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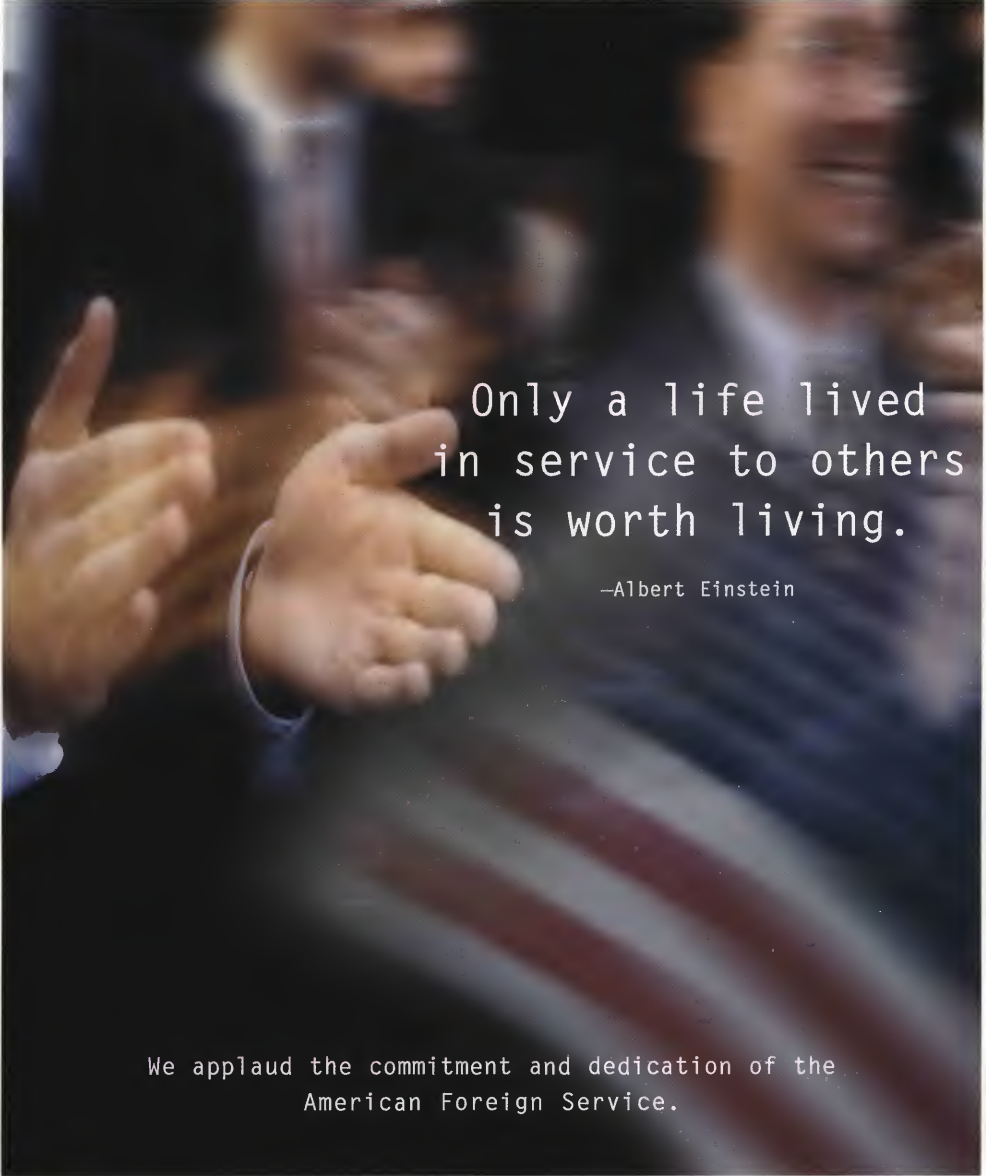
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Foreign Service Journal (ISSN 0146-3543), 2101 E Street, N.W., Washington, D.C. 20037-2990 is published monthly by the American Foreign Service Association, a private, non-profit organization. Material appearing herein represents the opinions of the writers and does not necessarily represent the views of the *Journal*, the Editorial Board or AFSA. Writer queries and submissions are invited, preferably by e-mail. *Journal* subscription: AFSA Members - \$9.50 included in annual dues; others - \$40. For foreign surface mail, add \$18 per year; foreign airmail, \$36 per year. Periodical postage paid at Manchester, N.H., and at additional mailing offices. Postmaster: Send address changes to *Foreign Service Journal*, 2101 E Street N.W., Washington, D.C. 20037-2990. Indexed by Public Affairs Information Service (PAIS). The *Journal* is not responsible for unsolicited manuscripts, photos or illustrations. Advertising inquiries are invited. The appearance of advertisements herein does not imply the endorsement of the services or goods offered. FAX: (202) 338-8244 or (202) 338-6820. E-MAIL: journal@afsa.org. WEB: www.afsa.org. TELEPHONE: (202) 338-4045. © American Foreign Service Association, 2001. Printed in the U.S.A. Send address changes to AFSA Membership, 2101 E Street N.W., Washington, D.C. 20037-2990. Printed on 50 percent recycled paper, of which 10 percent is post-consumer waste.

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PRESIDENT'S VIEWS

Duty and Danger

By JOHN K. NALAND

Testifying before Congress in late October, Secretary of State Colin Powell praised the work of foreign affairs professionals in the war against international terrorism:



"Let me express my admiration for the men and women of the State Department, and the other civilian agencies of the United States government, who are serving in missions all around the world, sometimes in great danger, sometimes at the risk of their lives. They are doing a terrific job, and I know that you share my admiration and pride in the men and women of our diplomatic service."

Addressing the dangers posed by this war, Secretary Powell told employees at an Oct. 30 Town Hall meeting at the Truman Building:

"We are committed to your safety, just as we are committed to performing the mission that we have to accomplish for the American people. We will always keep those two factors in mind and in balance and be committed to both of them, performing our mission but, at the same time, doing it in a way that is safe."

Balancing duty and danger is not a new concept to the Foreign Service. Working under the threat of international terrorism has been part of our

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

Working under the threat of international terrorism has been part of our job description since long before Sept. 11, 2001.

job description since long before Sept. 11, 2001. The AFSA Memorial Plaque located in the lobby of the Truman Building honors 196 Americans who gave their lives in the line of duty while serving abroad in foreign affairs. Nearly half of those names have been added just since 1973. The majority of those recent additions were killed by terrorists.

To cite just two examples: In February 1979, Ambassador Adolph S. (Spike) Dubs, a career FSO, was kidnapped and murdered in Kabul by guerrillas opposed to the Afghan government. Osama bin Laden himself, of course, was responsible for the August 1998 bombings of our embassies in Nairobi and Dar Es Salaam that took the lives of 224 Americans, Kenyans and Tanzanians and injured over 5,000 people.

Since it is impossible for us to avoid all risk and still accomplish our mission, we must practice risk management. For example, danger-pay

posts have been staffed for decades in the face of clear and present dangers. However, risk management only works if it is a dynamic process that adjusts appropriately to new threats.

The State Department's record here is not perfect. At the start of the Persian Gulf War in 1990, the department refused to issue protective masks to our employees in Saudi Arabia despite the clear danger of chemical or biological attack. The unstated reason was to avoid alarming local oil workers who were keeping oil flowing to the U.S. (Ironically, the oil companies made their own judgments and quickly issued their workers protective masks.)

We sincerely hope that such past errors are not repeated. Towards that end, AFSA has been in close contact with management concerning safety and health issues from the start of the current crisis. We have not been shy to make our views known, as we did in urging the State Department to reverse its initial decision to test only its mailrooms for anthrax contamination. We have also stressed to management their need to keep employees fully informed of emerging safety and health issues.

As long as management fulfills its obligations to its employees, we will, as Secretary Powell asked us to do at the Oct. 30 Town Hall meeting, "show that we are functioning, that we can get through this problem, that we are not going to overreact to the challenge before us." ■



LETTERS

Hazardous Road to Reform

Hats off to Dennis Jett for his forthright article on "Why State Is Not Reformable" (*Speaking Out, FSJ*, November). While I may not agree with everything he writes, certainly State's past history is not encouraging. However, Jett has been too glib in his generalizations and has not given enough credit to the genuinely altruistic work of many — if not most — State employees.

Recent secretaries of State have warmly expressed undying fealty to the Department of State as soon as they take up their duties. Yet we have witnessed them gradually brush aside reform issues as they become consumed with (legitimate) pressing world issues. As a result, State's needs are addressed by others who have not been given adequate authority or encouragement to resolve major problems like financial and staffing shortfalls.

Colin Powell got off to a superb start at State, despite a few early policy conflicts with others in the administration. His statements and actions demonstrated a preliminary

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vision of where U.S. foreign policy should be headed. Nonetheless, some of those early views were out of sync with the administration and he had to backtrack, only to see some of his views now coming into force as the result of the reality of various events.

The interaction between the implementation of foreign policy and the management of State has always been a hazardous road to maneuver. We should now ask whether Secretary Powell will be able to maintain and enlarge his interest in both the management of State and the welfare of its employees in the face of major competing pressures, such as Sept. 11.

*Gilbert H. Sheinbaum
FSO, retired
Vienna, Va.*

Remember All Victims

While I fully support the thoughts expressed in "New York City and Washington, D.C., Sept. 11, 2001," in October's *Foreign Service Journal*, I believe it would have been more inclusive had your caption made reference to those who perished in the hijacked plane which crashed in western Pennsylvania.

*Michael Zak
FSO, retired
Annandale, Va.*

Keep It In-House

Although the contributors to your October edition wrote very scholarly essays which were undoubtedly of

great interest to scholars in the Mediterranean area and many more of your readers, I was left wondering if the *FSJ* is now competing with *Foreign Affairs* and *Foreign Policy* and other journals. I thought we were a house organ.

*C. Patrick Quinlan
FSO, retired
Edina, Minn.*

Derek's Candles

In the days and weeks following Sep. 11, many stories have emerged as "larger-than-life." Seldom do we hear about the smaller acts that, while no less important, seem to be swallowed up by the overwhelming tragedy.

Derek Stottlemeyer is the son of Kelly and Jeff Stottlemeyer (Jeff is RSO in Freetown). Shortly after the Sept. 11 terrorist attacks, 12-year old Derek, together with his younger brother Kurt and a friend, printed up 150 flyers asking everyone in their Seattle neighborhood to light a candle and say a prayer for the victims. They distributed the flyers throughout their neighborhoods. That evening there were candles in everyone's windows.

Someone passed one of the flyers on to the principal of Derek's school, who in turn forwarded it to the local newspaper. The report of Derek's act of compassion was picked up by the major television news station in Seattle, which played part of an interview with Derek on the evening news.

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LETTERS

Derek had not waited to hear that people in other parts of the country were doing similar things, but had acted based on his own thoughts and emotions. I was uplifted by this story, which shows the kind of ideals that can be instilled in today's children by caring and loving parents.

*Joan Szabados
Ambassador's Office
Management Specialist
Embassy Freetown*

Red Flag Plates

The *Journal* has addressed concerns about parking security at the department and other buildings in Washington. I would like to add that we also have a parking problem here in Berlin. Many embassy employees drive to the Underground (metro) stations and have to park near the stations. We all have license plates clearly identifying us as embassy personnel.

A query to the RSO here brought the reply that we are considered a low-threat post and nothing needs to be done about that. Should we really be considered a low-threat post, given that we are a short drive from Hamburg, which is considered a base for terrorists? I believe that there are officers in the department who are not taking this threat seriously.

In Paris several years ago, we were given two sets of plates, one identifying us as embassy personnel, and one typical French plate. I installed a fast clip on both plates and was able to change them if I was required to go into a sector that wasn't considered secure. It is time to stop putting a target on all our embassy personnel and get them local country plates.

Thanks for the excellent job you and your staff are doing. We in the field need all the attention we can get.

*Ralph McGee
U.S. Army retired, and
FS spouse
Embassy Berlin*

Remembering Mansfield

I had the privilege of serving as public affairs counselor to Ambassador Mansfield at Embassy Tokyo from 1984-1988. He and his late wife Maureen were unhesitatingly cordial and kind and caring. The Mike Mansfield style was a mixture of patience and informality. Visitors to his office, no matter their status, were treated to a cup of coffee prepared by the ambassador himself. At daily staff meetings, he puffed on his pipe and listened closely as each section head offered an update on bilateral issues of the moment. Such updates were concise, because Mansfield wanted the crux of the matter: he already knew the context. When delegations came to the embassy — whether congressional, state governors, media, military, or students — Mansfield enjoyed briefing them on the U.S.-Japan relationship, "the most important in the world, bar none." Not only did he keep himself well-informed on bilateral matters, he had a gift for making them comprehensible not only to those who served him, but also to both the Japanese and American publics.

The Mansfields chose not to have a television receiver at the residence. So when the 1984 presidential election debate between Ronald Reagan and Walter Mondale was telecast, Mike came over to my apartment to watch it. Throughout the debate, characteristically, the ambassador said not a word until it was over. Then he said, "Thanks, Jack," and returned to his office. Of course, Mondale would eventually be Mansfield's successor.

*Jack H. Shellenberger
FSO, retired
President, The Japan-
America Student
Conference
Washington, D.C.*

Shultz on Mansfield

During his tenure at State, Secretary George Shultz spoke many times to visiting groups being briefed in the Dean Acheson auditorium. His explanation of his and the department's role in foreign policy began from time to time with this vignette about Mike Mansfield upon his appointment as ambassador to Japan.

Secretary Shultz told the visitors that he had a large globe in his office. When newly appointed ambassadors called upon him, he would direct the appointee over to the globe and say, "You have one final test to pass before becoming ambassador. I want to be sure you know where you are going. Which is your country?"

When asked that question, Mansfield walked over to the globe and placed his hand on the United States. "This is my country," he replied.

I always thought that was a subtle way of describing to visitors whom the Foreign Service and the State Department work for.

*George High
FSO, retired
Vienna, Va.*

Hungarian Friends

Budapest was my first post, where I served as consul during the grim Stalinist years 1952-1956 and where I met and married my wife. Not long ago, on Oct. 5, my wife and I attended a folk music concert at the Hungarian embassy.

At the opening of the evening, the audience sang "God Bless America." Then a woman stood and sang "God Bless America" in Hungarian! We never imagined we would live to witness such an event in the Hungarian embassy. We were both greatly moved.

It's a brave and perilous new

world out there, but not all the news is bad.

*Ernest A. Nagy
FSO, retired
Washington, D.C.*

Vanguard or Rearguard?

I must protest the tone, spirit and intent of Dale Slaght's recent "Speaking Out" against accommodating the unmarried partners of gays and lesbians in the Foreign Service (*FSJ*, September). He asserts that further extension of rights to gays, lesbians and their partners would run "counter to the dominant values and sentiments of the American people." Slaght uses religion as a hammer with which to drive down the expansion of rights granted to same-sex partners of employees.

I would draw the reader's attention to the Taliban. They don't allow women to work, attend school or, in some cases, even leave their homes. Any argument women mount against this is no doubt condemned by the Islamic clerics who control large swaths of Afghanistan as "counter to the dominant values and sentiments of the vast majority of the Afghani people."

In drawing a line between church and state, Slaght (quoting Sen. Joseph Lieberman, D-Conn.) argues we have gone far beyond what the framers ever imagined. I don't presume to know what the framers did or did not imagine, but would observe that separate means separate.

This must be so both for the protection of religious beliefs from zealous political factions (as in Nazi Germany), and for the protection of society from religious fanatics who would castigate and punish citizens who are perceived to have strayed from the True Path (as in present-day Afghanistan).

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make the State Department look more like America. If that is so, then our ranks should include all those who comprise our great nation. All employees should enjoy all of the rights and protections that can reasonably be extended. Some would find religious or political grounds for denying what ought to be basic rights to certain groups, including access to post medical care by unmarried same-sex partners.

Remember that those who committed the Sept. 11 outrages against America also claimed religious justification for their acts. The use of religious precepts to summarize deny freedoms to a sector of society is not only small-minded, but a dangerous abuse of a belief system that was meant to enhance the lot of humanity, not degrade it.

America should be in the vanguard of promoting freedom, democracy and human rights across the planet, but it seems some would have us in the rearguard here in the Harry Truman Building.

Erik Doman
FSO
Office of Recruitment,
Examination and
Employment
Washington, D.C.

Historical Revisionism

The *Journal's* October review of *Between the Alps and a Hard Place*, like the book itself, seems to take an obviously prejudicial, biased and incorrect view of Edgar Bronfman and the World Jewish Congress.

To claim that the accounts in Swiss banks represent the "lost inheritances of relatively few German Jews" is grossly wrong. Anyone who has seen the lists published by the Swiss themselves would quickly realize that these accounts are not few in number.

I sincerely doubt that the banks of Switzerland would settle a lawsuit that cost them \$1.25 billion if they were innocent of the charges presented.

To equate Swiss neutrality in World War II to American neutrality in the same conflict's early years indicates a lack of knowledge, or, more likely, an attempt at historical revisionism, of Roosevelt's efforts at that time to assist our British allies.

It was a hard review to read.
Lawrence A. Segel
1st Lt. U.S. Air Force,
retired
Valhalla, N.Y. ■

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OCT. 22, 2001

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You could call it "As Their World Churns," or perhaps "The Cold and the Pitiful." But unlike American soap operas, where only the limits of imagination rein in often outlandish plots, this drama is firmly based in reality — and it's helping the people of Afghanistan survive.

Its real title is *New Home, New Life*, and — as Joshua Bearman reports in the Oct. 5-11 *LA Weekly* — it's the most popular show on Afghanistan's only mass medium, radio. Produced in Pakistan (so the Taliban can't shut it down) and broadcast by the British Broadcasting Corporation, *New Home, New Life* has been on the air since 1994, and more than 70 percent of Afghanistan's population tunes in each week. Its reach is such that when a popular character was "killed" several years ago, there were public displays of mourning.

Set in three rural villages and an urban area, *New Home, New Life* — like all good soap operas — mingles entertainment with life lessons: how to avoid land mines; where to get medical care; how to resolve conflict. And when Afghans began fleeing their homes and heading toward the borders with Iran and Pakistan in anticipation of the U.S. military campaign against the Taliban, the show addressed a new topic: how to survive as a refugee.

"If people leave their homes, we want them to think about things like food, water and shelter," said Shirazuddin Siddiqi, the show's producer. "So we bring this up in the experiences of the characters and our story line."

In one hastily rewritten segment, broadcast in early October, people are streaming into the city from the country-

side. Some of the villagers come into the tailor shop of Jandad, one of the series' most popular characters, where they tell him that there are rumors of attacks, a coming war. They say they must flee for safety, but don't know where to go.

Siddiqi described the episode as a "story about sudden movement, about people leaving things behind, about decisions based on rumors." He wants people to think rationally; pulling up stakes en masse, he noted, is often more dangerous than staying put.

In addition, "there's also the problem of people sheltering in ruined buildings, where there are often still mines. So we show the consequences of these things by having our characters make those kinds of mistakes first." The characters of *New Home, New Life* confront the many dangers of a refugee crisis: looting, psychological distress, illness and death. There's even a pregnant woman who, after walking for days, gives birth on the road, with no medical attention.

The 15-minute shows, each with several story lines, air three times a week on the BBC's Persian service in Dari (the Afghan dialect of Persian) and on the BBC's Pashto service (the language of Afghanistan's Pashtun plurality). To reach the several million Afghan refugees in Pakistan, the BBC rebroadcasts the show on the Pashto service of Radio Pakistan.

The task of introducing a new plot involving refugees and social crisis was not foreign to the show's writers and actors; during the 1990s, many of them were refugees themselves. On Sept. 19, Siddiqi wrote a memo to his staff: "We have left our villages and have taken refuge in ruins without thinking about land mines. We have taken shelter in isolated places. We have seen pregnant women walking long



CLIPPINGS

distances, suffering miscarriage and often dying. We have had [the] nightmares." And, he noted, the show has a "vital role to play in [the] emergency. People are anxious about their lives. They need us now more than ever."

MULTILATERALISM AND ARMS CONTROL

In the October issue of *Arms Control Today*, Lawrence J. Korb and Alex Tiersky of the Council on Foreign Relations examine the effects of the Sept. 11 attacks on U.S. involvement in arms control treaties. While the Bush administration initially showed signs of embracing a unilateral approach to foreign relations, the need to engage in more cooperative agreements has rapidly become apparent. The article cites the administration's "torpedoing five treaties on everything from global warming to the international criminal court to the global small arms trade," in its first few months, alienating allies and suggesting that the United States was not interested in any sort of relationship that would compromise its freedom of action.

Now that the threat of terrorism has awakened the country to the fact that "we are not immune to attack," as the President stated in his Sept. 20 address to Congress, the United States appears to have changed its stance. "The best course for a safer, more secure United States lies in the president returning to multilateral treaties and other forms of action taken in concert with the rest of the world," Korb and Tiersky write.

The anti-ballistic missile treaty, the comprehensive test ban treaty and the biological weapons convention are cited on a list of initiatives undermined by the Bush

administration in the field of arms control. But, the authors say, they are integral to the campaign to stop the spread of weapons of mass destruction not only to rogue nations, but also to non-state actors such as Osama bin Laden's al-Qaida terrorist network. U.S. rejection of these initiatives will hurt attempts to control the spread of terrorism and will also jeopardize the willingness of other countries to cooperate with the United States in future international crises.

"The anti-terror coalition being assembled by the administration is a perfect opportunity to regain the trust of those who feared American disengagement from the world," Korb and Tiersky write. The advantages of a multilateral approach to foreign relations are becoming more and more obvious, and attempts to form new coalitions in response to terrorism suggest that the Bush administration realizes this.

BEYOND SEPT. 11: CREATING A NEW ERA

The Sept. 11 terrorist attacks may help usher in the "post-post-Cold War era" by creating an opportunity for a fundamentally changed relationship between Washington and both Moscow and Beijing, writes Ralph A. Cossa, president of the Center for Strategic and International Studies' Pacific Forum, in the October issue of *Comparative Connections*, the Forum's quarterly newsletter.

The area where the greatest change is possible, Cossa asserts, is in relations between the U.S. and Russia. Vladimir Putin was the first to call President Bush to pledge his support. Russian actions went beyond atmospherics. Immediately

50 YEARS AGO

"I know of only one workable approach to obtain the confidence and cooperation of any people, and that is to recognize them as Good Neighbors — not patronize them as Poor Relations. We must make our approaches with our hearts and minds right. And only those who can see Good Neighbors in native populations with definite, proud cultures of their own should undertake to work with them."

