved out of Main State, and the General Services Administration had provided the department with over \$350 million to renovate the oldest part of the building — the part built and occupied by the War Department from 1941 to 1947.

Seizing our opportunity, we approached Secretary of State Madeleine Albright with our proposal to designate a space at the 21st Street entrance for public access to the department for the prospective museum and a visitor center. She not only backed it, but presided over a ground-breaking ceremony in November 2000, in which Secretary Christopher and Senators Mathias and Paul Sarbanes, D-Md., also participated.

But while State has agreed to provide the renovated space, staff and security, the cost for designing, fabricating and installing the exhibitions and presentations must come from the private sector. To raise those funds, we set up a private, nonprofit 501(c)(3) organization, the Foreign Affairs Museum Council, with Sen. Mathias as chairman. All living former Secretaries of State are honorary directors of the museum, and all have signed a letter of support, stating: "We believe that this is an important initiative that will stimulate considerable interest and

is deserving of the support of those who recognize the need for a place to promote the public's understanding of diplomacy."

One of Secretary Powell's first acts after taking office was to reaffirm the department's undertaking and his strong support of the museum: "I want to do a better job of explaining to the American people why what we do is important to them and merits their support."

To oversee the project (now known as "The Department of State Visitor Center and National Museum of American Diplomacy"), the United States Diplomacy Center office was created in 2001, responsible to Assistant Secretary for Public Affairs Richard Boucher, and headed by Senior Foreign Service officer Michael A. Boorstein. As Secretary Powell declared, "The United States Diplomacy Center will be an important part of our effort to help free people everywhere understand the crucial role of diplomacy in keeping the peace and advancing the cause of freedom." The Center has already put together a major exhibition that has toured the country, "After 9/11: Messages from the World and Images of Ground Zero" (see p. 84).

The Way Ahead

A feasibility study conducted by a major fundraising consultancy found that there was great interest in the project among donors nationwide and concluded that the money to build the project could be raised. Ralph Appelbaum Associates Inc. was selected from a number

Retired FSO Stephen Low served as ambassador to Zambia and Nigeria, among many other assignments, and completed his career with five years as director of the Foreign Service Institute, during which time the new campus was acquired and designed. Following five years as director of the Johns Hopkins Bologna Center, he returned to Washington to serve as president, first of the Association for Diplomatic Studies and Training and then the Foreign Affairs Museum Council, both of which he was instrumental in creating.

of firms to design the exhibits and work with the architects of the building renovation: Karn, Charuhas, Chapman & Twohey.

Appelbaum — a former Peace Corps volunteer, USAID employee, creator of exhibits for the United States Information Agency and the country's leading museum designer — designed the exhibits for the Holocaust Museum, the Newseum, and the National Constitution Center in Philadelphia, and is now working on the National Capitol Visitors Center, the Clinton Library and other museums all over the world. He has completed the initial concept design for the Visitor Center and Museum (see illustration, p. 86).

In a city of museums, ours has to be compelling, first-class and state-of-the-art. I am convinced it will be among the finest. Through interactive media, the Visitor Center will spotlight the work of the Secretary of State and American

diplomacy, and will explore the role of American diplomatic posts abroad. The public will learn what the Department of State and the other foreign affairs agencies have done and continue to do for the nation every day in helping to maintain security, promote prosperity, seek peace and expand American ideals. The museum will invite visitors to explore highlights of American diplomatic history from Ben Franklin to the present, providing insight into the way we practice diplomacy, and posing challenges with which individuals and groups can grapple.

The museum administrators are working with ADST to make use of its collection of over 1,200 oral histories. There will be stories that bring memorable artifacts to life, such as a blindfold worn by one of the hostages held in Iran in 1979-1980; historic treaties portrayed in the setting in which they were signed; paintings relating to diplomacy; items hallmarking important milestones for diplomacy in technology and communications (including a Wang computer!); and items related to arms control, such as a pen made of titanium from a melted-down rocket once pointed at the heartland of America and another, more ornate pen used to sign the optimistic Kellogg-

***Providing a permanent home
from which to showcase
American diplomacy to the
public is a concept
well worth the effort.***

After 9/11: Messages from the World

By Priscilla Rachun Linn

While Americans were struggling to cope with the trauma of the Sept. 11, 2001, terrorist attacks, people from more than 160 countries were reacting to their own shock, and sending messages of outrage, comfort, hope and encouragement to American embassies and consulates. Many wrote messages in black-bound formal condolence binders, while others brought flowers, candles, flags, souvenirs of U.S. visits, photographs, clothing, artwork, letters, poems, essays, CDs, videos, stuffed animals, newspapers — indeed, almost every form of individual expression imaginable.

Over the months, boxes of messages arrived at our missions from students, church groups, business employees, rescue workers and community members, and were sent back to the State Department, filled with the outpoured sympathies of countless individuals. Together the messages symbolized a giant hug from the world's people for a stunned and grieving America.

Many in the United States did not know about these messages. Regrettably, Americans were caught up in fear and uncertainty, not realizing that beyond our borders, people were reaching out to them. One way to communicate the heartfelt hope from other lands was to create an exhibition of the many items sent, together con-

veying that healing and resiliency would prevail after a great national trauma.

The United States Diplomacy Center partnered with the Museum of the City of New York and the design firm of Whirlwind, Inc. to capture the feelings through an exhibition, "After 9/11: Messages from the World and Images of Ground Zero," that opened in 2002. This was the first traveling exhibition of the United States Diplomacy Center, combining 108 messages with 32 images taken by Joel Meyerowitz (the only photographer granted artistic freedom at the World Trade site). The Meyerowitz photos had already traveled to over 100 U.S. embassies through the State Department's Bureau of Educational and Cultural Affairs.

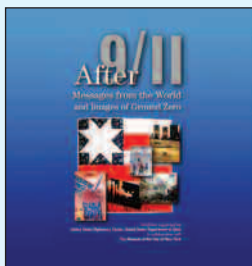
Many offices and individuals throughout the State Department assisted the United States Diplomacy Center to make the exhibit possible, including the Office of Protocol, the Office of Records, the Historian's Office, the mail rooms, and the Office of Language Services.

Additional photos of 150 artifacts appear in flip books and, together with the displays, 120 countries are represented in the exhibit. To symbolize the fact that all the artifacts were originally sent to U.S. embassies and consulates, whether electronically, by post or by hand, the display cases are presented as packing crates. Each

crate/case comprises a different theme:

- "Getting the Message" displays the media people used to convey their thoughts, and presents a video of the events of Sept. 11, 2001.
- "Innocence from Abroad" voices the friendship and fears of children.
- "The Power of the Word" communicates messages in diverse languages.
- "Symbols and Icons" shows how flags, hearts, hands and peace cranes become replacements for words.
- "From the Heart" communicates the emotions that people shared.
- "What Is Your Message?" enables visitors to write a message about 9/11 on a long roll of butcher-block paper, which the museum can then keep as a remembrance of the traveling exhibition.

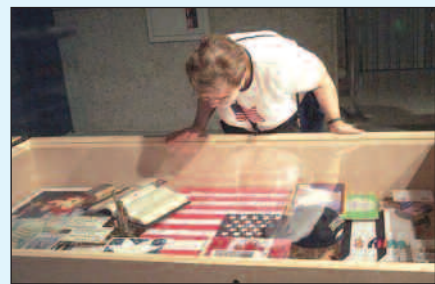
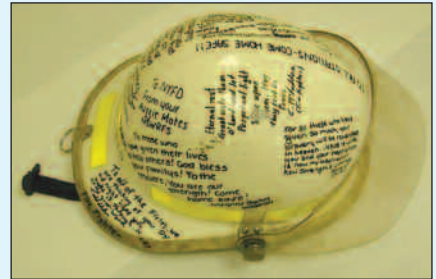
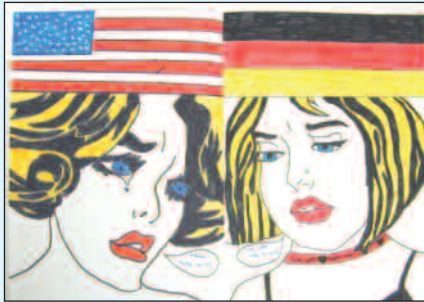
There is no cost to the museums that host "After 9/11." The Gerald R. Ford Presidential Museum in Grand Rapids, Mich., was the first facility to request the exhibition, and it opened there in September 2002 to commemorate the first anniversary of the attacks. So popular was its appearance that a record was broken for visitors in a single day, and attendance tripled over the course of its stay. The



George H. W. Bush Museum and Library in College Station, Texas, was the exhibition's next venue. Former President Bush and former First Lady Barbara Bush opened the exhibition, where he wrote the message, "God bless them all." Two additional venues in Florida also drew significant crowds. "After 9/11" is now at the Jimmy Carter Center in Atlanta, Ga., for the third anniversary of the attacks. In the winter of 2005, the exhibition will travel to Nevada.

