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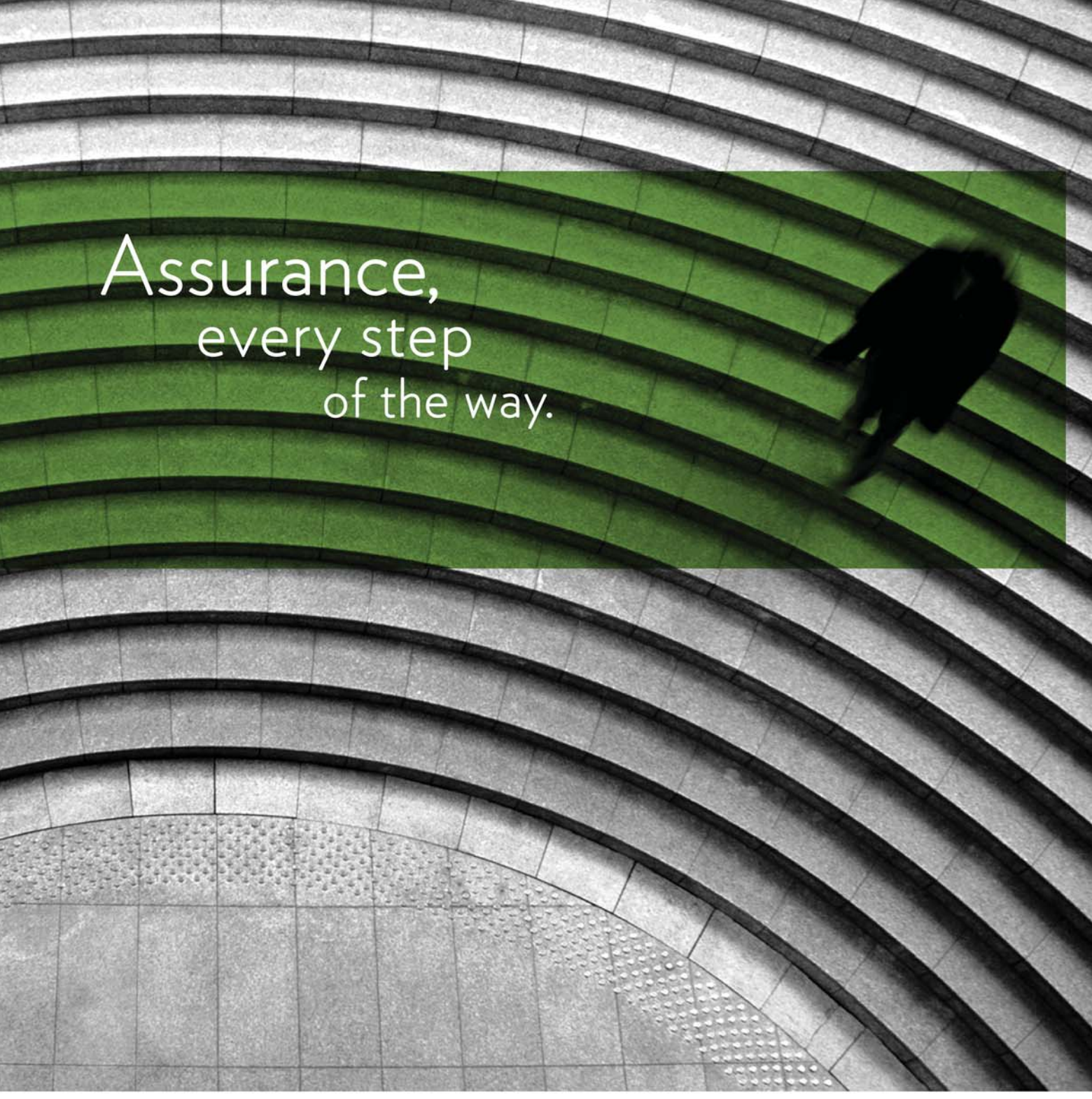

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President's Views
Team AFSA

By John K. Naland

Greetings from your new AFSA president. I join with the 24 other members of the new AFSA Governing Board in pledging to tenaciously defend and advance the interests of the Foreign Service over the next two years. I thank my predecessor, Ambassador J. Anthony Holmes, and the members of his Governing Board for their strong, principled advocacy of AFSA members' interests over the past two years.

This is a critical time for our profession. Conditions of service have deteriorated. More posts are dangerous and unhealthy. The number of unaccompanied positions has soared. Longstanding physical security policies have been abandoned in order to staff war zones. Many posts and offices are understaffed and overworked. The Service has become less family-friendly. The lack of Overseas Comparability Pay is an ever-growing financial disincentive to overseas service.

Gains made earlier this decade in strengthening diplomatic readiness have been overwhelmed as staffing demands in Iraq have far outpaced appropriations for personnel. There is a growing deficit between the missions assigned to the Foreign Service and the resources available to carry out those missions.

AFSA has many tools with which to confront these challenges. As a union, AFSA has the legal right to negotiate with agency management over many conditions of service. Speaking as a professional association with an 83-year track record as the voice of the Foreign Service, AFSA can often influence even non-negotiable agency policies. AFSA frequently testifies on Capitol Hill, has a full-time director of legislative affairs, and operates a political action committee, AFSA-PAC. We have an active communications outreach program that gets AFSA's views cited by major media outlets and arranges speaking events around the country to explain the importance of diplomacy to tens of thousands of citizens each year.

Our greatest strength, however, is you. AFSA's active-duty members are our eyes and ears around the world, alerting us to the good, the bad and the ugly in agency practices. Our retiree members play a key role in lobbying Congress for resources for diplomacy and educating our fellow Americans about the role of the Foreign Service. And all members, through their dues, support AFSA's talented professional staff, who work hard each day to advance your interests.

This, then, is our Team AFSA: Governing Board, professional staff, and rank-and-file members. Working together over the next two years, we can help realize AFSA's mission of making the Foreign Service a more effective agent of United States international leadership — while simultaneously making it a better-supported, more respected and more satisfying place in which to spend a career.

As we move forward, I promise to maintain an active pace of outbound communications, not only through this monthly column, but also via frequent e-mail updates sent via our free listserv, AFSAnet. If you are not among the nearly 10,000 subscribers to that service, you may sign up at www.afsa.org/forms/maillist.cfm.

If you are a subscriber, you will have seen my initial updates laying out the new AFSA Governing Board's starting agenda, which includes the following objectives: secure Overseas Comparability Pay; obtain more resources for diplomacy; improve overseas security; influence Foreign Service reform initiatives; preserve and strengthen USAID; defend the Foreign Service against outside critics; expand professional training; improve overseas living conditions; increase WAE opportunities; defend and expand retiree benefits; expand diplomatic privileges for specialists; improve administrative accommodations for members of household; update contact reporting and security clearance suspension procedures; and assure fair and equitable standards for assignments.

I also welcome your comments, suggestions and — as may be appropriate — complaints. You may contact me by e-mail at naland@afsa.org; by mail at 2101 E Street, NW, Washington DC 20037; by phone at (202) 338-4045; or by fax at (202) 338-6820. ■

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

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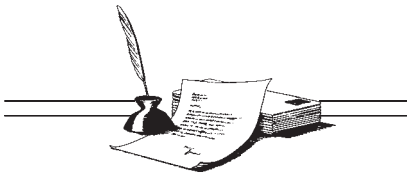


LETTERS

The Case for Mid-Level Entry

In my brief (untenured) tenure as an FSO, I have been impressed with AFSA's forthright advocacy on issues pertaining to the independence and well-being of the Foreign Service. However, Ambassador J. Anthony Holmes' reiteration of AFSA's stiff opposition to a mid-level entry program (President's Views, April) strikes me as short-sighted and detrimental to sound recruiting.

I will not deny that my discomfort with this position stems partly from my own experience. While I understood when I entered the Service that I would have to pay my dues as a "junior" officer, it is, of course, somewhat galling to me that my decade of work experience — including six years in the reconstruction field with the United Nations — and my rather expensive master's degree are all but meaningless as I begin my new career as a U.S. diplomat.

Needless to say, I am not alone in harboring a sense of frustration about spending four years or so as a JO (or "entry-level officer," as the career development officer team prefers). For example, the average FSO in my A-100 class has 10 years of work experience. Many of my A-100 peers have impressive experiences under their belts in the military and international organizations, as well as in private-sector settings, where they honed many of the skills necessary for diplomacy.

I believe that many of the "older" entrants to the Foreign Service have no objection to spending a couple of years or so on "probation." Similarly, many of us are probably more than happy to serve in consular and other sections outside our cone for extended periods of time. But I suspect that the State Department would be better served by introducing a system that permitted experienced professionals to join the Foreign Service at "mid-level" positions.

First, such a shift in policy would provide the department with a wider pool from which to select mid-level officers for important management and operational positions. Second, it would significantly increase the department's ability to attract recruits with 10 or more years of relevant experience. Many talented majors and captains retiring from the Army, for example, are reluctant to consider a career in the Foreign Service because of the requirement to start as a junior officer. Certainly a depressingly large number of the more talented classmates from my master's program were unwilling to consider the Foreign Service because of this requirement.

I applaud AFSA's longstanding efforts to maintain merit-based recruitment processes and to stand guard against any politicization of the Foreign Service. However, I strongly believe that opposition to a properly conceived mid-level entry program is counterproductive and undermines the department's ability to attract experienced professionals, not least those with qualifications in the fields central to "transformational diplomacy."

Ludovic Hood
FSO
Arlington, Va.

Rereading Roman History

I would normally let Ambassador Thomas Boyatt's June letter, responding to *Foreign Service Journal* Editor Steve Honley's March review of the book *Imperium: A Novel of Ancient Rome*, go by without comment. However, I found it not just devoid of substantive merit but gratuitously offensive, as well.

Where to begin? We all know that "European" has been a cuss word ever since Donald Rumsfeld told us so, and that "literati" is even more laughable than "intellectuals." But do we need European literati to bash a president whose support among plain folk back home is plummeting daily?

With respect to ancient history, I do not understand why Romans whose lands had suffered devastation a few generations earlier would for that reason be inured to attacks by Mediterranean pirates. Were Americans less moved by 9/11, or should they have been, because their great-grandfathers had experienced Pearl Harbor?

Such highly dubious and strained propositions make one suspect that the multiple horns currently goring Bush's ox might also have pierced those standing too close by. Leaving history and erudition aside, Boyatt's imperious swipe at the *New York Times* for having published a potentially controversial op-ed piece is silly enough. But he unwittingly pays Mr. Honley a richly deserved compliment by lumping the *Journal* in with the *Times* with regard to journalistic quality and editorial policy — by which I mean management, not viewpoint.

As for the latter, Honley's words speak for themselves: "Perhaps the parallel Harris proposes here is a fallacy ... only time will tell whether the United States is repeating that fatal error." Would that Boyatt had read them.

Alan D. Berlind
Senior FSO, retired
Bordeaux, France

Getting the Point on Iran

The June focus article by Ambassador John W. Limbert, "The U.S. and Iran: Mything the Point," sends a breath of fresh air and common sense over "a quagmire of myths and festering grievances, real and imagined." It is a valuable contribution to coverage of this important issue, made by a distinguished diplomat who has a unique and deep understanding of what drives both sides, and practical, hands-on experience with the problem.

The Limbert article should be read and discussed by all decision-makers involved in the U.S.-Iran issue, as well as those with responsibility for wider Middle East issues. I suggest that AFSA distribute it to every member of Congress as well as executive branch policymakers, and that AFSA approach its contacts to have the piece read into the Congressional Record. (Don't think it will not be read: staff personnel will recognize its value and flag it for a summary report and possible discussion with their principals.)

Amb. Limbert's article is must-reading for everyone concerned about this issue.

Francis Xavier Cunningham
FSO, retired
Arlington, Va.

Researching College Options

To Francesca Kelly's excellent, comprehensive suggestions on how to research college options (June Schools Supplement), I would add a new online resource, www.finfo.com.

This Web site includes an interactive college simulator that not only provides fast, up-to-date information on tuition, room and board, and other expenses for colleges and universities in the United States, but also offers customized reports with graphics that show at a glance the comparative financial advantages or disadvantages of different schools under consideration.

Users can select multiple schools for the simulation and enter information on what they are able to pay through savings and monthly contributions. The simulator then retrieves data to provide an instantaneous personalized report, including projections on the amount of funding that will be needed over two or four years from scholarships, loans and other sources, to cover costs for each college or university. It also factors in variables such as residency or non-residency, local cost of living and future tuition increases due to inflation. And it offers easy access to lenders on a competitive basis.

Anyone doing financial planning for college may want to have a look at this new site. It also has a Foreign Service connection: one of its founders, currently its chief technical officer, is Hal Mecke, who accompanied his father, Frederick Mecke, and me on our State/USIA tandem tours in the former Soviet Union and in Belgium, where he attended St. John's International School.

Carol Doerflein
FSO, retired
Montpelier, Vt.

Beware of Health Insurance Clocks

Everyone under the Federal Employee Health Benefits program needs to be aware that the clock for submitting a claim starts when

treatment is performed, not when you receive the bill. My daughter was treated in Vienna, but the bill did not arrive until two years (and two posts) later. I immediately submitted an insurance claim, which was denied for coming in after the deadline.

An appeal to the insurance company was denied, and an appeal to the Office of Personnel Management was denied. Basically, neither of them cared that not receiving the bill for two years was beyond my control, even with a letter from Embassy Vienna verifying that the billing took that long. Everyone, especially those posted in countries with socialized medicine, needs to keep this in mind. ■

Roger W. Johnson
IMO
Embassy Manila

CORRECTIONS

We misidentified North Korea's foreign minister in "Turnabout Is Fair Play," by Leon Sigal (July-August). In the third paragraph on p. 30, the passage should read, "… promised a meeting between Secretary of State Condoleezza Rice and North Korean Foreign Minister Park Ui-chun." Kim Gye-gwan, a DPRK diplomat, is vice foreign minister.

Due to another editing error in the same issue, the leader cited in the opening paragraph of Bob Guldin's article, "Russian Nukes: Situation Terrible, But Much Improved" (p. 36), should have been Boris Yeltsin, not Vladmir Putin.

We regret the errors.

CYBERNOTES

"Missed Story in Iraq": We Have It!

The *Columbia Journalism Review*'s July-August editorial (**www.cjr.org**) notes that "Every March since the war in Iraq began, the *Foreign Service Journal* … has examined the state of diplomacy and nationbuilding in Iraq. Reading those issues, one thing is apparent: the press has largely ignored an important story about the consequences for thousands of civilian Foreign Service employees of the administration's disastrous war."

The *CJR* editorial continues: "The maintenance of America's largest embassy in an active war zone is a hard case to make. (Even in Vietnam security was never so bad that it prevented diplomats from doing their jobs.) Diplomats in Iraq — in the besieged International Zone in Baghdad and out in the perilous Provincial Reconstruction Teams around the country — operate under frequent mortar and rocket attack, or surrounded by armed guards when they dare venture beyond the wire to meet with wary Iraqis. In the PRTs, they are often forced to do without basic resources, like working phones. To date, three Foreign Service workers have been killed.

"The press, meanwhile, has been more interested in the Pentagon's effort to blame the State Department for the bungled nationbuilding effort — that somehow the lack of civil engineers, electricity-grid experts, and other specialists is due to State's failure to, as President Bush said, 'step up.' But this is not what diplomats do. They talk to people, negotiate, build relationships, and the like.

"Here are two basic questions that reporters need to unpack: Is it possible to perform effective diplomacy under such circumstances? And if not, then why is our government risking so many lives this way?"

— Susan Maitra, Senior Editor

> The fact of the matter is this Foreign Service of ours needs more dissenters, not fewer. And it needs to encourage them, not discourage them. If there were more of that, maybe we wouldn't be in the mess we're in right now.
>
> — Former Secretary of State Lawrence Eagleburger, June 28, speaking at the AFSA Awards Ceremony, *http://www.npr.org*

Senate Hearing Throws Spotlight on Foreign Assistance Reform

"I believe this new foreign assistance process is seriously flawed and may be in serious trouble," said Sen. Robert Menendez, D-N.J., in his opening statement at a June 12 hearing to assess the Bush administration's 18-month-old initiative to reform the U.S. foreign assistance process (**http://foreign.senate.gov/hearings/2007/hrg070612p.html**).

Menendez, chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Subcommittee on International Development and Foreign Assistance, Economic Affairs and International Environmental Protection that sponsored the hearing, charged that the process so far had been carried out in a secretive manner, excluding valuable input from the field. As a result, USAID is being decimated and the development agenda shortchanged in the service of short-term foreign policy goals. Menendez made it clear that he expects the administration to collaborate with Congress and demonstrate transparency in the process from here on out.

Sen. Richard Lugar, R-Ind., ranking minority member of the Foreign Relations Committee, announced that, in view of the importance of the issue, the Republican committee staff are now carrying out a field-based study, examining assistance funded by the full range of government agencies in more than 20 countries. They are paying particular attention to the new coordination process to see whether and how it is mirrored in the field.

Acting USAID Administrator and Director of Foreign Assistance Henrietta Fore, the principal government witness, heard a good deal of blunt talk at the hearing. Besides remarks from Sens. Menendez and Lugar, three development experts testified.

Brookings Institute Fellow Lael Brainard cited the administration's Fiscal Year 2008 budget request to reduce the Development Assistance account by $468 million, while correspondingly increasing the Economic Support Funds account by $703 mil-

CYBERNOTES

lion, to underscore concerns that long-term development programs were being sacrificed to short-term exigencies. Further, he argued, the reform has so far left the tangled confusion of foreign assistance legislation, objectives and agencies largely untouched.

Another witness, Steven Radelet of the Center for Global Development, pointed out that the new director of foreign assistance manages barely half of the assistance budget (55 percent), with DOD controlling 19 percent and other agencies the remaining 26 percent. Radelet argued the administration has failed to take advantage of the opportunities to tackle the broader challenges of restructuring and strengthening foreign assistance.

A number of proposals to get the reform process back on track were fielded, including establishment of a Cabinet-level position to head U.S. development programs.

— Susan Maitra, Senior Editor

New Seven Wonders

The list of the Seven Wonders of the Ancient World (the Great Pyramid of Giza, the Hanging Gardens of Babylon, the Temple of Artemis at Ephesus, the Statue of Zeus at Olympia, the Mausoleum of Maussollos at Halicarnassus, the Colossus of Rhodes and the Lighthouse of Alexandria) has been around for more than two millennia.

On 7/7/07, appropriately enough, a new list of seven wonders was announced. The new wonders were chosen in a thoroughly modern fashion: Internet voting and cell-phone text messaging. In no particular order, the new wonders are: The Great Wall of China; the ancient city of Petra, in Jordan; the Christ the Redeemer statue in Rio de Janeiro, Brazil; Machu Picchu, in Peru; Chichén Itzá, in Mexico; the Roman Colosseum; and the Taj Mahal. The Great Wall, begun in about the 3rd century B.C., is the oldest of the wonders (the founding date for Petra is unclear). The newest is the Christ the Redeemer statue, erected in 1931.

The New Seven Wonders project was launched by a private foundation in 1999. Any monument in an "acceptable" state of preservation and built before 2000 was eligible for consideration. By 2005, 177 had been nominated. After a panel of experts narrowed the list to 20 sites, voting was opened to the general public on the Internet. More than 100 million votes were cast, but the voting process has been criticized because it was possible to vote more than once.

For more information visit **http://www.new7wonders.com.** (Nominations are now being accepted for the New Seven Wonders of Nature.)

— Anna Wong Gleysteen, Editorial Intern

On Again, Off Again: China and the Internet

While it is always a good idea to be careful when sending an e-mail or posting on the Internet, Americans do not have to worry that their words may get them sentenced to a labor camp. In the PRC, this is a very real concern.

In April, the wife of a Chinese blogger made headlines when she sued Yahoo, alleging that the company abetted the torture of pro-democracy writers by releasing their private data to the Chinese government. The blogger, Wang Xiaoning, was sen-

50 Years Ago…

[The *FSJ*] should give free expression to the hopes and fears, the aspirations and the constructive criticism, of the entire Foreign Service in order that this body of professional specialists in foreign affairs may build a better Service, united behind the foreign policies of the United States. … This does not mean that the *Journal* should become a forum of opposition. … However, there is no organ of the Foreign Service at the present time other than the *Journal* which can ventilate honestly-felt differences of opinion on matters of professional interest.

— Editorial by Robert McClintock, chairman of the Editorial Board, *FSJ*, September 1957.

tenced in 2003 to 10 years in a labor camp for having "incited subversion with online treatises" critical of the government. The lawsuit, filed in the U.S., claims that Yahoo turned over data on as many as 60 other people.

Yahoo says it condemns the suppression of free speech, but must comply with local laws. The company notes that as governments are not required to say why they want certain information, it has no way of knowing how the responses will be used.

Although the PRC deals swiftly and harshly with people it views as disrupting what it calls the "healthy and orderly" online world, overall censorship of the Web in China is uneven. The strength of censorship seems to wax and wane as the government struggles to balance economic interests and political control. This was illustrated in May when it withdrew a measure requiring all bloggers to register with their real names. (It was made optional after Internet companies pointed out the logistical nightmare of cross-checking people's names with the Public Security Bureau. According to the official Xinhua news service, China has more than 20 million bloggers.)

PRC officials are well aware of the economic potential of the Web, which has helped spark healthy domestic online gaming and software industries, among others. In 2000, the volume of e-commerce within China was already estimated at $9.3 billion, and information and communication technology is the fastest-growing sector in its economy.

There are approximately 137 million Internet users in China out of a population of 1.3 billion, or about 10.5 percent. The Internet penetration rate varies greatly by region, however: in large cities 25 percent or more of residents may be online, while in the countryside that number drops to less than 10 percent. Experts estimate that for at least 30 percent of Internet users their main access point is a wangba — literally "Web bar" — which usually charges about 5 renminbi, or less than 75 cents, for an hour's worth of high-speed Internet access. In 2000 there were only 16 computers per 1,000 people in China, compared to nearly 600 in the U.S. Nearly 60 percent of Internet users there are men, and 35 percent of users are 18 to 24 years old.

Known officially as the "Golden Shield Project," China's Internet security project is often referred to in the West as "The Great Firewall of China." It is relatively uncoordinated (sites may be accessible in one city but blocked in another, for example), and many government regulations about the Web are routinely ignored by Internet users and not enforced by security officials. According to a 2003 Harvard study, the list of blocked Web sites is not static, but at any given time as many as 50,000 sites may be inaccessible. Many different methods are employed, especially IP blocking (denying access to the exact string of numbers that identifies a computer or server on the Internet).

E-mails may also be censored. Volunteers patrol chat rooms and message boards, deleting "objectionable" text and reporting users. People are encouraged to report gaps they find in the firewall.

In addition, Chinese tend to practice a form of self-censorship, refraining from airing controversial views or visiting Web sites on sensitive subjects. Surveys show that relatively few users try to access proxy servers (which bounce the request for a blocked site though multiple servers in other countries), and the most-visited sites are nearly all gaming sites.

Site of the Month: www.fedstats.gov

Want to know the average price of electricity in the U.S.? How many metric tons of carbon dioxide the U.S. released in 2005? Or maybe you're curious about the number of birds that have been banded in North America, or the daily snow depth in Wyoming. The answers to all these questions — and many, many more — can be found on *FedStats*, a Web site that helps people access the full range of statistical data compiled by the federal government. More than 100 agencies are linked on the site, which is maintained by the federal government.

Links to the relevant agencies' Web pages are arranged by program and subject area as well as by topic, so visitors don't need to know in advance which agency provides the data they are looking for. *FedStats*, now in its tenth year, also has a comprehensive search feature that draws on the databases of many U.S. agencies.

— Anna Wong Gleysteen, Editorial Intern

Cybercafés are supposed to require a photo ID for computer use and monitor users in real time to shut down computers being used to view inappropriate sites. After demonstrations or other disturbances the police will often raid local establishments. Internet service providers are similarly required to keep records of who is online when, and where they visited.

Unlike many other countries that limit Web access, censorship of the Internet in the PRC is mostly limited to political subjects. Searching the Chinese versions of Google or Yahoo, for example, does not bring up anything about the 1989 Tiananmen Square protests, the Falun Gong or other subjects the PRC has deemed harmful to its "harmonious society."

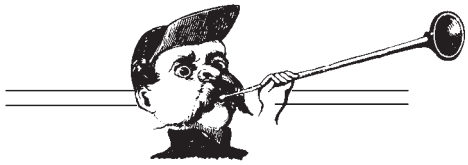
The PRC also tries to limit access to foreign news and information. The English version of Wikipedia was blocked for a year, and the Chinese-language Wikipedia is still banned. The BBC Web site has been inaccessible for several years, and during times of crisis the government has been known to temporarily block access to the *New York Times* and *Washington Post.*

Both Google and Yahoo have been criticized in the U.S. for profiting from censorship that includes restrictions on freedom of speech and press; Reporters Without Borders, which calls China the "world's biggest prison for cyber-dissidents," argues that if companies stopped aiding the PRC's censorship efforts, the government would be forced to change.

President Hu Jintao recently declared that the modernization of China's political structure must not jeopardize the one-party system. The government clearly views Internet censorship as critical to ensuring its continued reign. But given the inherent openness of the Web, this may be difficult to maintain in the long run.

Useful sources on Internet censorship include the OpenNet Initiative (**http://opennet.net**), Amnesty International's campaign (**http://Irrepressible.info**) and the Electronic Frontier Foundation's reports (**http://www.eff.org/**). ■

— Anna Wong Gleysteen, Editorial Intern



SPEAKING OUT

Six Simple Proposals to Improve Efficiency and Morale

BY HOLLIS SUMMERS

The American Foreign Service Association's leaders have always been good at discussing big-picture problems. I'm confident the new Governing Board will continue to press for important AFSA goals — overseas comparability pay occupying the top of the list — that require congressional action, and that its leadership will ably perform the essential tasks of meeting with senior officials at the State Department and the other foreign affairs agencies, testifying before Congress and correcting the press when it maligns the Foreign Service.

But AFSA should also pursue several internal changes that State management could effect in a few weeks or months, significantly improving the workplace for the association's members. Each of the six proposals below would improve efficiency and morale by substituting common-sense measures for existing cumbersome and self-flagellating procedures. AFSA is capable of both insisting on all these changes at the same time it pursues broader issues like overseas comparability pay.

Give All Personnel Access to Assignment Information

Right now, only the bureaus and Human Resources personnel have access to the assignment panel agendas on State's intranet. Those most affected, the bidders, are in the dark. Making agendas available to all FS personnel would enable bidders to know when panels will consider jobs they seek and let them request panel items be acted on or deferred. Currently, job seekers can know what positions will be considered only if they somehow find out what the agendas contain, a service extremely busy career development officers cannot provide for all their clients.

AFSA is capable of insisting on all these changes at the same time that it pursues broader issues.

Equally importantly, giving bidders access to panel agendas and to lists of panel decisions would let them know when jobs they seek have been assigned. Currently, only public diplomacy cone personnel learn what jobs have already been assigned: PD officers rightly consider this vital information. When panel agendas shifted to an electronic format, many in HR argued unsuccessfully that all bidders should have been given access. The result of withholding this important information has been to allow bureaus, which do have access to those agendas, to delay paneling positions until only their candidates remain and to manipulate panels in other ways to attain bureau goals, to the detriment of individual bidders.

Speed Up Tenuring Decisions

The department should accord those entering the Civil Service and the Foreign Service similar treatment in the matter of permanent hiring. Both groups are treated the same in some ways: this year, for example, both have been required to do a mandatory stint of passport adjudication. However, Presidential Management Fellows (https://www.pmf.opm.gov/ProgramPolicy.aspx) are fully vested in just two years, and can be hired at that point at grades up to the GS-12 level. The department also tends to give them real responsibility early, in part to entice them to stay at State.

In contrast, those in the Foreign Service, who often have much better qualifications than PMFs, often are not tenured at their first review, which takes place over three years after they enter. Decisions on those deferred at first review are not made until after an additional year, and sometimes a third review is required six months after the second. As I observed during my three years as a career counselor, the process of selecting which candidates are tenured on first review is haphazard and unfair. Though eventually almost everyone gets tenure, supervisors, perhaps fearful of making mistakes or of taking responsibility, often write evaluations that result in fully qualified candidates having to undergo a second review.

The flaws of the few who don't get tenure usually become obvious in the orientation course, and certainly should be apparent at the end of their first two rating periods. If it takes just two years to identify which PMFs should be vested, management should be able to tenure almost all FS

employees after over three years, at their first review. HR should change its policy and automatically tenure all on first review except the very few whose evaluations demonstrate real performance problems. Supervisors should be required to document such performance problems before the first tenure review, removing the temptation for them to take the easy path of letting someone else counsel and deal with those very few whose performance will not eventually result in tenure.

Implement Family-Friendly Policies for All Bureaus and Posts

Many recognize that the workaholic culture of the State Department needs to change, and management, which now is instituting welcome measures to make unaccompanied tours more palatable, provides many programs that enable workers to pay attention to their families and personal lives as well as to their work requirements. The State Department has in place excellent policies that allow employees to initiate flexible working schedules, to have two employees share a single job and, when feasible, to telecommute. Some bureaus have successfully instituted these policies; others adhere to them only occasionally. AFSA should urge management to ensure that in all bureaus these family-friendly programs are actually available to anyone who wants to use them.

AFSA should also undertake the difficult job of figuring out which bureaus actually encourage employees to use these benefits and annually publicize their efforts in the *Foreign Service Journal* and via the AFSAnet listserv. Specifically, it should let members know how many job shares each bureau offers and list how many FS personnel have had flexible schedules approved in each bureau and post. It should also provide a page on its Web site that would enable people to find others interested in job-sharing. And it should publicize which overseas missions provide the best services to members of household.

Ensure Low-Ranking Decisions Have a Factual Basis

AFSA has always supported the low-ranking and selection-out of people who are unable to do their jobs adequately, on the basis of documented employee evaluations. Those individuals who are low-ranked twice in five years by different supervisors are then referred to the Performance Standards Board.