—FRANK PINDER,

"POINT FOUR:

A NEW NAME FOR

AN OLD JOB," FSJ,

DECEMBER 1951

"Terrorism has become the systematic weapon of a war that knows no borders or seldom has a face."

— JACQUES CHIRAC,
TO THE U.N. GENERAL
ASSEMBLY, 1988

after the attack, U.S. military forces worldwide were placed on high alert. During the Cold War, Moscow would have responded in kind. Instead Putin ordered Russian troops to stand down so as not to add to international tensions, a decision he personally relayed to Bush. As Bush later observed, "It was a moment where it clearly said to me that [Putin] understands the Cold War is over." To demonstrate his understanding, Bush added Putin to the list of close allies he called immediately prior to the military operations against Afghanistan.

Since then, Cossa says, Putin has agreed to share intelligence with Washington and to open Russian airspace to U.S. humanitarian and support flights; he even raised the prospect of Russian search and rescue support for U.S. combat operations, while increasing Moscow's support to anti-Taliban forces. Most significantly, Putin asked the former Soviet Central Asian

republics to allow U.S. military forces to use bases there.

Washington and Beijing have also been given a common objective upon which to build greater strategic cooperation; fighting international terrorism is one area where U.S. and Chinese strategic objectives clearly overlap, given China's serious concerns about terrorism (in part supported by Osama bin Laden) in its western regions.

Cossa points out that China also condemned the attacks and acknowledged the appropriateness of a military response, provided it was directed at those proven to be guilty, avoided civilian casualties (always a U.S. objective), and was preceded by "consultations" with the United Nations. While Washington was likely not thrilled to have President Jiang Zemin calling other U.N. Security Council members to reinforce these preconditions, Cossa says, they were not particularly onerous and China did in fact endorse the attacks when they came. ■

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SPEAKING OUT

A Marshall Plan for Central Asia

BY LORI HANDRAHAN

For some time after experiencing the horrors of Sept. 11, 2001, America, and much of the world, seemed temporarily stunned. This mourning period has provided an opportunity for our initial rage, shock, grief, and fear to merge into feelings of patriotism, unity, and resolve that we, as human beings, will not allow Sept. 11 to threaten our way of life, our values, our country, our world.

While a military response is necessary, it is not might alone that will win this war on terrorism and protect our freedoms. To ensure that our American way of life remains a vibrant example for the rest of the world, we must now envision and design a plan for post-conflict Central Asia — Afghanistan along with neighboring Tajikistan, Pakistan, Uzbekistan, Kyrgyzstan, Turkmenistan and Kazakhstan — similar to the only post-conflict plan that provided a foundation

Lori M. Handrahan, Ph.D., an international development expert with a focus on Central Asia, is an adjunct faculty member at the School for International Service at American University. She is the founder and director of the Finvola Group (www.finvola.com), a human rights consultancy supporting gender, civil society and education issues in developing nations. Her book on America's aid policy in Kyrgyzstan, Gendering Ethnicity, will be published by Routledge this winter.

*Hypocrisy on
the part of
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America.*

for successful development, the Marshall Plan (formally known as the Economic Cooperation Administration) that helped rebuild Western Europe after World War II.

While Stalin was able to single-handedly keep Eastern European states from participating in the Marshall Plan, thereby greatly delaying those countries' economic revival, today we are only constrained by our own lack of initiative in critically assessing and implementing progressive, effective, and ethical developmental practices. The principles of the Marshall Plan, combined with "lessons learned" in development assistance practices since 1947, must form the basis for "good" development in postwar Central Asia.

The Precedent

Devised by Gen. George C. Marshall when he was secretary of State under President Truman, the Marshall Plan represented a real innovation in postwar foreign policy practice. On June 5, 1947, Marshall used his speech accepting an honorary degree from Harvard as an opportunity to unveil a new approach to European reconstruction.

He began by emphasizing that the policy was not directed at any doctrine or country but "against hunger, poverty, desperation, and chaos." As he put it, "Its purpose should be the revival of a working economy, so as to permit the emergence of political and social conditions in which free institutions can exist." The plan was not to be "piecemeal, as various crises develop, [but rather] should provide a cure rather than a mere palliative."

Marshall made clear that any government opposed to political and economic reform could not expect American aid. Furthermore, "governments, political parties, or groups which seek to perpetuate human misery will encounter the opposition of the United States." Finally, he argued that Europeans must take joint responsibility for creation of an economic and political recovery plan, with the U.S. providing "friendly aid" and support.

On April 2, 1948, Congress passed the Economic Cooperation Act authorizing the Marshall Plan and President Truman signed the bill into law the next day.



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*Insufficiently monitored
and controlled financial
assistance stymies
development and
aggravates fighting.*

A New Marshall Plan

All of these key elements of the original plan, listed above, are essential foundations for any American assistance to postwar Central Asia. In addition to these tried and true principles, such a plan should include the following elements in order to be effective:

First, the plan must include an effective and strict mechanism for financial oversight of the foreign assistance that is already pouring into the region. If we have learned anything from the Clinton administration's disbursement of post-Cold War funds to Russia and the countries of the former Soviet Union, it is that insufficiently monitored and controlled financial assistance does not help development objectives nor ease regional tensions. In fact, it actually stymies development and aggravates fighting because it ensures that "warlords" gain and consolidate power through control of large amounts of incoming financial assistance. The resulting corruption, in turn, generates hatred for Americans and other donors who are, rightly, perceived by the local population to be supporting thugs, criminals and other elements of society who flourish during conflicts. If we want our money to be a positive influence for development and peace, we

need to ensure that it is used for that purpose. Claiming it is our responsibility to give, but not to monitor, the disbursed funds is ludicrous and can only lead to further instability.

Second, one way to avoid money and power-hoarding is to ensure that both donors and recipients represent society at large. This means ensuring that post-conflict rebuilding on behalf of international donors and new national leaders is not a boys-only club. Women represent more than half of the population and yet, as we witnessed in Kosovo and elsewhere, are often ignored during the rebuilding phase. No development plan that excludes half of the population can claim legitimacy or success. Contrary to popular belief, women in these societies do not willingly play "traditional," subservient roles. The Revolutionary Association of the Women of Afghanistan, a political organization of Afghan women struggling for peace, freedom, democracy and women's rights in Afghanistan, is only one example of powerful female leadership in the region. We must not allow "cultural" excuses to rule out full and equal participation for all members of the society. If we will not tolerate ethnic exclusion, why should we allow gender exclusion?

Third, again drawing on lessons learned from Kosovo, the behavior of the international donors who arrive "to help" in a post-conflict situation matters. Any behavior on behalf of the international population, from military to humanitarian workers, that does not reflect a commitment to international law and norms — i.e., trafficking in women, engaging in prostitution, corruption, rape, etc., as we have seen in Kosovo and elsewhere — should not be tolerated. We earn the hatred that is directed at us by the way our repre-

SPEAKING OUT



No development plan that excludes half of the population can claim legitimacy or success.

sentatives act in "the field." An ombudsman, with the authority and resources to investigate anonymous complainants, must be appointed and given sufficient resources and authority to ensure that our representatives reflect the best, not the worst, of America and all that we value.

Fourth, when dealing with leaders in the region who have been helpful during the conflict situation, such as Uzbekistan, Tajikistan and Pakistan, we must not forsake our commitment to human rights and democratic principles. If we compromise these away for short-term strategic gains, we will lose any long-term advantage in stemming the tide of terrorism or in promoting healthy development. These populations are generally savvy and well informed. Hypocrisy on the part of international donors will only serve to create a younger generation of men who will rage against America, create instability and hinder development. Certainly, in the case of Uzbekistan, any concessions to this brutal authoritarian regime will not promote regional stability or lay the ground for a solid post-conflict Marshall Plan.

Fifth, we need to give the plan a name and a leader. Part of the success of the Marshall Plan, which all post-conflict development endeavors have lacked since, was the organization and clear objective that resulted from having one visible

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leader in charge. In other words, we need a Marshall to go along with a Central Asia Marshall Plan. But not just any Marshall — someone with high visibility, who possesses a solid knowledge of the region, and a demonstrated commitment to the principles of human rights and good development. Someone that the average person in Central Asia could trust to represent their interests. Someone who could gain wide popularity, not only with leaders, but with NGOs and average citizens alike. While it is not readily evident who this might be, we need to start the recruitment process now.

Fighting For Justice

Finally, the plan must reinforce the American value of justice over revenge. To do so, the international

What is certain is that the current "war on terrorism" must include precise designs for improving the way the international community administers post-conflict development.

coalition involved in "fighting terrorism" must insist on ratification of the Rome Statute of the

International Criminal Court, with the intent of bringing Osama bin Laden and his conspirators before this court. The ICC was envisioned to handle precisely this type of crime. Crimes against humanity, crimes of aggression and war crimes all fall under the ICC's jurisdiction. Crimes against humanity are defined in Article 7 (1), "as part of a widespread or systematic attack directed against any civilian population." There is no better description of the events of Sept. 11. A global campaign for authentic international justice, administered by the ICC, would represent a united commitment to the rule of law, justice, due process, and democratic methods of dealing with terror. American ratification of the ICC would send a clear signal to the world community that we will fight terror with justice.

These ideas represent only a beginning. However, what is certain is that the current "war on terrorism" must include innovative and precise designs for improving the way the international community administers post-conflict development. We will certainly win the military battle but can we win the war? With the exception of the Marshall Plan, we have yet to get it right in the post-conflict development phase. And it is here that we must not fail.

The people of Central Asia have suffered enough. They deserve solid and effective follow-through. American taxpayers deserve effective use of their hard-earned money. Thus, it is essential that we now organize the creation of an effective post-conflict development plan — not only for the sake of those in Central Asia, but also for all Americans.

Our future security, and theirs, both depend upon it. ■



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REFLECTIONS ON SEPT. 11: EDITOR'S INTRODUCTION

The horrific events of Sept. 11, 2001, and their aftermath fundamentally defy analysis, producing endless questions without satisfactory answers. How could it happen? Who could hate us so much? What do we do now? Yet in the conviction that it is essential to make the effort, this issue of the *Journal* (as did last month's) offers a variety of perspectives on the attacks and their implications for U.S. diplomacy.

Shortly after Sept. 11, we asked AFSA representatives to share local experiences and reactions with us. Several of their moving responses appeared in the November issue and we are proud to share the rest this month.

Most Americans were only too happy to put Afghanistan out of their minds once the Soviet Union withdrew the last of its troops 12 years ago. But as Arnie Schifferdecker recounts, the connections between certain elements in Pakistan and Afghanistan and Osama bin Laden that began to form during that war would eventually help pave the way for the Sept. 11 attacks. (The same author has also contributed a book review essay highlighting several recent volumes on terrorism, which you'll find later in the issue.)

Soon after the bloodshed of Sept. 11, we made the chilling discovery that the 19 hijackers had lived among us for years, studying and working like millions of other immigrants and visitors to our country — all the while methodically plan-

ning to kill thousands of people even at the cost of their own lives. Yet as Dr. Jerrold Post, an expert on the psychological profile of terrorists, explains, they were, in fact, psychologically "normal," and therefore pose a far greater threat than previous terrorists.

Lori Handrahan offers one answer to a question many Americans have been asking ever since the events of Sept. 11: "Why do they hate us?" She has also contributed a "Speaking Out" column to this issue (p. 15) advocating the establishment of a new "Marshall Plan" for Central Asia following the war.

William Lewis concludes our coverage by warning that the long-standing American tendency to "demonize" our enemies, while particularly understandable in the present instance, may not be the best approach to winning the war on terrorism.

A final note: Just as the war itself seems likely to be protracted, it (and the events that precipitated it), will continue to be a recurring theme in the *Journal's* pages in the months to come. We therefore invite your thoughts, commentaries and analysis on that score (please send them to journal@afsa.org).
— Steven Alan Honley, Editor



AFSA MEMBERS RECALL SEPT. 11 (PART II)

OVERSEAS AFSA MEMBERS SHARE THEIR EXPERIENCES
OF THE EVENTS OF SEPT. 11 AND THEIR AFTERMATH.

Editor's Note: Last month, we presented some of the thoughtful and moving responses to our call for AFSA members in the field to share their reactions to the horrific events of Sept. 11. Here are more of their replies. Again, our thanks to all FS personnel who took the time in the midst of their grief, fear and heightened workloads to share their experiences. —Steven Alan Honley

I was in Boston on R&R on Sept. 11. I returned to work in Vilnius on Monday, Sept. 17. It was difficult getting back; the trip took 25 hours. Lithuania's president, Valdas Adamkus, was in America for government meetings, accompanied by our ambassador, John Tefft. All meetings were cancelled, of course, and special consideration was given to President Adamkus for an early flight home.

There was a brief service held outside the embassy on Friday, Sept. 14, with three minutes of silence. Hundreds of Lithuanians came, leaving beautiful flowers and burning candles in glass containers. The flowers were still there when I returned on the 17th, and the sight of them brought tears to my eyes. I have received calls from most of my working-level contacts, expressing sincere condolences.

Morale is low. Officers and FSNs occasionally give in to crying spells, and we comfort each other. Today is Sept. 20, and I still see people crying. And not only the women! The embassy nurse speaks a lot about the need for grief counseling. It is definitely not "business as usual" here.

Linda Eichblatt
Consul, Embassy Vilnius

On Thursday morning, Sept. 13, I took the Metroliner from Washington to New York for the monthly meeting of the Mine Action Support Group. I walked from Penn Station at W. 33rd Street to the Netherlands Mission on E. 45th Street, several blocks from the U.N. Having grown up in northern New Jersey, I am used to seeing a vibrant New York, with rushing people, hurrying cars and the usual sounds of cities everywhere — honking horns, occasional sirens — and the kind of rambunctious demeanor of the average New Yorker: obvious self-confidence, a unique perspective on life and an irreverent sense of humor where laughter often comes at somebody else's expense.

On Sept. 13, New York was very different. There were no smiles, but there was a cast to faces that conveyed a sense of loss — almost confusion — that you usually don't see in the Big Apple. In some faces, anger was almost palpable. Walking past people with darker skin or an appearance of foreign origin — call it what you will — I could feel their discomfort as they wondered what thoughts ran through the minds of anyone who gave them more than a quick glance. New York's treasured (most of the time) diversity now defined a different set of lines — a "for us or against us" standard.

To walk from the West Side to the East Side, you have to cross all the famous avenues that many know best from musicals or movies: the Garment District's Seventh Avenue, the Avenue of the Americas, Broadway (Fifth Avenue and Third. Before Tuesday, when one looked down all those avenues, the Twin Towers provided two exclamation points at the business end of Manhattan. On Thursday, only a plume of gray-white smoke drifted across the island's southern tip. As

F O C U S

I crossed each avenue, I checked the south, just to be sure those towers really were gone — to confirm that those great symbols of New York's, and America's, dynamism really stood no more.

At the meeting there were deeply felt expressions of condolences for us — for all of us — as we tried to deal with this unspeakable assault upon structures that expressed to the world so much about America. Those buildings stood so close to the Statue of Liberty — our greatest symbol — that it almost seemed Mark McGwire could reach her from the World Trade Center, if he got just the right pitch.

On the day of the terror, I learned not too long after the towers came down like some kind of volcano in reverse that my nephew — newly employed and not long-married — had escaped from the north tower minutes before it collapsed. On the phone with my sister at the moment the first plane hit, he said: "Oh, my God, there's been an explosion. I've gotta get out of here." He had heard what he thought was a missile, then the explosion. He was on the 37th floor, 53 floors below where the plane hit. Now, a week later, he is still trying to cope with what happened to him.

He reached a stairwell crammed with people. As he and they scrambled to get out, they had to keep to the right because the firefighters and rescue crews were on their way up. One grabbed him by the arm, took him through a door to another stairwell, speeding his (and others') exit from the building. It took, he thinks, an hour to make it down to the ground. The doomed firefighters continued to stream into the building, yelling to those leaving to look straight ahead, run and get as far away as possible. Not long after he escaped, the north tower came down.

Walking back to Penn Station, I again looked to the south — still no towers, still the smoke. I remembered seeing the World Trade Center, before the birth of the two towers, when all that existed of this great project were the two chasms dug into the earth that would house their enormous foundations. And I wondered how New York — where "if you can make it there, you can make it anywhere" — can ever be the same as it was before Sept. 11, 2001.

Dave Rabadan
Office of Global Humanitarian Demining
Washington, D.C.



On Tuesday, Sept. 11, I woke up sick at 6:05 a.m. Shortly after I asked my husband to wake me back up at 8:00 so I could notify my supervisor I wouldn't be coming in, he woke me saying "Turn on the TV for the news!" In my groggy state, I propped up my pillows and watched in horror. I heard the reports of a "fire" at the Pentagon. I left a message on my supervisor's extension, then passed a lousy day alternating between watching the news and sleeping fitfully.

One of my sisters phoned me, then other relatives. The family grapevine contacted our relatives in the Bronx to make sure they were all right. At 4:35 p.m., my supervisor called me back and told me to come in Thursday morning (not the next day).

On Thursday, I wore black out of respect and drove to work. When I got there, one immediate difference was the marked security car (not manned) in the underground parking garage loading zone. Our building lobby had additional uniformed and plainclothes police/security guards. There was more security on our main reception floor. On the street, there were City of Vancouver sawhorses preventing vehicles from parking in front of, beside, and behind the building. (We're on the end of a narrow block so we have a street on three sides of the consulate.)

I had mixed feelings about the mounds of flowers, letters, and candles that began appearing at the side of the consulate. The sheer size of the mounds brought home the magnitude of the event, saddening me, but one letter offered hope by stating that her father on the 105th floor had survived.

We talked a lot at work, which helped. Applicants still want to talk. My cousin's children don't want her to go to work in her office tower. They beg her to stay home.

"Six degrees of separation" has a whole new meaning now. It's hard to find someone who doesn't have a friend or relative affected by this tragedy. My condolences to you and yours.

Maria A.D. Evans
Foreign Service National
U.S. Consulate Vancouver



Although we have never felt further from home than over the past two weeks, if I had to experience these

tragedies in any other country, we am thankful to have been in the United Kingdom. Like a mother who grieves at the pain of her child, the United Kingdom has truly mourned for and with the United States, and tried to provide relief in any way possible.

As international air travel ground to a halt and the saturation level media coverage began broadcasting the plight of stranded Americans, the calls poured in. The Consular Command Center was opened and fielded 250 calls an hour for the next four days.

Over 1,100 private British citizens called offering to open their homes to their American cousins. "I can drive out to the airport and pick someone up." "I would be happy to pay for a taxi so they could get to my house." "I only have a one-bedroom flat. But I can sleep on the sofa, and someone can have my bed." One lady even called back the next day; she wanted to help in any way that she could, and was disappointed that we had not placed a American in her home.

Several hundred Britons called to offer assistance in their relevant specialty — firefighters, demolitions experts, medical personnel, grief counselors, people willing to dig in the debris with their bare hands. One call came from an 85-year-old woman. "I don't have much to give. But you can have a pint of my blood. It may be old blood, but it's good blood." Another caller was a 10-year-old girl who, in her small 10-year-old voice, explained, "I am an American living in London, but I want to help. My mom and dad said I could call you. Please, can you tell me what I can do to help?" The innocence and sincerity in her voice broke through the barrier I had erected around my heart, and I could not answer. A piano tuner called several times to offer his services. "The collapse of the buildings will have put all the pianos in Manhattan out of tune. I know how much my piano comforts me. I want to help the people of Manhattan find comfort in their music." A contortionist offered, "I can squeeze into very small places and would be happy to help the rescue workers find people in the rubble."

Among the calls we received, from people asking us how they could find out whether their families and friends had survived, from those offering help, several

***"Six degrees of separation"
has a whole new meaning
now. It's hard to find
someone who doesn't have a
friend or relative affected
by this tragedy.***

were from Americans who had actually received the terrible news — one of their immediate family members had been at the World Trade Center that morning, and was missing. They were desperate to get back to New York, to identify the body of their spouse, their sibling, their child, to mourn with their family. But, with all the airports in the U.S. closed, they were stuck in London. We needed to work with the airlines to secure

these people seats on the first plane leaving London for New York, whenever that might be. Contacts were made with several airlines and, although all gave general promises of help, two offered consistent and reliable assistance. As the heightened security regulations were agreed upon and implemented, we met our group of "compassionate travellers" at the airport. Sitting with them in the lounge, waiting. Checking in to a flight. Cancelled. Would another flight go? Checked in for another flight. They've boarded. They are buckling their seat belts. The door has been closed. Wheels up! A weight is lifted from the shoulders of the consular officers.

Everyone remembers when Princess Diana died and people spontaneously began leaving flowers outside her Kensington Palace home. But, who would have thought that the events of Sept. 11 would provoke a similar reaction? An unstructured, informal memorial sprang up on a traffic island in front of Embassy London within hours of the attacks. Bouquets of flowers, looking forlorn as the traffic swirled around, guarded by burning candles.

As the emotion exploding from the British people became apparent, we knew something more formal must be organized. The park in front of the Embassy was quickly converted into a memorial, particularly fitting since the centerpiece of the park is a large statue of FDR, in remembrance of America's assistance to the U.K. during World War II. Walking around the memorial, people of that generation remembered: "They used to give us chewing gum." "And chocolate bars."

Thursday morning the park opened, ready to receive the grieving. Two condolence books had been set out and a large space cleared where flowers could be laid. It soon became apparent that even this was not enough

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to express the feelings of the British, not to mention the emotions of the expat Americans in the U.K. Additional condolence books were created and another tent erected. When all was said and done, after 11 days and over 50,000 visitors, the memorial closed and the condolence books — grown to several thousand pages — were presented to the ambassador [see pages 24-25 for some entries]. Many had traveled for hours, coming to London for the sole purpose of conveying their condolences. They came bearing flowers, cards of sympathy, candles to light in memory, donations for the relief efforts.

On the first day, Consul General Tom Furey was in the park when an elderly British gentleman approached him. "You work at the embassy, right?" he was asked. "Come with me, I want you to read my card." Tom followed the man to where he had laid his flowers — "Today, we are all Americans." Children brought cards, pictures, and toys. Large teddy bears to comfort the children mourning a parent. Dolls to help a parent remember a child. One young boy brought a large red fire

engine. The card had a P.S., "There is candy in the back of the truck. I hope it makes you feel better." For those unable to come into London, an electronic condolence book was established. The heavy traffic nearly crashed the server, as nearly 21,000 people expressed their grief through the Internet. As I stood outside the tent which housed the condolence books one Sunday afternoon, I saw men and women from every walk of life, crying without shame at the horrific events that have changed our world.