There will be a place for the "After 9/11" exhibition for years to come, to remind us all that during one of our worst national tragedies, the world was there to offer sympathy and hope.

Priscilla Rachun Linn, D.Phil., the curator of the "After 9/11" exhibition, works in the Bureau of Public Affairs' United States Diplomacy Center.



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Briand Pact. There will be audio and video clips of first-person accounts, and opportunities to relate the economic, social, educational, environmental and tax profile of each state to treaties, cultural programs, sister-city programs, commercial pacts and other aspects of diplomacy.

A theater in the Visitor Center and Museum will create an immersion experience for the audience, providing a sense of the commitment, courage and resourcefulness of those serving in the diplomatic community. Classrooms will enable the Visitor Center and Museum to pursue robust education and outreach programs. The Visitor Center and Museum will have a dedicated

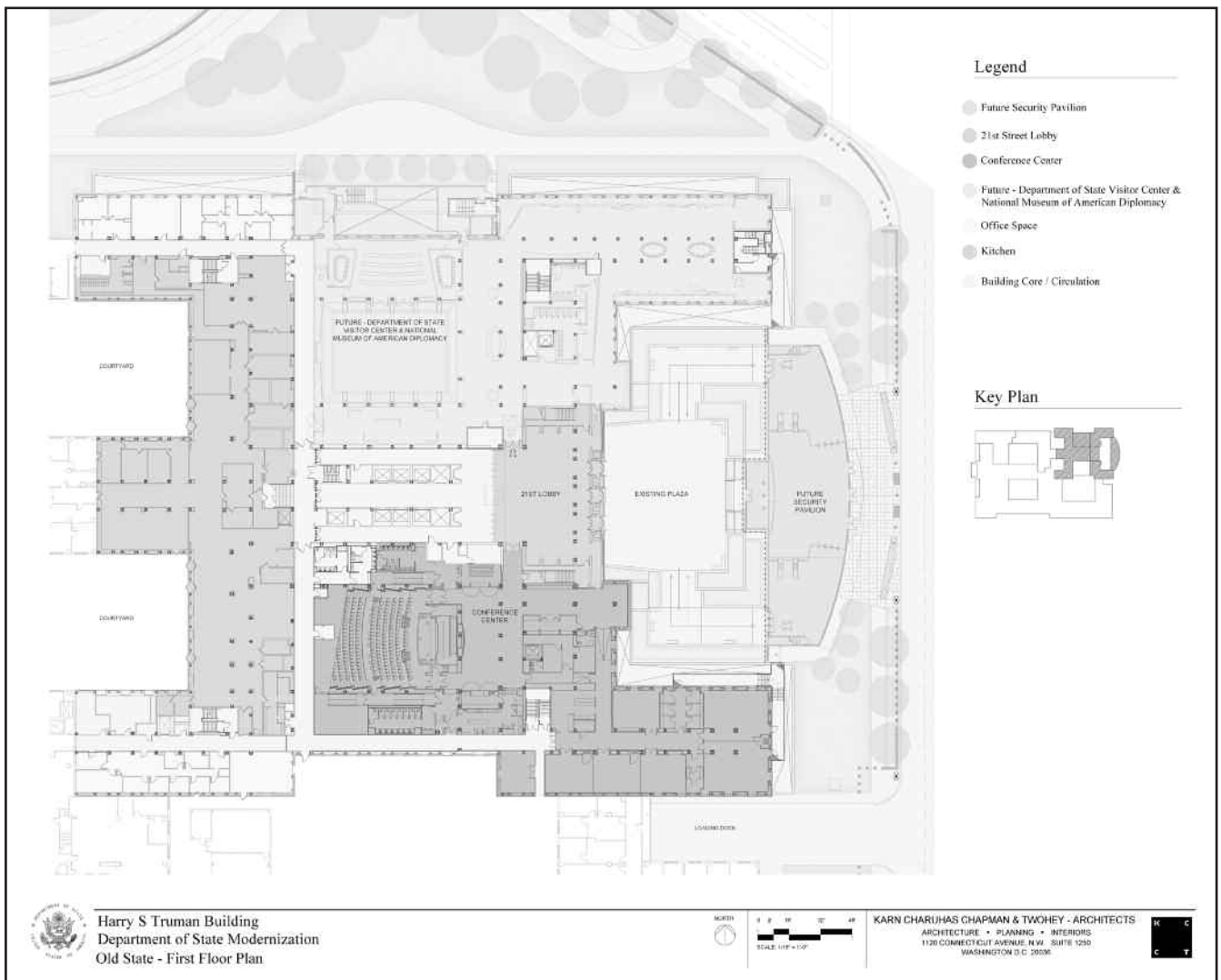
*All living former
Secretaries of State are
honorary directors
of the museum.*

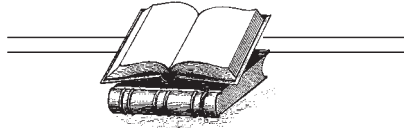
area commemorating those who have fallen in the line of duty. An adjacent conference center and auditorium — a rebuilt and expanded East Auditorium — will feature

lectures, discussions and performances.

The Foreign Affairs Museum Council has already collected \$1.25 million in seed money toward an estimated \$25 million in private funds needed for the project. It is a tall order to fill, but providing a permanent home from which to showcase American diplomacy to the public is a concept well worth the effort. Those who would like to know more about this project and how they can help make it happen can call (202) 736-9040 or e-mail USDC@state.gov.

If we work together on this, offering ideas, artifacts and funds for building the exhibits, we can respond to Sen. Mathias' directive by saying with satisfaction, "We did it." ■





BOOKS

Mexican Memories

The U.S. and Mexico:

The Bear and the Porcupine

Jeffrey Davidow, Markus Wiener Publishers, 2004, \$24.95, paperback, 254 pages.

REVIEWED BY TED WILKINSON

Every few years, American readers can reasonably expect to see a first-rate book by an old hand with expertise in U.S.-Mexican relations. Alan Riding's *Distant Neighbors* (1986) immediately comes to mind, along with Sydney Weintraub's *Marriage of Convenience* (1991), Andres Oppenheimer's *Bordering on Chaos* (1998), and Clint Smith's *Inevitable Partnership* (2000). Jeff Davidow's *The U.S. and Mexico: The Bear and the Porcupine* sets a new, even higher standard.

The most recent of seven career FSOs to serve as chief of mission in Mexico City during the past half-century (including John Negroponete), Davidow has given us an engrossing, revealing, vivid and, at times, hilarious account of four historic years (1998-2002) that spanned two Mexican presidencies — the last two-and-a-half years of Ernesto Zedillo and the first year-and-a-half of Vicente Fox. (President Bush had observed Davidow at work from his office in Austin while still governor, and while visiting Fox's ranch in Guanajuato early in his administration, asked him

Davidow offers a far-reaching, non-partisan action program for improving U.S.-Mexican relations that would serve us well no matter which party wins in November.



to stay on for what turned into a four-year term. When Davidow left Mexico in the summer of 2002, he was the longest-serving ambassador in a U.S. diplomatic post.)

It was a tenure replete with both triumphs (such as PAN candidate Vicente Fox's election to the presidency in 2000, ending more than 70 years of continuous PRI rule) and tragedies (such as the 9/11 attacks' disastrous impact on Mexico's agenda with the U.S.).

Davidow deftly takes us through the last years of the Zedillo administration, the dramatic 2000 election, and his own efforts to avoid feeding Mexican paranoia about real or supposed U.S. intervention. But the highlight of the book comes when Fox takes office, raising hopes of a transformed bilateral relationship. Both leaders were former state gov-

ernors, businessmen in cowboy boots, and Christian conservatives, who could sit down without interpreters and level with each other about real problems on the ground. Indeed, at their first meeting, Bush and Fox quickly reached an agreement in principle on Fox's top agenda item, setting up a task force to deal with the spectrum of Mexican immigration issues. In return, Fox agreed to make up the shortfalls in Rio Grande water allocations to Texas, a burning issue on Bush's home ground.