At the same time, in its engagement with management AFSA should push for immediate termination of the requirement that at least 5 percent of each competition group must be low-ranked. All promotion board members I've talked to agree that it's impossible to find 5 percent who truly deserve that dubious distinction. Most boards find that only about 2 percent of competition groups clearly qualify for referral to the Performance Standards Board, so they then invent reasons to low-rank the remaining 3 percent.

The department suffers because boards have to complete the very difficult task of low-ranking people whose performance has been good, and perform the administrative tasks necessary to refer some of them to the board, which has in the past refused to separate many of the individuals brought before it. (In 2005, the most recent year for which AFSA has statistics, 189 people were low-ranked, but only 14 were designated for separation by the PSB.)

Adding insult to injury, conscientious employees with good evaluations receive the surprising news that they've been low-ranked just before Christmas. They then have to undertake the laborious task of contesting that designation, often with the help of AFSA's labor-management counselors, who are already helping many members.

AFSA's legal staff notes that while HR has sometimes claimed there is a legislative mandate that 5 percent of evaluated employees be low-ranked, there actually is no such requirement. Another reason given for management's continuing insistence on that quota is that congressional staff has insisted on it. But even if that were ever true, with a different party in control of Congress and numerous staff changes, it is no longer the case.

HR defends the current policy by pointing to the fact that few employees are low-ranked two years in a row; indeed, some are actually promoted the next year. Nevertheless, policies that arbitrarily inflict unjustifiable judgments and burdens on employees should be eliminated.

Should management stand fast on perpetuating the quota, AFSA should at least insist that the low-ranked be notified when promotions are announced, rather than just before the holidays.

Make Security Enforcement Positive Instead of Punitive

All who work in a classified environment know that only the exceptionally lucky avoid committing security infractions, no matter how faithfully they follow good security procedures. Just as 18th-century England didn't stop crime by making sheep-stealing and about 200 other infractions capital offenses, the institution of draconian penalties for security violations hasn't stopped them, and won't. It has, however, made it difficult for some good officers to gain promotion, and the burdens of these policies fall disproportionately on those cones that deal most with classified material.

In overseas missions, of course,

only State employees play the security violation game by State's rules: the Foreign Agricultural Service and other overseas agencies don't participate. State should learn from these other agencies and adopt more positive methods of dealing with violations that take place in alarmed controlled-access areas, accessible after hours only to armed guards and authorized employees. It should also strive to implement policies that are uniform for all agencies represented in each mission.

Specifically, State should use methods that treat lapses in these areas as opportunities to strengthen security procedures and educate employees to use better practices, instead of using violations to punish and deny promotion for offenses that by definition do "not result in actual or possible compromise of the information" (12 FAM 551.2). Withholding promotion and inflicting other penalties because of infractions that occur within the confines of CAAs is cruel and unusual punishment and should be abandoned.

State also should make other security requirements clearer and make uniform and speedy decisions on whether employees should maintain security clearances (see "Left in Limbo: Two First-Person Accounts of Problems with DS," *FSJ*, September 2005; www.afsa.org/fsj/sept05/honley2.pdf).

Extend the Fair-Share Requirement to All

While most Foreign Service personnel follow bidding rules and dutifully go to Baghdad, Kabul and other high-differential posts, some don't. New employees learn in orientation courses that service requirements come first and that they must go where the department needs them, not where they prefer to be assigned. That's true for the first two tours, but then the requirements for worldwide availability to meet service needs no longer apply to everyone. People find it easy to get around the fair-share requirement that bidders who have not served in a differential post of at least 15 percent in the eight years prior to their transfer must maintain three fair-share bids.

Management's recent efforts to improve the situation have this year included requiring unaccompanied posts to be staffed before other assignments are made, retroactively changing the differential requirements that determine who's a fair-share bidder, and instituting the gimmick of linked tours (serve in Baghdad and get a guaranteed tour in Accra, Dhaka or other posts). All these measures are desperate attempts to fix a fundamentally flawed system. AFSA should work to establish a fairer, more comprehensive approach that extends to all employees, including those in the Senior Foreign Service.

Because of the gigantic loophole of allowing fair-share candidates to bid on Washington jobs instead of serving in hardship posts, the fair-share system, despite its name, has never fulfilled the purpose of providing adequate staffing to high-differential and hard-to-fill positions. The need to fill one-year accompanied tours at high-differential posts has made this long-standing problem even more obvious.

There are no statistics or other evidence indicating that this situation will be improved by any of this year's improvised attempts to fix the system that AFSA acquiesced to, including the change allowing people to remain in Washington only five years instead of six (a return to the policy before State decided USIA's six-year limit was a best practice and adopted it). What's needed instead is a radical change in the way HR approaches fair share.

If filling unaccompanied positions abroad is HR's greatest priority, then all HR policies should reflect that fact. AFSA should support even-handed, fair assignment policies that eliminate non-medical exemptions to the fair-share requirement for employees at all grades. But as long as the rules requiring service at hardship posts don't apply to many, the assignment system fails the fairness test, and AFSA should oppose it.

All fair-share candidates who choose to bid on Washington positions should be required to bid only on hard-to-fill Washington jobs. In that way, fair-share candidates who choose to come back to Washington, including those whose medical status or other circumstances preclude service at hardship posts, would be able to help the department meet its most pressing needs, even though they opt not to go abroad or cannot serve there. Only when all those jobs have been filled should fair-share candidates and those precluded from service at hardship posts be allowed to seek other Washington positions.

This policy would have the salutary effect of providing those who have served in high-differential posts with a greater choice of Washington jobs, and of providing lots more candidates for hard-to-fill domestic positions.

There are many AFSA members with specific knowledge of other changes similar to these that could be made quickly. I hope the new Governing Board will solicit their suggestions for improvements and energetically urge management to take action on them, following the association's long tradition of working on behalf of the membership and the department. ■

Hollis Summers, an FSO since 1986, is a former chairman of the Foreign Service Journal *Editorial Board. Most recently, he was refugee coordinator in Pakistan from 2005 to 2006 and currently works in the Avian Influenza Action Group.*

FS KNOW-HOW

Retirement Planning 101

BY JOHN K. NALAND

Who in their late 20s to early 50s, preoccupied with the demands of work, family and daily life, has time to plan for a retirement that is years or even decades away? The answer is that we all had better give retirement some advance thought if we wish to be well-positioned to enjoy life after the Foreign Service. I know you're busy, so here is a quick guide for early- and mid-career employees who realize that retirement planning is important, but have not yet gotten started.

Show Me the Money

Many Foreign Service members have only a vague idea of what makes up their retirement package. That, obviously, makes it impossible to do even basic planning. So here is an overview. Because this article is aimed at employees who are still fairly far from retirement, it focuses on those of us who joined after 1983 and are thus in the "new" Foreign Service Pension System. Employees who fall under other systems — such as the "old" Foreign Service Retirement and Disability System, the law enforcement plan, the Physician's Comparability Allowance, or those eligible to retire before 20 years of service — can consult the Department of State retirement office's Web site (www.RNet.state.gov) for information on those retirement plans.

Once FSPS participants qualify for retirement, here is what we receive:

• **Pension:** Under the FSPS, our pension is based on our "high three" average salary and years of service.

No matter how many years you serve, your FSPS annuity will not come close to replacing your pre-retirement income.

The "high three" salary is calculated by adding our average basic pay (determined by multiplying each salary by the number of days that it was in effect) for our three highest-paid consecutive years and then dividing by three. Basic pay includes regular pay, domestic locality pay and overseas virtual locality pay, but excludes allowances, differentials, bonuses and overtime. This "high three" salary is then multiplied by 1.7 percent for each of the first 20 years of service plus 1 percent for each additional year. For example, an employee with 25 years of service and a "high three" salary of $100,000 would qualify for an annual annuity of $39,000. That amount, however, provides no benefits to a surviving spouse after the annuitant's death. Providing maximum survivor benefits reduces the annuity by 10 percent to $35,100.

• **Thrift Savings Plan:** As you can see, no matter how many years you serve, your FSPS annuity will not come close to replacing your pre-retirement income. Instead, under FSPS, the Thrift Savings Plan must be a key part of retirement planning. Contribute at least 5 percent of your salary and Uncle Sam will match that contribution — "free" money that no one should pass up.

Unless you are independently wealthy, to position yourself well for retirement you should contribute at least 10 percent of your salary to TSP. Those who can should contribute as close to the annual maximum ($15,500 in 2007) as possible and take advantage of "make up" contributions (up to $5,000 in 2007) after age 50. For example, an employee who contributed near the maximum amount for the past 20 years and kept most of it in the high average return stock market "C" fund might have around $400,000 saved today. Retiring now and withdrawing the recommended 4 percent of the balance per year would yield payments of $16,000 a year. Continuing to work and making maximum contributions for another five years might yield a balance of $650,000 and annual withdrawals of $26,000.

• **Social Security:** FSPS members pay into Social Security throughout our careers and thus qualify for benefits beginning as early as age 62 for those willing to take reduced payments in return for a longer benefit period. However, because most Foreign Service members qualify to retire before age 62, federal law affords FSPS members an annuity supplement that approximates the missing Social Security payment until

age 62, when it kicks in.

This annuity supplement is approximately $35 per month for each year of FSPS service. Thus, someone who worked 25 years would qualify for an annuity supplement of around $10,500 per year. That amount, however, is subject to reduction if the annuitant goes back to work and receives wage earnings in excess of around $12,000 per year.

As you can see, our sample employee (a married person retiring after 25 years of service with an average high-three salary of $100,000) would receive around $71,600 a year in pension, TSP withdrawals and annuity supplement.

Your numbers, of course, will differ based on your salary history, length of service, TSP contributions and rate of return, and retirement age. You can estimate your numbers by following these three steps:

• Run the Annuity Benefits Calculator via the "e-Phone" application on the State Department intranet.

• Run the TSP Calculator on www.tsp.gov.

• Estimate your annual annuity supplement by multiplying your planned years of service by $420 or, if you plan to retire after age 61, consult the most recent "Your Social Security Benefits" mailed to you by the Social Security Administration.

Reality Check

How much money will you need to retire comfortably? Experts say that many people can continue their current lifestyles into retirement on 85 percent of their pre-retirement gross income. One reason for that reduced need is that deductions for Social Security, TSP, Medicare, and FSPS contributions can consume 15 percent or more of pre-retirement gross income. Those deductions end at retirement, thereby reducing the drop-in "take home" income. Of course, your retirement income needs may be higher or lower than the 85-percent guideline, depending on such things as your desired retirement lifestyle, possible income from a still-working spouse, and future financial commitments, such as children's college expenses.

Experts say that many people can continue their current lifestyles into retirement on 85 percent of their pre-retirement gross income.

Pulling all this data together, you can judge how realistic your target retirement date is by estimating how much retirement income you will need and then running your own annuity, TSP and annuity supplement numbers. If you have no idea of when you might want to retire, then run your numbers based on first eligibility — which, for most employees, is at age 50 with at least 20 years of service.

If the calculations fall short of how much money you desire, then you need to adjust plans. For example, staying in the Foreign Service even a few additional years will substantially increase your annuity by raising both the multiplication factor and the "high three" average salary. Post-retirement employment is an option exercised by many Foreign Service retirees, but be sure to study the rules on how earnings can affect your annuity and Social Security payments. Another option is to invest more of your take-home pay in TSP, the stock market, rental property and/or a traditional Individual Retirement Account.

Feathering Your Nest

As you plan your future finances, there are several things to keep in mind in order to best position yourself for retirement:

• How you manage your TSP savings while you are still working will have a major effect on your retirement finances. Because most current employees will need to draw on their TSP savings 30, 40, or even 50 years from now, most experts recommend investing in funds with relatively high average rates of return (the C, S, I and the long-range L funds) to increase the chances that your TSP savings will be around as long as you are. Conversely, keeping most money in funds with lower average yields (the G and F funds) may allow inflation to eventually outpace earnings.

• While saving for retirement is vital, doing so can be difficult depending on your cash flow situation. To increase savings, some experts urge cutting back on frequent small splurges that add up over time — for example, that daily gourmet coffee. Other experts say to cut back on big purchases, such as buying a $35,000 car when a $25,000 model will do just fine. Most experts endorse the tactic of "pay yourself first" by, for example, signing up for a large TSP payroll deduction so those funds never enter your take-home pay for discretionary spending. If you receive a high hardship differential or an inheritance, consider investing a chunk of it in retirement savings.

• Where you retire can have an impact on your net income. The IRS taxes annuity payments, TSP withdrawals and annuity supplements, but

some states do not. Thus, retiring to certain states can increase your net income. For a state-by-state analysis, see AFSA's annual tax guide published each February in the *Journal* and posted at www.afsa.org.

• If you have prior military or civilian service that is creditable for FSPS retirement purposes, be sure to "buy it back" by making the required contribution to FSPS. For example, I recently paid around $5,000 to buy back three years of early-1980s U.S. Army service in order to increase my FSPS annuity multiplier by 3 percent. That will more than repay itself if I survive even a few years into retirement. Consult www.RNet.state.gov for information on buy-back procedures, which can take six or more months.

• If possible, do not plan to make TSP withdrawals early in retirement. Due to the power of compound interest, the longer money is left in the TSP, the more it will grow. Also, in most cases, anyone who retires before age 55 and begins to withdraw TSP money must pay a 10-percent IRS penalty on amounts received before reaching the age of 59½.

• As long as you are enrolled in a federal health insurance plan for the five years prior to retirement, you may keep that coverage after retirement. The government will continue to pay its portion of the premium just as it does while you are employed.

Live Long and Prosper

This article has focused on the financial aspects of retirement because that is what most pre-retirees consider to be the key to a happy retirement. However, surveys of current retirees show that they consider health to be the most important factor in that regard. After all, having all the money in the world can only do so much for someone who is in chronically poor health. Therefore, a vital component of pre-retirement planning should be to take care of your health. Obviously, little can be done about genetics or bad luck with accidents and disease, but steps such as maintaining a healthy weight, eating well, keeping fit and not smoking are keys to a longer, healthier retirement.

Those who can should contribute as close to the annual maximum ($15,500 in 2007) as possible and take advantage of "make up" contributions (up to $5,000 in 2007) after age 50.

Let's wrap up with a short list of actions that you can take now to start planning for a happy, healthy retirement:

• Run your annuity, TSP and annuity supplement numbers to do a reality check on the viability of your target retirement date.

• Consider moving your TSP savings into funds with relatively high average rates of return to increase the chances that your funds will be around as long as you are.

• Maximize your ongoing savings for retirement.

• Stay (or get) healthy and fit, especially as you move through your 40s and 50s.

• Take the Foreign Service Institute's excellent four-day-long Retirement Planning Seminar as soon as you are within five years of retirement eligibility.

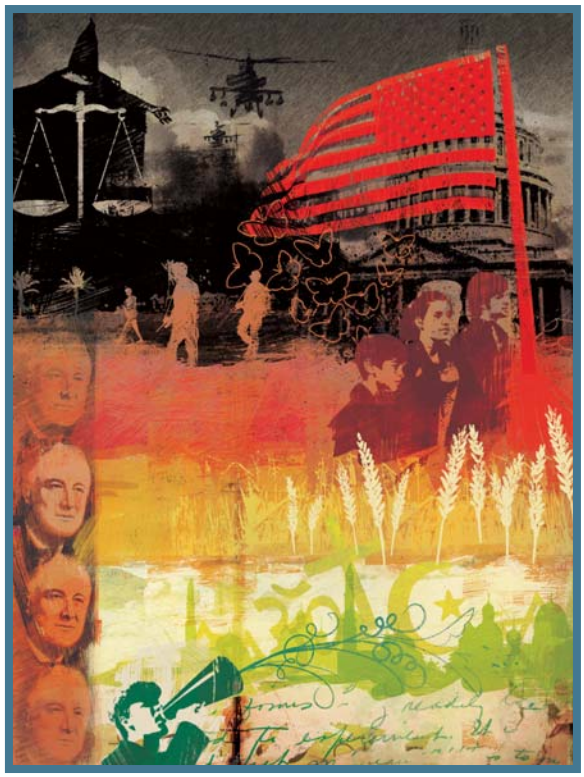
• Check out the Department of State retirement office's Web site, www.RNet.state.gov, for official information, particularly the "Retirement Planning Guide" and the extensive "AskRNet" question-and-answer section.

• Maintain your AFSA membership after retirement to support the association's efforts to protect Foreign Service retirement benefits from potential future cuts. ■

John K. Naland is a 21-year veteran of the Foreign Service who is currently serving as AFSA president. The views in this article are his alone and do not necessarily represent the views of the U.S. Department of State or the U.S. government. The general advice contained in this article may not be appropriate for all employees, so please consult other competent sources before making major financial decisions.

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

REASSERTING U.S. LEADERSHIP IN HUMAN RIGHTS



Ian Dodds

THE U.S. REPUTATION FOR INTEGRITY, JUST BEHAVIOR AND LEADERSHIP IN UPHOLDING GLOBAL STANDARDS IS AT A LOW POINT. HOW CAN IT BE RESTORED?

BY EDMUND MCWILLIAMS

President Franklin Roosevelt's 1941 State of the Union address, popularly known as his "Four Freedoms" speech, brought a new dimension to U.S. foreign policy and to international diplomacy. In that address, President Roosevelt enunciated "four essential human freedoms" as fundamental obligations that the world's governments owed their citizens: freedom of speech and expression; freedom to worship God in each person's own way; freedom from want; and freedom from fear.

These freedoms were later enshrined in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights adopted by the U.N. General Assembly on Dec. 10, 1948. (An American delegation led by Eleanor Roosevelt played a central drafting role.)

Over the following decades, the United States partnered with other governments, institutions and individuals to construct a framework of international law and a tradition of respect for human rights that mark the post-World War II era as unique in history. Through a broad body of treaties, conventions and accepted international practice the international community, for the first time, conferred legitimacy on a code of international conduct based on fundamental "human rights."

The Human Rights Ediface

For more than half a century the United States led the international community in the construction and codification of that human rights edifice, though American leadership faltered at times. In the long "twilight struggle" against Soviet authoritarianism, Washington sometimes pursued policies that debased international respect for human rights. It undermined or overthrew democratically elected governments in Iran, Guatemala and Chile, among other places. It conspired with authoritarian allies in Indonesia, Central and South America and elsewhere, whose acts against their own people blatantly violated human rights. It made war in places like Vietnam, and took military action in places such as Cuba, Grenada, Panama and Nicaragua, which — even at the time but especially in historical hindsight — appears indefensible. It was slow to react to extraordinary human rights abuses in South Africa as well as those carried out by allies, including in the Middle East, from Shah Pahlevi's Iran to the Palestine territories.

Moreover, the U.S. largely ignored those rights identified in the Universal Declaration in the economic, social and cultural spheres, focusing more narrowly on civil, political and religious freedoms. The plight of the world's poor for much of the Cold War tended to fall outside the "Free World's" main agenda of containment of and occasional confrontation with the Soviet-led communist world. In the post–Cold War era, the United States' pro-globalization policies, spurred by trade deals that undermined or ignored worker rights and environmental concerns, further impaired the rights of the world's poor.

Notwithstanding the failure of the U.S. and the rest of the international community to fulfill the full panoply of bold, unprecedented promises of human freedom enshrined in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, the course of human history and the place of human rights and human welfare in the international system after 1948 appeared forever altered. Henceforth, as Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. stated in the American civil rights context, "the arc of history may be long, but it bends toward justice."

Today, six years since the attacks inspired by al-Qaida on the United States, and following additional attacks in London, Madrid, Bali and elsewhere, it is no longer clear that the Universal Declaration or Roosevelt's "four freedoms" were any more than a poignant voicing of hope that briefly illuminated a new vision of human freedom. The vicious terror tactics employed by al-Qaida and its supporters would soon engender a response by the U.S. and its allies that was sometimes equally vicious and similarly embraced the rationalization that innocent suffering or "collateral damage" is inevitable in the pursuit of victory. Presaging the devaluing of human rights in U.S. foreign policy, as early as 2002 a senior American official would mock the Geneva Convention, a key pillar in that human rights edifice, as "quaint."

A Moment of Great Peril

In his 1941 State of the Union speech, President Roosevelt portrayed an America in dire peril, warning Congress that "at no previous time has American security been as seriously threatened from without as it is today." Despite the impending world war that his address foresaw, Roosevelt cautioned against compromises that would vitiate fundamental freedoms. He advised: "Those who man our defenses and those behind them who build our defenses must have the stamina and the courage which come from unshakeable belief in the manner of life which we are defending.

Edmund McWilliams entered the Foreign Service in 1975, serving in Vientiane, Bangkok, Moscow, Kabul, Islamabad, Managua, Bishkek, Dushanbe, Jakarta and Washington, D.C. He opened the posts in Bishkek and Dushanbe, and was the first chief of mission in each. In 1998, he received AFSA's Christian Herter Award for constructive dissent by a senior FSO. Since retiring from the Senior Foreign Service in 2001, he has worked with various U.S. and foreign human rights NGOs as a volunteer.

The mighty action that we are calling for cannot be based on a disregard of all the things worth fighting for."

Sixty years later another president, at another moment of great peril for America, would choose a distinctly different course. In the wake of the 9/11 attacks, with unprecedented international support and sympathy, with a Congress more united than at any time since Dec. 7, 1941, and with overwhelming support from the American people, George W. Bush possessed a nearly unprecedented opportunity to lead. The course he set, however, has gravely undermined decades-old alliances, invited the rebuke of international opinion and incurred staggering costs in terms of blood and treasure.

The Bush administration has challenged fundamental tenets of the human rights edifice constructed since World War II.

The cost of U.S. policy in the "war on terror," conflated by the Bush administration with the war in Iraq, is reminiscent of the cost to the United States of its Vietnam adventure a generation ago, which undermined key alliances, prompted international popular condemnation and incurred a heavy cost in lives and resources.

But the U.S. course in Vietnam served ultimately to reinforce human rights as set forth in the Universal Declaration as an international bar or standard against which state action, even action by the leader of the Free World, was to be measured. Despite multiple missteps and policy errors, the United States — mired in an unwinable war and driven to tactics that it would later deeply regret — never sought the wholesale demolition of the standard by which its conduct then and since has been measured.

The Challenge to Human Rights Standards

By contrast, the Bush administration has sought to set aside that standard by challenging fundamental tenets of the human rights edifice constructed since World War II. These challenges can be summarized in three specific categories:

The doctrine of pre-emption. The "new" doctrine of pre-emptive defense is, of course, not new. It was a standard policy tool of some of the 20th century's most notorious tyrants. Its employment by the principal world actor of the early 21st century, however, pushes the international community to the precipice of a brave new world from which the U.N. Charter was, in its most essential purpose, meant to deliver us.

The doctrine violates Chapter 7 of the charter, which addresses "actions with respect to threats to the peace, breaches of the peace and acts of aggression." While the administration has sought to place the pre-emptive war doctrine within the context of Article 51 of Chapter 7, which allows for action in the event of "imminent" attack, the Bush concept of pre-emptive self-defense appears nowhere in that article. Nor do the facts, even as erroneously presented before the war by the administration, constitute a circumstance of "imminent" threat as defined within Article 51. A separate administration claim that it went to war on the basis of Iraq's "material breach" of U.N. resolutions ignores the U.N. Charter's clear empowerment of the Security Council, and not individual members, to judge whether a breach has taken place and how to respond to it.

The alarming consequences for world peace posed by the doctrine of pre-emption was evidenced in the Russian government's resort to such a defense of its 2002 military action in Chechnya. Similarly, India shortly thereafter spoke of pre-emption in warnings to Pakistan over developments in Kashmir and the Pakistani nuclear weapons program.

In sum, the Bush pre-emption doctrine is in fundamental conflict with the intent of President Roosevelt's fourth freedom, the freedom from fear, which he described as meant to ensure that "no nation will be in a position to commit an act of physical aggression against any neighbor."

Institutionalizing detainee mistreatment. Bush administration actions and policies, including rendition, detention without charge, denial of habeas corpus, detention of "ghost prisoners" and the rewriting of the Geneva Conventions to allow the severe mistreatment of detainees, collectively amount to a wholesale assault on the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, and particularly Articles 6, 7, 8, 9 and 10 (see box, p. 23).

The administration has refused to specifically discuss interrogation methods employed by the CIA at its deten-

tion facilities, or to offer any other details related to that agency's secret detention program. What appears clear is that the president and his subordinates have arrogated to themselves the power to define what constitutes torture, torture-light and abusive or humiliating treatment at these facilities. The infamous Bybee "torture memo" took the position that short of causing organ failure, U.S. government agents should, in effect, use their imagination in extracting information from detainees. (Jay Bybee, then assistant attorney general for the Justice Department Office of Legal Counsel, was subsequently promoted to a permanent position on the federal bench.)

Moreover, the 2006 Military Commissions Act, which inter alia suspends habeas corpus, prohibits invocation of Geneva Convention rights, and permits use of evidence extracted under cruel, inhuman or degrading treatment, also absolves U.S. intelligence agents and their superiors for torture or abuse they have already committed or authorized. The U.S. government has consistently impeded access to detainees by the U.N., the International Committee of the Red Cross and, in Afghanistan, by the official governmental human rights body. Human Rights Watch has identified nearly 40 individuals who have disappeared into what amounts to an American version of a gulag.

Further, the administration has yet to abjure and, indeed, appears to have continued to resort to extraordinary rendition, in many instances transferring detained suspects to the authority of governments the State Department has identified as employing torture. Administration claims to seek prior assurances from those governments that they will not torture rendered suspects are specious. Such assurances are on their face unenforceable, and in no case has Washington followed up with these governments despite evidence that they have violated their assurances. In light of this history, Pres. Bush's adamant and repeated assertions that the U.S. government does not use or endorse the use of torture are simply not credible.

In his 2003 State of the Union address, Bush said the following regarding U.S. conduct toward terrorist suspects: "All told, more than 3,000 suspected terrorists have been arrested in many countries. And many others have met a different fate. Let's put it this way. They are no longer a problem to the United States and our friends and allies." There is perhaps no statement by the Bush administration that more flagrantly reveals its violation of human rights standards or betrayal of core American values than this crude reference to the dispatch of "suspects."

The dire implications for those who might be perceived by the United States as its enemies could not be clearer. But the implications extend beyond that ever-growing group. The actions and policies toward suspected enemies has lowered the bar for other governments to deal with opponents without regard to international human rights standards. The "pushback" factor is already evident in treatment of political dissidents in many countries, as documented in the 2007 State Department Human Rights Reports.

The failure of command responsibility. In war — even conflicts that can arguably be described as "just wars" — extraordinary crimes against civilians take place. In such circumstances, responsible authorities have two fundamental duties: to review policies and procedures so as to preclude recurrences, and to hold accountable perpetrators and their civilian and military commanders in a transparent judicial process.

The Bush administration's conduct of the "war on terror" and the wars in Iraq and Afghanistan has been replete with abuses and excesses that have shocked the international community and shamed the American people. The brutality associated with operations at Abu

From the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (1948)

Article 6. Everyone has the right to recognition everywhere as a person before the law.

Article 7. All are equal before the law and are entitled without any discrimination to equal protection of the law. All are entitled to equal protection against any discrimination in violation of this declaration and against any incitement to such discrimination.

Article 8. Everyone has the right to an effective remedy by the competent national tribunals for acts violating the fundamental rights granted him by the constitution or by law.

Article 9. No one shall be subjected to arbitrary arrest, detention or exile.

Article 10. Everyone is entitled in full equality to a fair and public hearing by an independent and impartial tribunal, in the determination of his rights and obligations and of any criminal charge against him.

Ghraib, and at detainee holding facilities at Bagram Air Base outside Kabul, at Guantanamo and elsewhere in the U.S.-run international detention system violates the most basic human rights. Yet to date, nearly all those prosecuted under U.S. law have been low-ranking military personnel. While guilty of criminal behavior, these perpetrators were operating in an administration-created environment that either allowed or, in some instances, encouraged abuse. Under pressure to obtain intelligence from detainees who were publicly demonized by the most senior members of the administration, these personnel committed abuses that dismayed their families, friends and fellow Americans.

The "new" doctrine of pre-emptive defense is, of course, not new.

But those senior officials whose policy memoranda and public statements created the environment in which mistreatment took place and who oversaw the "migration" of abusive tactics — e.g., from Guantanamo to Abu Ghraib — remain unprosecuted and unrepentant. Then-White House Counsel Alberto Gonzalez, who advocated the torture memo's contents to the president, was made attorney general. Vice President Dick Cheney, in offhand public comments, endorsed such tactics as "waterboarding," in which victims endure simulated drowning. Moreover, the U.S. refusal to join the International Criminal Court has had symbolic and real implications for the application of international standards of justice to international conduct.

Until the senior civilian and military officials responsible for creating conditions in which abuses are encouraged, ignored and, in some instances, covered up, are themselves prosecuted, these abuses will remain open, festering wounds on the American conscience. Without such application of the healing balm of justice, U.S. leadership in the defense of human rights will remain the greatest casualty of the Bush administration's assault on fundamental American and international values.

Reasserting American Values

The burdens that a new American president will assume in January 2009 are extraordinary and, in some sense, unprecedented. He or she will assume responsibility for leadership of a nation whose reputation for integrity and just behavior will be at a low point, exceeding even the nadir of the post–Vietnam War era.

For the new administration to reassume a position of leadership in the defense and promotion of human rights it will need to bring new energy and commitment to that work. A broadened focus for the effort would underscore American sincerity and rebuild our credibility.

As noted above, a significant component of the human rights manifesto as set out in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and as conceived in President Roosevelt's "Four Freedoms," has fallen to the margins of the U.S. and international agenda. Rights that are identified in the Universal Declaration's Articles 22 (economic, social and cultural), 23 (fair employment), 25 (an adequate standard of living with access to essential services) and 26 (education), in particular, need concerted international defense and promotion.

By broadening the international agenda to include those rights now denied by circumstances such as poverty, inadequate education and health services for billions of people in sub-Saharan Africa and elsewhere, the U.S. could redeem its leadership role and reputation over time. That would entail a commitment of energy and material resources on behalf of those whose needs are great and of long standing. It would also require sufficient humility to acknowledge that some of those needs remain unaddressed even within the confines of our own borders.

