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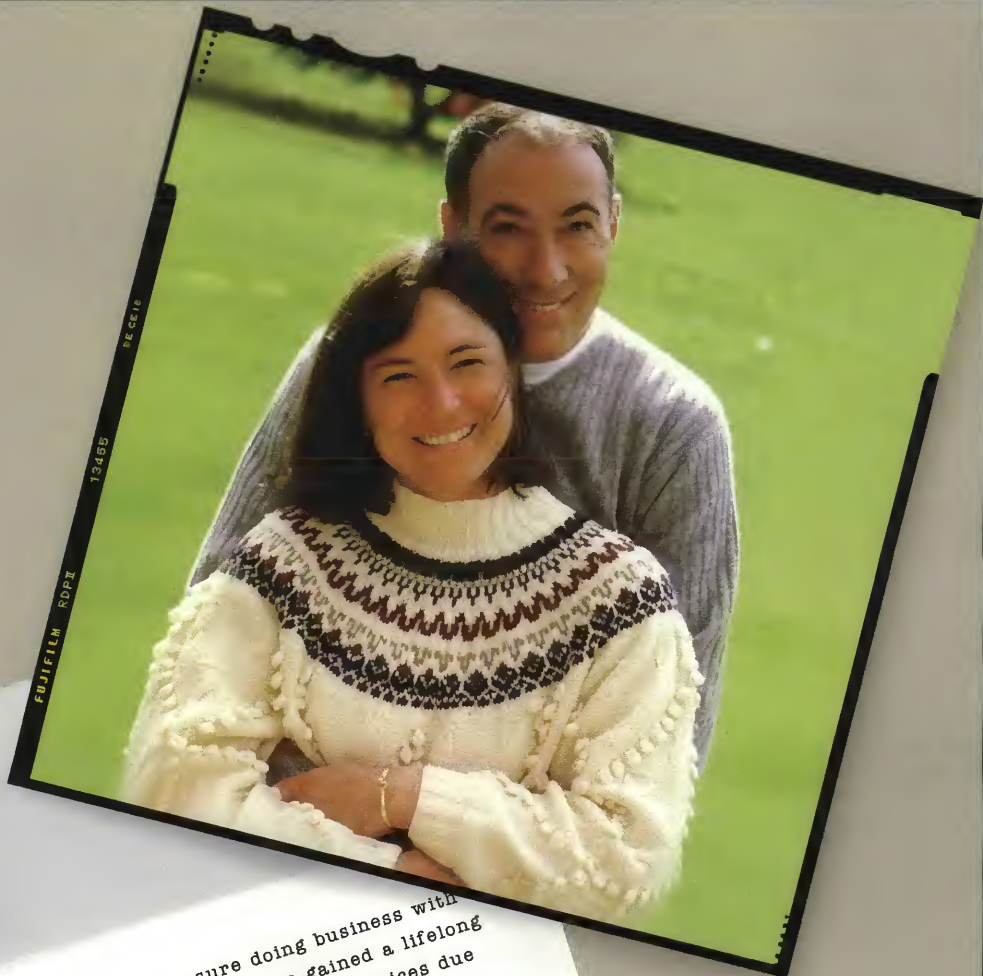
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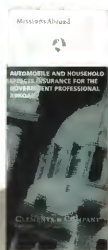


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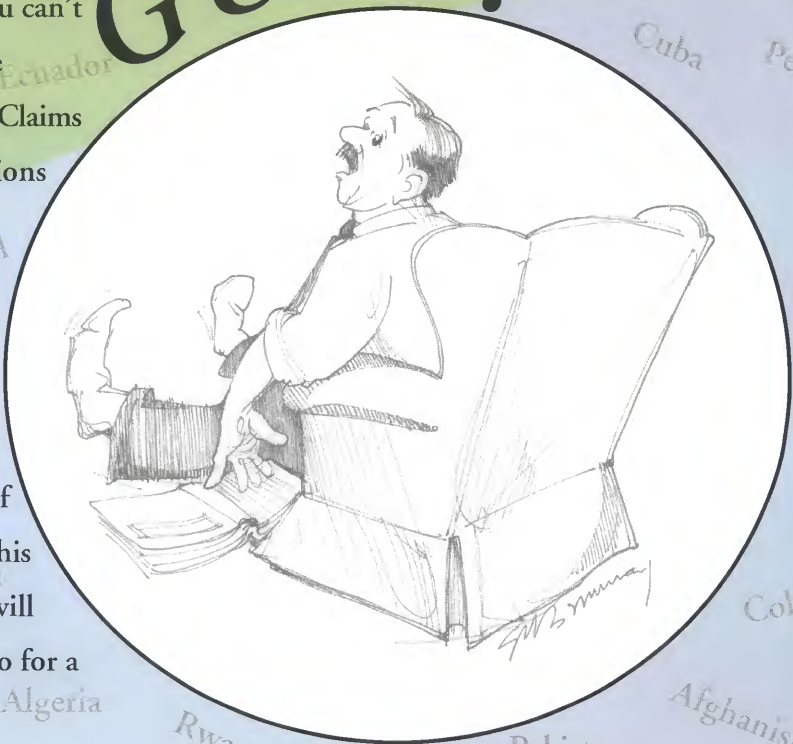


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CONTENTS

April 1999 ■ Vol. 76, No. 4

COVER

FOCUS ON THE Y2K PROBLEM

20 / THE SKY IS NOT FALLING, BUT...

Outside experts say State and USAID are the least Y2K-ready agencies in the federal government.

By Willie Schatz

28 / AROUND THE WORLD IN Y2K

Most countries are not paying much attention to the millennium bug, which could spell trouble for Americans overseas.

By Charles Dervarics

FEATURE

35 / A CHINESE DIPLOMAT SPEAKS

After living through triumph, turmoil and persecution, a veteran Chinese scientist/diplomat looks at his life and his homeland and finds himself fulfilled.

By Theana Yatron Kastens

COLUMNS

PRESIDENT'S VIEWS / 5

Let's Talk about Money

By Dan Geisler

SPEAKING OUT / 17

No More Gold Watches

By David Jones

POSTCARD FROM ABROAD / 52

In Marco Polo's Footsteps

By Julie Chung

FOCUS



Page 20

DEPARTMENTS

LETTERS / 7

CLIPPINGS / 12

BOOKS / 41

IN MEMORY / 43

Cover and inside illustrations by Chet Phillips

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PRESIDENT'S VIEWS

Talking Money

BY DAN GEISLER

I'm embarrassed to talk about money. There's nothing wrong with money. But like most of my fellow middle-class Americans, I am uncomfortable when discussing my personal finances. The wealthy, I am told, experience no such discomfort, having learned early what money is and what it can do.

Over the past year, AFSA has been working on money issues. Last spring, I testified before the foreign affairs House and Senate appropriators about the rising financial burden that service abroad places on individuals. In AFSA's March 1999 testimony before the U.S. Senate, I noted the erosion of conditions of employment. In the face of continued budget austerity, the foreign affairs agencies continue to transfer budget cuts onto the shoulders of the employees.

They have done this through both active and passive measures. In the "active" category, for instance, there have been changes in the overseas medical program. Foreign Service people posted abroad face medical costs that are not only rising, but which are often significantly higher than the costs they would incur if they remained in the United States. Instead of health maintenance organizations, they can choose only from fee-for-service plans with high deductibles, payout ceilings, and partial reimbursements. A routine visit to a pediatrician in a developed country

Dan Geisler is president of the American Foreign Service Association.

*Foreign Service
employees continue
to display high
professional
standards, despite
steady erosion
in benefits.*



can easily cost \$75. Compare that to the \$5 co-payment to an HMO like Kaiser-Permanente in Washington.

In addition, the overseas hardship allowance is lower today at more than half of our differential posts than it was five years ago. These cuts did not occur because living conditions in half the world improved dramatically. They were to save money.

In the "passive" category is erosion through inflation. A number of standard allowances have been fixed in dollar terms since they were instituted well over a decade ago. For example, the Overseas Transfer Allowance is still at its 1983 level of \$700 per family, so in constant dollar terms it is now worth only \$300.

This year, AFSA embarked on a project to examine these active and passive measures and began a discussion with agency management on how to arrest the climbing costs of overseas service. First, we addressed allowances and differentials. We presented proposals to State Department

managers who are responsible for the government-wide regulations establishing these cost equalizers. We are finishing the second package, which addresses the medical program. We will then turn to the third package on travel and per diem.

Add the loss of locality pay to these active and passive measures. Here the fault lies not with agency management, but with the legislation that set up locality pay back in 1990. Federal employees in designated metropolitan areas receive a specific rate added to their salaries. Those living outside these areas receive a "rest of U.S." rate, which now stands at more than five percent. Washington's rate is now more than seven percent. Only employees working abroad receive nothing. The decrease in take-home pay resulting from an overseas posting is particularly harmful to Foreign Service officers and specialists near the end of their careers, since locality pay counts towards their annuity calculation. Going abroad for your last three years of service can cut your retirement.

We have been discussing the locality pay problem with staff of the relevant committees on Capitol Hill, trying to correct at least the retirement disincentive.

Former Secretary of State George Shultz used to say that money was invented for a reason. It is not unprofessional to talk about it. Foreign Service employees continue to display high professional standards, despite the steady erosion in benefits. That erosion should end. ■

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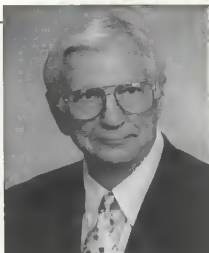
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LETTERS

Race, Kids and Mortgages

James P. DeHart criticizes the premise of my successful suit for reinstatement in the Foreign Service (Letters, January *FSJ*). "Like it or not," he writes, perceptions of "wealth and privilege often determine who gets to see America and who does not."

DeHart will search the language of the Immigration and Nationality Act in vain for any indication that Congress has sanctioned the discrimination he apparently favors. On the contrary, as Judge Sporkin held, basing the issuance and denial of visas substantially on race and national origin, as supposed indicators of wealth and privilege, is simply unlawful. The Foreign Service Grievance Board also got it right when it concluded that EER references to "poor judgment" in my case were thinly disguised code phrases for refusing to follow unlawful instructions. And not even the department has publicly affirmed DeHart's suggestion that racial and ethnic stereotyping is in the "interests of the United States."

There will always be mortgages to pay and children to educate. I have one of each myself. Mortgages and

children are no justification for unlawful discrimination. Moreover, if the department truly values blandness and conformity in its employees, it ought not teach the law in consular training, administer oaths to FSOs in the Diplomatic Dining Rooms, or preach principled behavior to A-100 class recruits.

Robert E. Olsen
FSO, Department of State
Washington, D.C

The End of Public Diplomacy

As a retired USIA officer, I was pleased to read the following statement in a letter from AFSA President Dan Geisler to the January/February issue of the *Washington Monthly*: "Our primary job is not to describe events abroad, although this was a vital function of diplomats before the advent of modern mass communications. Our job is to influence events abroad in ways that further America's national interests." Which sounds like a definition of public diplomacy to me.

I would feel much better about the forthcoming State/USIA merger if more of Geisler's State Department colleagues shared his enlightened view of public diplomacy's high priority in the achievement of America's foreign policy objectives. Unfortunately, Geisler was probably correct when he expressed doubt about whether State understands this fact in his column in the December issue of *FSJ*. That doubt is

justified, given that State still worships at the shrine of political reporting.

That's why so many USIA officers, active and retired, think the merger is a terrible idea for which the White House, Secretary Albright, Director Duffey and Sen. Helms share responsibility. State will swallow up ACDA and USIA, and they will become low-ranking "cones" in the department right down there with the hard-working but mostly ignored consular and administrative bureaus. And that will be the end of public diplomacy as we know it.

Guy W. Farmer
FSO-USIA, retired
Carson City, Nev.

Respect for Secretaries

Mea culpa. I apologize to all who took offense to my recent letter in the October *Journal*. I never intended to reflect discredit on office management specialists. I should state unequivocally that I have immense respect for the job Foreign Service office management specialists do daily, often under extremely adverse conditions.

Ambassador Daniel Kurtzer is right in stating that secretaries are "managers, administrators, protocol specialists, information management specialists, and skilled diplomats." It is an extremely challenging career and involves a wide variety of disciplines, all of which are difficult by themselves. Taken together, they constitute one of the hardest jobs in the Foreign Service. OMSs put in

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LETTERS

long hours in demanding jobs with little compensation, and certainly they have a right to expect that their career path be as satisfying and rewarding as anyone else's.

Ann Cyr is also correct in stating that there are numerous FSOs, especially those in the higher management positions, who still require the traditional secretary, one who in essence manages all aspects of the office, from scheduling to filing to typing to transcription.

What I meant to say is that the nature of the OMS's job is changing rapidly, leaving most secretaries in a new job environment. And unlike most secretaries in private industry, those in the Foreign Service have numerous avenues available to change their career path. Thus, those who want to can move on, while still remaining in the Foreign Service.

I am sorry if my letter caused anyone undue stress or discomfort. It was not my intention to denigrate anyone, least of all office management specialists.

A. W. Michael
Regional Personnel Officer
U.S. Embassy Gaborone

Look Homeward, Gingrich

Perhaps Carroll Doherty should have consulted the FSJ's "Congressional Scorecard" (January 1999) before he wrote his piece, "Congress: A House Divided" for the same issue. He claims "Gingrich was an unabashed internationalist who believed in a strong American global presence," and that he "provided an important counterweight to isolationism."

Yet, several pages later one can view just how incorrect his state-

ments are: Newt Gingrich, along with seven other Republicans, recorded the lowest scores (1.4 out of 10) in the 435-member body when the issues were "voting in favor of U.S. engagement and [for] adequate resources." In comparison, the current speaker, Dennis Hastert, is a true internationalist, scoring a whopping 3.6!

Doherty describes him as an "obscure Illinois Republican ... closely aligned with Majority Whip Tom DeLay, who has been sharply critical of U.S. funding for the United Nations." Yet DeLay, too, outpolled Gingrich with a 3.6. If the "Congressional Scorecard" is correct, it was in fact Gingrich who was leading the Republican "look inward."

James B. Angell
Diplomatic Courier Officer
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75th Anniversary Readings

As part of the 75th anniversary celebration of the Foreign Service, I suggest that AFSA make available to the audiences of celebrants and to its Web site a list of books explaining the Foreign Service, its contributions to our national defense and its needs, including adequate funding by the Congress. The effect of lectures often evaporates with the dispersal of the audiences. A reading list distributed to audiences is an economical way to keep alive the interest generated by a speaker.

One deserving work for such a list is Robert D. Schuytizer's *The Making of the Diplomatic Mind: The Training, Outlook and Style of United States Foreign Service Officers 1908 — 1931* with an epilogue bringing it up to the date of its publication in 1975. Another recom-

mendation is *Diplomacy for the 70s*, a systematic, thorough study of the State Department and Foreign Service by William Macomber, then deputy undersecretary for administration. The study required a first-class mind to bring together the thinking and recommendations of 250 professionals working in 13 task forces in a succinct, readable report. As a road map to the modernization of our diplomatic establishment, it is as relevant today as in 1970.

William Macomber's *The Angels' Game: A Handbook of Modern Diplomacy*, published in 1975, is a thoroughly modern discussion of who a diplomat is and what skills are required to be effective.

The Foreign Service Institute might consider distributing such an annotated reading list to some of its courses, particularly those which

introduce newly commissioned officers to the service. Familiarizing incoming officers with the service's past and their predecessors' contributions would be valuable in enhancing morale.

All that would then be needed would be to staff the Foreign Service so as to give officers the time to do a little reading.

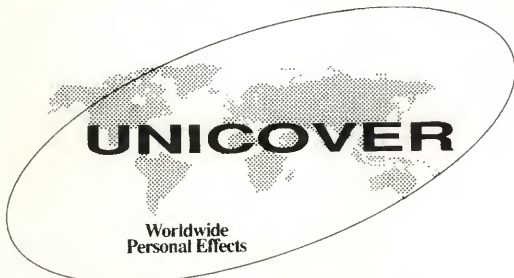
Smith Simpson
FSO, retired
Charlottesville, Va.

A Role for Qualified Retirees

I read with interest Peter Galbraith's perceptive article, "Reinventing Diplomacy, Again" in the Feb. edition. Galbraith states that "the greatest operational shortcoming in the Balkans during the recent war was its inability to staff its embassies

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LETTERS

in the region or its offices in the department to cope with the crisis."

The resources, however, were there — in the form of a number of retired officers with language and area capability, many with current security clearances, who would have been happy to serve in almost any capacity during the crisis. Many of these same officers became election and/or registration supervisors in Bosnia under the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe, because they saw no alternative ways to participate. The State Department, which had nominal responsibility for recruiting for the OSCE operation, didn't even bother to inform its retired contingent that this opportunity was open. Even though I was working at Main State at the time, I only found out about the OSCE need via a friend who saw an announcement posted by a private organization.

The department ignores the fact that it has hundreds of qualified personnel, many of whom had to retire early because of the up-or-out system, who would eagerly respond to a call for help. But there were no calls, at least not from the State Department. I don't think that this is the result of a conscious policy decision, but simply tunnel vision on the part of a personnel system that should be scouring every source to fill sudden gaps such as described by Galbraith.

Kosovo and related emergencies will require additional resources at home and in the field. Personnel should be working harder to identify and recruit qualified retired personnel for temporary duty positions here and abroad rather than relying on the old boy network, as it apparently prefers to do.

Douglas G. Hartley
FSO, retired
Washington, D.C.

Multifunctionality Denied

I have followed with interest the recent seemingly positive developments concerning multifunctionality (MFL) as outlined in AFSA board member Marilyn Bruno's piece "What Has AFSA Done for Junior and Mid-level Officers?" in the January AFSA News. Multifunctionality has long been an issue going to the heart of whether the State Department manages its human resources honestly. The question of how management will apply the new policy is vitally important to FSOs. In my case, the department's wrongful decision precipitated the premature end of my career.

In 1990 the department invited me to take on a three-year tour of duty in OES [Oceans/Environment/Science]. I accepted, both out of respect for "needs of the service," and recognition of the importance of contemporary international environmental and scientific issues. Plus, I trusted that a good performance in OES, coupled with expected acquisition of multifunctionality from OES service, would keep me competitive for promotion. However, subsequently the department's Bureau of Personnel denied me MFL on highly questionable grounds, in the face of the then-existing regulations. I was consequently unable to compete fairly under the MFL skill code for promotion into the Senior Foreign Service, my time-in-class promotion window closed, and I was involuntarily retired prematurely in 1993.

The department has recently extended multifunctionality to a number of non-mainstream bureaus including OES. Now Director General Edward W. "Skip" Gnehm, Jr. claims credit for having "adopted a new policy on multifunctionality that will be fairer and more transparent" (*State* magazine, Dec. 1998). Reportedly, top officials came to realize that

LETTERS

without the clear applicability of promotion-enhancing MFL, it was difficult for OES and other affected bureaus to attract good officers. That lends a particular irony to my case.

Last June I initiated correspondence with the director general requesting a written, true statement along the lines that "Mr. Longo had a distinguished and honorable career of accomplishments serving U.S. interests. The department recognizes that Mr. Longo's involuntary early retirement was precipitated, in major part, by a number of personnel system circumstances beyond his control and which were effectively unrelated to his performance."

Unfortunately, Gnehm and his people have spurned my request. Even after all this time PER is evidently unwilling to acknowledge that the system can and did err. The rationale for the department's refusal is inexplicable to me.

Thomas D. Longo
FSO, retired
Ocean City, Md. ■



Tell Us About Your Travels

The *Foreign Service Journal's* "Postcard from Abroad" is not your average travel section. Readers don't turn to it for paeans to sunbathing in Sumatra or the cheapest airfares to Europe. They will find stories that illuminate an aspect of a foreign culture written by Americans whose business is living in that culture. Writing for the postcard section should be provocative, detailed and convey a sense of place through anecdote, reporting and keen observation.

