

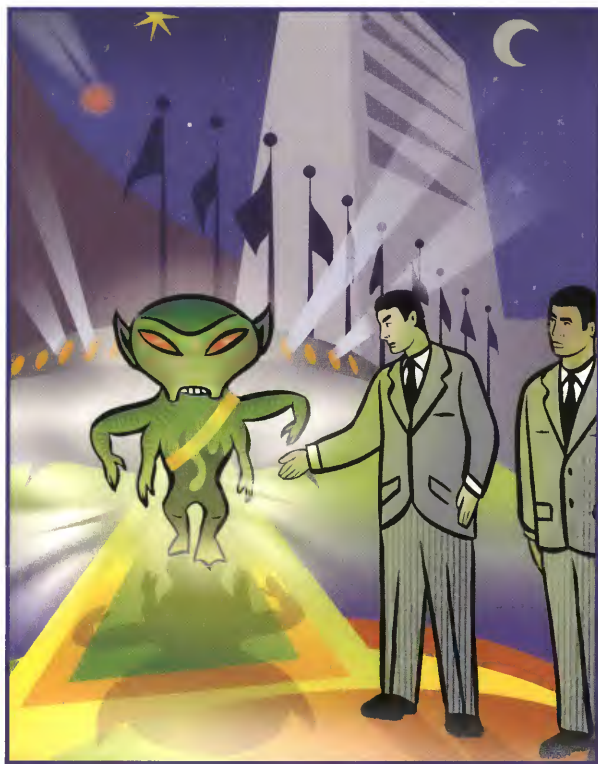
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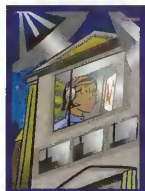
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PRESIDENT'S VIEWS

More than Mere Spin

BY MARSHALL P. ADAIR

There is a good deal of optimism at the Department of State and in the Foreign Service that long-overdue reforms and support for professional diplomacy may actually be on the way. That optimism is justified. The new Secretary of State made clear on arrival that ensuring a competent and effective diplomatic service was one of his top priorities and, during his first days in office, he sought to take concrete steps in this direction. As a career military officer who rose to the highest levels of the military, Colin Powell has unusual organizational and leadership experience for a secretary of State. He appreciates the value of institutions and professional government services, and has experience in making them work.

In his confirmation hearings, the secretary said he sees himself as the leader and chief manager of the Department of State. He praised the department's "talented and dedicated professionals," but stressed it had not been given sufficient support or funding. In AFSA's first private meeting with him, he confirmed his commitment to rectifying that situation. He demonstrated both his interest in and his understanding of key issues to which previous secretaries have given little attention, such as recruitment and working with retired Foreign Service personnel.

Marshall P. Adair is the president of the American Foreign Service Association.

*Secretary Powell's
first moves have
given the
Foreign Service
cause for hope.*



Secretary Powell has taken several steps that give us hope that his commitment to recognize and support the department's people will go beyond "spin." One of the first actions he took was to reverse a previous administration policy and restore limited unescorted department access for retirees. In a letter to retirees, he recognized them as part of the State Department family, and expressed the hope they would maintain an active association with the department. He also took a first step on his pledge to reduce layers of bureaucracy by inviting Mexico desk officers in to brief President Bush before the president's first state visit. He showed up unannounced at the swearing-in ceremony for the A-100 course, and later introduced the class to the president. He approved a pilot job search program for spouses, and the creation of a childcare center at FSI.

These initial steps, as well as more extensive reforms, can be started but

not sustained with the current level of resources. The real decline in budgetary resources over the last several decades has spread the Foreign Service too thin, reduced its security and left it with insufficient tools to do the job. That impacts morale, commitment and effectiveness. Secretary Powell has committed to seek those resources. He succeeded within the administration in securing a request for a 5.5 percent increase in the 150 Account for FY2002, and has subsequently pursued it vigorously and eloquently with the House and Senate.

The new secretary of State has taken the first steps. He has reversed recent history by recognizing the importance of the institution and the professional service, and he has taken some concrete steps to provide real support. He has broken with the tradition of recent years by successfully advocating an increase in the civilian foreign affairs budget while other budgets declined or remained flat. We are deeply grateful for his efforts.

Now there is a difficult and exciting challenge before the Foreign Service: to carry out the reforms that we have advocated and the secretary has pledged to support. Success will require extraordinary effort, initiative and imagination. It is worth it. For the first time in years, there is some assurance that such effort, routinely put forth by the Foreign Service overseas, will be rewarded and supported on the home front. ■

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Win with Internships

"Smarter Recruiting" by Emi Lynn Yamauchi (*FSJ*, January) is a forward-thinking, out-of-the-box point of view, but let's take it one step further to internships and cooperative education. In the spring of 1993, I was canvassing the annals of the University of Connecticut's student employment center looking for an internship. My goal was twofold: develop professional skills and get my foot in a door. Peering into a trashcan, I noticed a pamphlet titled U.S. Department of State Summer Intern Programs. I submitted a detailed employment application, four-page essay, and a security clearance form.

I was hired as a GS-4 step 1, among a handful of paid interns chosen from a pool of more than 300 applicants. I was elated and proud. My salary paid the rent for an overpriced Rosslyn efficiency, and my monthly military reserve salary paid the food bill.

My internship was a remarkable experience. It provided meaningful work and access to interesting resources and permitted my efforts

to contribute to the department's mission. I departed with a sense of accomplishment. Four years later, I was hired by the department.

I am happy to be back; I like my job. So there's a war for talent? First impressions remain vivid, and actions demonstrate intent better than Power-Point presentations. Cultivate people attending schools, not schools themselves. Take recruiting one step further by offering meagerly paid internships or cooperative education — private industry does.

Officer recruiting strategies are a department priority. Specialists should also be included in this hunt for talent, since we too have a mission: helping officers live, work, and recreate comfortably and safely abroad.

Craig Mass
Assistant Regional Security
Officer
Embassy Cairo

Performance Counts

I know the gremlins at the keyboard were doing their best to save me from myself, but in the process of editing my "Speaking Out" piece for the *Journal* (January) the meaning of a key paragraph was inadvertently changed. On page 17, the last bullet should have read:

"PER/REE has a list of "targeted academic institutions" to which it gives priority. Their selection is based on — but not limited to — student body demographics, school affiliation (Historically Black

Colleges and Universities, Hispanic Association of Colleges and Universities, Association of Professional Schools in International Affairs), the school's competitiveness and reputation, and past performance by its students on the written exam. I suggest we aim for more geographic range, giving priority to demographics and performance over affiliation and reputation, and dropping Ivy League and Washington-area universities (who get Diplomats-in-Residence and plenty of attention anyway) from the list. If we do that, we could then cultivate a wider range of schools all across the country."

My intended point was to use our limited recruiting resources to move away from HBCU, HACU, and APSIA schools which had not produced candidates who took the exam and passed, and move to "unaffiliated" schools with a broad demographic mix of students who take the exam and pass. This would give us a large, diverse pool of potential candidates at schools with proven exam track records.

Emi Lynn Yamauchi
FSO
National Foreign Affairs
Training Center

Bring in USAID

Thomas Carothers' article (*FSJ*, February) on differences between State and USAID democracy-promotion programs reminded me of my own experiences trying to work with USAID on anti-narcotics pro-

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grams in Peru during the early 1980s. As public affairs officer in Lima, one of my major country plan objectives was to organize public awareness projects designed to promote international cooperation to combat illicit narcotics consumption and trafficking. At the outset, the large USAID mission was mostly indifferent to our efforts.

When we decided to organize a seven-nation regional anti-narcotics conference, however, USAID suddenly got interested in the project. But while they spent about \$150,000 on a study to determine whether such a conference was feasible, we — the USIS post — went ahead with our conference at a cost of less than \$5,000 to the U.S. government and taxpayers. USAID, which sent an observer to our highly successful conference, later hired an anti-narcotics coordinator to organize projects in direct competition with what USIS was already doing. It was as if we were working for two different governments.

I can relate to Carothers' "tale of two cultures": the lack of coordination between State and USAID on democracy projects; and USAID's overemphasis on technocratic studies, assessments and project plans as substitutes for concrete accomplishments. This situation won't change unless and until USAID is merged with State and AID directors are placed directly under the control of ambassadors in our U.S. embassy hierarchies.

Guy W. Farmer
FSO (USIA), retired
Carson City, Nev.

Who Should Be DCM?

I followed the Lima deputy chief of mission case closely. AFSA never deliberately tried to hold back Civil Servants ("Don't Dis Civil

Servants," Letters, *FSJ*, February). The focus was to protect what is typically an FSO position to which many officers aspire, and which is only achieved after years of service and accumulation of significant experience overseas and in Washington. While protecting a position for one group may exclude another, this is an inadvertent side effect rather than a deliberate slap. In addition, positions should be earned, not given away as rewards.

It has always been obvious to me that the DCM is the top "people-person" in the embassy, directly responsible for the needs of the embassy staff. The DCM is the hub in the wheel made up of a diverse State mission and other foreign affairs agencies. He or she must not only be in tune with the ambassador's prerogatives and goals, but must keep an ear towards the mission employees. The DCM is the drill sergeant, the chaplain, and the battalion executive officer all rolled into one.

To do this well, the DCM must not only be a seasoned officer, but must also have significant experience in the embassy environment. This experience can only be gained serving overseas climbing the proverbial ladder one rung at a time.

Richard E. McCormick
Information Management
Officer
U.S. Embassy Seoul

A Popular DCM

Journal readers learned from Gedda's "The Road to Lima," (*FSJ*, March) that Roberta Jacobson, my Civil Servant deputy chief of mission, has an impressive résumé and was highly regarded before her selection for Lima. What do the people who work for her think?

LETTERS

Over 50 confidential questionnaires filled out by American employees in Lima from all agencies during the regularly scheduled and just concluded post inspection, provide this answer: They think she's terrific. They grade her nearly 11 percent above the average score given to 185 senior managers previously judged by their subordinates at other posts and in the department. On eleven different "attributes" (from goal setting to ethics), she received an average score of 9.13 on a scale of ten, as compared to an average of 8.25 for the group of 185.

Incidentally, the Senior Executive Service office director position Roberta vacated in WHA to come to Lima was filled by a senior Foreign Service officer.

*John R. Hamilton
Ambassador
U.S. Embassy Lima*

We Didn't Do So Bad

As one who took risks for democracy by advocating election observers to Algeria in the bloody year of 1997, I disagree with some of Amy Hawthorne's conclusions about Middle East democracy work (*FSJ*, February). The main problem was fairly presented: how to support democracy even as we seek multiple policy goals that require regime support. Her conclusion that we resolved this by making democracy a secondary objective is too simple, and no such global decision was ever made or discussed.

Our approach to this issue has been to push hard to expand existing democratic tendencies but to recognize that this is a long-term process in which we cannot impose our will. I am not aware of any country where we thought we could "remake ... moribund Arab parlia-

ments ... into credible and influential institutions in" two or three years. Such an unrealistic expectation was not part of our discussions nor have I heard it from colleagues in democracy NGOs with whom we work.

The claim that we focused on "ossified political parties" or co-opted NGOs has two problems. First is that we work with many NGOs in the region on a broad range of issues. For example, when the Egyptian NGO law was unsatisfactory we mounted a major effort to get Egypt to promise essential improvements during implementation, a promise we still expect to see implemented.

Second, political parties with popular roots are essential to encouraging the growth of democracy. We are accordingly working with opposition parties, including Islamists, in Algeria, Morocco and Yemen. Public recognition that we support a process, not a side, is a real world way in which we maintain pressure on governments. I agree with the importance of civil society and the questionable commitment of some political elites to real change. This is why I disagree that our programs should be focused on

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LETTERS

only three places, a view that is inconsistent with her advocacy of working more with "existing pockets of change ... especially at the grass roots level." We should strengthen civil society, not abandon it, where governmental commitment is weak. Sometimes I think we are right to put other issues first. But the charge that democracy always comes in second place is exaggerated. In Kuwait we weighed in quietly but strongly to support the continuation of parliamentary norms. In Algeria we are attacked repeatedly for supporting broad political participation. We are under-funded and we could sometimes push more. But overall our record is one in which we can take more pride than the article allows.

Ronald E. Neumann
FSO, former ambassador
to Algeria, former DAS
for the Bureau of Near
Eastern Affairs
Washington, D.C.

Careful What You Wish For
Jeffrey Glassman's February
Postcard from Abroad on the desir-

ability of moving our capital to New York City is somewhat disingenuous, as it apparently stems from his personal desire to continue to serve only in posts beginning with the letter M. This is not an ignoble ambition but it causes him to confuse Manhattan, which has its charms, with the larger and less charming entity known as New York City.

Doesn't he realize that moving the federal government to NYC would mean that the vast majority of federal employees, think tank policy wonks, and lobbyists will have to live in the outer boroughs and suburbs of New York, not in Manhattan? Unless, of course, they are all given absolutely super housing and cost of living allowances, which would mean that all those people who currently live in Manhattan and make it the place it is would be displaced by those federal government employees, policy wonks, and lobbyists. Does Glassman really want to do that to the city he purports to love?

Edward Marks
Ambassador, retired
Washington, D.C. ■

AN INVITATION FOR SUMMER FICTION

The results of the recent FSJ survey indicate that you, the reader, want to continue the *Journal's* summer fiction issue. Therefore, once again the FSJ is seeking works of fiction of up to 3,000 words for its annual summer fiction issue. Story lines or characters involving the Foreign Service are preferred, but not required. The top stories, selected by the *Journal's* Editorial Board, will be published in the July/August issue and on the *Journal's* Web site. The writer of each story will receive an honorarium of \$250.

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"Nobody is going to have a free ride on the Hill, not even Gen. Powell. He's going to face tough, entrenched interests up there and a bureaucracy to match it at the State Department."

— FORMER SENATOR
WARREN RUDMAN,
(R-NH)

A NEW LOOK FOR COUNTERINTELLIGENCE

On Jan. 4, President Clinton issued a directive to institutionalize cooperation among branches of the U.S. national security apparatus — the FBI, CIA, NSC and DOD — and created a new "counterintelligence czar" position, reports writer James Kitfield in the February issue of *Government Executive* magazine. Named to the new post was David W. Szady, a 28-year FBI veteran.

The directive mandates a set of reforms called "Counter-Intelligence 21." CI-21 creates a National Counterintelligence Executive, composed of the counterintelligence czar and a staff, to lead the anti-terrorist efforts of government agencies. It also is to serve as a conduit between policy-makers and the private sector as well as among the intelligence, law enforcement and defense sectors.

"The paradigm of threats to U.S. national security — hostile nations and their intelligence services — is far too narrow a definition in the post-Cold War era. There are countless potential bad guys capable of doing us significant harm," said former CIA operative John MacGaffin.

Agencies such as the CIA and FBI have worked together informally, but CI-21 is designed to institutionalize their cooperation. The agencies both investigated the attack on the USS Cole last year and the bombings of U.S. embassies in Kenya and Tanzania in 1998.

But it took a major cyber-attack, the 1998 "Moonlight Maze" attack in which hackers in Moscow invaded hundreds of unclassified but important Pentagon and NASA computers, to spur the government to formalize cooperation among national

security agencies. Said John Hamre, deputy defense secretary at the time: "Moonlight Maze did help convince me that we needed a new structure that would allow the national security community to ... work together better, because I was confronted by a problem that I lacked the legal authority to fix on my own."

FOR U.S. & CANADA, A TIME TO QUARREL?

Serious quarrels between the United States and Canada are unusual. But in the first months of his administration, George W. Bush should be aware that historically, new U.S. presidents have tended to offend Canada right away, observes Joel Connelly in the Feb. 5 *Seattle Post-Intelligencer*. In 1961, when Prime Minister John Diefenbaker was not eager to allow the U.S. to put nuclear warheads on missiles based in Canada, John Kennedy wrote a note which said, "What do we do with the S.O.B. now?" One of Diefenbaker's aides later found the note. Kennedy's aide tried to convince the Canadians that the letters Kennedy had written were not "S.O.B." but rather "O.A.S." for Organization of American States. And Nixon was caught on a Watergate tape calling Pierre Trudeau an expletive.

Hopefully, says Connelly, Bush will avoid such blunders in the early months of his presidency. Bush and Prime Minister Jean Chrétien agree on one important issue: NAFTA should be expanded to cover much of the Western Hemisphere. But problems do exist in U.S.-Canadian relations. Canada opposes oil drilling in Alaska's Arctic National Wildlife Refuge because it could hurt the caribou herds



CLIPPINGS

which live in both countries. Canadians also fear that Bush might relax air pollution standards. U.S. officials are irritated that illegal Chinese immigrants frequently enter the United States through Canada. Drug smuggling also causes tension: Marijuana tends to head south into the U.S. while cocaine crosses the border heading north.

CAN DIPLOMATIC LIFE MAKE YOU CRAZY?

Mental illness may be more prevalent in foreign services than in the general population, according to an article by N.A.E. Schwartz, a consultant on working conditions in large organizations. Furthermore, governments do badly at recognizing and treating such illnesses. The article appeared in the fall 2000 edition of *Bout de Papier*, the magazine of Canada's foreign service.

The stress of moving between posts, Schwartz notes, can trigger psychotic events such as deep depression, suicide, hallucinatory delirium and paranoid delusion in individuals who might not have experienced such outbreaks had they chosen a different profession. Bipolar disorder is especially sensitive to life in a foreign service. Schwartz cites examples of the power of this "triggering effect": One foreign service employee hallucinated within a week of arriving at a new post. Another experienced demented anger after a very difficult move. Once a person has experienced a mental breakdown, repeat episodes, brought about by new postings, become more common.

Unfortunately, says Schwartz, foreign service agencies have been reluctant to assess the mental state of FSOs. Mental

illness can be difficult to diagnose, as many mentally ill persons can function normally at work for extended periods. Also, governments have not taught themselves much about diagnosing and caring for mental disorders.

It is especially difficult to diagnose illness in foreign services because they tend to be open-minded about odd behavior. "We meet quite a lot of strange characters, and we become pretty tolerant when it comes to what is said and done," said one officer. FSOs don't just tolerate strange behavior — they are often even unwilling to concede that fellow officers may be acting unbalanced. As part of their training, FSOs are taught to downplay crises: If a negotiation is going very badly, an FSO will only say that things are "progressing slowly but well," one officer observed. So if a colleague is experiencing a mental health crisis, officers may be unwilling to recognize it as such.

FROM BYU, FUTURE FSOs OF AMERICA

FSOs who worry that Foreign Service work might not be attractive to new college graduates should be heartened by news of the founding of the first college foreign service club in the country. According to an Oct. 4 report by Andy North in the campus paper, *The Daily Universe*, Brigham Young University has created a student club to train future Foreign Service officers. The Foreign Service Student Organization helps students decide if they are interested in careers in diplomacy and provides resources for them to learn more about being a FSO. The club is preparing a database of Foreign Service personnel who are

50 YEARS AGO

In Calcutta, "almost limitless poverty and widespread unemployment, social unrest and degradation of millions of refugees since partition ... provide a ready-made soil in which to sow the seeds of Soviet Communism."

— FROM "SENATORS"
ROUND THE WORLD
JOURNEY" BY THOMAS
BENNETT WENNER IN
THE APRIL 1951 FSJ

*"We are
the greatest
power in the
world.
If we behave
like it."*

— WALT W. ROSTOW

willing to act as resources for the students, according to club member Matt Burnett.

Students and school officials believe that BYU is especially suited to hosting a Foreign Service club, reports the paper. Nearly 30 percent of its students have international experience and speak another language fluently. Each year the school gives out more than 400 applications for the Foreign Service, and many BYU students pass the written exam.

AUSTRALIANS' PARTY FOR CHEAP BEER

A group of (male) Australians has formed a political party based on a platform of cheap beer, skimpy outfits for barmaids and no speed limits on rural roads, according to a report by Mark Chipperfield in the Feb. 4 Sunday *Telegraph of London*. The party, which is

running in state elections in western Australia this month, represents the interests of the "ockers," which are, according to Australia's *Macquarie Dictionary*, "males displaying qualities thought to be typically Australian." Ockers are known for "their raw manners, prodigious thirst and an unhealthy interest in bodily functions." The ockers feel that their way of life is under attack by the "wowsers" (killjoys). In addition to being concerned about access to beer and underdressed women, the ockers fear the wowsers are trying to end one of their favorite pastimes: riding in the backs of flatbed trucks.

The ockers' party, called the Australians Against Wowsers Party, is also campaigning on a platform of anti-Americanism. "We want to call a biscuit a biscuit, not a cookie," said one. The group has already attracted 500 members and hopes to be a force in national elections scheduled for November. ■

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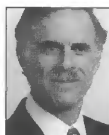
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SPEAKING OUT

Advice and Contempt

BY LAURENCE POPE

On Feb. 22, 2000, the White House announced my nomination as ambassador to Kuwait. On Oct. 2, I retired from the Foreign Service. What follows is a brief account of how that came about. It is intended as a cautionary tale and an argument for change, not a settling of accounts.

My appointment to Kuwait was the result of a combination of circumstances. An Arabist by trade, I had served as ambassador to Chad from 1993-1996. (Hold the chad jokes, please; it was a great place; besides, somebody had to do it.) After a routine confirmation, with my wife and daughters I went off to promote democracy.

How effectively I did so isn't for me to say. An outspoken cable of mine having to do with what I considered to be the failings of our USAID programs fell into the hands of the senior senator from North Carolina, Jesse Helms, who read some of its more colorful passages on the floor. (One line compared the time it takes to develop a USAID program with the gestation period of the African elephant.) Although a presidential election was held, a first for that country, Chad was as undemocratic as ever when I left.

After a year as diplomat-in-residence at Clark-Atlanta University, I found my way to what I was sure would be my last tour — as political adviser to the commander-in-chief of the U.S. Central Command, Gen. Anthony C. Zinni, USMC.

That it almost didn't turn out that way had to do with a number of factors unrelated to my own merits. One was

*I said I'd testify
about my own
views until the
cows came home,
but not my advice
to Gen. Zinni.*



certainly the high regard for Gen. Zinni at the State Department. In any case, in the fall of 1999 the D Committee (D being the organizational shorthand for the deputy secretary of State who chairs it) settled on me for Kuwait.

As those who have endured it know, the vetting process for a presidential appointment is like being a candidate for sainthood, and the devil's advocates are in the White House counsel's office. I remember one surreal telephone conversation from Almaty in the middle of the night with a humorless attorney in which I answered questions about child and spouse abuse while worried CENTCOM communicators brought cups of coffee. After a few more interrogations, and repetitive questionnaires, the appointment was announced. It didn't seem likely to be a particularly controversial one, election year politics notwithstanding.

So what happened? All I can do is tell the story from my perspective. Some background is necessary.

As the Monica Lewinsky affair was brewing, for reasons which seemed good to an overwhelming majority on both sides of the aisle, Congress sent President Clinton a piece of legislation known as the Iraq Liberation Act, and a besieged president signed it into law. The ILA declared it to be the policy of the United States that the Iraqi people should be rid of the dictator who has ruled Iraq since 1972, and who survived the onslaught of Desert Storm. To this end it granted the Defense Department authority to provide up to \$97 million in military surplus to Iraqi opposition groups, in particular to an exile group known as the Iraqi National Congress based in London.

The ILA was, and is, a non sequitur. Under the right circumstances, and given regional support, Saddam Hussein could be removed by a determined military push led by the United States. This might even be easier than it appears on the surface. But he won't be removed by divided, disorganized, and ill-trained Iraqi exile groups, with or without surplus American equipment. A strategy of arming them and hoping for the best would be foolish and irresponsible.