At the ceremony marking the closing of the memorial one speaker explained, "I stand before you, not as the professional head of the Foreign and Commonwealth Office, and not as the former British ambassador to the United States. I stand before you today as a family friend. My daughters grew up in the United States. They played along the Potomac, and pledged allegiance to the Stars and Stripes every morning in school."

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Cards Sent to Embassy London

• I opened the card. I recognized the return address — it was a very underprivileged section of London. At home, we would call it “The Projects.” Coins spilled from the envelope and, as I read the card, tears spilled down my face. “We are 10 years old. We asked our parents what we could do to help the people suffering in America, and they said we could donate money. We only had a few pounds in our piggy banks, so we went around to all the neighbors and collected money from them too. I hope it can help.”

• The card appeared to be written with a frail hand; the handwriting reminded me of my grandmother. “During the war, I remember how the Americans would send us packages, packages of sweets for the children. Please take this money and buy sweets for the children of America.”

• “My daughter is 5 years old. Today she won a contest at school and was awarded 10 pounds. After she arrived home and told me the news, we began discussing what she could use the money for. I suggested a new toy, a book, a pretty hat. She sat very quietly listening, but then said, “Today in school we had three minutes of silence for the people killed in America. I want to send my money to them.”



Condolence Book Entries at Embassy London:

Kids

• My prayer for America is that I hope everyone is now safe and I hope that dark hour will never happen again.

• Dear America, I do not like the people who killed your friends. God bless you always.

• I'm so sad. God bless.

• I wish Superman could have saved you. (6 years old)

• I wish the people were all alive. (8 years old)

Adults:

• A story I wish I'd never had to report.
— Ted Koppel

• We want to send our love and sympathies to you. Our fathers fought alongside you during the war. My husband looked after your embassy during the

Grosvenor Square demonstration in 1967. You cared for our daughter when she went to America to work. We would like to now give you such a large hug. God love and care for you all.

• To all Police Officers and other Emergency Service Crew: You died doing your job. Your bravery is a light in this tragedy. You did more than your duty expected. The world is proud of your courage. The thoughts of your English colleagues are with you.

• To Shanksville, Washington, and the Biggest Apple of them all, Britain is with you.

• It is raining today. I imagine they are the tears of heaven, which meld with mine and remind me of my heart's sorrow.

• Our thoughts in Kenya are your thoughts. We have gone through it all. We know the pain and the hopelessness. Please kindly accept that we are with you. We cannot accept the brutalization of humanity; otherwise, life becomes nothing. We shall be with you to the end.

• There will never be enough words to express my grief at this horrific thing, nor enough thanks to give the heroes who gave all they had. The best and worst of human nature revealed together.

• Words cannot begin to describe what you have gone through. A whole new language would have to be written just so it could make sense to mankind. Why? is the biggest question. And to the cowards who hide behind Islam — Goddamn you — I am Muslim and what you bastards did is so wrong that God, Allah, will burn you for eternity, for that was not an act of jihad. I only hope that the great people of America will come back stronger, greater, with more solidarity.

• There are not enough flowers to lay down to show my sympathy. There are not enough grains of sand to show my sorrow for America. And there are not enough drops of water in this whole wide world to show my anger at these so-called religious extremists.

However, there is enough love in the world to make this right.

• My feet are in London.

My heart is in NYC.

My tears are everywhere.

• May we rise above this tragedy and reaffirm the common bonds of liberty, brotherhood and peace.

• In their hour of extremity, New Yorkers exhibit-

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ed beauty, selflessness and determination. They are an example to us all.

• It is difficult to say anything meaningful at a time of such tragedy. But I think the words of Thomas Paine before independence mean more now than ever: "The cause of America is the cause of mankind itself."

• Shock, sorrow, disbelief and heartfelt sympathy to our American friends and allies. And be sure of at least one thing; namely, the fact that we go forward into a difficult and dangerous future, shoulder to shoulder, certain of the justice of our cause and of ultimate victory, whatever the price, because the alternative is chaos and barbarism. We have been here, together, before.

• May you, the American people, draw comfort and strength from your belief in freedom and justice to cope with the evil and to assert your right and duty to eradicate this terror for yourself and humanity.

• I would gladly give my strength, my blood and my life if it could do any good. Not being able to do anything, being safely across an ocean, pains me greatly. May God have mercy on us all.

• America, as envisioned by the founding fathers like Benjamin Franklin, is a place, a beacon of liberty, opportunity, peace, humanity, justice. Nothing — no acts of cowardice — can change that.

• [As Edmund Burke observed:] All that must happen for evil to triumph is for good men and women of the world to do nothing.

• If there can be any comfort to those who have suffered and who continue to suffer — I hope it is in knowing how deeply so many of your friends feel and share the terrible grief. We have all been attacked — our values, our way of life — and we share the conviction that this scourge of terrorism must be opposed. May God Bless America.

• There are no words — only prayers.
— Canadian High Commissioner

• To our very dear friends, the Americans: Deepest sympathy. Your loss is our loss. We are all Americans today. Thank God your country and the democratic values we share are strong enough to survive even this.

• May God and goodness reign supreme. What evil can quench the spirit of true brotherhood and freedom? May all good people of the world unite against

**"There are no words —
only prayers."**

— Canadian High Commissioner

barbaric evil.

• With my deepest regret and sorrow — there will be no way to forget this terrible day and the tears will never dry.

• The best testament to the spirit of America is right outside this tent. Across the ocean people are wordlessly gathering, giving their time, attention, and deepest love to everyone affected in NYC.

• To our friends over the pond who paid so dearly for freedom for us all.

• There but for the grace of God go we. To our brothers and sisters in EMS [Emergency Medical Services]: Rest in Peace.
— London Ambulance Service

• My deepest sympathy and heartfelt prayers go to all the families and friends of those killed in this very senseless act. Thank you from those here in Britain who are standing side by side with America in the world's hour of need.

• You helped us, now we must help you.

• Please, God, let something good come of this enormous pain; deeper understanding of our values, striving together in compassion. God bless us all.

• You have been so kind to me. I cannot understand why such a thing should happen to a nation of such warm and special people. Our thoughts and prayers are with you now.

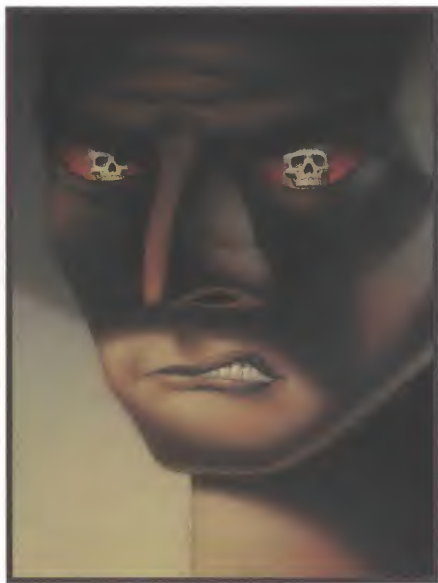
• I hope and pray that the American people get the opportunity to see these books and to know how much the people of Europe held you in our thoughts and prayers. Having been blessed enough to have visited your country, I've never encountered anything but welcomes and hospitality. You are a nation of pioneers. I hope you can find it in your hearts to move on from this tragedy and continue to be the great nation that you are.

• My deepest condolence and sympathy to the people of America. The helpless and silent majority of Afghans are all on your side. — An Afghan resident in U.K.

• To all the American citizens: My heart is breaking for you. But be strong in the knowledge that good will overcome evil, and love will overcome hatred. Sept. 11, 2001, will never, ever be forgotten. It is the day the world became one, against terrorism.

Consular Staff
Embassy London ■

THE TALIBAN-BIN LADEN- ISI CONNECTION



Jim Fitzgerald

HOW DID OSAMA BIN LADEN AND HIS FOLLOWERS TAKE OVER AN ENTIRE COUNTRY? THE ANSWER LIES IN HIS TIES WITH THE TALIBAN AND PAKISTAN'S INTELLIGENCE AGENCY.

BY ARNIE SCHIFFERDECKER

In the fallout from the Sept. 11 attack on the World Trade Center and the Pentagon, Osama bin Laden has become a household name, as have his protectors, Afghanistan's Taliban. A third force gaining notoriety is the Taliban's mentor and sometime collaborator with bin Laden: Pakistan's Inter-Services Intelligence Directorate. Sweeping into Kabul in 1996, the fundamentalist Taliban militia had significant help from the ISI and Pakistani religious parties. Other Afghan factions were ousted from the capital as unreliable allies. The Taliban quickly banned TV as "un-Islamic," outlawed music cassettes, beard-trimming and card games, closed most schools, forced women to wear a head-to-toe enveloping garment (chadri) and forbade them to work outside the home. Soon a new exodus of refugees surged into Pakistan and Iran.

Given bin Laden's base of operations, it was surprising that none of the suicidal terrorist-hijackers who attacked New York and Washington was Afghan. How did bin Laden and his al-Qaida followers manage to hijack a whole country as a base for their deadly operations? The "how" is not difficult to trace. It is the "why" that haunts us. What prompted those terrorists to attack and kill nearly 4,000 innocent Americans and foreigners, including more than 300 Muslims, in the attacks on the U.S.? And why did the Taliban and Pakistan support them?

Life Under the Taliban

Arriving in Kabul in 1997 as an advisor to the United Nations Special Mission to Afghanistan, I saw how the Taliban, who had come to power a year earlier on promises to end the Afghan civil war, had by then imposed their draconian rules on a cowed populace. Who were these mostly young fighters who had come from villages in southern Afghanistan and religious schools (Talib = religious student; plural, Taliban) across the border in Pakistan?

First, I was shocked at the sheer devastation. Two-thirds of the beautiful city I had lived and worked in 25 years earlier as an FSO was totally destroyed. Think of the images of the Berlin landscape after World War II — that was most of Kabul. The house I had lived in while assigned to the U.S. embassy was still standing but was no longer a home; now it was occupied by the Taliban intelligence bureau (Istihbarat). Schools were closed and beggars, including young children and a few women — actually war widows — waited outside stores to plead for coins from passers-by. That was also new.

The city was under the iron rule of the Taliban's religious police, who seemed to think their main job was to beat women daring to venture from their homes without

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a male family member escort, or to forcibly close shops during the call to prayer and herd their keepers to the mosque. Kabul still had small numbers of Shi'a Muslims, distinct from the dominant Sunni Islam of the Taliban, and a few non-Muslim Hindu merchants and money-changers. In short order, the Taliban shut down Shi'a mosques, banning their distinctive liturgy and practices, then turned to harassing Afghan Hindus, taking over their

businesses and forcing them to wear a distinctive mark on their clothing, much as the Nazis had done to identify Jews in prewar Europe. And this was only the beginning of their version of the Taliban's ideal Islamic state.

I soon met the leaders of the Taliban "government," both in Kabul and in Kandahar, the seat of the Supreme Shura (council) 300 miles to the south, led by Emir Mullah Omar. Unfortunately, despite their professed religious devotion, the Pushtun Taliban leaders showed little interest in governing, taking care of people or rebuilding their country's public services. They left to the U.N. and international charitable organizations the tasks of providing food and medical care to indigent Afghans, rebuilding housing and the dangerous work of removing more than 10 million anti-personnel mines left by the departing Russian troops.

It was soon obvious to me and my UNSMA colleagues that while the Taliban claimed to be seeking only their version of peace, they were uninterested in a ceasefire or negotiations. In three negotiating sessions chaired by UNSMA among the warring Afghan factions in 1997-98, the Taliban made clear they would stop fighting only when they had conquered all of the country — and forced the surrender of the non-Pushtun ethnic groups under the opposition Northern Alliance.

Not so clear at the time was the Taliban's involvement in another mission. Everyone knew that the militia's leaders in the Pushtun-dominated south were maintaining close contact with Pakistani intelligence operatives, some of whom had resided for long periods in Afghanistan. Despite regular Pakistani denials that they had created or were supporting the Taliban militarily, sightings were common of arms, ammunition and vehicles moving from Pakistan across the porous common border to Taliban

strongholds. So-called volunteers from Pakistani government sponsored religious schools (madrassas) provided a steady stream of Taliban manpower — in some cases, cannon fodder — for the battles raging in the north during the summer dry season. Even uniformed Pakistani military trainers were seen in Afghanistan, particularly at Rishkor, a military base outside Kabul. Opposition Northern Alliance commanders frequently paraded captured young Pakistani — and sometimes Arab—prisoners for visitors, holding them for periodic prisoner exchanges arranged by the International Red Cross.

An Unholy Trinity

Ties between Pushtun commanders and Pakistani ISI operatives had continued without a break since the departure of Soviet troops in 1989. With the rise of the Taliban in 1994, these links included contacts with scores of Arabs and other Muslim nationals who had either remained in Afghanistan after helping their Afghan brothers defeat the Russians, or returned from abroad when civil war broke out among the Afghans after 1992. Among those returning was Saudi millionaire Osama bin Laden, who had fought against the Russians and generously helped finance the holy war (jihad) out of his own personal fortune. In 1996 he returned to Afghanistan from Sudan, forced to leave that country under U.S. pressure. The motivations for, these ongoing connections among the Taliban, ISI and bin Laden made for an interesting case of “I scratch your back if you scratch mine” — or, as I prefer to view it, an “unholy trinity.”

By 1996, small Arab groups in Afghanistan had linked up with the warring Taliban, cemented ties with Pakistani religious radicals, particularly groups associated with the Jamiat-e-ulema-Islam, a political party closely allied with the ISI. The purpose for Pakistan was to unleash an uprising against Indian-occupied Kashmir, long contested by the two subcontinent rivals. Guerrillas for Kashmir were recruited from the same talent pool of JUI seminaries supplying young fighters for the Taliban against the Northern Alliance.

To avoid Indian detection, the ISI conducted much of the training for its Kashmir campaign in Afghanistan, with the cooperation of the Taliban. In turn, several camps were placed under bin Laden's control for the use of the terrorist network he was creating for his own longer term goals: to force the United States out of the Middle East, in particular Saudi Arabia, home of the Islamic

shrines in Mecca and Medina. It was those bin Laden camps that the U.S. hit with cruise missiles in 1998, in an effort to destroy the Saudi radical and his terrorist allies after they had been linked to the bombings of U.S. embassies in Kenya and Tanzania. Unfortunately, the camps were virtually empty when the missiles hit, although a dozen Pakistani nationals were killed.

Traveling frequently on the U.N. flight to Kandahar, my colleagues and I sometimes noted Taliban fighters waiting for transport to the war front in the north via Kandahar International Airport (built, incidentally, by the U.S.). But the fighters were not always young Pushtun recruits. Among them were non-Afghans, presumably Arab nationals in Afghan dress. Usually non-Afghans around Kandahar tended to stay away from public areas where they might be spotted by foreigners. But occasionally we noticed small groups of two or three Arabs near Taliban headquarters while we waited to meet with their leaders. Only later did we realize these probably were members of Osama bin Laden's Arab Brigade.

In hindsight, these arrangements among the Taliban, Pakistan and bin Laden were a perfect fit: the ISI was using its Afghan connection to wage a Pakistani guerrilla war in Kashmir against India. In return, the Taliban gained volunteers from Pakistani madrassas, as well as weapons and ammunition, in their quest to extend their obscurantist Islamic beliefs over all of Afghanistan. And bin Laden's al-Qaida network had quietly gained a base to train its forces for cowardly attacks against peaceful civilians in my country: a deadly collaboration, meticulously planned and executed with elegant timing and simplicity.

Why Did They Do It?

Even more than knowing how terrorists, in the name of Islam (which means peaceful surrender) can stage a suicidal attack against innocent Americans, we need to understand why. This is a much more difficult challenge and simplistic explanations will not suffice.

We know there are more than 1.2 billion Muslims in the world and that Islam is the world's fastest-growing religion. Islamic scholar Karen Armstrong notes that when Islam rose in the Arabian peninsula in the 7th century A.D., the area was in the midst of vicious intertribal warfare. The Prophet Mohammed had to survive several assassination attempts and wage a long war to do it, but he eventually brought complete order and peace (salaam) to war-torn Arabia.

Despite the revelation of the Koran to Mohammed in the context of conflict, its many passages about warfare are balanced by exhortations to Muslims to be peaceful whenever possible. Extremists like Osama bin Laden are fond of quoting Koranic injunctions like "slay enemies wherever you find them." But according to Armstrong, such a reading is highly selective. Warlike verses are always balanced by peaceful prescriptions, such as "If they let you be and do not make war on you and offer you peace, God does not allow you to harm them." She concludes that the weight of the Koran allows war only in self-defense.

The primary meaning of "jihad," usually translated as holy war, is "struggle." In an article for *Time Asia*, Armstrong quotes the Prophet as telling his comrades as they go home from battle that they are "returning from the lesser jihad to the greater jihad; i.e., the more urgent task of removing evil from one's own heart and the larger society. Muslim scholars frequently point out the latter as the primary meaning of "jihad"—a struggle against one's own sinful nature. There are similar concepts in Christianity and Judaism.

So how to explain Arab suicide bombings in Israel or the bin Laden-inspired suicidal hijackings and massacres of innocent civilians in New York and Washington? Islamic scholars agree that acts of suicide are not sanctioned or endorsed by the Koran, whatever bin Laden's fanatics may claim. Moreover, these experts maintain that the killing of innocents violates specific Islamic precepts.

In seeking to explain the enmity against the U.S., some observers point to the rise of secularism and liberalism, which has aroused extremists in Christianity and Judaism as well as Islam to drastic actions. Fundamentalists in each of these religions have turned to violent means to express disapproval of liberal trends, or of acts they do not condone. Note, for example, the bombing of hospitals that provide legal abortions in the U.S. Extremists may imagine they are fighting a battle for survival and feel justified in ignoring the more compassionate principles of their faith. Armstrong notes that in their search for decisive action, religious extremists selectively zero in on a single passage in their scriptures to justify aggressive actions, ignoring the broader humanist context and traditions of their religion.

Ties between Pushtun commanders and Pakistani

ISI operatives continued

after the departure of

Soviet troops in 1989.

U.S. Policy in the Spotlight

Over the past weeks, moderate Muslims have spoken out strongly against the terrorism of Osama bin Laden and his network. Afghans driven out of their country now living abroad have joined other moderate Muslims in condemning the bin Laden attacks as un-Islamic, criminal acts. So how, we wonder, could 19 young men — most from privileged or middle-class backgrounds — be recruited and willingly duped into a suicidal mass murder plot on the scale of the World Trade Center and Pentagon bombings? Some have blamed it on envy of the U.S., feelings of helplessness in their own corrupt societies, or to "arrogance" attributed to American foreign policy. None of these seem to be satisfactory explanations for the murderous Sept. 11 attacks.

Still, one aspect of American foreign policy likely played a key role in clinching the decision of extremists to take action against us: U.S. policy in the Arab-Israeli conflict. It should be noted that there is no proof, other than bin Laden propaganda, that U.S. support for Israel played a role in the attacks on New York and Washington. After all, U.S. administrations since Carter have successfully mediated Israel's pullbacks from the Sinai, and partial withdrawals from Gaza and the West Bank. As a result of U.S. efforts, Egypt and Jordan have signed peace agreements with Israel while other moderate Arab and Muslim nations have developed trade and other normal ties.

Yet a number of militant or conservative Arab states, such as Iraq, Syria and Saudi Arabia, have refrained from normalizing relations with Israel. On the contrary, vicious anti-Israel (and anti-U.S.) propaganda continues to pour from many independent as well as government-controlled Arab media outlets in those countries. Egypt, which has diplomatic relations with Israel, regularly allows its controlled press organs to attack Israeli policies, particularly in the occupied Palestinian territories. Careful study of these attacks shows increasing anti-American sentiment. America is blamed for failing to condemn Israel for expansion of Jewish settlements on the West Bank, Gaza and the Golan Heights. Israel's use of American military equipment and ammunition against Palestinian street protesters — often fatally — is widely reported throughout the Muslim world, resulting in close identification of U.S. policy with the Sharon government.

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The Bush administration has become the target of Arab and Islamic opprobrium for failing to continue its predecessor's role as Arab-Israeli mediator — and thus, by extension, tacitly approving Israel's continued settlements and military occupation of Palestinian land. While Israel blames Palestinian Authority leader Arafat for failing to stop attacks on Israelis in Jerusalem and the West Bank, Arab media cite "cruel, unjust Israeli actions," including the killing of stone-throwing children, the blockading of Palestinian villages and harassment by militant Jewish settlers plunked down in the midst of Palestinian territory.

If the fault for this deplorable situation is debatable between Israel's Sharon and the PLO's Arafat, for the Muslim world there is no question: Israel, supported by the U.S., is the aggressor. And in the Muslim mind, most of the responsibility lies with its supporter, which happens to be a superpower.

It would be a serious error to oversimplify the causes of the Sept. 11 attacks. Equally, it would be wrong to see Osama bin Laden as an authentic representative of his

religion. While there were scattered celebrations in the Islamic world, most Muslims abhorred the hijackers' actions and publicly deplored the loss of innocents from dozens of countries, which included many Muslims.

In our anger, Americans justifiably seek revenge for the terrible wrong committed against us. A surge of patriotism not seen since World War II supports the strongest possible military responses and preventive measures. Yet while there can be no moral equivalency between suicide attacks and the possible underlying grievances of the attackers, we need to realize that terrorism does not occur in a vacuum. If we can take the time to listen to moderate Muslims and friendly governments around the world, we might find ways to neutralize the terrorists without firing another shot or compromising our principles. Moreover, in the wake of the Sept. 11 terror, we should encourage the worldwide community of Muslim believers (Umma), to search their hearts and minds for reasons why, in the name of a religion that professes peace, a group could so brutally hijack their faith. ■



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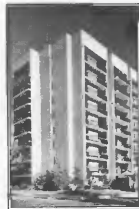
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KILLING IN THE NAME OF GOD: BIN LADEN AND RADICAL ISLAM

What manner of men were the 19 hijackers who carried out the Sept. 11 attacks? We now know that they lived in American society for years in most cases, studying and working like millions of other immigrants and visitors to our country. Yet we also know that they methodically planned to kill thousands of people while dying in the process.

Surely, one would think, they must have been crazed psychotics; no normal person could do such a thing.