So what went wrong? Certainly the 9/11 attacks made everything much more difficult, but Davidow believes the problem began earlier. Both leaders were naïve, and thought they could deliver far more than they could. As he ruefully observes, "Important and powerful political forces did not favor change. They rarely do." The Mexican side in the bilateral talks, led by Foreign Minister Jorge Castaneda, a charming political maverick, didn't make things any easier by insisting on "the whole enchilada" of migration reforms at one time. Similarly, Fox's efforts to fulfill his promise to deliver Rio Grande Treaty-mandated allotments of water came to naught when the relevant northern state governors found ways to ignore them.

Davidow actually begins his account in the distant past, describing an apocryphal Aztec codex that tells how the porcupine became the



mascot of Montezuma's forebears, showing them how to fend off with its spiny barbs the great bear that roamed in the northern forests. Though the fable is entirely of the author's own making, it proves an effective device, both because the bilateral relationship is indeed frequently prickly and because Davidow himself (probably the tallest U.S. ambassador since John Kenneth Galbraith) would be pretty imposing in a bearskin.

Looking ahead to 2025 in his conclusion, Davidow shows equal creativity in scripting a bilingual dialogue between the American and Mexican presidents about the (imagined) perfidy of their Canadian NAFTA partner, who is still struggling with separatism. After the call, President Gonzalez's glance falls on the displayed inaugural gifts he got from his mother's birthplace in Jalisco. He then walks into the Oval Room at the White House to begin his day's schedule.

A Chicano president of the United States in 2025? Not so far-fetched, if you reckon that our Hispanic minority, at some 13 percent of the population, has already surpassed the African-American demographic, and if you posit freer movement and greater integration in the next 20 years, as NAFTA gains force. Operating on that assumption, Davidow then outlines a far-reaching, nonpartisan action program for the coming years that would serve us well if the winning party were enlightened enough to adopt it in November.

The U.S. and Mexico is must reading not just for the many Foreign Service people serving or planning to serve in the country, but for all Americans who have some sense of how closely linked our own destiny is with our 100-million-plus immediate neighbors. As one indi-

cation of its broad appeal, the Spanish-language version, published in Mexico some nine months earlier than the U.S. version, has already sold over 25,000 copies!

Ted Wilkinson, a former minister-counselor in Mexico City, now serves as a retiree member of the AFSA Governing Board and on the Journal Editorial Board.

The Model of a Modern Ambassador

The 21st Century Ambassador: Plenipotentiary to Chief Executive

Kishan S. Rana, Mediterranean Academy of Diplomatic Studies (Diplo Handbooks), 2004, 21 euros (approx. U.S. \$25), paperback, 258 pages.

REVIEWED BY EDWARD MARKS

Diplomats, as a class being more or less literate, produce a stream of articles and books as they pass into retirement. Apart from classic memoirs, they discuss either foreign policy (what is or was done rightly or wrongly and what should be done) or the practice of diplomacy, usually how it has changed or is changing in the modern world.

Retired Indian Ambassador Kishan S. Rana's book, *The 21st Century Ambassador: Plenipotentiary to Chief Executive*, falls into the later category. As his title indicates, he focuses on the ambassador as an institution that continues to represent the cutting edge of the international diplomatic system, and considers ways in which that institution's functioning can be optimized in today's

Rana recommends that ambassadors "shed the baggage of pomp" and concentrate on managing the bilateral relationship.

environment.

Rana's argument is based on today's political and bureaucratic realities and not on nostalgic memories of a golden age. He illustrates that it is precisely because of social, political and economic changes that the institution of ambassador is a necessary element in effective governance in this increasingly global world. He recognizes the changes that lead some to dismiss professional diplomacy as no longer valid: modern communication technology, the major role of other departments, direct capital-to-capital dealings, the explosion of the number of subjects that are the business of modern diplomacy, and the loss by the ministry of foreign affairs of its historic gatekeeper role. However, he argues, beginning with a quotation from a State Department memo of 1970, that these changes only mean the need is for a "new breed of diplomat — managers."

As such, the modern ambassador "sheds the baggage of pomp and concentrates on the promotion, outreach, negotiation, feedback, management and servicing functions" of the bilateral relationship. The chief of mission is obviously not master of the entire enterprise — not even the foreign



minister or Secretary of State is — but he or she is the only senior official occupied full-time with that particular bilateral relationship. Rana's detailed discussion of the contemporary ambassador's role in both the external world and the domestic arena will (one hopes) not be news to American ambassadors, but is instructive nonetheless.

Rana's own career (including five ambassadorships in countries as disparate as Kenya and Germany), combined with extensive research, gives this book credibility. In particular, his experiences representing a major country in the (so-called) Non-Aligned World provide a refreshing perspective to occasionally ethnocentric American eyes.

And the sheer breadth of coverage is impressive in itself, with chapter titles such as "The Transformed Plenipotentiary," "Ritual and Reform," "Partners and Techniques," "The Multilateral Ambassador," "The Domestic Dimension," and "Leadership in the Embassy."

As we all know, the State Department is not very diligent at professional education. (It does offer its personnel a certain amount of training to perform functions ranging from issuing visas to drafting memos and cables, but not much instruction in the meaning and purpose of diplomacy.) *The 21st Century Ambassador* could serve very well as a preparatory text, perhaps for the A-100 course, but certainly for the DCM and ambassadors' courses — or even for new senior political appointees in the State Department. The book has much to say and provides much thoughtful guidance on how to do effective diplomacy in today's and tomorrow's world.

Also, by the way, Ambassador Rana is an excellent drafting officer.

Hart has a rare gift for making his characters three-dimensional, even if what they do is sometimes frankly unbelievable.

Ambassador Edward Marks, a retired FSO, is a former member of the Journal's Editorial Board.

Turkish Tales

Savarona

J. Patrick Hart, PublishAmerica, 2004, \$19.95, paperback, 218 pages.

REVIEWED BY
STEVEN ALAN HONLEY

It is a cliché that Foreign Service fiction is most often really thinly-veiled autobiography, with judicious changes to the historical record to render the protagonist more sympathetic or sagacious than was the case in real life. But this tale of international and bureaucratic intrigue, set mostly in Turkey, appears to be an exception to that rule, which is — to adopt classic State-speak — both good and bad.

To get the only significant problem with *Savarona* out of the way up front, its plot is hard to follow and makes very little sense. Nor

does it help that J. Patrick Hart (the nom de plume of a current FSO) splits the narrator duties between George McCall, a well-meaning but troubled consular officer in Istanbul, and Bill Bigelow, the classic American Citizens Services case from hell. Bigelow suffers from mental illness yet inexplicably manages to con several other characters, Turkish and American, into trusting him at crucial junctures. It may well be that Hart is thereby making a subtle point about the fragile psychological state of many Foreign Service employees, or the inherent unreliability of all storytellers, but if so, it eluded me.

Nevertheless, I warmly recommend this novel to Foreign Service readers. Hart has a rare gift for making his characters three-dimensional (even if what some of them do is frankly unbelievable). The world-weary McCall, trying to decide whether he can both continue in the Foreign Service and save his foundering marriage, is an enormously sympathetic protagonist, and Bigelow, while too surreal for my taste, is not someone I will soon forget, either. They are joined by a host of other vivid characters, major and minor, each with their own set of virtues and flaws.

Hart also captures, as well as any Foreign Service writer I've ever encountered, the rhythm of life overseas, the excitement and ennui of consular work, and the tensions of balancing work and a personal life. And while I've never been to Turkey, his descriptions of the sights, sounds and smells of that exotic locale ring true, as well.

The bottom line: if you're looking for a plot-driven spy novel, this isn't the book for you. But if you want to read about characters that every Foreign Service member has worked with, encountered, or been,

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REFLECTIONS

I Just Shake My Head Sometimes

BY JOHN D. BOYLL

"I need some help."
"What seems to be the problem?"
"There's a snake in my office!"
"This is Security. We deal with security issues. I'll transfer you."
"Isn't a snake a security concern?"
"Is the snake holding a gun?"
"Well, no. But he's making threatening gestures."
"Do you feel he may explode at any moment?"
"No, but..."
"That's another department. I'll transfer you."

"This is Maintenance."
"I have a problem."
"I'll transfer you."
"No, wait — you don't know what my problem is."
"We don't handle problems. We deal with paint, appliances — that kind of stuff."
"But there's a snake in my office!"
"Oh, that's Human Resources. I'll transfer you."
"Why?"
"We don't deal with that."
"Why not?"
"Every office has at least one snake in it."
"No, I mean a *real* snake — an animal with fangs."

John D. Boyll currently works with the U.S. embassy in Mexico City and has served with the State Department in Manila and Frankfurt. He enjoys writing works of fiction and humor in his free time. The stamp is courtesy of the AAFSW Bookfair "Stamp Corner."