As the military commander responsible for the lives of the 20,000 American military personnel in the Persian Gulf on any given day, Gen. Zinni felt strongly that he should have been consulted about the wisdom of this legislation. In sworn testimony before the Senate Armed Services



Committee, he spoke his mind. Not given to understatement, he warned publicly against a "Bay of Goats." His outspoken testimony and public comments enraged the proponents of the ILA, including Senators Trent Lott, R-Miss., and Jesse Helms, R-N.C., and their staffs.

In early 1999, at a dinner at the Swedish embassy in honor of the outgoing U.N. Special Commission chairman, Richard Butler, I was confronted by a furious Middle East staffer for Sen. Helms, Danielle Pletka. Her opening gambit was that Gen. Zinni should be fired for insubordination. I really can't remember exactly what I said in response, but I have a very high regard indeed for the general, and he was my boss. Whatever it was led Ms. Pletka to threaten to retaliate against me if I came up for confirmation. I unwisely put the threat out of my

mind, not expecting the issue to arise.

It wasn't until late May 2000 that I heard that Pletka and an ally on Sen. Lott's staff were stirring up determined opposition to the nomination. Having left Gen. Zinni and the CENTCOM headquarters to prepare for Kuwait, I went to see her, with Deputy Assistant Secretary for Congressional Relations Susan Jacobs along as a witness.

Pletka said that as far as she was concerned there were two possibilities. Either I agreed with Gen. Zinni (and the Clinton administration) about the inadvisability of arming the Iraqi opposition, or I was an ineffectual adviser. In the latter case, there was a chance of salvaging the nomination if I would provide the committee with written evidence of my opposition to Zinni's position.

As Faustian bargains go, this one

wasn't hard to resist. I told her that I would testify about my own views until the cows came home, but I wouldn't talk about my advice to Gen. Zinni. She made clear that she wasn't particularly interested in my own views, since as she put it, nominees often say one thing before they are confirmed, and another afterwards.

After that initial encounter I mounted a lobbying effort, with support from various quarters. May they find here an expression of my thanks. The secretary of defense wrote to Sen. Helms. Rep. Tom Allen, D-Maine, worked on my behalf. Deputy assistant secretaries of State Kay King and Susan Jacobs were helpful throughout. My colleagues in the Near Eastern Bureau provided moral support. Others I won't mention were good enough to intervene, including an influential

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SPEAKING OUT



North Carolinian. In short, I did what I could.

I had no further contact with the committee until September, when the staff director, Steve Biegun, agreed to see me in response to the lobbying effort. He said that the committee would not act on the nomination. He expressed the hope that I would come up next year for another position; if that happened, I would have Sen. Helms' support. I said this was no way to run a railroad, and I intended to retire.

And that was it. I never had the opportunity to state my position on the liberation of Iraq to the committee. (I'm for it, in case anybody wants to know.) No questions were ever submitted to me about the ILA, or about anything else involving our important relationship with Kuwait.

Fortunately, this year's nominees

are likely to fare better. The Brookings Institution has a "Presidential Appointee Initiative" (www.appointees.brookings.org) which has made sensible and practical proposals for reforming the process. They deserve a careful hearing by the Senate. The report of the U.S. Commission on National Security/21st Century (www.nssg.gov) contains thoughtful recommendations in this and other areas.

No reform agenda will be successful unless senators take the nomination process more seriously. Frivolous holds like the one Sen. Charles Grassley, R-Iowa, used last year to deprive the country of the services of Peter Burleigh as ambassador to the Philippines are irresponsible. Senators should not allow the nomination process to be hijacked by staffers with an agenda.

I don't believe for a second that

career officers should be given an automatic pass when they come up for confirmation. The standards should be rigorous for career and non-career nominees alike. But it's clearly wrong to reject a nominee without giving him or her the opportunity to rebut a whispering campaign, and it is particularly damaging in an institutional sense to hold career officers to account for loyal service. That is a quick way to kill the tradition of a career Foreign Service capable of serving loyally across administrations — an institution which is as important to our national security as carrier battle groups, or armored divisions. ■

Laurence Pope, an FSO from 1969 to 2000, served as ambassador to Chad from 1993 to 1996, and political adviser to the U.S. Central Command from 1997 to 2000.

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A MESSAGE IN AN INTER-STELLAR BOTTLE



F WE ARE NOT LIKELY TO MEET ANY ALIENS SOON. BUT THAT DOESN'T MEAN WE WON'T EVER HEAR FROM THEM, AS AN ASTRONOMER EXPLAINS.

By **SETH SHOSTAK**

For the last million years or so, mankind's principal diplomatic interest has been to handle social intercourse on his own planet. Interaction with other societies, from other worlds, was the province of science fiction. That may soon change. Modern science and technology suggest that a transmutation of past fiction to present reality could be imminent.

If so, the dynamics of interaction will surely be far different than the alien encounters routinely portrayed in the cinema and on television. The ideas developed more than a century ago by European novelists such as Jules Verne and H. G. Wells, while imaginative, were not prescient. The aliens won't come here, and we won't go there. Our interaction will be a distant one, conducted by the electronic equivalent of very slow diplomatic pouch.

But while it seems unlikely that any face-to-face meeting with extraterrestrial beings will ever transpire, it is now within our technical capability to detect the signals beamed by advanced societies from their home planets. In the coming century it is both thinkable — and some would say likely — that we will establish at least one-way communication with a sentient, non-human civilization. This is because of a small-scale experiment known as SETI, the search for extraterrestrial intelligence. By taking account of the methods used for such searches, it's possible to speculate on the likely parameters of a SETI contact. This might help us better envision how we would deal with an event that would mark a major discontinuity in societal evolution.

The Martian Chronicles

Seventy-seven years ago, the first serious attempt to contact our cosmic brethren was made by a few imaginative Americans using the new technology of radio. In 1924, Mars was in opposition, not in a strategic sense, but in an astronomical one. It was opposite to the sun in the sky, thus placing the Red Planet substantially closer to Earth than is usually the case: approximately 45 million miles away. It was a fortuitous time to get in touch.

There was also motivation to try. Since the end of the 18th century, Mars had beguiled astronomers with its clear atmosphere, dark markings, and icy polar caps. It was a world thought to be not only habitable, but inhabited. If so, then radio waves broadcast by sophisticated Martians could be traversing the empty spaces of the solar system and, if detected, would bring us proof of their existence and information regarding their situation. An attempt was made with the receivers of the time to tune in on these putative Martian transmissions. Even William Friedman, America's premier cryptographer (he would later break the Japanese Purple Code), was on standby alert, in case the messages from Mars proved enigmatic.

Dr. Seth Shostak is an astronomer with the SETI Institute in Mountain View, Calif.

***The number of stellar
targets SETI scrutinizes
will reach several
million over the next
20 years.***

As it turned out, Friedman's expertise wasn't needed. The Red Planet passed through opposition in radio silence. We now know that if any life exists on Mars today, it is undoubtedly of a very simple sort — perhaps microbes dwelling in wet rock hundreds of feet below the dusty, sterile surface. While it would be very significant to find such simple biology, the repercussions of this

type of discovery would be mostly felt in the world of science.

Not so in the case of SETI, the search for extraterrestrial intelligence. If the efforts to detect signals from sentient beings bear fruit, there will be immediate and profound social consequences. Finding a sophisticated society, even at 1,000 light-years' distance (100 million times as far as Mars), would be more than an interesting science story. It would force us to confront the fact that we are only one of many technological civilizations in our galaxy (and probably among the least advanced). It would also compel us to decide whether to attempt communication with these alien beings, and if so, to consider what we would say. (See the accompanying article by Michael Michaud for an examination of that question.)

Today's SETI experiments bear only a superficial resemblance to the 1924 effort to eavesdrop on Martian radio broadcasts. Not only is our communication technology far more sophisticated now, but we also have a better idea where intelligent beings might be located. No contemporary scientist seriously expects that any of our solar system's other planets or moons are home to thinking creatures. Instead, SETI astronomers look to more distant realms.

Since 1995, when the first planet outside our solar system was discovered, astronomers have found that a significant number of the hundreds of stars they've studied in detail have planetary companions. Indeed, recent discoveries of planets around other stars suggest that at least 10 billion alien worlds populate the star fields of our galaxy, the Milky Way. (For those who find these statistics insufficiently encouraging, note that there are roughly 100 billion other galaxies, each with a similar number of planets.) In addition, there is growing suspicion, based on studies of the solar sys-

tem, that biology may also be widespread throughout the universe.

These data reinforce the presumption that other worlds, with other beings, might be commonplace. In popular fiction, such worlds are only a rocket ride away. In this view, advanced technology — either ours or theirs — will permit spacecraft to beat their way from star to star. Even if our engineers aren't quite up to it, advanced aliens will surely have mastered space travel and might be headed our way. Indeed, according to polls taken since the 1960s (e.g., the CNN/TIME poll of June 1997: <http://www.cnn.com/US/9706/15/ufo.poll/>), a majority of Americans believes that extraterrestrials are already in our neighborhood (arriving in spaceships known popularly as UFOs: unidentified flying objects). A similar percentage is convinced that the federal government is keeping these interstellar social calls under wraps. When those who believe in visiting spacecraft are asked why Washington would suppress the most interesting science story of all time, the usual response is that "the public couldn't handle the news." But that explanation is clearly deflated by the simple fact that roughly half the public already believes the extraterrestrials are here, yet there seems to be no panic in the streets.

Moreover, the presence of aliens on (or slightly above) Earth is largely disputed by the scientific community on two grounds: (1) the lack of convincing, physical evidence, and (2) the enormous difficulty of effecting interstellar travel. The energy required to send a 400-ton (the same weight as a 747 jumbo jet) spacecraft to the stars at 90 percent of light-speed is sufficient to power the city of Washington, D.C. for three million years. Irrespective of the technology used to propel a spacecraft, this prodigious energy cost argues against routine reconnaissance missions to other solar systems. Scientists also point out that even at these terrific speeds, it still takes many years to reach the stars.

Interstellar travel may therefore remain a fictional enterprise. Nonetheless, we have already noted that contemporary astronomy hints at a plethora of other worlds, spinning silently and unseen through the galaxy. Some of these could be home to sentient beings. To verify this hypothesis, SETI researchers attempt to find the aliens by deploying multi-million channel receivers attached to massively large radio antennas. Their goal is

to detect the radio or light emissions advanced societies would produce.

While some SETI efforts scan large tracts of sky, the most sensitive searches target individual, nearby star systems. The premier example of this type of experiment is Project Phoenix, run by the SETI Institute, in Mountain View, Calif. In the next two decades, this experiment will be greatly expanded, thanks to the inexorable march of computer technology. The number of scrutinized stellar targets will grow from approximately 1,000 to several million. It is this predictable improvement that has largely motivated the consideration of what to do if we detect E.T., for the chance of finding a signal is increasing rapidly.

Message In A Bottle

While the general population would be vastly interested to learn of a transmission from another world, their curiosity would center on two obvious questions: are we in danger, and what are the aliens saying?

The first concern is easily dismissed: We would not be in any danger. Since SETI is a passive endeavor — scientists are only listening — the fact of a detection would only be known by us, not by them.

As for the second query, the popular impression, harkening back to the 1924 Mars episode, is that the aliens will employ some sort of code — perhaps based in mathematics — to school us in the fundamentals of trans-species communication. If we should master this introductory material, according to this scenario, they may then choose to enlighten us with the equivalent of the *Encyclopedia Galactica*. And since it is a statistical near-certainty that any civilization we uncover will be thousands of years or more beyond our technical level, they could teach us much.

This optimistic prediction is probably unrealistic. Today's SETI receivers look for narrow-band transmissions, which on the basis of simple engineering considerations would be the most logical for establishing contact: they would make good "hailing signals." However, these types of signals can carry only limited amounts of data. They are like excruciatingly slow modems, or, to use an older analogy, they would produce a signal akin to a message in a bottle. There would be precious few bits of information from whatever distant society had produced the signal.

Nonetheless, finding the bottle is only the beginning.

A barrel full of books might be in the offing, if we only continue our search. Presumably, any extraterrestrials that would bother to establish an interstellar transmitting facility would also wish to load their broadcasts with a worthwhile message. To hunt for more information once a signal has been found, SETI scientists would need to build far larger antennas: perhaps many thousands of times larger than what are used now. Only these much more massive instruments would be able to find the high-speed data that we presume an alien transmitter would be sending.

That is a project that might take years or even decades. In the interim, we would need to be satisfied with the very basic sorts of information that could be deduced from a slowly varying, narrow-band transmission. This would give us the length of the day and year on the aliens' planet which, combined with information about their star (obtained by standard telescopic techniques) would tell us something about the average temperature of their world. These are the simple parameters that could be readily deduced from the note within the bottle. They are entirely of a technical nature, of course. Nonetheless, there would undoubtedly be enormous public reaction to even this simple discovery: We would suddenly be treated to the disarming news that the currently popular portrait of an inhabited universe is more than mere entertainment at the cinema or on the television. The testimonies of the UFO believers and those who claim to have been abducted by gray beings from other worlds would suddenly seem quaintly irrelevant. A signal found by SETI would be more than a breathlessly told story: it would be hard evidence easily verified by anyone with a suitable antenna and receiver — evidence that is impossible to hide.

We Are Not Alone

A discovery that we are neither alone in the cosmos, nor the galaxy's most sophisticated thinkers, has often been likened to the Copernican revolution. The practical consequences may be minimal, but the philosophical implications are profound. Yet even this formidable event would pale in comparison to finding and understanding a message. The consequences of the latter

***It is nearly certain
that any civilization
we uncover will be
far beyond our
technical level.***

would so affect humanity as to become a true discontinuity in our cultural evolution.

As alluded to earlier, the statistics of the SETI enterprise virtually guarantee that any transmission we receive will be from a long-lived, technologically sophisticated civilization. The reason for this is simple: only long-lived signals have much chance of being detected.

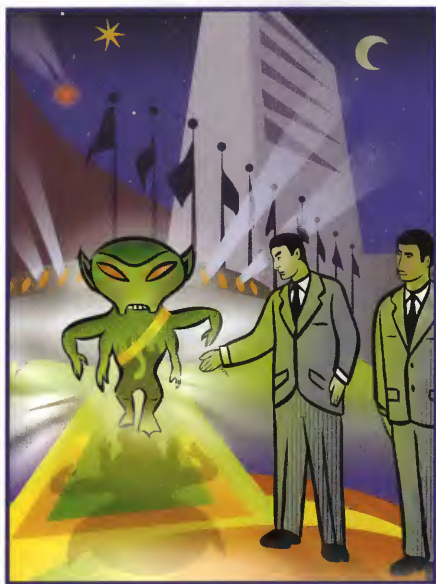
Thus, if a signal is found, then the society at the transmitting end is very likely to be thousands or more years beyond our technical level by now. Accordingly, if we can understand their message, we might be enlightened by the last word on physics, astronomy, chemistry, and (insofar as it applies) cosmic biology.

On the face of it, this sounds as if it might be a good deal, somewhat akin to learning to read and gaining access to the contents of the metropolitan library. Yet history suggests that a sudden flood of advanced knowledge is usually disruptive. For example, the South Pacific island societies James Cook visited in the 18th century saw their cultural heritage evaporate when exposed to the heat of European technology. Similarly, humankind might lose confidence and its sense of purpose if suddenly tutored by enormously more sophisticated beings.

This is a discomfiting scenario that I personally find unlikely. Advanced extraterrestrials would probably have no more interest in schooling us than we have in schooling pigeons or pandas. If *Australopithecus* were somehow available to us, would we make major efforts to educate him in the ways of the early 21st century?

If we find a message, it's quite possible that it will be nothing more than a meaningless bit stream to us for centuries, or possibly forever. It would be like discovering Egyptian hieroglyphics, but not the Rosetta Stone. We might never comprehend what the aliens are broadcasting. But even if we fail to understand the transmission, the mere fact of its existence will have taught us something deeply important. We will know that the seeming miracle of biology and evolution that has produced thinking beings on this planet is no more than a natural and non-unique process. This will, at the very least, place our human diplomacies in a larger, and humbling, context. ■

IF 'CONTACT' OCCURS, WHO SPEAKS FOR EARTH?



Pamela Hobbs

THE DETECTION OF EXTRATERRESTRIAL INTELLIGENCE WOULD RAISE UNPRECEDENTED POLICY QUESTIONS FOR HUMANKIND.

BY MICHAEL A.G. MICHAUD

The scientific search for extraterrestrial intelligence has unique power to provoke public interest because it involves much more than science: SETI raises the hope that contact with extraterrestrial intelligence will introduce new and hopefully positive factors into human affairs. The timing and nature of contact are unpredictable, making the issue a low priority for policy-makers. Yet governments will be forced to make policy decisions if contact takes place.

In the absence of evidence, our speculations about what ETI will be like are based on analogies with humans and on our cultural and personal preferences. These speculations have produced two poles of thought. "Contact optimists" expect ETI to be altruistic teachers who will show sympathetic concern for our well-being. The exem-

plar of this optimism, the late Carl Sagan, wrote in his 1980 book *Cosmos* that "the consequences for our civilization will be stunning — insights on alien science and technology, art, music, politics, ethics, philosophy and religion, and most of all, a profound deprovincialization of the human condition."

"Contact pessimists" foresee that information from an ETI will cause cultural shock, undermining our beliefs, our self-confidence, and our willingness to solve our own problems. Nobel Prize-winning biologist George Wald said that "I can think of no nightmare as terrifying as establishing communication with a superior ... technology in outer space." And there is the invasion scenario. H.G. Wells, the first of the contact pessimists, wrote in his 1898 novel *War of the Worlds*, "No one gave a thought to the older worlds of space as sources of human danger. ... Yet across the gulf of space ... intellects vast and cool and unsympathetic regarded this earth with envious eyes, and slowly and surely they drew their plans against us." Sagan dismissed such worries, writing that alien science and technology will be so far beyond ours that "it is pointless to worry about the possible intentions of an advanced civilization."

Advocates of both views tend to assume that ETI enjoys godlike omniscience: "They" already know all about us. There is no confirmed evidence of this, or of the other assumptions that underlie these views. In advance of contact, there is only one honest answer to the question of what extraterrestrial beings will be like and how they will behave: nobody knows. The truth may lie between the extremes of optimism and pessimism.

During his 32-year Foreign Service career, Michael Michaud worked for 10 years on environment, science and technology issues, including service as director of State's Office of Advanced Technology, acting deputy assistant secretary for science and technology, and counselor for environment, science, and technology in Paris and Tokyo. He has published a book and more than 100 articles, many on space-related topics.

***If we detect faint
signals from a distant
source, there would be
no chance of a
"conversation" within
a human lifetime.***

Scenarios of Detection

The impact of contact on us depends on the scenario of detection. In the classic radio astronomy paradigm, scientists would overhear a faint signal coming from hundreds or thousands of light years away. The signal might be information-poor radio leakage that tells us little about the other civilization. It might take years to interpret. There would be no hope of a rapid conversation because of

the distance; sending our own message and waiting for a reply could take centuries. The impact would be gradual; distance would give us time for study, debate, and rational policy-making.

Suppose, on the other hand, that the signal from a distant world is strong and information-rich, and that millions of humans have direct access to this information through multiple receivers. The impact could be deep and wide. And what if the signal comes from relatively nearby, say less than 10 light years? Conversations could take place within a human working lifetime, accelerating the impact.

If we discovered evidence of extraterrestrial technology within our own solar system, or in the vast spaces between the stars, we would know that at least one civilization had achieved interstellar flight. Contact with us could be direct. Dead spacecraft or other non-functioning technologies from a visit that took place thousands or millions of years ago would not be immediately threatening. If, on the other hand, we found functioning alien technology, we would have to assume that the ETI had discovered us and might be observing us. The need to make quick policy decisions would be much more intense.

The most popular science-fiction scenario for contact, the landing of an inhabited spaceship on the Earth, may be the least likely. Advanced civilizations that explore the regions around other stars probably would find it most efficient to send machines, not crews of living beings. Inhabited interstellar spacecraft may be justified only in the case of one-way migration from one system to another. We are more likely to meet the technological creations of aliens than the aliens themselves.

What Will They Think of Us?

How would an ETI react to us? We have no factual basis for assuming that the other civilization would welcome contact with humans. Nor do we have any basis for assuming that the other civilization would be hostile. We simply don't know.

At one extreme, we might be of interest only to a small community of researchers, similar to those few human scientists who study communication with intelligent dolphins. At the other extreme, contact with us might come as an unpleasant surprise to a species that had believed itself unique. A security-conscious ETI might regard our species as a potential threat. If they were capable of starflight and direct contact with us, our survival might depend on their ethics.

Our own actions are making contact with extraterrestrial intelligence more likely. We are searching the universe with more powerful tools, and with more thoughtful search strategies. Some of our technologies are making the Earth electromagnetically noisier. Whether we want to or not, we may someday have to face the policy implications of our actions.

The Prime Question

The most fundamental policy question in SETI is: should we call attention to ourselves, either by sending a message to an ETI we detect or by broadcasting in the hope that we will be discovered?

Many people dismiss the question because, even now, our radio transmitters, television stations, and radars emit energy that an ETI could detect. Therefore, "they" already know that we're here.

This is an unproven assumption. Our recurrent signals are relatively weak in the context of interstellar distances. ETI may not be looking for evidence of other civilizations. A more advanced species might have moved far beyond radio technology, regarding it as primitive. Unless we receive a message clearly aimed at us and addressed to us, or find an alien observation craft, we won't know if the ETI is aware of our existence or not.

Some SETI researchers have argued in favor of a beacon, a powerful signal transmitted with the express intent of calling attention to ourselves. This is some-

Sending deliberate communications into space, or "active SETI," is a political act.

times called "active SETI." One major attempt was made in 1974, when a small group of astronomers used the largest radio telescope in the world to transmit a three-minute message to a distant star cluster. More recently, Brazilian scientists and engineers announced their plan for a beacon that would be operated continuously, sweeping a large part of the sky with a signal announcing

our presence.

Despite its name, active SETI is not scientific research. Sending deliberate communications to another civilization is a political act.

Given our lack of evidence, we might best adopt a precautionary principle: Don't call attention to ourselves until we learn more about alien capabilities and intentions. In practical terms, this means not increasing the electromagnetic signature of the Earth beyond its present level.

The Politics of Contact

No matter how contact is established, the news that ETI has been detected will provoke a burst of intense public and media interest. Once policy-makers know that the detection has been confirmed, they will have to face the issue of information release.

If the detection is made by persons working for a government agency or under a government contract, officials could try to prevent, delay, or limit the release of information while discussing the issue among themselves. They might feel a need to prepare the public or to act as filters, selecting which information should be distributed and which should not be. But keeping the detection secret might be very difficult; the discoverers would be highly motivated to leak such exciting news to their colleagues and to the media.

The most relevant precedent is the 1996 media story that scientists funded by NASA had discovered evidence of ancient life from Mars in a meteorite found in Antarctica. A leak forced NASA to arrange a press conference where the announcement could be made in an organized way. President Clinton supplemented the NASA announcement with a brief, very general statement to the press (you can watch a clip in the film "Contact"). Public interest in this

event soon subsided, partly because the scientific evidence was ambiguous. But detection of an extraterrestrial intelligence will be far more exciting than the possible discovery of dead micro-organisms from Mars.

Non-governmental researchers also might choose to withhold information about a detection, at least temporarily. The astronomers who first detected pulsars withheld the news for months, until they were sure that signals from pulsars were a natural phenomenon and were not evidence of an ETI. Such researchers also might claim legal rights to the information they receive. Should the government intervene to assure open access? The discoverers might even be tempted to conduct a dialogue with ETI themselves.