But in fact, the al-Qaida terrorists were psychologically "normal." By no means were they psychologically disturbed. Indeed, terrorist groups expel emotionally disturbed individuals — they are a security risk. And precisely for that reason, they pose a far greater threat than past terrorist organizations.

Shattering Stereotypes

In many ways, these new terrorists shatter the traditional profile of suicidal terrorists developed in Israel. Typically 17 to 22 in age, uneducated, unemployed, unmarried, the Israeli suicide bombers have been dispirited, unformed youth, looking forward to a bleak future, when they were recruited. The group members psychologically manipulated the new recruits, brainwashing them to believe that by carrying out a suicide bombing, they would find an honored place in the corridor of martyrs, and their lives would be meaningful; moreover, their parents would win status and would be financially

rewarded. Moreover, from the time they were recruited, the group members never left their sides, leaving them no opportunity of backing down from their fatal choice.

The values communicated to the recruits by the commanders are revealed in their answers to questions posed in a series of interviews of 35 incarcerated Middle Eastern terrorists, who agreed to be interviewed in Israeli and Palestinian prisons. Twenty of the terrorists belonged to known radical Islamic groups such as Hamas, Hezbollah, and Islamic Jihad.

The psychologically oriented interviews attempted to illuminate the men's life histories, socialization and recruitment. The prisoners were asked to explain their

attitudes towards suicide, which the Koran proscribes, and whether they had any moral lines they would not cross in terms of the number of casualties and extent of the destruction they would inflict. Their answers are revealing.

One of the commanders interviewed was Hassan Salame, commander of the suicide bombers who carried

out the wave of bombing in 1996 which precipitated the defeat of Prime Minister Shimon Peres and the election of Prime Minister Bibi Netanyahu. Salame was sentenced to 46 consecutive life sentences, one for each Israeli who died in the bombings. Concerning suicidal terrorism, he said: "A suicide bombing is the highest level of jihad, and highlights the depth of our faith. The bombers are holy fighters who carry out one of the more important articles of faith." Another commander asserted: "It is suicide attacks which earn the most respect and elevate the bombers to the highest possible level of martyrdom."

AN AUTHORITY EXPLAINS THAT THE
SEPT. 11 TERRORISTS WERE
PSYCHOLOGICALLY "NORMAL."
FOR THAT REASON, THEY POSE A
FAR GREATER THREAT THAN PAST
TERRORIST ORGANIZATIONS.

By *JERROLD M. POST, M.D.*

Another interviewed terrorist took umbrage at the term "suicide." "This is not suicide. Suicide is selfish [and] reflects mental weakness. This is *istishad*" (martyrdom or self-sacrifice in the service of Allah).

Asked how they could justify murdering innocent victims, another interview subject bridled: "I am not a murderer. A murderer is someone with a psychological problem; armed actions have a goal. Even if civilians are killed, it is not because we like it or are bloodthirsty. It is a fact of life in a people's struggle: the group doesn't do it because it wants to kill civilians, but because the jihad must go on."

Asked whether there were any moral boundaries on their activities, another leader responded: "The more an attack hurts the enemy, the more important it is. That is the measure. The mass killings, especially the suicide bombings, were the biggest threat to the Israeli public and so most effort was devoted to these. The extent of the damage and the number of casualties are of primary importance. In a jihad, there are no red lines."

The New Model

The attitudes reflected in these statements characterize radical Islamic terrorists in general. But there is a striking contrast between previous suicide bombers and the 19 terrorists who carried out the attacks of Sept. 11, beyond the unprecedented scale of mass-casualty terrorism.

These individuals had lived in Western society, in some cases for many years, exposed to its freedoms and opportunities. Many were in their late 20s or mid-30s, and several had received higher education. A number of them came from financially comfortable middle-class families in Saudi Arabia. They blended in with American society, eschewing the dress, customs and personal grooming of traditional Muslims. And yet, on the appointed day, like

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Osama bin Laden has claimed the title of commander-in-chief of the Islamic world, opposing the commander-in-chief of the Western world, President George W. Bush.

the "Manchurian Candidate," they carried out their mission to hijack four airliners, and gave their lives while killing nearly 4,000 people.

During my service as an expert witness in the trial of the terrorists convicted for the 1998 bombings of the U.S. embassies in Kenya and Tanzania, I obtained a copy of the al-Qaida operations manual. It is a remarkable document which goes a long way towards explaining how the Sept. 11 plotters were able to maintain their own cover in the

United States, "the land of the enemies." Lesson Eight, "Measures That Should Be Taken By The Undercover Member," instructs operatives to:

- Have a general appearance that does not indicate Islamic orientation (beard, toothpick, book, (long) shirt, small Koran);
- Be careful not to mention the believers' common expressions or show their behaviors (special praying appearance, saying, "may Allah reward you" or "peace be on you" while arriving and departing, etc.); and
- Avoid visiting famous Islamic places (mosques, libraries, Islamic fairs, etc.).

The response the manual offers to "An Important Question: How can a Muslim spy live among enemies if he maintains his Islamic characteristics? How can he perform his duties to Allah and not want to appear Muslim?" is compelling:

"Concerning the issue of clothing and appearance (of true religion), Ibn Taimia — may Allah have mercy on him — said, 'If a Muslim is in a combat or godless area, he is not obligated to have a different appearance from (those around him). The (Muslim) man may prefer or even be obligated to look like them, provided his actions bring a religious benefit. Resembling the polytheist in religious appearance is a kind of 'necessity permits the forbidden' even though they (forbidden acts) are basically prohibited.'"

Citing verses from the Koran, the instruction in effect says that Allah will forgive participants for not [outwardly] living the life of a good Muslim, for it is in the service of the jihad.

As I have come to understand them, these terrorists differ strikingly from the suicide bombers in Israel. Fully

formed adults, they have internalized their values. They are "true believers" who have subordinated their individuality to the group. They have uncritically accepted the direction of the destructive charismatic leader of the organization, Osama bin Laden, and what he declares is moral is moral; indeed, it is a sacred obligation.

Profile Of A Leader

What matter of man can inspire such acts? How could the son of a multi-billionaire construction magnate in Saudi Arabia become the leader of this powerful radical Islamic terrorist organization? A leader does not become a leader until he encounters his followers, and Osama bin Laden's leadership experience during the struggle in Afghanistan against the Soviet invasion was assuredly a transformational experience. Ascetic in his life style, often living in caves, the extremely wealthy bin Laden gave generously of his fortune, building hospitals and clinics, purchasing weapons and ammunition.

Inspirational in his rhetoric, he won the adulation of his Afghan freedom fighters. Surely to defeat the Soviet Union superpower (ironically, with significant aid from the United States) confirmed Allah was on their side. But with the departure of the Soviets from their Vietnam, bin Laden was left without an enemy. Returning to Saudi Arabia, he was distressed, indeed incensed, to find American troops based on the sacred Islamic land "of the two cities" (Mecca and Medina). And he seamlessly transferred his enmity to the United States, initially seeking only to expel the American military from Arab lands, but later expanding his target to include all Americans.

In his 1998 fatwa, "Jihad Against Jews and Crusaders," bin Laden declared: "In compliance with God's order, we issue the following fatwa to all Muslims: The ruling to kill the Americans and their allies — civilians and military — is an individual duty for every Muslim who can do it in any country in which it is possible to do it, in order to liberate the al-Aqsa Mosque and the holy mosque [Mecca] from their grip, and in order for their armies to move out of all the lands of Islam, defeated and unable to threaten any Muslim. This is in accordance with the words of Almighty God: 'fight the pagans all together as they fight you all together,' and 'fight them until there is no more tumult or oppression, and there prevail justice and faith in God.' We

*Alienated Arab youth
find resonance in bin
Laden's statements, and
see him as a hero.*

— with God's help — call on every Muslim who believes in God and wishes to be rewarded to comply with God's order to kill the Americans and plunder their money wherever and whenever they find it."

Thus, it is not bin Laden but God who has ordered religious Muslims to

kill all the Americans, the God for whom bin Laden speaks with authority. Accordingly, there is not an action that bin Laden orders that is not couched and justified in language from the Koran.

There has been a series of triumphs for bin Laden: the 1993 World Trade Center bombing, the 1996 bombing of the Khobar Towers in Saudi Arabia, the 1998 bombings of the U.S. embassies in Kenya and Tanzania, last year's attack on the USS *Cole* in Yemen, and now, the most spectacular terrorist act in history, an act of mass-casualty super-terrorism. Osama bin Laden seems to be on an expansive roll, with messianic grandiosity, ever expanding his vision.

Even as President Bush and British Prime Minister Tony Blair have taken pains to clarify this is not a war against Muslims, but a war against terrorism, bin Laden has framed the conflict as a religious war. This, in turn, has allowed him to claim the title of commander-in-chief of the Islamic world, opposing the commander-in-chief of the Western world, President George W. Bush. Alienated Arab youth find resonance in his statements, and see him as a hero.

And this is the real challenge. Osama bin Laden may be eliminated and the al-Qaida network rolled up, but the path of anti-Western radical Islamist extremism is increasingly attractive to alienated Islamic youth. Terrorism at heart is a vicious species of psychological warfare; it is violence as communication. Smart bombs and missiles will not win this war. The only way to counter psychological warfare is with psychological warfare, countering the distorted extremist rhetoric of Osama bin Laden and radical Islamist clerics, that rationalizes violence with verses from the Koran.

This will be a long struggle. And key goals in this struggle are to inhibit alienated Muslim youth from joining the ranks of extremism and show them that violence is not the only pathway to political change. Most importantly, popular support for this dangerous movement must be reduced, so that radical Islamic extremism is marginalized and its leaders discredited. ■

WHY DO THEY HATE US?

HERE IS ONE POSSIBLE ANSWER TO THE QUESTION MANY AMERICANS HAVE BEEN ASKING EVER SINCE SEPT. 11.

BY LORI HANDRAHAN

Imagine, if you can, this scenario. You see your neighbor, a prominent government official, being whisked away in his shiny black BMW limousine, while you are waiting for a rickety bus that may never come. A cousin of your country's president, he went to high school with you. Not very bright or energetic, he coasted through the easiest program at the national university, while you graduated at the top of your class and went on to Moscow to complete your graduate work in medicine.

As a doctor, you have worked hard and served your country under the state-sponsored medical system. Yet for the past two years, you have received no salary. There is, your government claims, no money, though there seems to be plenty of money for the military and for top officials to live well. You have no means of redress since the government controls the country's few hospitals, as well as the court system and the press. If you protest in the streets you will almost certainly lose your job and may well go to jail, as some of your colleagues already have. Yet you are told by America that, largely due to American support, you live in a democracy now.

You know your neighbor has recently returned from a shopping trip in London. He is wearing an expensive, well-cut wool suit and leather shoes. You are standing in cheap, plastic sandals with only thin, worn socks for warmth. You feel the chilly fall air through your polyester dress, one of only two you own. You are grasping a bag of cheap produce from a dirty, disease-infested outdoor bazaar. For the equivalent of 50 cents you have been able to buy four eggs, milk, cheese, and some vegetables, but no meat.

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The "public" servant officially earns just \$25 per month, yet he is on his way home to his new mansion. Perhaps he will step into his Jacuzzi before the dinner he is hosting for American aid workers who have arrived to help him eradicate poverty. Meanwhile, you shiver in the cold as you wait for your bus and, because you have no hot water, decide to heat buckets of water to at least give yourself a sponge bath when you return home.

His children are studying in America. They drive fast cars and want for nothing. Your daughter is a teacher at a secondary school but like you, has not received any wages in a long time. Because she is beautiful, she is able to work on the side as an "escort" for American aid workers who have come to your country to "help." Americans pay in dollars and this is important because your currency is worth so little even when you are paid. She shares her money with the family, which is what has allowed you to buy food today.

The next morning, she emerges from the bathroom in the two-bedroom apartment that you share with your son and his family. She sits at the small, rickety table in the kitchen and tells you about her evening at the government official's dinner. Her "date" was a mid-20s American professional with the World Bank, who is visiting your country to solve economic problems. He has just obtained his Ph.D. and this is his first job. He does not speak your language, know your history or understand your culture, nor does he see any need to do so, yet because he is one of the few Westerners to spend any time in your country, he is considered an expert and invited to write and speak about its problems.

Every other month, he is flown in by private plane so he can avoid the risky national airline. He stays in a suite at the Hyatt for a month, then returns to Washington. While here, he shuttles between the hotel and the World Bank office, where he spends long hours writing reports and thus has no time to explore the country, make friends or even interact with average people. The only people he meets are his government counterparts, assistants in the World Bank office, hotel staff, and the occasional "lady" friend, such as your daughter, he allows himself because he is under a great deal of stress working under such "hardship" conditions.

Meanwhile, your son, also a teacher in his mid-20s, sees that the worst elements of society have been made rich and powerful by American money and friends. He is angered by the hypocrisy of the Americans who work at the university where he teaches when they speak about the freedom that they are supposedly trying to help your country obtain.

You and your family do respect the few Americans who do good work in your country, but these are largely Peace Corps workers or low-paid humanitarian workers with international relief organizations. These people are as frustrated as you are by how the majority of Americans behave in your country.

As an intellectual, your son has tried through non-violent appeals to reason to change the corruption in your country and the American policies that support it. He has written papers and articles, spoken to anyone who would listen and sent protest letters to the World Bank, the U.S. embassy and USAID. But all his efforts have been in vain.

He is desperate. He is angry. He has nothing left to lose. Nor do you. Nor does anyone in your country who is not related to the president.

Recently, some men from the south of your country have recruited your son for a group that wants to change things, make life better. They agree with your son that it is America's money that has enabled your government to be corrupt. They talk about the parties that the government officials host for their American friends. The group discusses this disrespect the Americans show towards your people and, in particular, the women of your

They point out how much worse life has gotten for everyone except the president's cronies under the so-called "democrats" supported by America.

country — like his sister. They point out how much worse life has gotten for everyone except the president's cronies under the so-called "democrats" supported by America.

So when these men asked your son to join their ranks and commit his life to overthrowing the regime — and its American supporters — he accepted. You are frightened for him, but you understand all too well why he did so.

Except for the last paragraph, which is representative of current sentiments in Saudi Arabia and past sentiments in Iran, this story is a composite of real-life friends, colleagues, and people I have known during my time in Central Asia; however, it could take place in many other areas of the world. Let me be clear: Nothing justifies the atrocities committed on Sept. 11. However, critical examination of our assistance policies does offer a sorely needed explanation for what fuels such murderous rage against us. ■

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THE POLITICS OF EXORCISING DEMONS

For the past 60 years, the United States has indisputably been the leader of the "free world." The implosion of the Soviet Union a decade ago removed its only real rival on the world stage and reinforced the belief that an invulnerable, invincible America offered the promise of a universal world order based on democratic values.

This world view changed abruptly on Sept. 11, when Islamic fanatics launched coordinated attacks against the World Trade Center and the Pentagon. Their success made clear to the whole world that the American sense of invulnerability no longer existed. Instead, in the words of President Bush, a global menace now threatened "the values and institutions of the United States and democratic societies everywhere."

As the casualty list mounted, shock was replaced by national grief, and then by the desire to identify and punish the parties responsible for the attacks. Saudi financier Osama bin Laden, long on the FBI's "Most Wanted" list, quickly emerged as the primary suspect. Members of his al-Qaida terrorist network had already been identified as the perpetrators of the 1993 World Trade Center car bombing, the 1998 destruction of the U.S. embassies in Nairobi and Dar es Salaam and last year's attempted sinking of the USS *Cole* in Aden. Furthermore, bin Laden has repeatedly called for a jihad to purge Americans from the Middle East on the grounds that the United States is supposedly the leader of secular, Western forces bent on eroding traditional Islamic values throughout the world.

The Search For Demons

Washington's suspicions regarding the Sept. 11 attacks seem fully warranted. Yet other considerations also came into play in the Bush administration's selection of bin Laden, al-Qaida and the Taliban as a malevolent triad. These include the psychological importance of rallying a shocked, demoralized public at home and the need to demonstrate to potential allies — and adversaries — Washington's capacity to fashion a rapid-response strategy. In short, the United States had to take the offensive, demonstrating its commitment to destroying those shadowy figures President Bush has repeatedly termed "the evil-doers."

Such demonization of opponents by governments engaged in conflicts, be they tribes, nation-states or ideological foes, is neither a new nor uniquely American phenomenon, of course. Throughout history, it has provided justification and credibility for actions taken, as well as emotional reinforcement for a disturbed public faced with painful crisis situations.

Furthermore, when individual demonization occurs, the process lends emotional concreteness and provides policy benchmarks.

But in the American context, past examples of this tendency over the past several decades (Fidel Castro, Saddam Hussein, etc.) are not reassuring. Typically, such figures start out as almost angelic (for their strategic usefulness if not their character or style of governance) in our estimation. But eventually they either serve their purpose or switch sides, at which point they fall from grace and become prime candidates for demonization.

The Eisenhower administration, for example, distanced itself from the corrupt Batista regime in the expectation

THE BUSH ADMINISTRATION WOULD
BE WELL ADVISED TO NARROW ITS
DEFINITION OF TERRORISM FROM
A GLOBAL MENACE TO A FOCUS
ON THE PERPETRATORS OF THE
SEPT. 11 ATTACKS.

BY WILLIAM H. LEWIS

that the Cuban revolutionaries led by Fidel Castro would serve as a benign replacement. But it only took 18 months for "our man in Havana" to become a Marxist sinner, vilified ever since as a subversive who threatens peace and security throughout the Latin American region. Castro continues to preside over Cuban affairs 40 years later, despite U.S. tactics ranging from invasion to attempted assassination to economic and political pressure.

Not long thereafter, a lowly non-commissioned army officer, Mobutu Sese Seko, became our chosen instrument in Congo (Zaire) as we sought to frustrate Soviet ambitions in central Africa. The U.S. continued to back Mobutu's increasingly repressive, kleptocratic government for more than three decades, largely because of the clandestine support he provided Jonas Savimbi's guerrilla movement in Angola and other assistance in pinning down Soviet and Cuban elements elsewhere around the continent.

Similarly, Saddam Hussein received massive American support during the Iran-Iraq war of the 1980s, which may well have led him to believe the U.S. would look the other way when he invaded Kuwait in 1990. And while any illusions about the possibility of American cooperation with Libya's Muammar Qaddafi were short-lived, he, like Castro, has survived military attacks, threats against his life, and economic sanctions.

One can readily see the parallels between some of these figures and Osama bin Laden. When bin Laden was leading the mujahedeen who were fighting to drive the Soviets out of Afghanistan back in the 1980s, Washington was glad to support him financially and militarily as a freedom fighter. After the Soviets withdrew the last of their forces in 1989, however, the U.S. essentially forgot about bin Laden; he had served his purpose, after all. This allowed him to use Afghanistan as a base for wider insurgency, initially against the Saudi monarchy, then against the American military presence there and in other wealthy states in the Persian Gulf, and now against the United States and the West in general. Ironically, bin Laden is receiving financial support for these campaigns from some of the same wealthy Saudis and other backers that the U.S. helped arrange for him less than 20 years ago.

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Forming "Unholy Alliances"

Winston Churchill once said that if Hitler invaded hell, he, Churchill, would find something favorable to say about the devil. As that remark shows, policy-makers have often operated according to the old maxim that "The enemy of my enemy is my friend." Indeed, President Bush has made it clear that all international sinners have the opportunity to be transformed into saints simply by joining the U.S. campaign against global terrorism, an offer Syria and Sudan, for example — both long viewed by the U.S. as state sponsors of terrorism — have welcomed. Washington has reportedly even tried to enlist Iran in the campaign against bin Laden and the Taliban. Publicly, at least, those efforts have been rebuffed, but it is entirely possible that Tehran will eventually prove receptive to such overtures if the pot is sweetened enough.

It is true that diplomatic coalition-building has served U.S. interests well during military conflicts in Korea, Vietnam and the Persian Gulf. It was also a significant factor during peacekeeping operations in Somalia, Bosnia and Kosovo. Rarely, however, have multilateral coalitions fashioned by the U.S. been as ambitious in global reach or as diverse in their membership (ranging from tyrannical governments to those of democratic orientation) as the current list, which encompasses sub-groupings ranging from the E.U. and NATO to the Shanghai Cooperative Organization and the anti-Taliban Commonwealth of Independent States.

In addition, there are several factors unique to the campaign against al-Qaida that militate against consensus among coalition partners as to strategy, purposes and roles. The very concept of a worldwide terrorist network has a messianic quality, setting it apart from the rest of the world. It extends well beyond the historic frontiers of Islamic civilization rather than being centered in any one nation-state. Its basic concept of religious and political purification lacks clear definition and the horizon of terrorist action has a constantly shifting boundary. Nor is there any permanence to network membership. Indeed, its ranks include students, young professionals and alienated Islamists of various hues, all prepared to serve as foot-soldiers as well as backers of charitable works such as the formation of welfare societies. According to U.S. specialists, supporters and sympathizers of various radical Islamic groups, including al-Qaida, may number in the tens of thousands.

Such ambiguities permeate the list of terrorist groups whose financial assets the U.S. froze on Sept. 24. For

instance, one entity on the list is the Libyan Islamic Fighting Group, an organization dedicated to the overthrow of the Qaddafi regime — which itself has long been on the State Department's annual report on regimes that sponsor terrorists. Yet the list fails to include the IRA, ETA, Hamas, Islamic Jihad, and Hezbollah, among others, presumably on the grounds that they are not part of a global conspiracy (but more probably because they are supported by regimes Washington is trying to enlist in the coalition). Moreover, several of the excluded groups actually support the bin Laden agenda and, reportedly, have loose ties with al-Qaida and the Taliban.

Over the next several months the list may be expanded but with due diligence accorded to its adverse impact on various domestic constituencies and diplomatic partners. At the present juncture, it may not be unreasonable to conclude that the campaign will be less than global in scope even if its rhetoric does not change.

Back at home, similar ambiguities will become evident as the U.S. grapples with sharply edged means-vs.-ends policy issues. In the process, idealism will have to give way to "unholy alliances" as the U.S. (however grudgingly) accepts voluntary association with authoritarian regimes, to the dismay of segments of American society wishing to support Jeffersonian-Wilsonian principles of democracy abroad. It is worth recalling that George Kennan, the renowned U.S. diplomat-historian, once cautioned against the temptation to transplant U.S. democratic traditions to inhospitable soil, characterizing American zeal in such efforts as an "overestimation of self." That caution is likely to become an accepted guideline as the campaign against terrorism unfolds in the months and years ahead.