Potential writers should refer back to issues of the FSJ for subjects covered and guidance in preparing submissions, which should be from 600 to 800 words in length. For more information, contact managing editor Kathleen Currie by fax (202) 338-8244, e-mail: currie@afsa.org, or by mail.

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"Russia's greatest threat to the United States today is its weakness. ... The government is not functioning; the federal structure is disintegrating; and authoritarian tendencies are even taking on neo-fascist overtones with an increase in anti-Semitism."

— Sen. Richard Lugar (R-Ind.) in a speech Feb. 6

CANADIAN FOREIGN SERVICE BRAIN DRAIN

"The pay is pathetic," says former Canadian FSO Greg Alton. "After five and a half years, I was making \$36,000 [U.S. \$24,000]. Nobody joins the foreign service to get rich, but after five years you shouldn't still be having to choose between a social life and a nice apartment." Alton quit the service and is now a graduate student at Princeton University.

Alton's complaint is typical, writes correspondent Mike Trickey in the Oct. 5, 1998 *Ottawa Citizen*. While U.S. Foreign Service employees have serious complaints, it seems that in Canada a combination of low pay, poor promotion opportunities and little accommodation for spouses is driving a number of junior officers out of the foreign service.

Trickey quotes Jehaangir Bulsara, who at age 38 has a master's degree in public health and four children to support. After returning from a post in Malaysia in 1995, he was making \$32,000 [U.S. \$21,000] — about 37 percent less than a comparable American FSO. "I had to take a look at it and ask myself if I was going to continue in foreign affairs and try to support myself through a second job, which would take up another eight hours a day and put more stress on the family, or give it up." After doing the math, Bulsara sadly left the foreign service for the family roofing business.

Promotion opportunities for junior FSOs are blocked by an aging corps of diplomats who joined the corps in the 1960s, when it was rapidly expanding. "For those below the senior level, there have been no real promotional opportunities for a decade now," veteran diplomat Daryl Copeland told the Ottawa paper. "The attrition rate is at a record high."

The lack of promotions also means that junior officers are likely to spend more time in Ottawa and less at overseas posts, which some FSOs find discouraging.

The problem is even worse for foreign service employees whose working spouses find they must put their careers on hold while overseas. One couple in which the non-diplomat was an attorney estimated that a two-year posting in London cost them \$50,000 Canadian in lost income.

IRAQ'S HOT CAULDRON OF NATIONALITIES

While Western media have paid some attention to the plight of Iraq's Kurdish citizens and their political and military struggles, few outsiders have noted the variety of ethnic and religious conflicts wracking Iraq.

The assassination of Grand Ayatollah Al-Sadr and two of his sons Feb. 20 in the Shi'ite center of Al-Najaf is the latest indication of deteriorating relations between Baghdad and Iraqi Shi'ites, according to the Feb. 26 issue of *Iraq Report*, published by Radio Free Europe/Radio Liberty.

"The assassination of Sadr was the fourth murder of a Shi'ite cleric in recent years," the newsletter reported. Despite increasing pressure from the Baghdad government, Sadr insisted on leading prayers and encouraged his followers to fulfill their holy duties in defiance of Baghdad's orders. Many members of Sadr's staff were arrested after he made that request.

According to the Iraqi Broadcasting Corp., Sadr gave his last sermon dressed in a death shroud, apparently anticipating his assassination by the regime. After Sadr's murder, Special Republican Guards



CLIPPINGS

attacked a Shi'a religious center in Al-Thawra city (also known as Saddam City); 27 were reported killed.

According to *Iraq Report*, tensions between Al-Sadr and the Baghdad regime had deteriorated after the ayatollah refused to issue a fatwa of jihad (holy war) against the U.S. in the wake of Operation Desert Fox, the recent U.S. air campaign against Iraq.

In northern Iraq, where Iraq's Kurds have established a regional government under Western protection, alleged Kurdish persecution of other national groups — including Assyrians and Turkomans — has drawn sharp protests. An Assyrian press agency reported that Kurdish authorities have engaged in ethnic cleansing, bombed Turkoman buildings and prohibited the use of the Assyrian and Turkoman alphabets in schools. Assyrians claim that Kurdish authorities refuse to recognize them as a separate nationality, referring to them instead as "Kurdish Christians."

"Essentially, the problems the Assyrians are having with the Kurds are similar to the problems the Kurds outside of Kurdistan are having with Baghdad," says *Iraq Report*.

IS AMERICA GROWING MORE ISOLATIONIST?

The American public is not becoming isolationist, but it may be focusing more narrowly on national self-interest, according to an article by Princeton professor Aaron Friedberg in the November 1998 *Commentary*.

As the Cold War ended in the early 1990s, some American policy elites wanted to see a lower U.S. profile around the world, Friedberg writes, but the American

people never held that view. Reviewing a number of polls, he notes that "large numbers of those whom pollsters label 'leaders' or 'influentials' wanted to make deep cuts in the defense budget; only about a third of the general public favored such cutbacks, while about half wanted to keep the budget where it was."

Friedberg notes with satisfaction that in the late '90s, elite opinion has shifted to agree with the public. In recent years, for example, a majority of both the public and elite opinion strongly supports NATO.

On the other hand, there is evidence that Americans are more inwardly focused. In the mid-1990s, says Friedberg, for the first time in recent decades "no foreign-policy issue made it onto the top-ten list of 'biggest problems facing the country today.'"

And between 1991 and 1995, when asked what U.S. national security goals should be, the percentage who believed "defending allies" was very important dropped from 61 to 41 percent. "Also losing ground were the aims of 'promoting and defending human rights in other countries' and 'protecting weaker nations from aggression.'"

Instead, those polled show great support for more self-protective goals like "stopping the flow of illegal drugs" (83 percent), "preventing the spread of nuclear weapons" (82 percent), and "controlling and reducing illegal immigration" (72 percent).

Says Friedberg, "The message of these two contradictory-seeming findings is that, at least for the moment, the American people remain mindful of the world and its claims but ... are looking for ways to lighten the load their country has been carrying for over a half-century."

50

YEARS AGO

"The personnel in the permanent State Department establishment in Washington and personnel of the Foreign Service above certain levels should be amalgamated over a short period of years into a single foreign affairs service obligated to serve at home or overseas and constituting a safeguarded career group administered separately from the general Civil Service."

— from the Hoover Commission Report to the Congress, February 1949

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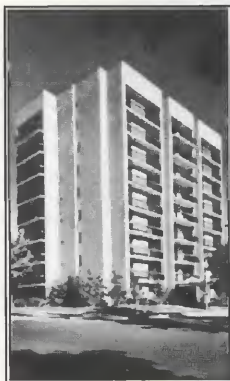
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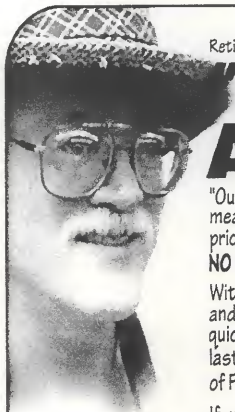
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--Lord Trevelyan

EAST FROM THE ALPS: DEFENSIVE DIPLOMACY

A little-known program that's having a significant impact on key personnel from the former Eastern Bloc is nestled in the Bavarian Alps. That's the George C. Marshall European Center for Security Studies, a joint U.S.-German project featured in the March issue of *Government Executive* magazine.

The center teaches military officers and civilian executives from Eastern Europe and the former Soviet Union about democratic government, and aims to strengthen ties to the West. The Marshall Center took over the former U.S. Army Russia Institute in Garmisch-Partenkirchen in 1993, when it was time to shift gears from studying the enemy to connecting with potential allies.

The center's programs range from conferences lasting a few days to a 15-week executive course designed for colonels, lieuten-

ant colonels and their civilian equivalents.

All courses are given in three languages — English, German and Russian — via simultaneous translation to make studies broadly accessible.

Students live in dormitory-like facilities, and the mixing of nationalities is part of the educational experience. "Once they move into the dorm, they are immediately part of a multicultural society," said Lt. Col. Tom Wilhelm, an instructor at the center.

While the Marshall Center operates almost entirely with Pentagon funds, director Robert Kennedy says he would like to see more participation from the State Department, but budget cuts at State have not allowed that.

Since the center opened, thousands have attended conferences, and over 700 have taken longer courses in defense and security studies. Among those are the current ministers of defense in Estonia and Georgia and four military chiefs of staff. ■



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SPEAKING OUT

No More Gold Watches

BY DAVID JONES

A year ago, I joined the ranks of Retired Foreign Service officers. The annual retirement ceremony for the "Class of 1997" did not begin auspiciously.

The first attempt to mark the occasion on the eighth floor at the State Department was announced for February 6, 1997. The date was abruptly cancelled, we were told, due to "a White House event." We later learned that the event was never held.

The retirement ceremony took place on April 9. Retirees were packed so tightly in folding chairs that our lithe selves of 25 years ago would have felt like sardines. The full-bodied versions that we had become were even more squeezed. At least we had seats. Limited seating forced our guests to stand.

From this rather awkward start, the ceremony improved considerably. The Benjamin Franklin Room remains one of the most attractive ceremonial areas in Washington. Bouquets of spring flowers graced the room. The Army String Quartet provided its customary touch of elegance. The speech-making was mercifully brief. The director general of the Foreign Service spent two minutes introducing Secretary of State Madeleine Albright. In five minutes of scripted remarks, she noted that those present represented more than 3,000 years of commitment to the Foreign Service and that we were "the eyes and ears —

David Jones is a retired senior FSO.

*In short, the
State Department
arranged a
retirement
ceremony that
was not an insult.*



and brains" of foreign policy and a "national treasure." She noted that some political appointees "lacked institutional memory," without indicating whether she considered the circumstance worthy of praise or criticism. She hoped that "not many ... have felt ill used by the system or by the need to make cutbacks." She offered her personal congratulations. Then the retirees moved forward in carefully orchestrated 10-second intervals to shake the secretary's hand and smile at the camera before returning to their seats. Photographs and videotapes would be mailed later.

After that, there was a last "free lunch" available from a generous spread equivalent to a not-very-commodious national day celebration. At least it wasn't the stale cookies and Senegalese peanuts that used to characterize receptions held by the former Soviet Union. Newly-minted retirees had an opportunity to commiserate, network, exchange newly

printed business cards and pontificate a bit about the past and the future.

In short, the State Department arranged a retirement ceremony that was not an insult. There were, however, obvious changes in format and timing from previous years. With only one retirement ceremony held each year, many retirees do not attend. Of the 434 former FSOs eligible, only 97, or 22 percent, made an appearance. Quarterly ceremonies would be more appropriate. Our "flag rank" retirees — those who have reached the rank of ambassador — should be presented with a flag that has flown over the State Department. In addition, they should be offered the opportunity for a separate farewell, perhaps a "day" announced by State Department bulletin or e-mail when friends and colleagues can visit with them.

Departing in Bitterness

More generally, however, the State Department needs to recognize that many of the current generation of retirees are departing in bitterness rather than in satisfaction. It doesn't matter if the reason for more forced retirements is that more officers have spent too much time at one rank and grade without a promotion or that more officers have been selected out of the service. Forced retirements have left many retirees convinced that they have had a raw deal. Most officers were separated from their profession while still delivering outstanding

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performances. Just not outstanding enough. Most of those selected out are convinced that the system has been manipulated against them with low ranking connected to positions rather than performance. Retirees are grimly amused when State Department speakers call for institutional loyalty to an institution that wants loyalty upward without equal emphasis on the reverse of the coin.

By definition, the Foreign Service of the 21st century will not be the Foreign Service I joined. It is evolving into a career rather than a commitment, as young officers look at the truncated length of service of their seniors and vow that the same will not happen to them. With the improved economy, the State Department's long-unprecedented retention rate for young FSOs is sliding. The word on the street is, "There is no one more in demand than a young former FSO. It shows that you were smart enough to get in and wise enough to get out." To deal with this phenomenon, the Foreign Service needs more truth in recruiting.

Truth in Recruiting

While new Foreign Service officers receive some rah-rah institutional cheerleading combined with general organizational familiarization in A-100 orientation class when they join, they should also be given some honest statistics. For example:

How long will it take to be promoted from one rank to another? Promotions come more quickly early in a career and slow down as it progresses. In 1998, the average between promotions from FS-4 to FS-3 was 3.9 years; from FS-3 to FS-2 was 5.3 years; from FS-2 to FS-1 was 6.5 years. Promotions into and among the ranks of the Senior Foreign Service in 1998 were: from FS-1 to officer counselor, 6.9 years; from

officer counselor to minister counselor, 5.9 years; from minister counselor to career minister, 8.9 years.

What chance do I have of becoming an ambassador? Since all ambassadors are appointed by the president, it depends, to a certain extent, on the president. Approximately 70 percent of ambassadors come from the ranks of career FSOs. Following are the percentages of political appointments outside the Foreign Service to ambassadorial posts since the Johnson administration: Lyndon Johnson, 29 percent; Richard Nixon, 30.5 percent; Gerald Ford, 29 percent; Jimmy Carter, 24 percent; Ronald Reagan, 33 percent; George Bush, 29.5 percent; and President Bill Clinton, 30 percent so far.

What chance do minorities and women have of becoming chiefs of mission? As of November 1998, 56 out of 159 serving chiefs of mission were women or minorities: 34 women, two Asian-Americans, 13 African-Americans and seven Hispanics.

These statistics might cheer some new FSOs and depress others.

Gently into the Night

The retirement course is wasted on retirees. Although anyone within five years of retirement can take the course, it is usually the preserve of the long-in-the-tooth. The key financial and legal briefing at the core of the retirement course should be mandatory in a shortened form when an officer is promoted into the Senior Foreign Service. Moreover, as officers get closer to retirement they should have the option of attending the course more than once to fine-tune their general knowledge.

The State Department is now struggling to use retired officers effectively in foreign affairs jobs. The numbers of retired officers seeking to employ their skills — as well as

flesh out their pensions — have substantially risen. These retirees perform “hard to fill” assignments in places like Bosnia and the former Soviet Union, pick up the slack in vacant State Department assignments and handle special projects. Right now, employing retirees is ad hoc rather than policy. The State Department could create a system of filling jobs with retirees by instituting a systematic review of vacant positions and keeping a list of retirees willing to fill them.

The United States Army schedules twice-yearly conferences for four-star retirees at which members of the senior Army staff brief them on current developments. The exchanges are coherent and focused, providing the retirees with the Army's current insights and preemptively disarming prospective critics within the ranks of retirees who don't understand new policies. The State Department could benefit by providing its retirees with similar sessions. With these briefings, it could maintain not just a nucleus of expert sounding boards, but also create a cadre of professionals available to lobby Congress, speak to the public or undertake special projects.

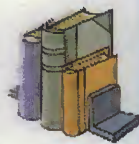
It remains to be seen whether the Foreign Service of the future will be a calling akin to that of a doctor, an educator or a soldier. There are, however, some indicators. In the 1998 assignment cycle, the Foreign Service had 3,300 jobs to fill and only 2,700 people to fill them. In January 1999 the State Department sought to bring 60 new FSOs into the Foreign Service, but was only able to find 35 people with the desired skills. This circumstance suggests that the State Department should pay more attention to how FSOs are viewed at the end of their careers if it has hopes of recruiting and retaining talented people just embarking on careers. ■



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THE SKY IS NOT FALLING, BUT...



CHET PHILLIPS

OUTSIDE EXPERTS SAY STATE AND AID
ARE THE LEAST Y2K-READY AGENCIES IN
THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT.

BY WILLIE SCHATZ

So what's really going to happen next January if some computers can't distinguish the year 2000 from 1900? Armageddon? The End of Civilization? Or just another day at the office?

Nobody seems to know, though lots of people have opinions. "Y2K disruptions could range from the mundane to the serious," Under Secretary of State for Management Bonnie Cohen told the Senate Special Committee on the Year 2000 Technology Problem in her March 5 testimony. Cohen added that the biggest problems may arise outside the U.S., but preparing for those is "a challenging undertaking because our knowledge of international Y2K risks is far from comprehensive."

Cohen's report echoed the committee's own assessment a few weeks earlier in its 161-page report, *Investigating the Impact of the Year 2000 Problem*. The committee likened the impact to "a winter storm with the implication that similar preparation is appropriate." In other words, stock up on the canned goods, stash some cash, try not to fly and conserve energy. But don't empty the supermarket shelves — and don't panic.

The Federal Emergency Management Agency is equally confident. Top FEMA managers during their Y2K workshops around the country have told state and local emergency officials there is no indication Y2K will disrupt the country's basic infrastructure. The sky is not falling, so chill out, Chicken Little!

The only problem is that no one *really* knows what's going to happen. How can they when nothing similar has gone down before? And who can tell fact from fiction when the Internet buzzes with rumors of massive Y2K test failures that are complete fabrications, while corporations minimize their real Y2K problems? "The good news is that talk of the death of civilization, to borrow from Mark Twain, is greatly exaggerated," the Senate Special Committee wrote. "The bad news is that ... the Y2K problem is very real and that Y2K risk management efforts must be increased to avert serious disruptions."

This collective angst derives from programming decisions made decades ago at the dawn of the computer age. To save expensive memory space, early programmers used the last two digits of years rather than four digits, e.g. "90" for "1990." In the last decade, smart users realized their machines might not have a clue whether "00" signified 1900 or 2000.

Much of the sound and fury is directed at agencies of the federal government, which, as the world's largest computer user and buyer, is expected to lead the planet in practicing preventive Y2K medicine. Those agencies that took Y2K seriously as long as a decade ago, such as the Social Security Administration and the Small

A congressional report says neither State nor AID will be Y2K-ready on Jan. 1, 2000.

Business Administration, can sleep very soundly as the New Year's Eve clock ticks louder. Other units, particularly the State Department and the Agency for International Development (AID), are feeling justifiable anxiety.

Failing Grades, Again

"The Department of State remains mired in the Jefferson era of quills and scrolls, and flickering candlelight," Rep. Steven Horn (R-Calif.), the chair of the House Subcommittee on Government Management, Information and Technology, charged in his Feb. 12 quarterly report on the executive branch's progress in solving the year 2000 problem. "Although the department increased its compliance rate by 25 percent this quarter, only 61 percent of its systems are Year 2000 compliant. A lot of work remains, and time is running short."

In fact, according to Horn's "report card" (cutely designed to resemble an elementary school report card), the State Department and the U.S. Agency for International Development are the only two agencies expected not to be ready for the millennium until *after* the year 2000 is over. State is expected to be Y2K-compliant in 2001; the AID compliance date is "unknown."

State Department officials have heard Horn's criticisms before. As in his previous six quarterly assessments, Horn gave the department a resounding "F" on his year 2000 progress report card. That placed the department in the same slow lane as the Department of Transportation (DOT) and AID, which also received "F"s. The grade seemed particularly galling to State's information technology officials, who contended their recent performance deserved at least a "D."

"Of course we're perturbed, because his assessment is not factual," said Dave Ames, the deputy chief information officer in State's Bureau of Information Resource Management. "I can't read Horn's mind. I have a hard time discerning his algorithm. And I really don't think he gets it. There hasn't been any contact between us. His staff called after the November grade (an "F", of course) about wanting to get together. They canceled two days before the planned meeting and

Willie Schatz is a Washington, D.C., writer on the computer industry, technology and business.

haven't wanted to talk to us since."

If they had, they would have heard about State's work in educating "the American people" about the Y2K problem worldwide. The department's Jan. 29 "Y2K Worldwide Notice-Public Announcement" noted that, come Jan. 1, "some computer-based systems throughout the world may be unable to process information correctly, causing unpredictable results, including system malfunction." (See http://www.travel.state.gov/y2k_announce.html.) Businesses and governments actively addressing potential Y2K problems may experience little or no noticeable disruption of essential services, State said. But others with more limited expertise or resources could experience significant difficulties. The announcement added that in ill-prepared countries, Y2K could affect financial services, utilities, telecommunications, transportation and other vital services.