The questions of confirmation and public announcement are addressed in a document known as the Declaration of Principles Concerning Activities Following the Detection of Extraterrestrial Intelligence. Prepared in 1989 by the International Academy of Astronautics and endorsed by several other international non-governmental organizations, this document is an attempt to build an international consensus on how to respond to a detection.

The declaration states three primary principles that should be observed by researchers who think they have detected evidence of ETI. First, confirm the detection in cooperation with other observers. Second, make a public announcement about the confirmed discovery to the media and the scientific community and notify several international organizations. Third, do not send a message to the detected ETI without prior international consultations.

Most SETI researchers have signed the declaration. But this document is not a law or a regulation, nor is it an agreement between governments.

Once contact is made public, reporters and other interested individuals will ask officials and politicians not only what they know, but what they plan to do. Government officials and political leaders will want to manage the detection politically, demonstrating that they are well-informed and decisive. Executive

*If contact with
ETI occurs, there is no
established procedure
to decide what the
human race should
do or say.*

branch leaders will have to decide who will speak for the administration, and what they should say. Legislators might take action, passing laws that direct the way that contact should be handled.

Both politicians and officials will need to address the reactions of non-governmental groups. Larger, more established organizations probably will deal with the detection in a pragmatic way; they will consider whether the discovery

advances their interests, threatens those interests, or has no effect. If the detected signal contains valuable information such as advanced scientific and technological concepts, some interest groups may argue that release of such information should be controlled to favor those groups or to prevent damage to their interests.

The more information we receive from ETI, the more we should expect a political reaction against alien cultural influences. Some groups might try to provoke public anxieties about ETI for political advantage, perhaps attributing events on Earth to alien intervention. Extreme religious and ideological groups might demonize the aliens, attacking their ideas as immoral or evil, demanding censorship. Some might try to end the contact by interfering with the signal, or by threatening or attacking the detecting observatory or its personnel.

Policy-makers can influence the public's reaction by the way they play the issue. But they must recognize the culture of conspiracy associated with the detection of ETI. Even if information about the detection is promptly made available to the public, some people will assume that the authorities are not telling all that they know.

A New Role for Diplomacy

If we detect an ETI, should humankind speak with one voice, or with many? Most people involved in this debate agree with the collective approach in the Declaration of Principles. But others argue that anyone who has access to a transmitter should have the right to send messages, reflecting the diversity of Homo sapiens. The feasibility of those signals reach-

ing their destination would depend on the scenario of detection; a very distant ETI might be far beyond the range of most transmitters.

Only a few nations have the large antennas and massive computer capabilities that may be necessary to identify and analyze alien signals, or transmitters with enough power to send messages over interstellar distances. Even fewer operate spacecraft in remote parts of our solar system. Should the discovering nation share its knowledge with others? Or should it withhold information to seek national advantage? Our choice would influence the way other nations respond to contact.

Then there is the question of content. Most scientists who have written on this subject have assumed that our purpose in communicating with ETI would be to transmit and receive scientific information. But non-scientists want to express human values and ethics, human religions and ideologies, human history and cultures, and to ask the ETI for similar information about its own civilization.

Once we move beyond exchanging scientific facts, how will we convey our intentions? Misunderstandings may be inevitable.

Currently, there is no formal intergovernmental process or international law that directly addresses the issues raised by a detection of ETI. To encourage an international debate, in 1996 the International Academy of Astronautics proposed to nations that are members of the United Nations Committee on the Peaceful Uses of Outer Space that the committee should discuss a process for addressing the question of sending communications to an extraterrestrial civilization.

Under this plan, the United Nations would decide whether humankind would send a message and what it would say. But the U.N. may not be willing to address this issue in advance of a detection. Even if it did, a U.N. declaration of principles would not be legally binding on governments. In the absence of a treaty on this subject, governments will be free to act as they wish.

Regardless of what nation or entity initiates an exchange of communications with an ETI, humankind will be entering into a long-term relationship with another society, another political entity. What mechanism should we use? Do we need new

governmental and intergovernmental institutions? We will want to know who we are talking to in the other civilization — a politically unified species, or one of its many sub-units. We also will want to know if there are additional extraterrestrial civilizations. Is there such a thing as interstellar politics? Is it a multi-polar system, or is one civilization dominant?

Learning to Think Big

Policy-makers can put all of this in context by conceptualizing a strategy in advance of detection. Astronomy and planetary exploration are collecting information about our larger environment; they are reconnaissances. Within this context, SETI is gathering intelligence about the other civilizations that may share our galaxy. This information will inform policy formulation. The next step, sending communications to an ETI, would be policy execution designed to influence subsequent events.

An obvious course is to gather more intelligence by expanding the search to cover much wider sectors of the electromagnetic spectrum, in all directions. Once contact takes place, we will want to know as much as possible about the ETI's proximity, technological capabilities, and intentions. The more information we have about the intelligent universe, the better our policy decisions will be. A longer-term part of our strategy would be to improve our technological capabilities and diversify our own resources by accelerating our expansion into the solar system and beyond.

SETI gives diplomats a new opportunity to think big. The basic elements already are familiar to us, even when raised to a higher level: intelligence-gathering, policy formulation, and policy execution. Diplomats know how to aggregate interests, formulate shared objectives, and build consensus on the policies that best advance them. They know that executing such policies requires sophistication in communicating our views to another culture.

Getting global consensus on a human response would be the ultimate test of coalition-building. The diplomatic work would have to be done quickly before governments took actions that might not be in the best interest of humankind. What more ennobling role could diplomats want than representing *Homo sapiens* to the universe? ■

FOREIGN POLICY IN ORBIT: THE INTERNATIONAL SPACE STATION



Pamela Hobbs

“**I** RUSSIA, ONCE A COMPETITOR WITH THE U.S. IN THE RACE FOR SPACE, IS NOW A PARTNER IN THE INTERNATIONAL SPACE STATION.

By JOHN M. LOGSDON

In the post-Cold War world, space policy is foreign policy,” émigré Russian space scientist Roald Sagdeev, a former science adviser to Mikhail Gorbachev, once said. Sagdeev was advocating closer U.S.-Russian space ties in the wake of the collapse of the Soviet Union, but his admonition has broader validity.

Foreign policy considerations have always played an important role in the U.S. approach to space, but recently those foreign policy considerations have changed. For three decades, the space race, as it was widely known, was viewed as one of the areas for Cold War competition between the United States and the Soviet Union. However, space has now become an arena of international cooperation rather than one of tense competition. The

F O C U S

International Space Station is a poster child for that new era, with Russia fully participating in a complex, long-term joint effort with the United States and other Western countries.

When John F. Kennedy in 1961 decided to send an American to the moon, Secretary of Defense Robert McNamara and NASA Administrator James Webb told him that the prestige the U.S. gained in international eyes from such an endeavor would be "part of the battle along the fluid front of the Cold War." Apollo, the project that put the first humans on the moon in 1969, was intended to be a very visible demonstration of U.S. technological power and organizational capability. When President Ronald Reagan approved plans for a space station program in 1984, he believed that by leading a multilateral effort to build a space station, the U.S. would better demonstrate the strength of American power by allied cooperation rather than unilateral action. (The aerospace firm McDonnell Douglas in 1983 was running a television commercial which showed a large Soviet station in orbit and asked: "Shouldn't we be there too?") Reagan invited U.S. friends and allies to participate in the space station program. After the Cold War ended, President Bill Clinton sought ways to cement a "strategic alliance for reform" with Russia and President Boris Yeltsin. In 1993, he invited Russia to join the space station partnership. Today, the International Space Station represents not only a major step forward in space development — it is also the most ambitious experiment in peacetime international scientific and technological cooperation ever attempted.

A Permanent Laboratory in Space

When complete, the ISS will be a multi-purpose research laboratory orbiting 220 miles above the Earth. According to NASA, the International Space Station will

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alliance for reform.***

be "a permanent laboratory ... in a realm where gravity, temperature and pressure can be manipulated to achieve a variety of scientific and engineering pursuits that are impossible in ground-based laboratories." Experiments aboard the ISS will focus on innovative technologies, new industrial materials, and biomedical research. The ISS will also be a place where the life science research required before astronauts can be sent on long jour-

neys to Mars or to other distant destinations will be carried out.

The ISS is a partnership among 16 nations — the United States, Canada, Japan, 11 member countries of the 15-member European Space Agency (Austria, Finland, Ireland, and Portugal have chosen not to participate), Russia, and Brazil. It is the most striking example of what is likely to be the model for all major government-funded space endeavors of the 21st century — collaboration among several countries to share both the costs and benefits of space science and exploration.

Although its exact final design is still not settled, the ISS will be assembled in orbit by space-walking astronauts from a number of separate pieces carried into orbit by more than 40 U.S. and Russian rockets. The United States is contributing most of these pieces, including the central laboratory, connecting nodes and trusses, and solar power panels. Russia is contributing the modules that help keep the station in orbit and provide storage space, the Soyuz spacecraft that serve as ISS "lifeboats" — a way for crew members to return to Earth in an emergency — and Progress spacecraft to bring supplies to the ISS; Russia may also contribute additional research laboratories and other equipment. Europe and Japan are each contributing a research laboratory. Canada is providing a robotic crane needed for station assembly and operation. Brazil is contributing some small station pieces.

The first piece of the complex was launched in November 1998; according to the current schedule, assembly will continue through early 2006. A three-

*Since 1984, the ISS has
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person crew, two Russian cosmonauts with an U.S. astronaut as commander, took up residence aboard the ISS on Nov. 2, 2000; a second three-person crew, this time with two U.S. astronauts and a Russian commander, replaced them in March of this year. Barring problems, the station will have people aboard at all times until the end of its useful lifetime, planned to be 2016 at the earliest. The number of crew members will go from three to six or seven as construction nears completion; Europeans, Japanese, and Canadians will join the long duration crew rotation as their country's contribution is added to the station; they will make shorter visits to the station in the meantime.

Since 1984, the program has undergone multiple redesigns and increases in projected costs. It is more than a decade behind the original schedule for its completion. The current estimate of the costs to the United States for developing its portion of the International Space Station is between \$24.1 and \$26.4 billion, although that estimate is expected to increase again. The United States is bearing the lion's share of the project costs as well as providing most of the station pieces. The ISS has been the object of intense criticism from some in the U.S. scientific community, who question its research value compared to its costs, and by congressmen who believe that there are higher priority claims on the government's budget. Yet the ISS has survived despite its problems because many believe that it is an essential step in gaining widespread support for the idea of having a human presence in space. The fact that the United States is the managing partner of a multinational undertaking, with responsibilities to each of its partners, is another reason that the program has persisted through all its problems. If the United States were to cancel the program, the significant investments of time and money of its ISS partners would become worthless.

Why an International Partnership?

Crafting the framework for the international partnership in the ISS has not been an easy task. By 1985, there was agreement in principle from Japan, Canada,

and nine European countries to join the program. After three years of sometimes contentious negotiations, in September 1988 the United States and these countries signed an inter-governmental agreement to work together on what by then had become christened (by the United States, unilaterally)

Space Station Freedom.

In order to negotiate this agreement, representatives of participating states had to find common ground on a number of difficult issues. There was concern that the station might be a conduit for undesirable transfers of sensitive or economically valuable U.S. technology, since engineers from partner countries would be working closely with their U.S. counterparts during the design, development, and operation of the facility. Partner nations had to address issues such as the protection of intellectual property, as researchers gained new knowledge from experiments carried out on the station, and the creation of a code of conduct, which among other provisions defined criminal behavior, for the multinational crews. Another issue was how to deal with commercially funded use of the facility and with protecting the proprietary information that could result from such use. Partners worried about the allocation of costs among nations, not only during station development but also while the station was being used as a research laboratory. Access to the station — determining who gets to use the station's resources, and on what schedule — had to be divided on a fair basis, reflecting the partners' relative contributions to the project. Of course, all partners were concerned about how many of their own astronauts would get to spend time on the ISS.

Taking on a lead role in resolving these issues was part of the challenge the U.S. faced in making the station a multilateral enterprise. Ronald Reagan did not have to invite international participation in the space station program. The United States was technically capable of developing a space station on its own. Foreign contributions to the station were not (with the important exception of the Canadian robotic manipulator, the crane needed to assemble the station pieces) essential to station capability, and creating the interna-

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managerial complexity to the program. Why then was the invitation proffered? Making ISS a multilateral undertaking was a strategic choice intended to reaffirm U.S. leadership in space.

Bringing Russia into the Program

As Bill Clinton entered the White House in January 1993, the Space Station Freedom program was in deep political trouble. It was behind schedule and over budget, and had become a lightning rod for political criticism. In June 1993, the program's budget was approved in the House of Representatives by only a one-vote margin, 216-215. The program's problems had strained U.S. relations with its station partners, rather than being a source of harmony among them.

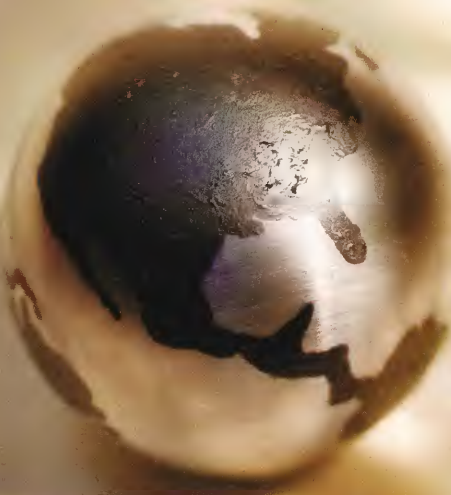
The first advice given to President Clinton by his budget director, Leon Panetta, was to cancel the program, even though that would have meant reneging on the U.S. commitments to its station partners. Clinton rejected this advice. He ordered NASA and its con-

tractors to redesign Space Station Freedom to reduce its costs and shorten the time to its completion, and he invited Russia, America's former space race competitor, to join the program. Foreign policy and national security rationales were critical to his decision to extend this invitation.

In the process of preparing initiatives for the initial summit meeting between Clinton and Russian President Boris Yeltsin in April 1993, the White House was searching for dramatic ways to symbolize a new relationship with Russia. Summit planners believed that merging the parallel U.S. and Russian programs on human space flight — an idea first suggested by Russian space leaders in March 1993 — was an ideal initiative.

In addition to being a symbolic gesture of cooperation, inviting Russia into the project had other important benefits. The space station would provide employment opportunities in civilian space projects within Russia for scientists and engineers who might otherwise

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have worked on weapons or missile projects not in the U.S. interest, either in Russia or in countries such as Iraq and North Korea. Working on the station would also encourage Russian firms to abide by international standards for nonproliferation of missile technology by giving them work that did not involve missile proliferation. Cooperating with Russia on the space station would allow the U.S. government and private sector to channel hard currency into the Russian economy to assist in its stabilization and growth. Finally, participating in the ISS would give Russia a psychological boost by allowing it to maintain one of the emblems of its great power status — its human space flight program.

There were also strong technical advantages to inviting Russia to join the space station program. Unlike the existing station partners, who had no independent experience with human space flight, Russia, through its Salyut and Mir space stations, had years of experience in long-duration human missions. Getting access to the Mir station would allow the U.S. a head start in preparing for the space station. Russian industry had demonstrated its ability to build capable and reliable spacecraft and launch vehicles, and a Russian Soyuz capsule could serve as the space station lifeboat. Americans hoped that Russian participation in the space station could save money and shorten schedules.

Inviting Russia to join what, in its redesigned state, was now called the International Space Station was a unilateral act; the existing partners had little choice but to agree. In December 1993, Russia accepted the partners' invitation to join the program. It took five years to renegotiate the station intergovernmental agreement to accommodate Russian entry into the partnership; Russia demanded to be treated as first among equals in recognition of its experience and capabilities in human space flight, something no other ISS partner possessed. With the exception of the Canadian robotic arm, the first element of which will be launched this year, the redesigned station will be composed only of U.S. and Russian-supplied pieces for its first six years of assembly, from 1998 to 2004. This means that Europe and

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Japan will not be able to link their laboratories to the ISS until it nears the end of its construction period.

A Mixed Record

Assessed in terms of its foreign policy justifications, the record of the ISS program deserves a mixed report card. Given all the delays along the way, it has lost whatever cohesive impact it might have had on U.S. relationships with traditional allies. Japan invested heavily in preparing its contribution to the station on the schedule originally set, and then has waited more or less patiently for its much delayed opportunity to join in. Canada, following a shift in its space priorities to emphasize more useful and less expensive space missions several years ago, considered withdrawing from the program, but was convinced by the United States that such a withdrawal was not a wise course. France and Germany, the two leading European space powers, have vacillated in their attitude towards their station commitment, as different governments and ministers have come and gone, but both have now made it clear that they will lead Europe in honoring its commitments. Several years ago, the then-French research minister, Claude Allegre, skeptical of the value of humans in space in general, suggested that because the space station ties a major part of the European budget for space to a U.S. project, it is part of a U.S. plan to dominate space and limit Europe's ability to have an independent space program. His attitude is not unique among Europeans.

Still, there are many in Japan, Europe, and Canada eager to get on with the program, since they could not afford to become involved in human space flight on their own. Brazil was delighted to be offered the opportunity to join the ranks of station partners, an offer linked to its adherence to the Missile Technology Control Regime (a voluntary international agreement among a number of states to not transfer missile-related technologies to countries not party to the agreement).

Russian participation in the ISS program also has had mixed results, in both technical and policy terms.

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a psychological boost by
allowing it to maintain
its human space flight
program.*

The Shuttle-Mir program, in which U.S. astronauts stayed on Russian space station Mir for 27 months, was a success, despite a number of well-publicized problems aboard Mir during the U.S. visit. The U.S. stay on Mir provided valuable experience in managing long-duration space flights, began the process of forging a cooperative relationship between U.S. and Russian engineers, mission managers, and planners, and provided ideas on how to improve the development and operation of the International Space Station.

The ISS has provided other benefits for U.S.-Russian relations. Russian industries involved in the ISS program, unlike some other Russian industries, have not been involved in weapons or nuclear technology transfers to Iran, Iraq, or other states of concern. The Russian Aviation and Space Agency has taken a lead role within Russia in urging compliance with international export control and nonproliferation standards. The continuing need to develop hardware and launch vehicles for the ISS program (and several other joint ventures with U.S. and European firms) has provided employment for numerous Russian engineers. At least in the space sector, U.S. and Russian leaders and workers have developed mutual trust and patterns of close collaboration.

However, the poor state of Russia's economy has slowed the development of the ISS. With U.S. funds, Russia built and delivered close to schedule the first piece of the ISS, called the Functional Cargo Block, launched in November 1998. But then the ISS program had to wait for Russia to come up with its own money to build another key piece, the Zvezda module, which was needed to control the station in orbit and which was finally launched in July 2000, some 18 months behind schedule. There is continuing uncertainty about Russia's ability to meet its future commitments for providing critical station hardware such as the Soyuz capsules, although Russian President Vladimir Putin has pledged that it will do so.

The U.S. invitation to Russia to participate in the ISS was intended as a gesture of support for the polit-

ical and economic reforms of President Boris Yeltsin. As Russia's political and economic situation has deteriorated in the years since 1993, that gesture clearly has had less of an impact than hoped for. Even so, the U.S.-Russian partnership in the ISS has survived Yeltsin's departure and has persevered because of a constructive and cooperative relationship between the space sectors of the two countries. While space coopera-

tion is unlikely to influence the core interests that define the U.S.-Russian relationship, it certainly has been a positive factor in linking the two countries together in recent years.

ISS Partnership: A Model for the Future?

Already there are a few engineers and managers from all ISS participants working together to plan the further development, operations, and utilization of the ISS at NASA's Johnson Space Center in Houston. This team could be the nucleus of a nascent international organization for human space flight, should at some future time national leaders decide to resume space flight beyond Earth orbit, back to the moon, to Mars, or to some other destination. There have been no human flights to the moon, or anywhere else except Earth orbit, since 1972; space advocates hope that such missions will be approved sometime in the next one or two decades. It is doubtful that the ISS experience will provide a precise template for future large-scale space cooperation. Certainly, in the future, planners will hope to avoid the delays, cost overruns, and changes in direction that have characterized the ISS program and caused stress among the station partners. But the ISS also stands as an example of 16 nations overcoming many difficulties to work together in opening up the space frontier. The ISS experience will provide valuable guidance as other visionary space undertakings are contemplated. ■

(For more information on the ISS, including when it will be visible from a particular location, go to spaceflight.nasa.gov/station/.)

ATTENTION ALL WRITERS



AN INVITATION FOR SUMMER FICTION

The results of the recent *FSJ* survey indicate that you, the reader, want to continue the *Journal's* summer fiction issue. Therefore, once again the *FSJ* is seeking works of fiction of up to 3,000 words for its annual summer fiction issue. Story lines or characters involving the Foreign Service are preferred, but not required. The top stories, selected by the *Journal's* Editorial Board, will be published in the July/August issue and on the *Journal's* Web site. The writer of each story will receive an honorarium of \$250.

All stories must be previously unpublished. Submissions should be unsigned and accompanied by a cover sheet with author's name, address, telephone numbers and e-mail address.

Deadline for submissions is May 1. No exceptions.

Please send submissions to the attention of

Steven Alan Honley, Associate Editor,
preferably by e-mail at Honley@afsa.org.

Stories will also be accepted by fax at (202) 338-8244,

or by mail:

Foreign Service Journal, 2101 E St., NW,
Washington, D.C., 20037.



SPACE: THE MILITARY'S ULTIMATE HIGH GROUND



S IF SECRETARY OF DEFENSE RUMSFELD HAS HIS WAY, THE U.S. MAY BREAK LONG-STANDING TABOOS AND TREATIES AND START PUTTING WEAPONS IN SPACE.

By MIKE MOORE

Secretary of Defense Donald H. Rumsfeld is ferociously bright, competent, tenacious, and persuasive. And he is a vigorous advocate of weaponizing space. If he persuades the Bush administration and Congress to buy into his space vision, more than 40 years of national space policy, in which space has been set aside as a weapons-free sanctuary, will be reversed.

If that happens — admittedly a large “if” — it would surely ignite domestic and international outcries so intense as to make past controversies over ballistic missile defense proposals seem like warm-ups. And it would, in unpredictable and possibly adverse ways, affect how the United States interacts with other nations, both friend and foe.

AFSA NEWS

American Foreign Service Association • April 2001

AFSA ELECTION RESULTS

AFSA Announces Future Leadership

The results are in. The ballots have been counted, and recounted. The AFSA Election Committee announces below the winners of the 2001 AFSA Governing Board election. Write-in votes for FAS and IBB representatives are under review. The new board will take office July 15, 2001. A total of 2,769 ballots were cast in the election. The committee thanks all of the candidates and members who participated in this important process. To see the full election results, including the number of votes received by each candidate, go to the AFSA Web site at www.afsa.org.

PRESIDENT John K. Naland
STATE VICE PRESIDENT Louise K. Crane
USAID VICE PRESIDENT Joe Pastic
FAS VICE PRESIDENT Edwin Porter
FCS VICE PRESIDENT Peter G. Frederick
RETIREE
VICE PRESIDENT Robert W. Farrand
SECRETARY F.A. "Tex" Harris
TREASURER Thomas D. Boyatt

STATE REPRESENTATIVES: John P. Boulanger
George W. Colvin
Lisa S. Kierans
Hugh M. Neighbour
Lynn G. Sever
Hollis S. Summers
USAID REPRESENTATIVE Richard Delaney

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FCS REPRESENTATIVE James Joy
RETIREE REPRESENTATIVES: William C. Harrop
David E. Reuther
Richard C. Scissors
Theodore S. Wilkinson, III

GUARDED OPTIMISM ABOUT PILOT PROGRAM

Childcare Coming to FSI

In a cable sent out to all posts on Feb. 5, State Department management announced a pilot program for childcare at the National Foreign Affairs Training Center (still called FSI). The text of the cable said Secretary Powell "announced at his town meeting on Jan. 25 that the department is looking to make childcare at FSI a reality. As a result, the secretary has approved a childcare center at FSI which is scheduled to open in August or early September 2001."