This is the challenge facing the next administration. But Congress also bears responsibility for broad U.S. abandonment of its historical leadership role in the defense and promotion of human rights. It has collaborated in the administration's policies, especially those that led to human rights abuses and the denial of legal recourse for detainees in the post-9/11 era.

There is a record to build on, fortunately. For many years the U.S. Congress took a leadership role in the defense of human rights. Bipartisan, bicameral majorities endorsed restrictions on American collaboration with foreign governments and militaries with records of abuse, demanding accountability and reform before assistance went forward. In recent years, however, those restrictions have been weakened or waived at the insistence of the administration, which sought to culti-

vate ties with these abusive militaries as "partners in the war on terror." The administration has sought to evade restrictions often imposed by the Senate Appropriations Subcommittee on State, Foreign Operations and Related Programs by routing aid through the Department of Defense rather than the Department of State.

This stratagem ignores the Foreign Assistance Act of 1961, which gives State primacy over how and when to provide military assistance to foreign governments. Over the years, Congress has added conditions to the FAA that require the State Department to consider the recipient government's record on human rights and democracy before providing military aid. Congress deliberately placed the responsibility for providing military assistance with State to ensure that assistance is granted in accordance with long-term foreign policy goals. Congress should resist administration efforts to evade oversight, and act to restore the lead role of the Department of State in assistance oversight.

Congress should resist administration efforts to evade oversight of the human rights implications of its foreign assistance programs.

In the final analysis, it is for the American people to restore their allegiance to, and faith in, those human rights values rooted in the Bill of Rights and first declared in a foreign policy context by President Franklin Roosevelt. This would entail recalling and recognizing the wisdom in Roosevelt's words at another time of great national peril: "The mighty action that we are calling for cannot be based on a disregard of all the things worth fighting for." ■

A Cure Worse than the Disease?

Ian Dodds

THE HEART OF THE ADMINISTRATION'S APPROACH TO CURBING TERRORISM IS THE USE OF TORTURE AND COERCION TO FORCE INFORMATION FROM SUSPECTS.

By Kenneth Roth

It is by now sadly apparent that the Bush administration's approach to fighting terrorism has been a disaster for America's global reputation. On Sept. 11, 2001, the hearts of people far and wide went out to Americans for the senseless horror that had been visited upon them. The world seemed united in a determination to stamp out this new and dangerous form of evil.

How quickly things changed. Terrorism remains a serious threat, but the latest Pew Global Attitudes Survey shows

that in the eyes of many people around the world, America has lost the moral high ground in the battle to curb it. The invasion of Iraq and the bloodshed it has unleashed are part of the reason. But a major cause lies in the litany of abuses that have become synonymous with the Bush administration's approach to fighting terrorism: Guantánamo, Abu Ghraib, "disappearances" in secret CIA detention facilities, unlawful renditions to governments that torture, substandard military commissions, indefinite detention without trial by labeling suspects "enemy combatants." These examples of America flouting basic international human rights and humanitarian law help explain why so many people around the world now want nothing more to do with the administration's "war on terrorism."

The administration is not oblivious to the plummeting esteem in which the United States is held. But it seems to believe that this is a modest price to pay for making America safer. What critics denounce as lawless, it seems to presume, history will vindicate as necessary and effective measures.

But what if the opposite is true? What if, despite the fortunate lack of another terrorist attack on U.S. soil since 2001, the Bush approach is actually making things worse? Quite apart from questions of legality and morality, what if the approach is intensifying the terrorist threat, making the likelihood of future attacks even greater? To evaluate this possibility, one must analyze the administration's policies for fighting terrorism, the consequences of those policies, and the alternatives that might have been pursued.

Redefining Torture

The heart of the administration's approach to curbing terrorism is the attempt to extract information from suspects through torture and other coercive interrogation. "High-value" suspects have been sent for interrogation to secret CIA-run detention facilities where they have been held in isolation, dependent entirely on their jailors. Classic "disappearance" victims, they have been denied access to lawyers, family members, even the International Committee of the Red Cross. In many cases, the U.S. government did not even acknowledge holding them.

Although President Bush announced the temporary closing of these secret CIA facilities in September 2006 and the transfer of 14 detainees to acknowledged and more accessible detention in Guantánamo, Human Rights Watch's investigations show that at least 38 detainees believed to have been held in CIA custody have not been accounted for. And since March, according to the administration's own announcements, at least four new detainees have been delivered to Guantánamo from undisclosed locations.

Without any external scrutiny or independent oversight, "disappearance" victims have historically faced great risk to their physical integrity. The victims of the Bush administration have been no exception. One aim of their isolation was to permit the deployment of the tough interrogation techniques that the president has trumpeted. These, we now understand, include practices such as waterboarding (mock execution by drowning) that under any reasonable definition amount to torture.

Pres. Bush routinely reassured us that the United States does not use torture, but those pronouncements were of limited value because the infamous Justice Department memo of August 2002 largely defined torture out of existence by declaring that it required pain as intense as "death, organ failure, or serious impairment of body functions." Under that definition, even pulling out fingernails or chopping off ears might not be torture. In the face of public outrage, the administration has repudiated this definition, but it has yet to offer any detailed alternative.

Moreover, international law prohibits not only torture but also "cruel, inhuman or degrading treatment." The prohibition on all such practices is absolute, allowing no exception even in time of war or public emergency. However, the Bush administration concocted a theory that permitted the use of cruel, inhuman or degrading treatment so long as the victim was a foreigner held outside the United States. (Hence the need for the secret offshore CIA detention facilities.) That unprecedented reading of the law remained official policy until December 2005, when Senator John McCain, R-Ariz., won approval by a vote of 90 to 9 for his amendment to the Detainee Treatment Act repudiating it.

Since then, the Pentagon, it seems, has largely taken itself out of the coercive-interrogation business by adopting a new Army Field Manual on Intelligence Interrogation in September 2006. As far as the military is concerned, this manual repudiates most of the unlawful Bush

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interrogation methods, such as waterboarding, beating, hooding, causing physical pain, inducing hypothermia or heat injury, or depriving the detainee of necessary food, water or medical care. This past July, however, the administration adopted new rules for the CIA that fail to discontinue its practice of "disappearing" detainees. The rules purport to prohibit torture and cruel, inhuman or degrading treatment, but their purpose is to permit some coercive interrogation techniques beyond those authorized by the Army Field Manual, the details of which remain secret. Given the lack of any independent oversight of the treatment of "disappeared" detainees, the potential for abuse remains high.

Pres. Bush routinely reassures us that the United States does not use torture, but those pronouncements are of limited value.

A Radical Approach to Detention

The resort to torture and other coercive interrogation has led to additional transgressions. The desire to interrogate suspects without regard to the consequences for later criminal prosecution motivated the administration to adopt dangerous theories for detention without trial. It has long been accepted that a combatant captured on a battlefield can be held without charge or trial until the end of the armed conflict. But the administration expanded that concept radically.

In its view, because there is a "global war on terrorism," the entire world is a battlefield, meaning that anyone can be picked up anywhere, labeled an "enemy combatant" without any judicial oversight, and held without charge or trial until the end of the "war against terrorism," which may never come. At best, detainees are brought before a "combatant status review tribunal," where they have no legal representation and military personnel review secret evidence to which the suspects have no access. Moreover, the government can overcome adverse rulings by simply insisting on a do-over, again and again, until it secures the "enemy combatant" classification it seeks.

This radical approach blows an enormous hole in the most basic due-process rights. It means that fundamental criminal justice principles can be dispensed with upon the mere say-so of an administration official, with no independent oversight or legal recourse. And then, to ensure that there is no judicial scrutiny, the administration convinced Congress to abolish the writ of habeas corpus for most of these cases.

Still, there have been times when, following coercive interrogation, the administration has wanted to pursue prosecutions. However, because any respectable court would suppress any evidence secured by coercion (known as "fruit of the poisonous tree"), the administration created a brand-new criminal justice system — the military commissions — the main purpose of which is to admit evidence obtained coercively.

The only requirements to do so are that the coercion occurred before the December 2005 Detainee Treatment Act and that a judge find the evidence so obtained "reliable." As established, the military commissions allow the government to classify — and thus protect from disclosure — the sources and methods by which evidence is obtained, making it difficult, if not impossible, for the defense to challenge the reliability of evidence. Moreover, they allow evidence from interrogations to be presented through hearsay (by a supervisor, for example, rather than the interrogator), thus frustrating cross-examination as to precisely how the evidence was obtained.

A Faulty Premise

But what if the entire premise of this approach to fighting terrorism — this single-minded focus on forcing information from a suspect under interrogation — is misconceived? To begin with, it is widely understood that, to stop torture, people will say whatever they think the interrogator wants, whether true or not. A case in point is Ibn al-Sheikh al-Libi's assertion under torture that Saddam Hussein maintained pre-invasion ties with al-Qaida to provide chemical and biological warfare training. Al-Libi later retracted the claim, but the administration used it to help justify invading Iraq — one of this nation's worst intelligence failures ever. And we will never know how many innocent people were detained and, in turn, subjected to further harsh methods because interrogators were beguiled by the false sureties of coercion. (Experienced interrogators say that it's much easier to distinguish truth from falsehood by using traditional psychological tools rather than coercion.)

However, people under torture will occasionally blurt

out something truthful. Does that justify dispensing with basic rights? Hardly. Experts on cracking secretive criminal conspiracies report that the interrogation room is a far less important source of useful information than tips and leads from the general public — a neighbor or acquaintance who notices suspicious activity and reports it to the police. For example, it was not rough interrogation techniques but tips from members of the public in August 2006 that helped foil the plot to bomb trans-Atlantic flights from Heathrow, that led to the arrest of the July 21, 2005, London bombers, and that disclosed to the CIA the location of Khalid Sheik Mohammed's safe house in Karachi.

(Cell phones and computers seized at the time of arrest have also been treasure troves of information, helping, for example, to crack open the 1995 "Bojinka" plot to blow up airplanes over the Pacific and to reveal the identity of alleged conspirators behind the attempted London and Glasgow bombings in June.)

So, what if the Bush administration's lawless approach to counterterrorism makes people less likely to cooperate with law-enforcement efforts? What if people, out of distaste for the administration's methods, choose to close their eyes to suspicious activity rather than become complicit in dirty-war techniques?

Not everyone will react that way, but anyone who does represents a cost to abusive counterterrorism methods — one we can expect to rise the more closely a community identifies with the suspect facing abuse. Because those who are most likely to feel that way are individuals from the same community as the terrorist, the administration's use of abusive techniques is arguably diminishing the most important source of information there is about potential future violent acts.

Dealing with the "Swing Vote"

And what about the root causes of terrorism? It is widely recognized that curbing it requires not only smart law enforcement but also effective efforts to address the conditions that drive people to violence. There is much

debate about what precisely those root causes are, with candidates ranging from poverty to military occupation. But regardless of the particulars, people are more likely to resort to violence when peaceful avenues for pursuing grievances are blocked. Autocratic governments are more likely to breed violence than governments that permit discontent to be addressed through open political competition.

Defeating terrorism requires a foreign policy built on strict respect for human rights and their vigorous promotion.

Moreover, fighting terrorism requires not only neutralizing the suspects who have already joined terrorist conspiracies but also dissuading others from joining them. That also requires maintaining the moral high ground.

Most people are law-abiding and would never resort to terrorism regardless of provocation. Others — the Osama bin Ladens of the world — are firmly committed to terrorism and need no incitement. But the fight against terrorism will be won or lost in the "swing vote"— the angry young men who have deeply felt grievances and are unsure how to address them.

As jihadist Web sites demonstrate, terrorist recruiters have long understood that abuses committed in the name of counterterrorism are among the best recruiting devices they have. By delegitimizing the counterterrorism effort, these abuses facilitate the extremists' essential task of replenishing their ranks. As the U.S. Army Counterinsurgency Manual explains, because it is impossible to kill or detain every terrorist, the key to effective counterterrorism is to diminish the enemy's "recuperative power." But if the administration's abuses drive even a small percentage of these angry young men to violence, that can still add up to a lot of people. Applying former Secretary of Defense Donald Rumsfeld's famous test, the abuse may well be generating more terrorists than it is stopping and, in the process, keeping the threat alive.

Moreover, by treating terrorist suspects as "combatants" rather than criminals, the administration portrays al-Qaida and its ilk exactly as they would want to be seen: as warriors rather than despicable murderers. During his Guantánamo hearing, Khalid Sheikh Mohammed clearly relished the combatant label, seeing it as a status symbol. By contrast, as the Army Counterinsurgency Manual observes, "when insurgents are seen as criminals, they lose public support."

Even when the administration chooses to prosecute a suspect before a military commission rather than a regular court, it is losing the battle for hearts and minds. Compelling terrorist suspects to face their day in court should be a moment of triumph for the fight against terrorism, an opportunity to distinguish America's respect for the rule of law from the lawlessness of its opponents, and to parade their crimes before the court of public opinion. Instead, the administration's insistence on using substandard military commissions has directed public opprobrium away from the crimes at issue and toward the due-process short-cuts that epitomize the commissions.

Setting an Example

America's loss of the moral high ground has been particularly harmful to the effort to combat repression abroad. The United States has never been a fully consistent promoter of human rights, but it has long been the most influential one. Yet today, that influence is seriously diminished by the Bush administration's refusal to practice what it preaches.

America's denunciations still carry weight in Darfur, for example, because the United States isn't committing massive ethnic cleansing anywhere. In addition, in some countries that maintain close political, military or economic ties with the United States, our diplomatic interventions can still be powerful. But when it comes to the traditional tools of repression — torture, "disappearances," detention without trial — America's voice of condemnation has been largely silenced. A U.S. diplomat cannot complain about such abuses while his own government practices them — at least not with a straight face.

Indeed, to make matters worse, the United States continues to set a powerful example for others. When an ordinary government commits an abuse, the international standard remains firm. But when a government as influential as the United States is the violator, the abuse tends to degrade the standard itself. U.S. misconduct becomes an excuse for others to do the same — a cheap excuse, to be sure, but one that is very real because it helps deflect condemnation. And as repressive governments effectively lose a powerful

adversary, the roots of tomorrow's terrorism take hold.

One area where, in principle, America's voice should still be strong is in the promotion of democracy. Whatever its electoral flaws, no one would seriously deny that the United States has a thriving political system. America could provide an important antidote to terrorism by extending the reach of democracy.

Indeed, for a while, the Bush administration did actively promote democracy — until the "wrong" people began winning elections. The success of Islamist candidates in Egypt, Iraq and the occupied Palestinian territories led the administration to abandon its principled commitment to honoring the results at the ballot box. The pressure to democratize that it had once exerted on Hosni Mubarak of Egypt, Pervez Musharraf of Pakistan or the Saudi royal family has now all but disappeared.

But, skeptics ask, can Muslim societies be trusted to elect moderate governments that will eschew terrorism regardless of religious affiliation? The administration now seems to have answered this question in the negative, but only because of its short-term perspective. It should be no surprise that when an authoritarian government in a Muslim society shuts down the political opposition, one of the few safe havens is the mosque. Ironically, that serves the interests of the secular dictator quite well. If he can set up a narrow political competition between himself and the Islamists — as, for example, Egyptian President Mubarak has done by refusing for years to register secular opposition parties — he can tell the West that the choice is between himself and Islamic extremism. Those like the Bush administration who tend to equate democracy with quick elections readily fall into this trap.

However, if we understand democracy to require not only elections but also a vigorous press, diverse civil society, broad political competition and the rule of law, the outlook is very different. That's because when people face a range of viable political options, they tend to opt for the center. For example, before the Musharraf coup Pakistan enjoyed many of the attributes of a healthy democracy. Allegations of corruption and incompetence under

Benazir Bhutto and Nawaz Sharif notwithstanding, moderate secular parties routinely won some 90 percent of the vote. The Islamists were a powerless fringe there. Only after Musharraf expelled the two leading opposition figures and entered into a marriage of convenience with the Islamists did they enjoy a modest renaissance. With military rule causing corruption to skyrocket and the writ of the state to erode, militant Islamists are filling the vacuum by challenging and supplanting the state, and terrorism is flourishing. Trusting the strongman turns out to be a poor substitute for the patient work of building democracy on a foundation of broad political pluralism.

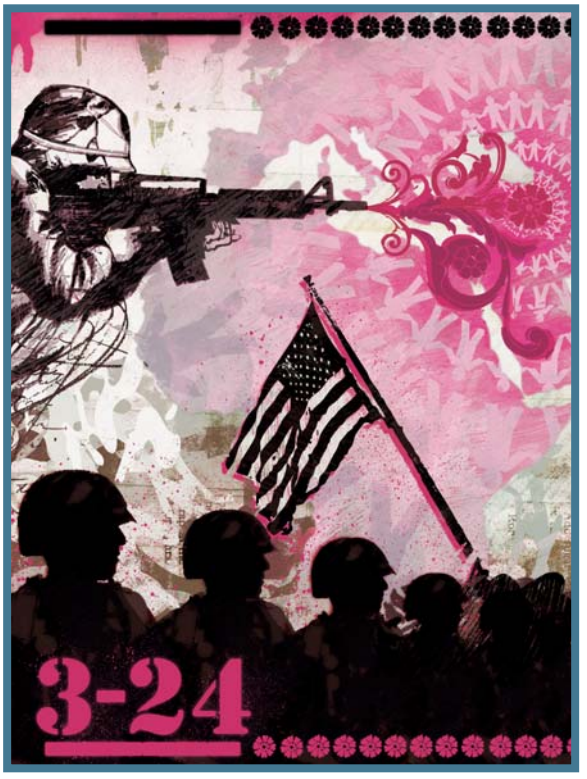
Values Matter

What does all this mean for fashioning an effective counterterrorism policy? Contrary to the Bush administration's inclinations, human rights are not the problem but part of the solution. Defeating terrorism requires a foreign policy built on strict respect for human rights and their vigorous promotion. But that requires practicing what we preach and eschewing the quick fix of friendly autocrats for the long, difficult work of building democracy.

It is perhaps not surprising that in the wake of terrorist attacks as shocking as those of 9/11, the Bush administration announced that "the gloves come off," in the infamous words of its former CIA counterterrorism director, Cofer Black. But by now it should be painfully obvious that toughness does not necessarily mean effectiveness.

It may seem counterintuitive, but a counterterrorism effort that respects human rights is not a weak one, but smart and pragmatic. That is because human rights are not an obstacle, but a reflection of widely shared, fundamental values. Because values matter — from the quest for popular cooperation in fighting terrorism to the life-and-death battle with the terrorist recruiter — a counterterrorism policy that flouts universal standards will fail to achieve the security it seeks. ■

Crafting a New Counterinsurgency Doctrine



Ian Dodds

The Army and Marine Corps' new counter-insurgency doctrine could be the basis for an effective campaign against terrorism.

By Sarah Sewall

The U.S. government has articulated a concept of operations for the defeat of terrorism: help partners combat violent extremist organizations, deter support for those organizations, and erode support for extremist ideologies. But the United States has yet to develop effective tools and policies for accomplishing these goals. Counterterrorism efforts have not been integrated into, or used to frame, a broader and coherent national security strategy. And while President Bush acknowledges an "ideological struggle," American efforts in that arena have often proved counterproductive.

In its campaign against terrorism, human rights are the West's heraldry. Respect for them distinguishes the United States from extremists of almost any brand. Yet human rights are under siege at home and undermined by much of America's behavior abroad, weakening the moral and ideological basis of the struggle against violent extremism.

It may surprise many, then, that the Army and Marine Corps have raised the banner of human rights in their new counterinsurgency doctrine. The question is whether the rest of the U.S. government — in particular foreign affairs and national security professionals — will leverage the field manual's principles into a broader campaign against terrorism that protects core human rights regardless of faith or nationality.

The Army and Marine Corps doctrine offers the most strategic approach to terrorism currently available within the U.S. government; it is no coincidence that the doctrine revolves around rights of foreign civilians. Field Manual 3-24, as it is generally known, honestly catalogs the costs and requirements of civilian protection and nationbuilding in pursuit of stability. It demands a parallel and overarching national policy for strengthening states against revolutionary challengers, a policy that will, in turn, lead to the development of adequate military and civilian resources to meet that challenge.

But the obstacles are enormous. First, the American public has grown weary of Iraq and appears to conflate that war with counterinsurgency more broadly (even though the field manual's subtext cautions against preemptive regime change). Administration officials do not want to admit their failings in Afghanistan and Iraq, which is the first step toward necessary change in national policy. Civil servants are understandably wary of being pressed into the service of "more Iraqs." And interagency squabbling and parochialism have drained the intellectual coherence and utility from the bureaucracy's efforts.

Because the issues are complex and highly politicized, sound national counterinsurgency policy is not likely to be developed within, or sold by, this administration. Rather, a national bipartisan commission is needed to craft an effective national framework and garner the capabilities to support it in the decades ahead.

A New Security Paradigm: It's Stability, Stupid

During the 1990s, the Clinton administration began to recognize that failed states and chronic instability ultimately threatened international, and therefore American, security interests. While a peer competitor remained a distant possibility, global crises and headlines arose from state weakness, not state strength. Previously masked by Cold War stasis, the corrosion within the international system accelerated, fueled by globalization's inequities, developing technologies and social trends.

Complex military and civilian peace operations and nationbuilding efforts were intended to repair the expanding holes in a fraying international fabric. But this proved to be challenging, expensive and endless work, without quick gratification; and a skeptical Congress didn't buy the linkage between failed states and American security. The public had expected the collapse of Soviet communism to produce a security dividend, not a bill. So in 2000, Americans elected a president who derided nationbuilding, calling it counter to American interests.

The events of 9/11, and subsequent pursuit of al-Qaida in the skeletal state of Afghanistan, ought to have chastened those who dismissed the costs of failed states and disorder. The higher stakes are now apparent. In fact, the marriage of ideological extremism with weapons of mass destruction threatens not just nation-states, but the politics, commerce and perhaps the very cohesion of the modern interstate system.

Violent extremists increasingly function not simply as insurgents within states but also as revolutionaries within the international system, with ambitions and targets that transcend national boundaries. They take root within states, threatening the political order or simply thriving in a governance vacuum. Confronting terrorism requires strengthening governments so that they can combat violent and subversive movements and restore order. This is, effectively, counterinsurgency: "Those military, paramilitary, political, economic, psychological and civic actions

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taken by a government to defeat insurgency," as the new doctrine defines it.

The goal would be to make states strong enough to police internal violence pursuant to their domestic laws. A state stabilization strategy would help contain violent extremism locally, eliminate terrorist safe havens, and disrupt the global networks that are force multipliers of terrorism. Thus the new counterinsurgency doctrine is, in turn, central to a broader national security strategy.

Civil servants are understandably wary of being pressed into the service of "more Iraqs."

Building a consensus about U.S. security strategy — not simply its goals, but the way we will achieve them — is particularly vital at this political moment. The endgame in Iraq risks pushing Americans toward policy extremes, just as Vietnam produced a backlash on both the left and right. But today, neither unconstrained and exclusive use of military power abroad, nor a retreat to isolationism and homeland defense, is the answer to the global terrorist challenge. Neither approach can make Americans safer while representing our values in an ideological struggle. The new counterinsurgency manual offers an alternative, more productive approach.

Fighting "Right:" Field Manual 3-24

A counterinsurgency effort, as the military doctrine explains, is primarily political. It requires civilian direction and participation to achieve political effects. The armed forces play a critical, but supporting, role in operations that also include economic, social, informational and political initiatives. Indeed, the need for military power decreases as the counterinsurgents make progress against their insurgent enemies. This dance of nonmilitary and military efforts in pursuit of political aims requires planning, resources and choreography.

Participants therefore need an overarching policy that defines the purposes of counterinsurgency, clarifies U.S. government assumptions about the effort, and articulates the demands and expectations of each participant. The supporting military doctrine, like that from every other participant in the effort, should flow from that national policy. At present, the U.S. has it backward. There is no national counterinsurgency policy. And, stuck with the hot potatoes of Afghanistan and Iraq, military authorities sought to fill the vacuum with a new field manual.

In light of the U.S. military's glorification of firepower and force protection, Field Manual 3-24 may come to be seen as a watershed. The new doctrine flatly rejects the notion that brute force succeeds and argues for a more humane approach, one that ensures the physical security of civilians and Geneva Convention protections for prisoners. It dictates that soldiers and Marines must assume greater risk on behalf of civilians. It commits the U.S. military to fighting pursuant to the laws of war, even when the enemy does not.

The doctrine recognizes that only by rejecting the foe's terrorist tactics can the U.S. claim the moral high ground. It is certainly true that the avowed enemies of America don't care how cleanly we fight; in fact, their strategy is to provoke U.S. excess and fulfill Samuel Huntington's prophesied "clash of civilizations." But the center of gravity today is the unconvinced moderate middle — whether among the indigenous population, Muslims, allies or Americans. Courting these audiences requires sustaining a commitment — however imperfect in practice — to moral warfare.

Here the distinction between combatant and noncombatant is critical. Physical security is a core human right, and civilian protection is a central precept of international law. Without it, we have no claim to outrage against terror. Nor can we win a struggle against violent radicals if moderate Muslims perceive our actions as indistinguishable from the terrorists' acts. Failure to underscore this distinction — through its choices of wars and targets, overweening reliance on military power, and ineffective nationbuilding — has been a signal U.S. failure in the ideological struggle against terrorism.

Yet while the administration gambles away civil liberties at home and abandons human rights abroad, the U.S. military has recommitted itself to protecting the rights of foreign citizens of all nationalities and faiths. Certainly this is only what international law requires. But who can take such norms for granted these days? Precisely because it runs counter to the administration's overall no-holds-barred, destroy-the-village-to-save-it approach to counterterrorism, the doctrine is radical and its future is uncertain.

Thus, the new approach needs tending and support by civilians to make sure it is implemented. This will require

support from above (through policy and politics in Washington) and from below or alongside (through expanded capacity and partners in the field). The military's success ultimately will depend upon whether or not the civilian foreign affairs and national security communities define a congruent national counterinsurgency policy, identify their stake in its success, and help to shape and define it.

Needed: A National Policy

There are many urgent policy questions that military doctrine alone simply cannot address. The single most important of these is whether or not counterinsurgency will be used to support a revolutionary grand strategy — namely, destroying or transforming states. Such a purpose would contort counterinsurgency's very nature. As a method for stabilizing governments by enhancing their legitimacy, counterinsurgency is self-evidently not suited to destroying and replacing existing political systems. This unanswered question should be the core of a broader debate about U.S. national security strategy.

Given recent experiences in Afghanistan and Iraq, it is understandable that the bureaucracy and public suspect that better counterinsurgency tools will be used offensively against governments, rather than defensively to support or mend them. Secretary of State Condoleezza Rice's "transformational diplomacy" initiative, too, seems to beg this question. Indeed, the prospect that counterinsurgency concepts and capabilities would be dedicated to regime change is sufficiently controversial, both conceptually and politically, that it impedes efforts to improve U.S. practice. Before civilians build counterinsurgency capability, they want to know what it is for.

A national policy should tackle this larger issue head-on, delineating the purposes underlying it and identifying circumstances in which the principles underlying it are most likely to succeed. The policy should also provide guidelines regarding the character of U.S. nationbuilding. Certainly if the goal is to support the host nation — instead of redesigning it in America's image — the local government's own values and choices should guide U.S. activities.

The urgent need to achieve stability may force compromises in other areas. A counterinsurgency policy should force U.S. agencies to revisit their usual ways of doing business in the political, economic and social spheres. Everything from accounting procedures and legal authorities to the substantive goals underlying nationbuilding programs may need rethinking. The Speaking Out column in the June *FSJ* noted USAID's reluctance to support Afghan government programs to create "model schools," efforts the U.S. military backs to undermine the radical Islamic religious schools (madrassas). But the government schools would also have religious content, and USAID is wary of funding them in light of the U.S. Constitution's Establishment Clause. Such sensibilities may be an unaffordable luxury when concern about insurgent violence is paramount.

Likewise, U.S. agencies may need to abandon traditional political orthodoxies. Early elections, for example, can be destabilizing and divisive. Privatization can disrupt services and cause social and economic dislocation. Four years into the Iraq War, the State and Defense Departments and the military and embassy in the field are still bickering about economic policy, the relationship of security to political reform, and the relative power of military and civilian officials. We have seen how tensions within the U.S. government — often between the military and civilian agencies — can prevent a coherent and unified counterinsurgency effort. A national policy should provide guidance that can minimize such enervating disputes.

There are more problematic normative issues — ultimately human rights questions — for a national counterinsurgency policy to consider. What should the United States do when indigenous programs or policies run counter to U.S. standards? Field Manual 3-24 accepts, in the words of T.E. Lawrence (aka Lawrence of Arabia), that it is better for the locals to do something tolerably well than for the counterinsurgent to do it for them. At what point, though, is the locals' behavior no longer tolerable? Will the line be drawn at local violations or when violations are national policy? When do the consequences of withdrawing U.S. support risk greater rights violations?

These are among the toughest questions in counterinsurgency, and civilians must take responsibility for grappling with them. A national policy should articulate the problem and offer guidelines for navigating these sensitive differences between local human rights standards and international or U.S. expectations.

Left to their own devices without policy guidance, military forces must muddle through these issues. Generally this entails defaulting to the most direct, and often short-term, route to stability — working with the local power

brokers rather than holding elections, for example, or paying young men for public works projects to get them off the street. This can result in friction when civilians see such efforts as properly non-military tasks or as inconsistent with established procedures. National policy can help reduce this friction by defining counterinsurgency's purpose and character, as well as the easier task of determining (at least on paper) who calls which shots when. But it must also face the underlying issue of civilian ability to take on its assigned tasks.

Civilian Leadership and Capacity

In the same axiomatic way that counterinsurgency doctrine cannot be revolutionary, it cannot be militarized. By definition a predominantly political affair, counterinsurgency demands civilian leadership and action to achieve its fundamental purpose. Yet within the U.S. government, this has been largely a rhetorical conceit.