But even after its massive Y2K intelligence efforts, the department had to admit that "it is difficult to forecast where the Y2K problem will surface, and some problems could even appear before Jan. 1, 2000."

Although State has had a Y2K office since 1996, it apparently was somnolent until last year. New chief information officer Fernando Burbano reported for work in May. Ames was upgraded to a deputy assistant secretary and senior FS administrative officer John O'Keefe was assigned to monitor and to direct State's activities at its embassies and consulates. The department belatedly began to work on getting its compliance certification from the Office of Management and Budget. Also last year, the accounting and consulting firm KPMG Peat Marwick won the bidding to assume some of the Y2K office's work, such as running the monthly steering committee meetings and operating the "war room." Cohen ordered a moratorium on 25 system development programs that are not related to Y2K to help keep Y2K in the IRM staff's crosshairs. State also put the pedal to the metal in replacing its decrepit information technology inventory.

Budget figures give some idea of when State started taking the problem seriously. The department's

*Once again, State
received an "F,"
but officials
contend that grade
is unfair.*

FY97 Y2K budget was a minuscule \$500,000. Even a 320 percent leap for the next fiscal year left the agency with a piddling \$2.1 million. Only with FY99's \$12 million has Ames felt he can make a difference, although this refugee from the mainframe world never met a dollar he couldn't spend and considers the FY99 allocation "chump change." Eighty-nine

percent of that money was already obligated when we spoke to him in March, a high figure considering that FY99 was not yet half over.

State Escapes The Cellar

All that for an "F." But the extra effort and funding have started to make a difference. Ames in the department's February '99 quarterly report to the Office of Management and Budget told Bruce McConnell, the chief of the information policy and technology branch in the OMB's Office of Information and Regulatory Affairs (OIRA), that State's "overall progress this quarter warrants your reconsideration of State's Tier One status" (agencies *not* making adequate progress). Along with repeaters AID and DOT, State's fellow offenders this time included the Department of Defense, the Department of Energy and the Department of Health and Human Services. But State, at least, escaped the dungeon. "[I]n recognition of State's accomplishments," Cohen told the Senate Special Subcommittee, "OMB has upgraded the Department to Tier II (making progress but with concerns) from Tier I on Y2K readiness."

"I'm not going to pull the wool over anyone's eyes," Ames said. "We usually are behind other agencies' percentages. But we've got to deal with worldwide logistics. We've got over 260 systems to worry about. I think we've done an awful lot in a very short time."

But the State Department's improvement seems to be in the eye of the beholder. Using Congressman Horn's math, only 36 of State's 59 mission-critical systems — 61 percent — were deemed "compliant." But department officials apparently think the subcommittee's mathematicians got it wrong. The department's February quarterly report to OMB claims 46 systems

are compliant — Horn's 36 fully implemented along "with 10 compliant and being deployed". The grade therefore should have been a "C," an order of magnitude better than the "F," but still behind the government's overall "C+." State also put in writing that Horn is wrong when he says the agency won't reach 100 percent compliance until the year 2000 is over.

"By March 31, 1999 over 90 percent (55 systems) are projected to be fully implemented," the agency told OMB. "Of the remaining four systems, three [two FSN payroll systems and the Supply Automated Receiving System] will be completed in April 1999. The last mission-critical system (TDIS, the Travel Document Issue System used at all passport agencies to produce passports) has been scheduled for implementation in August 1999. However, our recently adopted two-prong approach combining remediation and replace strategies will allow for significant improvement in this schedule."

Ames claims such performance levels are now normal for the State Department.

"When I came last May we had three government staffers and eight contractors," he said. "Now we have eight staffers and 55 contractors. The program has grown tremendously. We've also got a strike force, the majority of whom come from our subcontractors [Computer Sciences Corp. and Federal Data Corp.]. Within the KPMG realm, we're considered the best practice Y2K effort. Their partners come to talk to my people. And we're sitting here with an 'F?'"

It could be worse. They could be working for USAID.

Who Will Aid AID?

"AID remains buried at the bottom of our grade pool," Horn wrote in his Feb. 12 assessment. "That small agency has only seven mission-critical systems. [Mission-critical systems are those essential to keeping agencies in business.] However, not one of them is year 2000 compliant. Given its current progress, we aren't sure which millennium this agency is targeting for compliance. Agency officials, of course, disagree. They report that the work will be completed by September

AID's New Management System was supposed to be its Y2K salvation, but it crashed and burned.

1999. Don't count on it."

AID workers know that tune. Like their State Department colleagues, they also have flunked every quarter since Horn started giving grades. They are not happy.

"If you look at the rules, no matter what we do there's no way we're not going to get an 'F,'" said Darryl Owen, the consulting and information

services division chief in AID's Office of Information Resource Management (OIRM). "We can't win. The grade is an artifact of politics, so we have to play with that. You've got hard dates and a line in the sand, so maybe it's not that unfair."

"But there's a little discordance between what the grade reflects in people's minds — you guys are failing — and what's going on a few levels down inside the box. There we're not failing. The systems are working."

That's not true, according to several members of a pilot user group within AID, who asked to remain anonymous. These long-time employees contend that the agency has severe problems affecting personal computers and serious critical systems deficiencies. They say too many rank amateurs with limited technical backgrounds are making too many important decisions about Y2K policy.

They also say management rarely communicates with labor; for example, the upper portion of the IRM ladder has never met with the pilot group. Such practices, they allege, spawn such disasters as AID's notorious New Management System (NMS). The agency admits to spending at least \$92 million for that system, which the General Accounting Office in January's *USAID Challenges Report* said "is not likely to be fully operational and compliant with federal accounting standards for several more years. Until then, USAID will not have accurate information to ensure that its operations and programs are being managed in a cost-effective and efficient manner." (Also see "NMS: A Financial Black Hole," *AFSA News*, March 1998.)

"I think our agency is exactly the mess Horn says it is," a veteran user said. "I see no evidence it will get better. We've got the same people doing the same things after his grades. Even that scrutiny makes no

difference. I don't sense any commitment from the administrator and the top IRM people to solving the Y2K problem.

"If the top administrators here really cared, they wouldn't have driven out so many international technology experts. There are very few world-class technicians remaining. They've destroyed the institutional memory. I think we're doomed. There's no chance of a [Y2K] solution before the end of the year."

A stark portrait, to be sure. But substantial outside evidence — if not evidence beyond a reasonable doubt — buttresses that gloomy inside view.

"USAID's computer systems in headquarters and in its field offices are not yet equipped to handle the Year 2000 problem," the GAO wrote in its January report. "USAID has not taken adequate steps to address this problem and has not developed contingency plans to ensure continuity of all of its mission-critical business operations. Although USAID has requested [\$10.2 million in] supplemental funds to accelerate the Year 2000 compliance process, it continues to face a serious risk that its systems and operations could fail or be significantly degraded."

The GAO said it's unclear whether AID's compliance effort will be sufficient given the short time and the broad extent of system integration needed. AID's Y2K program also is much too narrow. GAO adds that AID is concentrating its remediation efforts on the NMS — "a system [that] does not work as intended and has created problems in mission operations and morale" — and has not fully addressed systems developed separately by its worldwide missions and bureaus or the systems that it has funded in other countries.

The Management System That Couldn't

The NMS was conceived as the panacea for AID's computer woes. Before it crashed and burned, the system was going to consolidate accounting, budget, personnel, procurement, program operations and property management into a single, integrated network.

But the system never came close to achieving those goals. The agency activated it at headquarters in July

*"They've destroyed
the institutional
memory. I think
we're doomed."*

— a USAID staffer

1996 and three months later turned it on overseas. The GAO said AID did so despite knowing the NMS was neither fully operational nor adequately tested. "Consequently agency staff experienced chronic problems with the NMS, including excessively slow operation and difficulties transferring data" among computer applications. The GAO also said AID subsequently has

stopped using the NMS in its overseas missions but has continued to use its accounting module in Washington, despite a warning from the Office of the Inspector General (OIG) that doing so "leaves USAID vulnerable to losses from fraud or abuse and hinders USAID's ability to provide adequate assurance that it can account for resources."

So much for the good news. The bad news is that NMS was going to be AID's road to Y2K salvation. But GAO's report said NMS won't be fully implemented in this millennium. And even those parts of the NMS system currently in place are "not immune to the Year 2000 problem and have already encountered many serious data-handling difficulties."

"Given that these various shortcomings suggest a high risk that USAID's systems could experience disruptive failures, it is critical that the agency have contingency plans in place to ensure continuity of its business operations," the GAO warned. "However, USAID is only now beginning to prepare contingency plans after being criticized for poor progress in this area by the OIG". (The AID OIG declined requests for interviews for this story.) "Fixing the agency's Year 2000 problems will require focused management attention at the most senior levels of the agency."

Is anyone at AID listening to these warnings? Users say top administrators have treated the GAO's criticism the same way they have handled Horn's failing grades: fuhgeddaboutit. But Owen of AID's OIRM says new contractors, such as Computer Sciences Corp., and new managers, such as OIRM Director John Streufert, have so dramatically altered the previous regime that John Koskinen, the director of the President's Council on the Year 2000, has cited the agency for its belated "best

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management practices." Even the NMS allegedly will be all caught up, notwithstanding the GAO's assessment. An internal AID document obtained by the author says the system "is expected to be Y2K compliant in July 1999, rather than the original September 1999 schedule." The same document said all of the agency's office automation software and approximately one-half of its PC hardware had to be upgraded for Y2K. The headquarters effort was expected to be completed by the end of March.

Maybe what we've got here is a failure to communicate. State Department officials get an "F" when they believe they deserve at least one grade higher. USAID is drawn and quartered by the Congress and by its investigative arm, yet blithely sails forth on what it perceives to be calm seas.

One thing's for sure, according to the Senate Special Committee: federal non-defense agencies have finally gotten the word that this potential crisis must be taken seriously. As a result, the pace of spending of Y2K emergency supplemental funds has skyrocketed in the last few months.

The Millennial Guessing Game

Complicating all assessments of whether particular agencies are ready for the big day is that no one knows the real scope of the problem. As Under Secretary Bonnie Cohen said, "anything from the mundane to the serious" may occur.

A December '98 State Department memo said, "It is difficult to predict precise breakdowns." Telecommunications, movement of goods, difficulties with strategic raw materials and possible civil unrest may pose threats to U.S. economic and security interests.

"But the fact is much of the data available is anecdotal," the memo said. "It is also likely that assessments, even in industrialized countries, carry a substantial degree of uncertainty. For example, even though one industry, say the financial/insurance sector, has remediated and tested its systems, dependence on a non-compliant power supply may spell trouble."

So all State's overseas posts have been directed to

*Even if U.S. foreign
posts have their act
together, they still
depend on host country
infrastructure.*

evaluate their internal technology capability and their host's infrastructure. The department wanted all posts to have submitted their Y2K contingency plans to their area geographic bureaus and to State's Y2K office by April 16. And AID's missions are supposed to be constantly evaluating remediation plans and contingency efforts in four categories: internal operations, program port-

folio, partner status and host country.

But humans can only do so much.

"We can't be responsible for the host's country's infrastructure," said an AID overseas planner, who requested not to be identified. "But we may be affected. No one's worried about systems functioning within the four walls of our overseas posts. We've already done everything we can. And each mission knows the territory."

So even though State is putting its systems through the most rigorous five-step assessment/compliance/implementation process on the planet, and Foreign Service employees can be reasonably sure that their particular post won't go down, bad stuff may still happen.

What system is most at risk? Only the Y2K spirit knows, and it isn't telling. Given that huge amounts of computer code are being written in a hurry, it's safe to assume that bugs will emerge. One of the few predictions that we can safely make is that breakdowns are more likely to occur in host countries than in U.S. posts themselves.

A Few Survival Tips

In the interim, State and AID officials insist their mission-critical systems will emerge with nary a scratch. They also stand by their security systems, which at press time were crafting final contingency plans that include elementary items such as testing generators to see if they will work on Jan. 1.

The ultimate survival rule? When all else fails, go manual. Keep inventories by hand. Print out the Dec. 30 database, store it safely and keep it for the record. Print out personal banking records and all important personnel records. Make the biweekly



AFSA CONGRESSIONAL DIRECTORY

106TH CONGRESS 1999 AND 2000

We are pleased to provide the AFSA Congressional Directory for the 106th Congress to help our members speak directly to their elected officials.

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With your help the atmosphere has improved. However, each year we have to fight for resources for the Foreign Affairs Account all over again.

For instance, even after the embassy bombings in Africa, lack of adequate funding for embassy security casts a shadow over every mission abroad. The FY 2000 budget request sent to Congress by the Clinton Administration falls appallingly short of the Crowe report's recommendations.

We are also taking on more issues that affect our financial security: e.g. amending the capital gains tax exclusion on the sale of a principal residence to include FS personnel serving abroad, "making whole" those Foreign Service employees placed in the wrong retirement system, and being part of the long-term health care insurance bills starting in the Congress.

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Udall, Mark (R-02)	225-2161	128	226-7840	303-245-8005	N/A
McInnis, Scott (R-03)	225-4761	320	226-0622	719-543-8200	N/A
Schoffer, Bob (R-04)	225-4676	212	225-5870	970-493-9132	rep.schoffer@mail.house.gov
Hefley, Joel (R-05)	225-4422	2230	225-1942	719-520-0055	N/A
Tancred, Thomos G. (R-06)	225-7882	1123	226-4623	303-783-1051	N/A

Connecticut

Sen. Dodd, Christopher J. (D)	224-2823	SR-444	224-1083	203-240-3470	sen_dodd@dodd.senate.gov
Sen. Lieberman, Joseph I. (D)	224-4041	SH-706	224-9750	203-240-3566	senator_lieberman@lieberman.senate.gov

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MEMBER, PARTY, DISTRICT	D.C. TEL.	ROOM	FAX	DISTRICT TEL.	E-MAIL ADDRESS
Larsan, John B. (D-01)	225-2265	1419	225-1031	860-290-8944	N/A
Gejdensan, Som (D-02)	225-2076	2304	225-4977	203-886-0139	bozrah@mail.house.gav
DeLourdo, Roso L. (D-03)	225-3661	436	225-4890	203-562-3718	N/A
Shays, Christopher (R-04)	225-5541	1126	225-9629	203-579-5870	rep.shays@mail.house.gav
Maloney, James H. (D-05)	225-3822	1213	225-5746	203-573-1418	N/A
Jahnsan, Nancy L. (R-06)	225-4476	2113	225-4488	860-223-8412	N/A
Delaware					
Sen. Biden, Joseph R., Jr. (D)	224-5042	SR-221	224-0139	302-573-6345	senotar@biden.senate.gov
Sen. Roth, William V., Jr. (R)	224-2441	SH-104	N/A	302-573-6291	camments@roth.senate.gov
Castle, Michael N. (R-At Large)	225-4165	1227	225-2291	302-428-1902	delaware@mail.house.gav
District of Columbia (Delegate)					
Nartan, Eleanor Holmes (D)	225-8050	1424	225-3002	202-783-5211	N/A
Florida					
Sen. Grohom, Bob (D)	224-3041	SH-524	224-2237	305-536-7293	bob_grohom@graham.senate.gov
Sen. Mack, Cannie (R)	224-5274	SH-517	224-8022	305-530-7100	cannie@mock.senate.gov
Scarborough, Joe (R-01)	225-4136	127	225-3414	850-479-1183	FL01@mail.house.gov
Bayd, Allen (D-02)	225-5235	107	225-5615	850-561-3979	rep.bayd@mail.house.gov
Brown, Carrine (D-03)	225-0123	2444	225-2256	904-354-1652	N/A
Fawler, Tillie K. (R-04)	225-2501	106	225-9318	904-739-6600	N/A
Thurman, Koren L. (D-05)	225-1002	440	226-0329	352-344-3044	thurman@mail.house.gov
Stearns, Cliff (R-06)	225-5744	2227	225-3973	352-351-8777	cstearns@mail.house.gov
Mica, John L. (R-07)	225-4035	2445	226-0821	407-657-8080	jahn.mica@mail.house.gov
McCollum, Bill (R-08)	225-2176	2109	225-0999	407-872-1962	bill.mccallum@mail.house.gov
Bilirakis, Michael (R-09)	225-5755	2369	225-4085	813-441-3721	fl09@mail.house.gov
Young, C. W. Bill (R-10)	225-5961	2407	225-9764	813-893-3191	N/A
Davis, Jim (D-11)	225-3376	418	225-5652	813-354-9217	N/A
Canady, Charles T. (R-12)	225-1252	2432	225-2279	941-688-2651	Rep.Charles.Canady@mail.house.gov
Miller, Don (R-13)	225-5015	102	226-0828	941-747-9081	miller13@mail.house.gov
Goss, Porter J. (R-14)	225-2536	108	225-6820	941-774-8060	porter.goss@mail.house.gov
Weldon, Dove (R-15)	225-3671	332	225-3516	407-632-1776	fla15@mail.house.gov
Faley, Mark (R-16)	225-5792	113	225-3132	561-627-6192	mark.faley@mail.house.gov
Meek, Corrie P. (D-17)	225-4506	401	226-0777	305-381-9541	N/A
Ros-Lehtinen, Ileana (R-18)	225-3931	2160	225-5620	305-262-1800	N/A
Wexler, Robert (D-19)	225-3001	213	225-5974	561-988-6302	N/A
Deutsch, Peter (D-20)	225-7931	204	225-8456	305-437-3936	pdeutsch.pub@mail.house.gov
Diaz-Bolort, Lincoln (R-21)	225-4211	404	225-8576	305-470-8555	N/A
Show, E. Clay, Jr. (R-22)	225-3026	2408	225-8398	954-522-1800	N/A
Hostings, Alcee L. (D-23)	225-1313	2235	225-1171	954-733-2800	alcee.pubhostings@mail.house.gov
Georgia					
Sen. Cleland, Max (D)	224-3521	SD-461	224-0072	404-331-4811	senatar_max_cleland cleland.senate.gov
Sen. Coverdell, Paul (R)	224-3643	SR-200	228-3783	404-347-2202	senatar_coverdell@ coverdell.senate.gov
Kingston, Jock (R-01)	225-5831	1034	226-2269	912-352-0101	jack.kingstan@mail.house.gov
Bishop, Sonford D., Jr. (D-02)	225-3631	1433	225-2203	912-439-8067	N/A
Collins, Mac (R-03)	225-5901	1131	225-2515	770-603-3395	mac.collins@mail.house.gov
McKinney, Cynthia A. (D-04)	225-1605	124	226-0691	404-377-6900	cymck@mail.house.gov
Lewis, John (D-05)	225-3801	343	225-0351	404-659-0116	jahn.lewis@mail.house.gov
Isakson, Johnny (R-06)	225-4501	2428	225-4656	404-705-8822	johnny@isakson.net
Borr, Bob (R-07)	225-2931	1207	225-2944	770-429-1776	borr.go@mail.house.gov
Chambliss, Saxby (R-08)	225-6531	1019	225-3013	912-475-0665	rep.soxby.chambliss@mail.house.gov
Deal, Nathan (R-09)	225-5211	2437	225-8272	770-535-2592	N/A