"Oh, that's Pest Control. I'll transfer you."

"There's a snake in my office."
"A snake?"
"Yes, a snake."
"Well, don't tell Maintenance; they won't let you keep it."
"I don't want to keep it. I want it removed."
"Oh, then you need to tell Maintenance. I'll transfer you."
"No, Maintenance just transferred me to *you*."
"Sorry, but we're Pest Control."
"A snake isn't a pest?"
"Well, is it bothering you?"
"Yes, it's bothering me!"
"Oh, then you need to fill in Form SF-1108."
"Okay."
"Then you need to bring that form to this office between 8 and 10 a.m."
"But the snake is rattling at me right now."
"Rattling? What kind of snake is it?"
"What? Do you want me to ask it?"
"Well, if it's a rattlesnake, you need a different form."
"What?"
"You need a different form: SF-1109. SF-1108 is for non-poisonous snakes."
"Okay — but come quickly!"
"I beg your pardon?"
"How soon can you get here?"
"You need to fill in an SF-1109 first and bring it down between 8 and 10 a.m."
"But this is an emergency — it could bite people!"

"Oh, why didn't you say so? You need a different form for emergency requests."
"What!?"
"You need a *different form*: Form FS-9811."
"FS-9811."
"Yes. As soon as you can fax that form to us, we'll get right on it."
"Okay. Form FS-9811."
"And Form SF-1109."
"Two forms?"
"Yes, one for the snake and one for the emergency."
"Okay, okay. I'll send Form FS-1198 and Form SF-8911."
"What!? You have an alligator in your office?!"
"What?!"
"Form FS-1198 is for alligators."
"You just said it was for poisonous snakes."
"No, that's Form SF-1109. How long have you had an alligator in your office?"
"I..."
"Maintenance won't let you keep it."
"I — I guess I mean SF-1109."
"That's fine, but it won't help if you have an alligator."
"I don't have an alligator — it's a snake!"
"Oh. I did think it'd be odd to have a rattling alligator, you know."
"Look, I need you to come right away — I'll send the fax immediately — *Ow!*"
"I beg your pardon?"
"The snake just bit me!"
"Oh, that's another department. I'll transfer you." ■

AFSA NEWS

American Foreign Service Association • September 2004

2004 AFSA AWARDS CEREMONY

AFSA Recognizes Courage and Excellence

BY KRISTOFER LOFGREN, EDITORIAL INTERN

On June 24, AFSA held its annual awards ceremony honoring those within the Foreign Service ranks who have the courage to dissent and who exemplify the very best of American diplomacy. The ceremony, held in the ornate Benjamin Franklin Diplomatic Reception Room at the State Department, was officiated by Director General of the Foreign Service W. Robert Pearson and AFSA President John Limbert.

Amb. Richard B. Parker, a three-time ambassador and the first non-native speaker of Arabic to achieve a 4/4 rating in the spoken and written language, was recognized for his 31-year career in the Foreign Service and outstanding achievements in retirement with the award for Lifetime Contributions to American Diplomacy. Amb. David Newsom (the 2000 lifetime contribution winner) accepted the award on behalf of Amb. Parker, calling him a “pioneer in understanding the (Middle East) region.” He expressed their shared concern that Middle East Studies programs in the U.S. have been criticized as being unpatriotic at a time when government experts in the field are in short supply.

Four awards were given for constructive dissent. Deputy Assistant Secretary for Near Eastern Affairs David Satterfield presented Senior Foreign Service officer Ronald L. Schlicher with the Christian A. Herter Award for his service as consul gen-



Amb. Parker (left) receives the Award for Lifetime Contributions to American Diplomacy from Director General W. Robert Pearson.

Jay Mallin

eral in Jerusalem and later as a provincial coordinator in Iraq. Schlicher acknowledged that he was surprised to win a “dissent” award for doing his job; for honest reporting and analysis, and for using his best judgment. Praising the work of the

Foreign Service, he noted that “our value-added is our expertise, and we do it better than anyone else in the U.S. government.” He pointed out that the efforts in which he was involved were collective, and the honor should be shared with colleagues in Israel and Iraq.

Keith W. Mines was awarded the William R. Rivkin Award for his dissenting view on Iraq policy. In his acceptance remarks, Mines warned that Iraq’s future is “too important to allow ideology to

Continued on page 9

AFSA Press Conference on Iraq Service



Mikkela Thompson

AFSA President John Limbert and FSO Beth Payne hold a June 17 AFSA press briefing to present views on Foreign Service work in Iraq and to urge passage of the State authorization bill. **Story on page 4.**

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First Patterson Scholarship Awarded

On July 14 at a recruiting lunch for the Foreign Agricultural Service, AFSA announced the winner of the first Martin G. Patterson Scholarship. The recipient of the \$1,700 scholarship for 2004 is Natalie Jones, a junior studying nursing at Brigham Young University. Natalie is the daughter of Jeff Jones, an FSO with FAS.

The Patterson Scholarship was created to honor the memory of Martin "Marty" G. Patterson, an FSO with the Foreign Agricultural Service who passed away in July 2003. Each year the recipient of the Patterson Scholarship, which goes to the child of a FAS or APHIS Foreign Service officer, will be provided biographical information about Patterson and his family.

As of early July, over \$17,000 had been donated by 92 individuals in support of this perpetual scholarship. The scholarship was created in 2003 as an AFSA Financial Aid Scholarship program, and only the interest is used for the award, so it will not be depleted.

More information about Marty Patterson and the scholarship can be found at www.martinpattersonscholarship.com. A donation form is at www.martinpattersonscholarship.com/donation%20Letter.doc. Donations can be made online or by mail, e-mail or fax. Credit-card donations are welcome. In addition, checks payable to the "AFSA Scholarship Fund" with "In Memory of Martin Patterson" in the memo line, can be sent to Lori Dec, Scholarship Director, AFSA, 2101 E St. N.W., Washington, DC 20037.



Front row: Alicia and Constanza Valdes-Patterson. Back row: Bill Westman, Mike Conlon, Eric Wenberg and Kyle Cunningham, all instrumental in establishing the scholarship.

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It is that time of year again: time to consider a Combined Federal Campaign contribution. AFSA urges members to consider donating to one of the two AFSA CFC funds.

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For more information on the programs supported by these funds, go to www.afsa.org/scholar/index.cfm for scholarships and www.afsa.org/pubresources.cfm for FAD. Information is also available from AFSA CFC Coordinator Lori Dec, reachable by phone: (202) 944-5504 or by e-mail: dec@afsa.org. AFSA thanks you in advance for your support.

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Cynthia Efird Heads to Angola

Secretary of State Colin Powell presided at the swearing-in ceremony for AFSA Governing Board member Cynthia G. Efird, newly appointed U.S. ambassador to Angola, in a joyful gathering in the State Department's Benjamin Franklin Room on July 20. After giving an overview of Efird's 27-year Foreign Service career as a public diplomacy officer, Sec. Powell expressed his confidence that she will rise to the challenges she faces in her assignment in Luanda, including assisting in preparations for the country's first democratic elections in 2006. Noting that AFSA has benefited from Efird's service on the Governing Board, Powell commented that it is not the only body to benefit from Efird's contributions. She is also a senior warden on the vestry of St. Paul's K Street Episcopal Church in Washington. He then administered the oath of office.

In her remarks, Efird praised the Secretary for his leadership and thanked her Foreign Service mentors and colleagues for teaching her the true meaning of "public service." She then discussed the importance of cultivating U.S.-Angolan relations and ensuring that the upcoming elections go smoothly so that the country can fulfill its great potential. She concluded by reading, first in Portuguese and then in English, a stirring patriotic poem by Angola's founding president, Agostinho Neto.

In addition to Cynthia's FSO husband, Neil, daughter and other family members, the audience included the Angolan chargé d'affaires, many FS colleagues, and a contingent from St. Paul's including the rector, Father Andrew Sloane, who gave the invocation.

AFSA will miss having Cynthia on the board but wishes Ambassador Efird all the best for this new and challenging assignment. □

Iraq to Paris? Don't Hold Your Breath



Which comes first, the assignment or the promotion? The eternal conundrum. Let's accept as a given that you're a proven performer. Now, some think it is a given that the place where you perform affects your chances for promotion. Personally, I am not convinced. There is important and substantive work being done in Buenos Aires and Tokyo. This work is not confined to the Kabuls, Baghdads and other grave-danger-cum-greater-hardship posts. If it were, then Paris, London and Rome would be among our lesser posts, which they manifestly are not.