Civilians have been grossly under-resourced for the enormous demands made of them in Afghanistan, Iraq and elsewhere. This problem extends beyond bench strength to include the ability to plan and conduct operations. Many agencies have simply become contracting organizations, having lost the operational art entirely. And as we have seen in Iraq, contractors are not the perfect solution. Shrinking government in the name of efficiency means losing capacity, whether in development work or information operations.

The State Department has sought additional financing and related expertise, as the creation of the Office of the Coordinator for Reconstruction and Stabilization indicates. Even this partial success appears stillborn, though. For all the counterinsurgency demands it has created, the Bush administration appears uninterested in fighting to fund and staff them.

Understandably, there is also ambivalence within civilian agencies about counterinsurgency. The bureaucracy seems supportive of nationbuilding when it is executed after a conflict, preferably with a U.N. mandate and plenty of multinational partners. But what about nationbuild-

ing during a conflict? The Secretary of State had to ask DOD to fill the civilian billets on Iraq Provincial Reconstruction Teams. Was this the result of a lack of eligible professionals, the politics of the Iraq War, or a broader disinclination, however sound, to assume physical risk?

The State Department's reluctant edging toward directed assignments adumbrates the larger challenge. Terrorism has already made serving abroad a much higher-risk proposition; counterinsurgency only expands the risks for civilians. It provides little comfort to non-combatants that the new Field Manual also demands more risk from soldiers. The Foreign Service has a great tradition of brave service in conflict zones. Yet if it cannot meet needs in the field, it risks irrelevance to the policies that matter most. If it stands aloof, it may come to regret ceding counterinsurgency to the military or watching the emergence of an expeditionary civilian capacity that creates policy through its actions on the ground.

Another aspect of enhancing civilian leadership is creating a new — or, arguably, reviving an older — breed of Foreign Service officer, one steeped in military culture and familiar with the possibilities and limits of military power. Professional specialization and broader trends in civil-military affairs have divorced civilians from their uniformed counterparts. The military's size and commitment to education have allowed its officer corps to become far more conversant with civilian institutions and culture than vice versa. Civilian agencies must address this deficit.

Thanks to two long-running wars, the nub of such a cadre is beginning to emerge. But there are few institutional processes for recognizing, nurturing and judiciously employing these pol-mil hybrids.

Finally, the fact that civilian authorities have not been fully honest about the limits of their capacity is a lingering problem. They have sometimes masked their shortfalls with critiques of the military's operational overreach and its failure to provide them with security. They have insisted upon retaining prerogatives even when they cannot carry out the corollary work.

Perhaps the executive agency bureaucracies fear that the truth will render them irrelevant to policymaking. But perpetuating the myth of civilian partnership enables decisionmakers to eschew responsibility for building civilian capacity. Brutal honesty may be the only way to catalyze change. Still, civilians won't be able to convince anyone to make the changes and finance the huge investment required unless counterinsurgency fits into a compelling national security strategy.

Interagency Process Stalled

In September 2006, the State Department (with co-sponsorship from the Defense Department) hosted a conference on "Counterinsurgency in the 21st Century: Creating a National Framework." It brought together a who's who of players in U.S. counterinsurgency. Using the newly completed military doctrine as a springboard, the conveners sought to create a national counterinsurgency center and a plan for developing policy.

Interagency processes are difficult enough when most participants agree on the general goal but disagree about the way to accomplish it. The counterinsurgency policy effort appeared to lack consensus on both fronts. From the start, there was confusion about its purposes. Is this policy intended to guide more large-scale invasions such as Iraq, or small-scale efforts with friendly governments like the Philippines? Is it a complement to counterterrorism strategy or its replacement?

Participants were also unsure how their agencies fit into the policy. USAID officials claim a role in development and conflict prevention; S/CRS describes its focus as stability operations; other departments and agencies, such as Treasury and Agriculture, are comfortable contributing to nationbuilding. But counterinsurgency? One can imagine officials asking themselves: How is this different from what my agency already does? Will it require us to change? These distinctions are more than semantic, reflecting assumptions about legitimacy, partners, resources and levels of violence. Moreover, they have yet to be answered.

Much of this dysfunction is familiar to any veteran of government. In the Lake Wobegon interagency process, everyone is more important than average. The key issue is who's in charge, not what they should do. More energy is spent explaining whose efforts are fundamental than how they will be carried out. Competencies are cataloged, not assessed. No shortfalls are identified. The orientation is procedural (this is how we will plan), not substantive (these are our operating principles). The same stovepipes that contribute to dysfunction in the field are replicated in the policy process.

The policy review faces other challenges. Administration officials are preoccupied with the actual conduct of

counterinsurgency. It's difficult to fix the track while the train is moving; but when the fixes require acknowledging mistakes, it's even harder. Many key officials have moved on, and no one new has taken the reins. The upcoming presidential election also reduces incentives for the bureaucracy to really invest, because a new team may well demand its own policies.

Sadly, this threatens to leave the new Army and Marine Corps Field Manual in a vacuum. In outlining a practice of the good fight, it provides more than military doctrine. It suggests how to fight and win the "ideological struggle:" enshrine civilian protection, restrain the use of military power, and recognize the primacy of politics. It offers the rest of the government an opportunity to recalibrate its approach to terrorism and even its national security strategy. What a missed opportunity, then, if civilians fail to build upon it.

Moreover, the Field Manual faces an uphill fight even within the Army and Marine Corps. It has yet to be applied overseas, in part because of insufficient capacities on both the military and civilian sides. Turning away from the doctrine could tempt reversion to a simpler approach to fighting insurgency, one of unfettered military power — the Vietnam War that some wish they could have fought — and unfettered military authority, freed of political cognizance and coordination with civilians.

The Way Ahead: A Bipartisan Commission

Perhaps the issues are, at the moment, too complex and politicized to be left to the interagency process — particularly in the final quarter of this administration. But they are also too important to await a new president. Indeed, they should be part of the electoral debate about the purposes and character of America's role in the world and the next administration's national security policy.

For these reasons, the president and Congress should establish a national bipartisan commission to craft a national counterinsurgency policy. It should be led by former senior officials who have earned respect across

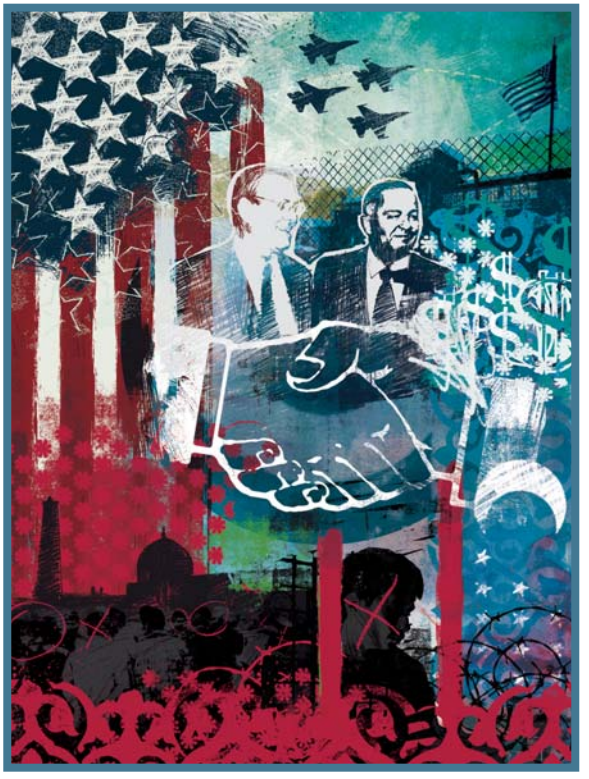
the aisles, and should include national security professionals of high stature. The panel should clarify when and why counterinsurgency serves the national interest and spell out the capabilities required to support it.

The policy must address meaty and nettlesome issues that Iraq raises, but doesn't answer — questions that are vital for thinking about a broader national security strategy in the decade ahead. Will counterinsurgency capacity be used to topple and replace governments in the name of Western values, or will it be used to stabilize fragile regimes whose opponents would be far less palatable to Western interests? What criteria should the United States use to assess whether a state deserves — or continues to deserve — U.S. support? What accommodations to indigenous concepts of governance, human rights and economic organization can the U.S. accept? When does counterinsurgency become plain old war? This effort needs courage and intellectual coherence, not lowest-common-denominator consensus.

The commission should include representatives from the relevant agencies, including the military services that have labored so hard to get this policy ball rolling. But it must be led by experienced individuals who are no longer captive to party or position. It needs meaningful support from Congress. Only recommendations from an external bipartisan group like the Iraq Study Group have any chance of serious consideration during the 2008 presidential campaign and beyond.

The battle against terrorism is part of a broader struggle to sustain the international system and states within it. The United States currently lacks a coherent approach to addressing either challenge. Though it cannot fully substitute for a thoughtful and sustainable American national security strategy that applies adequate U.S. resources toward attainable ends, a national counterinsurgency policy can help fill a conceptual void, recommit the nation to the right side of an ideological struggle, allow for unity of purpose across the government, and help restore the U.S. as a human rights standard-bearer through the challenging times ahead. ■

The Folly of a Short-Term Approach



Ian Dodds

A British diplomat describes the challenges of promoting human rights when a dictatorship is also a key ally.

By Craig Murray

I am very pleased to be offered the chance to pass on to you some thoughts on the conflict between human rights and the "War on Terror," drawn largely from my recent service as the United Kingdom's ambassador to Uzbekistan. As a result of that experience, I should acknowledge, I was recently vetoed as a participant in a U.S.-sponsored seminar on that topic by a very senior State Department official, on the grounds that I was "viciously anti-American."

That is not true, of course. I believe strongly in individual liberty in all spheres. Thus, I am a passionate supporter not just of democracy and human rights, but also of capitalism and free markets.

So how could someone with that belief set come to be perceived as anti-American? The answer is that I do not believe that recent U.S. foreign policy has promoted those goals at all, but rather has been doing something very different.

One of my inspirations was Walter Carrington, the U.S. ambassador to Nigeria from 1993 to 1997.

Walter Carrington Avenue

To illustrate what I mean, let me offer an example of diplomacy at its best. One of my inspirations was Walter Carrington, the U.S. ambassador to Nigeria from 1993 to 1997. Amb. Carrington never accepted the brutal dictatorship of the Sani Abacha regime (1993-1998) and constantly went beyond normal diplomatic behavior in assisting and encouraging human rights groups, and in making outspoken speeches on human rights and democracy.

Carrington, as often in the U.S. system, was a political appointee rather than a career officer. That certainly meant he was free of the inherent caution that tends to bedevil long-term diplomats. But I do not view it as the crucial factor that made him different. Many career officials are just as dedicated as he, and many political appointees are overly concerned with status and networking.

Carrington's approach was a direct challenge to the British Embassy in Nigeria, which pursued a much more traditional line of polite interaction with the president and his cohorts. This appeasement did us no good, as Abacha repeatedly moved against our interests; for example, he banned British Airways from flying into Nigeria. Nonetheless, my diplomatic colleagues looked down their long noses at Carrington with disdain, for raising unpleasant subjects like torture and execution at cocktail parties. (I regret to say that some of the career subordinates in the U.S. embassy did the same.)

The Abacha dictatorship hated Carrington so much that the Nigerian armed forces even stormed the ambassador's farewell reception and arrested some Nigerian participants, a breach which was rightly condemned by the U.S. Congress. But a grateful people did not forget his efforts on their behalf, and soon after Abacha's downfall, the street on which the U.S. and British consulates in Lagos were situated was renamed by the local authorities as Walter Carrington Avenue.

His example taught me a great lesson in diplomacy: The relationship of an embassy should be with the people of a country, not just with their authorities. Regimes that are hated by their people will never survive indefinitely, though they may endure a very long time.

A Perfect Failure

Uzbekistan is undoubtedly one of the most vicious dictatorships on Earth. Freedom House ranks it as one of just five countries scoring a perfect 7 — complete lack of freedom — on both political rights and civil liberties. The Heritage Foundation's view of economic freedoms there is similarly critical. In short, Uzbekistan does not follow the Southeast Asian model of an authoritarian government overseeing a free economy and rapid economic development. It is more akin to North Korea than to Singapore. Soviet institutions have been strengthened and corruption has increased. Only the iconography switched, from communism to nationalism.

Yet Uzbekistan was embraced as a Western ally following the 9/11 attacks, becoming a member of the "Coalition of the Willing." In 2002 alone the U.S. taxpayer gave the Uzbek regime over $500 million, of which $120 million went to the armed forces, and $82 million to what are arguably the world's most vicious security services. Also during that year, according to impeccable British government pathology evidence, at least one Uzbek dissident was boiled alive. The U.S. taxpayer paid to heat the water.

Ambassador Craig Murray resigned from the British Diplomatic Service in February 2005 after more than two decades. He is now rector of the University of Dundee and an honorary research fellow at the University of Lancaster School of Law. His memoir of his time in Uzbekistan, Murder in Samarkand, *is available at www.Amazon.co.uk. Paramount and Brad Pitt's Plan B production company are producing a movie based on that memoir, with filming scheduled to begin in February 2008 under British director Michael Winterbottom.*

When I arrived in Tashkent as British ambassador in August 2002, I was a 42-year-old career Diplomatic Service officer with about 20 years' service. I was "Fast Stream," and well thought of. My four overseas postings had run second secretary, first secretary, counselor, ambassador, which is not a bad record.

It is perhaps significant that I had been selected to be ambassador before 9/11, when priorities for Uzbekistan and the other former Soviet republics were rather different. During the late 1990s I had been deputy high commissioner (the equivalent of your deputy chief of mission position) in Accra, and was thought to have a particular expertise in democratization. In Ghana the U.K. financed and, in large part, managed free and fair elections that ended the 20-year rule of Jerry Rawlings and his party. I had led that process, incidentally with very good cooperation from our American colleagues. The Ghanaian elections followed years of work on building media and civil society, and the country remains a tremendous model for the rest of Africa.

In that regard, I recommend U.S. Ambassador Mark Palmer's book *Breaking the Real Axis of Evil* to all serving diplomats. His position is underpinned by two basic tenets: "All people want freedom and can achieve it." And: "In the sea of tyranny, a democratic embassy must be an island of liberty and a steady, and not always subtle, proponent of change."

Five False Principles

I would most heartily endorse those assertions. Lamentably, however, I do not believe many embassies, British or American, follow them in practice. I also believe the Palmer approach has been set back by the "War on Terror." That, I would argue, is due to embassies acting on the following "false principles," which that war has brought to the fore:

- Putting short-term expediency ahead of long-term interests;
- Pursuing specific sectoral or commercial interests as the interest of your whole nation;

- Convincing yourself that your allies are good guys *because* they are your allies; and
- Following the "Precautionary Principle": If things change, they will probably get worse.
- Protecting one's comfortable lifestyle and social status by not criticizing local conditions.

I may well enrage many readers of this magazine by saying this, but in my experience this last principle is sometimes the most powerful of all.

Like many of you reading this, I have paid my dues on diplomatic lifestyle questions, having served in West Africa (twice) and Central Asia. But in Tashkent my residence had a large outdoor pool, an eight-person indoor Jacuzzi and a separate pine sauna and marble Turkish bath. We also had four indoor servants.

The truth is this: While it can be tough at the lower levels, and there can be serious strains and disruptions, Foreign Service officers do enjoy the compensation of a privileged lifestyle. They have very high social status, attend a lot of cocktail parties and banquets, are invited to many social events, have great housing and pools, and are automatically accepted to membership in the best golf or country clubs. The personal comfort level can be very high, and most of your socializing is done with the host country's often-oligarchical elite, and with fellow diplomats who are unlikely to lose much sleep over human rights concerns. In contrast, the Walter Carrington approach causes a degree of conflict, discomfort and social difficulty that many diplomats just do not want disturbing their sybaritic lifestyles.

There, I have said it straight out, and you know damn well it is true in very many cases. If any diplomat reading this article can swear to me that they do not know a senior colleague to whom it applies, I will send them 10 dollars!

Clearing a Path for Extremism

On Sept. 16, 2002, I sent a cable back to London, subsequently published by the European Parliament as part of their report on extraordinary rendition, analyzing the problems with U.S. policy in Uzbekistan. That contemporary analysis dovetails neatly with some of the "False Principles" outlined above. My principal criticism related to the first principle: putting short-term expediency over long-term interests. As I reported:

."... [President Islam] Karimov is driving this resource-rich country towards economic ruin like an Abacha. And the policy of increasing repression aimed indiscriminately at pious Muslims, combined with a deepening poverty, is the most certain way to ensure continuing support for the Islamic Movement of Uzbekistan. ... I quite understand the interest of the U.S. in strategic air bases, but I believe U.S. policy is misconceived. In the short term it may help fight terrorism, but in the medium term it may promote it."

At that time, Islamic fundamentalism was at an extremely low level in Uzbekistan. I know scores of Uzbeks, most of whom consider themselves good Muslims, and only one who doesn't drink vodka! But Karimov was keen to portray all his opponents as linked to al-Qaida. He used his torture chambers to extract confessions to that effect, and the CIA not only funded much of the operation but was a major customer for the intelligence from the torture chambers. I knew and confirmed those facts while still ambassador.

Torture was of the most brutal kind: insertion of limbs in boiling liquid, smashing of knees and elbows, rape, sodomy, electrocution, mutilation of genitalia. Hundreds of people endured such techniques every year. One evening, while I dined with an eminent dissident in Samarkand, his grandson was abducted by local militia from right outside the house and tortured to death. His body was dumped back on the doorstep in the early morning.

I also knew that the CIA was bringing in foreign prisoners, using a front company called Premier Executive. They were being handed over to the Uzbek security services, a practice I protested as a blatant violation of Article 3 of the U.N. Convention Against Torture. I should be plain that I did not realize at the time that Uzbekistan was a destination for the wider extraordinary rendition network, as recently detailed in the Council of Europe report. But I did know that our support for an increasingly unpopular dictatorship, where there was no outlet of any kind for free expression of political views, was driving people away from the Western alternative and clearing the path for Islamic extremism.

That support was not only financial but political. In 2002 Karimov had been a guest in the White House. Throughout this period there was a veritable procession of senior U.S. civilian officials and military figures bearing similar messages, not to mention the day-to-day pronouncements of the U.S. ambassador. For instance, in February 2004, during his third visit to Tashkent, Defense Secretary Donald Rumsfeld said at a press conference: "I brought the president the good wishes of President Bush

and our appreciation for their stalwart support in the War on Terror."

It is almost impossible to describe, if you have not witnessed it, the obsessive attention to promoting Karimov's personality cult by the entire Uzbek media and education system. These U.S. endorsements were continually recycled and pumped out again and again by Karimov's vast propaganda machine. The suffering people of Uzbekistan had no doubt whose side Washington was on — and it wasn't theirs. That is short-termism, indeed.

Conflicting Narratives

My cable of Sept. 16, 2002, also referred to the third of the false principles listed above — self-delusion. I wrote: *"The U.S. are trying to prop up Karimov economically, and to justify this support they need to claim that a process of economic and political reform is under way. That they do so claim is either cynicism or self-delusion."*

In the period of the U.S.-Uzbek alliance, there was an astonishing mismatch between the reality on the ground, and the official version of what was happening.

In real life, repression was tightening: There were more political prisoners, an increase in torture, more banning of NGOs, more expulsions of Western media organizations, heavier censorship and more rigging or postponing of elections. There were also more nationalizations or forced closures of enterprises, more forcible takeovers of foreign investors' assets, more consolidation of key assets into the hands of the Karimov family, more closures of roads and dynamiting of bridges, more tariffs, more non-tariff barriers, and more physical sealing of the country's borders.

Yet in the official narrative, censorship was ended, political prisoners released, currency made convertible, agriculture reformed. The economy and trade boomed. The problem was that the official narrative was simply the use of the "big lie" technique. The Uzbek ministers, ex-Soviet officials to a man, had no concept that the official account should match the truth. The amazing thing was seeing U.S. officials struggling to believe them for the sake

of the alliance, and to persuade international organizations to accept the Uzbek narrative, as well.

It was a disheartening exercise to be party to compromises under which international organizations such as the International Monetary Fund would publish data somewhere between the official statistic published by the Uzbek government and backed by Washington, and the truth — which often told the opposite story. This was most sharply expressed in economic growth statistics, which were always accepted as positive even when the economy was plainly in free fall.

At this time the U.S. was also defending Uzbekistan from well-deserved criticism at the U.N. Human Rights Council and elsewhere. Such self-delusion opens you up to the accompanying danger of window-dressing. This is where the host dictatorship is very happy to accept your consultants' reports, training and courses on human rights or economic reform, without any intention at all of putting any of the teaching or advice into practice. Then the existence of the training workshops or consultants' reports becomes a useful proxy for the reform itself, and can be quoted as evidence of progress.

The U.S. paid a great deal of money for innumerable inputs on media and legal training, yet the media and the legal system in Uzbekistan remain 100 percent not free. From 2002 to 2004, Washington repeated ad nauseam the claim that the existence of such programs itself was evidence of progress, and praised the intention of the Uzbek government to reform — even as several journalists who learned to respect freedom during such courses ended up in jail (or worse) if they tried to practice their new knowledge. For its part, the wily Karimov regime was very adept at playing along.

SOB Stories

The American experience in Uzbekistan illustrates the adoption of false principles over true ones. It also beautifully illustrates the entire fallacy of what I might call the *"He may be a son-of-a-bitch, but at least he's our son-of-a-bitch"* approach. An SOB is never "our" SOB. He is

always his own man; indeed, that is what *defines* an SOB. Manuel Noriega, Saddam Hussein and Osama bin Laden were all "our" SOBs for long periods — before they bit the hand that was providing their support.

Karimov proved just as unreliable an ally. By May 2005 the argument that he was a reformer had already become untenable, when his troops massacred over 600 almost entirely unarmed demonstrators in the town of Andijan. Shortly thereafter he served the United States with notice of eviction from its large air base at Karshi Khanabad.

There has been a concerted attempt by Republican institutes to rewrite history to pretend that the U.S. quit the base in response to the Andijan massacre. But that is not true — the U.S. had no intention of leaving prior to being evicted. Moreover, the entire Peace Corps operation and dozens of U.S. NGOs were also evicted. Karimov quickly moved back into the Russian orbit, following a deal struck by his daughter. In exchange for massive bribes, the country's substantial gas reserves were handed over to the Russian energy monopoly, Gazprom.

So the U.S. lost in Uzbekistan in every respect. It forfeited its moral standing, acquiring a reputation in the Muslim world as a hypocritical and self-serving superpower, interested in democracy and human rights only when convenient. In return, the intelligence the U.S. gained from the torture chambers of the Karimov security services was self-serving propaganda that muddied the picture by providing a stream of false information exaggerating the strength of al-Qaida in Central Asia.

Elsewhere in the former communist bloc (e.g., Ukraine and Georgia), Washington backed the people against their dictatorships. That policy contributed hugely to the successful revolutions that spread so much freedom in the world. But in Uzbekistan, blinded by the short-term demands of the "War on Terror," the U.S. backed the dictatorship against the people. That is always a very bad call. ■

Lucky

Against the bleak, frozen landscape of a Russian winter, an American woman finds an unexpected path through her grief.

By Joan Broyles Odean

Stray dogs still run in packs in Moscow, an incongruous sight in such a large city and strangely reminiscent of a century ago when livestock wandered the streets. The dogs do not seem to belong in a civilized, modern capital, where eight lanes of traffic running through the city are clogged with cars and trucks at all hours of the day and night. But still, one would often see a group of nine or 10 mangy, scrawny dogs, lethargic due to lack of food, posing no real threat unless one ventured too close.

Alice remembered one day when she and Ben had been out for a walk. A pack of dogs had been lying in a loose group, trying to gather some warmth from a late autumn sun. Lulled into a false sense of security that they were harmless, Ben had approached the group for a closer look. Startled at this unwelcome intimacy, the alpha male dog rose abruptly and charged a few feet, barking and snarling. Rattled, Ben and Alice had scurried away, nervously chuckling and looking over their shoulders to make sure fangs were not about to sink into their shins. But the large male dog had just as quickly collapsed back down, as if the exertion of that brief flurry of hostility had sapped the few energy reserves he possessed that day.

Ben died just a year after he and Alice arrived in Moscow for her two-year tour of duty at the embassy. He was fine one day, and then abruptly he was gone from a massive coronary. Alice went through the requisite duties — accompanying his body back to the U.S., the family meetings, the burial — all the events that she should have. and did take care of with quiet composure. It was only when she had returned to post and started back to work that she realized she was always bone-weary. Exhausted. This was normal, people soothingly told her. She was dealing with an emotional crisis, and she should just accept it. Get out more. Try to forget.

Alice found herself moving slowly, cautiously, in a quiet, gray fog, which was reflected in the gray, white and black frozen landscape of a Russian winter. She retreated into a cocoon of stillness; she felt as if she might shatter if she moved too quickly, or if she encountered any jarring noise or activity.

What a perfectly appropriate season to have half of one's heart cut out, she thought. It would have been much more difficult to cope, she reflected idly one weekend morning as she lay in bed past noon, if she were posted in some lush tropical paradise with brightly colored flowers dripping down white stucco walls and a hot, sensual sun beating down. No, this climate was much more conducive, much more compatible with the tone of her life now — the color-

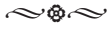
This story won second place in the Journal*'s 2007 Foreign Service fiction contest. Other winning stories will appear in future issues of the* FSJ.

Joan Broyles Odean, an office management specialist, joined the Foreign Service in 1985. She has served in Geneva, Bonn, Tel Aviv, Oslo, Moscow and Washington, D.C. She is currently posted in Ottawa.

less landscape matching the somber color she carried around in her soul.

It was tempting to stay in bed all day on the weekends, to use the excuse of her grief and the cold outside to insulate herself from condescending people and the inhospitable climate. However, occasionally Alice would force herself to take long walks, both as a means to combat the claustrophobia that would attack her when she hibernated too long in the quiet of her apartment and as a means to exhaust herself so that she could finally fall into the forgetfulness of sleep. It was a strange dichotomy — in one respect, she found the effort of moving almost overwhelming because her principal desire was to remain buried in bed. On the other hand, the quiet and aloneness of her apartment would crush her with its solitude and she would feel an irresistible urge to get out and be surrounded by humanity.

She would venture out on side streets and explore the old, crumbling Orthodox churches, which still held remarkable beauty even though so many were in disrepair. The bright splashes of blue or yellow of their domes jarred the otherwise monochromatic winter landscape.



One Sunday, Alice was walking down a busy thoroughfare, trying to keep pace with locals bundled against the cold who moved with grim determination to their points of destination. There was a light freezing drizzle falling. Really, she thought, she should start making her way back to her apartment before the sidewalks became even icier than they were. The thought of the warmth waiting for her there, no matter how sterile and alone, with a hot cup of tea in hand and a good book, became increasingly attractive. At the next corner, she spied a metro entrance, and she gratefully made her way down the fast-moving escalators — down, down, into the depths of the Moscow subway. The air became warmer, although gritty with swirling dust and dirt.

Briskly walking down the corridor to her station platform, Alice was surprised to see a stray dog — a bitch — huddled under a bench, nursing a litter of new puppies. "Well I'll be damned," Alice thought to herself. "How in the world did that dog make it down here to give birth?" The scrawny dog looked meekly up at Alice, as if she expected to be roughly ejected from the station. Alice was moved yet looked away — as one would look away from a beggar on the street. The poignancy and desperation of the dog giving birth to new life in a place that was warm, yet surrounded by possibly hostile and certainly uncaring strangers, was heartbreaking. And the fact that Alice felt such compassion for the dog — after weeks of feeling nothing — made the intensity of the sadness stronger and more surprising.

That night, back in her apartment, Alice lay in bed in the dark, thinking of the dog. How did it get water? Food? The desire to help the animal was so strong that, at one point, she actually thought of getting up and returning to the subway station. However, she pushed the thought out of her mind. Hopefully, the babushkas who cleaned the station at night, during the few hours when the stations were closed, would have some compassion for the dogs and feed them.

Alice was surprised to see a stray dog — a bitch — huddled under a bench, nursing a litter of new puppies.

The following Saturday, Alice returned to the subway station to see if the dogs were still there. Of course, they were not. There was no sign of them. She didn't know if she felt relieved or even more discouraged because she would never know what had happened to the mother and her puppies.

At a loss what to do after checking on the dog, Alice decided to ride the subway the half-hour or so out of Moscow to the large outdoor market at Izmailovo. The outdoor market displayed crafts and antiques. She wandered among the brightly colored stalls full of lacquer boxes, painted icons and brightly painted matryoshka dolls, nodding at some of the vendors who recognized her from past purchases. Ben had loved to come here, to admire and purchase the Russian crafts. This memory, of strolling the market's aisles with him and the ensuing melancholy, along with the bitter cold, drove her back to the subway, and she began the trek back to the compound. Feeling restless, she left the subway earlier than her normal stop. Perhaps if she walked the rest of the way, she would be so frozen and exhausted that she could fall into dreamless sleep later in the apartment.

Waiting at a street corner to cross, she looked across the street and saw a large dog standing alone, which was unusu-

al. On a city street, either the dogs traveled in packs, or were pampered-looking, fat pets restrained on tight leashes by their owners. This dog was remarkable for three reasons — it was huge, it was skinny, and its cowed demeanor was pathetic beyond measure. A sense of aloneness and misery flowed off the dog's wet back in waves. It hesitantly made its way toward a woman who was briskly walking toward it. The woman paused, whether out of compassion or fear, and then gave the animal a wide berth. The dog lowered its head as she passed and simply stood, shaking and wet.

Alice stared at the poor thing. As people started to cross the street around her, she found herself joining the throng, walking straight toward the dog. She approached the beast, who had not moved since Alice first saw it, and made her way slowly around to its head. Aware that someone had actually stopped in front of it, the dog looked up meekly. Alice gazed helplessly at the dog; its brown coat was matted and thoroughly drenched. It was so skinny, it seemed to weigh almost nothing; yet it was big — the dog came up to Alice's waist. Soft, brown eyes held hers. And Alice knew there was no way she could turn away from this creature.