As a way for Secretary Powell to show he cares about families, starting a childcare

facility at FSI was a clear winning choice. For many years, the need has gone unmet, with families scrambling to find childcare while on temporary assignment to FSI. The situation at FSI is unique, with families coming and going constantly and most moving on within one year of arrival. It has long been a hardship for employees and family members at FSI to find available and affordable childcare for the duration of their stay at FSI.

The childcare center at FSI, as proposed by State management, will begin as a pilot program for 25 children, infants through age



four. The center will be run by a professional childcare provider—and will probably be provided at market rates.

While the need for childcare is undisputed, there is much angst and disagreement about the implementation. The main worry about the current proposal is that the plan

Continued on page 9

AFSA NEWS BRIEFS



Sinclair Award for the Study of Hard Languages

AFSA salutes the winners of the AFSA Matilda W. Sinclair Awards for achievement in the study of hard languages and their associated cultures. Each winner receives \$1000.

Angela Price Aggeler	Hindi
Angie Ann Bryan	Urdu
Anne L. Chick	Latvian
Daniel Froats	Hungarian
Karen E. Martin	Latvian
Matthias J. Mitman	Greek
Herro Mustafa	Greek
Nancy J. Nelson	Estonian
Daniel O'Grady	Greek
Thomas J.N. Pierce	Albanian
Kristen L. Pisani	Albanian
Alfred Schandlbauer	Greek
Robert Silberstein	Croatian



JOSH

FOREIGN SERVICE DAY

The structure of Foreign Service Day is currently being reviewed by the Department of State. The event may be postponed until September. AFSA will keep you posted on further developments.

Legislative Staff in Action

AFSA's congressional affairs staff is hard at work looking out for your interests and making contact with the new Congress. They recently met with staffers for Rep. Houghton, R-N.Y., who will reintroduce legislation to correct an existing inequity in the tax code by allowing the Foreign Service and the uniformed services to qualify for the capital gains exclusion on the sale of a principal residence. They met with representatives of the Family Liaison Office to discuss strategies for pushing legislation that would allow part-time temporary employees (fondly referred to as PITS) to claim creditable service for retirement purposes. They have been in contact with the office of Rep. Jim Moran, D-Va., who will introduce legislation on the PIT issue. They covered a hearing of the House International Relations Committee on the Carlucci State Department Reform study — and met with HIRC staffers to discuss and give input for the next State Department Authorization Bill, for years 2002-2004.

AFSA Welcomes

Doug Broome has joined the USAID AFSA office as Senior Labor Management Adviser, replacing Carol Lutz. Doug is a retired USAID FSO. He served for 31 years, the most recent five of which were spent in the office of the Foreign Service Grievance Board as senior adviser and executive secretary. Doug can be reached at (202) 712-0947, or by e-mail at DBroome@usaid.gov.

Marc Goldberg has joined AFSA as the executive assistant to the president, replacing Lauren McCuen. A D.C. native, amateur world traveler — he has spent time in Russia, Ecuador, Sweden, Vietnam and Tanzania, to name a few — and recent graduate of Connecticut College, Marc joined AFSA at the end of January. Marc can be reached at (202) 944-5506 or goldberg@afsa.org.

AFSA would also like to welcome Susan E. Moorse, who is not a staff member of AFSA, but a key player in AFSA negotiations with State management. The State Department has appointed Moorse as its new chief labor management negotiator. She replaces William Struck as the department's primary representative in negotiations with AFSA over conditions of employment for Foreign Service members.

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FCS-AFSA Agreement

Following many months of negotiations, AFSA and Foreign Commercial Service management finally signed the first of what AFSA hopes will be a number of new agreements. This agreement was the first successfully negotiated between AFSA and FCS since the current FCS AFSA vice president, Peter Frederick, took office in July 1999. AFSA became the bargaining agent for FCS employees Sept. 1, 1994, and there have only been a few agreements signed since then.

The new agreement, in brief, allows FCS employees to maintain per diem at the 50 percent rate for months two through six of temporary duty instead of two through four; take 25 days of home leave, instead of 15, raising the number of days to match the recent increase given to State employees; and get more time for pack-out and unpacking.

US&FCS has agreed to modify current Commerce regulations in these ways:

PACKING AND UNPACKING: To allow a supervisor to give an additional 16 work hours for packing out and eight work hours for unpacking.

TDY REIMBURSEMENT: For the 31st through the 180th day of temporary duty, the employee may be reimbursed at a daily locality rate of 50 percent of the per diem rate for lodging and meals and incidentals.

For the 181st day through the last day of temporary duty, the employee may be reimbursed at 25 percent of the daily per diem rate. However, for non-language temporary duty beyond six months, officers may request reimbursement at 50 percent of the per diem rate. If language training known at the time of assignment is for 24 weeks or more, the officer will be assigned to the location of the training.

HOME LEAVE: The parenthetical phrase "for Commerce: 15 days" will be removed from 3 FAM 3435.1b, which reads,

Continued on page 4

Paying for Talent

There are two kinds of people in the Foreign Service: those who notice that May 2001 has three paydays and those who recently won the lottery. I exaggerate, but many of us do eagerly await each three-paycheck month (next November is another) as an opportunity to catch up on bills.

If you are serving domestically, your heating bill probably doubled last winter. If you own a house, your property taxes are likely headed up. Everyone recently saw their health insurance premiums go up (by 21 percent if you have Blue Cross). While no one joins the Foreign Service expecting to get rich, many of us are increasingly concerned about being able to make ends meet.

While other federal workers also feel the impact of lagging public-sector salaries, there are factors unique to the Foreign Service that make the burden even heavier on us:

- During the 1990s, State cut overseas allowances. State slashed hardship differentials across the board for budgetary reasons. The miscellaneous expense portion of the Home Service Transfer Allowance fell 40 percent in real terms because State failed to adjust it for inflation.
- When serving abroad, we face big expenses if we fly back to visit a relative, attend a wedding, or accompany our child to enroll in college at any time other than during home leave or R&R. (In contrast, many multinationals give their employees a free flight home every year.)
- We face out-of-pocket expenses for outpatient medical treatment for conditions directly resulting from our overseas duty because State refuses to serve as secondary insurer.
- Most Foreign Service spouses earn substantially less over their lifetimes than they would if they did not have to move to a different country every few years. Many earn modest embassy or host-country wages. Others find better paying jobs, but only after months of uncompensated searching.

AFSA is discussing these issues with the new administration. We are arguing that there is no reason to be shy about seeking either legal authority or budget resources to improve benefits. Indeed, history shows that the Foreign Service owes its existence to the employee allowances that evolved along with it.

In the early days of our republic, there were no benefits. Envoys paid their own way to post, paid for their overseas housing, etc. Consequently, America's representatives were mostly "men of private means." Early in the 20th century, Congress decided that was no way for an emerging world power to operate. Accordingly, they authorized reimbursement of official travel costs (1906), established post allowances (1916), and funded shipment of personal effects (1919).

When Congress passed the Rogers Act in 1924 establishing the unified, career Foreign Service, they also created our retirement system and instituted home leave. Then, to help broaden the membership of this new service beyond the privileged elite, Congress established free overseas housing (1926), sick leave (1931), and the separate maintenance allowance (1941). To accompany their imposition of our "up-or-out" system in 1946, Congress created hardship allowances and the Home Service Transfer Allowance.

The existence of a highly skilled Foreign Service that is representative of the American people is dependent on the existence of pay and allowances adequate to attract and retain top talent. Anyone who doubts that should study our own history. □



Voices Crying in the Wilderness?

The FCS Office of Planning conducted a survey of commercial officers' job satisfaction late last year. The responses provided both encouragement for what we have done and clear direction for what needs to be done to improve our service. Of most significance, over 50 percent of our officers were motivated to stay in FCS because of dedication to public service, the opportunity to help companies and the challenges of international commerce. Two percent were motivated by the salary! Seventy-five percent said retention will be a problem for officers because of inadequate pay. Our colleagues are putting management and AFSA on notice that something must be done about the total remuneration package, salaries, allowances, and non-monetary support.



Lack of support for spouses and families may be our most significant problem.

Only 35 percent of the respondents felt that assignment panel decisions made sense, while 79 percent were pleased with the new bidding and assignments process, which resulted from AFSA-FCS partnering. This sends a clear message that the assignments process was flawed and the new assignment policy and process is being well received. We may have done something right! Twenty-nine percent felt the selection board results were fair and 37 percent felt that selection boards properly recognized good performance. It is no surprise that 60 to 70 percent of our officers are not pleased with the selection boards.

AFSA and FCS have negotiated a new performance management and evaluation policy, which has yet to be implemented due to bureaucratic delays. The officer corps is clearly asking us to get on with the implementation of the new system.

In addition to inadequate pay and better offers from the private sector, the respondents said insufficient support for spouses, inadequate career counseling and an unclear career ladder were the major negatives of being a Foreign Commercial Service officer. This is not surprising. The AFSA offices at Commerce and State are regularly contacted by FCSOs seeking career counseling. US&FCS does not have a career development plan nor does it provide sufficient career counseling. Perhaps AFSA can convince FCS to follow State's example and create a career counseling position for an experienced FCSO. AFSA and FCS should work together to develop a career development plan, and a better system of recognizing good performance.

Lack of support for spouses and families may be our most significant problem. Approximately 70 percent of the survey respondents opined that something must be done to support spouses, or FCS and all the other Foreign Service agencies will have trouble attracting and retaining quality officers. We must provide spouses with language training, assistance in finding employment, and better relocation support. Special counseling and support for eldercare and childcare issues are also needed. AFSA has made some proposals to management in this regard, but there is much more we can and should do.

Men and women enter the Foreign Service because they like the work (93 percent) and feel public service is an honorable calling (77 percent). They are not in the service for the money, but they do want and deserve non-monetary support. This survey is a clear call for AFSA and FCS to quickly focus on family issues, personnel management and career development. □

FCS • Continued from page 2

"An employee will be granted home leave not to exceed 25 work-days. A longer period may be authorized as provided in 3 FAM 3434.3."

AFSA looks forward to the successful conclusion of the next round of mid-term bargaining. AFSA proposed a plan to reimburse property management fees, a program to assist with payment of student loans, and a modification to the language policy that will provide spouses with appropriate language training. One round of successful negotiations is great; two will create the foundation for a tradition. □

ULP CHARGE DROPPED

Non-Interference Notice Posted

■ BY ZLATANA BADRICH,
LABOR MANAGEMENT ATTORNEY

On Oct. 13, 2000, AFSA filed an Unfair Labor Practice charge against the Department of State as a result of information we received from members stationed at U.S. Embassy Lima. This information described certain inappropriate statements made by a post management official at an embassy country team meeting shortly after the Foreign Service Grievance Board issued its Aug. 18, 2000 decision in AFSA's favor regarding the irregular assignment of a senior executive service member to be deputy chief of mission in Lima.

In December 2000, the department and AFSA began discussing potential settlement of the charge, resulting in an agreement on Jan. 12, 2001. This agreement included AFSA's withdrawal of the charge and the department's agreement to post a notice regarding the issues at Embassy Lima. The notice, which is to remain posted for 60 days, states that the department will not interfere with the rights of employees to form, join, or assist in a labor organization or refrain from such acts. On Jan. 30, 2001, after AFSA received notice that the department had complied with its portion of the settlement, AFSA formally withdrew its charge. □

AFSA *in* ACTION

2000 ANNUAL REPORT

A Message from AFSA President Marshall Adair

The year 2000 was busy and challenging for AFSA — and for the Foreign Service. American diplomacy confronted the ongoing challenge of defining and adapting to a rapidly changing international environment but with weak political support and insufficient resources.

Secretary of State Madeleine Albright sought to reverse the decline in resources for diplomacy, but she had insufficient support within the administration. AFSA worked to generate that support with both the administration and the Congress. We met with OMB, members of Congress and staff, and testified on resource and other issues. There is a growing recognition in Washington of the need for reform and rebuilding at State. In 2000, two more major studies were completed (with AFSA input) that addressed State Department reform, and they were presented to the new administration. The department's new leadership is committed to reform, and many in Congress have expressed willingness to provide resources for such reform.

Nevertheless, AFSA had to address several encroachments on the integrity of the Foreign Service. The most serious was the State Department's decision to assign an individual from outside the Foreign Service to a major DCM position in violation of existing agreements and regulations. The Foreign Service Grievance Board upheld AFSA's position that the department must abide by its agreements. The secretary exercised extraordinary waiver authority to maintain the assignment, but the principle has been strengthened, and more serious attention is now being given to systemic weaknesses. The Foreign Services at USDA, the Commerce Department and USAID also experienced encroachments on their

statutory parameters that are still being contested.

During 2000, AFSA won notable victories in advancing members' interests. We were the driving force behind the policy directing overseas missions to provide administrative accommodations to all members of an employee's household. Across all agencies, we helped hundreds of members with inquiries/problems concerning such things as allowances, assignments, and transportation. We assisted over 200 members with grievances or discipline cases. In addition, we obtained legal rulings holding that agencies can be liable for the actions of their inspectors general and that the Grievance Board can order an inspector general to produce IG documents to grievants.

In actions focussed on the State Department, our analysis of recent hiring and promotion trends convinced the department to increase dramatically promotion rates for employees in the greatest deficit categories: 21 percent for FS-04 to 03; and 17 percent for FS-03 to 02. We reached agreement with State to increase the amount of home leave granted on return to the U.S. from 15 to 25 workdays; and convinced management to raise the entry-level grade of office management specialists from FP-08 to 07.

AFSA also undertook a Workforce Planning Study, and presented it to the department, which in turn initiated its own "readiness" report to the administration. We hope that will be the beginning of a more serious long-term workforce planning effort for the Foreign Service. AFSA was active on Capitol Hill, making sure that the Foreign Service was included in the Federal Long Term Care Insurance law, the Immediate TSP participation law, the DC

College Access Act, and the law correcting federal employees who found that they were in the wrong retirement system.

AFSA worked with the department to address security problems at State, and to address the reaction of members of Congress to those problems. We sought to defend both the system and individual members of the Foreign Service from excessive measures designed more to appease critics than to resolve actual security problems. We continued to urge both the administration and the Congress to support improved protection of American personnel overseas.

Beyond the Beltway, AFSA continued to build constituencies for the Foreign Service. Our speakers bureau programs were active in 26 states. AFSA's Elderhostel programs have 1,500 graduates to date, and have expanded beyond the beltway to Florida, New England, New York, Georgia and Arizona. We drew upon those audiences to create the "Friends of the Foreign Service" to provide longer term popular understanding of diplomacy. We have worked closely with retired colleagues across the nation to place editorials, educate communities and influence Members of Congress. This is an area with much unrealized potential for supporting our profession and a more responsible and effective American foreign policy.

In 2001, the Foreign Service will face some of the same challenges it faced in 2000 and many new ones. We are fortunate that the new leadership of the department appears to be extraordinarily competent and willing to take on the difficult task of strengthening our professional diplomatic service. AFSA will devote all of its resources as a union and a professional organization to supporting that effort. □

January

AFSA State office moved to new offices in room 1251 of Main State.

AFSA President Marshall Adair spoke to retirees in Sarasota, Fla.

Convinced State to raise the wardrobe allowance for transfers and the transportation allowance for evacuees.

Appealed the denial of our implementation dispute on the Commercial Service assignments process. The Foreign Service Grievance Board held in our favor. As a result, AFSA and FCS began a partnership to create a new assignments policy, precepts and process.

Adair visit to Juniata College in Pennsylvania launched AFSA visiting professor program featuring retiree lecturers.

February

Submitted package of recommendations to State management addressing the shortage of mid-level FSOs.

Convinced State to exempt overseas employees from mandatory use of government-issued credit cards.

Met with senior IRM management to discuss concerns raised by members.

Following up on an Unfair Labor Practices charge filed in 1999, AFSA convinced FCS to rescind the Interchange Program, which would have had a negative effect on FCSOs.

AFSA Elderhostel program, taught by Foreign Service retirees, expanded to Florida. Over 500 students participated in AFSA Elderhostel programs in 2000.

Adair hosted former President and Mrs. Bush at the opening of the AFSA sponsored 75th Anniversary Foreign Service exhibit at the Bush Presidential Library.



Opening of the Foreign Service exhibit.

March

Submitted testimony to the House Commerce, Justice, and State Subcommittee.

Filed a grievance to stop the assignment of a Civil Service employee to a Foreign Service DCM position.

Convinced State to improve the travel voucher process and to form a working group to propose changes to the Fly America Act.

AFSA USAID negotiated new precepts for employee evaluations and briefed regional bureau personnel.

Reached agreement with State on procedures to make it somewhat easier for specialists to convert to the generalist ranks.

Adair spoke to retirees and COLEAD members in Denver, Colo.

Adair opened the Carter Presidential Library 75th Anniversary Foreign Service Exhibit. Former President and Mrs. Carter attended.

April

90 RIFed USAID FSOs represented by Bell, Boyd and Lloyd and AFSA settled age discrimination suit for \$5.5 million and obtained preferential status for personal services contracts for next three years.

New procedures negotiated for USAID Foreign Service selection boards.

Reached agreement with State to increase the amount of home leave granted on return to the U.S. from 15 to 25 workdays.

Convinced State to issue guidance making it clear that employees should be given as much administrative leave as required for packing and unpacking of household effects.

FCS agreed to AFSA's mid-term bargaining request and extended the Department of Commerce's Family Friendly Policy worldwide, benefiting FCSOs and FSNs in the over 170 commercial offices located outside of the U.S.

May

At the 35th annual Foreign Service Day, new memorial plaques were dedicated in memory of Foreign Service family members who have died overseas and in honor of Foreign Service Nationals who have lost their lives under heroic or inspirational circumstances.

Negotiated new procedures for USAID Senior Foreign Service within-grade increases.

Negotiated increase in home leave/transfer maximum for USAID FS.

Convinced State to raise the entry-level grade of office management specialists from FP-08 to FP-07.

Convinced State to raise the ceiling on personal property claims resulting from evacuations.

FCS and AFSA agreed to a change in the "7-year rule" which affects assignments of career candidates and their ability to meet class and time requirements.

Academic and art merit AFSA and AAFSW scholarships, totaling \$27,000, given to 26 students.

Announced the winner of the annual AFSA high school essay contest, Bryan Parno of Downing Senior High School in Pennsylvania.

June

Adair testified before Senate Foreign Relations Committee regarding information security at the Department of State and within the Foreign Service.

Completed negotiations on the 2000 promotion precepts.

Completed negotiations on the 2001 open assignments package.

Negotiated changes in use of government travel cards for official USAID travel.

AFSA awards ceremony included the new F. Allen "Tex" Harris Award, funded by the Delavan Foundation, for constructive dissent presented to a Foreign Service specialist who has exhibited extraordinary accomplishment involving initiative, integrity and intellectual courage.

July

Worked with D.C. government on implementing regulations to make Foreign Service employees domiciled in the District of Columbia qualified to participate in the D.C. College Access Act.

Convinced State to include consular unit chiefs (e.g., non-immigrant visa chiefs) in the definition of those eligible for reimbursement for professional liability insurance premiums.

Convinced State to reconsider the skill code change applications of 21 specialists after we learned that only 4 of 25 applications had been approved.

Convinced State to delay removing bottled water from SA-44 until after an independent lab test, partially funded by AFSA, verified that the tap water was no longer contaminated.

Filed institutional grievance with USAID protesting the agency's assignment of a GS-14 civil service employee to a Foreign Service senior management position abroad.

Adair spoke to World Affairs Council in Laramie, Wyo.

August

Job and skills database was launched on the AFSA Web site, featuring retirees available for employment and speaking engagements.

Won historic legal victory when the Foreign Service Grievance Board ruled that the department acted improperly in assigning a non-Foreign Service employee to a DCM position.

Convinced State to delay the implementation of new security rules to allow employees time to understand the sweeping changes and note the new penalties.

Began mid-term contract negotiations over FAS collective bargaining agreement.

The AFSA E-mail Listserve AFSANET — which brings the latest in AFSA initiatives, news and legislative updates — grew to over 2,400 members.

AFSA hosted reception for graduates of job search program at FSI.

AFSA loudly protested State's plan to require escorts for retirees visiting the department.

September

State published promotion lists implementing AFSA's February proposal to dramatically increase promotions for generalist FS-04s and FS-03s to compensate for slow promotions in past years.

State management responded to AFSA concerns about new security policy, and assured us the new policies respected employee's rights.

AFSA wrote to State management proposing adoption of the 25 best practices of the former USA.

AFSA, AAFSW and DACOR gave 51 financial aid scholarships totaling \$123,300.

Assistant Secretary of State for South Asian Affairs Karl Inderfurth addressed the international associates, AFSA's corporate member program.

H.R. 4040 was signed into law, resolving the issue of Foreign Service employees who were put in the wrong retirement system, and establishing a federal long-term care benefit. AFSA instrumental in ensuring Foreign Service inclusion in the law.



AFSA President Adair (right) with Rep. Joe Scarborough, R-Fla., chairman of the House subcommittee on Civil Service, at the White House signing ceremony Sept. 19.

October

H.R. 208 signed, allowing immediate Thrift Savings Plan participation for new federal employees. AFSA succeeded in getting FS employees included.

Negotiated change in USAID career transition program providing 60 days of program participation for all Foreign Service employees involuntarily separated.

Successfully urged State to expand the service need differential program to include employees who had already extended at post.

Wrote to State urging them to implement a student loan repayment program.

Adair spoke to retirees in Chapel Hill, N.C.

AFSA hosted an incoming class of 53 Foreign Service specialists. This was the 11th luncheon for new Foreign Service employees in 2000. These lunches resulted in 391 new members.

November

Interactive "C Street" forums were launched on the AFSA Web site, hosting a variety of discussions on the Foreign Service.

AFSA established the Elizabeth Landeau Memorial Scholarship with a gift of \$109,000.

Wrote to State management urging establishment of the department as the secondary insurer for illnesses or medical conditions incurred overseas that require only outpatient treatment.

Publicized AFSA's disappointment at Secretary Albright's decision to overrule the Foreign Service Grievance Board in the non-Foreign Service DCM case. Prior to the decision, an unprecedented 1335 members e-mailed their support to AFSA.

Wrote to State management urging review of the application of the Fair Labor Standards Act to OMS employees to ensure that they are uniformly paid time-and-a-half overtime.

AFSA filed its second ULP against FCS charging failure to negotiate in good faith.

December

Responding to an AFSA proposal, Secretary Albright directed implementation of measures to ensure that overseas missions welcome and assist all members of employee's households residing at post, including unmarried partners, parents, adult children, and other relatives.

Asked the inspector general to audit the pouch procedures as related to the delivery of absentee ballots mailed at overseas missions.

Participated in the working group that designed the 360-degree feedback survey to be implemented on a pilot basis in early 2001.

Appealed USAID's denial of institutional grievance concerning senior management position to the Foreign Service Grievance Board.

Agreed to conclusion of mid-term FAS negotiations. Total of nine articles negotiated and agreed upon, including promotion precepts, time-in-class issues, language incentive pay and assignments.