The Bumpy Road Ahead

Almost as soon as the U.S. formed it, the anti-terrorism coalition began to evince strains over the following basic principles:

Military action: The ranks of the capable and the willing, already thin, are likely to shrink further over any "global reach" approach, one that targets states on a wide variety of terrorist fronts.

Extra-judicial proceedings: Assassinations are anathema under international law, but accepted practice on the part of many (including Russia, China, France and, informally, the United States). President Bush signed a special "finding" in October directing U.S. agencies to eliminate terrorist "leaders" at times and places of their own choosing.

The connotation of a presidentially approved "hit list," harkening back to the president's earlier "wanted dead or alive" rhetoric, is likely to receive widespread criticism.

United Nations mandate: Urged by several coalition members prior to all planned military action, a United Nations mandate is viewed as a policy inhibitor by the Bush administration, which did not seek such authority before beginning the aerial campaign against Afghanistan.

Regime change: This is a clear coalition "stopper" given fears of a terrorist backlash and negative reactions by such key partners as Saudi Arabia should the U.S. widen the war against terrorism to Iraq and seek to topple Saddam Hussein in the period immediately ahead.

Definition of victory: The prospect of continued Taliban rule in Afghanistan is patently unacceptable to the United States, but was not, until recently, opposed by Pakistan and some other coalition partners favored it. Nor is there yet any consensus as to what would constitute an acceptable, or viable, successor regime, or whether the war would continue if Osama bin Laden were captured.

Not surprisingly, working out the specifics of the coalition's strategy to neutralize terrorist networks, their state sponsors and financial supporters has also proven problematic. There are growing doubts about the commitment of some coalition participants to proceed against bin Laden and company in various target areas, including control of money-laundering operations, police investigation and intelligence gathering. One possible way to finesse such problems would be to devise some sort of rank ordering of the coalition's goals, though that approach is likely to raise charges of moral relativism and expediency.

In the end, Washington may have to modify its tendency to demonize its opponents by narrowing its definition of terrorism from a global menace to a focus on the perpetrators of the Sept. 11 attacks. Otherwise, the U.S. effort will increasingly appear too open-ended and, ultimately, self-defeating for our coalition partners to support. Total "victory" cannot be assured; nor, much as in the past, are our allies prepared to accept only U.S.-designated terrorist groups as targets while excluding others.

Clearly, American diplomacy will have to perform at its creative best to avoid coalition fragmentation, hopefully without having to adopt a lowest-common-denominator devolution of policy. The challenge will be finding ways to maintain unity of effort and sustain expectations that clearly-defined coalition goals will be met. ■

IN THEIR OWN WRITE

A ROUNDUP OF RECENT BOOKS BY FOREIGN SERVICE AUTHORS

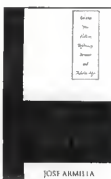
The *Foreign Service Journal* is pleased to continue what we began last year: an annotated roundup of some of the latest volumes written or edited by Foreign Service personnel, past and present, in 2000 or 2001.

While the traditional Foreign Service genres of diplomatic memoirs and thoughtful analyses of international affairs are well represented, our list of 30 titles also includes several novels, an encyclopedia and an examination of feng shui as a negotiating technique.

Our primary purpose in compiling this list is to celebrate

the wealth of literary talent within the Foreign Service community, and to give our readers the opportunity to support your colleagues by sampling their wares. Towards that end, each entry contains full publication data (including contact information for those titles available only by direct order from the publisher) along with a capsule comment.

While many of these books are available from bookstores and other sources, we encourage our readers to use the link to Amazon.com from the AFSA web site to order your selections. [See sidebar.] But enough crass commercialism. On to the books!
— *Leslie Hoffecker, Managing Editor*



Negotiate with Feng Shui: Enhance Your Skills in Diplomacy, Business and Relationships

Jose Armilla, Llewellyn Publications, 2001, \$12.95, paperback, 226 pages.

"Feng shui" is the ancient Chinese system of harmonizing a person with his or her surroundings through the manipulation of the "chi," or universal life force. Former FSO Jose Armilla examines the role feng shui has played in negotiations associated with the Korean and Vietnam conflicts and the Cold War, among others. The book has been translated into Russian, Spanish, Romanian and Indian.

Anecdotes of a Vagabond: The Foreign Service, the U.N. and a Volag

Thomas J. Barnes, Xlibris, 2001, \$18.69 (paperback)/\$28.79 (hardback)/\$8 (e-book), 240 pages.

This memoir of 34 years abroad — 23 of which were with the Foreign Service — describes Barnes' career not only with the U.S. government but also with the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees and the International Catholic Migration Commission. It also examines major refugee crises, including Indochinese asylum-seekers scattered around the Southeast Asian littoral, Somalis fleeing the Ogaden and Afghans crowding into Pakistan and Iran.

Coping with Lust and the Colonel: Wartime Korea from Sokchang-ni

Thomas J. Barnes, Xlibris, 2001, \$17.84 (paperback)/\$27.89 (hardback)/\$8 (e-book), 136 pages.

This novel examines one Army officer's service in Korea, where his encounters lead him from culture shock through ethical dilemmas and sensual ambiguity to religious doubts and clashes with authority. He emerges a changed man.

Tay Son: Rebellion in 18th-Century Vietnam

Thomas J. Barnes, Xlibris, 2001, \$18.69 (paperback)/\$27.89 (hardback)/\$8 (e-book), 216 pages.

This historical novel, based on actual events, is set during the late 1700s in Indochina and tells the story of the Tay Son guerrilla movement, which removed governors known for their decadence and ended up controlling large portions of what is now Vietnam. But 31 years later, the Tay Son movement was itself overthrown by rulers who were able to consolidate power for the next 60 years — until the arrival of the French.



Stone Gods, Wooden Elephants: Chasing Antique Smugglers in the Jungles and Cities of Southeast Asia
Bob Bergin, Impact Publications, 2001, \$14.95, paperback, 332 pages.

Bergin, a Southeast Asia specialist in his days as an FSO, spins an action-packed yarn

centering on the murky world of Asian antiquities, in which two American adventurers, lured to a lost Kluner city filled with bronzes and stone carvings, devise a plan to smuggle the cache of ancient cultural treasures into the world art market.

India: Emerging Power

Stephen P. Cohen, Brookings Institution Press, 2001, \$28.95, hardback, 377 pages.

A former member of the State Department's Policy Planning staff, Cohen presents the thesis that India has joined China and Japan as one of the most important states in Asia. Going beyond the stereotypes, this book offers an assessment of India's strategic and political power following its nuclear testing in 1998 and skirmishes with Pakistan in 1999. Cohen also examines India's relationships with its neighbors, particularly Pakistan and China — a particularly relevant topic today — and urges the United States to develop a warmer relationship with the world's most populous democracy.

Turbulent Peace: The Challenges of Managing International Conflict

Edited by Chester A. Crocker, Fen Osler Hampson and Pamela Aall; U.S. Institute of Peace, 2001, \$35, paperback, 936 pages.

Crocker, a former assistant secretary of state for African affairs, joins two distinguished academics for their third book on global crisis management. They have collected essays from 50 leading international affairs analysts who offer a variety of perspectives on managing, preventing or resolving conflicts around the world. Together, the writings underline the volatility and vulnerability of states and peoples in a world that is both increasingly interconnected and ever more differentiated and decentralized in its political and

social structures.

Pierre Mendès France: Un témoignage (A testimony) (in French)

Francis de Tarr, Mille Sources (Boîte Postale 102, 10093 Tulle, France), 2001, 50 French francs or 7.62 euros (approx. U.S. \$7), paperback, 64 pages.

A lawyer and economist, Mendès France became France's premier in 1954, after the French defeat at Dienbienphu, and arranged the armistice that halted the fighting in Indochina. He also helped to form the Western European Union and proposed extensive economic reform, but his liberal policy toward North Africa caused the collapse of his Radical Socialist government — only seven months and 17 days after it began. De Tarr, a former FSO who now lives in France, knew Mendès France well from 1955 until his death in 1982.

Digital Diplomacy: U.S. Foreign Policy in the Information Age

Wilson Dizard Jr., Praeger/CSIS, 2001, \$69.95 (hardback)/\$24.95 (paperback), 232 pages.

Now a senior associate at the Center for Strategic and International Studies, former FSO Wilson Dizard specializes in media and communications topics. In this timely book, he provides an overview of U.S. information policy, from the Morse code to the Internet, rejecting the idea of computer-based "telediplomacy" and arguing instead that new technologies should be used to strengthen the capabilities of U.S. diplomats in dealing with current issues.

The Phantom Defense: America's Pursuit of the Star Wars Illusion

Craig Eisendrath, Melvin Goodman and Gerald Marsh; Praeger, 2001, \$24.95, hardback, 216 pages.

The title says it all. Former FSO

Craig Eisendrath, now at the Center for International Policy, and colleagues from the National War College and Argonne National Laboratory, respectively, critique the Bush administration's plans to implement a national missile defense system on a number of grounds. In particular, they presciently argue (in light of the World Trade Center attacks) that those wishing to harm the United States are far more likely to use technology that is relatively cruder than the ballistic missiles NMD is designed to shoot down.

A Strategy for Stable Peace: Toward a Euroatlantic Security Community

James Goodby, Petrus Buwala and Dmitri Trcin; U.S. Institute of Peace, 2001, \$17.50, paperback, 192 pages.

This collaboration between Goodby, a former ambassador and arms negotiator, and two prominent scholars from the Netherlands and Russia proposes a security community stretching from Vancouver to Vladivostok, arguing that close and enduring cooperation can eventually be built on the basis of shared values and common interests. The authors examine the current social, political and economic climates within the United States, the European Union and Russia and present various models of cooperation before making their own recommendations.

State of Decay: An Oubangui Chronicle

Robert Gribben, Infinity Publishing, 2001, \$13.95, paperback, 156 pages.

Gribben, who describes himself as a "semi-retired FSO," has penned a novel set in contemporary Africa. Filled with intrigue, political violence, blood diamonds, witchcraft and poaching, this tale of one man's quest to sweep a tyrant from power reflects the mysteries of Africa and the pas-

AFSA NEWS

American Foreign Service Association • December 2001

Call For 2002 AFSA Award Nominations

A FSA is once again calling for nominations for its annual awards. We offer awards in two categories: constructive dissent and exemplary performance/professional contributions.

Constructive Dissent Awards

In these turbulent times, the men and women of our foreign affairs agencies will be tested as never before. Please help us publicly recognize those who have already demonstrated intellectual courage and the willingness to stand up for what they believe is right.

AFSA's four awards for constructive dissent are not based on superior performance of duties. These awards recognize individuals who have demonstrated the courage to challenge the system from within, no matter the issue or

the consequences of their actions. We are looking for the "wave-makers," the "boat-rockers," the "risk-takers," the ones who have stuck their necks out because they believed it was the right thing to do. The issue does not have to be related to foreign policy. It can relate to management, programs or anything else that affects one's work. Success in changing policy is not a requirement. The key element of constructive dissent is the willingness to confront or challenge conventional wisdom, intelligently and tenaciously, by asking the tough questions and coming up with some unconventional answers.

■ The Herter Award is for a member of the Senior Foreign Service (FE-OC through FE-CA).

■ The Rivkin Award is conferred on

This Issue in Brief:

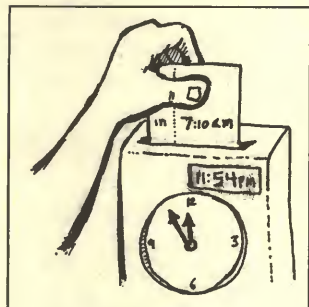
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a mid-career officer (FS-3 through FS-1).

■ The Harriman Award goes to a junior officer (FS-6 through FS-4).

■ The Tex Harris Award is for Foreign Service specialists.

Continued on page 7



See special
overtime Q&A
inside this issue!

(LACK OF) SECURITY AT USAID HEADQUARTERS

AFSA Calls for Updated Parking Procedures

Due to security concerns, USAID AFSA has been meeting with and writing to high-level officials as part of a campaign to put a stop to public access parking at the Ronald Reagan Building and International Trade Center Complex (RRB-ITC). The complex, within blocks of the White House, houses the USAID headquarters, the Environmental Protection Agency, and parts of the Department of Commerce and the U.S. Customs Agency. As landlord for the RRB-ITC complex, the General Services Administration (GSA) is responsible for

overall building security. Current policy is to allow public access daily parking in the garage under the RRB-ITC with minimal and inconsistent security procedures. Public parking was temporarily suspended following the Sept. 11 terrorist attacks, but the suspension was brief.

Representatives of AFSA, the American Federation of Government Employees (AFGE), and the U.S. Personal Services Contractors Association (USPSCA) believe that as long as public access parking is available at the RRB-ITC, the facilities will be

Continued on page 7



AFSA: Delivering Your Mail

Due to the mail delays caused by the anthrax threat and resulting temporary closure of pouch-handling facilities, many employees overseas have had trouble paying their bills in late October and November. State management wrote to major creditors asking that they extend grace periods for people in the 20521 zip code. AFSA applauds this effort. AFSA sent a request to management that as long as all State mail facilities remain closed, the department pay for posts that rely on the pouch system to send flat mail shipments to the U.S. periodical-ly via a private international mail service such as FedEx or DHL. Once in the U.S., contents of each package would be transferred to the U.S. postal system. Because no State Department facility was receiving mail as of early November, AFSA volunteered to receive these packages. Management accepted AFSA's offer. AFSA had put 9,000 pieces of mail into the U.S. postal system from posts around the world before the pouch system re-opened in late November.

Life in the Foreign Service ■ BY BRIAN AGGELER, FOREIGN SERVICE OFFICER & CARTOONIST



TSP Open Season

The Thrift Savings Plan open season runs from Nov. 15 to Jan. 31. Don't forget to review your allocations and make any changes during this window.

Evacuation Status

In case you were wondering about which lists have been put in some evacuation status in recent weeks, here's the list of posts that were on "authorized departure" status as of Nov. 14: Sanaa, Islamabad, Karachi, Lahore, Peshawar, Bishkek, Jakarta and Surabaya. Ashgabat was removed from this list on Nov. 7. Under authorized departure, family members and non-emergency personnel may voluntarily depart post.

Evacuation Lodging Increase

The Family Liaison Office reports success in a campaign to increase the subsistence expense allowance (SEA) paid to families in evacuation status. On Oct. 22, the under secretary for management approved a change in the lodging portion of the SEA, keeping the allowance at 100 percent for the duration of the evacuation, while in the past it was reduced to 80 percent after 30 days. The lodging portion may also now be increased by 50 percent in certain cases where there is a proven need for larger accommodations.

The Response to Anthrax

State employees learned on Oct. 25 that an employee at the department's mail and pouch facility in Sterling, Va. had been hospitalized for inhalation anthrax. Several days later, tests came back positive for anthrax in two mail-rooms inside the Truman Building. Employees also learned that unclassified pouches sent to Lima and Vilnius tested positive for traces of anthrax.

Secretary Powell spoke at a town hall meeting on Oct. 30, as did Dr. Cedric Dumont, head of State's medical program. Dr. Dumont said State was following the Centers for Disease Control and Prevention guidance, which did not call for further testing. He acknowledged that many offices in the building were probably contaminated, but noted the level of risk was low.

Following the meeting, AFSA joined with rank and file employees to urge the department to conduct further environmental testing of State Department offices. On Oct. 31, the department announced that it would indeed expand testing to include random sampling.

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AFSA and JO Salaries

There was an uproar from untenured officers over management's initiation of a new salary scale for incoming junior officers, bringing some JOs into State at higher pay and grades than similarly qualified JOs in previous classes. AFSA successfully aided junior officers in their appeal to management to review the implementation of the new salary scale. Management agreed to review the backgrounds of all untenured officers and make appropriate adjustments. (Note: For more on this, see the State VP column on page 4.)

Youth in Transition

The Foreign Service Youth Foundation (FSYF) held a book launch in the State Department's Office of Overseas Schools on Oct. 3 for its most recent publication, *Here Today, There Tomorrow*. This workbook is designed to assist educators who work with internationally mobile youth. It provides lesson plans promoting discussions around the value of having lived overseas and which help integrate the overseas and U.S. experiences.

The manual, by Elisabeth Parker and Katharine Rumrill-Teece, was developed in the FSYF-sponsored program, *Around the World in a Lifetime (AWAL)*, a monthly meeting for teenagers to socialize and talk about some of the challenges of Foreign Service life.

Here Today, There Tomorrow costs \$15.00. Send your check payable to FSYF at P.O. Box 39185, Washington, D.C. 20016. For bulk orders, please contact FSYF Executive Director Melanie Newhouse at (301) 404-6655 or fsyf@fsyf.org. AWAL meets on the first Tuesday of every month in the Oakwood Apartments' Potomac Room, 501 North Roosevelt Blvd., Falls Church, VA from 6:30 p.m. to 8:00 p.m. For more information on this and other programs for FS youth, go to the FSYF Web site at www.fsyf.org.

AFSA Scholarship Basics

WHO: Foreign Service high school seniors and undergraduates

WHAT: Academic and art merit awards and need-based financial aid scholarships.

WHERE: Information found on the Web at www.afsa.org. Click on "students" tab, then "scholarships" tab, or call (202) 944-5504 ext. 504.

WHEN: Apply by Feb. 4, 2002

WHY: To get money to help pay for college.

Scholarships from Individual Donors

Every year scholarships are added to the AFSA Scholarship Fund by individuals who bequeath part of their estate to AFSA when they pass away. AFSA then invests the new money and awards a portion of the interest each year as a scholarship in the deceased donor's name.

These special donor awards are for need-based financial aid scholarships. Foreign Service families do not have to complete any special applications to apply for these new awards. Just by filling out the general AFSA financial aid application, students will be considered for the newer scholarships. One new scholarship is the Harriet P. Culley Memorial Scholarship, established by AFSA through a bequest in Culley's will. Culley died Dec. 19, 2000. She had worked as an assistant editor for *Time* magazine and later for CBS. She lost her first husband during World War II in 1942 while he was serving on the USS *Lexington*. In 1945 she married Foreign Service officer Perry Culley, and accompanied him to France, Uruguay and Ecuador before their divorce in 1974. In 1974, she returned to Washington to work in the Bureau of Public Affairs. The scholarship was established by Harriet Culley in honor of her lifelong friend Betty Hazelton, wife of FSO Norris Hazelton.

For more information on how to make a planned gift to the AFSA Scholarship Fund or the Fund for American Diplomacy, which seeks to educate the public about the importance of U.S. diplomacy, contact AFSA's Scholarship Administrator Lori Dec by phone: (202) 338-4045, ext. 504, or by e-mail: dec@afsa.org.



AFSA Recruiting

AFSA has been successfully recruiting new members in 2001. A total of 91 percent of all junior officers joining State in the first ten months of 2001 have joined AFSA. Out of a total of 227 new JOs, 207 have joined. Within USAID, AFSA has had a success rate of 84 percent this year. State specialists have joined at a lower rate of 75 percent, with 190 out of 254 joining AFSA this year.

Compared to previous years, AFSA recruiting is going well. In 1998, only 56 percent of new Foreign Service employees joined. In 1999, it was 70 percent, and in 2000, 75 percent joined.

AFSA recently hosted several highly successful recruiting lunches to attract new members from entering classes of new Foreign Service employees. During two back-to-back lunches for State A-100 JOs on Oct. 24, AFSA gained 88 new members, a 95 percent join rate. Most of USAID's recent Foreign Service class of New Entry Professionals (NEPs) joined AFSA. A total of 34 out of the 39 members of one recent class joined, for an 87 percent join rate.

AFSA is looking after your interests every day, in the field, in the department and on Capitol Hill. Help AFSA help you by joining and encouraging your colleagues to join.

Call for FS Spouse Writers

We are seeking submissions for the *AFSA News* Family Member Matters column, a forum for Foreign Service spouses to voice their opinions on issues of concern to the Foreign Service community. Send your 400- to 500-word essay to *AFSA News* Editor Shawn Dorman at Dorman@afsa.org. All submissions will be seriously considered. AFSA will pay a \$60 honorarium for any essay published in this series.

Wake-Up Call

All FS veterans should send kudos to the State Department's Bureau of Human Resources (HR) for its success in recruiting the best. The current crop of untenured JOs are indeed the equivalent of their counterparts at Goldman Sachs, Fidelity Funds and the dotcoms, our chief competitors in the war for talent. Hats off to HR!

AFSA met and worked with many of these junior officers during the recent controversy over the department's decision to implement a new salary scale for career candidates. They impressed us with their dedication to the Foreign Service.

Recruiting the best may be the easy job. The hard part comes in persuading them that their service — despite the low pay and at times very difficult working conditions — is valued and valuable. The department needs to serve the "best" better.

The outrage over HR's implementation of a new salary scale for incoming junior officers exposed a raw nerve among untenured officers. It exposed HR's failure to communicate with its employees and failure to understand that the ties of loyalty that bind employees to the employer go both ways. The department has to be loyal to its employees, listen to their complaints and try to make the system better.

The new pay scale allowed some members of the 104th A-100 class to enter at higher salaries than JOs in previous classes, giving more weight in salary calculations to such things as advanced degrees, private sector experience, and federal government experience. Management argued that it simply could not attract people with the experience it needed to the Foreign Service because starting salaries were too low. The department said it had found that many qualified prospects turned down offers because of the big pay cut.

HR made no public announcement about the new salary scale. Only when members of a previous A-100 class met their new colleagues did they learn that, although they had the same qualifications, they were earning less. This unleashed a firestorm of criticism among untenured officers, many of whom came to AFSA for assistance. AFSA formally asked management to reevaluate the qualifications of all untenured officers in light of the new pay scale and make upward adjustments where warranted. The department announced it will do just that. (AFSA also recommended that in the interests of equity, PO-03s also receive some additional compensation.)

The director general sent out another, equally important message, acknowledging that the JO reaction indicated serious morale issues. The DG asked DCMs and principal officers to meet with JOs and discuss broader issues of retention, urging them to forward to her JO concerns about life in the Foreign Service and recommendations for action by management to "make a positive difference."

HR held a meeting in October with JOs at FSI to discuss the new salary scale, and asked why it was affecting JO morale. Many JOs acknowledged they had willingly taken pay cuts to join the Foreign Service. They pointed out that their jobs were interesting, fulfilling and often exciting. What had outraged them was management's failure to communicate, to deal with its employees in a transparent fashion, and to listen to its employees on a variety of important issues. The HR representative assured the attendees he would carry the message back to the DG.