But what was she to do? How to get it home? Of course, Alice had no leash. She couldn't pull it down into the subway station. Nor could she imagine a taxi driver agreeing to take the mongrel. She eyed the dog, who continued to meet her eyes in a steadfast stare, head lowered. Would it even come with her?

Sighing, Alice looked around, and decided to do something she had never done before — hail a gypsy cab. Hopefully, if she flashed enough money, the driver would agree to take her — and the dripping dog.

What a perfectly appropriate season to have half of one's heart cut out, she thought.

Alice stuck her arm out in the face of the oncoming traffic as the cars hissed down the road. The cars whizzed by, some drivers looking curiously over at her. One car after another would slow, but then, seeing the large dog, quickly speed up again. Alice stood resolutely with her arm out. She was determined.

She wondered what she was doing. She had never owned a dog. Pets were complicated and certainly not conducive to a lifestyle where one moved every few years. And most mornings, it was all that Alice could do to muster the energy to get herself up and out the door to work. How would she care for a very large dog?

Finally, a small Lada pulled up some distance past her. Alice gulped, looked at the dog, and tentatively grabbed its ruff. "Come on, come with me," she said gently, wondering what the dog's reaction to her hand on its neck would be. The dark, mud-spattered Lada that sputtered to a stop had a middle-aged man in front. He waited for Alice but, when he saw the wet mass of dog, shook his head and started to roll up his window. "Nyet," he growled.

"Please," Alice said, thrusting two hundred-ruble notes into the car window. "Puzhalsta," she pleaded. "Just a few blocks. Please, we need help."

The man eyed the money, the girl, and turned to look at the dripping dog. He turned back and stared straight ahead. Alice dug into her purse and drew out more ruble notes.

"Please," she tried once more. Sighing heavily and grumbling under his breath, the man curtly nodded to the back of the car, and Alice quickly opened the door, pushed the dog in, and climbed in after it.

"You need to feed your dog more," the man said to Alice, eyeing them both in the back seat. "Too skinny."

"I know," she replied simply, deciding not to go into an explanation that she had just found the dog on the street. Not knowing what diseases or vermin the dog was carrying, the driver might wisely screech to a halt and demand that they both exit his car at once.

"Dogs are good," the man continued. "Good friends."

Alice dubiously eyed her seat mate, who had lain down with a thump and a deep sigh beside her, grateful to be out of the cold drizzle with a — hopefully — new friend.

"Yes," she replied.

Once back at the embassy compound, Alice guided the dog past the guards to her apartment. Finally, they were up the steps, into the foyer and, with a huge sigh of relief, Alice shut the door behind her. The warmth of the apartment hit her — and her guest— in a wave. The dog stood panting slightly and weaving, looking at Alice for guidance, as if it were unsure what to do. Much of the

excess water had dripped off in the cab, so it had stopped shivering.

Alice slowly pulled off her coat, gloves and boots, all the while eyeing her guest. She was still not completely confident that it would not attempt to devour her for a well-needed meal. If she didn't show up for work on Monday, would co-workers come to her apartment and find her half-eaten body, with a triumphant and much more energetic dog hovering over it?

Quietly, Alice pulled around a chair and sat, so that she was eye-level with the dog, who patiently stared back. Alice reached out a hand and gently ran it down the dog's head. The dog softly sighed and closed its eyes momentarily, surrendering blissfully to this small, unexpected and unusual feeling of affection. And Alice felt her heart thaw.

"Okay, dog," Alice said softly.

Quietly, Alice pulled around a chair and sat on it, so that she was eye-level with the dog, who patiently stared back at her.

"First things first." She went into the kitchen. "Come on." She heard the slow patter of feet behind her. Putting down a bowl of water, she took a can of tuna fish — the only thing she had in the house that she thought a dog might like — opened it and dumped it into a bowl. The dog quickly lapped at the water but, surprisingly, tackled the tuna fish more daintily, as if savoring this delicacy.

While the dog was intensely focused on what was obviously its first full meal in days, Alice went to the guest bedroom to pull a blanket off the bed and made it into a makeshift bed on the living room floor in a corner. She watched her guest polish off its food, and then led it, unresisting, to its new bed; with a deep growl, the animal collapsed on the soft wool blanket, put its head down and, almost immediately, fell asleep, snoring lightly. Quietly, Alice lowered herself into a nearby chair and watched the deeply contented dog.

The quiet of her home now had another feel to it — a feeling of

peace rather than stark loneliness. The dog's deep breathing testified to another force in the room. Alice felt this presence and the connection with another being.

The next day, she dealt with the tasks of accommodating another being in her life. She found the name of a married couple who were vets who came out to her apartment, clucking their tongues at the emaciated condition of the dog and, Alice suspected, the wisdom of this crazy American taking a mongrel into her home. But there were evidently no serious diseases lurking in the dog, and the vets only recommended some minor medications, vitamins, good food and tender care. Those, Alice thought, she could give. During the examination, the dog kept turning its head to look at her, as if seeking confirmation that all was well — for comfort, Alice thought. And, it was confirmed that the "it" was in fact a "she."

The dog quickly lapped at the water but, surprisingly, tackled the tuna fish more daintily, as if savoring this delicacy.

"What is she? What breed of dog?" Alice asked.

More clucking and hurried mutterings in Russian. Shrugging, they sized up the dog. "We don't know," the woman said. "Obviously she is a mix of many things, but mostly wolfhound, we think." The dog turned her soft eyes on Alice as if to apologize for her questionable heritage. And Alice smiled back.

"What will you call her?" the vet asked. Alice wasn't sure. She knew that to name the dog would be a turning point in their new relationship. It would mean that they now belonged to one another. There would be no going back, no opening the door and shooing the dog away. But Alice realized that that point had already passed when she grabbed the dog's scruff on a crowded, rainy Moscow street to pull her into the taxi.

"Lucky," Alice replied, putting her hand protectively on the dog's back. "Her name is Lucky." ■

Lessons from Northern Ireland's Peace Process

The recent breakthrough in the troubled region could be a model for easing other sectarian conflicts.

By Andrew Sens

Torn by sectarian conflict for many years, Northern Ireland at last is managing to put old hatreds and paramilitary violence aside. Recent elections confirmed the primacy of political parties prepared to give peace a chance, allowing participation in governance by both of the province's main communities. On May 8, responsibility for self-government was devolved from Westminster to an assembly in Belfast (Stormont) jointly headed by the Democratic Unionist Party's Ian Paisley and Sinn Fein's Martin McGuiness. Given the fact that over the last 40 years more than 3,600 people have died as a result of the "Troubles" in Northern Ireland, it is heartwarming to see these two longtime adversaries now working together for the common good.

I have spent nearly 10 years in Belfast and Dublin as the American member of an international commission created to help put paramilitary arms beyond use, so I've had a good deal of time to think about lessons that might be drawn from the Northern Ireland experience. What follows are some personal views about principles that might well be taken into account when thinking about how to bring an ethnic or sectarian conflict to an end.

It seems to me that serious negotiations only became possible about 12 years ago, when the British government moved from a long-term strategic focus on security — which frequently led to actions that were provocative and counterproductive — to a discussion of legitimate grievances. These talks eventually produced agreement on a more equal application of the rule of law, a structure for power-sharing within the provincial government and, over time, reforms of institutions and practices that were seen by one side or the other as discriminatory.

A political basis for further progress came in 1998 when the British and Irish governments and the political parties representing both communities in Northern Ireland concluded the Good Friday Agreement — as Nationalists, usually Catholic, refer to it — or the Belfast Agreement — as Unionists, usually Protestant, call it. (Unionists are determined to maintain Northern Ireland's link to the United Kingdom, while Nationalists seek the eventual reunification of the six counties that form the U.K. province of Ulster with the 26 counties that make up the Republic of Ireland.) This pact outlined a power-sharing political structure to

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protect the rights of both groups.

The agreement urged all parties to use their influence to encourage the decommissioning of the paramilitary arms that have bedeviled politics in the region for a long time. Our group, the Independent International Commission on Decommissioning, was created to facilitate this task. As the political talks between the two governments and the various political parties of Northern Ireland began to mature, we were able to begin face-to-face negotiations with a team from the Irish Republican Army.

Building trust took patience and time, but in late 2001 we saw an initial amount of the group's weapons put beyond use. Further quantities of arms were decommissioned in 2002 and 2003. Then, in September 2005, my two colleagues and I witnessed the disposal of the last of the IRA's substantial arsenal. None of the parties to the conflict disputed our statement that Republican weapons had been taken out of Irish politics at last.

Of course, the burden of negotiating details of this complex agreement and creating a political package acceptable to both the nationalist and unionist communities fell to the British and Irish governments and Northern Ireland's political parties. Despite a genuine commitment by political and civic leaders, progress toward standing up a power-sharing government on a permanent footing, as with the decommissioning of arms, was often slow and hesitant. Too often it seemed that we would never see devolved government based on support from both communities, or paramilitary weapons really removed from circulation.

Today, though, both these goals have been substantially accomplished. While the political history of the "Troubles" has been described in many books (and there are surely more to come), some lessons from Northern Ireland's experience that I believe are broadly relevant to other ethnic and sectarian conflicts follow here.

Ten years may seem like a long time to pursue negotiations, but it is quite brief in the context of a conflict that dates back many generations.

Patience is critical. Ten years may seem like a long time to pursue negotiations, but it is quite brief in the context of a conflict that dates back many generations.

Military might is not enough. People often say they badly want peace but, of course, not at any price. Sure! But what does that mean? Each side may be certain it will not be defeated, but objective viewers can see that neither will be able to win. "Unleashing the security services," as some participants in these conflicts frequently demand, is not likely to erase the other side's sense of grievance or refute its arguments. Nor will that tactic dismantle the opposition's organization and infrastructure once and for all — at least not at a price that most societies can accept today.

Negotiations do not have to be a zero-sum game. Frequently in these conflicts there will be two winners, or no winner; peace, or endless stalemate with continuing hatred and violence. Sectarian behavior, discrimination in word and deed, and the unequal application of the rule of law are not constructive practices, no matter how time-honored they may be. In Northern Ireland the process of nurturing this understanding was called "decommissioning mind-sets." It takes courage and vision on the part of political and civic leaders on both sides.

Each side must recognize that its opponent has rights. In Northern Ireland, this attitude is called "parity of esteem." I think it boils down to simple good manners. No matter how much you detest the other group's ideas, leaders and practices, demonizing people or their culture isn't constructive in the long run. It is useful to bear in mind that just a few years ago, republican leaders in Northern Ireland were publicly labeled "terrorists." Yet British Prime Minister Tony Blair recently hailed those same figures in Parliament as "statesmen."

It is not productive in an ethnic or sectarian conflict to expect that either side will admit to wrongdoing. "Acts of completion" (sitting down in government to share in making public policy, decommissioning weapons and standing down paramilitary organizations, etc.) are essential. But acts of contrition (atoning for one's history) are likely to be impossible, and demands for them will only stall the peace process. As a distinguished panel of international advisers headed by former Senator George Mitchell told the British and Irish governments in 1995, peace is unlikely unless both sides accept that there will be "no surrender and no defeat."

Face-to-face negotiations are essential at an early stage. Such interactions demonstrate to both constituencies that their grievances can be addressed and political objectives can be achieved through the democratic process. Participants should spell out what they need to end the conflict and follow through when they

Extremists must not be allowed to derail the peace process.

make commitments. Implementation of those pledges must be monitored, and outside observers may be needed to ensure impartial judgments.

Extremists must not be allowed to derail the peace process. Some irreconcilables will try very hard to block change, and both sides ought to expect this. The partners must be prepared to stay with the negotiating process, no matter how tempting the short-term political benefits of walking out. The 1998 bomb in Omagh that killed 29 people shopping on a Saturday morning was intended to make the Belfast/Good Friday Agreement — just concluded and endorsed strongly in referendums in Northern Ireland and in the Republic of Ireland — impossible to implement. Wise leaders and the people of Northern Ireland did not let this happen.

It is essential to explain early on to supporters that compromise will be necessary if there is to be an end to conflict. This may even mean accepting that one's own side may have been wrong at times on some issues. And it may entail giving up something that one can live without in order to keep something that is critical. Like so much else in the peace process, the necessity of such trade-offs requires courage and leadership.

Perhaps the most important lesson of all is simply to think the unthinkable: peace is possible. The sooner those engaged in sectarian or ethnic conflict recognize this, the better! ■

The Boxer Siege: A Precedent for the Iranian Hostage Crisis

These two major breaches of diplomatic facilities were separated by eight decades and thousands of miles. But they have much in common.

By Moorhead Kennedy

Tehran's two-week detention of 15 British sailors this spring inevitably calls to mind the much longer hostage crisis involving 52 U.S. diplomats (including the author), who were held by Iranian students from November 1979 until January 1981. But a similar crisis that erupted during the summer of 1900, the siege by Chinese dissidents of the foreign diplomatic missions in Beijing — then known and here referred to as Peking — remains obscure.

In terms of causes, reactions, behaviors and consequences, however, the Iranian students' takeover of Embassy Tehran in 1979 and the Chinese dissidents' attack on Western embassies in Peking in 1900 were remarkably similar. One sheds light on the other. Most importantly, both were tipping points, both in the acceleration of change and in the two countries' relations with the West, including the United States.

Moorhead Kennedy, J.D., LL.D., DPS, entered the Foreign Service in 1960. Overseas, he served in Yemen, Greece, Lebanon, Chile and Iran. While in Washington, he founded and was the first director of the Office of Investment Affairs (1971-1974), the first time that the State Department addressed institutionally the international role of major corporations. In Tehran, his final overseas post, he was held hostage from 1979 to 1981, after which he received the department's Medal for Valor.

Following his release and retirement from the Foreign Service, Dr. Kennedy applied lessons learned throughout his career, and especially in captivity, to cross-cultural problems abroad and in the United States. A frequent lecturer and TV commentator on the American response to terrorism, he has published three books: The Moral Authority of Government *(with R. Gordon Hoxie, Brenda Repland, ed.; Transaction Publishers, 1999);* Think About Terrorism: The New Warfare *(with Terrell E. Arnold; Walker and Company, 1988); and* The Ayatollah in the Cathedral: Reflections of a Hostage *(Hill and Wang, 1986), in addition to many articles in various periodicals and collections.*

The Storm Gathers

In December 1899, the U.S. legation in Peking received a telegram from American missionaries in Shantung province, on the Northeast China coast. It warned: "Unless the legations combine pressure, Americans consider the situation almost hopeless." The next month, British missionaries sent a similar warning to their legation about a secret society, "The Fists of Righteous Harmony," now known as the Boxers.

These were peasants dedicated to ridding China of "foreign devils." They supported the fading imperial dynasty, headed by the regent, referred to as the Dowager Empress. In return, she issued an imperial edict on Jan. 11, 1900, praising the Boxers as "peaceful and law-abiding people who … combine for the mutual protection of the rural population."

In March 1900, as the situation in the region deteriorated, the diplomatic chiefs of mission in the capital met to consider calling for naval reinforcements, but stopped short of doing so. The next month, the Dowager Empress issued another edict, obviously intended to reassure the foreigners. It denounced the Boxers by name and concluded, "Let all tremblingly obey!" The diplomatic corps thought this satisfactory, at least until May 17, when three villages were destroyed and 61 Christian converts

massacred, only 90 miles from Peking. Two days later, a London mission chapel within 40 miles of the capital was burned to the ground.

But as the French Roman Catholic Vicar-Apostolic, Monseigneur Favier, wrote to Stephane Pichon, the French minister, on May 19, 1900: "The religious persecution is only a façade; the ultimate aim is the extermination of all Europeans. … The date of the attack has actually been fixed. Everybody knows it. It is the talk of the town."

The Vicar-Apostolic was regarded as extremely well-informed, yet when the diplomatic corps met again on May 20 to decide whether to send for guards from Tientsin, a nearby treaty port (autonomous foreign settlement), they decided not to do so. After the meeting, the British minister, Sir Claude MacDonald, wrote to the Foreign Office, "Little has come to my attention to confirm the gloomy anticipations of the French father." In its obituary of Sir Claude, published while he was alive, but believed to have been killed by the Boxers, the *London Times* would declare: "How the British minister (and others) failed to see any signs of the coming storm, is a mystery which will probably now remain forever unresolved."

It was not until the diplomatic racecourse was burnt to the ground, and two British envoys had to shoot their way out of an ambush, that the Western legations in the capital began to take their situation seriously. Even then, they failed to recognize how dependent the Dowager Empress and the imperial institution were on the Boxers' attacks on foreigners to divert public opinion away from their own failings.

Still, let's not be too hard on them. Nearly eight decades later, the U.S. embassy in Tehran was just as much at fault. Several months into our captivity, one of the leaders of the student militants, Hossein Sheikholislam, demanded of some of us: "Every schoolchild in South Tehran knew that we were going to take you over! Why didn't you?"

Just before our takeover, students were marching past the embassy, shouting "Death to America!" To improve their living conditions, they were taking over hotels without any interference from the central government. I remember asking the head of the U.S. Chamber of Commerce what the students would take over next. Of course, the students were testing for limits — and we were next. Yet we failed to realize that in the semi-anarchy of the Iranian Revolution, any group that seized the U.S. embassy would bring about the collapse of the weak provisional government that had succeeded the shah, and put itself into a very strong position. Moreover, taking over the embassy would galvanize a revolution for which enthusiasm was clearly waning.

I remember in those last days repeating to two American bankers the official embassy line that Ayatollah Ruhollah Khomeini, the religious leader, had everything under control. Knowing that wasn't true, I felt sick to my stomach repeating this nonsense. (Years later, one of the bankers told me that they knew I was lying.)

"Cold Is Our Colleague's Brow"

Back to China. By May 28, 1900, rail and telegraph lines in the capital were being cut, even as legation families, with small children, picnicked off in the hills. Three days later reinforcements from Tientsin, 337 officers and men, led by a detachment of U.S. Marines but including British, French, Italian, Japanese and Russians, marched into the Legation Quarter. Germans and Austrians soon followed.

On June 3, 1900, two more British missionaries were murdered. Ten days later, a contemporary recorded: "A full-fledged Boxer was seen on Legation Street, with his hair tied up, red cloth, red ribbons around his wrists and ankles, and a flaming red girdle tightening his loose white ankles. He was ostentatiously sharpening a knife."

Even as attacks on Westerners mounted, the diplomatic corps decided not to accept an ultimatum from the Chinese Foreign Ministry that they evacuate to Tientsin. The chiefs of mission believed that even though it was dangerous to stay put, to make the journey meant certain destruction. So, as experienced diplomats, they temporized, asking for further details. When no reply from the Foreign Ministry was forthcoming, the German minister, Klemens Freiherr von Ketteler, set out to demand one. En route, he was ambushed and killed, provoking (in true Victorian style) a poem:

Make haste! Make haste! Cold is our colleague's brow;
He whom we loved lies bleeding, butchered, low;
While round our walls his murderers scream and yell,
Drunk with the blood they shed when Ketteler fell.

Meanwhile, missionaries and civilians of all kinds poured into the Legation Quarter seeking refuge. With the British legation as the center and command post, members of each of the eight missions were assigned to different locations (for example, the Norwegians ended up in the stables). Sir Claude, who had once served with the Highland Light Infantry, took over as commander in chief. He lacked, however, the authority to give direct orders to the various national contingents, and did so only through notes to their several ministers and chargés d'affaires.

The small band of 20 officers and 389 enlisted men from eight Western nations prepared their defense, reinforced by 75 armed volunteers with past military experience, and 35 more who clearly lacked any. Each group had different kinds of rifles, and the supply of ammunition was short. There were four pieces of light artillery, and the Americans had a Colt heavy machine gun. Fortunately, the area had

plenty of water from five wells and adequate supplies of food and beverages.

What kept everyone going was the belief that relief was on the way. Unfortunately, it wasn't — at least not yet.

"The Foreigners Are in the Stew-Pot"

Outside the besieged district, the combined forces of Chinese regular troops and Boxers substantially outnumbered the Westerners. They had two Krupp artillery pieces at their disposal in addition to plentiful guns and ammunition. As the Dowager Empress said to Prince Tuan of the Foreign Ministry, who would soon be placed in charge of the Boxers, "The foreigners are in the stew-pot."

Eager to overrun their foes before relief could arrive from the coast, the Boxers began firing on June 20, 1900, pouring up to 200,000 rounds a night into the compound. But even though they were outnumbered and pinned down, the Western forces became increasingly effective. On June 24, the Germans and Americans jointly staged a counterattack, enabling both to build new walls. But the best of the troops, it turned out, were the Japanese. Once dismissed by the European and American diplomats as "mere Orientals," they exhibited courage, cheerfulness and dependability.

Among the civilians, distinct personalities emerged, sometimes with less than happy results. For instance, the French minister kept repeating: "We're all going to die!"

Suddenly, on the afternoon of June 25, 1900, a horn and bugles sounded. Then a huge white signboard communicated a new edict from the empress: "In accordance with the imperial commands to protect the ministers, firing will cease immediately." The legations acknowledged the message, but just three hours later, the Chinese resumed the barrage. The Dowager Empress had changed her mind.

It was not until the attacks resumed that the Western legations in Beijing began to take their situation seriously.

Nor was this the only instance of bewildering behavior on the part of the siege force. On one occasion, by command of the Dowager Empress, the Boxers sent carts laden with melons, vegetables, ice and flour into the perimeter. Some diplomats argued that the food should be sent back; instead, "melon clubs" were formed to consume the fruit with claret.

(Another parallel: I recall that, in Tehran, after our captors had held one of their monthly parties to celebrate our capture, they gave us the uneaten cookies. "If we had any morals," said Rick Kupke, one of my cellmates, "we wouldn't touch the stuff!" But, of course, we wolfed them down.)

Just a few weeks into the siege, the Boxers turned out to be militarily useless, and the viceroys in the various provinces were growing more and more reluctant to send troops. In addition, world public opinion was turning against the Chinese. On July 16, 1900, an article in the *Daily Mail*, datelined Shanghai and headlined "The Peking Massacre," purported to describe how the Chinese had brought up artillery and were repulsed again and again, only prevailing when the legation forces ran out of ammunition. The legation forces rallied one last time, the dispatch went on, and then all were "put to the sword in a most atrocious manner."

Meanwhile, Western reinforcements finally mobilized. Addressing his East Asiatic Corps embarking at Bremerhaven, Kaiser Wilhelm compared them to Attila and his Huns. That gave the Germans a nickname that survived into the coming First World War.

Once the international forces captured Tientsin, paving the way for the relief of the legations in Peking, the besiegers stopped shooting, and correspondence between the Western diplomats and Chinese officialdom resumed. Ultimately, the international relief force stormed into Peking, the Dowager Empress fled, and it was all over but the looting.

Four Parallels

I now want to turn to the reasons why, eight decades apart, these diplomatic missions were attacked, and what all this signifies for us today. Beginning with Tehran in 1979, let's look at four underlying causes, generally interrelated, of both episodes.

Too-rapid economic change. A primary goal of Muhammad Reza Shah Pahlavi was to turn Iran as rapidly as possible into a modern state. For instance, with strong American encouragement the shah introduced a program of land reform. Traditionally, Iranian landlords provided the capital, water, seed, bullocks and the land itself, while the peasants supplied the labor. That system worked. But once the land was redistributed to the peasants, they had no access to the capital they needed to obtain the water, seed and motive power for their newly acquired land. Deracinated, bewildered and ill-equipped psychologically for modern industrial society, they swarmed into the cities, relying for support on what no one could take away: their Islamic faith.

Cultural conflict. Similarly, compulsory Westernization was a threat to Iranians' national identity. The overthrow of the shah in 1978 not only brought liberation from an oppressive regime, but freedom to be Iranian again. Unfortunately, in their euphoria, liberal Iranians forgot that the only political structure that had survived years of repression was the exceedingly *illiberal* Islamic clergy.

Foreign intervention/imperialist misconduct. The British and, later, the Americans viewed themselves, not the Iranians, as the prime actors in the country. In 1907, for instance, the British and the Russians effectively partitioned Iran into spheres of influence. And in the early 1950s, when Iranian Prime Minister Mohammad Mossadeq nationalized British Oil (now British Petroleum), the CIA intervened to overthrow him and restore the exiled shah. That was not forgotten.

What kept everyone going was the belief that relief was on the way. Unfortunately, it wasn't — at least not yet.

Later, in 1956, a status-of-forces agreement exempted all American military personnel from the Iranian justice system. A then-obscure mullah named Ruhollah Khomeini protested strongly against this exemption as a violation of Iranian sovereignty, and was exiled to Iraq. As we all know, two decades later he returned, with momentous consequences.

Corruption, oppression and incompetence in the ruling institution. Washington supported the shah, as Henry Kissinger explained, because he was modernizing his people, was pro-American and was against the Russians. Essentially, Cold War considerations made us support a regime that was corrupt, enforced its so-called reforms through oppression, and was deeply incompetent to boot.

Amnesty International characterized the shah's regime as among the worst violators of human rights in the world. When President Jimmy Carter declared human rights to be the centerpiece of his foreign policy, the shah's regime took him seriously, and eased up on the dissidents. But as soon as the Carter administration made it clear that it would support the shah at all costs, the regime resumed its crackdown. Some of my captors,

members of a student group that grew out of Tehran University, had spent time in his prisons.

Let's now apply these same criteria to China a century ago.

Too-rapid economic change. The 19th century was the great age of railroads, mines and telegraph lines, which nearly all of us regard as signs of progress. For the Chinese, however, such innovations not only flew in the face of venerable traditions but were foreign imports. Moreover, burial grounds were everywhere, so scarcely a mile of track could be laid or a mine dug without desecrating the graves of someone's ancestors.

Cultural conflict. Roman Catholic missionaries were singled out for abuse because they were officially protected by the French government, as guaranteed by a treaty of 1860, but the same privileges were extended to Protestants. Nearly all Western missionaries offended Chinese sensibilities in ways that they were not always aware of. For instance, the spires of churches, like railroads and telegraph lines, offended the feng-shui of the spirits of wind and water.

It has been said that the Chinese, beyond a vague faith, are not naturally religious. Buddhism, Taoism and Confucianism all mix. But what is distinctively Chinese is ancestor worship, which the missionaries — and not only the Roman Catholics — resolutely opposed. Converts to Christianity were forbidden to take part in such idolatry. This meant that converts not only did not participate in village rites, but refused to pay for them, thereby increasing the financial burden on the ancestor worshippers.

For these and other reasons, missionaries and their converts were widely hated, not because of theological differences but because they were foreigners, and protected by foreign governments. And these deep-seated xenophobic feelings were exacerbated by the behavior of foreign governments.

The British and, later, the Americans viewed themselves, not the Iranians, as the prime actors in the country.

Foreign intervention/imperialist misconduct. Let me give just a few examples. In 1842, in order to rectify an adverse balance of trade, and over strong Chinese objections, the British enforced the importation of opium into China. This led to the Opium Wars and the Treaty of Nanking, from which the British gained Hong Kong, among other concessions. During the Second Opium War, the British and French seized Peking and destroyed the Summer Palace in 1860.

After the disastrous and humiliating defeat of China by Japan in 1894-1895, in a war over Korea, China's weakness became even more apparent, and foreign rapacity greater. In 1897, capitalizing on the murder of two missionaries, the Germans forced Peking to sign a 99-year lease of Kiaochow Bay and city of Tsingtao, and grant extensive railway concessions, all in Shantung province.

The next year, under the threat of hostile measures, Russia forced a lease of Port Arthur and Darien, and railroad connections to both, in Manchuria. And France forced the concession of a naval base in Southeastern China, and acquired spheres of influence in Kwantung, Kwangsi and Yunnan provinces.

Spheres of influence became all the rage. Germany claimed exclusive privileges in Shantung province, and Japan did the same in Fukien province opposite Taiwan (which it had seized in the 1894 war). For its part, Britain demanded a zone of control in the Yangtse Valley.

And the Americans? Of course, *we* disapproved of such immoral conduct. Yet throughout this period, we negotiated and got, without territorial acquisition, many of the concessions that other powers had forced from the Chinese. In the words of a somewhat acidulous Brit: "If American idealism was quick to condemn the imperialists for summarily shaking the tree, American opportunism was not far behind in picking up the fruit."

Chinese sovereignty was violated in humiliating ways. The foreign settlements in Shanghai, Tientsin and other treaty ports were all under Western — not Chinese — jurisdiction. The sign reportedly erected in the main park in Shanghai is telling: "No dogs or Chinese allowed." It is no coincidence that the Boxers came out of Shantung province, where the most egregious violations of Chinese sovereignty and self-respect had recently taken place.

Channeling discontent against the foreigners, while expressing strident support for the Manchu Dynasty, the Boxers were exploited to divert attention away from where blame really belonged: within the Forbidden City, in the person of the Dowager Empress and the mandarins who surrounded her. It was a time of desperation. China seemed about to be carved up by foreign powers, just like Africa. The imperial government was in no position to resist them.

Corruption, oppression and incompetence in the ruling institution. Important as the first three factors I've listed were, the utter failure of governance contributed significantly to the mounting unrest. Two successive harvests had failed and the Yellow River had flooded. The new Chinese

Navy had been overwhelmingly defeated by the Japanese off the Yalu River in 1894, yet the money meant to reconstitute it went into rebuilding the Summer Palace. These military and natural disasters (and others) combined to highlight the corruption and incompetence of the imperial court itself, giving it a powerful incentive to turn the focus elsewhere — such as to the "foreign devils."

Beware of Unintended Consequences

I would be remiss if I failed to point out one key distinction between the two episodes. Those of us taken hostage in Tehran had no foreign settlements, no treaty port base on the coast from which a relief expedition might be mounted.