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Norwood, Charlie (R-10)	225-4101	1707	225-0279	706-733-7066	ga10@hr.house.gov
Linder, Jahn (R-11)	225-4272	2447	225-4696	912-642-4118	john.linder@mail.house.gov
Guam (Delegate)					
Underwood, Robert A. (D)	225-1188	2418	226-0341	671-477-4272	guamtodc@mail.house.gov
Hawaii					
Sen. Akaka, Daniel K. (D)	224-6361	SH-720	224-2126	808-541-2534	senatar@akaka.senate.gov
Sen. Inouye, Daniel K. (D)	224-3934	SH-722	224-6747	808-541-2542	senatar@inouye.senate.gov
Abercrambie, Neil (D-01)	225-2726	1502	225-4580	808-541-2570	neil.abercrombie@mail.house.gov
Mink, Patsy T. (D-02)	225-4906	2135	225-4987	808-541-1986	N/A
Idaho					
Sen. Craig, Larry E. (R)	224-2752	SH-313	228-1067	208-342-7985	larry_craig@craig.senate.gov
Sen. Crapa, Mike (R)	224-6142	SR-304	N/A	208-368-7988	N/A
Chenaweth, Helen (R-01)	225-6611	1727	225-3029	208-336-9831	ask.helen@mail.house.gov
Simpson, Michael K. (R-02)	225-5531	1440	225-5531	208-367-1927	N/A
Illinois					
Sen. Durbin, Richard J. (D)	224-2152	SR-364	228-0400	217-492-4062	dick@durbin.senate.gov
Sen. Fitzgerald, Peter G. (R)	224-2854	SH-324	N/A	847-963-1998	senator_fitzgerald@fitzgerald.senate.gov
Rush, Bobby L. (D-01)	225-4372	2416	226-0333	312-224-6500	bobby.rush@mail.house.gov
Jackson, Jesse L., Jr. (D-02)	225-0773	313	225-0899	312-568-7900	N/A
Lipinski, William O. (D-03)	225-5701	1501	225-1012	312-886-0481	N/A
Gutierrez, Luis V. (D-04)	225-8203	2438	225-7810	773-509-0999	luis.gutierrez@mail.house.gov
Blagojevich, Rod R. (D-05)	225-4061	331	225-5603	773-868-3240	N/A
Hyde, Henry J. (R-06)	225-4561	2110	225-1166	630-832-5950	N/A
Davis, Danny K. (D-07)	225-5006	1222	225-5641	773-533-7520	danny.davis@mail.house.gov
Crane, Philip M. (R-08)	225-3711	233	225-7830	847-265-9000	N/A
Schakawsky, Janice D. (D-09)	225-2111	515	226-6890	847-424-1998	N/A
Porter, Jahn Edward (R-10)	225-4835	2373	225-0837	847-940-0202	N/A
Weller, Jerry (R-11)	225-3635	424	225-3521	815-740-2028	jerry.weller@mail.house.gov
Castella, Jerry F. (D-12)	225-5661	2454	225-0285	618-451-7065	jfc.il12@mail.house.gov
Biggett, Judy (R-13)	225-3515	508	225-9420	630-241-9898	N/A
Hastert, J. Dennis (R-14)	225-2976	2263	225-0697	630-406-1114	dhastert@mail.house.gov
Ewing, Thomas W. (R-15)	225-2371	2417	225-8071	815-844-7660	N/A
Manzulla, Danald A. (R-16)	225-5676	409	225-5284	815-394-1231	N/A
Evans, Lane (D-17)	225-5905	2335	225-5396	309-793-5760	lane.evans@mail.house.gov
LaHoad, Ray (R-18)	225-6201	329	225-9249	217-793-0808	N/A
Phelps, David D. (D-19)	225-5201	1523	225-1541	618-253-3283	N/A
Shimkus, John (R-20)	225-5271	513	225-5880	217-492-5090	shimkus@mail.house.gov
Indiana					
Sen. Bayh, Evan (D)	224-5623	SR-404	N/A	317-231-7105	N/A
Sen. Lugar, Richard G. (R)	224-4814	SH-306	228-0360	317-226-5555	senator_lugar@lugar.senate.gov
Visclasky, Peter J. (R-01)	225-2461	2313	225-2493	219-884-1177	N/A
McIntash, David M. (R-02)	225-3021	1610	225-3382	317-747-5566	mcintash@mail.house.gov
Roemer, Tim (D-03)	225-3915	2352	225-6798	219-288-3301	tim.raemer@mail.house.gov
Sauder, Mark E. (R-04)	225-4436	109	225-3479	219-424-3041	sauder@mail.house.gov
Buyer, Stephen E. (R-05)	225-5037	227	225-2267	765-454-7551	N/A
Burtan, Dan (R-06)	25-2276	2185	225-0016	317-848-0201	N/A
Pease, Edward A. (R-07)	225-5805	119	812-238-5638	812-238-1619	pease@mail.house.gov
Hostettler, Jahn N. (R-08)	225-4636	1507	225-3284	812-465-6484	John.Hostettler@mail.house.gov
Hill, Baran P. (D-09)	225-5315	1208	226-6866	812-524-8840	N/A
Carsan, Julia (D-10)	225-4011	1541	225-5633	317-283-6516	rep.carsan@mail.house.gov

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MEMBER, PARTY, DISTRICT	D.C. TEL.	ROOM	FAX	DISTRICT TEL.	E-MAIL ADDRESS
Iowa					
Sen. Grassley, Charles E. (R)	224-3744	SH-135	224-6020	319-363-6832	chuck_grassley@grassley.senate.gov
Sen. Harkin, Tam (D)	224-3254	SH-731	224-9369	515-284-4574	tam_harkin@harkin.senate.gov
Leach, James A. (R-01)	225-6576	2186	226-1278	319-363-4773	leach.ia01@mail.house.gov
Nussle, Jim (R-02)	225-2911	303	225-9129	319-927-5141	nussleia@mail.house.gov
Baswell, Leonard L. (D-03)	225-3806	1029	225-5608	515-342-4801	rep.baswell.ia03@mail.house.gov
Ganske, Greg (R-04)	225-4426	1108	225-3193	515-284-4634	rep.ganske@mail.house.gov
Latham, Tam (R-05)	225-5476	324	225-3301	712-277-2114	latham.ia05@mail.house.gov
Kansas					
Sen. Brawnback, Sam (R)	224-6521	SH-303	228-1265	913-492-6378	sam_brawnback@brawnback.senate.gov
Sen. Roberts, Pat (R)	224-4774	SH-302	224-3514	785-295-2745	pat_roberts@roberts.senate.gov
Maran, Jerry (R-01)	225-2715	1519	225-5124	785-628-6401	jerry.maran@mail.house.gov
Ryun, Jim (R-02)	225-6601	330	225-7986	785-232-4512	N/A
Maare, Dennis (D-03)	225-2865	506	225-2807	913-789-9799	N/A
Tiahrt, Todd (R-04)	225-6216	428	225-3489	316-262-8992	tiahrt@mail.house.gov
Kentucky					
Sen. Bunning, Jim (R)	224-4343	SR-173A	N/A	606-341-6480	jim_bunning@bunning.senate.gov
Sen. McCannell, Mitch (R)	224-2541	SR-361A	224-2499	502-582-6304	senatar@mccannell.senate.gov
Whitfield, Ed (R-01)	225-3115	236	225-3547	502-885-8079	ed.whitfield@mail.house.gov
Lewis, Ran (R-02)	225-3501	223	226-2019	502-842-9896	ran.lewis@mail.house.gov
Narthup, Anne M. (R-03)	225-5401	1004	225-5776	502-582-5129	rep.narthup@mail.house.gov
Lucas, Ken (D-04)	225-3465	1237	225-0003	606-283-8125	N/A
Ragers, Harald (R-05)	225-4601	2470	225-0940	606-679-8346	N/A
Fletcher, Ernest L. (R-06)	225-4706	1117	225-2122	606-223-8372	N/A
Louisiana					
Sen. Breaux, John B. (D)	224-4623	SH-516	228-2577	504-589-2531	senatar@breaux.senate.gov
Sen. Landrieu, Mary L. (D)	224-5824	SH-702	224-9735	504-589-2427	senatar@landrieu.senate.gov
1st District vacated by Bob Livingston, special election on May 1					
Jefferson, William J. (D-02)	225-6636	240	225-1988	504-589-2274	N/A
Tauzin, W. J. (Billy) (R-03)	225-4031	2183	225-0563	504-876-3033	N/A
McCrery, Jim (R-04)	225-2777	2104	225-8039	318-798-2254	jim.mccrery@mail.house.gov
Cooksey, John (R-05)	225-8490	317	225-5639	318-330-9998	cangressman.cooksey@mail.house.gov
Baker, Richard H. (R-06)	225-3901	434	225-7313	504-929-7711	N/A
John, Christopher (D-07)	225-2031	1504	225-5724	318-235-6322	christopher.john@mail.house.gov
Maine					
Sen. Collins, Susan M. (R)	224-2523	SR-172	224-2693	207-945-0417	senatar@collins.senate.gov
Sen. Snaue, Olympia J. (R)	224-5344	SR-250	224-1946	207-780-3575	Olympia@snaue.senate.gov
Allen, Thomas H. (D-01)	225-6116	1717	225-5590	207-774-5019	rep.tmallen@mail.house.gov
Baldacci, John Elias (D-02)	225-6306	1740	225-2943	207-942-6935	N/A
Maryland					
Sen. Mikulski, Barbara A. (D)	224-4654	SH-709	224-8858	301-263-1805	senatar@mikulski.senate.gov
Sen. Sarbanes, Paul S. (D)	224-4524	SH-309	224-1651	410-962-4436	senatar@sarbanes.senate.gov
Gilchrest, Wayne T. (R-01)	225-5311	2245	225-0254	410-778-9407	N/A
Ehrlich, Robert L., Jr. (R-02)	225-3061	315	225-3094	410-337-7222	ehrllich@mail.house.gov
Cardin, Benjamin L. (D-03)	225-4016	104	225-9219	410-433-8886	rep.cardin@mail.house.gov
Wynn, Albert Russell (D-04)	225-8699	407	225-8714	301-773-4094	N/A
Hoyer, Steny H. (D-05)	225-4131	1705	225-4300	301-843-1577	N/A
Bartlett, Rascie G. (R-06)	225-2721	2412	225-2193	301-694-3030	rascie@fred.net

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MEMBER, PARTY, DISTRICT	D.C. TEL.	ROOM	FAX	DISTRICT TEL.	E-MAIL ADDRESS
Cummings, Elijah E. (D-07)	225-4741	1632	225-3178	410-367-1900	N/A
Morella, Constance A. (R-08)	225-5341	2228	225-1389	301-424-3501	Rep.Marella@mail.house.gov
Massachusetts					
Sen. Kennedy, Edward M. (D)	224-4543	SR-315	224-2417	617-565-3170	senatar@kenedy.senate.gov
Sen. Kerry, John F. (D)	224-2742	SR-421	224-8525	617-565-8519	john_kerry@kerry.senate.gov
Olver, John W. (D-01)	225-5335	1027	226-1224	413-532-7010	jahn.olver@mail.house.gov
Neal, Richard E. (D-02)	225-5601	2236	225-8112	413-785-0325	N/A
McGovern, James P. (D-03)	225-6101	416	225-5759	508-831-7356	jim.mcgovern@mail.house.gov
Frank, Borney (D-04)	225-5931	2210	225-0182	508-999-6462	N/A
Meehan, Martin T. (D-05)	225-3411	2434	226-0771	978-459-0101	mtmeehan@mail.house.gov
Tierney, John F. (D-06)	225-8020	120	225-5915	508-531-1669	N/A
Morkey, Edward J. (D-07)	225-2836	2108	N/A	617-396-2900	N/A
Capuono, Michael E. (D-08)	225-5111	1232	225-9322	617-627-9898	N/A
Maakley, John Joseph (D-09)	225-8273	235	225-3984	617-565-2920	joe.maakley@mail.house.gov
Delohunt, William D. (D-10)	225-3111	1317	225-5658	617-770-3700	william.delahunt@mail.house.gov
Michigan					
Sen. Abraham, Spencer (R)	224-4822	SD-329	224-8834	616-975-1112	michigan@abraham.senate.gov
Sen. Levin, Carl (D)	224-6221	SR-459	224-1388	313-226-6020	senator@levin.senate.gov
Stupak, Bort (D-01)	225-4735	2348	225-4744	616-929-4711	stupak@mail.house.gov
Hoekstro, Peter (R-02)	225-4401	1124	226-0779	616-395-0030	tellhaek@mail.house.gov
Ehlers, Vernan J. (R-03)	225-3831	1714	225-5144	616-451-8383	rep.ehlers@mail.house.gov
Comp, Dove (R-04)	225-3561	137	225-9679	517-631-2552	davecamp@mail.house.gov
Barcia, James A. (D-05)	225-8171	2419	225-2168	517-667-0003	jim.borcio-pub@mail.house.gov
Upton, Fred (R-06)	225-3761	2333	225-4986	616-982-1986	talk2.fsu@mail.house.gov
Smith, Nick (R-07)	225-6276	306	225-6281	517-783-4486	rep.smith@mail.house.gov
Stobenow, Debbie (D-08)	225-4872	1039	225-5820	517-336-7777	debbie.stabenow@mail.house.gov
Kildee, Dole E. (D-09)	225-3611	2187	225-6393	810-239-1437	dkildee@mail.house.gov
Banior, David E. (D-10)	225-2106	2207	226-1169	810-987-8889	david.banior@mail.house.gov
Knollenberg, Jae (R-11)	225-5802	2349	226-2356	248-851-1366	N/A
Levin, Sander M. (D-12)	225-4961	2268	226-1033	810-268-4444	slevin@mail.house.gov
Rivers, Lynn N. (D-13)	225-6261	1724	225-3404	313-741-4210	N/A
Canyers, John, Jr. (D-14)	225-5126	2426	225-0072	313-961-5670	john.conyers@mail.house.gov
Kilpatrick, Carolyn C. (D-15)	225-2261	503	225-5730	313-965-9004	N/A
Dingell, John D. (D-16)	225-4071	2328	N/A	313-846-1276	N/A
Minnesota					
Sen. Grams, Rod (R)	224-3244	SD-257	228-0956	612-427-5921	mail_grams@grams.senate.gov
Sen. Wellstone, Paul (D)	224-5641	SH-136	224-8438	651-645-0323	senator@wellstone.senate.gov
Gutknecht, Gil (R-01)	225-2472	425	225-3246	507-252-9841	gil.gutknecht@mail.house.gov
Minge, David (D-02)	225-2331	1415	226-0836	612-269-9311	N/A
Romstod, Jim (R-03)	225-2871	103	225-6351	612-881-4600	mn03@mail.house.gov
Venta, Bruce F. (D-04)	225-6631	2413	225-1968	651-224-4503	venta@mail.house.gov
Saba, Martin Olav (D-05)	225-4755	2336	225-4886	612-348-1649	martin.saba@mail.house.gov
Luther, Bill (D-06)	225-2271	117	225-3368	651-730-4949	tell.bill@mail.house.gov
Peterson, Collin C. (D-07)	225-2165	2159	225-1593	218-847-5056	tocollin.peterson@mail.house.gov
Oberstar, James L. (D-08)	225-6211	2365	225-0699	218-727-7474	oberstar@mail.house.gov
Mississippi					
Sen. Cochran, Thod (R)	224-5054	SR-326	224-9450	601-965-4459	senator@cochran.senate.gov
Sen. Lott, Trent (R)	224-6253	SR-487	224-2262	601-965-4644	senatorlott@lott.senate.gov
Wicker, Roger F. (R-01)	225-4306	206	225-3549	601-844-5437	roger.wicker@mail.house.gov
Thompson, Bennie G. (D-02)	225-5876	1408	225-5898	601-335-9003	thompsonms2nd@mail.house.gov
Pickering, Charles W. "Chip" (R-03)	225-5031	427	225-5797	601-693-6681	N/A

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Shows, Rannie (D-04)	225-5865	509	225-5886	601-362-0299	N/A
Taylor, Gene (D-05)	225-5772	2311	225-7074	601-864-7670	gene.taylor@mail.house.gov
Missouri					
Sen. Ashcroft, John (R)	224-6154	SH-316	228-0998	573-334-7044	john_oshcroft@oshcroft.senate.gov
Sen. Bond, Christopher S. (R)	224-5721	SR-274	224-8149	573-634-2488	kit_bond@bond.senate.gov
Clay, William (Bill) (D-01)	225-2406	2306	225-1725	314-367-1970	N/A
Talent, James M. (R-02)	225-2561	1022	225-2563	314-872-9561	rep.talent@mail.house.gov
Gephardt, Richard A. (D-03)	225-2671	1226	225-7452	314-894-3400	gephardt@mail.house.gov
Skelton, Ike (D-04)	225-2876	2206	225-2695	816-228-4242	ike.skelton@mail.house.gov
McCarthy, Koren (D-05)	225-4535	1330	225-4403	816-842-4545	N/A
Donner, Pat (D-06)	225-7041	2262	225-8221	816-455-2256	N/A
Blunt, Ray (R-07)	225-6536	217	225-5604	417-889-1800	blunt@mail.house.gov
Emerson, Jo Ann (R-08)	225-4404	132	N/A	573-335-0101	jaann.emerson@mail.house.gov
Hulshaf, Kenny C (R-09)	225-2956	412	225-5712	573-449-5111	rep.hulshaf@mail.house.gov
Montana					
Sen. Baucus, Mox (D)	224-2651	SH-511	N/A	406-329-3123	max@baucus.senate.gov
Sen. Burns, Conrad R. (R)	224-2644	SD-187	224-8594	406-449-5401	canrad_burns@burns.senate.gov
Hill, Rick (R-At Large)	225-3211	1609	225-5687	406-256-1019	rick.hill@mail.house.gov
Nebraska					
Sen. Hagel, Chuck (R)	224-4224	SR-346	224-5213	402-758-8981	chuck_hogel@hogel.senate.gov
Sen. Kerrey, J. Robert (D)	224-6551	SH-141	224-7645	402-341-1776	qmail@kerrey-cms.senate.gov
Bereuter, Darg (R-01)	225-4806	2184	N/A	402-438-1598	N/A
Terry, Lee (R-02)	225-4155	1728	226-5452	402-691-0333	N/A
Barrett, Bill (R-03)	225-6435	2458	N/A	308-381-5555	N/A
Nevada					
Sen. Bryan, Richard H. (D)	224-6244	SR-269	224-1867	702-784-5007	senatar@bryon.senate.gov
Sen. Reid, Harry (D)	224-3542	SH-528	224-7327	702-882-7343	senator_reid@reid.senate.gov
Berkley, Shelley (D-01)	225-5965	1505	225-3119	702-383-8683	N/A
Gibbons, Jim (R-02)	225-6155	100	225-5679	702-686-5760	mail.gibbons@mail.house.gov
New Hampshire					
Sen. Gregg, Judd (R)	224-3324	SR-393	224-4952	603-225-7115	mailbox@gregg.senate.gov
Sen. Smith, Bob (R)	224-2841	SD-307	224-1353	603-634-5000	apinian@smith.senate.gov
Sununu, John E. (R-01)	225-5456	316	225-5822	603-641-9536	Rep.Sununu@mail.house.gov
Boss, Charles F. (R-02)	225-5206	218	225-2946	603-226-0249	cbass@mail.house.gov
New Jersey					
Sen. Loutenberg, Frank R. (D)	224-4744	SH-506	224-9707	201-639-2860	Frank_Lautenberg@Loutenberg.senate.gov
Sen. Torricelli, Robert G. (D)	224-3224	SD-113	224-8567	973-624-5555	senator@torricelli.senate.gov
Andrews, Robert E. (D-01)	225-6501	2439	225-6583	609-627-9000	rob.andrews@mail.house.gov
LaBiondo, Frank A. (R-02)	225-6572	222	225-3318	609-927-4442	lobionda@mail.house.gov
Soxton, Jim (R-03)	225-4765	339	225-0778	609-261-5800	N/A
Smith, Christopher H. (R-04)	225-3765	2370	225-7768	609-585-7878	N/A
Roukemo, Morge (R-05)	225-4465	2469	225-9048	201-447-3900	rep.roukemo@mail.house.gov
Pallone, Frank, Jr. (D-06)	225-4671	420	225-9665	908-571-1140	N/A
Franks, Bob (R-07)	225-5361	225	225-9460	908-686-5576	franksnj@mail.house.gov
Pascarell, Bill, Jr. (D-08)	225-5751	1722	225-5782	201-523-5152	bill.pascarell@mail.house.gov
Rathman, Steven R. (D-09)	225-5061	1607	225-5851	201-646-0808	steven.rothmon@mail.house.gov
Payne, Donald M. (D-10)	225-3436	2209	225-4160	973-645-3213	N/A
Frelinghuysen, Rodney P. (R-11)	225-5034	228	225-3186	201-984-0711	rodney.frelinghuysen@mail.house.gov