FCS agreed to mid-term bargaining request to increase the number of days of administrative leave authorized for packing and unpacking, to not reduce per diem while on a domestic TDY below 50 percent, and to grant 25 days home leave to FCSOs returning to domestic assignments.

New AFSA academic merit perpetual scholarships established by the Becker and Spigler families.

Foreign Service Journal broke a record with 60 schools participating in the advertising education supplement and Web site directory.

AFSA Staff

Finance and Administration



From left: Controller Kalpna Simal, Executive Director Susan Reardon, and Accounting Assistant Thomasina Johnson

- Accounting
- Financial Management
- Staff Recruitment Supervision
- Building Administration
- Board and Committee Support

Foreign Service Journal



From top left: Associate Editor Steve Honley, AFSA News Editor Shawn Dorman, Editor Bob Guldin; seated from left: Art Director Caryn Suko, Advertising & Circulation Manager Ed Miltenberger, Managing Editor Caroline Benner.

- Editing
- Writing
- Design
- Advertising
- Subscriptions and Sales

Labor Management



From left: Labor Management Specialist James Yorke, Office Manager Christine Warren, Labor Management Attorney Zlatana Badrich, General Counsel Sharon Papp, Grievance Attorney Harry Sizer, Grievance Attorney Tracy Smith, and State AFSA Vice President John Naland. Not pictured is Law Clerk Neera Panikh.

- Negotiations
- Protecting Benefits
- Grievance Counseling
- OIG & DS Investigations
- Member Inquiries
- Informing the Field

Outreach Programs



From left: Elderhostel Assistant Edie Wilcox, Retiree Liaison Ward Thompson, Professional Issues Coordinator Barbara Berger, Congressional Affairs Director Ken Nakamura. Not pictured is Corporate Relations Director Barbara Bowie-Whitman and Executive Assistant Lauren McCuen.

Public Outreach

- Speakers Bureau
- Elderhostel
- Memorial Plaque
- Foreign Service Day
- Diplomats Online
- AFSA Awards
- Putting a Face on the Foreign Service

Congressional Affairs

- Lobbying
- Tracking Legislation
- Hill Testimony
- Grassroots Campaigns

Retiree Services

- Member Inquiries
- Retiree Newsletter
- Retiree Directory

Member Services



From left: Administrative Assistant Ana Lopez, Membership Representative Chrissy Spaulding, Acting Membership Representative Kris Spaulding. Not pictured is Membership Director Janet Hedrick.

- Member Recruitment
- Post Reps
- Insurance Programs
- Address Changes
- AFSANET
- AFSA Web Site

Scholarships



Scholarship Administrator Lori Dec.

- Financial Aid
- Merit Awards
- Art Merit Awards
- Committee on Education

is to provide care at "market rates." In an ongoing discussion on "Livelines," a Web forum sponsored by the Associates of the American Foreign Service Worldwide, the sometimes heated arguments have centered primarily on the cost. Market rates in northern Virginia are high. Many Foreign Service family members argue that FSOs not part of a tandem couple simply will not be able to afford it, and believe the care must be subsidized in order to be usable. Others argue that any childcare on site is a good start and should be supported.

AFSA has been pushing for a childcare center at FSI for years, and is glad the first step is being taken, but has concerns about the feasibility of opening a quality, affordable, and viable center for just 25 children. The childcare center program is fully negotiable with AFSA, although AFSA was not contacted prior to State's announcement of the plan. AFSA is working on a position to present to management that will take into account the concerns of all those who might want to use the FSI childcare facility. There is agreement that a center should be opened as soon as possible, but AFSA hopes that it will be done in a thoughtful way which will ensure its success rather than risk failure for the sake of expediency. □

RETIREE BADGES

You Might Qualify

In addition to the change in policy granting retirees access to the basement and first two floors of the State Department, there is now a system created by the Bureau of Diplomatic Security through which certain retirees can apply for unescorted access building passes which cover the entire building. A retiree who needs frequent access to State "for the purpose of conducting work or projects consistent with the foreign policy needs of the U.S. government" may apply for a pass.

Applicants may obtain a written request from the State office that will sponsor them. Alternatively, especially for those with business in multiple offices, DS has authorized AFSA to make the request on the retiree's behalf after verifying the need. For more information, please contact Ward Thompson at AFSA at (202) 338-4045, ext. 528. □

Workforce Planning and Retirees

In its FY1999 State Department authorization, Congress required the department to submit a five-year workforce plan by March 1, 2001. AFSA had lobbied for this legislation, having sought unsuccessfully for many years to persuade the department to engage seriously in workforce planning. The department's decisions not to seek new funding or positions to staff posts in the former Soviet Union when they were opened in the early 1990s, to hire below attrition for many years and, for a time, to reduce the intake of new officers, have taken their inevitable toll.

According to AFSA's calculations, the department is short more than a thousand Foreign Service employees. It cannot fill hundreds of vacancies because there simply are not enough Foreign Service personnel on the rolls; posts must live with staffing gaps and Foreign Service personnel must curtail or forgo training and home leave to meet "urgent needs of the service." All this could and should have been foreseen.

Thanks to the FY1999 legislation, the department is finally taking workforce planning seriously. It has documented staffing and training shortfalls and is seeking funding to alleviate them. AFSA has been working with the department in this effort. Much more remains to be done.

One area needing more attention is the department's use of retirees. Their talents, experience and dedication are not being tapped fully to the advantage either of the department or of the retirees. A few hundred work in temporary (WAE, or When Actually Employed) status on freedom of information requests, human rights reports, asylum cases and overseas short tours. Three of my five tennis colleagues are often unavailable for tennis because they are filling short tours overseas as consular, administrative or security stand-ins. There are, however, many other ways the skills of more of the 11,000 Foreign Service retirees could be used.

Why, for example, doesn't the department invite retirees, as it has its civil servants, to bid on the hundreds of vacant overseas positions? AFSA has more than 300 retirees in its skills database. Many have indicated they would be willing to come back on one-, two- or three-year assignments. Having done the work, retirees are certainly as well qualified as interested civil servants now filling some of these positions. AFSA is currently seeking legislation to permit retirees to return to government work at full pay without losing their annuity, which would permit many more retirees to bid on these vacancies.

Retirees could also help speed officer intake. Rather than require successful written exam passers to wait up to nine months to take the oral exam, why doesn't the department augment its oral examiner staff with retirees? There is no good reason why several examining teams, fully briefed and trained to ensure quality control, could not be utilized concurrently, thereby shrinking the waiting time.

The employment of retirees should be an integral part of the State Department's workforce planning. AFSA intends to make this case with the department's managers. Suggestions would be welcome. □



Why, for example, doesn't the department invite retirees, as it has its civil servants, to bid on the hundreds of vacant overseas positions?

Q&A

Personnel Issues

BY JAMES YORKE,
LABOR MANAGEMENT SPECIALIST

Q. My mother lives with us in Washington. Can I include her on my orders as a dependent when I go overseas?

A. It depends. The present rules in 6 FAM 111.3-1r are a little complicated and quite restrictive. To be considered dependents and thus placed on your orders, you or your spouse's parents (including step-parents and adoptive parents) must be 51 percent dependent on you for support. Most parents have independent financial means and so this is often a difficult condition to meet. AFSA and AAFSW have requested that the definition be broadened to include not only financial, but also material and emotional support.

The rules are a little different for siblings (including step- and adoptive siblings), and in this case they must be at least 51 percent dependent on the employee for support, unmarried and under 21 years of age, or regardless of age, be incapable of self-support.

Children must be unmarried and under 21 years of age or, regardless of age, be incapable of self-support.

No other relatives can presently be placed on your orders unless there are some very exceptional circumstances and some very specific conditions are met. In this case an individual exception would have to be granted by the director general.

Q. I had planned to take 80 hours of annual leave last summer, but my supervisor denied it and I was unable to take it later in the leave year. Can I get this leave restored?

A. No. In order for annual leave to be restored, it must have been approved and scheduled, and then subsequently cancelled, and the reasons for not re-scheduling it before the end of the leave year must have been fully documented. The

circumstances under which annual leave may be restored are laid out in 3 FAM 3413.3 and 3143.4. You are expected to think ahead, and liaise carefully with your supervisor when planning your annual leave, since a GAO ruling states that canceling scheduled annual leave because of poor leave planning is not considered an exigency of the public business and therefore does not constitute a basis for restoration. Nor do normal workload, vacancies or the need to provide other



employees the opportunity to use leave. Forfeited annual leave can only be restored if it was cancelled for operational reasons, because an administrative error was made, and/or for reasons of medical injury or sickness. However, the "administrative error" provision is quite broad and may sometimes cover many of the situations envisioned in the GAO ruling. □

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Who's Vulnerable Now?

On Jan. 11, the same day as Rumsfeld's confirmation hearing in the Senate, the congressionally authorized Commission to Assess United States National Security Space Management and Organization issued its report. Rumsfeld chaired the commission and the report presumably reflects his thinking.

The health of the U.S. economy as well as the effectiveness of its military forces, the report says, are inextricably linked to the continued functioning of a vast array of space-based military and commercial "assets" — intelligence, surveillance, reconnaissance, warning, communications, weather, mapping, and navigation satellites.

Although the United States is without peer among space-faring nations, the Space Commission's report says, America's huge lead also makes it vulnerable to "state and non-state actors hostile to the United States and its interests."

America's economy would be disastrously disrupted and its ability to fight high-tech wars fatally compromised if a significant number of those space assets were disabled or destroyed. The commissioners — 13, including Rumsfeld — said it is in the U.S. national interest to:

- Promote the peaceful use of space;
- Use the nation's potential in space to support its domestic, diplomatic, and national security objectives; and
- Develop and deploy the means to deter and defend against hostile acts directed at U.S. space assets and against uses of space hostile to U.S. interests.

The report focuses on the third point. The U.S. military must evolve into a ground, sea, air, and space force: "The commissioners appreciate the sensitivity that surrounds the notion of weapons in space for offensive or defensive purposes. They also believe, however, that to ignore the issue would be a disservice to the nation." The president should "have the option to deploy weapons in space to deter threats to and, if

necessary, defend against attacks on U.S. interests."

High on the commission's priority list is developing and testing a variety of anti-satellite systems, because U.S. satellites are essential to the nation's intelligence, early-warning and war-fighting capabilities. The commissioners believe that unfriendly nations will eventually have observation and command-and-control satellites that could imperil U.S. forces. They said, "The senior political and military leadership needs to test these [anti-satellite] capabilities in exercises on a regular basis, both to keep the armed forces proficient in their use and to bolster their deterrent value."

The commissioners also said the United States must develop the capability to project power from space. "Unlike weapons from aircraft, land forces, or ships, space missions initiated from earth or space could be carried out with little transit, information, or weather delay. Having this capability would give the U.S. a much stronger deterrent and, in a conflict, an extraordinary military advantage."

As for the endlessly controversial matter of national missile defense, the commissioners turned exceedingly cagey, perhaps because a space-based national missile defense system would clearly violate the 1972 Anti-Ballistic Missile Treaty. The report merely says:

"Some believe the ballistic missile defense mission is best performed when both sensors and interceptors are deployed in space. Effective sensors make countermeasures more difficult, and interceptors make it possible to destroy a missile shortly after launch, before either warhead or countermeasures are released."

"Space for Peaceful Purposes"

One hears echoes from the 1950s in the Space Commission report. After the Soviet Union launched Sputnik in October 1957, President Dwight D. Eisenhower was besieged by military men and think-tank warriors who wanted to counter the Soviet space-power "threat." The president, they said, should get on with the task of taking the "high ground" of space.

"Whoever has the capability to control space will likewise possess the capability to exert control of the surface of earth," Thomas D. White, Air Force chief of staff, told the National Press Club in November 1957. In December 1959, Air Force "Basic Doctrine" was

Mike Moore is senior editor of the Bulletin of the Atomic Scientists, an arms control publication established in 1945 by key members of the Manhattan Project. Moore can be reached at m-smoore@socket.net.

revised to describe the service as an "aerospace" force.

Although President Eisenhower greatly mistrusted the Soviets, he was not enamored of extending the arms race into space. Instead, he declared that the United States should keep space free of weapons, formalizing what came to be known, pejoratively in hawkish precincts, as the "space for peaceful purposes" policy.

President Eisenhower did not, however, bar the secret introduction of military-oriented satellites, particularly spy satellites. Such instruments, he believed, would be defensive and thus peaceful in character. They would allow the United States to more reliably understand what the hyper-secretive Soviet Union was up to.

U.S. space policy has had a schizophrenic quality ever since then. Although the United States and the Soviet Union proclaimed throughout the Cold War in every conceivable forum that space should be dedicated to peaceful purposes, both launched ever greater numbers of satellites useful to military and intelligence analysts and, later, to combat commanders. Nevertheless, the Eisenhower formulation, with inevitable fine-tuning here and there, remains U.S. policy for military use of space.

No More Space Treaties

In the 1960s, the United States, worried that the Soviet Union might have the capability and intention to put nuclear weapons in space, pushed for the 1967 Outer Space Treaty. Article IV of the treaty says that parties to the treaty cannot "place in orbit around the earth any objects carrying nuclear weapons or any other kinds of weapons of mass destruction, install such weapons on celestial bodies, or station such weapons in outer space in any other manner."

The treaty, however, does not bar the kind of precision weaponry the members of the Space Commission envision. In a nod to the now deeply rooted international tradition of keeping space free of weapons of any kind, the commissioners noted that a U.S. decision to weaponize space would stir concern. But the hand-wringing would be misplaced. Space weapons would be

***The U.S. military must
evolve into a ground,
sea, air, and space
force, says Rumsfeld's
commission.***

used for "defensive" and "non-aggressive" purposes.

Further, the commissioners add, the United States should "shape" the international environment to ensure that no new treaties constrain the United States. That suggestion simply reaffirms de facto national policy. Since Ronald Reagan announced his Strategic Defense Initiative in 1983, the U.N. General Assembly has annually attempted to get the ball rolling on

a treaty that would ban all weapons in space. The latest General Assembly resolution to that effect was passed last November by a vote of 163 to 0. Three nations abstained: the United States, Israel and Micronesia.

The preferred forum for negotiating such an instrument would be the Conference on Disarmament in Geneva, which operates by consensus, thus giving every member a veto. Just as surely as the space-weapons matter is brought up in Geneva year after year, the United States blocks substantive action. Last September, for instance, Robert T. Grey, U.S. ambassador to the Conference on Disarmament, said:

"The United States agrees that it is appropriate to keep this topic under review. ... On the other hand, we have repeatedly pointed out that there is no arms race in outer space — nor any prospect of an arms race in outer space, for as far down the road as anyone can see."

Rather than banning space weapons, the U.S. insists that the Conference on Disarmament should focus on negotiating a Fissile Material Cutoff Treaty. China greatly complicated matters in 1999 after the Clinton administration decided to accelerate research and testing on a national missile defense system. China insisted that talks on a new space treaty get equal treatment with "fissban" negotiations. Though such linkage has widespread support in Geneva, the United States remains strongly opposed.

Kosovo and beyond

The Space Commission's recent report is important chiefly because of Rumsfeld's involvement. Otherwise, it is cold porridge, a collection of ideas, observations, and recommendations that have been floating around for decades in military circles.

Since the end of World War II, the Air Force, and think tanks such as RAND, have been envisioning potential military uses of space. Among their early proposals: nuclear-armed ballistic missiles, reconnaissance satellites, and orbiting weapons.

Today's visionaries, in the armed services, think tanks and scientific communities, are conceiving new possibilities for space warfare. Most noticeably, they are seeking to integrate their efforts with the technology-driven Revolution in Military Affairs (almost always reverently capitalized), which is well under way in America's armed forces. A key concept of the RMA is that insofar as possible, the United States intends to fight future wars with precision high-tech weapons armed with conventional explosives.

Joint Vision 2010, a conceptual template released in 1996 by the Joint Chiefs of Staff, celebrates the possibilities of the revolution. The document (updated last year as Joint Vision 2020) describes a new style of warfighting, one that features a "system of systems" — digitally networked Army, Navy, Marine, and Air Force units that jointly fight in an information-rich environment, using standoff weapons that minimize the possibility of heavy U.S. casualties. The goal is to assure that in the 21st century, the United States will achieve "full spectrum dominance" of the "battlespace."

"Information superiority" will make it happen — the "capability to collect, process, and disseminate an uninterrupted flow of information while exploiting or denying an adversary's ability to do the same." Having the best surveillance, reconnaissance, navigation, and command-and-control satellites is essential to that superiority.

America's new way of fighting was previewed in the 1991 Gulf War and later refined in the 78-day, U.S.-directed NATO air campaign over Kosovo and Serbia in 1999. In the latter war, NATO air forces attacked 900 targets with 37,465 sorties and suffered no combat casualties. Indeed, to minimize the possibility of casualties from anti-aircraft fire, the planes flew at altitudes of 15,000 feet or higher.

There were close to 500 civilian Yugoslav deaths, according to a comprehensive on-the-ground survey of the campaign conducted by Human Rights Watch. Most of the deaths, the report noted, were not the result of inaccurate munitions; they were caused by mistakes in target selection.

To military analysts everywhere, a bombing campaign that had so little "collateral damage" carried a staggering message: Air-delivered, designed-in-America munitions hit their targets with unprecedented accuracy, thanks in large part to a vast array of military satellites.

Planning for Space Superiority

U.S. Space Command, a joint Army, Navy, and Air Force operation, was organized in 1985 to coordinate the country's military activities in space and to develop plans and doctrine for future operations. The command's principal missions have been to launch and operate satellites that "enhance" the effectiveness of combat forces, as in the Gulf War and the NATO campaign.

Critics, particularly on the left, have noted that today's military satellites are far removed from Eisenhower's spy satellites. They aid in target selection and the precision delivery of munitions, while facilitating the instantaneous command-and-control of terrestrial forces. Nevertheless, they are not weapons within the traditional meaning of the word. They don't shoot at, blow up, or disable anything. Space has been "militarized" for 40 years; but it has not been "weaponized."

Space Command has, however, put boundless energy in developing doctrine and "weapons concepts" for more active missions — "space control" and "force application." Space control would ensure that the United States and its allies have "assured access" to space while "denying enemies the same freedom." At the least, that calls for anti-satellite weapons. But the latter mission — force application — edges into Star Trek territory.

"Global Engagement," says Space Command's Long Range Plan, issued in 1998, "is the combination of global surveillance of the Earth (see anything, any time), worldwide missile defense, and the potential ability to apply force from space." An illustration on the inside back cover of "Vision for 2020," a Space Command brochure, is illuminating. (See page 40.)

Our vantage point is in near-earth space. Below is a portion of the earth, painted in sere sepia shades. We see the easternmost tip of the Mediterranean Sea and below it, the Red Sea, partly obscured by clouds. Above the Mediterranean is a bit of the Black Sea; to



Photo: Courtesy of U.S. Space Command

On Space Command's wishlist: orbiting laser weapons that can hit earth targets.

its right, the Caspian Sea. Below that, the Persian Gulf.

The rest of the painting is bluish-black space, speckled with stars. In the foreground — almost close enough to touch — floats an orbiting laser. It glows orange as it zaps an earthly target. The exploding target is somewhere near Iraq.

"The American military is built to dominate all phases and mediums of combat," Air Force Gen. Richard B. Myers said last year shortly before being promoted from commander-in-chief of Space Command to vice chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, the second-highest uniformed military post. "We must acknowledge that our way of war requires superiority in all mediums of conflict, including space. Thus, we must plan for and execute to win space superiority."

A Space Pearl Harbor?

Space lasers are high on Space Command's wish list. They could shoot down ballistic missiles in their boost phase, says Space Command, or disable or destroy enemy satellites, or even attack terrestrial targets or aircraft in flight.

But operational laser arrays are decades away, according to best-case estimates. Other force-application options, however, could mature sooner. One con-

cept, an unmanned Common Aero Vehicle or CAV, could be developed and deployed as early as 2008, according to the Air Force.

In its first incarnation, a CAV — a pint-sized robotic spaceplane — would be launched into partial orbit by an intercontinental ballistic missile. Mating a CAV with an ICBM, the Air Force says, would "provide warfighting forces with a conventional strike capability with near-global range." Later on, the Air Force hopes to launch the spaceplanes in long-lived Space Maneuver Vehicles, which could permit some CAVs to be in orbit at all times. According to the Air Force, that would give the United States

the ability to "halt an enemy's operations within hours, minutes, or even seconds."

Although the January 2001 Space Commission report speaks of building a "force application" capability, it does not focus on lasers or CAVs. The commissioners believe that defending U.S. satellites and building anti-satellite weapons to disable or destroy hostile satellites are the most pressing needs. Indeed, the commission took a broad-brush approach in most of its observations and recommendations. The report was intended as a wakeup call, not a blueprint.

The commissioners acknowledge that many people believe it unlikely that an enemy, whether a state or a terrorist organization, would ever attack U.S. space assets. But, say the commissioners, "History is replete with instances in which warning signs were ignored and change resisted until an external, 'improbable' event forced resistant bureaucracies to take action." They warn that unless the U.S. is wise enough to reduce its vulnerability in space, it may someday face "a disabling attack against the country and its people — a 'space Pearl Harbor.'"

A Wakeup Call for Space Power

A wakeup call was precisely what Sen. Bob Smith, a

F O C U S

Republican from New Hampshire, had been looking for. Smith is the leading space power proponent in Congress.

Although there have been space power advocates in the armed forces, in think tanks, and in Congress since the late 1940s, they were aware that weaponizing space could be dangerously provocative in the hair-trigger Cold War context. From time to time, the United States and the Soviet Union toyed with the idea of full-scale deployment of anti-satellite weapons. But in the end, substantive deployments of ASAT systems were viewed as destabilizing, because the threat that either superpower's surveillance satellites could be disabled would make both states more insecure in a crisis.

The fading of the Cold War and the demise of the Soviet Union opened a window of opportunity, says

***"We must plan for and
execute to win space
superiority."***

— USAF Gen. Richard B. Myers,
vice chairman of the Joint Chiefs

Smith, an opportunity that the Clinton administration was too timid to seize. And Smith complains that the Air Force, whose officers dominate Space Command, has been content to limit the role of space to support and force enhancement. When faced with budget crunches, they protect their beloved air-breathing programs at the expense of vision-

ary space efforts.

"Even the Air Force's Space Warfare Center and Space Battlelab," Smith said in November 1998, "are focused primarily on figuring out how to use space systems to put information into the cockpit in order to drop bombs from aircraft more accurately. This is not space warfare."

In 1999, Smith, a member of the Senate Armed Services Committee and chairman of the Strategic



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Forces Subcommittee, pushed through legislation establishing the Space Commission. Smith's choice for chairman: Rumsfeld.

Although many peace activists routinely accuse Smith, Space Command, and the U.S. government of conspiring to "control the earth" from space so that U.S.-managed global business can reap obscene profits, the truth is almost certainly more prosaic.

Since the presidency of George Washington, U.S. military forces have been charged with the mission of defending the United States and its interests. One does not have to be a Clausewitz to appreciate the military value of high ground. And since the late 1940s, space has been the ultimate high ground.

Advocates of U.S. military space programs believe that if the United States doesn't take control of space for the benefit of humankind, the bad guys will take control for darker reasons. "The logic essentially boils down to the belief that weapons in space are an inevitability," says Jim Oberg, a civilian analyst much favored by Space Command. "Since weaponization of space is inevitable, the United States, as the country with the historical opportunity to be the first to field them, would be foolish not to do so."