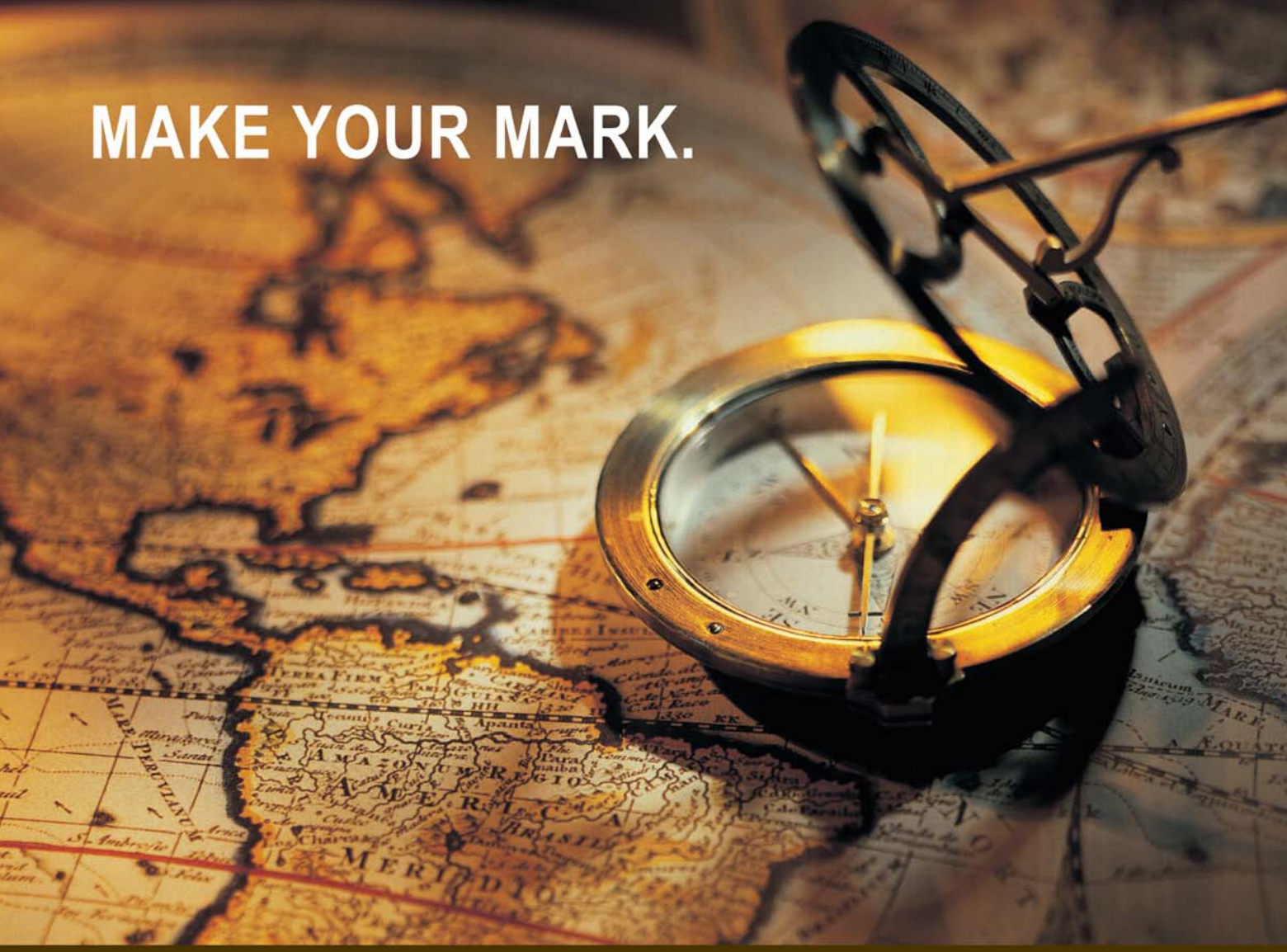
Still, our release on Jan. 20, 1981, was no less the result of military action — but not, as in 1900, on the part of the West. Rather, we owe our release in large measure to the invasion of Iran by Iraq, under President Saddam Hussein, in the fall of 1980, a military venture that would be strongly assisted by the Reagan and first Bush administrations. Jimmy Carter's outgoing administration then took advantage of Iran's weakness to negotiate our way out.

Both incidents were tipping points in the acceleration of change and in relations with the West, including the United States.

Both episodes were associated with a failure of imperial and dictatorial rule. Iran and China were both astir with the need for reform and democratic rule. The Chinese Republic was proclaimed in 1911.

Still, one should recall that in both countries, early promising democratic aspirations led only to dictatorship. Iran still is governed by mullahs; indeed, some of the shah's torturers went to work for them, as we knew first-hand. For its part, China is still governed by the absolutist Communist Party.

Most importantly, both episodes were a reaction against Western imperialism — a lesson I still hope the United States will one day take to heart. ■



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AFSA NEWS

American Foreign Service Association • September 2007

2007 AFSA AWARDS CEREMONY

Honoring Dissent and Performance in the Foreign Service

BY SHAWN DORMAN

There was standing room only in the State Department's Benjamin Franklin Diplomatic Reception Room on June 28 when AFSA President Anthony Holmes welcomed the distinguished guests, award winners and award presenters to the 40th annual AFSA Awards Ceremony. Winners of the AFSA Constructive Dissent Awards, outstanding performance awards and the Lifetime Contributions to American Diplomacy Award were all honored at the ceremony.

Amb. Holmes thanked the State Department, and particularly the director general, for co-sponsoring the event with

MIKKELA THOMPSON

Amb. Tony Holmes, Secretary Larry Eagleburger and AFSA Governing Board member Andrew Young at the AFSA Awards Ceremony.

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NEW AFSA GOVERNING BOARD TAKES OFFICE

Changing of the Guard

On July 16, the official AFSA gavel was passed from outgoing President J. Anthony Holmes to the incoming president, John Naland, as a new AFSA Governing Board began its 2007-2009 term.

Amb. Holmes gave a gracious speech highlighting the atypical nature of the past two years for AFSA and the Foreign Service. The State Department created the biggest embassy in the world, in a war zone. Secretary of State Condoleezza Rice announced her Transformational Diplomacy initiative along with the global repositioning of hundreds of Foreign Service jobs. During the outgoing board's tenure, management overhauled the assignment rules, and AFSA negotiated on behalf of Foreign Service members to try to ensure fairness in the system.

SHAWN DORMAN

Outgoing AFSA President Tony Holmes hands off the gavel to the incoming president, John Naland.

Holmes also assured the new board that it was inheriting a well-run organization that is in strong financial health. He said it had

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This Issue in Brief:

EYE ON ASSIGNMENTS

Fair Share Compromise

Concluding several months of negotiation, AFSA and the director general reached a compromise agreement in June on the latest changes proposed for the Foreign Service assignment system at State. AFSA urges members to review these adjustments to the assignments rules in the context of this extremely difficult period in which the Foreign Service has hundreds of positions to fill in two war zones and at other unaccompanied, danger-pay posts. Some tightening of the assignment rules is inevitable as AFSA tries to preserve the voluntary nature of the bidding system.

The two proposals from the DG were aimed at further reorienting the Foreign Service toward hardship postings and helping ease the staffing crisis at the most hard-to-fill unaccompanied posts. They were:

1) To replace the current six-year limit on consecutive domestic service with a five-

Continued on page 71

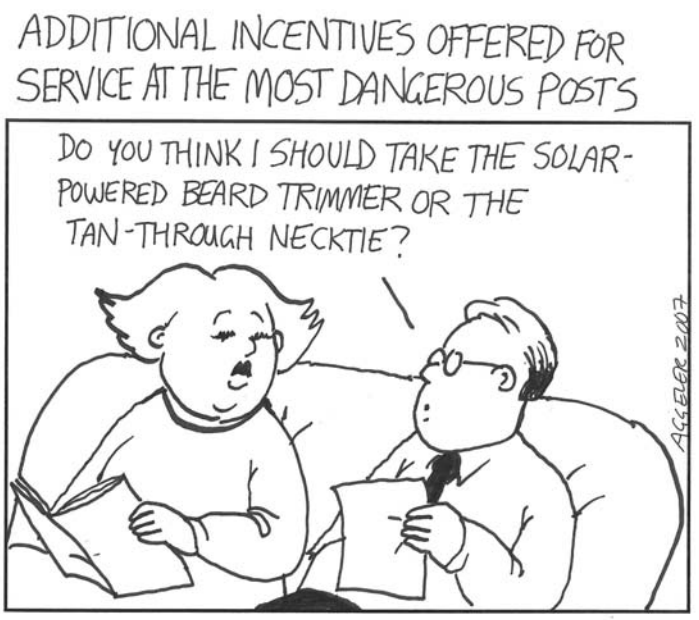
AFSA NEWSBRIEFS

CORRECTION

The title of the July/August *AFSA News* article, "AFSA Press Conference Draws Major Media Coverage," was incorrect. It should have been, "Foreign Affairs Council Press Conference Draws Major Media Coverage." AFSA hosted the press conference and is a member of the Foreign Affairs Council, but the press conference was an FAC event. We regret the error.

Life in the Foreign Service

■ BY BRIAN AGGELER



AFSA Encourages Members to Volunteer for Passport Duty

An unprecedented demand for U.S. passport services has occurred in recent months due to a change in international travel law. The catalyst for increased demand for new passports was the Western Hemisphere Travel Initiative, which took effect on Jan. 23. The WHTI requires all citizens of the United States, Canada, Mexico and Bermuda to have a passport or other accepted document that establishes the bearer's identity and nationality to enter or re-enter the United States from within the Western Hemisphere.

A significant backlog developed in processing passport applications, leading the State Department to form a Passport Task Force and to increase the number of personnel temporarily staffing passport services. The aim is to return processing time to normal levels by the end of September.

AFSA supports the vital work of the Passport Task Force and has assisted with the effort by encouraging AFSA members to volunteer for passport duty and transmitting calls for volunteers to our membership via AFSAnet. In addition, AFSA has held several collective meetings with members in order to help alleviate the concerns of entry-level employees (including the most recent A-100 class) who have been seconded out of training to passport duty. ❑

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Mea Culpa

As I start my second term of office as AFSA VP for State, I have to make a confession: I am guilty of being a lazy communicator. Over the past two years, I haven't done a very good job keeping our membership informed, on a regular basis, of the incredibly broad range of issues and concerns that AFSA has addressed with department management — or of the many battles we have fought behind the scenes on behalf of our members.

Previous VPs have sent out frequent, multiple-subject status reports via the AFSAnet listserv and ALDAC cables on a monthly basis. I only produced a few such messages, dealing with specific, major matters under negotiation between AFSA and State.

As a result, our members know that AFSA has been front and center in negotiating with the director general over the big proposals that affect the entire State Department Foreign Service contingent (broad changes to assignment rules, special incentives for Iraq volunteers, etc.). But few are aware of the hundreds of other contentious issues that AFSA has championed and continues to fight for every day.

> I will endeavor to do a better job communicating to our State membership what AFSA is doing for you!

In this second term, I plan to rectify this error, starting with this column. Here are just a few examples of important — but slightly lower-visibility — issues that AFSA has raised over the past year:

Incentives for Unaccompanied Assignments: Recognizing that one of the greatest challenges facing the Foreign Service is the unprecedented growth in unaccompanied positions (currently nearly 800, most of which must be filled every summer), AFSA continues to propose to the department various creative incentives that will encourage volunteers to bid on those jobs and stave off the threat of "directed" assignments. One such incentive, which we continue to press for at every opportunity, is a doubling of the woefully inadequate Separate Maintenance Allowance.

SLRP: The department's decision to limit eligibility for the Student Loan Repayment Program to those serving at posts with a 20-percent or higher differential, and to apply this threshold retroactively, led to an outcry among members who had chosen to bid on 15-percent posts because they would be eligible for the SLRP. AFSA protested this move and is seeking a change in policy.

Personnel Techs: The breakdown in the Human Resources system for issuing travel orders last summer led to a backlog and a serious lack of responsiveness by personnel technicians, resulting in many members being forced to leave post without orders and able to get travel advances only by signing promissory notes. AFSA intervened with HR to find ways to fix the system and to expedite orders for individual members who had come to us for help.

Foreign Service Exam: AFSA worked closely with the department on the proposed changes to the FS exam and entry process. We participated at every stage of the discussions and helped ensure that the new procedures will remain fair and objective, bring in high-caliber individuals, and protect the Service from bias and political manipulation.

War-Zone Tax Breaks: Numerous members serving in Iraq and Afghanistan have asked us to seek a legislative change that would enable Foreign Service employees serving in active combat areas to benefit from the same kinds of federal income tax exemptions that military members enjoy. AFSA is aggressively lobbying Congress for such a change.

Family Member Employment: AFSA has interceded with Washington and post management on behalf of numerous individual members whose family members have run into obstacles in trying to obtain meaningful work at overseas posts, often due to bureaucratic glitches or inertia.

Members of Household: AFSA continues to press the DG and the Secretary of State to develop more forward-leaning policies for dealing with the needs of the hundreds of Foreign Service employees who are accompanied at overseas posts by their unmarried partners or other MOHs, who are often disadvantaged by restrictive rules concerning travel costs, access to post services and facilities, visas, work permits, etc.

State Residency: A remarkable number of our members find they are denied residency status in their home states when they want to enroll their kids in state universities, merely because they have served overseas for lengthy periods and have not been physically present in the state. AFSA has successfully intervened on many occasions this past year to get these unfair decisions reversed.

This very partial list covers just a handful of the diverse issues AFSA is addressing, beyond our "normal" daily work in support of fairness in assignments and promotions, family-friendliness, accountability on security and medical clearance investigations, and preservation of a Foreign Service whose members play a meaningful role in the formulation and implementation of U.S. foreign policy.

I will endeavor to do a better job communicating to our State membership what AFSA is doing for you! ❑

MIKKELA THOMPSON

Ambassador Joan Clark with Secretary Eagleburger at the June awards ceremony.

AWARD FOR LIFETIME CONTRIBUTIONS TO AMERICAN DIPLOMACY

Ambassador Joan M. Clark

In recognition of her important contributions to the career Foreign Service, both during her 44-year Foreign Service career and in retirement, former Secretary of State Lawrence Eagleburger presented the 2007 AFSA Award for Lifetime Contributions to American Diplomacy to Ambassador Joan M. Clark at the June 28 AFSA Awards Ceremony. Her many accomplishments as a Foreign Service officer, as well as her involvement with the Foreign Service Protective Association and the Senior Living Foundation, have all been dedicated to improvement of the professionalism and efficiency of the Service, as well as to the health and welfare of FS retirees. Her leadership in the establishment of the Senior Living Foundation in 1988 helped create an organization that provides invaluable support to the retired Foreign Service community and has helped preserve its members' dignity and well-being.

Amb. Clark served as director general of the Foreign Service, assistant secretary of the Bureau of Consular Affairs and ambassador to Malta. Other overseas posts included Berlin, London, Belgrade and Luxembourg. (See interview with Amb. Clark in the July/August *FSJ*, page 49.)

Awards Ceremony • Continued from page 63

AFSA. He highlighted the dissent awards, noting that "Speaking out against conventional wisdom and offering an alternative and perhaps controversial view on policy or operational issues can be risky. It can jeopardize one's career. However, since 1968, AFSA has firmly believed that it is vital to honor the constructive and creative dissenters who are willing to work within the system to bring about change. We believe that American foreign policy can only benefit from an open and candid debate of the issues among our Foreign Service professionals."

Giving unusual pre-event media coverage to the AFSA Awards Ceremony, AP ran a story by Matthew Lee the day before the event called "Dissenting U.S. Diplomats Honored." This story, which focused on Dissent Award winners Michael Zorick and Ron Capps, was picked up by numerous media outlets. A June 30 story on NPR's "All Things Considered" began: "The Bush administration doesn't have a reputation for listening to dissenting views. But that hasn't stopped some State Department officials from sending home cables critical of U.S. policy. It's part of the State Department's culture, a culture the department's professional association tries to foster by giving out annual awards to those who speak up." Kelemen interviewed both

Continued on page 71

Appreciation: Robert Clements, 1918-2007

AFSA would like to pay tribute to Robert Clements, who passed away in May at the age of 89. In 1947, along with cofounder M. Juanita Guess, Clements established the first global insurance agency. Clements & Company, now Clements International, has been providing insurance to Foreign Service families ever since.

Jon Clements, son of Robert Clements and Juanita Guess, is CEO of Clements International. At the AFSA Awards Ceremony, he presented the M. Juanita Guess Award, which was established by the family in 1994 to recognize a community liaison officer who has demonstrated outstanding dedication, energy and imagination in assisting the families of Americans serving at an overseas post. Clements noted that his father believed that the community liaison officer had the most important job in the embassy, because "you need to learn how to live in a country first" in order to be able to work there. AFSA is grateful for the support that Robert Clements gave to the Foreign Service community and that lives on in his memory.

William R. Rivkin Award

FOR A MID-LEVEL FOREIGN SERVICE OFFICER

Michael Zorick

Michael Zorick showed tremendous courage by challenging the implementation of U.S. counterterrorism policy in Somalia, warning against what he viewed as an incorrect approach and offering an alternative. His advice was not followed, and subsequent events have proven that his analysis was correct. For his willingness to stand up for what he believed was right, Zorick was awarded the Rivkin Dissent Award.

From August 2004 to April 2006 while based at Embassy Nairobi, Zorick served as the only State Department "Somalia-watcher" overseas. His role was to monitor the political-economic situation there, and promote efforts to establish a stable government that could function as a partner in confronting U.S. concerns regarding terrorism in the Horn of Africa. Despite the fact that Somalia was a country without a functioning government, with no security and no U.S. presence, Zorick built communication networks within the Somali communities in both Somalia and Kenya, developing a unique vantage point.

When Zorick learned of other U.S. counterterrorism efforts that were in direct conflict with publicly enunciated objectives, he attempted to argue through regular channels that these actions would, in the long term, undermine U.S. interests and prove harmful to future U.S. involvement. However, Zorick's arguments for alternative approaches, based on his long-time contacts within the Somali community and his knowledge of the complex clan and faction relationships, went unheeded. Finally, he sent a cable through the Dissent Channel as a means of communicating his concerns to the appropriate policy levels within the State Department.

One of the two separate nominations for Zorick noted that while he maintained a steadfast focus on the need for a long-term vision and strategy for Somalia, much of the embassy was consumed with keeping the active al-Qaida threat at bay. Despite his disagreements with current U.S. policy, his increasing isolation within the embassy community and threats from Somali leaders because of his views, Zorick did not speak out publicly about the U.S. actions in Somalia even when his warnings and predictions were borne out by subsequent events. He worked within the system to urge a different course of action.

Zorick dedicated his award to the memory of Abdulkhadir Yahya Ali, the Foreign Service National employee who worked with Zorick on Somalia issues, and who had also helped prior Somalia-watchers. At the June AFSA Awards Ceremony, Zorick paid tribute to the man "who was briefly my teacher and my friend, a peace activist murdered in Mogadishu in July 2005. A Somali who paid the ultimate price, in no small part for being unable to bring the United States to understand his people."

From left: Zorick on a hiking trip to Hell's National Park, Kenya, in 2006; Zorick (center) with members of the International Referendum Election Observer Team and Kenyan poll workers at the Deley Primary School in northeast Kenya; Zorick in Hargeisa, self-declared Republic of Somaliland.

The dissent award, Zorick tells us, represents "a public pat on the back from AFSA and, by proxy, from one's peers and colleagues, for a desire to protect the interests of the United States of America; a reward for exhibiting the temerity to rock the boat, and recognition of the hidden costs of dissent. [It] is an honor indeed. And perhaps some vindication, however small, of the price paid."

Michael Zorick joined the Foreign Service in 1989, and has served in Toronto, Kigali, Budapest, Paris, Nairobi, N'Djamena and Washington. His career has been largely devoted to questions of economic development in Africa and the transition economies of Central and Eastern Europe. He is currently serving as chair of the Sub-Saharan Africa Area Studies program at the National Foreign Affairs Training Center. Prior to joining the Foreign Service, he served as a Peace Corps Volunteer in Banfora/Ouagadougou and then as a contractor for USAID in Conakry. He has an M.A. from the Fletcher School of Law and Diplomacy, Tufts University, and a B.A. from the University of California, San Diego.

William R. Rivkin Award

FOR A MID-LEVEL FOREIGN SERVICE OFFICER

Ronald Capps

For his courageous stand challenging the U.S. position on peacekeeping in Darfur, Ronald Capps was selected for the Rivkin Dissent Award. On the third anniversary of the outbreak of the armed rebellion against the Sudanese government in Darfur, Capps transmitted a cable that, in the words of the embassy official who nominated him, "was as prescient as it was controversial."

Capps was serving as deputy chief of the political-economic section of Embassy Khartoum at the time. He was in direct contact with rebel groups in the area and he understood the complex political environment. He warned that neither the Darfur Peace Agreement nor the African Union force would stop the genocide in Darfur, despite strenuous support for both among U.S. officials at the highest levels. Correctly, Capps predicted that the rebel groups and armed Arab militias would resist the disarmament provisions of any peace agreement and that the conflict would spread across the Sudanese border to Chad.

Ron Capps, at right, with former AFSA President John Limbert in Iraq.

Ron Capps greeting commanders of the Sudan Liberation Army in Haskanita, South Darfur, in November 2005. Capps is shaking hands with Mini Minawi, who signed the Darfur Peace Agreement in 2006 and joined the government of Sudan. At left is Mariane Nolte of the U.N.

Capps did not simply criticize U.S. government policy; he proposed an alternative. He suggested a more muscular Western peacekeeping coalition, led by the U.S., to stabilize the security situation. His message was titled "Who Will Apologize?" — a reference to President Clinton's speech in Kigali four years after the Rwandan genocide, in which he apologized to the Rwandan people for the failures of American policy toward that horror. As Capps explains it, "President Clinton said, 'Never again must we be shy in the face of evidence.' I believe that in Darfur the evidence is clear. President Bush has said so, and two Secretaries of State have said so. I don't want another American president to have to repeat Pres. Clinton's performance. But primarily, I want to see the killing in Darfur stopped, and I think America has a duty to take action to stop it."

The insightful analysis of a complex political environment did and should give pause to policymakers, the nomination states, adding that the work done by Capps "remains as relevant and deserving of wide readership now as it did then. By challenging many of the U.S. assumptions about the Darfur crisis, Capps' thoughtful argument can still help the U.S. refine its policy and achieve its humanitarian goals in Darfur." Capps tells *AFSA News* that he's not sorry he wrote that cable, just sorry he had to write it.

Capps riding in the back of a Sudan Liberation Army vehicle after 10 days of meetings in North Darfur. The SLA are taking him to a helicopter landing zone for extraction by the African Union Mission in Sudan.

Ron Capps entered government service in 1983 as an enlisted soldier, and was commissioned as a second lieutenant in the cavalry in 1985. He spent nine years on active duty before joining the Foreign Service in 1994. His Foreign Service assignments have included Yaounde, Montreal, Pristina, Kigali, Ashraf (Iraq), Khartoum and Washington. After the 9/11 attacks, he was recalled to active duty in the military and on three mobilizations has served in Afghanistan, Darfur and N'Djamena. He is currently serving in the Office of African Analysis within the Bureau of Intelligence and Research.

M. Juanita Guess Award

FOR A COMMUNITY LIAISON OFFICER

Linda Lockwood

Linda Lockwood was selected as winner of the M. Juanita Guess Award for a community liaison officer for her work at one of Africa's largest posts, Embassy Pretoria.

Lockwood's efforts as co-CLO during the last 3½ years have had a far-reaching impact throughout the embassy community. Post morale has been greatly enhanced through her outstanding leadership, dedication, initiative and imagination in assisting American families at post, as well as her excellent listening skills and "ironclad discretion," her nomination states. Co-CLO Lucy Neher, who accepted the award on her behalf at the ceremony, called Lockwood a "CLO to the world," commenting on her "uncanny ability to anticipate people's needs, sometimes before they even know" what they need.

Concern for post morale in connection with the high rate of crime in Pretoria led Lockwood to a cooperative project with the regional security office to design and implement a carjacking awareness course for both employees and family members. She also organized town meetings, together with the RSO and regional psychiatrist, to discuss crime and safety issues.

Lockwood's concern for the health and welfare of the embassy community also led to collaboration with the Health Unit to organize a successful Breast Cancer Awareness and Cholesterol Screening Health Fair. When the vendor for the embassy cafeteria left, she chaired a cafeteria committee and was instrumental in finding a new vendor. While that search continued, she organized a team of volunteer cooks to serve lunch and used the proceeds to benefit a local charity. She has also helped numerous families of children with special needs, enhancing the reputation of Embassy Pretoria as a post with good special needs services.

Outside the embassy, Lockwood also made a difference by working with charitable organizations. She has served as a member of the Hearts and Hands organization since it was founded several years ago by members of the embassy community. For two years, Lockwood served as its chair, overseeing a major reorganization, and winning a grant from the J. Kirby Simon Trust to paint the Twilight Children's Center, a shelter for street boys in Johannesburg. The painting event was a true community effort involving embassy employees and their families.

Lockwood has lived overseas for most of the past 35 years, always finding rewarding and challenging employment. She served in the Peace Corps in India and stayed for seven years. With the Foreign Service, she has served in India, Pakistan, Bangladesh, Kenya, Zimbabwe, Korea, Belgium and South Africa. She was the CLO for Embassies Dhaka, Nairobi and Harare. Lockwood and her husband have two grown children and one grandchild. She and her husband are getting ready for a post-Foreign Service chapter of life in Florida beginning in August 2008.

Avis Bohlen Award

FOR A FOREIGN SERVICE FAMILY MEMBER

Judi Marquardt

For her exceptional contributions to the advancement of U.S. interests in Cameroon, which have made a difference in the lives of both Cameroonians and Americans, Judi Marquardt was selected for the Avis Bohlen Award. She used her time, energy and creativity to improve the U.S. mission as a place to work for both American and Foreign Service National staff.

Judi Marquardt visiting with the Lamido of the Mbororo people of Sabga, Northwest Province, Cameroon, in May 2007.

Marquardt focused her volunteer work on women's and children's rights and literacy. She organized the women of the embassy to participate in the annual Women's Day Parade for the first time. Formerly, only Cameroonians had participated in this important event, which attracts 40,000 women from across the country. Other embassies followed her lead and began to take part in the event, making it a more international demonstration of support for women's rights.

In her many speeches to women's groups and schools throughout the country, Marquardt stressed the importance of education, the empowerment of women and the need to nurture the nation's children as the future of the country. She devoted much of her time and effort to working with groups assisting HIV/AIDS victims and orphaned children, and was the featured speaker at a women's HIV/AIDS conference attended by over 400 people. She developed a program in which students of the American school made books on tape that were then given to Cameroonian schools. She helped set up and sponsored a fashion show and handicraft fair for the benefit of former victims of child labor, who produced all the items for sale. This resulted in wide, positive media coverage that gave needed attention to this issue.

Marquardt participating in the 2007 International Women's Day march in Garoua, North Province, Cameroon.

Marquardt's genuine concern for the Cameroonian people and their culture and her enthusiasm to use her position as the ambassador's wife to reach out to various communities contributed to the building of stronger relations between the U.S. and Cameroon.

Surprised by the Bohlen Award, Marquardt said, "After 26 years as a Foreign Service spouse, I am particularly encouraged, not just for myself, but for all of the other spouses and family members who give freely of their time and energy to promote a better understanding of the United States abroad. I dedicate this award to all of them!"

Judi Marquardt has helped represent the U.S. since joining the Foreign Service community in 1981, serving in Brazzaville, Bangkok (twice), Paris, Bonn, Yaounde, Malabo and Washington, D.C. She served in Paris when Avis Bohlen was deputy chief of mission there, making the award even more meaningful.

She and her husband Niels have raised four daughters. With degrees from Chapel Hill and Thunderbird, Marquardt has reinvented herself repeatedly in response to changing opportunities and circumstances, creating a varied and fulfilling career. This summer, she and her family moved to Madagascar, where her husband is the new ambassador. She will, no doubt, continue to make a difference, both inside and outside the U.S. mission.

Delavan Award

FOR A FOREIGN SERVICE OFFICE MANAGEMENT SPECIALIST

Margaret Weber Baker

Margaret Weber Baker has made lasting contributions to the Embassy Tel Aviv community, and always seeks out opportunities to improve the mission beyond her responsibilities as the office management specialist in the economic section. For her efforts to enhance the embassy community experience, give voice to the concerns of those often overlooked and improve the workplace, Baker was selected as winner of the 2007 Delavan Award.

Baker (standing, center) with colleagues from Embassy Tel Aviv's economic section, Christmas, 2006.

Embassy Tel Aviv is an extremely busy place, where attention from Washington and visits by the Secretary contribute to a fast-paced work environment. Baker helped foster a sense of community among embassy employees.

Among her many contributions to post morale was a successful effort to save the embassy cafeteria when it was going to be shut down by the Health Unit. She organized a committee, sent out a customer survey and used the results to prioritize the necessary improvements. She succeeded in revitalizing the cafeteria, which is now a vibrant meeting place for all embassy employees.

Baker was the driving force behind the organization of an OMS group that represented their concerns to the front office, leading to increased opportunities for work on the Secretary's visits, training and temporary-duty opportunities. Her leadership helped the group break through barriers that had prevented some of her colleagues from voicing their opinions, and led to greater appreciation in the mission for the work of the 10 OMSs at post.

During an R&R break in the U.S., Baker took a computer course at FSI. Upon return to post, she volunteered her knowledge of a new office system whose implementation had been delayed due to a lack of training resources, and was the catalyst for implementing the system throughout the embassy.

The nomination for Baker describes her as "the cheerleader, organizer and self-starter that every community needs in order to cement together its disparate parts. At Embassy Tel Aviv, she was always on the lookout for ways to improve morale and get people involved."

Baker on the roof terrace of Embassy Tel Aviv, with the city of Jaffa and the Mediterranean Sea in the background.

Baker joined the Foreign Service in 1999 after 14 years as a civil servant with the Defense Department. In addition to Tel Aviv, she has served in Moscow, Pristina and Washington, D.C.

Special Awards of Appreciation

Faye Barnes
Robert Wozniak

AFSA presented two Special Awards of Appreciation at the June ceremony. One went to Faye Barnes, who is retiring following an assignment as the customer service coordinator in the Office of Retirement. The other award recognized FS retiree Robert Wozniak for his eight years as chairman of the association's Election Committee.