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Holt, Rush D. (D-12)	225-5801	1630	225-6025	609-683-0003	N/A
Menendez, Robert (D-13)	225-7919	405	226-0792	201-222-2828	N/A
New Mexico					
Sen. Bingomon, Jeff (D)	224-5521	SH-703	224-2852	505-988-6647	Senator_Bingomon@bingomon.senote.gov
Sen. Domenici, Pete V. (R)	224-6621	SH-328	224-7371	505-766-3481	senator_domenici@domenici.senote.gov
Wilson, Heather (R-01)	225-6316	226	225-4975	505-766-2538	osk.heother@mail.house.gov
Skeen, Joe (R-02)	225-2365	2302	225-9599	505-527-1771	joe.skeen@mail.house.gov
Udall, Tom (D-03)	225-6190	502	226-1331	505-982-7078	N/A
New York					
Sen. Moynihan, Daniel Patrick (D)	224-4451	SR-464	228-0406	212-661-5150	senator@dpm.senote.gov
Sen. Schumer, Charles E. (D)	224-6542	SH-520	228-3027	212-459-9898	N/A
Forbes, Michael P. (R-01)	225-3826	125	225-3143	516-345-9000	N/A
Lozio, Rick (R-02)	225-3335	2244	225-4669	516-893-9010	lozio@mail.house.gov
King, Peter T. (R-03)	225-7896	403	226-2279	516-541-4225	peter.king@mail.house.gov
McCarthy, Carolyn (D-04)	225-5516	1725	225-5758	516-489-7066	N/A
Ackerman, Gory L. (D-05)	225-2601	2243	225-1589	718-423-2154	N/A
Meeks, Gregory W. (D-06)	225-3461	1710	226-4169	718-337-9791	N/A
Crowley, Joseph (D-07)	225-3965	1517	225-1909	718-651-0909	N/A
Nodler, Jerrold (D-08)	225-5635	2334	225-6923	212-334-3207	jerrold.nodler@mail.house.gov
Weiner, Anthony D. (D-09)	225-6616	501	225-4183	718-376-9166	N/A
Towns, Edolphus (D-10)	225-5936	2232	225-1018	718-774-5682	N/A
Owens, Major R. (D-11)	225-6231	2305	226-0112	718-773-3100	major.owens@mail.house.gov
Velázquez, Nydio M. (D-12)	225-2361	2241	226-0327	718-599-3658	N/A
Fossello, Vito (R-13)	225-3371	431	226-1272	718-987-8400	vito.fossello@mail.house.gov
Moloney, Carolyn B. (D-14)	225-7944	2430	225-4709	212-832-6531	rep.corolyn.moloney@mail.house.gov
Rongel, Charles B. (D-15)	225-4365	2354	225-0816	212-663-3900	rongel@hr.house.gov
Serrano, José E. (D-16)	225-4361	2342	225-6001	718-538-5400	jserrono@mail.house.gov
Engel, Eliot L. (D-17)	225-2464	2303	225-5513	718-796-9700	N/A
Lowey, Nito M. (D-18)	225-6506	2421	225-0546	914-428-1707	nito.lowey@mail.house.gov
Kelly, Sue W. (R-19)	225-5441	1122	225-3289	914-897-5200	deorsue@mail.house.gov
Gilmon, Benjamin A. (R-20)	225-3776	2449	225-2541	914-343-6666	N/A
McNulty, Michael R. (D-21)	225-5076	2161	225-5077	518-465-0700	mike.mculty@mail.house.gov
Sweeney, John E. (R-22)	225-5614	437	225-6234	518-373-7932	N/A
Boehler, Sherwood L. (R-23)	225-3665	2246	225-1891	315-793-8146	Rep.Boehler@mail.house.gov
McHugh, John M. (R-24)	225-4611	2441	226-0621	315-782-3150	N/A
Wolsh, James T. (R-25)	225-3701	2351	225-4042	315-758-3918	rep.james.wolsh@mail.house.gov
Hinchey, Maurice D. (D-26)	225-6335	2431	226-0774	607-773-2768	mhinchey@mail.house.gov
Reynolds, Thomas M. (R-27)	225-5265	413	225-5910	716-924-0550	N/A
Slughter, Louise McIntosh (D-28)	225-3615	2347	225-7822	716-232-4850	louiseny@mail.house.gov
LoFolce, John J. (D-29)	225-3231	2310	225-8693	716-846-4056	N/A
Quinn, Jack (R-30)	225-3306	229	226-0347	716-845-5257	N/A
Houghton, Amory (R-31)	225-3161	1110	225-5574	607-937-3333	N/A
North Carolina					
Sen. Edwards, John (D)	224-3154	SH-317	N/A	919-856-4245	N/A
Sen. Helms, Jesse (R)	224-6342	SD-403	228-1339	919-856-4630	jesse_helms@helms.senote.gov
Cloyton, Evo M. (D-01)	225-3101	2440	225-3354	919-257-4800	ECloyton1@mail.house.gov
Etheridge, Bob (D-02)	225-4531	1641	225-5662	919-829-9122	bob.etheridge@mail.house.gov
Jones, Walter B. (R-03)	225-3415	422	225-3286	919-931-1003	congijones@mail.house.gov
Price, David E. (D-04)	225-1784	2162	225-2014	919-832-2456	david.price@mail.house.gov
Burr, Richard (R-05)	225-2071	1513	225-2995	910-631-5125	Richard.BurrNC05@mail.house.gov

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McIntyre, Mike (D-07)	225-2731	1605	225-5773	910-323-0260	congmcintyre@mail.house.gov
Hoyes, Robin (R-08)	225-3715	130	225-4036	704-795-1998	N/A
Myrick, Sue Wilkins (R-09)	225-1976	230	225-3389	704-367-0852	myrick@mail.house.gov
Bollenger, Coss (R-10)	225-2576	2182	225-0316	704-327-6100	coss.bollenger@mail.house.gov
Taylor, Charles H. (R-11)	225-6401	231	226-6405	704-251-1988	repcharles.taylor@mail.house.gov
Woff, Melvin L. (D-12)	225-1510	1230	225-1512	704-344-9950	nc12.public@mail.house.gov
North Dakota					
Sen. Conrad, Kent (D)	224-2043	SH-530	224-7776	701-232-8030	senator@conrad.senate.gov
Sen. Dorgan, Byron L. (D)	224-2551	SH-713	224-1193	701-250-4618	senator@dorgan.senate.gov
Pomeroy, Earl (D-At Large)	225-2611	1533	226-0893	701-224-0355	Rep.Earl.Pomeroy@mail.house.gov
Ohio					
Sen. DeWine, Mike (R)	224-2315	SR-140	224-6519	614-469-6774	senator_dewine@dewine.senate.gov
Sen. Voinovich, George V. (R)	224-3353	SH-503	228-1382	N/A	senator_voinovich@voinovich.senate.gov
Chobot, Steve (R-01)	225-2216	129	225-3012	513-684-2723	N/A
Portman, Rob (R-02)	225-3164	238	225-1992	513-791-0381	portman@mail.house.gov
Holl, Tony P. (D-03)	225-6465	1436	226-0351	937-225-2843	N/A
Oxley, Michael G. (R-04)	225-2676	2233	N/A	419-423-3210	mike.oxley@mail.house.gov
Gillmor, Paul E. (R-05)	225-6405	1203	225-1985	419-734-1999	N/A
Strickland, Ted (D-06)	225-5705	336	225-5907	614-353-5171	ted.strickland@mail.house.gov
Hobson, David L. (R-07)	225-4324	1514	225-1984	37-325-0474	N/A
Boehner, John A. (R-08)	225-6205	1011	225-0704	513-870-0300	john.boehner@mail.house.gov
Koptur, Morcy (D-09)	225-4146	2366	225-7711	419-259-7500	rep.koptur@mail.house.gov
Kucinich, Dennis J. (D-10)	225-5871	1730	225-5745	216-228-8850	N/A
Jones, Stephanie Tubbs (D-11)	225-7032	1516	225-1339	216-229-8928	N/A
Kosich, John R. (R-12)	225-5355	1111	N/A	614-469-7318	budget@mail.house.gov
Brown, Sherrod (D-13)	225-3401	201	225-2266	216-934-5100	sherrod@mail.house.gov
Sowyer, Thomas C. (D-14)	225-5231	1414	225-5278	216-375-5710	N/A
Pryce, Deborah (R-15)	225-2015	221	N/A	614-469-5614	pryce.oh15@mail.house.gov
Regulo, Rolph (R-16)	225-3876	2309	225-3059	330-489-4414	N/A
Troficant, James A., Jr. (D-17)	225-5261	2446	225-3719	216-788-2414	telljim@mail.house.gov
Ney, Robert W. (R-18)	225-6265	1024	225-3394	740-676-1960	bob.ney@mail.house.gov
LoTourette, Steven C. (R-19)	225-5731	1224	225-3307	216-352-3939	N/A
Oklahoma					
Sen. Inhofe, James M. (R)	224-4721	SR-453	228-0380	918-748-5111	adminstrator@inhofe.senate.gov
Sen. Nickles, Don (R)	224-5754	SH-133	224-6008	405-231-4941	senator@nickles.senate.gov
Largent, Steve (R-01)	225-2211	426	225-9187	18-749-0014	ok01.largent@mail.house.gov
Coburn, Tom A. (R-02)	225-2701	429	225-3038	918-687-2533	Rep.Coburn@mail.house.gov
Watkins, Wes (R-03)	225-4565	401	225-5966	405-743-1400	wes.watkins@mail.house.gov
Wolts, J. C., Jr. (R-04)	225-6165	1210	225-3512	405-329-6500	rep.jcwolts@mail.house.gov
Istook, Ernest J., Jr. (R-05)	225-2132	2404	226-1463	05-942-3636	istook@mail.house.gov
Lucas, Frank D. (R-06)	225-5565	438	225-8698	405-235-5311	N/A
Oregon					
Sen. Smith, Gordon (R)	224-3753	SD-359	228-3997	503-326-3386	Oregon@smith.senate.gov
Sen. Wyden, Ron (D)	224-5244	SH-717	228-2717	503-326-7525	senator@wyden.senate.gov
Wu, David (D-01)	225-0855	510	225-9497	503-228-4400	N/A
Wolden, Greg (R-02)	225-6730	1404	225-5774	541-387-4820	N/A
Blumenauer, Earl (D-03)	225-4811	1406	225-8941	503-231-2300	write.earl@mail.house.gov
DeFazio, Peter A. (D-04)	225-6416	2134	225-0373	503-465-6732	peter.defazio@mail.house.gov
Hooley, Dorene (D-05)	225-5711	1130	225-5699	503-588-9100	dorene@mail.house.gov

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Sen. Santorum, Rick (R)	224-6324	SR-120	228-0604	2-562-0533	N/A
Sen. Specter, Arlen (R)	224-4254	SH-711	228-1229	215-597-7200	senator_specter@specter.senate.gov
Brody, Robert A. (D-01)	225-4731	216	225-0088	215-925-6840	N/A
Fottoh, Choko (D-02)	225-4001	1205	225-5392	215-387-6404	N/A
Borski, Robert A. (D-03)	225-8251	2267	225-4628	215-426-4616	N/A
Klink, Ron (D-04)	225-2565	2448	226-2274	412-864-8681	N/A
Peterson, John E. (R-05)	225-5121	307	225-5796	814-726-3910	N/A
Holden, Tim (D-06)	225-5546	1421	226-0996	610-371-9931	N/A
Weldon, Curt (R-07)	225-2011	2452	225-8137	610-259-0700	curtpo07@mail.house.gov
Greenwood, James C. (R-08)	225-4276	2436	225-9511	215-348-7511	N/A
Shuster, Bud (R-09)	225-2431	2188	225-2486	814-946-1653	N/A
Sherwood, Don (R-10)	225-3731	1223	225-9594	717-587-9093	N/A
Konjorski, Paul E. (D-11)	225-6511	2353	N/A	717-825-2200	poul.konjorski@mail.house.gov
Murtho, John P. (D-12)	225-2065	2423	225-5709	814-535-2642	murtho@mail.house.gov
Hoefel, Joseph M. (D-13)	225-6111	1229	226-0611	610-272-6445	N/A
Coyne, William J. (D-14)	225-2301	2455	225-1844	412-644-2870	N/A
Toomey, Patrick J. (R-15)	225-6411	511	226-0778	610-439-6330	N/A
Pitts, Joseph R. (R-16)	225-2411	504	225-2013	717-393-0667	pitts.po16@mail.house.gov
Gekos, George W. (R-17)	225-4315	2410	225-8440	717-541-5507	N/A
Doyle, Michael F. (D-18)	225-2135	133	225-3084	412-664-4049	rep.doyle@mail.house.gov
Goodling, William F. (R-19)	225-5836	2107	226-1000	717-843-8887	N/A
Moscorto, Frank (D-20)	225-4665	314	225-3377	724-228-4326	N/A
English, Phil (R-21)	225-5406	1410	225-3103	814-456-2038	N/A
Puerto Rico (Resident Commissioner)					
Romero-Borceló, Carlos A. (D)	225-2615	2443	225-2154	787-841-3300	N/A
Rhode Island					
Sen. Chafee, John H. (R)	224-2921	SD-505	N/A	401-528-5294	senator_chafee@chafee.senate.gov
Sen. Reed, Jock (D)	224-4642	SH-320	224-4680	401-943-3100	jock@reed.senate.gov
Kennedy, Patrick J. (D-01)	225-4911	312	225-3290	401-729-5600	N/A
Weygond, Robert A. (D-02)	225-2735	215	225-5976	401-732-9400	robert.weygond@mail.house.gov
South Carolina					
Sen. Hollings, Ernest F. (D)	224-6121	SR-125	224-4293	803-765-5731	senator@hollings.senate.gov
Sen. Thurmond, Strom (R)	224-5972	SR-217	224-1300	803-765-5494	senator@thurmond.senate.gov
Sonford, Marshall "Mork" (R-01)	225-3176	1233	225-3407	803-727-4175	sonford@mail.house.gov
Spence, Floyd (R-02)	225-2452	2405	225-2455	803-254-5120	floyd.spence@mail.house.gov
Grohom, Lindsey O. (R-03)	225-5301	1429	225-3216	864-224-7401	N/A
DeMint, Jim (R-04)	225-6030	507	226-1177	864-288-0023	N/A
Sprott, John M., Jr. (D-05)	225-5501	536	225-0464	803-327-1114	Rep.Sprott@mail.house.gov
Clyburn, James E. (D-06)	225-3315	319	225-2313	03-799-1100	jcllyburn@mail.house.gov
South Dakota					
Sen. Doschle, Tom (D)	224-2321	SH-509	224-2047	605-226-7471	tom_doschle@doschle.senate.gov
Sen. Johnson, Tim (D)	224-5842	SH-502	228-5765	605-332-8896	tim@johnson.senate.gov
Thune, John R. (R-At Large)	225-2801	1005	225-5823	605-331-1010	jthune@mail.house.gov
Tennessee					
Sen. Frist, Bill (R)	224-3344	SD-567	228-1264	615-352-9411	senator_frist@frist.senate.gov
Sen. Thompson, Fred (R)	224-4944	SD-523	228-3679	615-736-5129	senator_thompson@thompson.senate.gov
Jenkins, William L. (R-01)	225-6356	1708	225-5714	23-247-8161	rep.jenkins@mail.house.gov

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MEMBER, PARTY, DISTRICT	D.C. TEL.	ROOM	FAX	DISTRICT TEL.	E-MAIL ADDRESS
Duncan, John J., Jr. (R-02)	225-5435	2400	225-6440	423-523-3772	jjduncon@mail.house.gav
Womp, Zach (R-03)	225-3271	423	225-3494	423-894-7400	N/A
Hilleary, Von (R-04)	225-6831	114	225-3272	931-393-4764	van.hilleary@mail.house.gov
Clement, Bob (D-05)	225-4311	2229	226-1035	615-736-5295	bob.clement@mail.house.gov
Gordan, Bort (D-06)	225-4231	2368	225-6887	615-896-1986	bart.gordan@mail.house.gov
Bryont, Ed (R-07)	225-2811	408	225-2989	901-382-5811	N/A
Tonner, John S. (D-08)	225-4714	1127	226-0428	901-382-3220	john.tonner@mail.house.gov
Fard, Horal E., Jr. (D-09)	225-3265	325	225-5663	901-544-4131	N/A

Texas

Sen. Gramm, Phil (R)	224-2934	SR-370	228-2856	214-767-3000	administratar@gramm.senate.gov
Sen. Hutchisan, Koy Boiley (R)	224-5922	SR-284	224-0776	713-653-3456	senotar@hutchisan.senate.gov
Sondlin, Mox (D-01)	225-3035	214	225-5866	903-938-8386	mox.sondlin@mail.house.gov
Turner, Jim (D-02)	225-2401	208	225-5955	409-637-1770	N/A
Johnson, Som (R-03)	225-4201	1030	225-1485	214-739-0182	N/A
Hall, Rolph M. (D-04)	225-6673	2221	225-3332	972-771-9118	rmhall@mail.house.gov
Sessions, Pete (R-05)	225-2231	1318	225-5878	214-349-9996	petes@mail.house.gov
Borton, Joe (R-06)	225-2002	2264	225-3052	817-543-1000	rep.borton@mail.house.gov
Archer, Bill (R-07)	225-2571	1236	225-4381	713-682-8828	N/A
Brady, Kevin (R-08)	225-4901	1531	225-5524	281-895-8892	rep.brady@mail.house.gov
Lampson, Nick (D-09)	225-6565	417	225-5547	409-838-0061	nick.lampsan@mail.house.gov
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Baldwin, Tammy (D-02)	225-2906	1020	N/A	608-258-9800	N/A
Kind, Ron (D-03)	225-5506	1713	225-5739	608-782-2558	ran.kind@mail.house.gav
Klecza, Gerald D. (D-04)	225-4572	2301	225-8135	414-297-1140	jerry4wi@mail.house.gav
Barrett, Thomas M. (D-05)	225-3571	1214	225-2185	414-297-1331	telltam@mail.house.gav
Petri, Thomas E. (R-06)	225-2476	2462	225-2356	414-922-1180	tampetri@mail.house.gav
Obey, David R. (D-07)	225-3365	2314	N/A	715-842-5606	N/A
Green, Mark (R-08)	225-5665	1218	225-5729	920-437-9898	N/A
Sensenbrenner, F. James, Jr. (R-09)	225-5101	2332	225-3190	414-784-1111	sensen09@mail.house.gav
Wyoming					
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Cubin, Barbara (R-At Large)	225-2311	1114	225-3057	307-261-6595	cubin.webmaster@mail.house.gav

AN OPEN LETTER TO MY SENATORS AND REPRESENTATIVE

The Hon. _____
Address And Room Number
Washington, D.C. 205__

Dear _____:

Further cuts in spending on foreign affairs are detrimental to our nation's goals, and do not address the worldwide dangers threatening our welfare.

Diplomacy is now, as ever, our first line of defense. Yet over the past several decades drastic funding cuts for international affairs have damaged our ability to function in the international arena. Our missions are already understaffed, and our embassies are no longer safe. More cuts would deprive our people of the tools they need — from foreign assistance to exchange programs — to do their job.