Sounds like management is listening. □



KEEPING EVACUEES CONNECTED

Evacuees Share Common Concerns

"We miss you! It is hard for those of us left in Islamabad, Karachi, Lahore and Peshawar — but in many ways, I realize that it is even harder for those of you who have returned to the U.S. on authorized departure." (Excerpt from a letter from Amb. Wendy Chamberlin in Islamabad to evacuees back in the U.S.)

Ambassador Chamberlin's letter was read to a group of over 100 members of the Foreign Service community attending an



Oct. 28 get-together for evacuees at the Oakwood Apartments in Falls Church, Va., where many evacuees from U.S. posts abroad are currently living. The event was sponsored by the Foreign Service Youth Foundation (FSYF), with support from the Family Liaison Office and the Associates of the American Foreign Service Worldwide (AAFSW), and attended by evacuees from U.S. missions in Pakistan as well as from other posts on authorized departure status. According to FSYF Executive Director Melanie Newhouse, "everyone seemed to have a really good time."

The event was held to bring together members of the Foreign Service community, adults and children, facing similar challenges handling life in evacuation status. Community liaison officers (CLOs) from posts in Pakistan and Indonesia were at the event. The CLOs from Jakarta, Islamabad, and Karachi have been working out of the FLO office recently assisting families from their posts. FLO has been in touch with the evacuees through newsletters, e-mail and phone. Useful evacuation publications can be found on-line at www.state.gov/m/dghr/flo. Click on Evacuation. □

Q&A

Personnel Issues

BY JAMES YORKE, AFSA LABOR
MANAGEMENT SPECIALIST

Overtime and Comp Time Overseas



Q. Who gets overtime and comp time overseas?

A. Specialists and untenured generalists serving overseas are normally entitled to “premium compensation,” which includes overtime pay or compensatory time off (comp time). This compensation falls under Title 5 of the U.S. Code and employees are eligible if they work more than eight hours per day or 40 hours per week. After tenuring, generalists are no longer eligible for overtime or comp time under Title 5. Tenured officers can get special comp time and special differentials under the FS Act. We will cover this in a later article.

Q. Is there a cap on compensation?

A. Yes. Under Title 5, you may receive premium compensation if it does not raise your total pay — basic pay plus premium pay — above the basic pay for a GS-15, Step 10 for any biweekly pay period. (The GS-15/10 2001 biweekly rate without locality pay is \$3,972.) For pay cap purposes, comp time is monetarily equivalent to overtime pay.

If your basic pay is less than a GS-10, Step 1, the overtime hourly rate is 150 percent of your basic hourly rate of pay (except for DS employees, who have a higher cap). If your basic pay is more

than a GS-10, Step 1, overtime pay is capped at the rate payable to a GS-10/1. (The GS-10/1 hourly rate is \$26.33/hour.) If you earn the same as or more than the basic pay for a GS-15, Step 10, you cannot earn overtime pay or comp time. (You can find the GS pay scale on the Web at www.opm.gov/oca/01tables/gannual/html/20001gs.htm)

Q. When can I receive premium compensation overseas?

A. Under Title 5, you are entitled to premium compensation only when the overtime is ordered or approved in writing by an authorizing official. The form JF-56 “Authorization of Premium Compensation” is used to document approved overtime. If overtime has been ordered or approved, premium compensation must be paid for work performed by a covered employee in excess of eight hours in a day or 40 hours in an administrative workweek.

Q. Are there different kinds of overtime work?

A. Yes. There is a distinction between overtime work that is “regularly scheduled” and that which is “irregular and occasional.” Regularly scheduled overtime is work that is scheduled in advance (before midnight Sunday) as part of your administrative workweek.

For example, if your supervisor schedules you to work five hours of overtime to cover a VIP visit, that overtime is “regularly scheduled.”

“Irregular or occasional” overtime is not scheduled in advance. For example, if your supervisor asks you to stay after hours to finish a cable, the overtime would be “irregular or occasional.” However, if an authorizing official knew in advance of the workweek the specific days and hours of the work requirement and could have determined which employee had to be scheduled or rescheduled to meet that work requirement, the overtime may be converted to “regularly scheduled” overtime. For example, if you have had to work four hours of overtime every Friday for the past two months to cover a foreseeable recurring event, you have a good argument for having the overtime converted to “regularly scheduled overtime.”

Q. Why do I care if it's regularly scheduled or occasional?

A. The distinction between “regularly scheduled” overtime work and “occasional or irregular” overtime is important. If the overtime is regularly scheduled, you must be paid overtime pay at the rate of one and one half times your regular rate of pay (up to the GS-10/1 and

Continued on page 10

Foreign Affairs to Center Stage

During AFSA's aborted "Day on the Hill" on Sept. 11, our briefer was a senior staffer on the Senate Foreign Relations Committee. Arriving shortly after 9 a.m. in the room where 40 of us were gathered, he brought breaking news about the airplane attacks on the World Trade Center. At that moment, since neither he nor any of us knew the full extent of the damage or of the horrors to come, he agreed to go on with his scheduled briefing about the state of play on Capitol Hill.

Responding to a question on why it seemed to be that advocacy groups for diplomacy as the nation's first line of defense encounter more headwinds on the Hill than do advocates for military spending, our briefer replied that a large part of the problem lay in the fact that members of Congress "rarely spend more than five minutes a day thinking about foreign affairs." Later, reflecting on his reply after the full impact of Sept. 11 had begun to sink in, I came to the realization that however true his statement might have been up until the moment he uttered it, it was rendered false from that day forward.

Today the staffs of senators and representatives are keeping their principals closely informed on events outside the United States, especially in the arc running from North Africa to South Asia. Gone for now — and I hope gone for good — is the sense of complacency that marked congressional attitudes toward foreign affairs before Sept. 11.

In his address to State Department employees on Oct. 4, President Bush thanked "the patriots who work for our Department of State... America is proud of your service... the State Department has been on the front line of battling terror and the front line of seeing the effects of terror, and the American people appreciate the heroism of the people who serve our country overseas." With these words, the president made clear that the contribution of the Foreign Service to our national security has registered in the White House. You now have a golden opportunity to make the case with your representatives in Washington to pull in behind Secretary Powell's call for more fiscal and human resources to strengthen the nation's diplomatic arm in the war against terrorism.

By the time you read this, you will already have seen my appeal in the October *AFSA News* making the same argument I am making here. Forgive me, but given the nature of the stark threat facing our country, I think it important to repeat the message as often as it takes if, as a result, we can make serious headway in educating Capitol Hill to the value and cost-effectiveness of the Foreign Service.

In closing, let me assure you that even while threats to our nation's security are occupying center stage, AFSA continues to press forward on the full range of bread-and-butter issues of interest to you all. Because space is limited, however, I will defer commenting on those matters until a future column. □



Gone for now — and I hope gone
for good — is the sense of
complacency that marked
congressional attitudes toward
foreign affairs before Sept. 11.

AFSA NEWS BRIEFS

Beirut Memorial

On Oct. 23, the anniversary of the Beirut barracks bombing, Amb. Vince Battle dedicated a memorial on the grounds of the American Embassy in Beirut to honor the Marines, sailors, soldiers and civilian personnel who gave their lives while in Lebanon on official duty from 1975 to the present. The memorial honors all those who perished in efforts to restore peace to Beirut, especially the 241 Marines, Navy, Army, and civilian personnel who died on Oct. 23, 1983, when an



Antonia J. Barry

explosion destroyed the building that housed a large number of the Marines of the 24th Amphibious Unit deployed in a peace enforcement mission near Beirut International Airport.

The construction and maintenance of the memorial is being funded entirely from individual donors, one dollar at a time. Contributions are still needed. To contribute, make checks payable to: The U.S. Department of State, with the notation "for Beirut Memorial," and mail to:

Donna Bordley
FMP, Room 7427
Department of State
Washington, DC 20520

AFSA Getting the Word Out

AFSA's communications team is making a concerted effort to increase the placement of AFSA viewpoints in leading newspapers around the country. This effort is aimed at persuading a broad segment of the American public to encourage their congressional representatives and other elected officials to increase support for U.S. diplomacy. Publications that have carried AFSA or AFSA retiree opinion pieces recently include:

- *The Houston Chronicle*, Oct. 23: "Give the Foreign Service the Means to Thwart Terrorists," by John Naland;
- *The San Francisco Chronicle*, Sept. 20: "U.S. Faces Difficult Task in Afghanistan," by Amb. Ted Elliot;
- *The Portland Oregonian*, Sept. 28: "Don't Forget the Vital Role of Diplomacy," by John Naland;
- *The Daytona Beach News-Journal*, Oct. 6: "Diplomacy is First Line of Offense," by John Naland. □

Awards for Exemplary Performance and Professional Contributions

AFSA also offers three awards for recognition of exemplary performance and extraordinary contributions to effectiveness, professionalism and morale.

■ The Delavan Award acknowledges the work of a Foreign Service office management specialist who has made a significant contribution to post or office effectiveness and morale beyond the framework of her or his job responsibilities.

■ The M. Juanita Guess Award is conferred on a community liaison officer who has demonstrated outstanding leadership, dedication, initiative or imagination in assisting the families of Americans serving at an overseas post.

■ The Avis Bohlen Award recognizes the accomplishments of a family member of a Foreign Service employee whose relations with the American and foreign communities at post have done the most to advance the interests of United States.

Format for Award Nominations

The nomination should include the following elements:

PART I: Award for which the person is being nominated; nominee's name, grade, agency and position (or, for the Bohlen Award, the family relationship).

PART II: Nominator's name, grade, agency and position and description of association with the nominee.

PART III: Justification for nomination. The narrative should discuss the actions and qualities, which qualify the nominee for the award, with specific examples of accomplishments that fulfill the criteria. Please try to limit Part III to 500-700 words, if possible.

Under the supervision of the Awards Committee, chaired by Amb. Bruce Laingen, nominations are submitted to panels of judges composed of individuals, both active and retired, familiar with the Foreign Service environment and lifestyle. They select the winners and runners-up, who are honored at a ceremony in June in the Benjamin Franklin Room at the State Department. Each winner will also receive a cash prize of \$2,500.

Once again, we emphasize that the dis-



sent awards are not for performance of assigned duties, however exceptional and should not be confused with employee evaluation reports. AFSA dissent awards offer an opportunity to recognize the critical and valuable contributions made by our colleagues over and above their assigned responsibilities. Submissions that do not meet the dissent criteria will not be considered.

Nominations should be sent to the AFSA Awards Committee, 2101 E Street N.W., Washington D.C. 20037. They may also be sent by AFSA Channel cable, by fax to (202) 338-6820 (attention: Barbara Berger), or by e-mail to berger@afsa.org. The deadline for nominations is Feb. 8, 2002. Any questions may be directed to Barbara Berger, AFSA Coordinator for Professional Issues, Tel: (202) 338-4045, ext. 521, fax and e-mail as above. □

at increased risk of a terrorist attack. USAID Administrator Andrew Natsios agrees. He reaffirmed to *AFSA News* what he had told GSA Administrator Perry, that "unrestricted access to the building by the general public makes the RRB extremely vulnerable to a number of credible threats." During a meeting with USAID AFSA Vice President Joe Pastic, Natsios said he had met with GSA officials to push for a change in the parking policy. Natsios said he let GSA know that he continued to be opposed to the decision to re-open the RRB to public parking, and urged Administrator Perry to reconsider that decision.

"Unrestricted access to the building by the general public makes the RRB extremely vulnerable to a number of credible threats."

— USAID Administrator Andrew Natsios

AFSA initiated, and AFGE and USPCA representatives signed, a letter that was sent to over 20 senators and representatives who should have an interest in this issue. A separate letter was sent to Office of Homeland Security Director Tom Ridge. In addition, Pastic sent a letter to GSA Administrator Perry requesting a meeting. Pastic wrote that "Consistent with the public call for the highest state of alert and security, we implore you to permanently close public parking at the large, vital — and presently vulnerable — RRB-ITC complex. Thousands of American lives depend on it."

AFSA is sponsoring a standing committee of employee representatives from all U.S. government agencies occupying the RRB-ITC. The committee is identifying a common security agenda and plans to meet directly with GSA.

The AFSA Governing Board strongly endorses the efforts of USAID's AFSA staff to ensure the highest degree of security at the Ronald Reagan Building. □

Seventh A-100 Supports Worthy Programs

On the 20th anniversary of their joining the Foreign Service, members of the 7th A-100 class issued a challenge to colleagues to join them in contributing to two vital funds: AFSA's Legislative Action Fund and the State Department-managed Foreign Service National Relief Fund. That challenge appeared in the following letter to AFSA signed by class member Andrew Parker:

"On Nov. 4, the 'seventh class' of FSO generalists celebrated 20 years of service. Hopefully, some of them were able to mark the occasion by sharing a drink and a few memories. But with classmates serving at posts as remote as Tashkent, Brazzaville and La Paz, and as distant as Tokyo, Vancouver and Cairo, an e-mail reunion had to suffice. In order to give the anniversary some moment, a majority of the class enthusi-

astically agreed to support a class contribution to two deserving funds. At the department, classmates set up a credit union account while from Washington and around the world, class members forwarded their checks.

Chosen for support were the FSN Relief Fund, which helps FSNs who have suffered serious losses, and AFSA's Legislative Action Fund, which is used to seek better working and living conditions for Foreign Service employees, retirees and their families. The contributions are a means for the class of 31 officers, now down to around 24, to say 'thank you' to AFSA and to the FSNs who play such key roles in the lives of all who serve overseas. By publicizing its effort, the class is suggesting that others consider anniversary contributions as a means to benefit those

worthy causes while bringing together classmates scattered to all corners of the globe."

AFSA commends the efforts of the 7th A-100 class to support these worthy funds and welcomes contributions from others who want to show their support for the work done by FSNs around the world and by AFSA on Capitol Hill. Those wishing to answer the 7th A-100 class challenge may send donations as follows:

For AFSA's Legislative Action Fund, send a check made payable to "Legislative Action Fund" to AFSA Legislative Action Fund, P.O. Box 98026, Washington, D.C. 20090-8026.

For the FSN Relief Fund, send a check made payable to the Department of State, earmarked for the FSN Emergency Relief Fund on the note line, to FSN Emergency Relief Fund, c/o Donna Bordley, FMP, Room 7427, Department of State, Washington D.C. 20520. □

EYE ON SECURITY

Promotion Lists Again Tied To Security Records

When the State Department first tied promotions to security in September of last year, AFSA understood it was a one-time event. However, back in August, State's management informed AFSA that it planned, once again, to temporarily remove names from promotion lists (for those promoted to FS-01 and above) based on security incidents under a point system.

Upon getting this news, AFSA State Vice President Louise Crane wrote to the Director General objecting to the use of the promotion lists in this way, especially as a regular procedure repeated yearly. The suspension of an employee's promotion, even for a short time, is a sanction above and beyond disciplinary and other sanctions that have been put in

place for this purpose. It amounts to an unwarranted additional punishment. Her letter said: "AFSA believes all employees whose record indicates a pattern of security incidents should be retrained. The point system is well designed to identify those individuals. It is not designed to link security awareness with promotions and performance pay." However, the director general wrote back affirming management's commitment to the program, and AFSA is considering its further reaction.

In AFSA's opinion, if the department insists on tying the promotion lists to security records on an annual basis, the FAM must be amended to reflect this new procedure. 3 FAM 2328, covering the temporary exclusion



Once an employee has been retrained, the employee's points should be returned to zero.

of names from promotion lists, applies only to ad hoc uses of this authority. The establishment of a yearly program is a different matter, demanding new FAM coverage.

In fact, AFSA's strongly preferred solution is for management to drop entirely the link between security incidents and promotion lists and simply to use the point system to identify employees with high scores — all such employees — for retraining. Once an employee has been retrained, the employee's points should be returned to zero (although, of course, DS and HR would retain appropriate records of these incidents in connection with security clearances and disciplines). In addition, AFSA asks the department to noti-

Continued on page 10

Putting a Face on the Foreign Service

Have you experienced a newsworthy event on the job? Do you have stories, good or bad, that you would like to share? Do your friends and family wonder what it is you do "over there?" If so, we want to know.

The important work of the Foreign Service and the intricacies of life overseas are underappreciated and often misunderstood by the American public. AFSA is sponsoring an informational campaign,

The campaign involves placing stories about Foreign Service employees and their experiences in their hometown newspapers and alumni magazines.

"Putting a Face on the Foreign Service," designed to spread the word about the role of the Foreign Service in U.S. foreign policy. The campaign involves placing stories about Foreign Service employees, their families, and their experiences in their hometown newspapers and alumni magazines. We need to hear from you in order to make the campaign a success. We also welcome contributions from Foreign Service spouses, as their stories are no less compelling.

We invite you to write about your experiences in the Foreign Service, and we will help publish the articles you write. Or, we will assist you in writing the articles — all you have to do is supply us with the information. Either way, we want to get your story out!

To participate, please contact us by e-mail at comm@afsa.org, fax: (202) 338-6820 or phone: (202) 338-4045. You can also fill out a form on the AFSA Web site at www.afsa.org/pffs.html and submit it directly or print it out and mail it to AFSA's Communications Department, 2101 E St. NW, Washington, D.C. 20037. □

Two Steps Forward, One Back

As I prepared to join the AFSA Board last spring, one of my main priorities was to review our relations with FCS management. We had lots of improvements in the works. We had been meeting with management to hammer out a new assignments policy, new commissioning and tenure precepts, and a new performance appraisal system. We had labored to establish ground rules for negotiations and had proposed changing our collective bargaining agreement to specify time limits for management to respond to our proposals. There appeared to be momentum, and we were moving forward on virtually all fronts. But despite negotiating these substantive changes over a two-year period and despite reaching substantial agreement on a wide range of issues, we did not have a single signed document to show for it.

At the end of May, when Peter Frederick left Washington for convalescence at his home in Delaware, the logjam began to break up and we were able to take two steps forward. We signed memoranda of understanding with FCS management covering commissioning and tenure on June 4, establishing ground rules for negotiations on July 2, specifying time limits for management responses on July 16, and ratifying the new assignments policy and precepts on August 16. We even got some encouraging responses to the midterm bargaining proposals we had submitted in early August.

But then came the big step backward. Two months after the ink dried on the commissioning and tenure MOU, management notified AFSA that it was proposing changes as a result of a "technical review" rendered by the Office of the General Counsel. The changes desired by the general counsel would broaden the discretionary authority of the FCS director general vis-à-vis the Commissioning and Tenure Board. By allowing the DG to accept or reject any board recommendations, the changes would, in essence, allow the DG to make the tenure decision. Needless to say this is not a view that squares with ours. We believe that the tenure decision is vested in a board.

We have also been warned that a "technical review" of the new assignments policy will likely recommend broadening the powers of the DG in this area as well. The discretionary power of the DG also lay at the heart of an institutional grievance filed by AFSA in October 1999. At issue was the DG's filling of the senior commercial officer position in Paris without advertising it and without a recommendation from the assignments panel. The Commerce Department general counsel has contested that grievance over the last two years, arguing that the DG can make any assignment without any necessity to advertise and without any necessity to obtain a recommendation from the assignments panel. All this despite a long history of advertising and paneling employees into FCS assignments.

I am still optimistic and believe that we really did take two steps forward and one step backward. But every once in a while, I wake up in the middle of the night and wonder if it wasn't the other way around. □



Two months after the ink dried on the commissioning and tenure MOU, management notified AFSA that it was proposing changes as a result of a "technical review" rendered by the Office of the General Counsel.

GS-15/10 caps). If the overtime work is irregular or occasional, and your basic rate of pay is at or below the rate for GS-10/10, you may choose either overtime pay or comp time. (The GS-10/10 annual salary is \$47,610.) However, if the overtime is irregular or occasional and your basic pay is greater than the maximum for a GS-10/10, you are only entitled to comp time (subject again to the GS-15/10 biweekly overall cap).

Q. Can I liquidate my comp time hours?

A. In some cases, yes. Comp time must be used within 16 weeks of the pay period in which it was earned or it is forfeited. However, if you earned comp time under Title 5 and have been unable to use it because of the demands of the post, you may have the comp time converted to money if you followed the correct procedure, even if your basic rate of pay is greater than that of a GS-10/10:

• The award of comp time must have been approved by your supervisor and recorded on form JF-56.

• You must have applied to use the comp time by submitting Form SF-71, "Application for Leave," made the request within this 16-week period, and your supervisor must have denied the request without rescheduling the leave before the end of the 16-week period.

If all of the above happened, the comp time must be liquidated by the payment of overtime, subject to the pay caps above. Make sure to give a copy of the SF-71 showing the disapproval to the timekeeper to support the payment of overtime.

Q. Can I take it with me when I transfer?

A. Usually not. Accumulated comp time will be forfeited if it is not used or liquidated before you transfer to another post or back to the United States. Comp time requested by the employee but not granted before the employee's transfer must be paid, subject to the premium pay caps above. Comp time may only be transferred to your next post, or be used in conjunction with home leave, if specifically authorized by HR in exceptional circumstances. □

fy all those whose scores are high, rather than only notifying them when they are slated for promotion.

It is encouraging that just four names were temporarily removed from the promotion lists this year, compared to 13 last year. Thus, AFSA hopes that management will be persuaded to phase out the tie-in to the yearly promotion lists before very long. AFSA believes this link should be abandoned now.

AFSA urges all employees to inform themselves about their own security records. You can request your security history through the department's Intranet. Go to "Diplomatic Security" and then click on "Office of Information Security Program" and then "How to Request an Employee Security Incident Record." A reply will be sent out within a few days. If you do not have access to the Intranet, you can send an e-mail request to Jack Gibbons in DS/ISP/ABP at GibbonsJ2@state.gov. Be sure to include your Social Security number in the request. □

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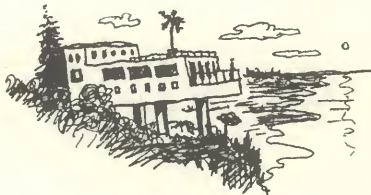
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Captive in the Congo: A Consul's Return to the Heart of Darkness
Michael P.E. Hoyt, Naval Institute Press, \$29.95, hardback, 312 pages.