"And, should it not afford itself of the opportunity, it will likely find itself held hostage to the state that does."

But Will It Happen?

Secretary of Defense Rumsfeld may be a true believer in space power, and he will almost surely promote it. But there are lots of obstacles on the road to space.

First of all, Rumsfeld also says he will raise the pay and benefits of the men and women in the armed forces, push through a host of force modernization plans, and put more money into every-day training.

And he must contend, as have all recent defense secretaries, with the unrelenting turf wars between the services. Army and Navy brass tend to see expanded space missions as a power grab by the Air Force, which essentially runs Space Command.

Rumsfeld's boss, President Bush, is intent on push-

*Spacepower advocates
believe that the U.S.
must seize the military
high ground first, or
someone else will.*

ing through tax cuts. That, combined with a closely divided Congress, could make it less likely that expensive new space-related initiatives would be approved and funded.

Finally, U.S. allies and friends have been alarmed by decades of U.S. insistence that it needs to build a national ballistic missile defense system, which might jeopardize the Anti-Ballistic Missile

Treaty of 1972, the bedrock upon which U.S.-Russian nuclear arms control treaties were built. And lately, allies and friends have been bewildered by the apparent U.S. drive toward military dominance, including the possible weaponization of space.

Consider Canada, whose officers work side by side in Colorado Springs with Space Command officers in the closely parallel organization, the North American Aerospace Defense Command. Despite the NORAD ties, the Canadian government describes an attempt by any nation to implement "space control" as "destabilizing." It has long called for a treaty to ban weapons in space.

Preserving space as a weapons-free "sanctuary," the policy established by President Eisenhower, is the right stance for the United States, wrote Air Force Lt. Col. Bruce M. DeBlois, in the winter 1998 issue of *Airpower Journal*, the Air Force's professional journal. DeBlois, now division chief of Strategic Studies and Assessments at the National Reconnaissance Office, says a policy of space sanctuary is justified for a host of political, strategic, and practical reasons. But he also asserts that it is consistent with American national character:

"The United States exports its national values of individual freedom and democracy and maintains a pattern of not bullying other nations into accepting these ideals. The expectation is that the inherent worth of the ideals is self-evident. Maintaining the moral high ground in order to support this pattern is essential, even if it requires the United States to take some risks. ...

"The idea of putting weapons in space to dominate the globe is simply not compatible with who we are and what we represent as Americans." ■

THE MOON TREATY — LOST IN SPACE



FEARLY TREATIES ON SPACE MET WITH EASY APPROVAL, BUT THE 1979 MOON TREATY HAS ENCOUNTERED OBSTACLES THAT WON'T GO AWAY.

BY PATRICIA M. STERNS AND LESLIE I. TENNEN

For a while, the international community made remarkable progress when it came to outer space. In 1967, the Outer Space Treaty laid the ground rules for the peaceful exploration of space. That path-breaking treaty was followed over the next nine years by three other international agreements. They all gained wide acceptance, without a great deal of controversy. Adopted under United Nations auspices, these treaties seemed to assure that — despite the Cold War, despite tensions between the world's rich and poor nations — the rule of law would govern human activities in space.

The record of successful space treaties was broken in 1979, when the U.N. General Assembly adopted the Moon Treaty — more properly known as the Agreement Governing the Activities of States on the Moon and Other Celestial

Bodies. The agreement was a significant departure from the previous space treaties. While much of the treaty restated generally accepted principles of space law, it also staked out some new principles, which, it turned out, were quite controversial. It declared the moon and its resources to be the "common heritage of mankind," a phrase with important economic implications. In addition, the Moon Treaty provided that the natural resources of the moon were subject to regulation by an "international regime" to be established in the future.

Unlike the earlier space agreements, the Moon Treaty has not enjoyed an enthusiastic reception by the community of nations. Although it has officially entered into force, the Moon Treaty has been accepted by only a handful of states, none of which conducts an independent space program.

What — if anything — is wrong with the Moon Treaty, and why has it received so little approval from the nations of the world? In order to understand that, we need to look at some history.

Born in the Cold War

The space age was born of and nurtured by Cold War competition. The development of space law reflected this ideological tension, and the fact that governments, and not the private sector, were the major participants in space activities, which were conducted largely for purposes of national security and prestige. The launch of Sputnik I by the Soviet Union in 1957 demonstrated that the presence of satellites in Earth orbit had profound national security implications.

During the formative years of the space age, the United Nations took a leading role in promoting the peaceful movement of humankind into space. The U.N. responded to Sputnik by establishing the Committee on Peaceful Uses of Outer Space, or COPUOS, as a subsidiary body of the General Assembly. The purpose of COPUOS is to foster and promote the maximum exploration and use of outer space by both the public and pri-

ivate sectors, while at the same time preserving space for peaceful purposes. The membership of COPUOS has grown from 18 nations to the current level of 61. Decisions are made by consensus rather than voting, which means that a single nation can prevent passage of a measure. But it also means that when COPUOS reaches a decision, it should, at least in theory, enjoy broad support.

The advent of the space age put the human race into unknown legal territory. One question immediately occurred to international law experts: Would this new era of space launches follow historical antecedents for exploration and discovery? Throughout the classical age of exploration, colonial powers claimed discovered lands by a variety of ceremonies, ranging from physical presence, to planting the flag, to other rituals. There were no particular international standards for recognizing which of these ceremonies was legally superior.

Some claims were made on the basis of mere sighting, without any physical contact with the area claimed. Ultimately, these claims were enforced and recognized on the basis of military power. Frequently, the colonial powers' claims conflicted, leading to international tensions and armed clashes.

In the realm of space, it soon became obvious that the assertion of national claims and the concomitant military deployments could lead to disastrous results. The global community was faced with the decision whether or not to concede the traditional right of the technologically superior nations to lay claim to vast portions of outer space. These claims conceivably could include various orbits, the moon, and other celestial bodies or areas a nation might claim to have "discovered," whether by exploration, use, landing, imaging, mapping, or surveying. Using these precedents, the Soviet Union might have justifiably claimed vast reaches of near-Earth space, because it had undeniably been the first to get there.

To prevent such a scenario, and the international conflicts that would inevitably result, the U.N. General Assembly passed a resolution in 1961 which declared that "outer space and celestial bodies . . . are not subject to national appropriation." The non-appropriation principle had great appeal for the nations which lagged behind the Soviet Union in the development of space technology, which at the time included virtually every other nation. The Soviet Union, moreover, was not averse to declaring outer space to be free from claims of national sovereign-

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FOCUS

ty, as the non-appropriation principle had a decidedly socialist philosophical underpinning. This space law milestone was reached by the community of nations a mere four years after the launch of the first artificial satellite.

The Outer Space Treaty

General Assembly resolutions do not, however, have the force of binding international law. The non-appropriation doctrine achieved that status when it was incorporated into article II of the Treaty on Principles Governing the Activities of States in the Use and Exploration of Outer Space, Including the Moon and Other Celestial Bodies, which entered into force in 1967. Developed through the COPUOS, the Outer Space Treaty is a landmark in international space law.

Accepted by well over 100 nations, including the United States, the treaty established the fundamental

Amendments to the Law of the Sea Treaty may be a useful model for exploiting resources in space.

principles of law relating to the movement of humankind into space. One key principle is that "Outer space, including the Moon and other celestial bodies, is not subject to national appropriation by claim of sovereignty, by means of use or occupation, or by any other means." The treaty also provides that activities in space are to be conducted for peaceful purposes, and in conformity with international law;

that the placement of weapons of mass destruction and the conduct of military maneuvers in space are prohibited; that the exploration and use of outer space shall be the province of all humankind; that all states have equal right of access to space; that private entities specifically are permitted to conduct activities in space, subject to the authorization and supervision of the appropriate state of nationality; and that states are internationally responsible for national activities in space.



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After the Outer Space Treaty, three additional treaties were developed in rapid succession by COPUOS. The 1968 Return and Rescue Agreement requires states to render humanitarian assistance to distressed astronauts, and to return space objects to launching states.

The 1972 Liability Convention provides for the presentation and resolution of claims for damages caused by space objects. In addition, in 1976, states agreed to the Registration Convention, which requires states to maintain a national register of objects launched into space, and to report information about the launch and payload of those objects to the United Nations.

All of these space treaties have received widespread approval by the community of nations, including all the space-active countries. They have clearly been instrumental in preserving space and celestial bodies for peaceful purposes only.

Next Stop: the Moon

In 1979, the COPUOS reached consensus on the text of the Moon Treaty. The General Assembly approved the instrument and opened it for signature by the community of nations. The Moon Treaty restated the non-appropriation principle, but also declared that the Moon and its resources are the "common heritage of mankind." Those principles also apply to all other bodies in the solar system, including planets and asteroids.

At this point, it's worth recalling the political context in which the Moon Treaty was negotiated. In the 1970s, the less developed countries were playing a larger role in the United Nations and other international fora, seeking to reduce the huge disparity in wealth between the rich and poor nations. The concept of the "common heritage of mankind" fit perfectly into this campaign for economic equity. That concept was fleshed out more completely in the Convention on the Law of the Sea, a complex multilateral treaty that was the subject of long and hard negotiations through the 1970s. Like the Moon Treaty, the CLOS did not fare well with conservatives and free-enterprisers; it got an especially bumpy reception in the United States.

The CLOS set up an International Seabed Authority to regulate mining of the seabed, and to compete directly with private enterprise in mining. The convention required that companies mining the seabed share the benefits with the less developed countries. It also required the transfer of technological know-how to those

countries. In the U.S. view, it also gave the United States and private companies too little representation in the new international regime. Not surprisingly, when the treaty came up for signature in 1982, the Reagan administration wanted nothing to do with it.

Now, the Moon Treaty does not have those same detailed provisions. However, article 11 of the treaty is sufficiently vague that it might sanction similar rules and activities. Most notably, article 11 calls for "an equitable sharing by all States Parties in the benefits derived from those resources, whereby the interests and needs of the developing countries, as well as the efforts of those countries which have contributed either directly or indirectly to exploration of the moon, shall be given special consideration."

Other sections of the Moon Treaty are much less controversial. For example, the treaty provides that the moon shall be used for peaceful purposes only, and that there shall be freedom of scientific exploration on the moon. The use of lunar resources is not prohibited, and is specifically permitted for scientific and other purposes.

But exploitation of the moon's resources may be subject to regulation by an international regime, which states parties to the treaty "undertake" to establish when such exploitation is about to become feasible.

The stated purposes of the international regime are the orderly and safe development of the natural resources of the moon; the rational management of those resources; and — as mentioned above — an "equitable sharing by all states parties" in the benefits derived. It is this benefit-sharing requirement that has sparked the greatest disagreement and is generally considered the biggest obstacle to widespread acceptance of the Moon Treaty.

What Went Wrong?

The Moon Treaty provided that it would enter into force upon the ratification of five nations. The fifth ratification was achieved in 1984, but to date only Australia, Austria, Chile, Mexico, Morocco, the Netherlands, Pakistan, the Philippines and Uruguay have become formal states parties to the treaty. An additional five countries — France, Guatemala, India, Peru, and Romania — have signed but not ratified the agreement. It does not appear likely that more nations will consider approving the treaty for the foreseeable future.

These circumstances present a basic question: What

went wrong? How could an international agreement, worked out through the process of consensus, and then approved by the General Assembly, gather only a modicum of support by the community of nations?

Ask that question of a number of experts on space law, and you will find considerable agreement on the facts — but quite a bit of disagreement on what those facts mean.

According to Carl Q. Christol, a professor at the University of Southern California and a recognized authority on the subject, the consensus for the treaty “vanished” when states had the opportunity to “review and reflect on the distributive qualities of the common heritage of mankind.” The developing states, says Christol, have in the past been deprived of the benefits of space. But since the advanced states are not developing economic resources in space at this time, many nations

***“The moon is viewed
today as we once
viewed Alaska.”***

— *Space exploration advocate
Peter Diamandis*

have adopted a “wait and see” attitude.

Dr. Ernst Fasan of Austria, an honorary director of the International Institute of Space Law, says the benefits of the Moon Treaty are not considered sufficient to outweigh the costs. More than that, the treaty imposes “inestimable duties,” which prevents states from accepting its terms.

Noted space law attorney Arthur M. Dula of Houston, Texas, is more blunt. “The treaty is awful,” says Dula, “and it is a waste of time.” Although the developing states would like to share in the benefits of space, he says, “they would like to get on board with something that will work.” Dula cites the example of the pre-privatized INTELSAT, which he says functioned well, and which provided for both broad-based participation and a means of raising capital, neither of which is included in the Moon Treaty.

It is clear that no one expects the situation to change

AN INVITATION FOR SUMMER FICTION

The results of the recent *FSJ* survey indicate that you, the reader, want to continue the *Journal's* summer fiction issue. Therefore, once again the *FSJ* is seeking works of fiction of up to 3,000 words for its annual summer fiction issue. Story lines or characters involving the Foreign Service are preferred, but not required. The top stories, selected by the *Journal's* Editorial Board, will be published in the July/August issue and on the *Journal's* Web site. The writer of each story will receive an honorarium of \$250.



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in the foreseeable future. Eilene Galloway, noted international space law authority and honorary director of the International Institute of Space Law, is pessimistic on the future of the Moon Treaty. "Evidently," she says, "we cannot depend on the passage of more time to result in acceptance of this document by the international community." Her pessimism is echoed by attorney Peter May of the Institution of Engineers of Australia, who says that "it is unlikely that the treaty will be considered for renegotiation or revision until such time that lunar exploration and the use of its natural resources are being planned as real and achievable goals."

Galloway has concerns that go beyond the Moon Treaty itself. She notes that the provisions of the Moon Treaty apply to other celestial bodies in the solar system, at least until future international agreements are reached. Thus, the stalemate over the Moon Treaty may inhibit the exploration and development of Mars, asteroids, and the other planets. Galloway also says she fears the positive accomplishments of space law in preserving outer space for peaceful purposes will be overshadowed by the failure of the Moon Treaty.

Can the Treaty Be Salvaged?

The future of the Moon Treaty appears clouded, but recent developments in the Law of the Sea may point to a way to resolve the controversy. A greater willingness to accommodate market forces may be a key to finding an acceptable way to regulate the economic exploitation of resources on the moon, while still recognizing "the common heritage of mankind."

As we've seen, the concept of the common heritage of mankind was responsible for significant opposition to the Law of the Sea Convention. The industrialized world objected to restrictions on commercial development of ocean resources, which was made subject to an International Seabed Authority. However, in 1994, a significant amendment to the LOS Convention was adopted, which substantially revised the ISA, and introduced market forces into the regulation of ocean resources. As a result of this amendment, the LOS Convention has garnered renewed support among both the industrialized and the developing nations. (While the United States signed the 1994 amendment, it still has not ratified either the convention or the amendment.)

The 1994 agreement restructured the ISA to give the

industrialized nations influence commensurate with their interests. The governing council is composed of representatives of the major producers and consumers of minerals, the largest investors in deep seabed mining, the developing countries, and an overall equitable geographic distribution of states.

The 1994 agreement also stipulates that the principle of cost effectiveness shall govern all organs and subsidiary bodies, which should have the effect of keeping the bureaucracy small. The agreement does not require any mandatory technology transfer in the development of ocean resources, opting, rather, for a set of general principles. Overall, the 1994 agreement approaches the "common heritage of mankind" principle more as an equality of opportunity rather than the forced sharing of revenues or other form of tribute or taxation.

From the Sea to the Moon?

Essentially, the Convention on the Law of the Sea was made acceptable to most industrialized countries (though not, yet, to the U.S. Senate) by making it more flexible and market-oriented. Is such an approach feasible for the Moon Treaty?

One very interesting development was the passage in 1996 of a U.N. General Assembly declaration about the use of outer space. The Declaration on International Cooperation in the Exploration and Use of Outer Space for the Benefit and in the Interest of All States, Taking into Particular Account the Needs of Developing Countries attempts to set general standards for development of resources in space, while avoiding ideological debate. Rather than amending the Moon Treaty, it seems to move forward despite the lack of acceptance of that treaty.

While the declaration reiterates much of the general language of both the Outer Space Treaty and the Moon Treaty, it seems to be trying to demonstrate that the common heritage of mankind can be put into effect by a variety of means. It implicitly provides for the participation of the private sector. It includes the free market as one way in which developing countries may progress economically, such as through partnerships with private entities, especially multinational corporations. States can structure cooperative arrangements as they deem effective and appropriate for any specific program. While the declaration does say that particular attention should be given to the interests of developing countries, it emphasizes

voluntary, cooperative arrangements.

The declaration, however, is not binding international law, nor does it override any existing treaty. It probably should not be seen as a tentative move toward amending the Moon Treaty. (In any event, it now appears unlikely that the Moon Treaty will ever find favor among a majority of states.)

Nevertheless, the 1996 U.N. declaration may well indicate a future direction. It suggests that the economic principles for the use of outer space could combine disparate elements — the equitable sharing of benefits in conformity with market principles, and consistent with the law of outer space.

"The moon is viewed today as we once viewed Alaska," says Peter Diamandis, a founder and trustee of the International Space University. He believes that it

***Some fear the stalemate
over the Moon Treaty
could undermine
positive accomplishments
made earlier in keeping
outer space peaceful.***

will be up to the private sector to "transform the moon into a glorious base for industry, science and tourism." However, private investment and development on the moon, or elsewhere in space, will depend upon establishing acceptable rules to encourage private enterprise, prevent conflicts, and resolve disputes peacefully.

No one model of regulation may prove to be appropriate or effective when applied to all venues and activities in outer space. And it does seem as if the Moon Treaty has failed to gain sufficient momentum to achieve liftoff. But the issues that treaty addresses will not go away. If human beings are to live and work in space and on celestial bodies (and we believe that is likely), we will need to return to and resolve the important questions that the Moon Treaty has raised. ■

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IRAN'S DIPLOMATIC DEAD END

IRAN'S DIPLOMATIC ISOLATION FROM THE REST OF THE WORLD WILL PERSIST
AS LONG AS HARDLINE ISLAMISTS CONTROL IRAN'S FOREIGN POLICY.

BY BEN BARBER

An American sometimes feels uncomfortable in Iran these days, passing by 10-story-tall murals of hardline ayatollahs whose principal contribution to diplomatic history has been the phrase "the great Satan" or "death to America." The sight of the old U.S. embassy, covered in anti-American slogans, sends shivers down a visitor's spine.

Yet today, the Iranian people by and large harbor no ill feelings toward America. Taxi drivers, shopkeepers and villagers recall fond friendships with Americans from the days of the Shah before 1979 when American advisers and businesses operated in Iran. They tell of their brothers and cousins who live in Los Angeles and other U.S. cities, members of the one-million-strong Iranian-American community.

The Iranian people's desire to change a government which believes the U.S. to be the great Satan helped elect reformer Mohammad Khatami president in 1997. Khatami's platform sought improved relations with the West, greater freedom of discussion, and greater social freedom. His election as president was followed by the election of a reformist parliamentary majority in February 2000. Khatami has tried to capitalize on this popular sentiment that favors more openness by reaching out to the United States as well as to European nations.

The United States has responded to Khatami's efforts by slightly softening its stance on Iran. In recent years, the U.S. has legalized imports of Iranian carpets, pistachios and caviar and invited Iranian sports and cultural figures to the United States. Former Secretary of State Madeleine K.

Albright came close to apologizing to Iran for past abuses when she admitted that in 1953, the U.S. played a significant role in orchestrating the overthrow of Iran's democratic leader, Mohammed Mossadegh, and in propping up the repressive, yet pro-American, Shah Reza Pahlavi who succeeded him. "It is easy to see now why many Iranians continue to resent this intervention by America in their internal affairs," she said in March 2000 to an Iranian-American conference.

However, in spite of these recent conciliatory gestures, America has serious complaints about Iran's behavior, and the goal of U.S. policy is still to isolate and contain Iran. Washington is still smarting from Iran's 1979 capture of the U.S. embassy, and objects to Iran's repression of its citizens, its backing of terrorism, and its opposition to the Middle East

peace process. Since 1979, no top-level meetings have taken place between U.S. and Iranian officials, who pass each other like ships in the night at U.N. conferences. U.S.-Iranian relations aren't likely to improve much until reformers like Khatami succeed in curbing the influence Iran's zealous hardline Islamists have on Iran's relations with the rest of the world. So far, hardliners have blocked Khatami's efforts to reach out to other countries.

Hardliners In Control

President Khatami is not in control of Iran. Ultimate power in the country lies in the hands of Supreme Religious Leader Ayatollah Khamenei and Iran's Shiite clerical leaders. Khamenei runs domestic and foreign policy by controlling key institutions: the police, the intelligence services, the army, the Revolutionary Guards (a powerful military force formed as an alternative to the army by Ayatollah Ruhollah Khomeini after the 1979 Islamic revolution in Iran), the paramilitary *bassiji* (volunteers), the *bunyads* (foundations)

*The goal of U.S.
policy is to isolate
and contain Iran.*

Ben Barber is the State Department correspondent for The Washington Times.

which run the economy, and the key justice ministry. Khamenei is backed by hardliners, who believe that political power in Iran should lie with traditional clerical leaders. Though not all religious Iranians think that the clergy should play a political role in Iran, the 15 to 20 percent of Iranians who support the hardliners include some of the country's most powerful merchant families (*bazaaris*), as well as millions of poor Iranians. The hardliners' agenda for Iran is to maintain Islamic values and control within the country and to spread Islamic revolution abroad. Hardliners support fundamentalist groups and try to undermine the governments in Muslim countries from Asia to North Africa that they view as too secular, or pro-Western.

Because of the hardliners' influence, Iran's diplomatic relations with the rest of the world are not much better than they are with the United States — even though Western European oil firms want to invest in Iran and many countries would like to improve ties with one of the world's oldest civilizations. Pakistan, Afghanistan, Russia, Azerbaijan, Turkey, Iraq, Egypt, Saudi Arabia, Germany and Israel remain largely alienated from Iran diplomatically. A dozen other countries in Central Asia, the Middle East and Europe also have tense relations with Iran over issues ranging from terrorism to religion to oil.

Iran's approach to diplomacy has also made it difficult for countries to have constructive discussions of sticky issues with Iran. For example, Iranian leaders reflexively oppose U.S. leadership in world affairs at every chance they get. When Iranian leaders traveled to China, they made a point of visiting the Muslim minority in western China to emphasize their commitment to the defense of Islam. Even fellow Muslim countries find little to like about Iran's government. Indeed,

***Iran's diplomatic
relations with the rest
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United States.***

it is the Muslim neighbors of Iran which are among the most suspicious of Tehran, a distrust founded in Ayatollah Khomeini's attempt to foment a worldwide Islamic revolution beginning in 1979. Iran's relations with Pakistan, Afghanistan, Turkey and many other countries became hostile when Iran's call for an Islamic revolution sparked internal conflict in other Muslim nations and sent the message to other countries that they were less spiritual, less holy, less blessed, and less Islamic than Iran — not something many countries like to hear.

A Call for Islamic Revolution

Iran's diplomatic isolation began when the 1979 Islamic Revolution brought an Islamic government headed by Khomeini to power in Iran. Khomeini called on all Muslims from Morocco to Egypt to the Philippines to overthrow secular or pro-American governments. Secular governments in Egypt and Turkey, and monarchies such as those in Morocco, Jordan, Saudi Arabia and the smaller Gulf states, bitterly resented Iran's call for revolution.