AFSA has spent several weeks visiting all the regional bureaus. We did this because we see unaccompanied posts like Baghdad as needing a hefty annual influx of new talent. Right now, there are 12 posts for which the assignments are for one year, unaccompanied. This means more than 400 Foreign Service employees every year must bid on positions at these posts that by their very designation are not salubrious or conducive to relaxation, touring or lounging by the sea under an umbrella with a fruit-garnished drink in hand. At several of these posts, for the good Lord's sake, your living space is half a shipping container with sand bags piled on the roof! And you have to wear a helmet and body armor when you venture out.

Having spent a year under these conditions, employees will naturally seek a safe post with good schools where their children will thrive, where there's a chance to restore family life, and where the pace won't be so frenetic. My friends, there are not enough such posts to satisfy all of you!

Colleagues, the system cannot "reward" you all for hardship service. Here's why. The 400-plus annually who leave the dangerous, difficult and unaccompanied posts will not all be sent on to Paris or Tokyo or Bermuda. Of the 254 posts the Foreign Service staffs, 68 percent are designated hardship, and 50 percent (127) have a differential of 15 percent or greater. That leaves only 30 percent of all posts in the category of non-hardship.

So, knowing that it will not be possible to reward the onward aspirations of those exiting Kabul et al., AFSA sent the following messages to the regional bureaus and HR:

"Look favorably at bidders who may be new to your bureau. Do not lock in your favorite bidder early. It's against the negotiated rules anyway. It will make AFSA mad and it violates transparency that the Service now needs more than ever. AFSA's word to the wise for management! You will not get the 400-plus bidders you need annually unless there is the expectation their onward bids will be given due consideration."

AFSA wants to see fair share applied with even greater rigor. If you or a dependent has a condition that precludes service at greater hardship posts, search for a hardship posting that MED will bless. One geographic bureau suggested that AFSA abandon our commitment to fair share, arguing it doesn't begin to fill the need at hardship posts and is too easily gamed. Our response is that while we agree that the number of fair-share bidders in any one year (200 or so) does not begin to fill the slots at the hardship posts, it does share the sacrifice and it does demonstrate a commitment to worldwide availability. Meanwhile, AFSA will continue to work to prevent gaming the system. CDA should insist fair-share bidders with limited clearances prove there is no hardship post that can accommodate them or their families. MED should try harder to help fair-share bidders find onward assignments. □

FCS at a Quarter-Century: Have We Met Expectations?

During our last meeting with management to review the year's accomplishments, we congratulated ourselves on the approval of important new policy documents. Bill Crawford and I presented an agenda for our second and final year as AFSA representatives that included support for major reform of the human resources office. Then talk turned to planning for the agency's silver anniversary in 2005. While this initial discussion focused on planning a celebratory program, I believe the silver anniversary also offers us the opportunity for more serious introspection. Have we met the expectations of the policy-makers who saw the need for an independent foreign affairs agency to better promote U.S. commercial interests abroad?

In terms of the quality of overall management of the agency by Commerce, it is hard to be generous. Despite recent achievements resulting from hard work and strengthened cooperation between AFSA and management, the systemic challenges facing a small



In terms of the quality of overall management of the agency by Commerce, it is hard to be generous.

foreign affairs agency in a large domestic Cabinet department appear insurmountable.

The facts are striking. Almost all of the current members of our Senior Foreign Service will retire within three years. Almost a third

of all officers are untenured or retiring. Rising costs have created pressures to restructure or close overseas offices. Despite these challenges, I am not aware of a strategic plan for recruitment, training or staffing overseas missions.

Staffing of the Office of Foreign Service Human Resources has been allowed to fall to historically low levels. In July, OFSHR had one staff member to serve 99 Foreign Service employees, while the ratio was 1 to 48 in the department's parent trade agency. The Foreign Service personnel office has been chronically understaffed and undergraded and has never found a comfortable home at Commerce. Unacceptable service has been the result. Selection Board results that used to take a few weeks to approve now languish for nine months. With enthusiastic AFSA support, over a year ago management developed a plan to improve basic service, yet the department has not allowed it to go forward. Staffing levels have declined further, as has morale.

In terms of FCS programs and services, there is no doubt that our business clients are more satisfied than before. But they cry out for a more strategic approach in a world where national interest and the interests of global companies are not the same as they were 25 years ago. With 11 director generals in 24 years, it is no wonder that our vision is firmly locked into the rear-view mirror. Guidance for determining the national interest for regulatory policy advocacy and new programs for service exports and investment are desperately needed if we are to be as energized and effective in the future as we have been in the past. FCS was created as a key component of the trade agenda of its day, but it no longer plays that central role. We must rethink and retool our approach to ensure that commercial diplomacy once again has a central role in the national trade agenda.

As US&FCS makes plans to celebrate an anniversary next year, I welcome thoughts on both the celebration itself, as well as the answer to the question of whether the agency has lived up to the expectations that called for its creation in 1980. □

PUSH FOR AUTHORIZATION BILL

Iraq Vets Urge Funding for Difficult Diplomacy

BY KRISTOFER LOFGREN,
EDITORIAL INTERN

AFSA President John Limbert and Consular Officer Beth Payne, both of whom recently returned from Iraq, were featured speakers at a June 17 AFSA press briefing at which they highlighted the challenges that Foreign Service personnel face in Iraq today. Amb. Limbert and Ms. Payne called on the Senate to pass the State authorization bill in order to give Foreign Service personnel the support necessary to contribute to the reconstruction of Iraq in a productive way.

Limbert recently returned from a three-month assignment in Iraq and Payne served as a consular officer in Iraq from June 2003 to April 2004. Both offered stark accounts of the dangers they encountered in Iraq, which included several rocket attacks.

Payne provided a brief account of her work and offered a poignant reminder of the dangers that Foreign Service personnel face each day. She recalled giving aid to a wounded colleague after a rocket attack on her hotel (for which she earned a heroism award). Payne described the security situation in Iraq for members of the Foreign Service as "Russian roulette, not as a game, but as your work."

Nevertheless, both Limbert and Payne expressed their determination to see Iraq



Mikkela Thompson

Beth Payne showing slides from Iraq.

get back on its feet, despite the risks to personnel. Limbert called Iraq a “crucial mission,” and Payne said she would serve in Iraq again if necessary, saying, “it is too important [to refuse].”

With the difficulties in Iraq and the determination of the Foreign Service as a backdrop, Limbert questioned why diplomatic work has been shortchanged by Congress. He noted that there has been

Limbert urged the Senate to end its “paralysis” and its “partisan politics and maneuvering,” and to approve the State authorization bill.

no State authorization bill passed since 1999. He said there has been a “failure of the legislature to support the civilian side of the effort in Iraq.” Limbert urged the Senate to end its “paralysis” and its “partisan politics and maneuvering,” and to approve the State authorization bill.

While the bill unanimously passed out of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee in March, the full body has not taken up the measure for a vote. Limbert asked whether perhaps the Senate did not feel that the work of the Foreign Service was important, and called on the senators to value the “great hardship and sacrifice” of the Foreign Service enough to pass an authorization bill providing the resources needed.

Reporters from several major media entities, including the *Los Angeles Times*, the *Baltimore Sun*, the *Dallas Morning News*, the *Federal Times*, four major television networks and three wire services, attended the briefing. Articles about the briefing have appeared in the *Los Angeles Times*, the *Federal Times*, the *Boston Globe*, the *Washington Post* and on the Associated Press wire. Payne was also interviewed on CNN-TV on June 26 as part of the network’s coverage of the transfer of sovereignty. □

A Candidate for Diplomacy

In the fall of 1956, in the midst of the presidential election campaign, one of my fellow freshly-minted FSOs and I fell to discussing politics. I asked him who he was for, and he said he would vote for whoever he felt would do the most for the Foreign Service. I was stunned. Here I was, trying to decide the fate of the world (which my vote would undoubtedly determine), and my friend was concerned exclusively about his job, looking for the candidate who would give the Foreign Service a greater role. I thought he was crazy.



Now, 48 years later, we are in the midst of another presidential election, and my views have moved closer to those of my friend. I still believe, then as now, that neither candidate is likely to make strengthening the Foreign Service one of his priorities, and expecting either one to give any thought to it in the heat of a campaign was and is foolish. Nevertheless, both candidates back then were at least aware that we *had* a Foreign Service, and knew — we hoped — that our ability to carry out foreign policy successfully depended, at least in part, on its quality and dedication.

But my friend was on to something beyond simple self-interest. What matters most is not whether the successful candidate for president sees the Foreign Service as important, but whether he sees diplomacy as important. If he does, then sooner or later in his administration, he will come to recognize that having the best Foreign Service in the world working on behalf of the United States and its interests is an enormous asset that must be maintained and rewarded.