With the end of the Cold War the foreign affairs agencies have seen their responsibilities increase as sharply as their budgets have decreased.

As Secretary of State Madeleine Albright said on March 22, upon seeing the recently proposed budget cuts: "Where would you have us cut: the war against drugs; the battle against terror; our efforts to control the threats posed by 'loose nukes' and the prospect of nuclear expertise being put up for sale to the highest bidder; support for peace in the Middle East, Bosnia, and Northern Ireland?"

The legacy of isolationism after World War I was a Second World War. History has taught us that we cannot safely disengage, but if we plan to meet the serious challenges of the world we need the money to do the job. Foreign affairs continues to make up about one percent of the budget. We can afford to do more. We cannot afford to do less.

I look forward to your support.

Sincerely,

Name

Address

City, State, Zip

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Because of normal turnover and moves abroad, the Editorial Board of the *Foreign Service Journal* seeks to fill two or more slots in 1999. You are invited to nominate yourself or another for this exciting and glamorous assignment.

Board members set the general editorial direction of the *Journal*, in consultation with the editorial staff. Meeting monthly at AFSA HQ (free lunch!), they evaluate new manuscripts, decide on future focus topics, and weigh in on other matters affecting the *Journal's* style, substance and process.

Board members should be able to attend monthly mid-day meetings in Washington, and should have a few hours a month to devote to reading articles and other *Journal* matters.

The board at this time seeks new members among the active Foreign Service, and would especially welcome inquiries from USAID employees.

If you're interested, please get in touch with the editor, Bob Guldin: call 202 944-5511, fax 202 338-8244, e-mail guldin@afsa.org, or write *Foreign Service Journal* 2101 E Street NW, Washington, DC 20037-2990.

AFSA Governing Board Election

The following candidates for positions on the Governing Board have been approved by the Elections Committee. Campaign statements will be mailed to AFSA voters April 30. Ballots will be mailed in mid-May, must be received back by June 30, and will be counted July 1. The new Governing Board will take office July 15.

(* = member of slate led by Marshall P. Adair)

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USIA VP	*Riley Sever	USIA Rep	Bruce Byers
FAS VP	Maggie Dowling	FAS Rep	Evans Browne
FCS VP	Peter Frederick	FCS Rep	(No candidate)
Retiree VP	(No candidate)	Retiree Reps (4)	*Harry Cahill *Garber Davidson *George Jones *Robert Lamb
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All members and/or their spouses and/or domestic partners under the age of 60, who have been actively working (at least 30 hours a week) for the last 90 days, and have not been hospitalized in the last six months are eligible to apply for the plan.

Low group rates and tax-free benefits make this plan affordable. Acceptance on a simplified basis ends May 1, 1999.

Contact AFSA Insurance Administration: Albert H. Wohlers & Co., 1440 N. Northwest Highway, Park Ridge, Ill. 60068-1400; e-mail at cusv@ahw.com or call 1-800-503-9230.

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Isn't that what the Y2K "problem" is really all about? As the Senate Special Committee on the Year 2000 Technology Problem said, the most frustrating aspect of the Y2K deadline is sorting fact from fiction. There's no doubt the problem is real. But no one's sure how deep and how wide it is. Even at this late date there exist very few reliable technology readiness measures of infrastructure or industry sectors.

The American public seems to be thoroughly confused about what to expect. According to a March Gallup Poll, over 85 percent say they have heard or seen "some or a great deal" about Y2K. Of those, 54 percent say they won't fly on or around Jan. 1, 55 percent think banking and accounting systems will go down,

*In the face of
Y2K imponderables,
the smart advice
is to have a
backup plan.*

about one-third believe the communications grid won't communicate. Despite all this, 73 percent are confident in the government's ability to upgrade and correct Y2K problems!

Just in case they're wrong, though, 39 percent say they will stockpile food and water, 24 percent will buy generators or wood stoves, and although 80 percent say they won't empty their bank accounts, 30 percent

will withdraw and hoard a large amount of cash.

So where are we now? About where we started.

"The interdependent nature of technology systems makes the severity of possible disruptions difficult to predict," the Senate Special Committee said. "Consequently, the fundamental questions of risk and personal preparedness cannot be answered at this time."

Any further questions? ■

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AROUND THE WORLD IN Y2K



CHET PHILLIPS

I THIS IS ONE DEADLINE THAT CAN'T BE POSTPONED — AND MOST OF THE WORLD IS NOT PAYING ATTENTION.

BY CHARLES DERVARICS

It's a dilemma only a procrastinator could love: a large-scale technology problem with an immovable deadline, known for years but too often ignored by countries worldwide. Mix in a few doomsday predictions and some ill-timed press coverage, and the potential for panic only heightens the challenge.

Welcome to the new millennium and its first major test: Y2K.

With time running short, the year 2000 technology problem is fast becoming a priority for industry, governments and diplomats worldwide. Whether industrial giants and developing countries solve their difficulties before Dec. 31, 1999 remains an open question, however, and subject to extensive debate. But even those optimistic about the U.S.

ability to deal with Y2K often are downright skeptical about the international challenge.

"It is increasingly likely that there will be disruptions in all corners of the world," said Jacquelyn Williams-Bridgers, the State Department's inspector general, whose office has assessed Y2K preparedness in 74 countries. In most cases, foreign countries simply have started too late to fix many critical systems.

Among those most at risk are countries in Latin America, Asia and Africa, says a long-awaited new U.S. Senate report. And while no one is forecasting any meltdowns, countries with nuclear power capacity such as China and Russia are getting special attention in hopes of avoiding a major environmental setback.

"Foreign countries trail the United States in addressing Y2K problems by at least several months, and in some cases much longer," said Lawrence Gershwin, science and technology officer for the National Intelligence Council. Most countries are not committing enough funds to Y2K solutions, he says, and given the global interconnections in banking, communications, air transport and other areas, "no country will be immune" from failures.

Revenge of the Nerds?

The Y2K problem dates back to the dawn of the computer age, when programmers saved memory by using two digits, rather than four, to signify the calendar year. As a result, 1960 became "60" and 2000 — a time unimaginably distant — became "00." The practice became standard, but forward-thinking experts never devised a "magic" fix for the turn of the millennium.

The fear now is that some programs may recognize 2000 as the year 1900, causing unusual errors or total system failures. To make the problem worse, Y2K may affect not just computers but other devices with microchips — from telephones and stoplights to engines or timing systems that purify water and

The World Bank found that only 15 percent of developing countries were tackling Y2K.

distribute electrical power.

"This is a global problem affecting not only industrial countries which are highly dependent on computers but developing countries as well," said James Bond, World Bank coordinator of Y2K grants to developing countries. A recent Bank report notes that even the poorest countries rely on computers for essential services. But when faced with civil wars, floods

and financial crises, too many view Y2K as "a vague and distant threat."

A growing practice in some regions of sharing electricity and other basic services also places countries at risk. For example, Nigeria supplies most of the power for neighboring Niger, the World Bank notes, while Rwanda, Burundi and countries in eastern Africa also buy much of their electricity from neighboring countries.

"You don't have to look too far to see how closely interwoven regional economies have become," said Bobak Rezaian, World Bank Y2K coordinator for Africa. "If Nigeria's power facilities are not Y2K compliant, you can appreciate how this would quickly affect Niger's economy and its living conditions."

Such concerns also may come into play in Europe. Wary that its neighbors are ignoring Y2K, the Netherlands has threatened to cut off its power grid from the rest of Europe, according to Gershwin. "European awareness of and concern about the Y2K problem is uneven, and they do lag the United States in fixing their problems," he said.

Developing Country Problems

Developing countries are farthest behind in addressing Y2K, experts say, but the long-term consequences of inaction are unclear. Some argue that a minor disruption, say, one affecting telephones, may have little effect on countries with extreme poverty. Another common refrain is that developing nations have more pressing priorities such as food shortages or rebuilding efforts, but many take exception to this view.

"The sectors you need to meet Y2K needs are the same ones you need for an orderly and functioning

Charles Dervarics, a free-lance writer and journalist, is the Washington correspondent for Y2K Today, an on-line news service.

economy," says George West, senior manager in the World Bank's information solutions group. Moreover, Y2K problems anywhere in the technology chain may affect health care, banks, food orders, oil, machinery and transportation, all essential sectors for developing nations.

In a recent survey of 139 developing countries, the World Bank found that only 15 percent have taken concrete steps to fix Y2K problems in computers or other devices. Another 24 percent are aware of the problem but are not taking action, while 38 percent have appointed a national Y2K coordinator — considered the essential first step toward recognizing the problem.

To help countries catch up on Y2K, the bank has sponsored seminars worldwide and identified critical priorities for the remaining months before January 2000. Each country, it says, should target these top issues:

- power generation and transmission;
- financial and banking issues;
- communications and transport, including air and seaports;
- food/fuel concerns; and
- health care and education.

The bank also is offering grants to countries for Y2K assessments and repairs. About 80 nations have applied for planning grants of up to \$100,000 and repair grants of up to \$500,000, West says. Already, the bank has approved 60 grant applications as well as special Y2K loans of \$30 million to Argentina and \$29 million to Sri Lanka. A \$100 million Y2K loan for Malaysia is pending.

"Developing countries are vested into modern technology but don't necessarily understand it," said Riley Sever, a vice president of the American Foreign Service Association. Worse yet, some countries may keep their lack of expertise a secret, for risk of embarrassing themselves. With Y2K, Sever says, "There must be a

The Asian economic crisis has hampered Y2K efforts throughout the Asia-Pacific region.

willingness to be open and honest about the problem."

But in some cases, countries face a Catch 22 situation: Admitting a lack of readiness may harm foreign investment now, but keeping it secret may cause political problems down the road.

"Panic over Y2K concerns may cause investors to withdraw financial support," the U.S. Senate's Special Committee on the year 2000 Technology Problem says in a widely circulated report. "The results could topple a fragile economy or a struggling foreign government."

Business on the Brink

Indeed, Y2K problems could disrupt businesses in many countries, says the Gartner Group, a Stamford, Conn., organization noted for its readiness assessments. In at least 30 developing countries, a majority of businesses are likely to suffer a Y2K failure, Gartner says. The list includes Afghanistan, Cambodia, Chad, Ecuador, Egypt, Ethiopia, Indonesia, Kenya, Morocco, Pakistan, Philippines, Romania, Thailand, Vietnam and Zimbabwe. In another 20 countries, half of all businesses are likely to suffer a Y2K-related problem.

These failures could lead to instability in some countries, a problem that may affect Foreign Service employees, Sever notes. As a result, a new State Department edict requires that all embassies have the capacity to be self-sufficient for 30 days after Jan. 1, 2000.

Developing countries that rank among the world's top oil producers also are in a precarious position. So far, Gershwin has identified Mexico, Nigeria, Saudi Arabia and Venezuela among Y2K laggards. Complicating repair efforts is the sheer complexity of these oil production systems, which rely on computers and computer chips in drilling, pumping, transportation and refining operations.

"The industry is fraught with potential Y2K problems," Gershwin says. A typical offshore oil facility has 50 to 100 embedded systems containing up to 10,000 individual microchips. Moreover, materials may come

from up to 60 different vendors, making it difficult to evaluate current systems and test solutions.

And such challenges do not even include potential problems in shipping and overseas ports, he says — two areas of commerce where experts have little information yet about Y2K preparedness. Foreign ports and ocean shipping “have both been flagged as among the least prepared sectors,” he said.

Too Distracted for Y2K?

As chairwoman of a House of Representatives’ Y2K subcommittee, U.S. Rep. Connie Morella (R-Md.) often raises the issue when meeting foreign leaders. During a recent trip to Asia, however, she was surprised at the reaction from members of Japan’s legislature.

“Some eyes glazed over at the mention of Y2K,” she said, as if they knew little or nothing about the topic. Morella found similar responses in Hong Kong and elsewhere, and the anecdotal information left her more than a bit concerned. “It looks like we’ll have some major international problems,” she said.

Morella’s experience is not uncommon, since some believe that industrialized nations also have not paid enough attention to Y2K, often because of regional issues.

In Japan’s case, banking and economic woes have left the country nine months to two years behind the U.S. on Y2K repairs. “The Asian economic crisis has hampered the Y2K remediation efforts of all the Asia-Pacific countries, except Australia,” Gershwin said. And, still, though it ranks ahead of many developing countries on Y2K compliance, Japan has more to lose. Its tightly coordinated supply systems and reliance on information technology make it much more vulnerable to millennium bug disruptions, a Gartner analysis says.

The countries of Western Europe also are behind on Y2K but for another reason: preoccupation with the Euro. Developing the new European Union currency took away considerable expertise — not to mention financial resources — from Y2K repair efforts. Though the new Euro is a success, “this was done by, in many cases, postponing coming to grips with Y2K problems,” Gershwin says.

Some international problems may be relatively benign, such as failures of card readers to process

FOR FRESH Y2K INFO

Many government and private sector groups have information about Y2K readiness efforts, both for individual countries and regions worldwide.

The World Bank’s infoDev project has a detailed analysis of readiness efforts in foreign countries. Its survey provides country-by-country assessments of Y2K readiness along with the names of government agencies assigned to the issue. Through infoDev, the World Bank also sponsors workshops and offers grants to combat Y2K breakdowns. To get more information, visit the World Bank’s Internet site:

<http://www.worldbank.org/infodev/y2k>

The U.S. Senate’s Special Committee on the Year 2000 Technology Problem has published a detailed study, “Investigating the Impact of the Year 2000 Problem,” which includes a section on foreign readiness. For more information, contact the committee at (202) 224-5224 or visit its Internet site:

<http://www.senate.gov/~y2k>

The State Department’s Office of Inspector General has visited Russia and other countries as part of an effort to gather Y2K information. Contact the OIG’s office at (202) 647-4000 or visit the Internet site:

<http://www.state.gov/www/dept/oig>

Based in Stamford, Conn., the Gartner Group provides extensive Y2K consulting and has a wealth of information about readiness efforts among world governments. Its research shows no country out of the Y2K “danger zone,” though the United States, Australia, United Kingdom, Belgium, Canada and Sweden fared best. Those at the other end of the scale included Argentina, China, Malaysia, Thailand, Philippines and countries of central Africa. For information, contact Gartner at (203) 316-1111. — C.D.

credit purchases, he said. But some countries are at risk of business sector failures. According to a Gartner Group analysis, one-third of major companies in France, Italy and Spain may face a major Y2K systems failure, while in Austria, one-half of major companies are at risk. Other studies show Germany nine months to two years behind the schedule of leading U.S. sectors.

Worse yet, European countries may do little or no contingency planning to prepare for a widespread problem. The U.S. Senate reports that 98 percent of American companies with 100 or more employees will develop Y2K back-up or contingency plans. The rate in Europe: only about 60 percent, and these figures do not account for small businesses that employ millions of workers.

Who's Hot, Who's Not?

Y2K progress also varies greatly based on regional issues and economies. Here is a breakdown of some critical geographic areas and their millennium bug challenges:

China: U.S. intelligence data show potentially difficult problems, since the country ranks among the least prepared for Jan. 1, 2000. Because of its late start, "Beijing will fail to solve many of its Y2K problems in the limited time remaining, and will probably experience failures in key sectors such as telecommunications, electric power and banking," Gershwin said.

A particular problem in China is that, for key government functions, the country relies on pirated software, he noted. That fact makes it difficult for Chinese officials to seek advice and gives them few legal avenues to pursue compensation should they face system failures.

The Middle East: Only Israel is making steady progress on Y2K among countries in this region. Overall, the Middle East ranks more than 12 months behind the U.S. on major system repairs, Gartner reports.

Eastern Europe: Y2K problems, if combined with a stark winter and food shortages in Russia and the Ukraine, could mean a tough transition for the for-

*In Western Europe,
preoccupation with
conversion to the
Euro has diverted
attention from the
millennium problem.*

mer Soviet Union. A Russian state committee already has said the country is not likely to fix all Y2K problems by Jan. 1, "and we think they're right," Gershwin says. "While Russia possesses a talented pool of programmers, they seem to lack the time, organization and funding to adequately confront the Y2K problem."

Of particular concern are computer-controlled systems and subsystems for electricity and nuclear power generating stations, where problems could lead to reactor shut-downs or a loss of heat in parts of the country during the dead of winter.

In fact, nuclear issues are getting high-level attention from U.S. Y2K experts seeking to defuse any potential catastrophe. Russia's nuclear weapons are not a Y2K risk, Gershwin believes, but there is concern that the country's early warning system — used to detect incoming missiles — may not function properly. U.S. and Russian leaders recently agreed to set up a joint command in Colorado to share missile system information during the Jan. 1, 2000 transition.

Most nuclear power plants in Russia and Eastern Europe date back to the time of the old Soviet Union and also pose a problem. "The documentation is poor or non-existent," Gershwin says. "The companies that designed it are long gone."

However, in assessing nuclear dangers worldwide, the new U.S. Senate report cited concern, but not panic. It found a "low" probability of an accidental nuclear weapons launch anywhere in the world as a result of Y2K.

If You're Abroad in January

All U.S. embassies have Y2K action committees and contingency plans based on their individual needs, Sever says. But regardless of location, Foreign Service employees face several unknown factors. One is air travel.

Gartner, among others, has talked openly about the possibility of airline and airport disruptions. Computerized air traffic control systems are complex,

F O C U S

and system errors could force airports to resort to manual controls — and hence, fewer flights arriving and departing each day. Gartner also expresses concern that the insurance industry, by failing to cover any Y2K-related mishaps, may prompt airlines to limit or curtail service at certain locations.

"Travel throughout the world in January 2000 should be deferred if possible," a Gartner report says. Sever said some Foreign Service employees may send their families home to the U.S. for the holidays — and urged them to remain there until January.

Another unknown for Americans abroad is the food supply. Aircraft bring in much of the food for embassies in developing countries, Sever said, so air travel questions may become a factor on this issue. But employees in industrialized nations may have a different problem, since the U.S. encourages these embassies to buy food locally in support of a country's economy. "If there is hoarding of food in any of these countries, it definitely would affect us," he said.

Foreign Service employees will continue to get

their paychecks, but foreign banks are not immune from damaging Y2K problems. In floating a particularly dangerous scenario, Gartner notes that one critical press report about a country's central bank could prompt a bank run — and the potential for panic. "This scenario must be taken into consideration," its report says.

A disruption of essential services also may find U.S. embassy staff playing a major service role in aiding the recovery of their host countries. Sen. Robert Bennett (R-Utah), chairman of the Senate's Special Y2K Committee, views this as an increasingly likely prospect. The U.S., he says, "will undoubtedly be called upon to play a humanitarian role, much as it would in the wake of a devastating natural disaster."

As a result, Foreign Service employees may need to make detailed contingency plans for entry into the next millennium. "People never expected these programs to live so long," said the World Bank's West. Though Y2K began as a technology issue, it now has become a management problem. "Unfortunately," he adds, "there's not another year to hide behind." ■



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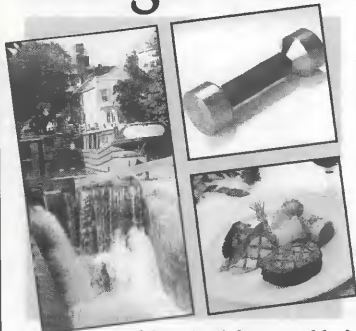
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THE AUTOBIOGRAPHY OF A CHINESE DIPLOMAT

HAVING LIVED THROUGH TRIUMPH, TURMOIL AND PERSECUTION, A
VETERAN COMMUNIST LOOKS BACK AND FEELS FULFILLED.

BY THEANA YATRON KASTENS

Secure within the massive, granite walls which surround Santiago de Compostela's narrow streets and baroque squares, he was, for the first time, comfortable talking in this centuries-old Spanish town imbued with religious historical significance. A high-ranking official of China's Communist Party who had been punished in China's Cultural Revolution and had survived to become one of China's leading nuclear physicists, he was attending a scientific symposium at the famed Hotel de los Reyes Catolicos.