Faye Barnes has played an important role in the improvement of retiree services in the State Department's Office of Retirement. Her concern and care in responding quickly to retiree problems and requests has been much appreciated by the retiree community. AFSA has consistently called on her to assist our members and has worked jointly with her on many retiree-related issues.

Faye Barnes

As she did during her tenure as director of the Family Liaison Office, Barnes set the standard for positive attitude and responsiveness, creative problem solving, and willingness to be an advocate for those issues affecting Foreign Service employees and their families. She will be greatly missed by AFSA and, in particular, the retirees whom she has served so well.

Barnes told *AFSA News* that she was surprised and touched by the award. Accepting her award, she said she hopes that the department will continue to fund retirement services and staff the office with people who care.

Robert Wozniak

Faye Barnes, who is from Canada, spent 20 years abroad as a Foreign Service spouse, serving in Caracas, Madrid, Lima, Bonn, Mexico City, London and Washington, D.C. She is married to Richard L. Barnes, an FAS retiree.

Robert J. Wozniak served for the past eight years as chairman of the AFSA Election Committee and has devoted countless hours to its important work. His steady leadership and dedication to the goal of promoting the smooth transition of AFSA's Governing Board every two years has contributed significantly to the successful running of the organization. He has generously contributed his time and talents to ensure that the election process was conducted in a fair and transparent manner. AFSA is deeply grateful for his commitment and dedication to the association.

At the podium, Wozniak expressed appreciation for the AFSA staff, and said that he shares the award with them. Commenting further he tells *AFSA News*. "It was the AFSA staff who carried the load, pointed me in correct directions. One of the best aspects of the experience for me was working with some truly fine people on the professional staff and learning how very dependent the Governing Board is on their expertise and dedicated service."

Wozniak joined the Foreign Service, and AFSA, in 1963, and enjoyed a 34-year career with USIA. He took on the election committee position as a way to give something back to AFSA.

Awards Ceremony • Continued from page 66

of the dissent winners.

Amb. Holmes told the assembled guests that there were six strong nominations for the William R. Rivkin Award for Constructive Dissent by a mid-level officer, and the Rivkin family had generously agreed to support the selection of two winners and to award the full $2,500 prize to each. Unfortunately, there were no valid nominations for the other three dissent awards.

The William R. Rivkin Award was established by Rivkin's widow, Enid Long, in 1967. Following her death several years ago, the four Rivkin children agreed to continue the family's support for the award. The two Rivkin awards were presented by Robert Rivkin, the son of Amb. Rivkin. Ronald Capps was honored for challenging the assumptions behind the U.S.-supported peace plan for Darfur in 2006, while serving in Sudan. Michael Zorick was honored for his dissent on U.S. counterterrorism efforts in Somalia while serving in Kenya. (See the profiles of all the award winners beginning on page 66.)

Former Secretary of State Lawrence Eagleburger presented the Lifetime Contributions to American Diplomacy Award to Ambassador Joan M. Clark, for her outstanding service during 44 years in the Foreign Service and in retirement, where she continued to be a strong advocate for the Foreign Service community. Eagleburger, who clearly knows Amb. Clark well, said that he couldn't think of anyone who deserves the award more. He said that Amb. Clark — whom he referred to as "Joanie" — has always been a strong leader, noting that her integrity, discretion, patience and wisdom are legendary. He described her contributions to diplomacy and to the enhancement and professionalism of the career Foreign Service. In particular, he praised her work in establishing and leading the Senior Living Foundation, which assists retirees and their spouses, as an illustration of "her deep commitment to our profession."

MIKKELA THOMPSON

A full house for the June Awards Ceremony.

MIKKELA THOMPSON

Rivkin Dissent Award Winner Ronald Capps (right) accepting his award from Robert Rivkin, son of Amb. William R. Rivkin.

Amb. Holmes presented two Special Awards of Appreciation, one to Faye Barnes for her work as customer service coordinator in the Office of Retirement, and one to Robert Wozniak, for his eight years as the chairman of the AFSA Election Committee.

Among performance award-winners, Judi Marquardt of Embassy Yaounde won the Avis Bohlen Award for volunteer work by a family member. Unable to attend in person, her daughters Kaia and Kelsey accepted the award on her behalf from Mary Fisk, the great granddaughter of Averell Harriman.

The M. Juanita Guess Award for a community liaison officer went to Linda Lockwood of Embassy Pretoria, who was also unable to attend the ceremony. Jon Clements presented the award to co-CLO Lucy Neher, who accepted the award on behalf of Lockwood. Runner-up Jennifer Mauldin of Consulate General Chennai was asked to stand for an acknowledgement of her own service.

The Delavan Award to a Foreign Service office management specialist was awarded to Margaret Baker of Embassy Tel Aviv, who was also unable to attend the ceremony. Amb. William Harrop presented the award to Mariam Abdulle, who accepted on Baker's behalf. Delavan runner-up Robyn Davis of Embassy Guatemala City was asked to stand to be acknowledged.

As the ceremony drew to a close, Sec. Eagleburger returned to the podium to comment on dissent. "The fact of the matter," he said, "[is that] this Foreign Service of ours needs more dissenters, not fewer. And it needs to encourage them, not discourage them. And if there were more of that, maybe we wouldn't be in the mess we're in right now." ❑

Fair Share• Continued from page 63

year limit and to stop giving any special waiver consideration to employees whose motive for wanting to stay in Washington is to allow a teenage son or daughter to finish his/her senior year in high school;

2) To apply the new 15-percent fair-share threshold (which AFSA agreed to last year) *retroactively*.

AFSA conducted an electronic opinion poll of active-duty State members in March/April, which generated nearly 2,000 responses and revealed a wide range of differing priorities within our membership on these issues. While most clearly believe, as do we, that the Foreign Service must play a leading role in responding to the many challenges facing our country overseas and that Foreign Service assignment rules should reflect these new realities, there was widespread concern about the unfairness of applying new rules retroactively, with no "grandfathering" for employees who had made careful, good-faith bidding decisions based on existing rules. Many also expressed reservations about the increasingly coercive nature of the assignment rules, the loss of control over career paths, and the ever-more-daunting obstacles to maintaining a family in the Foreign Service as these rules have evolved.

The survey results highlighted a grow-

Continued on page 73

V.P. VOICE: **FCS** ■ BY DON BUSINGER

MOU Signed on TIC and Language-Incentive Pay

It took about 18 months to get here, but I can now let you know that AFSA and Director General Israel Hernandez have signed a memorandum of understanding resolving two issues that were part of the fall 2005 midterm proposals from AFSA. The first proposal concerned negotiating new and clearer rules for the time-in-class policy for mandatory retirement (as detailed on the OurPlace Intranet). Sections 7 and 8 have been revised by management.

The previous policy — especially as it applied to FS-1s who had opened their window for promotion into the Senior Foreign Service and thereby created a 10-year TIC "limit" — was confusing and unclear with respect to how this TIC limit related to the single-class TIC and the so-called TIS (total time in Service). Human Resources was interpreting the Section 8 "exceptions" to TIC time as applying only to the TIC and not to the TIC limit. The MOU and new policy provide that the exceptions will apply to the TIC, the TIC limit and the TIS simultaneously. It also removes certain ambiguities concerning TIC exceptions for the AFSA VP and representative.

AFSA continues to believe that this precept requirement does not serve the needs of the Service or the needs of our officers. But we also believe that management will not revisit this issue without pressure from the officer corps.

Our second proposal concerned a previous policy that in order to be eligible for language-incentive pay, an officer had to be tested at FSI, even if that officer had been trained at a non-FSI facility such as Diplomatic Language Services. Further, the policy discriminated between language testing for an assignment and testing for incentive pay: DLS, using the Federal Interagency Language Roundtable Proficiency Scale, was allowed to conduct the testing in connection with an overseas assignment — but not for incentive pay. The MOU and new policy allow officers to be tested at DLS if they were trained there or if they were trained at FSI previously, but not if they were recently trained at FSI, in which case they must be tested there.

Our third proposal, which suggested minor changes to the precepts for eligibility for promotion into the Senior Foreign Service based on positions and skills, was never seriously entertained by management. We were promoting the radical notion that serving as a deputy chief of mission or a consul general, rather than as a senior commercial officer, should satisfy that requirement. The current policy that for promotion to the SFS, an FS-1 has to serve in an SCO assignment in any country — no matter how small in budget or personnel — may be pushing officers away from important senior positions at headquarters, positions in the Office of Domestic Operations and in large Overseas Investment Office posts as deputy senior commercial officer. AFSA continues to believe that this precept requirement does not serve the needs of the Service or the needs of our officers, but we also believe that management will not revisit this issue without pressure from the officer corps. ❑

Governing Board • Continued from page 63

been "a delight" to find AFSA staffed with dedicated employees with years of experience and an institutional memory rare in the ever-rotating Foreign Service.

Incoming President Naland thanked the outgoing board and welcomed the new board, which includes several people from the 2005-2007 board who will continue to serve.

The new board wasted no time getting to work. A meeting with Secretary Rice was scheduled for July 26. On July 21, during its first week in office, the board held an offsite retreat to work on an action agenda based on the Team AFSA slate priorities presented during the election. These priorities include: setting the right tone for dialogue with management; listening and reporting to members; securing overseas comparability pay and more resources for diplomacy; improving overseas security; influencing Foreign Service reform initiatives; defending the Foreign Service against outside critics; enhancing FS training; improving living conditions overseas; defending and expanding retiree benefits; expanding diplomatic privileges for specialists; preserving and strengthening USAID; monitoring conditions of service at non-State agencies; improving administrative accommodations for Members of Household; updating security procedures; and assuring fair and equitable standards for the assignment process.

The new board wasted no time getting to work. A meeting with Sec. Rice was scheduled for July 26. On July 21, during its first week in office, the board held an offsite retreat.

The new president sent out his first AFSAnet President's Update on July 19 as part of his pledge to keep members well informed of AFSA's advocacy efforts on their behalf. Look for his updates on the AFSA Web site at www.afsa.org. ❑

Fair Share • Continued from page 71

ing belief that the rules should require everyone to share the burden of hardship service and that no one should be exempt, including senior officers, 7th-floor staffers and well-connected insiders in certain bureaus.

Outline of the Compromise

After taking account of the feedback from AFSA's worldwide membership, the Governing Board agreed to the following compromise:

1) AFSA agreed to the DG's proposal to change the six-year limit to a five-year limit (as it was until the mid-1990s), but only on the following conditions:

a. Any employee who began a series of domestic assignments in 2004 or earlier is "grandfathered;"

b. A special committee within HR/CDA will consider waiver requests under the new five-year rule;

c. The criteria spelled out in the SOP for the waiver committee include the following compassionate reasons that may justify a waiver: medical issues, having a son or daughter entering the final year of high school, providing care to an elderly parent and dealing with child-custody issues; and

d. The waiver criteria will include deputy assistant secretaries but *not* people serving in staff positions or tandem spouses of DASes.

2) AFSA agreed on a gradual phase-in of the new 15-percent fair-share threshold for those who accepted assignments at 5- or 10-percent posts in recent years, as shown in the following chart:

Year Departed from 5- or 10-percent Post	Year Employee Must Start Bidding	Transfer Cycle/ Arrival at Post
2010	2013	2014
2009	2012	2013
2008	2012	2013
2007	2012	2013
2006	2011	2012
2005	2010	2011
2004	2009	2010
2003	2009	2010
2002	2008	2009

Current Realities

AFSA believes the agreement represents a fair compromise that takes into account the realities that the Foreign Service is facing overseas but also addresses the diverse concerns of our membership. It does shorten the number of years a Foreign Service member can serve domestically, but it "grandfathers" many people already serving domestically and expands the waiver criteria for those with compelling personal circumstances. It does shorten the time before fair-share bidding is required for some employees who have served at 5- and 10-percent posts, but it will not unfairly change anyone's bidding status immediately. (AFSA had also tried, albeit unsuccessfully, to get the department to agree to an exception for those at posts with a 10-percent or lower differential who had been hurt by last year's ban on extensions.)

It is important to remember that, if no compromise had been reached, the department almost certainly would have brought our disagreement over the proposed assignment rule changes to the Foreign Service Impasse Disputes Panel. The rulings of this panel, which is part of the Federal Labor Relations Authority, are unpredictable and in recent years have tended to favor management. There is a real possibility that the panel could have adopted the department's original proposal or a solution of its own, which could have been far worse than the compromise outlined above.

Additional AFSA Proposals

Recognizing that the department's immediate imperative is to generate enough volunteers to fill the hardship and unaccompanied posts on the 2008 assignment vacancy lists, AFSA proposed during these negotiations a number of creative ideas, including:

1) Permit those facing separation from the Service due to time-in-class/time-in-Service expiration to postpone retirement, if they are willing to take assignments at designated hard-to-fill overseas posts;

2) Use existing waiver authority to make it easier for WAE annuitants to take positions at unaccompanied posts;

3) Institute an option, accompanied by strong, tangible benefits as an incentive, for people going to unaccompanied posts to sign up for two years. Options could include such things as extending the "guaranteed top-five onward assignment" that is now available to Iraq Provincial Reconstruction Team volunteers;

4) Order an immediate doubling of the Separate Maintenance Allowance for those serving at involuntary unaccompanied posts, as well as a significant "signing bonus" (perhaps $20,000) for anyone willing to volunteer for those positions; and

5) Review the long-term staffing pattern for Embassy Baghdad and the Iraq PRTs with a view toward "rightsizing" those posts.

AFSA is urging the Secretary and the director general to give serious consideration to these and other vehicles for addressing the short-term requirements of the Foreign Service without fundamentally altering our volunteer assignment system and without placing greater strains on the ability of FS members to pursue their careers while managing the needs of their families. ❑

AFSA NEWS BRIEFS

USAID SFS Promotions Confirmed

AFSA/USAID is pleased to announce that the USAID Senior Foreign Service officers identified for promotion in September 2006 were finally confirmed by the Senate and attested by President Bush in June. For months, AFSA urged USAID management to move the list forward. The recent confirmation successfully concludes a sad saga that was completely avoidable and that created unnecessary problems for a significant number of USAID officers. AFSA/USAID believes that the problem will not recur during the current promotion cycle. ❑

2007 FOREIGN SERVICE YOUTH AWARDS CEREMONY

Honoring the Youngest Diplomats

BY MELANIE NEWHOUSE, FOREIGN SERVICE YOUTH FOUNDATION EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

On July 10, the Foreign Service Youth Awards Ceremony honored America's youngest ambassadors in the Department of State's Benjamin Franklin Diplomatic Reception Room. Some of the nation's highest ranking diplomats participated in the ceremony, including Deputy Secretary of State John Negroponte, Under Secretary for Public Diplomacy and Public Affairs Karen Hughes, outgoing Director General George M. Staples and Deputy Assistant Secretary Teddy Taylor. The annual ceremony is a joint endeavor of the Foreign Service Youth Foundation and the State Department Family Liaison Office.

FSYF's prestigious Clements Foreign Service Youth Award for Community Service was presented by Jon Clements, president of Clements International Insurance. This award recognizes Foreign Service teenagers who have shown outstanding leadership in community service or in service to their peers while facing the challenges of an internationally mobile lifestyle.

This year's award winners demonstrated the power of the individual to improve the lives of those less fortunate. First place went to Mark Phillips, age 17, son of Susan and Timothy Phillips, posted in Washington, D.C. He is the president and founder of the Red Nose Club, a community service club in Scottsdale, Ariz., which conducts projects and sponsors fundraisers to assist children with disabilities and serious illnesses. Mark's service projects also raised awareness of global issues.

Also winning first place was Kate Miller, age 17, daughter of Roberta and Lloyd Miller, posted to Cairo. She spent hours creating gourmet desserts to raise money to pay tuition for Sudanese preschool refugees in need and working to increase awareness of the strife in wartorn Sudan and the ongoing challenges facing the Sudanese refugees in Egypt. Clements International Insurance donated $3,000 U.S. government savings bonds to the first-place winners. Forbes Slater, age 14, son of Charles and Elizabeth Slater, posted to Bangkok, and Ameera Keval, age 17, daughter of Mubina and Azad Keval, posted to Amman, received the Highly Commendable Award.

The high school essay contest required students to analyze and explain how the members of the Foreign Service promote the United States' national interests by participating in the resolution of today's major international issues.

Ambassador Ruth A. Davis, who is senior advisor to the assistant secretary for African affairs as well as an FSYF board member, presented the Kid Video Awards. The contest, which is sponsored by FSI's Transition Center and FSYF, honors Foreign Service youth between the ages of 10 and 18 for their videos depicting life at post for young people. Oakwood Worldwide Corporate Housing generously donated prize money. The first-place award recipient was Megan Potts for her video of life in Frankfurt. Second place went to Nathan Lewis for Rabat, and Erik Thackston for Rio de Janeiro. The "most enthusiastic" category was won by Skyler and Haley Hodell, for their Hong Kong video.

FSYF President Blanca Ruebensaal presented awards for FSYF's Young Diplomat's Essay Contest for high school and middle school students. Prize money was donated by Diplomatic Auto Sales. These awards honor excellence in written expression among Foreign Service youth. The high school essay contest required students to analyze and explain how the members of the Foreign Service promote the United States' national interests by participating in the resolution of today's major international issues.

Hana Passan, posted with her family in Lusaka, was awarded first place for her essay on the role of the Provincial Reconstruction Team program in Iraq. Iraq issues are particularly close to Hana's heart because her father is being posted there. Charles Brands, living in Santo Domingo, was awarded second place for his discussion of U.S. national interests from an economic, security and human rights perspective. Nicholas Marrano, living in Madrid, was the middle school winner for his essay on the qualities he sees as essential in a person representing the United States on the world stage.

Last year, the Department of State began awarding medals and certificates to children whose parents were serving in high-risk, unaccompanied posts to acknowledge the sacrifice made by the entire family when a Foreign Service member volunteers for an unaccompanied posting. For the first time, these children were recognized at the awards ceremony. Amb. Negroponte called out the names of 34 children who were able to attend the ceremony. Approximately 365 children have received these medals to date.

For more information about the Foreign Service Youth Foundation awards program, please visit www.fsyf.org. ❑

AFSA NEWS BRIEFS

New AFSA Scholarships Established

In June, Dorothy Cameron established two scholarships under AFSA's Academic Merit Program in memory of her late husband, Turner C. Cameron Jr. In August, she established a need-based financial aid scholarship. The first winners will be selected for the 2008 scholarship program. Cameron entered the Foreign Service in 1942. During his career, he was assigned to Paris, Belgrade, Hanoi, Saigon, Seoul, Colombo, Stockholm and Washington, D.C. He also served as diplomat-in-residence at the University of South Carolina. Mrs. Cameron tells AFSA that her husband's interests included art, music and cooking – "the more complicated the recipe the better, because he said it cleared his mind of work." He passed away in 1971 in Montgomery, Ala., where Mrs. Cameron still lives.

Another scholarship, honoring the memory of Thomas G. Weston, who passed away in April 2007, has been established by his family and friends. It is a $1,500 financial aid scholarship that will be awarded for the 2007-2008 school year to a Foreign Service child pursuing an undergraduate college degree. Ambassador Weston was a career FSO who joined the Foreign Service in 1969. His overseas postings included Kinshasa, Bonn, Bremen, Ottawa and Nicosia. After retiring, he was a distinguished visiting lecturer in the School of Foreign Service at Georgetown University.

For more information on the AFSA Scholarship Program or on how to establish an AFSA Academic Merit, Art Merit of Financial Aid Scholarship, contact Scholarship Director Lori Dec at (202) 944-5504 or dec@afsa.org.

Your License, Without an Expiration Date

Washington State has a special driver's license for military personnel, with an expiration date of "military." This type of de facto extension would be useful for members of the Foreign Service as well.

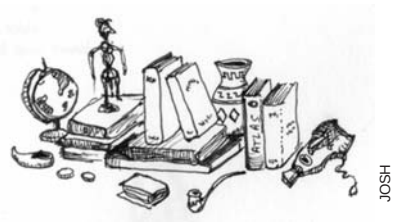
AFSA member Llywelyn Graeme wrote to his Washington state representative and senator to ask about such an arrangement for Foreign Service members. As a result, State Senator Ken Jacobsen, D-Seattle, introduced legislation in April to give the Foreign Service the same privilege as the military. Graeme suggests that all Washington State residents write their state representatives and urge passage of this bill. They can find their legislators at **www.leg.wa.gov/legislature**. The bill is SB 6150-2007-08.

Perhaps members in other states would have luck with similar suggestions to state legislators.

Request from ConGen Mumbai

This year marks 50 years since Consulate General Mumbai moved into Wankaner Palace, formerly owned by the Maharaja of Wankaner. To celebrate this event, the consulate will present a photo exhibition; audio and video interviews with American and Indian staff, as well as others associated with the consulate; a historical narrative for publication in the press and on the consulate Web site; and possibly a short documentary.

To help illustrate the rich history of the consulate, please share your articles, stories, quotations, photos, records or prints that highlight events associated with Consulate General Mumbai. Please send anything that may be appropriate to: libref@state.gov and put "50th Anniversary" as the subject line, or mail it to: Elizabeth Kauffman, 6240 Mumbai Place, Dulles VA 20189-6240. Your help would be very much appreciated!



JOSH

BOOKFAIR Opening Oct. 12

Opening day for the 47th annual BOOKFAIR of the Associates of the American Foreign Service Worldwide is Friday, Oct. 12, from 2 p.m. to 5 p.m. for employees, spouses and escorted guests. The event takes place in the Exhibit Hall of the Harry S. Truman Building, and continues from Oct. 15 through 19, from 11 a.m. to 3 p.m. During two weekends, Oct. 13-14 and Oct. 20-21, the sale is open to the general public, from 10 a.m. to 4 p.m. Access is through the C Street entrance. VISA, MASTERCARD and personal checks accepted.

BOOKFAIR Preview: On Thursday, Oct. 11, from 6 p.m. to 8 p.m., AAFSW will hold its second annual "Wine and Cheese" reception in the Exhibit Hall. Shopping during this event is welcome and encouraged. The cost is $10, payable at the entrance. Proceeds from BOOKFAIR are used to support Foreign Service student scholarships and community projects. AAFSW encourages you to come and do your holiday shopping early.

Please call (202) 223-5796 with questions or visit www.aafsw.org. ❑

PROTECT YOURSELF FROM IDENTITY THEFT

Recognizing a Phishing E-mail Before You Get Snagged

BY DEBORAH I. CLARK, VICE PRESIDENT OF MARKETING, STATE DEPARTMENT FEDERAL CREDIT UNION

In recent months, State Department Federal Credit Union members have been receiving phishing e-mails that, if answered, can put them at risk for identity theft. Phishing (pronounced "fishing") is the practice of deceiving unsuspecting members into providing personal financial information such as account numbers, passwords, Social Security numbers and other confidential information that can be used to access your checking account or run up bills on your credit cards. Phishers may go so far as to create a fake Web page for your "convenience," or provide a fraudulent phone number for you to call.

Phishing can come in the form of spam e-mails that appear to be from a well-known company or government agency. The e-mail may create a sense of urgency that lures members into providing this information, which may be used to steal the member's identity.

Under no circumstances will SDFCU contact you and ask for your Social Security number, personal ID number or any other type of account security code information. Should you receive any type of communication appearing to be from us that solicits this type of information, please contact the credit union immediately to verify it.

Steps to Avoid E-mail Fraud:

• If you do not recognize the sender, delete the message without opening it.

• Be suspicious of any e-mail asking you for personal information, requesting authentication, or indicating a problem with your SDFCU accounts. We will never ask you to verify your account information through e-mail.

• Forward a copy of the e-mail to the Federal Trade Commission at SPAM @UCE.GOV; then delete the e-mail.

If you have responded or disclosed your personal information to a possible fraudulent e-mail or Web site, file an online complaint with the Online Complaint Center at www.ic3.gov immediately. Also notify SDFCU at 1 (800) 296-8882 or (703) 706-5000. ❑

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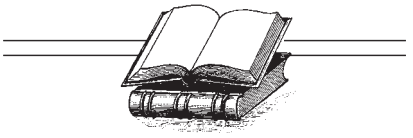

BOOKS

A Wake-up Call

What They Think of Us: International Perceptions of the United States Since 9/11
David Farber, editor, Princeton University Press, 2007, $24.95, hardcover, 187 pages.

REVIEWED BY JOHN BROWN

"Why do they hate us?", the question asked by President George W. Bush in his address to Congress in the wake of the 9/11 attacks, is rephrased in this book in a more dispassionate way: "What [do] they think of us?" To answer that question, the study's editor, David Farber, a professor of history at Temple University, has assembled seven essays (by 12 contributors) examining how America is seen in Iraq, Indonesia, Turkey, China, Russia, Mexico and Europe. "At least one author of every essay," Farber writes in his preface, "is a citizen of the nation about which the authors are writing — even if he or she is not, at this moment, living in that nation."

The contributors note that, in their individual countries, anti-Americanism is not new. From their brief accounts of the complex historical development of this phenomenon, it is clear that the extent of anti-Americanism, and what contributed to it, is not the same everywhere. But while the magnitude of anti-Americanism varies from nation to nation, this study leaves no doubt that it is one of the defining characteristics of our new century.

While anti-Americanism varies from nation to nation, this study leaves no doubt that it is one of the defining characteristics of our new century.

The main reason for this rampant hostility toward the United States at the present time, the volume suggests, is not American values or culture, although in a country like Russia there has been a strong reaction against American notions of democracy. Nor can anti-Americanism be simply explained by resentment against our power and influence, even if voices are raised, such as in Indonesia, that America is "like a giant that needs too much" (according to Muhammad Fuad, an American studies scholar at the University of Indonesia).

Rather, the main cause of anti-Americanism today is the policies of the U.S. government. While throughout the globe "people remain remarkably friendly to individual Americans," Farber points out, in "many parts of the world … large majorities are appalled by American policy." True, certain actions have met with approval — American tsunami relief, Melani Budianta writes, "won the hearts of many Indonesians" — but, on the whole, the Bush administration's unilateral and militaristic undertakings have been viewed with suspicion and horror overseas.

The ultimate example of what the world considers American foreign policy catastrophes is the invasion and occupation of Iraq. Many Iraqis see the U.S., in the words of contributors Ibrahim Al-Marashi and Abdul Hadi al-Khalili, "as a brutal, even murderous neocolonial power."

This volume has much to commend it. While not overly detailed, it does not dumb down a complicated issue and presents a truly international perspective. Its treatment of the world's reactions to 9/11 is particularly illuminating, suggesting that sympathy for America after that event was not universal, contrary to what is often assumed in the United States. In fact, foreigners saw 9/11 in a different context than most Americans did. For some — in Mexico, for example — the U.S. deserved what it got.

Some will fault this book, with its limited use of public opinion surveys, for being impressionistic rather than scientific. It could also be said that its contributors, as intellectuals and scholars, are part of a small universe that does not represent the views of those in other professions or social strata in their countries. Still, this volume is a reminder — and to Americans, it should be a painful one — of just how far the reputation of our nation has declined. ■

John Brown, who was in the Foreign Service for over 20 years, compiles the Public Diplomacy Press and Blog Review for the USC Center on Public Diplomacy (http://uscpublicdiplomacy.com/index.php/newsroom/johnbrown_main/).

In Memory

Marie Besheer, 91, a retired Foreign Service nurse, died in Lake City, Fla., of a simultaneous heart attack and stroke on June 9.

Ms. Besheer, who was proud of her Lebanese-Christian heritage, was born in Connecticut in 1916, the fourteenth of 16 children, of whom the first 10 were born in Lebanon. She graduated from The Brooklyn Hospital Training School for Nurses, and earned a B.S. from the University of Oregon Medical School.

After working as a private nurse and later as a county staff nurse, Ms. Besheer joined the State Department in 1959. She served in Mogadishu, Cairo, Khartoum, Abidjan, Rawalpindi, Islamabad, Ouagadougou and Yaounde. Her final post was Phnom Penh, from which she was evacuated with the last departures in 1975. While in Islamabad, Ms. Besheer adopted three children, who survive her. She received Merit Honor Awards in 1965 and 1973.

Ms. Besheer greatly enjoyed travel and the cultural diversity of life overseas, and she was known for her inquisitive mind and warm heart. In wartorn Cambodia, she opened her house each weekend to street children so that she could provide them with baths, decent food and temporary security.

In retirement, Ms. Besheer was very involved in the cultural life of Lake City. Her activities included volunteering in the library, the museum and the community theater.

Survivors include a sister, Rose Cervasio, and a niece, Josephine Circello, both of Brooklyn, N.Y.; another niece, Elizabeth Young; a nephew, Matthew Besheer; several other nieces and nephews and their descendants; a close friend and companion in Ms. Besheer's final years, Sophia Boano Merritt; and many friends in the Foreign Service, the Peace Corps and the Lake City community.

Ulla K. Breithut, 89, widow of the late FSO Richard C. Breithut, died at the Hospice of Palm Beach, Fla., on May 19 from acute leukemia.

Mrs. Breithut was originally from Sweden, where Richard Breithut was stationed with the U.S. Treasury Department after World War II. They married and, with their daughter Kristina, moved to London.

In 1950, Mr. Breithut joined the Foreign Service, becoming part of Averill Harriman's team at Embassy London. The couple served a tour of duty in Paris from 1952 to 1954, and were then posted to Washington, D.C., from 1954 to 1959. After an assignment in Ankara, where Mr. Breithut was the American adviser to the Central Treaty Organization from 1959 to 1961, they served in Karachi (1961-1966) and in Tel Aviv (1966-1970).

Following Mr. Breithut's retirement, the couple moved to Highland Beach, Fla. There Mrs. Breithut swam in the ocean every day, played golf and bridge, and took courses in a broad spectrum of subjects at the local university. She often returned to Sweden with her daughter to visit family and friends.

Mr. Breithut died in 1987. Mrs. Breithut is survived by her daughter Kristina Strand of Marshall, N.C.; two grandchildren, Brett Miller of Atlanta, Ga., and Elizabeth Moody of Trinity, Fla.; two great-grandchildren, Collin Fryer and Ava Moody, also of Trinity, Fla.; and her sister Inga Manhem of Sweden, as well as many cousins, nieces and nephews, also of Sweden.