What matters is which candidate appreciates the value of diplomacy in crafting and executing those policies.

At a time when American soldiers are being killed daily in combat, no one would question the importance of the military or its essential role in support of U.S. interests. But if the war in Iraq has demonstrated nothing else, it has surely shown the limitations of what military force alone can achieve. When it became clear that military victory was, as always, just the beginning of the mission to be accomplished, two career FSOs — one as head of the Coalition Provisional Authority and the other as U.S. ambassador — were successively called on to help create the conditions under which our military can be withdrawn. Many other Foreign Service people are working to support these efforts. Foreign Service retirees have written to ASFA asking whether they can serve in Iraq.

As U.S. citizens and as members of the Foreign Service family, we need to insist that the candidates for president recognize that the United States, powerful as it is, cannot simply impose its will on the world and that to try to do so will do long-term damage to our interests. Carrying out a successful foreign policy means engaging the rest of the world in a dialogue about the kind of world we want and how to make it, and recognizing that our allies — and even sometimes our enemies — can contribute to that dialogue. A presidential candidate who does not believe in dialogue, in diplomacy, will not serve his country well.

And so my friend was right after all, even if it took me a half-century to admit it. What matters most is not which candidate claims to have the best policy for Iraq, North Korea, Venezuela or global warming. What matters is which candidate appreciates the value of diplomacy, and therefore of the Foreign Service, in crafting and executing those policies. □

VOA Employee Petition Laments “Dismantling”

BY SHAWN DORMAN

Over 450 current Voice of America employees — representing almost half of the agency’s work force — have signed a petition protesting what they see as a growing loss of independence of the agency. The petition, submitted to Congress July 6, accuses the managing Broadcasting Board of Governors of setting out to dismantle the 62-year-old service, and calls for an immediate congressional inquiry.

“U.S. international broadcasting is seriously threatened,” the petition begins, “at a time when strong and substantive American voices to other countries are more important than ever. Although broadcast hours have been increased to the Middle East and Islamic world, taxpayer-funded, pop-music networks have replaced comprehensive news reporting and analysis there. ... Since 9/11, actions taken by the Broadcasting Board of Governors (the oversight entity for U.S. international broadcasting) have limited the scope and effectiveness of the Voice of America and its sister grantee radios.”

Many of the VOA employees see the July 1 transfer of VOA News Director Andre de Nesnera to a correspondent position as part of the board’s move to gain more political control over broadcasting. De Nesnera, known for his strong commitment to balanced reporting, was honored with an AFSA constructive dissent award in 2002 for his insistence on airing an interview with Taliban leader Mohammed Omar despite strong pressure not to do so.

The petitioners expressed concern that the new formats were not established under the 1976 VOA Charter.

The board has established various new entities to broadcast into the Middle East, including Radio Sawa, al-Hurra (TV) and Radio Farda (for Iran). It has decided to pull Radio Free Iraq, which broadcast in Arabic, as of Sept. 30. The petitioners expressed concern that the new formats were not established under the 1976 VOA Charter, which was designed to ensure that VOA provides a “reliable and authoritative source of news” and to prevent government interference with reporting. The new programs offer a mix of news and entertainment, with much less time devoted to news than the traditional VOA programming.

Broadcasting Board of Governors Chairman Kenneth Tomlinson issued a statement in response to the petition, noting that the professional standards of the new programs are “similar to those of the 1976 VOA charter” and that all services must follow the “highest professional standards of broadcast journalism.” He also stated that the news coverage must be “consistently reliable, authoritative, accurate, objective and comprehensive.” □

AFSA Member Achievement Award C. Edward Dillery

Ambassador C. Edward Dillery was honored with the 2004 AFSA Member Achievement Award for his contributions to Foreign Service youth through his many years of service as chair of the AFSA Scholarship Committee. Following a distinguished 38-year Foreign Service career, Amb. Dillery has continued to serve the Foreign Service. He has given countless hours of his time to the AFSA scholarship program, which helps support Foreign Service children with funds for college. Dillery has also served as the AFSA vice president for retirees. He lends further assistance to the association as a speaker for AFSA-sponsored Elderhostel programs.



Lay Mallin

Amb. Ed Dillery (right) receives the AFSA Member Achievement Award from AFSA President John Limbert.

The AFSA Scholarship Committee (also known as the Committee on Education) oversees the administration of the AFSA Scholarship Program. This includes the Academic Merit and Art Merit Awards Program, which bestows awards in the spring, and the Financial Aid Awards Program, which bestows awards in the fall. Every year the committee awards approximately \$150,000 to Foreign Service dependents around the world. The committee determines the policies of the scholarship program, reviews the performance of its \$4.5-million endowment, provides guidance on fundraising and other scholarship issues, and monitors the scholarship program budget.

“Ed presides over the scholarship committee meetings and is a great chair,” says AFSA Scholarship Administrator Lori Dec, who works closely with him. “Even with short notice he is always available to represent the AFSA Scholarship Committee, be it attending the AFSA Finance Committee meeting or accepting a scholarship check.”

Dillery joined the Foreign Service in 1955 and during his long career served in Tokyo and Kobe; Brussels; Quang Ngai (during the Vietnam War); London; Nicosia; Suva; and Washington, D.C. His last overseas posting was as ambassador to Fiji from 1984 to 1987, where he was also accredited to Tuvalu, the Kingdom of Tonga and the Republic of Kiribati (the former Gilbert Islands). After retiring from the Foreign Service in 1993, he served for one year in the office of the under secretary of state for management.

Amb. Dillery was born in Seattle, Wash. He earned his B.A. from Seattle Pacific University and an M.S. degree from The George Washington University. He and his wife, Marita, have three children and eight grandchildren.



Amb. Dillery presents a scholarship certificate to 2004 merit award winner Michael Young on Foreign Affairs Day, May 7.

AFSA 2004 Post Representative of the Year Award

(This award replaces the Active Member Achievement Award, and now comes with a cash prize.)

David Jesser Embassy Pretoria

David Jesser was chosen as an AFSA Post Representative of the Year for his work in Pretoria. Jesser previously served as AFSA rep in Muscat. "His sustained diligence as an AFSA rep for nearly five years makes him a worthy recipient of the AFSA Post Rep of the Year award," says AFSA Labor Management Specialist James Yorke. Jesser is consistently available for AFSA members when they need help, and has skillfully translated his role as AFSA rep into an effective advocacy position. He also does an outstanding job of keeping AFSA headquarters up-to-date on employee concerns at post.



Jesser discussing AFSA issues with Management Counselor Elizabeth P. Hinson.

Jesser explains that as AFSA became more involved with issues of concern to specialists in the mid-1990s, his contact with AFSA increased. With help from an AFSA lawyer and support from the OIG, Jesser won a grievance case. "Buoyed by all the support and guidance AFSA had given me in correctly addressing that particularly difficult issue in the workplace," Jesser says, "I enthusiastically became an AFSA rep at an onward assignment."



Jesser receiving his award from AFSA President John Limbert.

Over the past two years, Jesser has worked hard to secure benefits for those at post in the "administrative and technical" staff category. A & T personnel in Pretoria are not given the same benefits as those on the "diplomatic list." In Pretoria, Jesser investigated reciprocity issues in an effort to lessen the hardships on A & T personnel. In one example, he determined that South African A & T personnel serving in the U.S. were allowed to purchase a car duty-free during the duration of their assignments, while American A & T personnel in South Africa could only do so during their first six months at post. The result of his advocacy on this issue was inclusion in an OIG inspection report of a recommendation that post and the Office of Foreign Missions take steps to rectify the inequity. In addition, he worked to eliminate the inequity that gives access to Pretoria's duty-free stores to American mission members on the diplomatic list but not to A & T personnel.

"The job of AFSA rep is what ones makes of it," he says. "I see it as a valuable leverage tool between embassy staff and post management when circumstances warrant." When difficult situations arise, the choice, says Jesser, "is to stick my head in the sand and grin and bear it, or to speak out against unpopular issues and policies. I chose the latter and, in turn, AFSA ensured that I never had to go it alone."

David Jesser was born in Providence, R.I. He has a B.A. and an A.A. from the University of Maryland. He served for four years with the U.S. Coast Guard before joining the Foreign Service in 1988 as an information management specialist. He has served in Hong Kong, Cairo, The Hague, Muscat and Pretoria, and is married to Joann Wernig.