Walking comfortably across the magnificent Plaza del Obradoiro, the tall, lean Asian engaged his hosts in passable Spanish about the varied architecture in the square. His deportment well served the interests of China, a country that had once suppressed his human rights and had forced him to subjugate his intellect to time at hard labor. That evening the stark reality of his past seemed glaringly incompatible with his refined mannerisms and easy laugh. This was clearly a man who enjoyed life.

As he punctuated the eucalyptus-scented air with long, tapered fingers, I noticed that his hands still bore trace calluses from four years of brutal fieldwork, forced labor at a time in his life when he had just reached his professional prime. And yet here he was the charming ambassador of a country often vilified for its human rights abuses.

Theana Yatron Kastens is a freelance writer living in Vienna, Austria.

We started to dance a minuet of questions and answers. He felt compelled to explain why China is so misunderstood by the West. He claimed that his life was not unique, but rather a reflection of what an entire population had experienced. As he talked, he deemed his personal identity irrelevant. This is his story.

China Before Mao

To understand China today, one must understand China before Mao.

I was born to privilege in the southeast province of Jiangxi in 1937, when China was a land filled with internal strife. A growing labor movement challenged the preemptive authority of the landowners, and while we tried to make sense of our changing social and economic orders, the Japanese arrived at Lu Gau Bridge, also known as the Marco Polo Bridge, on July 7. They ruthlessly seized our natural resources, our personal freedoms and our national identity. Shanghai soon fell into Japanese hands, plunging our war-torn country into panic.

My family lived a tenuous existence in Zhang Shu, a small provincial town in Jiangxi. My earliest childhood memory is of fleeing the advancing Japanese, who were moving aggressively across our country, enslaving our people at every turn and directing a level of cruelty towards us far beyond just taking our rice and starving us. My family fled west to Hunan Province when I was two years old.

I began to explore my childhood world in Hunan, running through the rice fields, sinking

my feet into the wet soil and watching people and goods move along the many waterways. At night I slept secure under duck-down quilts handmade by my family. Then one day when I was four years old, the Japanese bombed Hunan. I remember how the earth shook and the roar filled my ears. Then, I felt the weight of my father's body shield me against the incendiary bombs. For the rest of my father's days, his neck bore the burn scars from that attack.

Miraculously, my entire family survived, but when the bombs stopped, we looked around and there was nothing left. The earth was scorched, smoke rose from the ground, our vegetation was gone, our animals were dead, our homes and clothing burned. I can still smell the charred remains of my home. In a matter of minutes we had nothing left but our lives. And we were the fortunate ones. Many died slowly in the aftermath of the inferno.

We fled again, this time farther west to Chongqing, a major city located at the junction of the Yangzi and Jialing Rivers in Sichuan Province. People traveled by foot, holding their only worldly possessions in two small packages tied to a stick carried across their shoulders. My father tried to find us seats on a train, but there was no room because the train was full of military supplies being spirited away from Japanese hands. So he suspended several narrow wooden boards, long enough to seat one adult and a child from the exposed, open bottom of a freight car. For four days we all sat compressed between the giant train wheels, my parents with six children, all of us propped up, balanced against each other, in constant danger of falling onto the tracks and under the wheels.

En route to Chongqing, we stopped in the Guizhou Province town of Zun Yi. We were all battling chron-

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ic diarrhea, when my youngest sister, a lively child, became ill with bronchial pneumonia. There was no penicillin available, except for a small amount at the hospital. It was very expensive, and our money was gone.

I remember her coughs and how helpless we felt, trying to make her comfortable, trying to restore her bright spirit. My mother was a Buddhist, and she prayed. Then, soon after my sister had developed the unremitting cough, we were gathered all around her, and her face turned blue. She tried to take another breath, but could not. My mother clutched my sister's limp body against her bosom and cried a raw, anguished wail. She was gone.

The Japanese were only days behind us. We had to flee again. So we hurriedly buried my sweet, young sister. The next day it snowed. The whole ground was covered in a thick blanket of snow, and we could no longer see where we had buried her. This grief that has not been reconciled from fifty years ago has left scars. If I went back to that region today, I would not be able to find my sister's grave.

We reached Chongqing, relieved to be out of Japanese hands, but faced with severe rice shortages and civil unrest. Kuomintang forces battled the Communists with brute force, but neither side could succeed so long as vast regions of China remained under Japanese

occupation. The Communists proposed a combined Communist-Kuomintang alliance to rout the Japanese, but the union failed because of the Kuomintang's determined effort to undermine the Communists. Mao Zedong had by then mobilized a very disciplined militia, which moved through the country like a snake, garnering grass-roots support. World War II ended and our country was poised for civil war.

Civil War and Communism

When the war with Japan ended, my family moved to its ancestral roots in Shanghai, which in 1949 was under Kuomintang control. We had anarchy, poverty, hunger, sickness and death. The Kuomintang were rough, and they routinely stole our food and possessions. They would enter our homes and take whatever they wanted. Soon our cash became worthless and we had to barter for rice. Every day was a trial for survival. Then Mao led his People's Liberation Army into the city. With my own young eyes I saw hand-to-hand street combat between the Communist and Kuomintang soldiers. And in the morning quiet I saw PLA soldiers sleeping peacefully beside the road, disturbing no one, unlike the Kuomintang soldiers who routinely took our beds.

Mao drove the Kuomintang out of Shanghai and, for the first time in my life, I felt hope. The Communists had so few resources at their disposal, but what they had they made available to everyone. The Communist soldiers were polite and disciplined, working shoulder-to-shoulder in the fields to plant crops and restore our land. Medical services and schools returned, and people were not afraid to consider the future.

The Communists demonstrated that they were truly the servants of the people. Through sheer hard work, we began to prosper. But there was

a severe, more militant left wing within the Communist Party that fought with the landowners. It was a remaining chapter in the class struggle that had propelled China into civil war. In the early 1950s the Communists had begun to "borrow" privately owned business assets. Unlike in Russia, where private assets were seized overnight, business owners in China received some nominal "interest" while the government steadily expropriated the assets. Eventually, private businesses were entirely state-owned. This practice was a mistake, and China is now trying to strengthen herself through privatization. But back in 1955, our new government went wild with this policy. Landowners, however, received no such transitional treatment. They were publicly condemned as enemies of the people, and their land was immediately seized.

The government asked workers to spy on business owners. This was a period of purification, the final triumph of the working class over the private owners. This was Mao's vision. He was a leader of men, a philosopher, a poet, a teacher, a great military commander. Chiang Kai-shek was no match for him.

Membership in the Communist Party became essential for the most dedicated in society. To gain acceptance, an individual had to work altruistically in support of the workers and the farmers, demonstrating absolute faith in Mao. He had to believe in everything that Mao believed in, even if Mao was wrong. I accepted absolutely these tenets for membership in the Party. Selfish motivations are what mired China in misery before the Communists took power. Mao made everyday life so much better, feeding the poor, educating the young, healing the ill. There was really never a choice between the Communists and the Kuomintang. I saw the ben-

*Showing no reserve,
no compassion,
I was an active
participant in
this baseless
feeding frenzy.*

efits of Mao's work and I believed wholeheartedly. So did my wife.

My wife and I studied nuclear physics together at Beijing. That we spoke the same Shanghai regional dialect drew us together first as friends and later as partners in life. Upon graduation in 1959, I was granted a position as associate professor in Beijing. My wife, having made herself an authority in one particular field of science hydraulics research, was to be sent on assignment to central China. We knew we would not see each other for six months. In one day we received our government-issued marriage certificate. There were no vows, no rings, no photos; there was no wedding night. My wife received the certificate, we had dinner with our friends, and she boarded the train to her next assignment.

Six months later I collected her, and we traveled to my family, then settled in northwest China, to be accepted as a couple. It was a joyous time in my life. My future seemed full of wonderful possibilities as I assumed increased professional responsibilities and was placed in charge of an important research unit. And I became the father of a beautiful baby girl, who reminded me so much of my long perished baby sister.

Then everything changed with the Cultural Revolution. It's not easy for me to talk about this period

of my life. It happened to me on November 18, 1968.

Cleansing and Incarceration

I had worked through the night to complete the development of a thermohydraulic loop, a "cool down" system in a nuclear reactor. At 8 a.m., I retired for a short nap before commencing a new day of work. Upon awakening, I learned of a routine Communist Party meeting scheduled for that afternoon. These meetings were ideological assemblies, which I later realized bore resemblance to evangelical religious meetings in the West. With naive enthusiasm, I took my seat, looked over at my wife who was seated with her own research team on the far side of the room, and then settled in attentively, ready to show my public devotion to Mao.

Suddenly it was announced that a colleague of mine was a "traitor." I was shocked and wondered how this could be, but along with the others, I raised my fist and publicly condemned my colleague. The man was forced to the stage, made to bow before us, and a placard of humiliation was placed around his neck identifying him as a "Japanese traitor."

Showing no reserve, no compassion, I was an active participant in this baseless feeding frenzy. "Down with him! Purify the class ranks!" we shouted, all fervent disciples of Mao. The man was pronounced "guilty" and doomed to punishment. I sat in self-righteous support of his fate.

Then I was stunned. My name was called next! Two colleagues grabbed me roughly by my arms and thrust me on to the stage. My mind went blank. My body went numb. A placard identifying me as a "progeny of the landlord class" was placed around my neck. I didn't know what it said. My head was shoved downward in humiliation. Everyone, including my wife and young daughter,

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shouted at me and I didn't know why.

Frozen for an indeterminate period of time, I stood oblivious to the roar of the angry crowd. My first conscious thought was of the perspiration pouring from my face. Then I was forcibly removed from the stage and placed in an isolation room. It was dark and damp. My wife brought me clothes, but we were not allowed contact.

The next few months were spent in isolation. I lost track of time. I just existed, except for the times I was brought out for "fighting meetings." The physical abuse was always more difficult when my wife was in the audience. The Red Guards were rough thugs who derived pleasure from beating other human beings. I remember once they lined up in two rows and I was made to walk through. I refused to be brought to my knees and they hit me harder, smashing my back with their bamboo sticks. My flesh opened wide and soon I no longer felt their blows.

My life had been plunged into an unmitigated darkness, an abyss devoid of all rational thought. At times I asked myself whether my life was over. But I managed to hold on to my sanity because I believed in Mao. I believed every single day that Mao would save me. The Red Guards, I believed, had just made a mistake. My incarceration was a mistake and Mao would set me free.

Most, including my wife, were "re-educated." I was "punished." It was not until several years later that I learned the reason why. Two years before I came to the nuclear facility, Mao had eliminated his central government and had espoused a "mass dictatorship." The Cultural Revolution, Mao's second revolution, was intended to "purify the class ranks" by transferring power to the working class.

Mao stopped all work, closed all schools, and ordered everyone to the streets and countryside in support

of his Cultural Revolution. Students rode the trains free all across China, squeezing in through windows, jamming into the aisles, in a mindless evangelistic crusade. Then Mao stopped the trains and ordered the students to march on foot. Hordes of students, equipped only with backpacks, marched for weeks through bitter weather in search of farmers and peasants. The students were China's future intellectual class, and Mao had determined that they should bond and become one with the working class. As a young professor, I was assigned to one of these groups.

These student groups were highly competitive with each other and gradually they fell into two major factions: one conservative, consisting mostly of the intellectuals, the other rebellious, consisting mostly of the Red Guards. I belonged to the more conservative group.

Our group arrived in Zhang Chun and learned that a respected local teacher, a man whose father had been a landlord, had been accused of disloyalty to Mao by the more rebellious group, and had then committed suicide rather than face continued humiliation. Upon examination of the facts, our group decided that the teacher had been falsely accused. The teacher was already dead, but we were fighting for the truth.

One of my university colleagues in Beijing was politically aligned with the more rebellious group and he learned of my post-mortem support of this teacher's innocence. My colleague filed a report against me, portraying this as an act of betrayal. He laid the trap that snared me on that fateful day when I was seized by the Red Guards and tossed into an incomprehensible nightmare.

The "fighting meetings" ended in my first year and then I was forced into hard labor. I was assigned to rotate the grindstones necessary to make tofu from soybeans. I became

an expert at making tofu, assigned to this task for well over a year. Then I was transferred to the rice fields, which had become overgrown with grass. Here I worked for two years, working daily, hip deep in mud, fertilizing the crops by hand with piles of human excrement, and then directing a plow pulled by buffalo.

I would count the hours to certain days when I knew I might catch a glimpse of my wife as she was leaving the lunchroom with her research unit. She would always make a point to linger, knowing that my lunch shift was next, hoping to make eye contact. Oh, such a small gesture, and yet, how much strength I drew from her comforting and supportive glimpses. It kept me going knowing she had not abandoned me.

Sudden Restitution

Then one day, as quickly as I had been seized, I was inexplicably released. There had been no hint of my impending release, no explanations except that there had been a mistake. The records against me were destroyed and I was declared innocent. It was up to me alone to comprehend and make peace with the past. It happened with such unexpected speed, validating my faith that Mao must have saved me. Eager to reestablish myself in the very place where my reputation had been so maligned, I returned to the same job I had the day I was taken by the Red Guards. To go elsewhere would have suggested that I had reason to run away.

As head of thermal hydraulic research, I decided we should replace Russian terminology with English. I was already 44 years of age when I taught myself English, playing language-instruction records alone in my room. I held private classes for my research unit and insisted that English be used in all laboratory



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work. We became a very advanced group, first to be called upon by visiting scientists from the West during China's "open door policy" in the late '70s.

Eventually I was selected to enter comprehensive English-language instruction in Chengdu. My teacher, an American, was a very friendly, gracious young man. He was my first introduction to America and I wondered if all Americans were like him, so open and willing to express his feelings of support and encouragement. Knowing him personally helped define my view of the West, and I realized how important it is for people to genuinely know each other in order to forge a productive future.

My mastery of English placed me at the forefront of our high-level Western scientific exchanges, and soon I was asked to head the power plant as its new director general. It was, for me, my final vindication.

Tiananmen Square Legacy

Then Tiananmen Square happened. While I viewed the student demonstrators at Tiananmen Square as troublemakers with no commitment to a better China, I felt personally very saddened that they were so ruthlessly crushed. No doubt because of my punishing past, it shocked me down to my core. The students' sentiments were not unreasonable and they enjoyed growing support from the Beijing citizenry. Then outside influences took advantage of the situation with hopes of destabilizing the government.

Hong Kong began funneling hard currency to the students through non-governmental organizations. Some of the student leaders fled Beijing with the cash and set themselves up comfortably in the West. Opportunists opposed to the Communist Party rallied for a new China. These calls to topple our government came from those sitting comfortably

outside China's borders.

Unfortunately, the students on foot in the streets of Beijing became the sacrificial lambs for the selfish motivations of a small minority. Our government had no choice but to quash the movement. It had become a serious destabilizing threat. We acted as would have any country, just as the United States acted at Kent State.

What unnerved me, however, about Tiananmen Square was the unexpected force employed against the students. It was so swift and sudden. If a second Cultural Revolution were to have occurred, I believed I would easily have become a target. Not because I had anything to do with the students, but simply because I had by then extensive contact with foreigners through my work. I worried that my thinking would have been held suspect.

So I judged each day quietly and carefully, assessing the winds of change, determined never again to sit naively and hear my name called next. I realize now that my fears were founded in my painful past.

It saddens me now that Tiananmen Square has been used by the United States to unfairly perpetuate antagonism towards China. Both countries would benefit if this antagonism towards China would end. We cannot grow without first understanding each other. There is a decidedly negative presentation of China in the Western media. And don't underestimate the effect of this press coverage. It has enormous influence on the minds of those who form policy.

Hypocrisy and Human Rights

For years the Western media portrayed the "Red Chinese" as not really human. We were viewed as robots all marching to the same beat, when in reality we only wanted a better life and were expressing human emotions that transcend all

ideological barriers.

Western media biases against China have become so blatant that Chinese intellectuals who once trusted the Western media no longer do.

The greatest hypocrisy is Western concern for human rights. If it were genuine, there would be support for the millions of poverty-stricken Chinese peasants, instead of concern for a handful of Chinese dissidents who have absolutely nothing to contribute to Chinese society. While floods recently devastated entire regions of China, only perfunctory notice was given to this epic tragedy in the Western media.

And then there's Hong Kong. Contrary to the view promulgated by the Western media, the best thing that has ever happened to Hong Kong has been its return to the mainland. Now the world has seen that China is progressively seeking international development, and has no intention of stifling Hong Kong's distinct personality. People in Hong Kong today realize that they have a rich future under Communist rule.

Nothing in the West reminds me of home. But as different as the East is from the West, this does not mean we cannot understand and appreciate each other and mutually benefit from our association. Having lived through the distortions of an aberrant society, I remain faithful, keeping my forward vision for China intact. I have always wanted my life to matter through my work. Scientists are not motivated by power, but by knowledge. I wanted to live in my own country, in my own culture and not be uprooted to some foreign land. Remaining in China affirms everything I have lived for: my work, my people, my country.

Having invested all of myself — physically, emotionally and scientifically — into making my homeland a better place, I have achieved a sense of peace, acceptance and fulfillment. ■



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THE PRICE OF TRUTH IN SOUTH AFRICA

Country of My Skull: Guilt, Sorrow, and the Limits of Forgiveness in the New South Africa
Antjie Krog (foreword by Charlayne Hunter-Gault), Times Books/Random House, 1999, hardcover, \$27.50, 403 pages.

By STEVEN ALAN HONLEY

Reconciliation between blacks and whites and among political factions has been a central goal of South African President Nelson Mandela's government since it came to power in 1994 in that country's first post-apartheid election. In keeping with that commitment, urged by different factions, in 1995 the Mandela government established a Truth and Reconciliation Commission comprising representatives of all political parties. The commission, which last year issued an interim report after three years of public hearings, provides a forum for all victims of politically motivated violence and torture to tell their stories. Likewise, the perpetrators of such acts can confess their crimes and receive amnesty. The hope is that such public truth-telling will give the country some measure of peace, while at the same time cutting short the cycle of retaliation and recrimination characteristic of the apartheid era.

Some 7,000 people have requested amnesty from the commission. Half of them have received it so far. The commission has rejected collective requests for amnesty from political parties and other groups, including the ruling party, the African National Congress, saying these requests fall outside its mandate. Regrettably, very few of the major figures on either side of the apartheid struggle have come forward. Instead, they maintain that they were unaware of or bear no personal responsibility for abuses. Still, even its harshest critics admit that the Truth and Reconciliation Commission has facilitated South Africa's political and societal healing process.

In her powerful and moving book, *Antjie Krog*, a poet and radio reporter for the South African Broadcasting Company, describes the work of the commission from 1995 to 1998. While she insightfully discusses the roles of famous figures like Archbishop Desmond Tutu and Winnie Mandela, who is the subject of an entire chapter, Krog devotes the bulk of her book to the testimony of ordinary South Africans. Many of these witnesses are poor and uneducated, yet their dignity and humanity shine through their testimony.

Readers can open this book to almost any page and find descriptions of stomach-turning physical and psychological atrocities. This makes

even more amazing the words of people whose loved ones were arrested, tortured and killed by the government, the ANC or unknown assailants. Most do not seek revenge; they simply want information about what happened to their relatives and, perhaps, the chance to give them a proper burial. If Krog had done nothing more than record their testimony, she would have rendered an invaluable service, but that is only part of her achievement. She also weaves her own thoughts and the reflections of other South Africans into her narrative. She strives to report meaningfully and fairly — though, by her own admission, not objectively — about the commission's proceedings. She also tries to make sense of the commission for herself, both as a South African who welcomed the destruction of apartheid and as an Afrikaner with deep roots in her "beloved country of grief and grace."