A winner of the Secretary's Award in 1964 for his courage when taken hostage by rebels at the U.S. consulate in Stanleyville, the Congo, Hoyt tells, for the first time, the inside story of the seizure of the consulate staff and their subsequent 111 days of captivity. The incident presents valuable lessons both for the future conduct of hostages and the policies that deal with this type of terrorism.

Pax Democratica: A Strategy for the 21st Century

James Robert Huntley, Palgrave Publishers Ltd., 2001, \$21.95, paperback, 272 pages.

Huntley proposes what he calls "an Intercontinental Community of Democracies" led by Britain, France, Germany, Japan, Canada and the United States. He argues that the

world's leading democracies share critical common interests and must find a way to advance those interests together. First published in 1998, this book has been reissued — with a new foreword by former Secretary of State Lawrence Eagleburger — by a British publisher. (See the November *FSJ* for a review.)



Ché Guevara, A Biography
Daniel James; introduction by Henry Butterfield Ryan, Cooper Square Press, \$17.95, 2001, paperback, 394 pages.

This is a reprint of one of the first English-language books (published in 1969) to examine the life of Fidel Castro's right-hand man, who aided in the overthrow of the Batista government and then left Cuba to foment revolution elsewhere (he was killed in Bolivia in 1967). Retired FSO Henry

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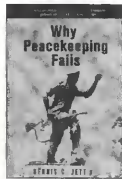
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Butterfield Ryan, an associate at the Institute for the Study of Diplomacy at Georgetown University, has prepared a new introduction for this edition, placing James' writings in historical context. The book, he writes, "gives readers not only a glimpse of a political attitude from the 1960s that is often overlooked, but also a view of Guevara that they will not get elsewhere."



Why Peacekeeping Fails

Dennis C. Jett,
Palgrave, \$18.95
(paperback), 236
pages.

Jett, a former ambassador to Mozambique and Peru, compares the unsuccessful peacekeeping operation in Angola with a very successful one in Mozambique, along with examinations of other peacekeeping operations. He argues that such missions are often doomed to failure because of two critical factors: the way they are initiated and the organization of the United Nations.

Both Hunter and Hunted: A Cold War Adventure

Vincent Joyce, Writers Club Press,
2001, \$16.95, paperback, 320 pages.

This fast-paced novel of suspense, set where East meets West, tells the story of an FSO who doubled as a CIA agent in Turkey. A quarter-century after he wrote it, an espionage novel he penned at the height of the Cold War comes back to haunt him.

The Great Phelsuma Caper (A Diplomatic Memoir)

Robert V. Keeley, Five and Ten Press,
2000, \$10, paperback, 148 pages.

Keeley, a former ambassador to Zimbabwe, Greece and Mauritius (home of the phelsuma, a type of gecko), manages to combine elements as disparate as Idi Amin, Texaco,

Henry Kissinger, the San Antonio Zoo and Queen Elizabeth II into what he calls "a mostly true story embellished by passing it through the memory function of the human mind."

Transforming Foreign Aid: United States Assistance in the 21st Century

Carol Lancaster, Institute for International Economics, 2000,
\$15.95, paperback, 114 pages.

Lancaster, currently an assistant professor at the Georgetown University School of Foreign Service, has been deputy administrator at USAID and a deputy assistant secretary of State for African affairs. In this, her latest book, she argues that for U.S. foreign aid to be effective in this new century, it needs new objectives. These should include supporting peacemaking, addressing transnational issues, providing for humane concerns and responding to humanitarian emergencies.

I Did It This Way: From Texas and Oil to Oxford, Diplomacy and Corporate Boards

George C. McGhee, Rutledge Books,
2001, \$25.95, hardback, 320 pages.

A Rhodes Scholar who served 22 years in the State Department, McGhee recalls the highlights of his various careers as a student, an oil company executive and a FSO, offering insights into ways that diplomacy can affect world events and examining the process of creating policy and undertaking sensitive negotiations.

The Great North Korean Famine: Famine, Politics and Foreign Policy

Andrew S. Natsios, U.S. Institute of Peace, 2001, \$19.95, paperback, 252 pages.

Beginning in 1994, a terrible famine struck North Korea; over the next five years, more than three million people starved to death as the

regime tried to hide what was happening — and the international community tried not to look too hard. Natsios, currently the head of the U.S. Agency for International Development, worked for an NGO effort to aid the famine victims. He draws on interviews with refugees, thousands of e-mails and his own encounters with government officials from all sides to present a picture of a disaster of biblical proportions, a paranoid regime blinded by ideological rigidity and Western governments torn between humanitarian ideals and political realities.



Prelude to Tragedy: Vietnam 1960-1965

Edited by Harvey
Neese and John
O'Donnell, Naval
Institute Press, 2001,

\$41.95, hardback, 336 pages.

O'Donnell, a former USAID official in Southeast Asia and elsewhere, and Neese, an international agricultural consultant, have compiled a collection of essays, by both U.S. and Vietnamese authors, arguing that U.S. failure in Vietnam was not inevitable. They suggest, rather, that the Vietnam conflict might have ended far differently if U.S. policy-makers had listened to experts in Asian culture and had pursued a coherent counterinsurgency strategy, rather than "Americanizing" the conflict.

Death In Malaga: An American Eyewitness Account of the Spanish Civil War

Edward Norton,
StarcomWorldwide.com, \$29.95,
paperback, 292 pages.

Edward Norton was an FSO from 1907 to 1927, when he resigned to accept a position as president of Bevan, S.A., in Malaga, Spain, then the world's largest exporter of almonds and raisins. In 1931, Spanish tranquility disap-

peared in Malaga as the events leading up to the Spanish Civil War began to unfold. This book, published by and available from Norton's great nephew, William Harmon, gives a day-by-day account of the fighting by opposing forces in and around the southern Spanish seaport.

America Recommitted: A Superpower Assesses Its Role in a Turbulent World (Second Edition)

Donald E. Nuechterlein, *University Press of Kentucky*, 2000, \$19, paperback, 326 pages.

Should the United States use its power to protect human rights in foreign countries, or should action be taken only when the U.S. national interest is at stake? Nuechterlein updates his 1991 book of the same title with an expanded assessment of America as an international hegemon and examines the future of U.S. foreign policy as a new century begins.

The French Overseas Empire
Frederick Quinn, Praeger, 2000, \$65, hardback, 336 pages.

Quinn, a former FSO, has written about France's overseas presence for more than three decades. Here he examines the five centuries that France has been both a European and a global power, including Cartier's exploration of Canada, the French presence in Louisiana, the vast — but short-lived — French empire in India, and its misadventures in North Africa and Indochina.

United States Export Controls, Fourth Edition

William A. Root and John R. Liebman, *Aspen Law & Business*, 2000 (with 2001 supplement), \$175, looseleaf binder.

If you're involved in exports, this book provides useful assistance in understanding the exceedingly complex and convoluted export regulations. It points out inconsistencies within and

among the regulations issued by the Commerce, State and Treasury Departments, enabling exporters to avoid violations that could result in a large fine or the unnecessary loss of an export sale, and covers the most recent developments in export controls. Root specialized in economic issues (including export controls) in his days as an FSO.

From Ancient Afryqah to Modern Africa: History Revealing Clues to Current Issues

Pierre L. Sales, 1999, CD-ROM (*Acrobat Reader 4.0 format included on CD*), available via *Afryqah.com*, \$49, equivalent of 2,400 hard-copy pages.

Pierre Sales' interest in Africa and its peoples goes back nearly half a century and includes over 15 years spent working for USAID and its predecessor agencies throughout the continent. Reviewing this encyclopedia in the November *FSJ*, editor Steven Alan

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Honley praised its inclusion of thematic and country-specific essays and historical maps (many in color) and cited it as a reference work that will surely be valuable for years to come.

The South African Truth Commission: The Politics of Reconciliation

Dorothy Shea, U.S. Institute of Peace, 2000, \$9.95, paperback, 128 pages.

In this study of South Africa's historic Truth and Reconciliation Commission, Shea investigates the origins of the commission in the country's transition from apartheid to democracy, examines the extent to which it learned from the experiences of earlier Latin American commissions, and focuses on how the politics of the commission were played out in issues such as amnesty, reparations, and prosecutions. Her report offers a generally positive assessment and explains not only

how South Africa measured up, but also why.

Exiting Indochina: U.S. Leadership of the Cambodia Settlement and Normalization with Vietnam

Richard H. Solomon, U.S. Institute of Peace, 2000, \$12.95, paperback, 136 pages.

For most Americans, the U.S. exit from Indochina occurred in 1973, with the withdrawal of the U.S. military from South Vietnam. In fact, as Richard Solomon, a former assistant secretary of state for East Asian and Pacific affairs, points out, it did not occur until two years later, after the collapse of the Republic of Vietnam in 1975. Then came the Cambodian revolution and a decade of Vietnamese occupation of Cambodia. Solomon recounts the diplomacy that brought an end to great power involvement in Indochina, including the negotiations

for a United Nations peace process in Cambodia and construction of a "road map" for normalizing U.S.-Vietnam relations.

In Search of the Elusive Peace Corps Moment / Destination: Estonia

Douglas Wells, Xlibris, 2001, \$21.99, paperback, 264 pages.

Nearly all Peace Corps volunteers have returned from their stint abroad with a collection of stories that they begin spinning at every dinner party they attend. Wells, currently an FSO, has gone one step further, gathering his tales into a book described on Amazon.com as "the book every returned Peace Corps volunteer wants to write." And his story is indeed unique; he was in the first group of Peace Corps volunteers that went to the former Soviet Union — Estonia, to be precise — where he found "love, adventure and a renewed sense of purpose." ■

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BOOKS

THE TIP OF THE ICEBERG?

A Book Review Essay

Books discussed in this essay:

The Ultimate Terrorists

Jessica Stern, *Harvard University Press*, 2000, \$14.95, paperback, 214 pages.

Terrorism and U.S. Foreign Policy

Paul R. Pillar, *Brookings Institution*, 2001, \$26.95, hardback, 272 pages.

Germ: Biological Weapons and America's Secret War

Judith Miller, Stephen Engelberg and William Broad, *Simon and Schuster*, 2001, \$27.00, hardback, 382 pages.

Taliban, Militant Islam, Oil and Fundamentalism in Central Asia

Ahmed Rashid, *Yale University Press*, 2000, \$27.50, paperback, 272 pages.

BY ARNIE SCHIFFERDECKER

The marriage of terrorism and weapons of mass destruction has been the U.S. policy-maker's nightmare for more than a half century. And at least since the Persian Gulf War of a decade ago, nuclear, biological or chemical bombs in the hands of a rogue state or a non-state actor were viewed as the most likely source of any threat from weapons of mass destruction. Yet it was the relatively low-tech hijacking of three airliners into the World Trade Center and Pentagon (a fourth plane

*We have only seen the tip
of the iceberg of potential
terroristic threats to
our way of life.*

crashed in Pennsylvania) on Sept. 11 that woke the world up to a grotesquely simple means of killing thousands of innocent civilians. No longer is there any need to steal nuclear materials, develop laboratory concoctions or fabricate crude bombs to do the job.

Now, as we continue to hunt down the Sept. 11 attackers and their supporters, sharing intelligence and other resources with coalition allies, we are urging planners to "think outside the box" — to defeat or at least deter the next attack. Sensibly, however, we continue to focus on potential nuclear, biological, or chemical attacks on our populations — still viewed as the most likely means of causing devastation on a mass scale in our country. The stealth, if not necessarily the actual effectiveness, of the post-Sept. 11 anthrax attacks on selected U.S. targets has demonstrated just how easily biological or chemical attacks could spread panic — and we have only seen the tip of the iceberg of potential terroristic threats to our way of life.

How the world's only remaining superpower could be made to feel such discomfort in the post-Cold War era is the subject of a spate of recent

books on terrorism, including many just now being rushed into print to capitalize on the recent awakening. While those chosen for review here are recent but not post-Sept. 11 volumes (those books are starting to appear but were not yet available by press deadline), each selection contains views and analyses applicable to current counterterrorism concerns. Lamentable for this reviewer is the discovery that most of these authors tend to confine their focus on terrorists, their modus operandi and methods to deal directly with them and the threats they pose. Few authors are yet willing to address head-on the underlying causes of terrorism or the long-range foreign policy approaches needed to minimize if not control the problem.

Writing last year, Jessica Stern, a Harvard professor with a background in the U.S. security community, comes as close as any of the selected authors to predicting the horror that became the World Trade Center attacks in the opening paragraphs of *The Ultimate Terrorists*. Her nightmare scenario, likely conjured during her work on containing nuclear theft in the former Soviet Union, was actually much worse: detonation of a small but deadly homemade nuclear bomb at the Empire State Building, vaporizing it and demolishing everything within 600 feet, killing an estimated 20,000 to 100,000 persons.

Offering a calm, hard-headed analysis of the risks of nuclear, chemical and biological warfare, Stern deals with the potential threat of "loose nukes" following the collapse of the

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BOOKS

USSR, including unsettling claims by former Russian Gen. Lebed that a number of suitcase-sized nuclear bombs have never been accounted for — an allegation denied by Russian authorities. Despite her nuclear misgivings, Stern believes the most likely future terrorist threats will involve the use of chemical or biological agents. She notes that strategies for prevention of such terrorism are unlikely to be wholly successful, but that good planning can minimize loss of life from chemical/biological attacks.

Probing the anatomy of terrorist groups and their socialization, Stern comes close to a satisfactory explanation of how religiously devout terrorists develop techniques to evade moral responsibility for their heinous acts. Imagining themselves as heroic fighters against a "great evil" such as the U.S., terrorists employ powerful group dynamics to promote secrecy and discipline within small "closed cells," much as the bin Laden cells are said to have operated prior to the Sept. 11 attacks. She does not comment, of course (since she was writing well before the attacks), on how bin Laden and his operatives could have justified blowing up many innocent Muslims, as well as the devout of many other faiths, in the World Trade Center suicide attacks.

Addressing a broader context, Paul Pillar's *Terrorism and U.S. Foreign Policy* argues that U.S. counterterrorism efforts are too narrowly focused and not sufficiently integrated into overall U.S. foreign policy objectives. A former U.S. Army and CIA officer, Pillar advocates dropping the metaphor of "war" as inappropriate for what is a permanent struggle, not a campaign with a beginning and an end. Moreover, he believes that the United States should mean what it says in not allowing the focus on terrorism to so disrupt the work of the

BOOKS

government or its citizens that it constitutes an effective victory for the terrorists.

In the post-Sept. 11 environment, Pillar may be preaching to the choir in advocating (1) closer U.S. coordination with other governments, (2) a public diplomacy outreach emphasizing that our counterterror policies are not anti-Islamic and (3) flexibility toward governments such as Iran or Libya who may be rethinking their past policies in support of terrorism. Moreover, says Pillar, although the U.S. objective with most terrorist groups should be to strike, disrupt and eradicate them, a policy of selective U.S. engagement in resolving an underlying conflict or cause they espouse may be a more effective strategy. He cites peacemaking efforts in Northern Ireland and the Palestinian conflict, which though not wholly successful, earned significant international good will for previous U.S. administrations. Pointing out that Yitzhak Shamir, Yasser Arafat and Gerry Adams were all once terrorists, he urges flexibility and finesse, not just vigor and muscle, in dealing with threats.

In *Germ: Biological Weapons and America's Secret War*, New York Times journalists Judith Miller, Stephen Engelberg and William Broad conclude, as the jacket blurb has it, that America is currently "all but defenseless" against the coming wars of biological weapons usage. The writers follow the 25-year history of U.S.-Soviet Union secret competition to develop biological arms, supposedly ended in 1972 by the signing of the Biological and Toxin Weapons Convention. But from that time the competition actually accelerated, the authors report, with the takeoff of revolutionary genetic research, enabling both sides to employ recombinant DNA technology with the power to

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create antidote-resistant "superbugs," suitable for warfare. The difference was that the U.S. kept most of its activities within the confines of the treaty, while a gigantic Soviet laboratory and manufacturing complex in Uzbekistan developed massive quantities of antibiotic-resistant anthrax and other deadly spores.

Drawing on hundreds of interviews with scientists, government officials and intelligence officers, the authors provide a thrilling, if somewhat uneven, tale of how the U.S. discovered in 1990 that Russian scientists, utilizing gene splicing techniques, had created new, more lethal forms of long dormant killers such as the plague (Black Death) or smallpox in the laboratory. Only months later, the U.S. was shocked to learn that Iraq's Saddam Hussein had not only developed sophisticated anthrax and botulism agents but weaponized them, thereby threatening the entire Gulf War coalition that was then deploying to Saudi Arabia. Fortunately for U.S.-led troops, Saddam did not use his germs and toxins and the U.S. was able to draw Russian scientists into a plan to prevent proliferation of their crumbling germ warfare infrastructure. Still, one worries how much potential bioterrorism material was allowed to leave Russian plants for Iran, Iraq or other destinations before safeguards were put in place.

Miller and her colleagues provide a well-documented account of the shadowy side of state-sponsored research and development of bioterror weapons. A current concern of U.S. scientists is a strain of vaccine-resistant anthrax developed in the former Soviet Union, a sample of which the U.S. has been unable to obtain from the Putin government for testing. According to the authors, the Bush administration has decided to develop such a strain on its own in order to

*Although germ warfare
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develop an antidote, an application it believes would be legal under the 1972 Convention. The authors conclude that, although germ warfare has not yet lived up to its potential as a weapon of war or terrorism, the threat of such weapons is "real and rising, driven by scientific discoveries and political upheavals around the world."

Ahmed Rashid, a Pakistani journalist of nonpareil knowledge about the shadowy Afghan fundamentalist regime, brings the group into sharp focus in *Taliban, Militant Islam, Oil and Fundamentalism in Central Asia*. In this highly detailed look at what has essentially become a hijacked nation, Rashid points out that the version of Islam implanted in Afghanistan through a combination of invasion, civil war and outside interference is actually alien to most Afghans. He takes Pakistan and its intelligence service, ISI, sharply to task not only for creating the movement but supporting it even when it was clear that the Taliban (i.e., Islamic students) were little more than an ignorant militia with a cruel plan to keep the Afghan population in misery.

Rashid's analysis places the rise of the Taliban into a broader regional analysis in which control of oil resources, Pakistan's conflict with

India over Kashmir and its competition with Iran all play against the backdrop of growing fundamentalism in Central Asia. He faults the U.S. for leaving the region to its own devices after the Soviet withdrawal, farming out peacemaking to the United Nations and essentially turning a blind eye to ISI training of terrorists to fight in Indian-occupied Kashmir. Finally, Rashid notes that Pakistan played with fire by conspiring in or ignoring — we are not yet sure which — the use of Afghan territory by Osama bin Laden and his al-Qaida band of terrorists.

There are many lessons to be learned, and an abundance of blame to share, for the policy missteps that accompanied and followed the U.S., Pakistani and Saudi Arabian sponsorship of the Afghan rebellion against the 1979-1989 Soviet invasion and occupation of Afghanistan. While the blame game is for others to play, the clear lesson for America is that leaving a field of conflict for others to resolve is a dangerous policy. Vigorous diplomatic engagement in post-Soviet Afghanistan, on the other hand, could have paid handsome dividends, or at least would have cost far less than we are now paying in the struggle against Afghanistan-based terrorism. Though few of the world's problems are of our own making, we do have a responsibility to resolve those problems we had a hand in creating — particularly if we don't want them to come back and bite that hand. ■

Arnie Schifferdecker is a retired FSO who served as a political officer in Kabul, Lahore, Tel Aviv, Istanbul, Rabat and Washington. He returned to Kabul in 1997-98 as an advisor to the United Nations Special Mission in Afghanistan. A member of the Journal's Editorial Board, he is currently a consultant with the Department of State.

LOOKING FOR A GOOD SCHOOL ABROAD?

FINDING SCHOOLS WITH HIGH EDUCATIONAL STANDARDS THAT ALSO AFFORD AMERICAN STUDENTS INTERACTION WITH THE LOCAL CULTURE CAN BE DIFFICULT. HERE'S HELP.

By PIA SCHOU NIELSEN

According to the State Department's Family Liaison Office, there are approximately 10,000 children in Foreign Service families, of which about 7,200 are school-age. Around 93 percent of those children attend local schools located in the city of assignment. Five percent enroll in boarding schools, and the other two percent are homeschooled by their parents.

Foreign Service life offers those children many rewards: excitement, diversity, intellectual stimulation and a sense of self-sufficiency. But it also poses many challenges, a major one being the identification of schools that nurture educational and social development rather than disrupting it. Even in developed nations, finding schools with high educational standards that also give American students the opportunity to interact with the local culture can be difficult. And the selection process must be repeated every few years, often in very different settings.

Fortunately, help is available!

What To Look For

The Family Liaison Office is an excellent place to begin the search for a suitable overseas school. The job of the FLO's Education and Youth Officer, Marjorie Bigelow, is to inform Foreign Service families, whether going abroad or coming home, about educational factors they need to consider.

That role is all the more important because so many FSOs lack the time to do proper research on schools before they arrive at post, Bigelow notes. This is partly because the bidding cycle can be in great conflict with the

school calendar (particularly at more prestigious schools) and partly because FSOs sometimes have to bid on so many posts that they cannot possibly do research on all the possibilities.

Nevertheless, Bigelow's advice is to begin the process early and find out as much as possible about the area, the local school system and the country's culture before leaving for post.

Asked what parents look for in regard to their children's education, Bigelow said: "For many parents, the possibility of being close to their children is the most important factor when they are looking for a school." Another important factor is whether the subjects taught meet the standard of an equivalent American school. Besides the obvious immediate benefits for the student of attaining a rigorous education, that also makes the eventual transition to an American school or college a lot easier for the children when they return home.

It can be almost as difficult for students to return home to American schools as it was to leave years before.

Copenhagen: A Case Study

For all these reasons, many Foreign Service parents select an international school for their children.

In Denmark, one of the biggest of these is the Copenhagen International School. Like many other overseas schools, it does not mount big advertising campaigns, at least in the United States, but is listed in several different directories which can be found at U.S. embassies, the FLO and other places. As its director, Michael Francis, acknowledges, "the best advertising we can get is word of mouth."

Sarah F. Drew, the administrative officer at the U.S. embassy in Copenhagen, agrees that FSOs often base their choice of school on other families' experience and knowledge. Still, the embassy has chosen not to get directly involved in the search for schools for new families in Denmark. "When families come, we can only recom-

Continued on page 52

Pia Schou Nielsen, a student at the Roskilde University, Denmark, was an advertising intern at the Journal this summer.