Iran's plans for an Islamic revolution never got off the ground, in part because Iran's Muslims are members of the Shiite branch of the religion, and many Sunni Muslims — who con-

stitute 90 percent of the world's one billion Muslims — consider the Shiites heretics. Sunni Muslims, for the most part, had no intention of following the plans of the Iranian Shiite Muslims. However, Sunni leaders could not entirely ignore the wave of Islamic fervor set off by the Iranian revolution. The Iranians had created hope everywhere for an Islamic revival in which Muslim law would replace Western law and Western nations would be forced to cede a pre-eminent place in world bodies to successful Muslim nations.

Inspired by the Iranian revolution, a fundamentalist Sunni sect in Saudi Arabia, the Wahabbi (which is the sect of the ruling family as well that of many Saudis) launched its own brand of revival in competition with the Iranians. Wahabbi preachers and fighters fanned out to promote revolution, first in the Afghan War against Soviet occupation from 1980 to 1990, and then in Algeria, Kashmir, the Balkans, Chechnya, Central Asia, the Middle East, Indonesia, Western China and the Philippines. Iranian relations with Saudi Arabia quickly deteriorated as a result of this new Islamic fervor in Saudi Arabia. For example, in the mid-1980s, Iranians were barred for several years from the "haj" or the annual pilgrimage to Mecca in Saudi Arabia after setting off violent political demonstrations during the pilgrimage.

Iran's dedication to promoting worldwide Islamic revolution has continued to poison its relations with its neighbors, years after it first called for Islamic uprisings. In Afghanistan, the Sunnis and the Shiites came to blows as Wahabbis, including accused terrorist Osama bin Laden, backed the Sunni Taliban, which seized control over 95 percent of the country in 1998. Meanwhile Iran backed the Persian-speaking rebel groups: the Tajiks of Shah Ahmed Massoud, and their Shiite allies, the Hazaras. Iran

was deeply angered when Taliban forces seized and executed nine Iranian diplomats and a journalist in the northern city of Mazar-i-Sharif in 1998. Iran's anger with Afghanistan, which led it to mass troops along the border for a time after the 1998 slayings, extends to Pakistan, which is a key backer of the Taliban. Pakistan, which is mainly Sunni but has a significant Shiite minority, is also hit by periodic Shiite-Sunni violence. Some reports claim Iranian officials and diplomats helped arm the Shiites. The result of this internecine warfare is that Iran has better relations with Hindu India — which is fighting off a Muslim insurgency in Kashmir — than it does with its neighbor, Muslim Pakistan.

Iran's efforts to lead worldwide Islamic revolution left behind a lot of ill will. Moderate, secular, pro-Western or autocratic Muslim powers largely severed ties with Iran to insulate themselves from the Iranian disease of revolution from within.

Fights with Other Countries

Many other countries in the region also have quarrels with Iran. Iran condemned Egypt, Jordan, Morocco and the Palestinian leader Yasser Arafat for establishing relations with Israel, which Iran continues to insist is an "illegitimate state that must disappear." Egypt is still fuming over Iran's decision to name one of the main streets in Tehran after Khaled Islambuli, the man who assassinated Egyptian President Anwar Sadat for making peace with Israel.

Arab states largely sided with their fellow Arab, Saddam Hussein, against the ethnically-distinct Persians of Iran when Iraq attacked Iran in 1980. Iran's relationship with Iraq is still hostile, more than a decade after the war ended, despite tentative recent diplomatic encounters between Iranian and Iraqi diplomats. Thousands of Iranians and Iraqis who

were told their sons were among the one million killed during the war remain convinced that their sons did not die in battle. Just this past summer Iran released 700 more Iraqi prisoners after 12 to 20 years in captivity. Both countries say they are holding no more prisoners. Neither side believes the other. And there are still overt acts of aggression that mar relations between the countries. Cross-border guerrilla raids are frequent. Iraq hosts the People's Mujahideen, a group which claims credit for assassinating political leaders, attacking police, and detonating explosions in major Iranian cities. Iran, in turn, has backed Kurdish and Shiite rebel groups fighting against Iraq's Saddam Hussein.

Iran's relations with Turkey have been damaged because the two nations are rivals for the hearts and minds of Islamic Central Asia. Turkey is largely Sunni Muslim. When Turkey competes for influence in Central Asia, it has an advantage over Shiite Iran because most Islamic states in the region have Sunni majorities. Shiites are significant minorities in Pakistan, Afghanistan, Lebanon and some Gulf states, but only in Iran are they a majority. Iran has felt frustrated by Turkey's religious advantage, and to add insult to injury for theocratic Iran, Sunni Turkey is highly secular; the state bars religion from government and political spheres. Even more annoying for Iran's hardliner leadership is the fact that Turkey's secularism is attractive to the millions of Iranians who speak Turkic tongues: They regularly shun hardliner-controlled Iranian television in favor of Turkish soap operas and news broadcasts. Turkey is also pro-Western, a member of NATO, an aspirant to EU membership and increasingly an ally of Israel. None of these policy positions pleases Iran.

Turkey has blamed Iran for sponsoring killings of secular Turkish intel-

lectuals and for backing Hezbollah, a Turkish fundamentalist group. Turkish President Ahmet Necdet Sezer has said he believes that Turkish-Iranian relations won't improve unless Iran supports Turkey in its struggle against terrorist groups such as the Kurdistan Workers Party and the Turkish Hezbollah. Turkish military leaders have gone further and warned Iran against continuing to back fundamentalists in Turkey.

Iran also has bad relations with Azerbaijan, the former Soviet republic to its north. Leaders there recently accused Iran of backing fundamentalist groups bent on seizing power and establishing an Islamic revolutionary regime. Iran is also worried that the ethnic Azeris who inhabit northwestern Iran are going to rediscover long-held aspirations for autonomy or even independence from Tehran.

Iran's relations with Russia and other former Soviet states are little better. Iran is now at odds with Russia as well as Kazakhstan and Turkmenistan over huge oil deposits in the northern Caspian Sea. Iran is proposing the oil be shared and that it get 20 percent. But the Russians and Kazakhs, who own the seabed where the oil was found, are having none of it. European nations are still getting over the terrorist stabbings and shootings of opposition Iranian figures in exile in France, Switzerland and Germany which led them to withdraw their ambassadors from Tehran for several months in the late 1990s.

Trying to Reconcile

President Khatami has tried to break out of international isolation with spectacular gestures such as his interview on CNN two years ago in which he professed respect for America's civilization and suggested a thaw in U.S.-Iranian relations. But Iranian hardliners disagree with Khatami's affirmation that Iran is ready to soften its stance toward the



The former U.S. embassy in Tehran is now used as a training base for the Revolutionary Guards, an Islamic counterpart of the army.

quasi-Supreme Court, and through their control of the Expediency Council, an advisory body to the supreme leader which reviews decisions by the Council of Guardians to override Parliament. These councils must approve all treaties and other acts of the Majlis (parliament).

The supreme leader also exercises control over foreign policy through the cultural envoys Iran sends to its foreign missions. These envoys are appointed by the supreme leader and act independently of the

U.S.: "Iran would consider extending a hand to the United States only if the United States would come out with signs of sincerity such as stopping Radio Free Iran, releasing Iranian property and stopping the D'Amato Bill (which penalizes large U.S. and European investors in Iran)," says hardliner Hassan Ghafoorifard, a member of the Senior Council for the Cultural Revolution, a senior advisory and policy-making body.

Western diplomats and Iranian academics and journalists say that Khatami is unlikely to make progress in improving Iran's foreign relations because the real power in Iran lies with hardliners like Ghafoorifard. Ghafoorifard also declared that Iran will stand by its policies, even those that offend other nations: "Iran will not consider cutting aid to freedom fighters such as Hezbollah, Hamas and Islamic Jihad," (groups which are on the State Department terrorist list) he said. Furthermore, Iran will never back the U.S.-led Middle East peace process since it believes that "Israel should not exist — there should only be Palestine," he said.

Hardliners hold the levers of

power in Iran. Hardliners control the judiciary which has set up courts that have tried the mayor of Tehran, the country's top journalists and editors and even senior clerics who have spoken out in favor of a more secular approach to government. The judiciary is supported by the security forces who report to Supreme Religious Leader Khamenei, not to President Khatami. The hardliners directly control all television and radio broadcasting and several major newspapers and magazines. In recent years, the hard-line controlled judiciary shut down about 30 reformist publications within weeks of their appearance. And hardline control extends far beyond domestic policy.

The Instruments of Control

"Foreign policy is in the hands of the hardliners," says Davoud Hermidas Bavand, a professor of international law and political science at Iran's University of Supreme National Defense. They exercise control through their dominance of the Guardians Council, which has the power to veto acts of parliament, vet candidates for office and serve as a

foreign ministry, which is controlled by President Khatami. Thus, while an ambassador may attempt to improve Iran's relations with a country, the cultural envoy may be importing weapons, explosives and assassins to pass along to terrorist groups such as Hezbollah and Hamas. For example, a suicide bomber who was caught by Israel after his bomb exploded prematurely in his Jerusalem hotel told an Israeli film maker he had received a fake passport, plane tickets and cash from the Iranian embassy in Beirut after he was recruited for an attack. Suicide bombers in Israeli jails have said that Iran offered \$10,000 to the families of the suicide bombers for their "martyrdom" and further payment for each Jew they killed.

Hardliners dominate international economic relations through their control over the bunyads (economic foundations) and other government institutions. International relations are also influenced by hardliners through the official press and broadcast service, which are bitterly critical of the West and of pro-Western Muslim governments. The official press discourages any Iranians seeking to

Photo: Ben Barber

improve relations with those nations. "Khatami has called for détente and closer relations with Islamic states to get Iran out of political isolation," said Bavand. "He has had a positive impact on Europe and the United States. But the hardliners try to emasculate the process. They think that the reformers will get the benefit if Khatami improves relations on trips to Italy, France, Germany and New York."

Consequently, hardliners manipulate public perception of Iranian foreign relations to discourage domestic support for reformers. Khatami has attempted to gain international acceptance of Iran and to establish diplomatic and economic ties to European nations. In 1999 and 2000, he was welcomed in Germany, France and Italy, countries that only a few years earlier had withdrawn their ambassadors from Iran following the indictment of Iranian officials for assassinations of Kurdish opposition leaders in Germany. However, these diplomatic overtures were virtually ignored by the hardline-controlled Iranian broadcast agencies. Instead, the hardliners reported that wine had been served at a reception Khatami attended — an effort to discredit him for appearing to condone alcohol, which has been banned in Iran since the Islamic Revolution. Hardliners have also soured Iranian relations with other countries by dispatching intelligence agents who have committed or commissioned acts of terrorism in Germany, France, Britain, Lebanon, Israel and possibly Egypt and Saudi Arabia.

With the hardliners in firm control, the only way to improve Iran's foreign relations may be if the pressure for domestic reform grows so powerful it overcomes the hardline influence on society and politics. And that, said one senior Western diplomat in Tehran recently, would be another revolution. ■

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MAKING THE KOSOVO CONNECTION

OBSERVING ELECTIONS IN A NEW DEMOCRACY IS OFTEN A MESSY BUSINESS, BUT IT CAN ALSO BE EXHILARATING WHEN THE PROCESS WORKS. A RETIRED FSO EXPLAINS.

By DOUGLAS HARTLEY

I was one of some 1,200 volunteers who supervised the Kosovo municipal elections held on Oct. 28, 2000, under the aegis of the OSCE (Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe). I had already performed a similar role four times in Bosnia, so curiosity, allied with a certain nostalgia about the Balkans, impelled me to apply for the Kosovo assignment. In addition, I was somewhat skeptical about what I had read in the press concerning the NATO intervention and uneasy about our mandate for being there.

Kosovo is the southwestern-most province of Yugoslavia, which currently consists of Serbia, Montenegro and Kosovo. With an area of about 15,000 square kilometers, it is about the size of Connecticut, and has an estimated population of 2 million. This includes about 100,000 Serbs; a further 150,000 are thought to have fled due to the recent upheavals.

The province had enjoyed some freedom and local autonomy within the Yugoslav federation until 1987, when Slobodan Milosevic took over the government and started a succession of high-handed and brutal actions intended to assert Serb control over the overwhelmingly Albanian population. This campaign of intimidation and ethnic cleansing culminated in the wholesale eviction of the Albanian population from the province in 1998 and 1999. Western-sponsored meetings between Kosovo-based Albanian factions and Serbs at Rambouillet, France, to resolve the crisis foundered, so on March 24, 1999, NATO commenced air-strikes against Serbia and the Yugoslav armed forces in Kosovo. The region is now governed by the United Nations Mission to Kosovo, whose senior rep-

resentative is French politician Bernard Kouchner.

Municipal elections, the first free elections in the history of Kosovo, were hastily scheduled for Oct. 28, 2000, barely a year after the large-scale devastation and population dislocation caused first by the Serbs and then by the NATO bombing campaign. Many Kosovars believed that these elections were the beginning of a process which would lead to parliamentary and presidential elections and a free and independent Kosovo, as opposed to the present situation where Kosovo is still legally a province of Yugoslavia. My own opinion was that these elections were designed to legitimize support for the moderate Democratic League of Kosovo (LDK), led by Ibrahim Rugova, and to remind the main opposition groups — the AAK (Alliance for the Future of Kosovo) under Ramuz Haradinaj, and the PDK (Democratic Party of Kosovo) under Hashim Thaci, that they couldn't count on popular support.

To complicate matters, in mid-October, just prior to the scheduled Kosovo elections, Slobodan Milosevic was voted out as president of Yugoslavia and replaced by Vojislav Kostunica, who immediately began to establish his credentials in the international community as a potentially moderating force in the Balkans — reaching out to neighbors and former enemies like the Croats. The Kosovars fear that a moderate Yugoslavia will harm their chances to gain their own independence. Meanwhile, the dwindling Serbian community, now about 5 percent of the total population of the province, decided to boycott the elections.

Into The Mountains

Darkness had long fallen as the bus snaked its way through the Macedonian mountains from Skopje to Ohrid, to come to a final stop at the Hotel Metropole. A crescent moon outlined the lake and the Albanian mountains beyond. Our bus was the last that day to depart the airport; we were joining some 500 election supervisors who were arriving

Douglas Hartley is a retired FSO who twice served in Belgrade (1960-1962 and 1972-1974). As a retired officer he was an election registrar in Bosnia on four occasions in 1997 and 1998, and performed the same function in Kosovo in 2000.

from all over Europe, the U.S. and Canada, and the former Soviet Union for the Kosovo municipal elections.

The hotel lobby was swarming with election supervisors (known as "supers") and the familiar babble of two dozen tongues swept me right back into the special camaraderie of OSCE-supervisor life. Among the crowd I spotted former FSOs Tom Martin, Dick Devine, Ed Landsberg, Steve Watkins and John Brims (who had come all the way from Australia), to name but a few. Whatever our individual backgrounds, and wherever we go to supervise elections, we election supervisors share the excitement of working alongside people who are themselves new to democracy. Our common goal is a free and fair election, yet many of my colleagues come from countries which barely a decade ago were communist dictatorships.

Our group was split up into ten subgroups for training. My fellow trainees were from the U.S., Lithuania, Latvia, Holland, the U.K., Switzerland, Sweden and the Czech Republic. Our training was done competently and thoroughly given the time constraints. The work was intensive but one evening I was able to reacquaint myself with the lovely old town of Ohrid and its beautiful Orthodox churches like Saint John (Sv. Jovan) perched high above the lake.

The next day we received our assignments. Mine was to Urosevac, or Ferizaj, as it is now called in Albanian, for deployment there and in adjacent areas. Ferizaj lies in the U.S. military zone, one of five major military zones (the others being Italian, French, British and German). To enforce the peace, there are about 45,000 peacekeeping troops in Kosovo, collectively known as KFOR. Our immediate protectors were Greek troops under overall U.S. command. Ferizaj is close to the Macedonian border. The security situation there and indeed throughout most of Kosovo was calm and the threat level extremely low, except for the risk of being run over by wild drivers.

Upon arrival I found myself billeted in a local hotel with an American roommate, George Huff, an experienced supervisor and retired military officer. The town was dusty and dirty but there was lots of construction and activity. The hotel was not one you would want to spend a lot of time in, but the room was clean and there was a private, semi-functioning bathroom. The people seemed to be mostly in their teens or early 20s and dressed in typical Western style; only the elders still sported fezzes or covered their heads. Everybody was extremely friendly and seemed almost awed when we said we were Americans. People, especially the

kids, were anxious to try out their English and loved to be photographed. The noise level was high, a blend of traffic noise plus, from most of the little shops clustered along the main street, a cacophony of music, ranging from Albanian rap to Middle Eastern-style wailing.

The following morning we showed up en masse at the local university gymnasium and after several hours of hurrying up and waiting, we received our assignments. Mine and George's was to go to a "megacenter" in the medical faculty building, just a 10-minute walk from the hotel.

Polling stations were to be set up in 10 classrooms there. After lunching with our driver and interpreters we got together with members of the local committee with whom we were to run our polling center. The chairwoman hadn't shown up for training, but the remaining four seemed competent. Their orientation had been minimal, however, so I spent two hours briefing them on procedures and setting up the area. We were then issued 800 blank ballots.

That evening I wandered through what was left of the Serbian quarter, passing the charred remains of once pleasant little villas with their own little gardens and fruit trees that had been put to the torch by the

Albanian community. Some 10 or 15 Serb families still existed among the ruins, but they had to be escorted by KFOR troops everywhere, even to the Serbian Orthodox church, which was miraculously intact and guarded by tanks.

The Big Day

We convened at the megacenter the next morning by 6 a.m. and were able to get our polling center off and running by 7 a.m., the official opening time of the polls. We carefully explained the ballot to each voter. If they spoiled the ballot and asked for another immediately, they were given a replacement. Illiterates were allowed an assistant, but husbands weren't supposed to assist their wives (though many of them did anyway).

The major problem was soon identified: Most voters weren't on our final voters list. This meant that we either had to turn them away — if they lacked proper ID — or issue them "conditional" ballots, subject to subsequent validation at OSCE headquarters in Pristina. According to our instructions, since we were a "regular" polling station we were not permitted to process "conditional" ballots. However, our facilitator (a supervisor who was appointed overall coordinator for the 10 polling stations in the megacenter) decided we should process them anyway, on the grounds that the lone "absentee" ballot station, charged with

I believed that these elections were designed to legitimize support for the moderate Democratic League of Kosovo.

processing conditional ballots, would be overwhelmed. A few hours later we were told to stop issuing conditional ballots, which took some work off us but transferred it to the absentee station under my roommate George Huff. This caused us much grief as we had to turn voters away.

In the meantime the line outside the building had mounted to over 3,000 people, whom it was increasingly difficult to control. There were also an estimated 800 people actually within the building. An overworked and inexperienced "information desk" in the lobby kept on sending voters to the wrong polling stations, which meant that many voters — among them the very old, and young mothers with small children — were shuttled from one polling station to another. Each station had to cope with milling and increasingly frustrated voters; at one point I had to call on assistance in order to restore some semblance of order. Meanwhile,

Huff, operating in an atmosphere of overflowing latrines, stale urine and insufficient lighting, was overwhelmed.

The Good Guys Win

All these chaotic proceedings played out under the eyes of four observers from the major party groupings. Fortunately for us, they were not disruptive nor did they try to interfere. This was surprising, inasmuch as we had been warned to expect trouble from the UCK, who feared (correctly) they were going to lose the election. Indeed one PDK (opposition) observer was extremely helpful in sorting out the crowd outside our polling center.

The authorities wisely decided to keep the polls open until 10 p.m. rather than risk riots and KFOR intervention by closing them at 7 o'clock as scheduled, with a large crowd still in line to vote.

My major concern coming into the

elections was the count, since I wasn't certain that I fully understood the procedures. Nor did it help that the OSCE and the National Election Committee had opted for a proportional representation system whereby votes were cast for both parties and individual candidates within the party. Fortunately, however, I was able to figure out the system as we went along and could explain it to the party observers. One major problem was to ensure we had a consistent methodology in determining valid ballots as opposed to invalid ballots, and we had spent a good deal of training time on just that matter. In addition, there was no provision for counting the more than 100 envelopes containing "conditional" ballots that we had accumulated before we stopped processing them. We decided to give these sealed ballots to the absentee station for processing.

Since all of our 460 ballots were counted by hand, by myself and a co-chairman I appointed just for that task, at least we had no problems with faulty machines leaving hanging and dimpled chad. In the event, some two-thirds of the valid ballots (90 percent of total ballots) went to the moderate LDK, led by Rugova, while the UCK won only about a quarter. This local result was roughly in line with Kosovo-wide results.

By the end of the count, there was a discrepancy of five between the 460 ballots we had found in the ballot box and the sum of the ballot count by parties and individuals. By now it was 2 a.m. I pointed out the discrepancy to the observers and told them we could continue until the numbers came out even — which would probably take the rest of the night — or we could simply sign off on the results and go home. That was an easy decision. So I closed down the station, returned my materials to OSCE headquarters, and fell into my bed at 4 a.m.

Despite an inordinate amount of

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confusion, difficulty and voter frustration, Bernard Kouchner, the U.N.-appointed head of Kosovo, was able to announce a successful election, whose results were accepted by all parties. And, what's more, the good guys won!

The victories of Rugova in Kosovo and Kostunica in Yugoslavia seem to be a clear signal that compromise of some sort between Serbia and Kosovo is now a possibility despite continued clashes in certain border areas. But the idea of a fully independent Kosovo still strikes me as unlikely; it's doubtful the international community really wants it, and it is highly unlikely that Kostunica would ever accept it. What looks more likely would be the emergence of a loosely-federated Yugoslavia consisting, co-equally, of Montenegro, Kosovo and Serbia. This confederation might eventually include the Bosnian Serbian Republic, which has no desire to remain a part of Bosnia. However, that would require a fundamental revision of the 1995 Dayton accords.

My colleagues and I were heartened that as the OSCE buses rolled out of town two days after the election, people along the main street applauded and waved. Whatever Kosovo's destiny turns out to be, I guess that, despite the mistakes, mayhem, near chaos and intolerable waiting, these elections worked to the satisfaction of the Kosovars.

Ljubljana, Slovenia's pristine capital, is a half-hour's flight from Pristina. Slovenia is now a thriving independent country on track to becoming a member of the European Community. But that was far from the case the last time I had flown there from Austria 25 years ago: at that time, Ljubljana was about as sleepy as Pristina is today. But if all goes well, perhaps travelers in the year 2025 will see Kosovo the way I see Slovenia now. ■

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BOOKS

LEST WE FORGET

Born A Foreigner: A Memoir of the American Presence in Asia

Charles T. Cross, Rowman and Littlefield, 1999, paperback, \$24.95, 280 pages

REVIEWED BY DAVID REUTHER

Ambassador Charles T. Cross's volume provides a commanding sweep of some of the most turbulent events of the past century in Asia. This account of Asia, like the author's Foreign Service career, reflects a keen understanding of history and an approach tempered by sympathy and steeled in wars.

Born into a missionary family in China, Cross recalls family debates over whether "American missionaries should take a public position against extraterritoriality, as my father did, or take advantage of the protection that extraterritoriality provided to conduct missionary activity without the danger of being arrested by warlords." Cross also evinces an awareness of Chinese nationalism "which I knew about very early from the strikes and demonstrations at the two schools in our compound." As he came to appreciate, even in the midst of constant, terrible strife, the Chinese people maintained hope that their nation would one day rule itself.

When the strife in China spilled into the Pacific in the 1940s, Cross enrolled in a Japanese language pro-

As the first director of the American Institute in Taiwan, Cross had to define the new bilateral relationship.

gram in Boulder, Colo., as a U.S. Marine and then saw combat on Kwajalein, Saipan, Tinian and Iwo Jima. He joined the Foreign Service as an information officer in 1949 — just as Asia began adjusting to the collapse of colonialism and the United States led the Western containment of the Soviet Union.