Randy J. Kreft Embassy Moscow

Randy J. Kreft was selected as a winner of the 2004 AFSA Post Rep of the Year Award for his work as the AFSA representative for Embassy Moscow. The management officers who nominated him noted that in their combined 50-plus years in the Foreign Service, "Randy is the single-best AFSA representative we have seen. . . . He combines the attributes of passion and judgment in a balanced fashion, speaking in a forceful yet judicious voice on behalf of Foreign Service employees as a reasoned interlocutor with management."

In Moscow, Kreft has made sure he is accessible to all members, has kept his ear to the ground, and has been diligent in making sure that AFSA headquarters is aware of issues that need attention. He has been so effective at post because he developed a relationship with embassy management based on mutual trust. The high regard in which he is held allowed him to effectively represent his clients. The workplace in Moscow was the better for this constructive relationship.

Kreft is a proactive AFSA representative. He meets quarterly with the deputy chief of mission, briefing him on specific concerns that employees have as well as on the general state of morale at Embassy Moscow and the consulates. Kreft's temporary duty travel allows him to be an extra set of eyes for the DCM at the constituent posts.

Kreft regularly sits in on briefings for newcomers. He wants people to know his face — not just his telephone number. For the newcomers, he provides an informative but brief presentation about what an AFSA rep can do. He reminds people that if they are to be interviewed by the regional security officer on any matter, they may request that the AFSA rep sit in on that interview. Kreft also makes it clear that his door is open to any employee for consultations, AFSA member or not, U.S. citizen or not.

While Kreft has intervened on behalf of post employees in numerous cases, one example bears noting. When the Russian State Customs Committee began holding up shipping entitlements for administrative and technical staff, he played an important role in liaising between post management and members at post. His involvement helped keep a difficult situation from becoming divisive within the embassy community.

Summing up his many contributions, the officers who nominated Kreft say: "Randy's proactive, constructive skills and abilities as an AFSA representative are key to resolving problems early and making this mission the great workplace it is."



AFSA President John Limbert presenting the Post Rep Award to Randy Kreft on June 24.

Randy Kreft was born in Twin Falls, Idaho, and graduated from Idaho State University School of Applied Technology in Laser Optics. He served in the U.S. Army from 1983 until 1992, joining the State Department in 1994. He has served in Washington, Frankfurt and Moscow. He and his wife, Petra, have a young daughter.

Going Nowhere Fast: State Authorization Bill

BY VICTORIA SPROW, LEGISLATIVE AFFAIRS INTERN

AFSA has been persistent in its attempts to help bring the State Department authorization bill to conference. Although the House passed its version of the bill, H.R. 1950, in May 2003, the Senate's S. 2144 has still not been considered on the floor. Despite the bill's non-controversial nature, as well as Senator Lugar and Senator Biden's strong support, approaching elections and increased politicization resulted in the suspension of this key piece of legislation.

AFSA responded by voicing its disappointment over the Senate's inaction. In late June, AFSA launched an extensive press campaign in an attempt to publicize the importance of the bill, which contains significant provisions for the Foreign Service. Because of limited floor time, however, the Senate did not vote on S. 2144. AFSA will continue to seek passage of the provisions important to the Foreign Service.

Appropriations

The Defense Appropriations bill made its way rapidly through the House and the Senate. The bill was reported out of conference on July 22. It included \$95 million in humanitarian aid for Sudan and \$685 million for Embassy Baghdad (\$665.3 million for diplomacy and consular programs, and \$20 million for embassy construction).

Appropriations for the Commerce-Justice-State bill, however, were still under way as of this writing in late July. The bill was passed by the House in early July with an appropriation of \$8.4 billion for the State Department, a 5.3 percent increase from Fiscal Year 2004 appropriations. Although this amount is \$121.4 million below the administration's request, it does allow for 110 new positions in visa adjudication, public diplomacy, and anticipated staffing

requirements for Sudan, Libya and Haiti. The request for worldwide security programs has been met at \$1.5 billion, allowing for 71 new diplomatic security positions. There was good news for the increasingly important public diplomacy function: the House appropriated \$319 million for public diplomacy, \$10 million above request. The bill also funds a new Office of Stabilization and Reconstruction and continues to support the concept of "rightsizing."

AFSA expects the Senate will take up CJS appropriations when Congress returns from recess in September.

Comparability Pay

AFSA persists in seeking to eliminate the pay disparity between the Foreign Service abroad and in the U.S. Overseas (non-Senior) personnel currently do not receive the 15-percent increase in salary that personnel at home earn in the form of locality pay. The Senior Foreign Service pay scale, however, was switched to a pay-for-performance system in January to rectify this problem, in effect creating a two-tiered Foreign Service abroad. As a result, diplomatic readiness and morale have been undermined. AFSA is consulting with the State Department and others to resolve these discrepancies and develop an acceptable salary program.

Retiree Issues

AFSA supports the repeal of the Windfall Elimination Provision and reform of the Government Pension Offset, both of which reduce Social Security benefits for some FSRDS annuitants. AFSA also continues to monitor legislation regarding Premium Conversion and Prescription Drug Parities. □

AFSA has responded by voicing its disappointment over the Senate's inaction.

AFSA NEWS BRIEFS

Continued from page 2

Turn It Off in D.C.

On July 1, using a cell phone without a hands-free device while driving in the District of Columbia became illegal. The penalty is a fine of \$100 and a point on the driver's record. The law applies to all drivers in the city, regardless of place of residence. The language of the bill can be found at the D.C. Council's Web site: <http://www.dccouncil.washington.dc.us/images/00001/20030110124412.pdf>

BOOKFAIR Opens Oct. 15

For months, volunteers have been preparing for the 44th Annual BOOKFAIR of the Associates of the American Foreign Service Worldwide. BOOKFAIR opens on Friday, Oct. 15, at 2 p.m. in the Exhibit Hall at Main State. Employees and their escorted guests, and retirees and their spouses, are cordially invited. During the week, from Oct. 18 through 22, this same group of people will be admitted from 11 a.m. to 3 p.m. BOOKFAIR is open to the general public on two weekends: Oct. 16-17 and Oct. 23-24 from 10 a.m. to 4 p.m. each day. Some items are marked down to half-price on the final day of the fair. VISA, MasterCard and checks are accepted. Questions? Please call: (202) 223 5796.

Position with FSYP

The Foreign Service Youth Foundation is seeking a Foreign Service Teen Community Service Program Director in the Washington, D.C., area. The program director develops, implements and oversees monthly Foreign Service teen community service events in the Northern Virginia area. The salary is \$20 to \$25 per hour for five to seven hours per week. Hours are flexible, but the candidate must be available on some weekends and afternoons. Please contact FSYP Executive Director Melanie Newhouse at fsyf@fsyf.org for a full job description. □

Q&A

Personnel

Care for Inventory

BY JAMES YORKE, LABOR
MANAGEMENT SPECIALIST

Q: When I left my last post, the General Services Office charged me for damage to carpets and furniture in my apartment. How can I avoid this at my new post?

A: This is something that you need to pay attention to from

the day you move into your new housing. Obviously, you need to take care of everything in your apartment or house during your occupancy. But it is also very important to make sure that all parties — you, the GSO and the Housing Office — are aware of what is provided to you and its condition when it first comes into your possession. There are several ways of doing this:

Inventory: Make sure that the inventory is accurate, that it shows all the items that you have in your house or apartment, and none that you do not have.

List condition: Make sure that the condition of each item is noted on the inventory. If there are any stains, wear or damage on any furniture, carpets or fittings, then be precise about where the damage is located and its nature.

Photographs: Take photographs of carpets and furniture. Make sure you note the date the photograph was taken and give copies to the Housing Office or GSO.

Track Changes: Make sure that any changes to the inventory during your occupancy are promptly and accurately documented, and take photographs if necessary.

Next, throughout your occupancy, you should take care that the furniture and fittings are treated well. If any damage occurs, make a note of the extent of it and when and how it occurred. This will ensure that you are not taken by surprise when the check-out inspection turns up any damage, and will enable you to identify damage that was not caused by you or your family. □

Awards • Continued from page 1

trump experience or imagination to trump reality.” In the finest tradition of courageous dissent, while Mines did not agree with the policy, he was nevertheless one of the first to volunteer for an Iraq assignment.

Diplomatic Courier Elizabeth A. Orlando was honored with the F. Allen “Tex” Harris Award for her efforts to intercede on behalf of coworkers facing unfair treatment. Orlando said her belief that “you treat people well” led her to risk her career for the sake of others, and that winning the Harris Award was a “huge morale boost.”