The one significant weakness of the book is that Krog is writing primarily for her compatriots, so she assumes at least basic knowledge of apartheid's history. For those new to the subject, a foreword by Charlayne Hunter-Gault, formerly of PBS's *The MacNeil-Lehrer News Hour*, helps give the book a larger historical and social context. A glossary of Afrikaans terms and a "cast of characters" also help. Still, unfamiliar references

keep cropping up, and Krog's deliberately impressionistic prose sometimes leads to confusion about who is speaking and to whom.

Even with those caveats, however, it is difficult to imagine a more compelling book on contemporary South Africa.

Steven Alan Honley is a Washington, D.C., freelance writer who served in the Foreign Service from 1985 to 1997.

REUNIFICATION AND COMING APART

Russia and Germany Reborn: Unification, the Soviet Collapse and the New Europe

Angela E. Stent, Princeton University Press, 1999, hardback, \$29.95, 300 pages.

By PATRICIA H. KUSHLIS

Angela E. Stent, a professor of Government at Georgetown University, is the first English-speaking author to tackle in one volume the monumental topics of German reunification, dissolution of the former Soviet Union and the impact of these two events on European security and international relations. "The disappearance of the GDR and the USSR, the rebirth of Russia and the reunification of Germany have had a profound impact on European security and the entire structure of international relations. United Germany is a rising power, destined to lead the European continent once its own process of unification is complete. Russia will also shape European developments in the next century,"

she argues.

In *Russia and Germany Reborn*, Stent analyzes political and economic developments from 1968 to 1998 in and between the Federal Republic of Germany and the Soviet Union. Writing with insight, she includes discussion of the two countries' relationships with each other, as well as the negotiating styles and political needs of their leaders. She also takes on the U.S. role in German unification and NATO enlargement.

Stent is one of a few American political scientists who can research in both Russian and German. She has written books on both Germany and the Soviet Union, but her strength is clearly Germany, where her sources and observations stand out. Her account of the GDR's last days demonstrates her considerable depth of knowledge about that country, while her intriguing interviews with 24 young German diplomats reveal their ambivalence toward Germany's place in the world. Also perceptive is Stent's analysis of the problem of Kaliningrad, the former Baltic German city of Königsberg, now part of Russia, but squeezed between Poland and Lithuania.

In addition to these formidable strengths as an author, Stent displays some notable weaknesses. For example, she falls short in her description of national independence movements in the former Soviet Union in the late 1980s and early 1990s. On one hand, she correctly points to their significance in distracting then Soviet President Mikhail Gorbachev and Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze from Two-Plus-Four, which led to the reunification of Germany. On the other hand, she lumps all the move-

ments together when the record of independence movements in the former Soviet Union is more complicated. Stent doesn't differentiate between the Baltic states of Lithuania, Latvia and Estonia, which were independent countries between the world wars, and the newly independent states of the former Soviet Union, which were integral parts of that country. She further reports that Estonia disenfranchised its Russian population, when in reality Estonia tried to make it difficult, though not impossible, for resident Russians to become citizens. Non-citizens were allowed to vote in local elections and anyone whose family had lived there since 1940 automatically became a citizen.

The final chapter of the book, which outlines alternative scenarios for the futures of Germany and Russia is more predictable than revealing, but the chapter on NATO expansion is instructive. Stent is more objective than many of her scholarly colleagues in portraying the contentious debate that took place in the United States over NATO expansion. She clearly and succinctly states the Russian and German positions on NATO, particularly Germany's concern for containing instability on its eastern borders. She also points out that Russia gained NATO's agreement not to station troops or place nuclear weapons on the territories of Poland, Hungary and the Czech Republic, its three newest members.

Stent deserves an "A" for coverage of German reunification, but a "C" for insights into Russian independence.

Patricia H. Kushlis is a retired USIS FSO who served in Moscow from 1978 to 1980. ■



IN MEMORY

Lewis W. Bowden, 74, a retired FSO, died of cancer Feb. 16 at Sibley Memorial Hospital in Washington, D.C.

Born in Broken Arrow, Okla. in 1924, Mr. Bowden graduated from Yale University and received a master's degree in international affairs from Columbia University. During World War II he served in the U.S. Navy and attained the rank of lieutenant junior grade.

Mr. Bowden entered the Department of State in 1950 and served in Zagreb, Belgrade, Bern, Moscow, Rio de Janeiro, Brasilia and in Washington. He subsequently served in the Departments of Commerce and Treasury. After retirement in 1979, he worked as an executive of Parsons Engineering Corp. in Saudi Arabia. In 1982 he settled in Bethesda, Md.

Survivors include his wife, Ljerka N. Bowden of Bethesda; two children, Alen Bowden of New York and Moira Rouch of Oklahoma City; and two grandchildren.

Harold E. Hall, 82, a retired FSO, died after a heart attack Oct. 27, 1998, at his home in Charles Town, West Va.

Mr. Hall was educated at Utah State, Stanford and Oxford universities and served as a lieutenant in the U.S. Maritime Service.

After joining the Foreign Service in 1949, he was assigned as consul to Sydney. Later posts included New Delhi, London and Calgary, where he was consul general. He was also a diplomat-in-residence and visiting professor of government at the University of South Dakota and a member of the faculty at the Federal Executive Institute, Charlottesville, Va. He retired in 1976 and continued to lecture at universities and colleges.

Survivors include his wife, Rosa Baylor Hall of Charles Town; a daughter, Barbara Neill Hall of Yerevan, Armenia; a son, Stephen Baylor of Arlington, Va.; and two grandsons.

Robert H. Harlan, 80, died of cancer Nov. 26, 1998, in Freeport, Ill.

Mr. Harlan was born in Chicago in 1917 and grew up in Freeport where he graduated from high school in 1935. He received his law degree from the University of Chicago in 1942. During World War II, he served in the Army Counter Intelligence Corps, and then returned to Freeport to practice law until 1948.

After taking a two-year leave of absence for a temporary State Department assignment in Germany, he entered the Foreign Service. His 30-year career included posts in Iran, Libya, Pakistan, South Vietnam, and Germany. His last overseas

posting was as minister counselor for economic and commercial affairs in Paris. He retired in 1978 after a tour as an inspector.

Returning to Freeport in retirement, he was active in community affairs and served on boards and committees for institutions ranging from the Highland Community College to the Stephenson County Jail. He received a Public Service Citation from the University of Chicago Alumni Association in 1992.

Survivors include his wife, Lois E. Harlan of Freeport; two daughters, Lucy W. Harlan of Plymouth, Minn., and Heidi E. Krape of Naples, Fla.; a son, Stephen W. Harlan of Renton, Wash.; six grandchildren; four great grandchildren; a brother, Charles H. Harlan; and a sister, Helen E. Wulf.

Paul Kreisberg, 69, a retired FSO, died of brain cancer Jan. 23 at Georgetown University Hospital in Washington, D.C.

Mr. Kreisberg was from New York and graduated from the City College of New York. He received a master's degree in Chinese history at Columbia University and a graduate certificate in Asian studies from the University of Pennsylvania.

He joined the Foreign Service and was posted to Bombay in 1952. His other posts included Hong Kong, Taiwan, Karachi, Dar Es Salaam and

IN MEMORY

New Delhi. In the department he served as director of Asian communist affairs and as a senior adviser to the Warsaw talks which maintained contact between the U.S. and the People's Republic of China before relations were established.

After his retirement, he continued his work in foreign affairs: as director of studies for the Council on Foreign Relations in New York from 1981 to 1987; as a senior associate of the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace in Washington from 1987 to 1991; and as a visiting research fellow at the East-West Center in Honolulu from 1991 to 1993. He was a senior scholar at the Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars in Washington when he died.

Survivors include his wife, Sally Kreisberg of Washington; two children from his first marriage, Miranda Martin of College Park and Polly Kreisberg of Portland, Ore.; two stepchildren, Robert Dollison of Broad Run, Va. and Elizabeth Dollison of Oakton, Va.; and five grandchildren.

Michael F. Lukomski, 53, a retired FSO, died of a heart attack at his home in Algarve, Portugal on March 3.

Born in Sturgis, Mich., Mr. Lukomski graduated from Kalamazoo College, and earned his Ph.D. in economics from Michigan State University. He taught economics at Michigan State and spent five years in Brazil on various research and consulting assignments.

Mr. Lukomski joined USAID in 1978. As AID affairs officer in Portugal from 1983 to 1985, he

initiated the Luso-American Development Foundation, one of AID's first attempts to establish a development foundation to continue AID-like activities after the agency closed its in-country program. From 1985 to 1990 he was deputy mission director in Yemen, and from 1990 to 1995 he was the USAID representative in Guinea-Bissau. He retired in 1995.

Survivors include his wife Odette; two brothers; and one sister.

Thomas C. Mann, 87, a retired FSO and ambassador, died Jan. 23 at his home in Austin, Texas.

Raised in the Texas border town of Laredo, Ambassador Mann attended Baylor University in Waco, Texas where he graduated from the school of law in 1934.

After joining the Foreign Service in 1942, he was posted to Montevideo. Although most of his posts were in Latin America, he also served as deputy chief of mission in Athens. He assumed a leading foreign policy role in 1950 as the deputy assistant secretary for inter-American affairs. President Eisenhower appointed him ambassador to El Salvador in 1955. Mr. Mann returned to the department in 1957 as assistant secretary for economic affairs. In 1961 President Kennedy appointed him ambassador to Mexico. During his tenure there, he was instrumental in negotiating the Chamizal Treaty which settled a boundary dispute between Mexico and the United States.

In the first major appointment of his administration, President Johnson chose Mr. Mann as his assistant secretary for inter-American affairs and as special assistant to the president. Mr. Mann continued in

that position until his retirement in 1966.

Survivors include his son, Clifton Mann of Lubbock, Texas; six grandchildren and three great-grandchildren.

Gordon H. Mattison, 84, a retired FSO, died Jan. 27, two years after suffering a cerebral hemorrhage. He was a resident of Carriage House Nursing Home in Bethesda, Md., at the time of his death.

The son of missionaries, Mr. Mattison was born in Washington, D.C. and raised in India. He returned to the U.S. in the early 1930s and graduated from the College of Wooster in Wooster, Ohio.

Entering the Foreign Service in 1937, he spent his early career in Naples, Baghdad and Basra. After Arabic language training at Princeton University and in Cairo, he served in Beirut and Damascus. In the late 1940s he returned to the department as chief of Near Eastern and South Asian affairs. He was deputy chief of mission in Cairo and Tehran and consul general in Calcutta and Katmandu. He retired in 1968.

He is survived by his wife, Alma H. Mattison of Bethesda.

J. Theodore Papendorp, 70, a retired FSO, died Aug. 10 after a long illness.

Mr. Papendorp was born in Newark, N.J., where he graduated from Saint Benedict's Preparatory School. He then put his fluency in German and Dutch to use as one of the youngest members of the Army Counter Intelligence Corps

IN MEMORY

in Europe from 1946 to 1949. Returning to the U.S., he attended Rutgers University and graduated Phi Beta Kappa and magna cum laude in 1953.

After graduation he joined the Foreign Service. His posts included England, Hungary, the Netherlands, Belgium and the U.S. Mission to the United Nations in New York. Along the way he pursued advanced studies at the London School of Economics and earned an M.B.A. from Harvard. He retired from the Foreign Service in 1987 and worked as a consultant on Eastern European affairs.

Survivors include his wife, Monica A. Papendorp of Washington, D.C.; a son, John T. Papendorp II of Boston; two daughters, Monica P. Lenci of New York City; and Barbara A. Papendorp of Washington, D.C.; and a granddaughter.

Lee McLeod Peters, 55, a retired FSO, died of a heart attack Jan. 16 at his home in McLean, Va.

Born in Philadelphia in 1943, Mr. Peters graduated from Pembroke Country Day School in 1960. He attended Grinnell College in Iowa and the University of Kansas, where he received a BA in 1965 and then completed two years of graduate work in American history.

After joining the Foreign Service in 1967, Mr. Peters' career took him to Asunción and Saigon as a political officer; Bangkok, where he established the Orderly Departure Program for assisting Vietnamese refugees; and Islamabad as a refugee officer. At the time of his retirement in 1995, he was serving in the U.S. Mission to the Organization of American States.

Following retirement he worked as a market research analyst in international fiber optics in Newport, R.I. In 1998 he returned to McLean as a free lance market researcher in fiber optics.

Mr. Peters' State Department awards included the Superior Honor Award, but he was most proud of the many awards he received for his 10 years of service as a Cub Scout and Boy Scout leader. He was also active in Habitat for Humanity and his local church.

Survivors include his wife, Laura-lee M. Peters, also a retired FSO, of McLean; a daughter, Evelyn F. Peters of Fairfax, Va.; three sons, David A. Peters of Cairo, Egypt, Edward L. Peters of Fairfax, Va., and Matthew R. Peters of San Bruno, Calif.; his mother, Evelyn R. Peters of Fort Myers, Fla.; and his brother, Kenneth G. Peters of McLean, Va.

Denny F. Scott, 87, a retired FSO, died Jan. 15, in St. Petersburg, Fla.

A native of Terra Alta, W.Va., Mr. Scott was born in 1911. He was a member of the West Virginia National Guard from 1927 to 1929. In 1935 he graduated from the college of law at West Virginia University. He practiced law in Parsons, W.Va., until he was elected prosecuting attorney for Tucker County, W.Va. in 1937. In 1941 he joined the Army Air Corps, serving with the Judge Advocates Corps. After the war he became chief of the Department of Justice, U.S. Military Government in Korea. He retired from the Air Force as a lieutenant colonel.

In 1949 he joined the Foreign

Service and served as legal adviser to several USAID missions. His posts included Korea, the Philippines, Taiwan, and Vietnam. Mr. Scott received the President's Award for his role in establishing land reform in Vietnam. He retired in 1971.

He was a 32nd degree Mason and past president of the Shriners in South Korea.

Survivors include two sons, James F. Scott of Indianapolis, and Charles R. Scott of Safety Harbor, Fla.; two daughters, Susan E. Wise of Daphne, Ala., and Martha A. Prescott of Tallahassee, Fla.; and five grandchildren.

John Stewart Service, 89, a retired FSO and one of the renowned "old China hands" persecuted during the McCarthy era, died of heart disease Feb. 3, 1999, in a retirement home in Oakland, Calif.

Mr. Service was born in Chengdu, China to missionary parents. He was schooled at home until the age of 11 and then attended an American boarding school in Shanghai. He returned to the United States to attend Oberlin College.

After joining the Foreign Service in 1933, he put his language skills to work with postings in China: to Kunming, Beijing, Shanghai and Chongqing. When World War II broke out, he served on the staff of Gen. Joseph Stilwell. After the war, he was on Gen. Douglas MacArthur's staff in Tokyo and then served in Wellington.

It was his service in China that earned him the enmity of Sen. Joseph McCarthy (R-Wis.). Mr. Service had the classic political officer's task of maintaining contact

IN MEMORY

with the opposition—in this case communist leaders, Mao Zedong and Zhou Enlai. He felt strongly that backing the Nationalist Chinese under Chiang Kai-shek was a mistake and angered his ambassador, Gen. Patrick J. Hurley, by predicting civil war and a communist victory. When his predictions proved true, he was subjected to accusations of disloyalty and espionage. Despite lack of proof—Mr. Service was cleared in six separate hearings—McCarthy insisted that the “old China hands” were communist collaborators. Mr. Service was finally fired in 1951 after a Loyalty Review Board found “reasonable doubt” about his loyalty. For six years he appealed his dismissal and was finally exonerated by the Supreme

Court in 1957. He returned to the Foreign Service and was posted as consul general to Liverpool. He retired in 1962.

He took a master's degree in political science at the University of California at Berkeley and stayed on to work at the university's Center for Chinese Studies. He returned to China several times. Two memorable trips were in 1971 as the guest of Mao and Zhou and in 1984 to retrace Mao's Long March.

Survivors include a daughter, Virginia McCormick of Chevy Chase, Md.; Robert Service, also a retired FSO, of Washington, D.C.; Philip Service of Flagstaff, Ariz.; seven grandchildren; and two great-grandchildren. ■

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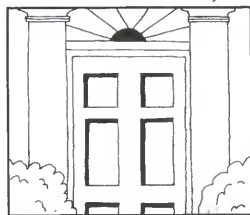
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POSTCARD FROM ABROAD

In Marco Polo's Footsteps

BY JULIE CHUNG

Look at a map of China and find Guangzhou, the Cantonese city in the southeastern tip. Follow a line to Tibet, and keep going into Xinjiang, a desolate province 4,000 kilometers away surrounded by Russia, Kazakhstan and Kyrgistan. I wanted to discover China's most remote area, so with only my backpack, long underwear and Lonely Planet Guidebook, this was my destination.

My trip started with a seven-hour flight to Urumqi, Xinjiang's capital, where it was minus 5 degrees Celsius and dark when I landed. I boarded a rickety, dusty public bus for a three-hour trip across the desert to Turpan, the hottest and lowest spot in China. The bus was packed with men, women and children: light-skinned, round-faced Han Chinese and brown- and blond-haired Uighurs — Chinese Muslims who speak a Turkic tongue. Although I was wearing heavy wool socks, the unheated bus quickly numbed my feet; the incessant smoking of my fellow passengers made my stomach churn. Looking past the morning fog and my steamed window, I detected great desert dunes as I drifted in and out of sleep.

Ambdula and Kaisen, two young Uighur men who spotted my backpack when I got off the bus, offered to be my guides to the Turpan Desert. Since there are no guided tours, and since Ambdula spoke some English,

Julie Chung is a first-tour FSO assigned to the American consulate in Guangzhou. The stamp is courtesy of the AAFSW Book Fair "Stamp Corner."

*With only my
backpack, long
underwear and
Lonely Planet
Guidebook,
I set out
for Xinjiang.*



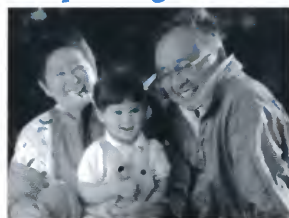
I decided to pay them their high price of \$36 for their services. After I spent the night in a \$10 dorm room, we set out across the desert at dawn — 9 a.m. in Turpan. Flickering like a fire, the Flaming Mountains lived up to their name. My companions entertained me by accompanying Lionel Richie crooning "Say You, Say Me" and Celine Dion belting "My Heart Will Go On" from a tape deck barely clinging to life. When we stopped at mosques and Muslim graveyards, we were surrounded by silence, with no other souls in sight.

Back in Turpan, I found the daily bazaar, where every corner offered something different for sale: rugs, knives, fur caps, stacks of garlic and onions. Warm flatbread was sold alongside steaming mutton dumpling soup swimming in cilantro. Another

bus and another plane took me to Kashgar, which in addition to Turpan had been an important trading stop along the Silk Road linking China to the West in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. There I discovered a Central Asian melting pot of Indians, Uzbeks, Tajiks, Russians and, again, Uighurs. The plaza outside Kashgar's Id Kah mosque serves as the town plaza. Men in turbans with leathery, wrinkled faces and white, scraggly beards greeted each other while their wives stood behind them, their heads and faces completely covered by veils. A self-proclaimed acupuncturist adorned in sequins invited spectators to be healed; I remained skeptical of his powers. Everywhere people nibbled on hard-boiled eggs dyed red, slices of watermelon and sugar doughnuts. Uighur schoolgirls performed traditional dances, their hands twisting delicately over their heads, as donkeys pulling carts and herds of goats rushed by. Vendors circulated selling copper and silver trinkets glistening in the sun. Occasionally a man pulled a butcher knife from his belt, sliced an apple or a hunk of raw meat from slabs hanging in the air, then returned the knife to safety. I sat on the mosque steps, watching the changing scene, as if watching a movie from the past.

A week later, my boots dusty and my journal full, I was back in the twentieth century and Ghangzhou, home of skyscrapers and a branch of the Hard Rock Cafe. ■

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