His first posting was Taiwan, the island to which the government and military of the Republic of China fled following their defeat by Mao Tse-tung's Communist Party. The ROC's uncertain prospects brought a curtailment and transfer to Jakarta, where he helped establish America's initial contacts with the newly independent Indonesian leadership. After tours in Hong Kong and Washington, he went to Kuala Lumpur. There he witnessed the 1957 ceremonies inaugurating the newly independent government of Malaysia and again saw an American consulate become an embassy.

The Vietnam insurgency domi-

nated Cross's career for the next decade. A stint on the Laos desk led to involvement in the Geneva Peace Conference (1961-1962) and an insightfully described association with Averell Harriman. As the Asia watcher in Embassy London's political section, Cross next found himself the point man in the embassy's public relations effort to build British public support for American policies in Vietnam. His gritty description of these speaking engagements underscores the important and frustrating work of those who tell America's story.

His experiences in Vietnam itself consume almost a third of the book. Drawing on his letters home, Cross movingly describes his involvement in the Civil Operations and Revolutionary Development Support pacification program. At one point, 10 percent of CORDS participants were FSOs and USAID personnel, and a number of Cross's friends and colleagues lost their lives in Vietnam.

In his last two chapters Cross returns to China issues, first as consul general in Hong Kong and then director of the American Institute in Taiwan, established in 1979 after the U.S. fully recognized China while maintaining informal ties with Taipei. As the first AIT director responsible for defining and maintaining the unofficiality of the new relationship, Cross faced a considerable challenge. The authorities on Taiwan had powerful friends in the United States, especially in

Congress, and to protect their domestic power they made every effort to trap the new AIT into the appearance of officiality. Cross writes thoughtfully about working under such pressures.

As this memoir demonstrates time and time again, without an understanding of the past, it is difficult to shape the future. The Association for Diplomatic Studies and Training (ADST) and the Diplomatic and Consular Officers, Retired (DACOR) have outdone themselves in sponsoring publication of this insightful journey through the turbulence of Asian nationalism and the stresses of political independence and economic development.

David Reuther, a retired FSO, writes frequently on China.

RENAISSANCE MAN

Matthew B. Ridgway: Soldier, Statesman, Scholar, Citizen

George Charles Mitchell, Cathedral Publishing, Pittsburgh, 1999, paperback, 233 pages, \$14.95

REVIEWED BY RORIN M. PLATT

This admiring biography of Gen. Matthew B. Ridgway, whom George Charles Mitchell terms "the quintessential soldier," seeks to rescue from relative obscurity one of America's greatest military leaders. Emphasizing his subject's strengths, Mitchell argues that Ridgway's greatness was based on his "dynamic personality and genuine concern for the common soldier" as well as his sense of duty and courageous opposition to foolhardy military operations and foreign policies.

The Virginia-born Ridgway came

from a military family, but he graduated from West Point in 1917 with a less than distinguished record. In fact, he saw no action until 1942, when he became second in command of the 82nd Division, which he turned into the Army's first air-

***Ridgway considered
America's growing
involvement in Vietnam
"the worst blunder ever
made in American
foreign policy."***

borne unit. Ridgway's elite corps distinguished itself during the D-Day invasion of Normandy in June 1944 (the book's author participated in that operation as well), and at the Battle of the Bulge later that year. A student of the First World War's "senseless slaughter," he successfully headed off several futile operations that could have decimated his division.

Ridgway quickly gained a reputation for indomitable courage under fire at the front lines and concern for the welfare of his men. He jumped with his paratroopers at Normandy and was wounded leading an airborne operation across the Rhine. Nowhere was his leadership ability more evident than in Korea, where he reinvigorated a demoralized 8th Army to repulse the Communist Chinese and North Korean armies just beyond the 38th parallel.

Following President Truman's fir-

ing of Gen. Douglas MacArthur, Ridgway assumed command of all U.S. and U.N. forces in the Far East. (Mitchell notes that Ridgway was critical of MacArthur's poor judgment about the likelihood of Chinese intervention, but he also questioned the "crude way" his dismissal was handled.) In that position, the general did much to strengthen Japanese-American relations and win the respect of the Japanese people. He was the first supreme commander to visit the Japanese emperor in the Imperial Palace.

In 1952, Ridgway succeeded Dwight Eisenhower as Supreme Allied Commander in Europe. During his brief tenure, he overcame fierce French resistance to the rearming of Germany and its integration into NATO, expanded the alliance's regular forces and reserves, and centralized the command of tactical and strategic air power.

Following in the footsteps of his idol, George C. Marshall, Ridgway became Army chief of staff in 1953. Facing an autocratic defense secretary (Charles Wilson) determined to slash the military budget, and Sen. Joseph McCarthy's demagogic attacks on the Army, Ridgway managed to keep his forces at an adequate state of readiness. His firm belief in civilian control of the military notwithstanding, he voiced his opposition to the 1955 military budget, which he believed compromised national security.

In addition to penning his memoirs and authoring a history of the Korean War, Ridgway spent his retirement years warning of the dangers of an inadequately equipped military, the growing Soviet military threat, the futility of détente, and inevitability of war with the USSR (a position he later abandoned). Yet he also considered America's growing involvement in

Vietnam "the worst blunder ever made in American foreign policy."

Although Mitchell, a retired FSO, draws on the general's private records as well as standard secondary sources, this is not a critical examination of Ridgway's life and achievements. Rather, it is a tribute, filled with quotations at the expense of analysis. Thus, while Mitchell's work returns Ridgway to his rightful place among the nation's leadership elite, it fails to make the case that the general's many virtues and prescient views make him a man for all ages.

Rorin M. Platt, Ph.D., is a diplomatic historian and professor at Peace College in Raleigh, N.C.

OUR MAN IN NAIROBI

The Constant Gardener

John Le Carré, New York, Scribner, 2001, hardback, 508 pages, \$28.00.

BY GEORGE M. FREDERICK

For decades, John Le Carré has served as guide and explainer to his readers, taking them through a secret world of betrayal, both public and intimate. Since the end of the Cold War, he has turned his attentions to the myriad menaces in this new world — dangers perhaps not as different as we might like to think from the ones we faced earlier.

In *The Constant Gardener*, Le Carré takes us to the British High Commission (embassy) in a corrupt and self-destructive Kenya, where a pharmaceutical company may be peddling a wonder drug to cure TB at the cost of Third World lives. The landscape is as secretive as it is exotic, with covert connections between government and business, and real

Le Carré shows us diplomats who are mindful of duty and yet uncertain of just what that duty is.

consequences for corporate treason.

Like his first novel, *Call for the Dead*, featuring the eternal underdog-hero, George Smiley, Le Carré's newest offering begins with news of a murder that will launch the hero on a crusade to save himself. A murder, yes, but not a mystery. In fact, there are no plot twists or surprise revelations along the way. Likewise, the African setting is new for Le Carré readers, but the situations and motivations are as familiar as the human weakness of the characters who populate it.

Our hero is Justin Abbott, the "case-hardened Etonian" son of a British diplomat. He, like Smiley before him, launches a search for a truth that, once found, can only serve to undermine his faith in what he is and does. Tessa Abbott, his aristocratic but sainted wife, is a woman who found a crusade to pursue during her husband's assignment and died for it. Justin loved Tessa, but recognizing that her fight was not necessarily in the interest of government policy, did not support her fully — until it was too late.

The officials of the British Foreign Office and the high commission do turns as duplicitous, loveless men and women who cover up and dissimulate as a reflex. Chief among

the villains of the piece are Sir Bernard Pelligrin and Sandy Woodrow, Foreign Office veterans mindful of duty and yet uncertain of just what their duty is. Even as these diplomats lie under the guise of duty to the crown, they betray their friends and their humanity. But the real villain of *Constant Gardener* is what one character describes as the "god profit." It is this corrupting and poisoning deity that provokes the havoc that costs the lives of so many good people.

This is also the story of diplomats unwilling to see the corruption around them. They face moral decisions without the helpful guideposts of ideology. The power of the multinational corporation has replaced the omnipotence of the intelligence agencies. Le Carré makes this point keenly by having both the chief of intelligence at the British high commission, and the chief of African affairs back in London, play hand-maiden to Kenneth Curtiss, the rapacious CEO of Three Bees, a multinational with a secret it would kill to keep.

The Constant Gardener is welcome evidence that Le Carré has no intention of withdrawing from literature after the end of the Cold War he helped describe to us. His last three novels, *Night Manager*, *Tailor of Panama* and *Single and Single*, all dealt with the chaos left behind after the end of our 44-year struggle with the Soviet Union. Yet ultimately, the source of all his novels is the intricacies of the human heart, and *The Constant Gardener* confirms that John Le Carré is as astute an observer of that material now as when he was a young intelligence officer in Berlin. ■

George M. Frederick is an FSO who has served in East Africa and Europe. He is currently in Bamako.



IN MEMORY

Vina R. Hall, 74, a retired communications operator and secretary, died Jan. 9 in Abilene, Texas.

Ms. Hall was born in Stanton, Texas. She joined the Foreign Service in 1965 and served in Vientiane, Manila, Taipei, Brasilia, Abidjan, Montevideo and Karachi. She retired in 1989.

Survivors include four daughters: Mei Lian Hall-Hoza of Kathmandu, Nepal; Lei Lani Hall of Vancouver, Canada; Sheree Hall and Sydnee Hall of Arlington, Va.; four grandsons; sister Loreitta Hall Black; and two brothers, Fred Hall and Lee Roy Hall.

Edward Peter Noziglia, 78, a retired Foreign Service officer, died Nov. 19, 2000 at his home in McLean, Va. after a stroke.

Mr. Noziglia was a native of Brooklyn, N.Y., and a Navy veteran of World War II. He graduated from St. Lawrence University in Canton, N.Y., and received a master's degree in education from Columbia University. He began his 26-year Foreign Service career in 1951, serving most of his assignments as a political officer and representative to international organizations. He served in Barbados, Belgium, England, Nigeria and Austria.

Retiring in 1977, he earned a law degree from George Washington University four years later and practiced general law in McLean until

1996. He also served as a Fairfax County court-appointed attorney. He was a member of St. Luke's Catholic Church in McLean.

Mr. Noziglia is survived by five children, six grandchildren, and two brothers.

John E. Grassle, 71, retired security officer; passed away on Nov. 26, 2000 at Mary Washington Hospital in Stafford, Va.

Mr. Grassle retired from U.S. military service and entered the State Department in 1967 with the Bureau of Diplomatic Security. He served as a regional security officer and security engineering officer, and later as an administrative officer with the Arms Control and Disarmament Agency. His overseas assignments included Frankfurt, Abidjan, Beijing, Tehran, Prague and Geneva.

Thomas Kinton Martindale, 79, a retired USAID Foreign Service officer, died Dec. 18, 2000 at Shady Grove Adventist Hospital in Maryland.

Mr. Martindale was a member of the China-Burma-India Hump Pilots Association and a World War II Army Air Corps veteran.

Mr. Martindale was buried at Salem Cemetery in Atoka, Tenn. He is survived by his wife, Jennie West Martindale; two daughters: Joanne

Savannah Martindale Allen of Jonesboro, Ark.; and Judith Lee Martindale Argo of Lansing, Mich.; a son, Thomas Kinton Martindale, Jr. of Germantown, Md.; and two grandchildren.

Melvin L. Manfull, 81, retired ambassador and Foreign Service officer, died Sept. 11, 2000 of a heart attack in Washington, D.C.

Mr. Manfull was born in Farmington, Utah. He received a bachelor's degree from the University of Utah. A naval officer during World War II, he served as a communications officer during the invasion of Normandy, Italy and North Africa. After the war, he began post-war recovery work in the office of the secretary of State. In the early 1950s, he was assigned as executive secretary to the U.S. Mission to the North Atlantic Treaty Organization in Paris. In the late 1950s, he participated in the modernization of the State Department's executive secretariat and headed the Office for the Peaceful Uses of Atomic Energy.

In the early 1960s, Mr. Manfull was political counselor at the American embassy in South Vietnam. After Vietnam, he was assigned to the Imperial Defense College in London, and then as minister counselor at the American embassy in Brussels. He was ambassador to the Central African

IN MEMORY

Republic and the Republic of Liberia. He retired in 1979 after three years as a senior State Department inspector.

Survivors include his wife Suzanne Dunning Manfull of Washington, D.C., three children, three grandchildren, two brothers and a sister.

Dr. Stanley Rubin, 62, a retired civil servant, died Jan. 11 from brain cancer, in his home in Bethesda, Md.

Dr. Rubin's Civil Service career with USIA and the State Department spanned three decades. He worked with the Arts America and Sports America programs before joining USIA's Bureau of Programs (later the Office of International Information Programs). He most recently served as a regional program officer on the International Information Program's Europe/NIS Team.

Chester L. Hagander, 84, husband of retired FSO Betty Ann (Craig) Hagander, died on Dec. 21 of cardiac arrest in Boca Raton, Fla.

Mr. Hagander was born in Minneapolis, Minn. During World War II, he served in England and France in the army air transport command. He was later employed by Lutheran Brotherhood and Lincoln National Insurance companies before pursuing a career in international insurance, living in Karachi, Beirut, and Caracas.

He is survived by his wife and two sons: Ronald Hagander of Burbank, Calif; and Jefferey Hagander of Clinton, Wash.

Florence Ella ("Eleanor") Deming Boerner, 90, wife of deceased Foreign Service officer Alfred V. Boerner, died of emphysema on Jan. 13 at Sibley Hospital in Washington, D.C.

Mrs. Boerner was born in Madison, Wisc. She graduated from the University of Nebraska in 1932, and met her husband the following year in Hamburg, Germany, when both were graduate students there. She married Alfred V. Boerner, later a career Foreign Service officer with USIA, shortly after her return to the United States in 1933. In addition to service abroad in Frankfurt, Bonn, Rome, Rio de Janeiro and Buenos Aires, she and her husband lived for extensive periods in the Washington area in the 1950s and 1960s. After retirement they lived in Majorca, Spain; Puerto Rico; and Sarasota, Fla. Following her husband's death, Mrs. Boerner returned to Bethesda in 1987.

Through her mother's family, Mrs. Boerner was a direct descendant of some of the original settlers of the Maryland colony, and also of James Brooke, one of the first settlers in the early 1700s in what today is Montgomery County.

Survivors include two sons: Michael P. Boerner of Bethesda, a retired Foreign Service officer with 30 years at State; and Christopher Allen Boerner of Colorado Springs; two daughters: Margaret Ormsby-Lennon of Philadelphia; and Constance Joy of Bethesda, who is married to James Joy, currently with the Foreign Commercial Service; 21 grandchildren and 15 great-grandchildren. Two other sons: Alfred V. Boerner Jr., a retired USIA Foreign Service officer; and Stephen Boerner, died earlier in Bethesda.

Dorothy Wallace Martin, 91, widow of the last U.S. ambassador to South Vietnam, Graham A. Martin, died Dec. 21, 2000, of congestive heart failure at her home in Winston-Salem, N.C., surrounded by all her children and grandchildren.

Mrs. Martin was born in Churchill, Md. She met her husband in 1935, when she was a nurse trainee at Children's Hospital in Washington, D.C. Their various posts included Paris, Geneva, Bangkok, Rome, and Saigon. Friends describe her as forever young at heart, one who was at ease with princes or paupers, and one who will be truly missed.

She is survived by four children: Micheal Martin of Wilmington, Del.; Charles Mann of Granger, Ind.; Janet M. Tantemsapaya and Nancy M. Lane, both of Winston-Salem, N.C.; seven grandchildren; and her sister, Hope W. Girard of Delray Beach, Fla.

William E. Cole, 92, a retired Foreign Service officer, died Jan. 17, on Hilton Head Island, S.C.

Mr. Cole was born in 1908 at Fort Totten, N.Y. He graduated from Dartmouth College in 1932, and entered the Foreign Service in 1937. He married Sara Denny Antrim, who died in Rome in 1942. In 1947, he married Elizabeth Penrith of England in Milan, Italy. Mr. Cole served in Rome, Naples, and Trieste. He also served in Addis Ababa, Accra, Khartoum, and Jerusalem, where he served as consul general from 1954 to 1958.

After retirement in 1962, Mr. and Mrs. Cole moved to Beaufort, S.C., where they lived until her death in 1988. Mr. Cole lived for several years at The Cypress on Hilton Head

IN MEMORY

before moving to Tide Pointe, S.C., in 1997.

Memorial contributions may be made to William E. Cole Perpetual Scholarship Fund, c/o Lori Dec, American Foreign Service Association, 2101 E St. N.W., Washington, DC 20037.

John B. Edlefsen, 86, a retired USAID Foreign Service officer, died on Dec. 27, 2000 in Seattle, Wash., of prostate cancer.

Mr. Edlefsen was born in Caldwell, Idaho in 1914, and attended Boise High School. He graduated from the University of Idaho in 1940. During World War II he worked for the Remington Arms Co. and was eventually stationed at Hanford, Wash. He joined the Department of Sociology at Washington State University in 1946, and received his Ph.D. there in 1949. He remained on the faculty of WSU until 1966, traveling extensively during that time. During 1951-52 he traveled with his family on a Ford Foundation fellowship to Atlanta and Chicago to study race relations. From 1954 to 1957, he and his family lived in Lahore, Pakistan where he was responsible for setting up a department of sociology at the University of the Punjab. They returned to Pakistan again in 1960-64. During this time he was professor and head of the Department of Sociology at the Punjab University and professor and head of the Department of Humanities at the West Pakistan Agricultural University.

In 1966, Mr. Edlefsen resigned from WSU and joined the health and family planning division of USAID in India. He worked with USAID in Delhi for two years, and then in 1968

was assigned to Colombo, Ceylon (now Sri Lanka) as regional population adviser. He spent five years in this assignment, travelling throughout South and Southeast Asia encouraging and assisting governments in setting up population awareness programs. In 1973 he returned from Sri Lanka to complete his career with USAID in Washington, D.C. He retired in 1978 and he and his wife Margaret then settled in Seattle.

He is survived by his wife of 61 years, the former Margaret Kroeger. Other survivors include his three children: Maren Craig of San Diego; Lee Edlefsen of Seattle; and Janet Edlefsen of Seattle; their families; and his brother Keith Edlefsen of Boise.

John Oscar Bell, 88, retired ambassador and Foreign Service officer, died Dec. 31, 2000 in Tampa, Fla. after a brief illness.

Mr. Bell was born in Manila in 1912. His father was an officer in the U.S. Army, and his mother a schoolteacher. The family moved to Arlington, Va. in 1920. Mr. Bell graduated from Washington-Lee High School as class valedictorian in 1928, at the age of 16. After graduation, he worked as a mail clerk for the Agriculture Department for two years and then became a clerk in the Department of State. While working, he attended George Washington University at night. He graduated in 1934 and went on to obtain a law degree there in 1939, also at night.

From 1941 to 1947, Mr. Bell oversaw civil aeronautic issues and mutual defense programs for the State Department. He helped run the 1945 San Francisco Conference

that created the United Nations. He was active in the creation of the Marshall Plan and of NATO. Mr. Bell joined the Foreign Service in 1951. Postings included Pakistan and Denmark. He oversaw U.S. foreign aid efforts in both Africa and Asia during the 1950s and served as special assistant to secretary of State John Foster Dulles. Mr. Bell was awarded the department's highest commendation, the Distinguished Service Award, by Secretary Dean Rusk in 1963. Mr. Bell retired from the Foreign Service in 1969. After leaving government service, he joined the faculty of the University of South Florida, where he taught international affairs for 14 years.

Mr. Bell is survived by his second wife, Anne Bell; and a sister, Faith Bell Cone, of Harper's Ferry, W. Va. His first wife, Jeannette Shahan Bell, died in 1974. He leaves three children: John Bell of Philadelphia; Patricia Bell of St. Petersburg, Fla.; and Kathleen Bell O'Neill of Tampa; two stepdaughters, Dee Senia and Gail Schafer; and six grandchildren.

Donald C. Dunham, 92, a retired Foreign Service officer, died Dec. 31, 2000 in New York City.

Mr. Dunham was born in Columbus, Ohio in 1908. He earned a bachelor's degree from Yale University and a doctorate from the University of Bucharest in Romania. His Foreign Service postings included Berlin, Hong Kong, Athens, Aden, Bucharest, and Trieste.

Survivors include his wife of 55 years, Florence Ross Dunham; stepson Robert Ross and his three children. ■

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POSTCARD FROM ABROAD

A Tennis Lesson in Peshawar

BY GLYNN WOOD

Once, when racquets were wooden and balls were white, tennis filled many idle hours for those hundreds of Americans whose working lives in Afghanistan were dedicated to contesting the Cold War. My job as a junior USIS officer required that I work with the Afghan Olympic Committee, headed by a prince whose son was the current Afghan tennis champion.

My visits to the prince's office invariably began with a discussion of how USIS might send an Afghan tennis team to the U.S. in response to the Afghan team's recent Soviet-sponsored tour of Central Asia. Of course, our discussions led to matches with members of the Afghan team, who were better than my regular partners in the American community. Under these conditions my game improved exponentially, and an official overnight trip to Pakistan gave me my first chance to play on a grass court, a luxury previously beyond my experience.

At the Peshawar Club I was met by an elderly, diminutive watchman wrapped in a blanket. "Good morning, Chokidar," I said. "Is the marker here?" A marker is a servant who, in the old days, marked the lines of the court in British India. He also filled

Glynn Wood, a former information officer, is professor of International Policy Studies at the Monterey Institute of International Studies. The stamp is courtesy of the AAFSW Bookfair "Stamp Corner."

His frayed gray trousers, cheap tennis shoes and battered racquet seemed out of place in a proper club.



in as player or coach when required. "Yes, Sahib," he replied. "Please change into your kit."

When I returned to the court I found the marker was none other than the watchman. His frayed gray trousers, cheap tennis shoes and battered racquet seemed out of place in a proper club. "I am Mr. Khan," he announced, and we moved onto the court. My first stroke came looping back. The mournful sound the strings of Mr. Khan's racquet made broke my concentration, and I netted the shot.

Mr. Khan's play was typical of South Asian markers. I stood in one place while the marker hit first to left and then to right. If the marker is good at his job (and Mr. Khan was), I needed no more than a shuffle to either side to hit my best stroke. We agreed to play a set, and I started off well with an ace in Mr. Khan's back-

hand corner. Mr. Khan was delighted. He dropped his racquet on the lawn and applauded briefly but efficiently. Clearly this was a practiced routine.

Racquet retrieved, Mr. Khan moved to the left court. I served another hard one, but not so well placed. His racquet complained loudly, and his forehand return looped deep into my backhand corner. My return was short down the middle, and his return to my forehand corner gave me just enough time to make a heroic save that was short up the middle. Mr. Khan took the ball in the air and gently pushed a winner deep into my backhand corner. I let it drop.

And so it went for just over an hour. I eventually won a single game in the three sets we played, but that effort required that I serve four aces. And each ace was followed by the dropped racquet, professional applause, and "Very good shot, Sahib!"

Back at the Dean's Hotel I found an old tennis partner at the bar. "Tennis at the Peshawar Club! Fantastic place," he said. "I wanted to get in a game but ran out of time. Marvelous marker they have. He raised an entire clan of racquetees. None ever did much at Wimbledon, but two nephews rank first and fourth in the world in squash — the Khan brothers, they're called." I realized then that the poorly clad marker I had played was the patriarch of one of the most talented families ever to wield a racquet. ■



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