The W. Averell Harriman Award for constructive dissent by a junior officer went to Steven T. Weston. Weston, however, was in Ireland staffing President Bush’s visit and was unable to attend. His colleague at Embassy Luxembourg, Mary Jo Fuhrer — herself the winner of the Nelson B. Delavan Award for extraordinary contributions by an office management specialist — accepted the award on his behalf. Fuhrer shared the Delavan Award with Jenny A. Jeras, OMS at Embassy Kabul, who joked that she was “thankful for the chance to get out of Kabul.”

Susanne A. Turner was recognized with the M. Juanita Guess Award for her efforts as community liaison officer at Embassy



Deputy Assistant Secretary for Near East Affairs David Satterfield (left) presents the Herter Award to Ronald Schlicher.



AFSA Award winners during the June 24 awards ceremony. From left: Keith Mines, Betsy Orlando, Mary Jo Fuhrer, Jenny Jeras and Susanne Turner.

Bishkek. Helene Dejong and Dawn Sewell McKeever were awarded the Avis Bohlen Award for their assistance to underprivileged communities in Uganda, especially through work on literacy and library expansion. Unable to attend the ceremony, they sent a message thanking AFSA for the

honor but noting that “post management has neither recognized our work nor acknowledged the award.”

Amb. C. Edward Dillery was honored with the AFSA Member Achievement Award for his service as chair of the Scholarship Committee. David P. Jesser and Randy J. Kreft earned the AFSA Post Rep of the Year Award for their determined efforts on behalf of AFSA members in Pretoria and Moscow, respectively. (Articles on these winners begin on page 6.)

Following the ceremony, several media entities carried articles highlighting the accomplishments of the dissent honorees. On June 28, the *Washington Post* ran a half-page story, with particular emphasis on Mines. The *Agence France-Presse* and the *Associated Press* also carried stories about the event. Barry Schweid’s AP article, which focused largely on Schlicher’s influential decisions on Near East policy, was picked up by dozens of newspapers around the world, including the *New York Times*, the *Guardian*, the *Los Angeles Times*, the *Miami Herald*, the *San Francisco Chronicle* and the *Charlotte Observer*.

The ceremony was followed by a reception in which attendees could personally congratulate award recipients on their distinguished service and spirited dissent. □

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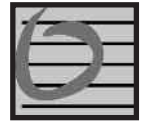
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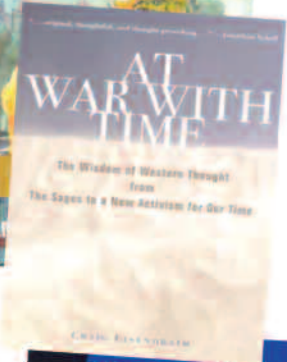
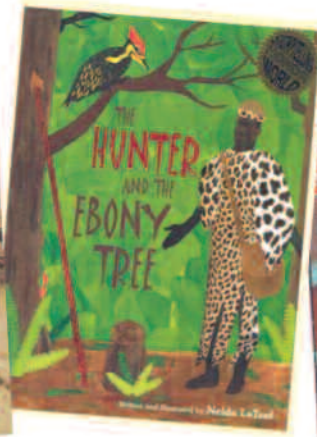
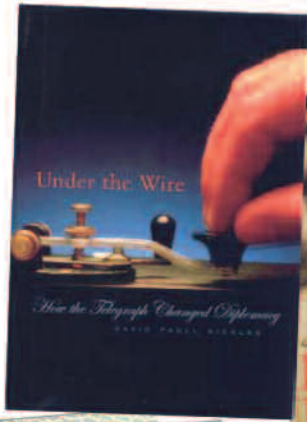
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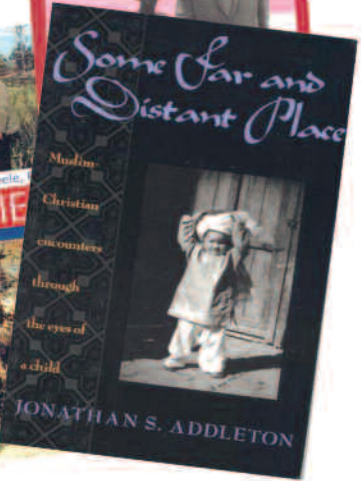
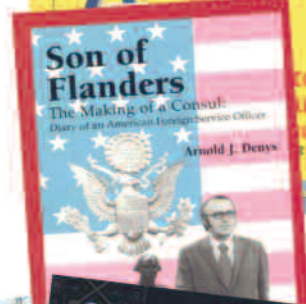
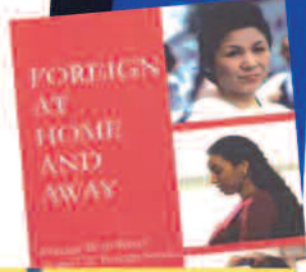
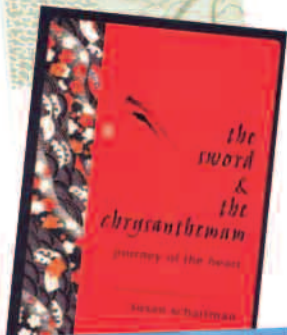
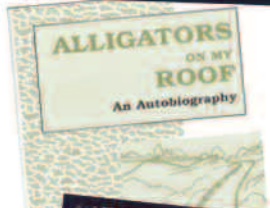
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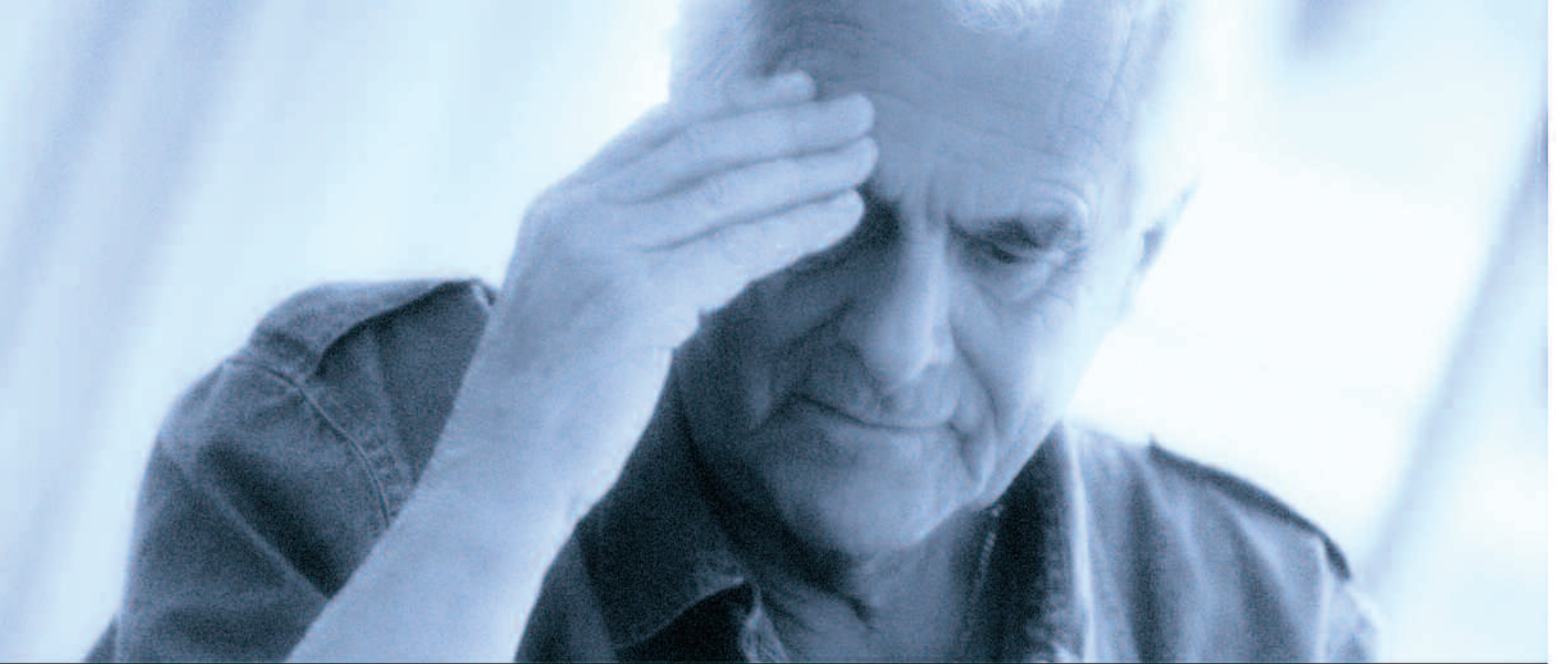
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