Richard John Dols, 74, a retired Foreign Service officer, died on June 10 at his home in Midlothian,Va., from Parkinson's disease.

Mr. Dols was born in Glencoe, Minn., and grew up in nearby Cologne, where his father ran the local bank. In 1954, after graduating from the University of Minnesota, he was commissioned a second lieutenant in the U.S. Air Force. While waiting to begin active duty, he finished one year of law school at the

University of Minnesota. After flight training in Florida and Oklahoma, he spent a year in South Korea flying reconnaissance missions over international waters near North Korea and the Soviet Union.

In 1958, Mr. Dols left active duty and returned to law school. Following a brief stint as a prosecutor in Bloomington, Minn., he moved to Washington, D.C., in 1961 and joined the Foreign Service. His nearly 30-year diplomatic career began with a posting at the U.S. consulate in Bordeaux. Subsequent assignments in Canada, Swaziland, Niger and New Zealand were interspersed with tours in Washington.

During one of these in the mid-1970s, Mr. Dols became aware that several congressmen had violated a House ethics rule prohibiting members from accepting trips to South Africa paid for by the South African government. He would later blow the whistle on the miscreant congressmen on national television news.

During his final Foreign Service assignment, Mr. Dols ran a training program for diplomats from several newly-independent Pacific island nations. He retired in 1990.

In retirement, he worked as a contractor for the Foreign Service Grievance Board, avidly researched his Dutch, German and Irish ancestry, and pursued his love of Civil War history. He enjoyed working on his farm in Rappahannock County, Va.

His first wife, Mary L. Dols, died in 1971. He is survived by his second wife, Betty L. Dols, to whom he was married for over 32 years; seven children, Gregory Coxson of Olney, Md., Molly Gill of Tempe, Ariz., Sheilah Dols of Annandale, Va., Sue Stufflebeam of Littleton, Colo., Stephen Dols of DuPont, Wash., and Jonathan Dols and Andrea Keum of Alexandria, Va.; and 15 grandchildren.

Dorothy M. Jester, 92, a retired Foreign Service officer, died on Aug. 21, 2006, in Tucson, Ariz., of congestive heart failure.

Born in Arizona and raised in Texas and California, Ms. Jester attended Stanford University where she majored in Spanish. She received a B.A. in 1936 and an M.A. in 1940. A fluent Spanish speaker — her bilingual mother had been raised in Mexico — she taught school and worked as an administrative assistant in the private sector in Quito and Lima from 1941 to 1945, when she returned to the U.S. and joined the Foreign Service. Her first posting was to Munich, in 1946.

Ms. Jester was sent to Mexico City in 1948 as a junior officer on loan to the U.S. Information Agency. From there she was posted to Mexicali as a consular officer in 1951. In 1954, she was assigned to Managua as an economic officer, and then in 1956 moved on to Bonn, where she served as assistant commercial attaché. Returning to Washington, D.C., in 1958 for a four-year tour in the Bureau of Economic Affairs, she was next posted to Santiago to do economic reporting in 1962. In 1964, Ms. Jester was sent to Santo Domingo to head the economic section. Her tour was interrupted by an uprising in 1965; after heading up the evacuation of American citizens, she was posted to Mexico City for a secnd tour.

Following retirement in 1971, she settled in Guadalajara. There she was active in the American Society and in fundraising efforts for the national symphony. Ten years later, she moved to Tucson, Ariz. Ms. Jester was interviewed for the Foreign Affairs Oral History Collection in 1998. Friends and colleagues recall her love of music, art, theater, books, bridge and dachshunds. She leaves no immediate survivors.

Robert L. Dwelley, 82, a retired Foreign Service staff officer, died at his home in Brunswick, Maine, on April 9.

Born in Brunswick, Mr. Dwelley served in the U.S. Navy during World War II. He received a B.A. degree in history from the University of Maine in 1950.

Mr. Dwelley entered the Department of State as a civil servant in 1951, and was temporarily assigned to Dusseldorf, Manila and Moscow. In 1961, he was posted to London as a supervisory communications officer, and in 1962 became a Foreign Service staff officer.

In 1964, Mr. Dwelley was transferred to Lima as communications and records supervisor, and a year later was transferred again, to Santo Domingo. He was assigned to the department as a budget analyst from 1967 to 1968, when he became the budget and fiscal officer in Jeddah. He transferred to Amman in 1970. His last post before retiring was Bogota, where he served from 1973 to 1975. Following retirement, he returned to the State Department for several temporary assignments until 1984.

Mr. Dwelley settled in his hometown, but spent winters in Costa Rica. He leaves no immediate survivors.

In Memory

Philip M. Kaiser, 93, a former ambassador and an advocate for labor, died on May 24 of aspiration pneumonia at Sibley Hospital in Washington, D.C.

Ambassador Kaiser was born in New York City. He earned a B.A. degree from the University of Wisconsin in 1935. A Rhodes scholar, he received another B.A. and an M.A. in 1939 from Balliol College of Oxford University. He also traveled widely in Europe before the war.

In 1939, Amb. Kaiser joined the Federal Reserve Board in Washington, D.C., as a research economist. Three years later, he was named chief of the project operations and planning staffs at the Board of Economic Warfare, later the Foreign Economic Administration. He was a policy planner at the State Department for a short time before joining the Department of Labor in 1946 as executive assistant to the assistant secretary for international affairs.

In 1949, he was appointed assistant secretary of labor for international affairs by President Truman. In that position, he worked to strengthen free trade unions in Europe and Japan, and helped create labor attaché positions to do so. In 1953, he became a labor adviser to the Free Europe Committee. He also joined the campaign staff of Averill Harriman, becoming his special assistant when Harriman was elected governor of New York in 1954. From 1958 to 1961, he taught courses on international labor affairs at American University.

In 1961, Mr. Kaiser was commissioned as a Foreign Service Reserve officer and appointed by President Kennedy as ambassador to Senegal, with concurrent accreditation to Mauritania. He was responsible for persuading Senegalese President Leopold Senghor to deny the USSR use of the Dakar airport for refueling during the Cuban missile crisis. In 1964, he was transferred to London to serve under Ambassador David K.E. Bruce as deputy chief of mission with the personal rank of minister. He was welcomed back to London by his many Oxford friends in the Labor Party, including Prime Minister Harold Wilson.

Amb. Kaiser resigned his position at the embassy in 1969, but stayed on in London as managing director of Encyclopedia Britannica. He also became active in Democrats Abroad, an affiliate of the Democratic Party. At the 1976 Democratic Convention, he co-chaired the committee on foreign policy; and in 1977, President Carter named him ambassador to Hungary. There he played a key role in negotiations that resulted in the return the Crown of St. Stephen to Hungary in 1978. In 1980, he was appointed ambassador to Austria, where he served for a year.

Retiring to Washington, D.C., Amb. Kaiser wrote a book, *Journeying Far and Wide: A Political and Diplomatic Memoir*. He was a popular raconteur and a competitive tennis player, and excelled at bridge and Scrabble.

He is survived by his wife of 66 years, Hannah Greeley Kaiser of Washington, D.C.; three sons, Robert G. Kaiser, an associate editor of *The Washington Post*, David Kaiser of Williamston, Mass., and Charles Kaiser of New York City; and four grandchildren.

Jack B. Kubisch, 85, a retired FSO and former ambassador, died in his sleep at his home in Southern Pines, N.C., on May 7.

Ambassador Kubisch was born in Hannibal, Mo., in 1921. He received his undergraduate degree from the University of Missouri, was awarded an honorable Doctor of Jurisprudence degree from Central Methodist College, and completed his graduate studies at the Harvard Business School. He married Constance Rippe in 1944.

Amb. Kubisch served in the U.S. Navy from 1941 to 1945 aboard the USS *New York* and USS *Guam*, participating in the battles of Iwo Jima and Okinawa and in the Philippine Liberation Campaign. After the war, he joined the Foreign Service. As a Foreign Service staff officer, he was posted to Rio de Janeiro in 1947. In Paris from 1949 to 1950, he was attached to the Economic Cooperation Administration. He then returned to work in private industry for 10 years.

In 1961, Amb. Kubisch re-entered the Foreign Service. Commissioned as a member of the Foreign Service Reserve, he was appointed deputy director of the U.S. Operations Mission — later the USAID mission — in Colombo. From 1962 to 1964, he served as director of the USAID mission in Rio de Janeiro with the personal rank of minister. In 1964, he received his commission as an FSO and was appointed economic counselor, still directing the USAID mission. In 1965, he returned to State to direct the Office of Brazilian Affairs. He was assigned to Mexico City as DCM in 1969.

As chargé d'affaires in Paris from 1971 to 1973, Amb. Kubisch assisted with the Vietnam peace negotiations. He also supervised the diplomatic contacts between the U.S. and China, which led to the establishment of liai-

son offices in Washington and Beijing. In 1973, he was appointed assistant secretary of State for inter-American affairs and U.S. coordinator of the Alliance for Progress in Latin America. He served as ambassador to Greece from 1974 to 1977, and then as vice president of the National Defense University until 1979, when he retired.

Amb. Kubisch held presidential appointments from six presidents, attaining the rank of career minister. He was awarded the Meritorious Civilian Service Medal and the French Legion d'Honneur Award, with the rank of commander.

During retirement, Amb. Kubisch served as board chairman of the National Defense University (National War College), a consultant for the Council on Foreign Relations, a board member of the Panama Canal Company, and a Woodrow Wilson Fellow.

He is survived by his wife of 63 years, Connie of Southern Pines, N.C.; four children; six grandchildren; and a great-grandchild.

Howard L. McGowan, 63, a retired Foreign Service officer, died on May 18 of complications from heart bypass surgery at Virginia Hospital Center in Arlington, Va.

Born in Pike County, Ohio, Mr. McGowan graduated from Southern Methodist University in Texas.

In 1965, he joined the Foreign Service and, one year later, was posted to Lisbon. In 1968, Mr. McGowan was detailed to USAID's Civil Operations and Rural Development Support program in rural Vietnam. He was transferred to Luanda in 1970, and then posted to Rio de Janeiro as general services officer in 1973. Later assignments took him to Brazil, El Salvador and Cape Verde, where he was chargé d'affaires from 1978 to 1980. While on assignments in Washington, D.C., he served primarily as a personnel officer. He retired from the

Foreign Service in 1993.

Following retirement, Mr. McGowan accepted temporary assignments from State as an administrative officer in various African posts. He recently provided administrative expertise and support to the African Union peacekeeping force in Darfur, where he was responsible for supervising the contractual operations in support of the A.U. mission in Sudan. But, as colleagues there recalled, Mr. McGowan was "much more than a 'government technical monitor.' He was a respected colleague, a leader, a friend, a father figure, and someone whom we could always count on during difficult times." Shortly before his death, he served as a member of the Sudan Programs Group of the State Department's Bureau of African Affairs.

Mr. McGowan is survived by his wife, Lucia Bernardo McGowan of Arlington, Va.; a daughter, Marcia B. McGowan of Arlington, Va.; a brother, and four sisters.

James Moceri, 91, a retired Foreign Service officer with USIA, died on March 14 in Auburn, Wash., of a heart attack.

Mr. Moceri received his B.A. degree in 1936 from the University of Washington. He served in the U.S. Navy from 1944 to 1946 and was a veteran of the Iwo Jima and Okinawa battles in World War II. From 1946 to 1947, he was a Rockefeller Foundation Fellow, and from 1947 to 1949 he taught history at Farragut College. As a Fulbright scholar in Italy from 1949 to 1951, he studied historical interpretations of the French Revolution at the Italian Institute of Historical Studies.

He joined the Foreign Service in 1951, and was assigned to Florence as director of the USIS center there until 1956. He then served, successively, as acting chief public affairs officer in Taipei, representative to the Naval War College, deputy director of USIA's Office of Policy & Plans, CPAO in Khartoum and Conakry, Edward R. Murrow Fellow at the Fletcher School of Law and Diplomacy and, finally, assistant director of USIA's Office of Research.

In 1974, he received the Edward R. Murrow Award from Tufts University for excellence in public diplomacy. Mr. Moceri retired in 1976.

S.I. "Sy" Nadler, 91, a retired Foreign Service officer with USIA, died on July 3 in Washington, D.C., after a brief illness.

Born in New York City, Mr. Nadler attended Columbia University from 1932 to 1937, receiving his B.A. from Columbia College and M.A. from Teachers College. He wrote radio scripts professionally and, for the two years between leaving Columbia and entering military service in March 1941, taught high school in New York City.

He began his military service writing field manuals and scripts for training films. In 1944, he was assigned to the Office of Strategic Services, and served with that organization in China. He was separated from the military in September 1946 and then joined the CIA, later transferring to USIA.

Mr. Nadler served overseas in Tientsin, Singapore, Taipei, Buenos Aires and Ankara. His Washington, D.C., assignments included tours as director of USIA's Office of Research and Intelligence and deputy assistant director for public information. He also served on the faculty of the National War College. He retired from the Foreign Service in 1975.

Throughout his career, Mr. Nadler was a frequent contributor to the *Foreign Service Journal* and, during one Washington tour, served as a member of the *FSJ* Editorial Board. His contributions ranged from serious to satirical. Contemporaries particularly recall his "Life and Love in the Foreign Service" monthly feature. He was a member of DACOR and the National Society of Arts and Letters.

His wife of 41 years, Ruthanne Hunter Nadler, who accompanied him on all his foreign assignments, died in 1985. Survivors include three daughters and two sons: Elizabeth McGranahan and Mary Macdonald of Maryland; Hunter Nadler of California; Christopher Nadler of New Jersey; and Marci Nadler Waugh, of Washington, D.C.; nine grandchildren; and two great-grandchildren.

Midori (Mimi) Kaneko O'Brien, 80, the widow of State Depart-ment communicator William Warren O'Brien, died of cancer in a nursing home in Prospect Park, Pa., on June 4.

Born in Nangano Ken in 1927, Mrs. O'Brien married her husband in 1951, when he was working as a civilian for the U.S. military in Japan. Mrs. O'Brien accompanied her husband during his career in the Foreign Service to Naimey, Bangkok, Seoul, Ouagadougou, Abidjan and Antananarivo. She was known at all their posts for her warm hospitality.

After her husband's retirement, Mrs. O'Brien nursed him devotedly

and single-handedly through a rare and extremely difficult illness. He died in 1981.

Mrs. O'Brien had a great love of animals. She belonged to The Japanese Christian Church of Philadelphia. Although in later years her activities were severely limited by osteoporosis, she never lost her interest in her friends, or her courage.

She is survived by her husband's cousins; by close Japanese friends in the Philadelphia area; and by Foreign Service and Peace Corps friends.

Contributions in Midori O'Brien's name may be made to Taylor Hospice, P.O. Box 147, Ridley Park PA 19078.

James Malone Theodore Rentschler, 74, a retired FSO with USIA and former ambassador, passed away in Paris during the first week of May after a long illness.

Ambassador Rentschler was born in Rochester, Minn. He graduated from Yale University with a B.A. in 1955. In 1964, he received a degree from the University of Paris, and in 1966 earned an M.A. from Johns Hopkins University. He spoke French, Portuguese, Italian and Romanian.

Amb. Rentschler served in the U.S. Army Security Agency as a military linguist from 1955 to 1958. He was a mortgage/title examiner at Berks County Trust Co. in Reading, Pa., until 1959, when he entered the Foreign Service. With the United States Information Agency, he was posted as assistant cultural attaché in Rio de Janeiro and Sao Paulo. In 1961 he was assigned to Fez, serving until 1963, when he was assigned to Ouagadougou. From 1965 to 1966, he was detailed to the Johns Hopkins University's European Center in Bologna, Amb. Rentschler was press attaché and acting public affairs counselor at USNATO in Paris and Brussels until 1971, when he transferred to Bucharest.

From 1974 to 1975, he was a member of the Senior Seminar in National and International Affairs at the

Foreign Service Institute. In 1976, he was posted to Rabat as counselor for public affairs. Amb. Rentschler returned to Washington, D.C., in 1978 as a senior staff member and director of Western European Affairs on the National Security Council, where he served both Presidents Carter and Reagan.

From 1982 to 1985, he served as ambassador to Malta. In 1986 he served as ambassador-in-residence at the Fletcher School of Law and Diplomacy at Tufts University.

Following retirement from the Foreign Service, Amb. Rentschler was director of press and communications at the OECD in Paris.

Thomas P. Shoesmith, 85, a retired FSO and former ambassador, died of cancer at home in Springfield, Va., on April 26.

Ambassador Shoesmith was born in Palmerton, Pa., on Jan. 25, 1922. After graduating from the University of Pennsylvania in 1943, he enlisted in the Army. Following intensive Japanese-language training at Yale and Michigan Universities, he was commissioned and assigned in 1946 as a political intelligence analyst in the headquarters of the Supreme Commander Allied Powers in Tokyo.

Upon discharge from the Army in 1948, Amb. Shoesmith entered the Graduate School of International Studies at Harvard University, where he received his master's degree in 1949. Following two additional years of graduate study in political science, he entered the Department of State in 1951 as a research analyst in Japanese political affairs.

Amb. Shoesmith joined the Foreign Service in 1955, and was assigned to Hong Kong in 1956. From 1958 to 1960 he was a political officer in Seoul. He received further intensive Japanese-language training (1960-1961), after which he was assigned as a political officer in Tokyo. In 1963, he became principal officer in Fukuoka.

Returning to Washington, D.C., in 1966, Amb. Shoesmith served as country director in the Office of the Republic of China Affairs in the Bureau of East Asia and Pacific Affairs from 1967 to 1971. After a year as a member of the Senior Executive Seminar, he was posted in Tokyo as deputy chief of mission from 1972 to 1977 and then served as consul general in Hong Kong until 1981. He was promoted to career minister in 1982, and in 1983 was appointed ambassador to Malaysia, where he served until his retirement in March 1987.

In retirement, he was active in the Japan-America Society, serving as its president and, for a time, simultaneously as president of the National Association of Japan-America Societies. For a number of years he tutored students in English through the Literacy Council of Northern Virginia, and continued his hobby of oil painting begun in the early 1950s.

Amb. Shoesmith is survived by his wife Martha H. "Mike" of Springfield, Va.; his son Thomas Mark Shoesmith of Shanghai; his daughter Jo Shoesmith of Harpers Ferry, W. Va.; and two grandchildren, Julia and Michael of Shanghai.

Juanita Swedenburg, 82, a former FSO and wife of the late FSO Wayne Swedenburg, died of congestive heart failure on June 9 at her home in Middleburg, Va. Mrs. Swedenburg was also the winemaker who in 2005 won a landmark U.S. Supreme Court battle to ship wine between states.

Mrs. Swedenburg was born in Springfield, Ill., and graduated from what is now Illinois State University in Normal. She pursued graduate studies at the University of Miami, the University of Michigan and the University of California at Los Angeles. After teaching high school English and French, she entered the Foreign Service in 1952. She was assigned to Saigon — then "the Paris of the East," she recalled — where she worked in personnel and administration. There she met FSO Wayne Swedenburg, and they were married in 1953. In accord with the regulations of the time, Mrs. Swedenburg resigned from the Service.

For the next 20 years, Mrs. Swedenburg accompanied her husband on assignments to Vienna (1953-1955), Khartoum (1956-1958), Freetown (1961-1964), Mogadishu (1964-1966) and a two-year posting to Dhaka that coincided with the 1971 Indo-Pakistani War and the independence of Bangladesh. They returned to the Washington area in 1972. After an assignment in Lagos, Mr. Swedenburg retired in 1980.

The couple settled in Middleburg, Va., on Valley View Farm, where they opened a winery in 1988. The Swedenburgs and their son Marc did much of the work themselves. She tended their tasting room for six hours a day, seven days a week, and kept current on vineyard pests and fungi, equipment problems and the state of the harvest.

In 2000, Mrs. Swedenburg became the lead plaintiff in a lawsuit the couple filed to overturn the ban many states have on direct interstate wine

shipments. After five years of legal battles, the Supreme Court ruled on May 16, 2005, that states permitting in-state wineries to sell directly to consumers may not deny that right to out-of-state producers. Mr. Swedenburg died in 2004, a year before their Supreme Court victory.

Mrs. Swedenburg was described in her *Washington Post* obituary as "a hard-charging woman whose personality was a mix of diplomacy, gruff charm and bullheadedness." A member of the Daughters of the American Revolution, she was the Virginia Wineries Association person of the year in 2006 and received its lifetime achievement award.

She is survived by her son Marc Swedenburg of Middleburg, Va.; a brother; and a granddaughter.

Etta Holitik Thurmond, 79, a retired Foreign Service nurse practitioner, died on May 4 at her residence in Kerrville, Texas.

Prior to joining the Foreign Service in 1977, Mrs. Thurmond worked as a nurse in Saudi Arabia with a private company. During a 16-year Foreign Service career, she served in Bucharest, Quito, Mogadishu and Karachi.

In 1993, she retired to Kerrville, Texas. She worked as a nurse at Camp Waldemar, a girls' summer camp in the nearby hills.

Mrs. Thurmond is survived by a daughter, Kathy Thurmond of Belchertown, Mass.; two sons, Perry Thurmond and Michael Thurmond; and a brother, Dr. George Holitik.

Josephine Douglas Wharton, 98, a retired FSO, died at her home in Naples, Fla., on May 20.

Ms. Wharton was the last surviving child of Anne Ramsey Wharton and Dr. Robert Leslie Wharton. She grew up in Cardenas, Cuba, where her father, a Presbyterian minister, founded and supervised La Progressiva Presbyterian School.

Following her 1929 graduation from Queens College in Charlotte, N.C., Ms. Wharton taught fourth grade for one year in Charlotte and math for three years at La Progressiva. She then moved to Miami, where she worked for George Merrick, developer of Coral Gables, Fla.

In 1939, Ms. Wharton began a 23-year career with the Foreign Service, serving in Havana, Athens, Singapore, Mexico City and Jakarta, as well as Washington, D.C. In 1959, she was presented the Meritorious Service Award by Under Secretary Douglas Dillon for her outstanding work developing a course on disbursing, budget and fiscal operations for the Foreign Service Institute.

Following her retirement at the end of 1962, Ms. Wharton and her sister, Mrs. Anita Wharton Guthery, made their home in Naples. There she enjoyed volunteering at the Naples Hospital and at a local animal shelter.

Ms. Wharton was preceded in death by her parents, two sisters, Elizabeth Wharton McKnight and Anita Wharton Guthery, and a brother, Robert L. Wharton Jr.

Memorial contributions may be made to Hospice, 1095 Whippoorwill Lane, Naples FL 34105. ■

Send your "In Memory" submission to:
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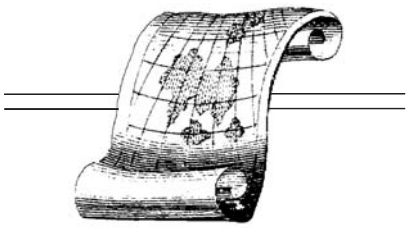


REFLECTIONS

Politically Incorrect in Burma

BY DON NORTH

On a makeshift stage in a slum dwelling on 39th Street in Mandalay, it is still over 100 degrees at 8 p.m. The Moustache Brothers — actually two brothers and a cousin — are checking the mikes and plugging in the electric generator. In this neighborhood of jerry-built houses and open sewers, the electricity is out most of the time.

Tonight, as they do seven nights a week, the three comedians are preparing to regale the audience of foreign tourists with their "politically incorrect" humor. The tiny living room is crammed with up to 30 customers, each paying the equivalent of five dollars for a seat.

"If the secret police come in the front, we will escape out the back," jokes Lu Maw, startling a German tourist in the front row. The performers hold aloft a sign in English proclaiming, "Moustache Brothers Are Under Surveillance."

In Burma the government may be a joke, but to laugh is to risk prison. In 1996, two of the group, Par Par Lay and Lu Zaw, performed at the Rangoon home of pro-democracy leader Aung San Suu Kyi. As usual, the junta was the butt of their jokes. Par Par Lay wisecracked, "You used to call a thief a thief; now you call him a government servant."

The generals were not amused. Charged with "disrupting the stability of the Union," the two comedians received the maximum sentence of seven years at hard labor in a jungle prison camp. At the time of their arrest, a government newspaper wrote, "They satirized and mischievously attacked the government, disparaging its dignity and making it a laughing stock." After serving five years breaking rocks, feet and hands in shackles, they were suddenly released.

The Moustache Brothers credit their early release and, indeed, their continued freedom, to letters of support from American comedians Rob Reiner and Bill Maher, as well as Amnesty International. They returned home emaciated but unbowed and, in the vaudeville tradition, vowed the show must go on, despite orders to cease performing or face prison again.

Lu Maw, the only English speaker, starts with a monologue of jokes and hackneyed clichés that would make Jay Leno or David Letterman grimace. Overall, it is a bizarre mix of slapstick, costumed dancers and traditional Burmese music, like the "pwe" — entertainment by a troupe of political satirists, musicians, puppets and dancers — described by George Orwell in his classic novel *Burmese Days*, written when the author was a British colonial police officer in Northwest Burma.

Now, however, Burma has become the *1984* Orwell wrote about later in his life: every artist, journalist, and even athletes, must be registered with the government, and prior permission is required to create anything new or stage a performance, including clearances from police, hospitals and military intelligence. So it is something of a mystery that the brothers' outpost of uncensored "pwe" is allowed to exist.

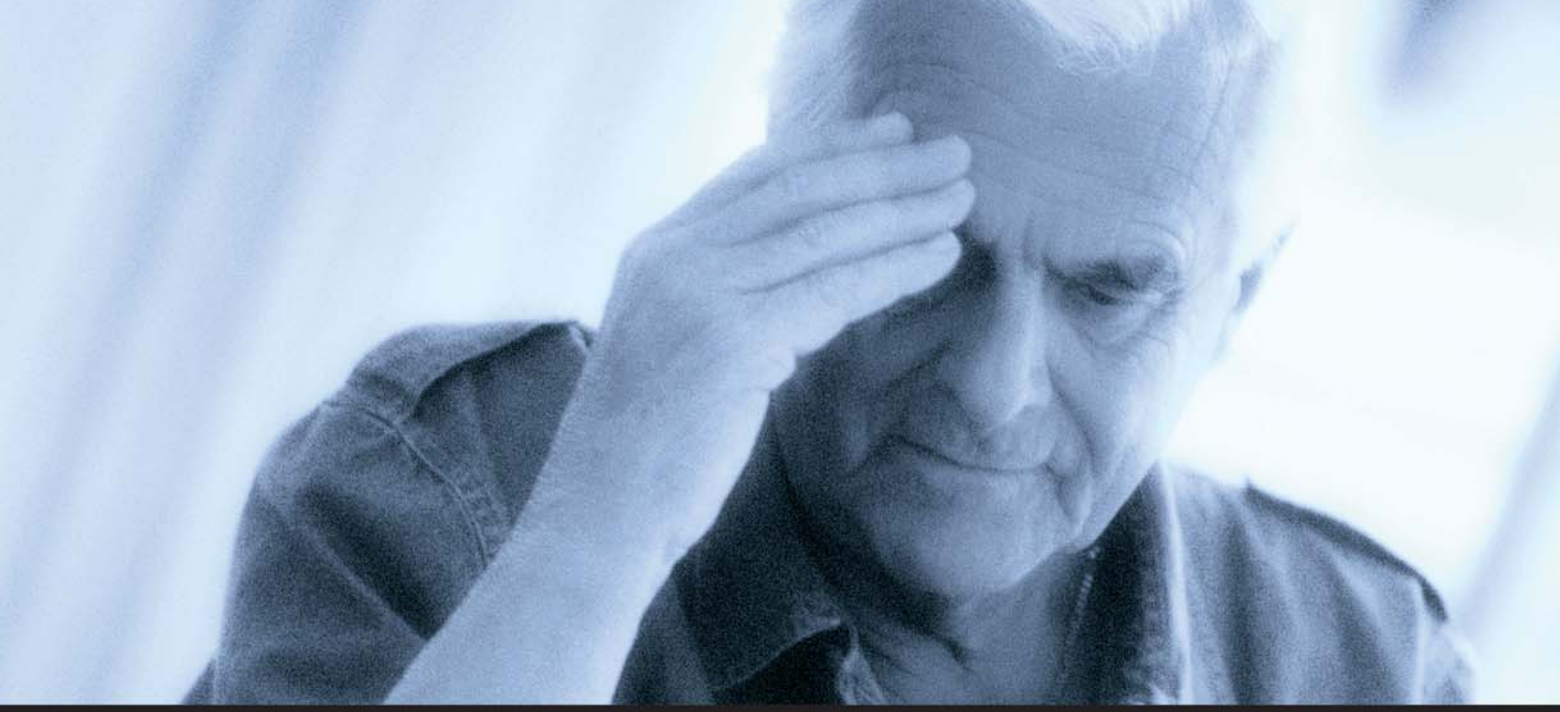
The brothers believe it is because the generals are reluctant to risk the bad publicity that another arrest would cause, curtailing the flow of tourist dollars. "Tourists are our Trojan horse. Tourism protects us and through them the world can learn of our plight," says Lu Maw. About 250,000 foreign tourists visit Burma each year (visa restrictions were eased a few years ago).

After the show the brothers encourage interviews. "Everybody hates the government," says Lu Maw in a voice raspy after three hours of almost nonstop performance. "One day we will see change in our country. I haven't given up hope."

On the way back to my hotel a young rickshaw peddler tells me the Moustache Brothers are heroes and a true voice of the people in today's Burma. The paranoid and insecure men who rule are fearful that silencing them could unleash a storm of controversy that would again fill the streets with protestors, as in 1988.

But as one foreign tourist observed, "It is one thing to arrest Lenny Bruce, but can a government really be brought down by Henny Youngman?" ■

Don North has covered war and terrorism in Vietnam, Afghanistan, Colombia, the Middle East and the Balkans, both as a cameraman and correspondent for ABC News and NBC News and as an independent filmmaker. He also lectures on journalism and trains television journalists.



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