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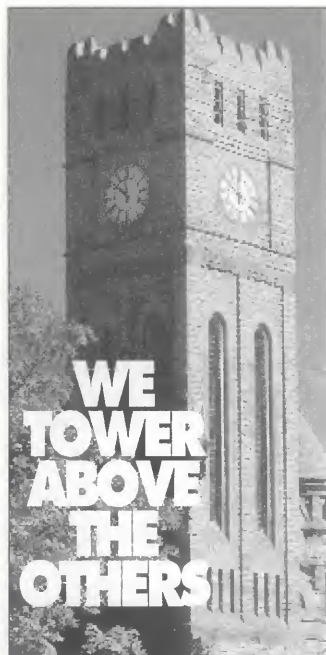
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Continued from page 49

mend that they look at the list from the Office of Overseas Schools," she points out. "We all have different opinions on what is a good education for our children. What is great for my children is not always the best thing for your children." Drew has not only professional but personal experience to back up her views: beside serving as an administrative officer, she is also the mother of two children, both attending the Copenhagen International School.

Another advantage of many international schools is that they base their curriculum on the International Baccalaureate Diploma program.

Another advantage is that they base their curriculum on the International Baccalaureate Diploma program. The IB makes the transition between schools much easier.

The IB program was developed in the late 1960s by a dozen schools (including the Copenhagen International School) as a deliberate compromise between the specialization required in some national school systems and the breadth preferred in others. The IB makes the transition between schools, abroad or back in the United States, much easier.

Moving overseas is not just a challenge for the children. It can also be hard on the parents. After all, they, too, are starting all over, creating a new social network for themselves and their children. Complicating that task is a fundamental difference between American society and most others: In the United States, parents often form

Continued on page 54

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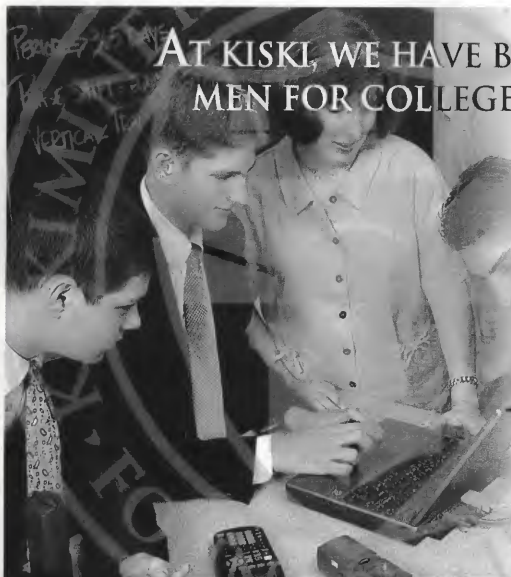
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Photo by Caté Doucette '00

Continued from page 52

their social networks around the parent-teacher associations at their children's schools. But this American tradition of parent involvement often does not exist in schools abroad. As a result, Marjorie Bigelow and her colleagues in the FLO often hear from Foreign Service parents who find the lack of PTAs very hard to deal with. "Not being involved in your children's school is for many parents a big disappointment. They may feel that they do not have control about what is going on with the child," she says.

At the Copenhagen International School, however, the tradition of parent involvement is very big. The school has a very active parents club, and parents are very involved in school activities. There is also a parent liaison related to every grade in order to help the class arrange different forms of activities and school trips. "Parents find the involvement very important. Not just for their children but because they also need to belong to a group, to be a part of a network," Michael Francis concludes.

Coming Back Home

Being abroad for long periods gives children of the international community advantages that their fellow American students can only dream of. When Foreign Service children return to the United States they are often more mature and experienced in both personal and academic areas. They have learned to understand cultural differences, they have usually acquired at least one foreign language, and most of all, they have experienced the world outside the United States.

Yet despite those advantages, it can be almost as difficult for students to return home to the American culture and school system as it was to leave years before. They are still in effect, "starting over," trying to fit in and find their place within social networks. To minimize this disruption, many Foreign Service families choose assignments in Washington when their

Continued on page 60

Schools at a glance

See our web page www.afsa.org and click on the marketplace tab.

School Name	Advertisement Page No.	Enrollment	Gender Distribution, M/F	Percent Boarding	Percent International	Levels Offered	Common Application	Accepts/Others ADD and LD	Miles to International Airport	Int'l Students Orientation	Dorms w/E-mail-phones	Holiday Break Coverage	Tuition, Room & Board
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JUNIOR-SENIOR HIGH SCHOOLS

All Saints' Episcopal School	59	70	45/55	86	14	8-12, PG	N	Limited	60	Y	N/Y	Y	\$17,600
Andrews School, The	63	205	All girls	28	13	6-12	Y	N	30	Y	Y	N	21,750
Dana Hall	67	450	All girls	50	11	6-12	N	N	12	Y	Y	N	30,390
Delphian School, The	53	230	50/50	60	9	3-12	N	N	50	Y	Y	Y	24,748
Hockaday School, The	61	1017	All girls	9	3	Pre-k-12	Y	Y	30	Y	Y	Y	27,215
Linden Hall	57	120	All girls	75	25	6-12, PG	Y	N	30	Y	Y	Y	25,521
Miller School of Albemarle	57	165	75/25	65	10	6-12	Y	Y	225	-	Y	N	18,445
Oakwood Friends School	65	161	82/79	42	17	9-12, PG	Y	Limited	75	N/A	N/Y	N/A	26,200
Patterson School	59	35	50/50	90	20	7-12, PG	Y	Y	70	N	N/Y	N	17,990
Randolph Macon Academy	56	475	70/30	84	17	6-12, PG	Y	N	60	Y	Y	N	20,400
Shattuck-St. Mary's School	52	300	61/39	80	15	6-12, PG	Y	N	45	Y	Y	N	23,500
St. Anselm's Abbey School	64	257	All boys	N/A	12	6-12	N	N/A	5	N/A	N/A	N/A	13,100*
St. John's Preparatory	63	312	54/46	39	21	9-12, PG	Y	N	75	Y	Y	Y	20,022
St. Michael's University School	61	850	50/50	40	40	9-12	Y	N	30	N	Y	Y	29,000
Washington International	66	802	49/51	0	52	PK-12	N	Limited	8	Y	NA	Primary level	17,180
West Nottingham Academy	68	176	63/37	70	17	6-12, PG	Y	Y	50	Y	Y	N	25,250
Woodside Priory School	69	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Woodstock School	69	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-

SENIOR HIGH SCHOOLS

Berkshire	59	385	58/42	86	15	9-12, PG	Y	N	50	Y	Y	N	27,850
Christchurch	62	225	85/15	66	10	8-12, PG	Y	Y	120	Y	Y	N	21,750
Episcopal High School	70	410	252/158	90	26	9-12, PG	Y	Y	50	Y	Y	N	29,500
Cushing Academy	69	125	73/54	69	14	9-12	Y	Y	80	Y	Y	Y	29,300
Episcopal High School	52	410	60/40	100	6	9-12	Y	N	5	N	Y	N	26,000
Foxcroft School	71	180	All girls	75	13	9-12, PG	Y	N	30	Y	N	Y	28,020
Garrison Forest School	64	211	All girls	40	10	9-12	Y	N	35	Y	Y	N	28,850
Grier School, The	73	184	All girls	100	50	7-12, PG	Y	Y	120	N	Y	Limited	26,900
Gunnery	57	55	Co-ed	95	16	9-12, PG	Y	N	60	Y	Y/Y	N	28,600
Idyllwild Arts Academy	56	255	40/60	90	30	9-12, PG	Y	N	120	Y	Y	N	30,400
Interlochen Art Academy	65	455	39/61	93	15	9-12, PG	N	N	16	Y	Y	Y	27,500
Kimball Union Academy	74	306	191/115	69	15	9-12, PG	Y	N	120	Y	N/Y	N	28,200
Kiski School, The	53	220	All male	100	30	9-12, PG	Y	Limited	40	Y	Y	Y	23,500
Knox School, The	65	128	75/53	81	34	7-PG	Y	Y	45	N	Y	N	25,200
Lawrence Academy	61	382	214/168	50	11	9-12	Y	N	50	Y	Y	Y	29,600
Milton Academy	68	660	53/47	40	14	9-12	N	N	10	Y	Y	Y	26,950
Miss Porter's School	71	307	All girls	2/3	7	9-12	Y	N	24	N	Y	N	28,400
Northfield Mount Hermon School	72	1150	60/40	83	25	9-12, PG	Y	Limited	70	Y	Y	N	27,750

*CN \$20,000 *Tuition varies from U.S. \$12,600, for the 6th grade, to U.S. \$13,100, for the 12th grade *Euro 10,890-13,500 *CN \$28,400
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CONTINUED ON PAGE 58



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Web: www.gunnery.org

Schools at a glance

See our web page www.aisa.org and click on the marketplace tab.

School Name	Advertisement Page No.	Enrollment	Gender Distribution - M/F	Percent Boarding	Percent International	Levels Offered	Common Application	Accepts/Offers ADD and LD	Miles to International Airport	Intl Students Orientation	Dorms w/E-mail-phones	Holiday Break Coverage	Tuition - Room & Board
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SENIOR HIGH SCHOOLS *Continued from page 55*

Oldfields School	70	185	All girls	80	17	8-12	Y	Limited	35	N	N/Y	Limited	28,100
Oregon Episcopal School	66	230	50/50	25	25	9-12	Y	Limited	20	Y	Y/Y	Y	27,065
Sandy Spring Friends School	70	512	47/53	19	11	PK-12	Y	N	20	Y	Y	N	25,175
St. Catherine's	51	285	All girls	26	15	9-12	Y	N	10	N	Y	N	\$24,500
St. Johnsbury Academy	74	974	52/48	17	9	9-12, PG	Y	Y	75	Y	Y	Y	22,720
St. Timothy's School	68	110	All girls	70	13	9-12, PG	Y	N	35	Y	Y	N	27,950
Subiaco Academy	62	205	All boys	75	32	9-12	N	N	50Y	Y	Limited	Y	12,300
Western Reserve Academy	63	397	60/40	65	11	9-12, PG	Y	N	30	Y	Y	Y	24,000
White Mountain School	54	100	55/45	80	5	9-12, PG	Y	Y	100	Y	N/Y	Y	28,500

MILITARY SCHOOLS

Fishburn Military Academy	71	200	All boys	90	15	8-12	Y	Limited	90	Y	Y	Y	17,400
Massanutten Military Academy	70	161	140/21	95	11	6-12, PG	N	Y	90	Y	N	N	16,800

SPECIAL NEEDS SCHOOLS

Cotting School	71	120	59/41	7	0	3-26	N	Y	15	N	Y	Y	36,000
Oakland School	68	85	56/30	70	6	2-9	Y	Y	65	Y	N/Y	N	29,000
Vanguard School	74	136	87/49	94	30	4-12, PG	N	Y	50	Y	Y	N	29,900

HOMESCHOOLING / ELEMENTARY SCHOOL

Browne Academy	72	330	53/47	NA	1	PS-8	N	30	Y	NA	NA	NA	13,625
Calvert School	59	Homeschooling program. K-8. For more information, go to www.calvertschool.org											
Rock Creek International School	72	175	50/50	NA	33	Pre-K-5	N	N	20	Y	NA	Y	15,520

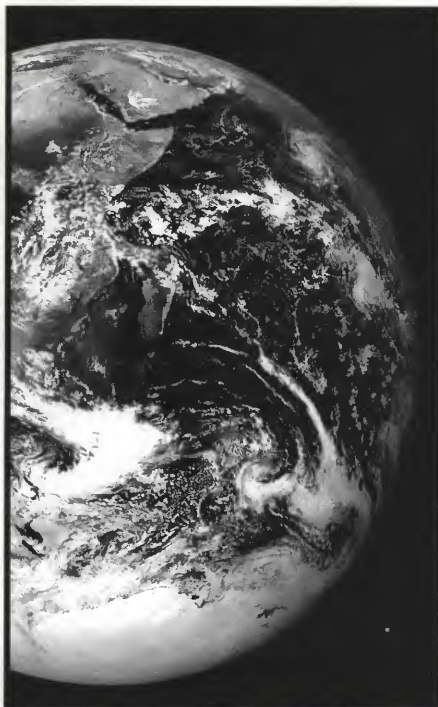
OVERSEAS SCHOOLS

American Overseas School of Rome	50	600	50/50	7	70	Pre-K-PG	N	Y	30	Y	Y	N	21,000 25,000
Internationale Schule Frankfurt-Rhein-Main	67	800	50/50	N	60	K-13	N	NA	4	Y	N/A	N	15,025*
Leysin American School in Switzerland	66	330	55/45	100	65	9-12, PG	Y	N	75	Y	Y	N	25,000
Munich International School	74	1110	50/50	NA	100	pre-K-12	N	N	40	Y	N	N	12,000
Rosseau Lake College	69	160	60/40	62	25	7-12, OAC	Y	N	150	Y	Y	N	18,500*
St. Margaret's School	73	415	All girls	25	25	K-12	N	N	20	Y	Y	N	12,629
TASIS England American School	51	725	50/50	50 ⁵	33	9-12	Y	Limited	5	Y	N/Y	Y ⁶	28,000

SUMMER PROGRAMS

Miss Porter's School	72	60	All girls	100	5	7-9	N	N	24	N	Y	NA	3,500
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- Evaluations and reviews on some schools given by education consultants.
- Hyperlinks to boarding school websites and individual education consultants' websites.

BOOKS (All Available on www.afsa.org go to marketplace)

Far and Wide: Diversity in the American Boarding School

Craig Thorn (Editor) Tim Hillman (Editor)

Format: Paperback, 175pp.

ISBN: 0962767182

Publisher: Avocus Publishing, Incorporated

Pub. Date: February 1998

The book is divided into three major sections: entering school, settling in, and leaving school. Chapters are written both by students and the adults who teach and counsel them. This book addresses key questions faced by the multi-cultural student in an informative and provocative manner.

Second Home: Life in a Boarding School

Tim Hillman (Editor) Craig Thorn (Editor)

Format: Paperback, 166pp.

ISBN: 1890765007

Publisher: Avocus Publishing, Incorporated

Pub. Date: November 1997

The perfect resource for students, prospective students and parents contemplating a boarding school education. Students, educators and houseparents share their wisdom on what it takes to succeed at boarding school. Practical exercises are sprinkled throughout. Professionals working with children will want to recommend this book.

Educating Disruptive Children: Placement and Progress in Residential Special Schools for Pupils with Emotional and Behavioral Difficulties

Roger Grimshaw With David Berridge

Format: Paperback, 152pp.

ISBN: 1874579245

Publisher: National Children's Bureau

Pub. Date: February 1995

Continued from page 54

children reach the age for high school. Others, however, choose to stay abroad and instead send their children back to an American school or university. But either way, coming back can be very hard whether you are a teenager or a college student. They are going back to a culture already set and in some way they have to start all over.

"You might have traveled three or four continents without thinking so much about it. But inside, you are still an adolescent that needs guidance," observes Vincent Hodge, who is the

Consulting school and State Department officials is an excellent way to gather information about international education possibilities.

director of Episcopal High School in Alexandria, Va. The school has 410 full-time boarding students, including many from Foreign Service families whose parents are posted abroad. He therefore tries hard to give the boarding school the comforting atmosphere a small community. "Being a teacher here is a 24-hour responsibility, not a 9-5 job. There is therefore always someone for the child to communicate with," Hodge adds.

Whether overseas or in the U.S., choosing the right school is, of course, ultimately the parents' responsibility. But consulting school and State Department officials, both overseas and in Washington, is an excellent way to gather information about international education and the possibilities for your children.

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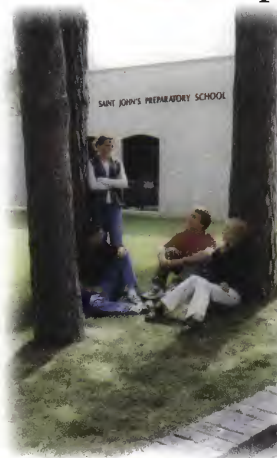
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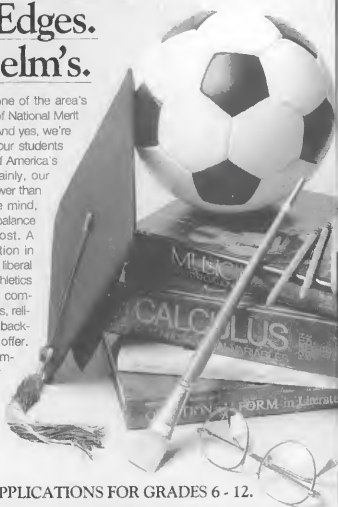
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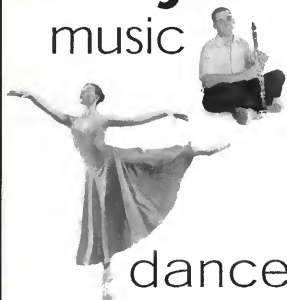
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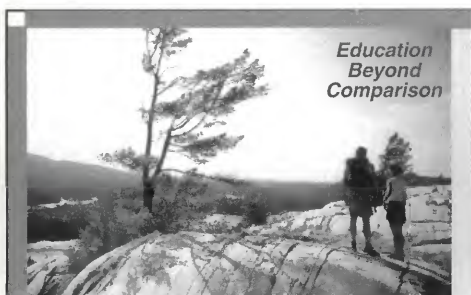
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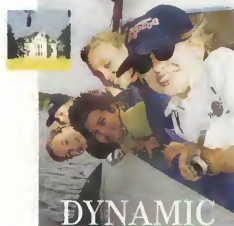
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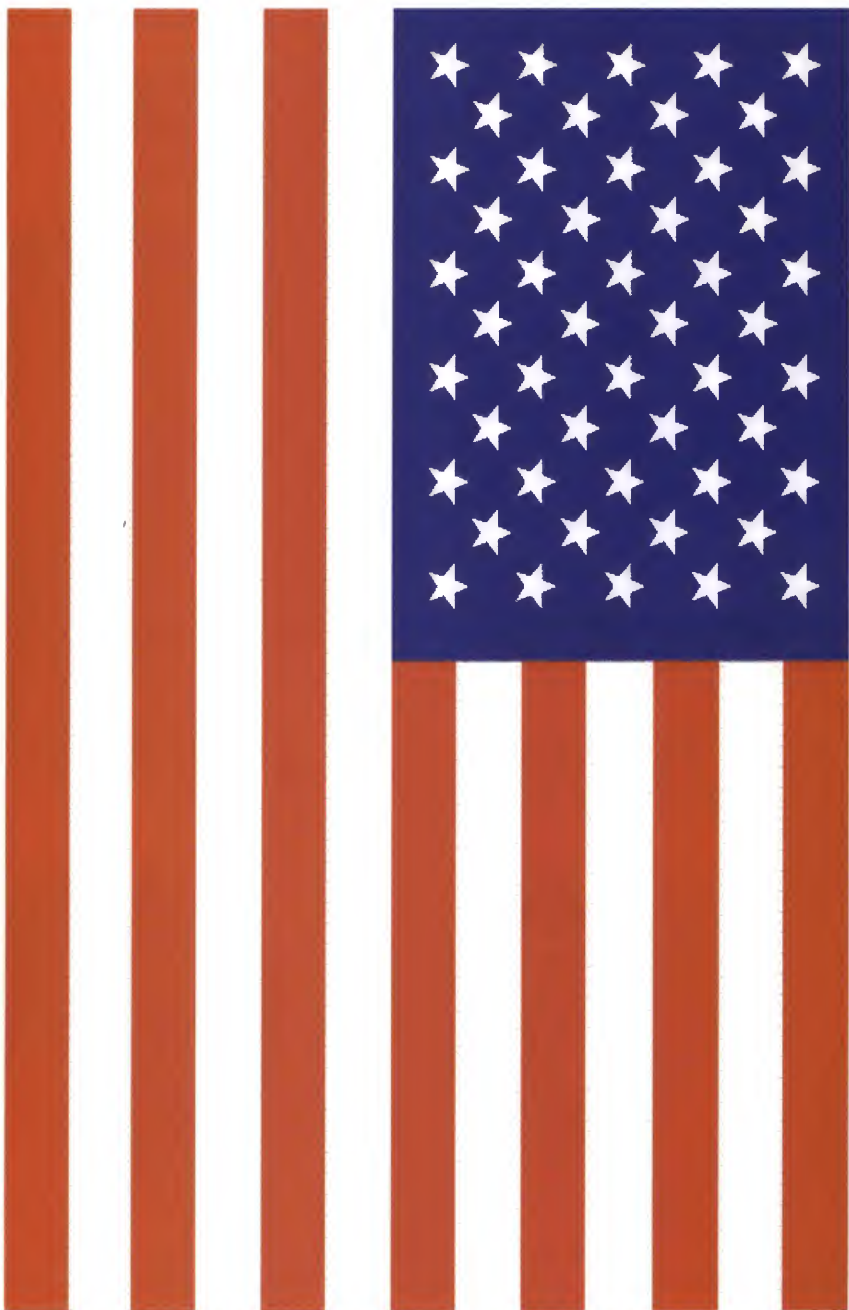


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China's Dog Days

BY STEVEN KNIPP

Under Mao, they would have been shot on sight, their distraught families forced to pay for the bullet. Even today, in more sensible times, thousands must stay hidden from the authorities, while others are forced to live their days in a cramped and dusty prison in a suburb of Beijing.

Since ancient times the Chinese have had a love-hate affair with man's best friend. In centuries past, China's ruling class kept exquisitely shampooed lapdogs like the famous silky-haired Pekingese favored by the Empress Dowager Ci Xi. But when the communists took over in 1949, it was decreed that all dogs in China would face the firing squad. In a land where a million peasants were starving, dogs were condemned for consuming scarce food.

But with China's ongoing economic boom, canines are now being allowed out of the doghouse. Owning a dog in urban China has become a popular status symbol, akin to packing a portable phone or driving your own car. And few places in China quite capture the mixed feelings the average Chinese has about dogs better than the bizarre "dog-only" zoo north of Beijing.

Here, on the grounds of an abandoned amusement park, off a dusty

Steve Knipp is a freelance writer. The stamp is courtesy of the AAFSW Bookfair "Stamp Corner."

*Since ancient
times the Chinese
have had a
love-hate affair
with man's best
friend.*



highway which leads to the Ming Tombs, is the "Dog Loving Park." Nearly 300 dogs of 20 species are on display here, including everything from chirpy little Mexican Chihuahuas to big burly white-coated St. Bernards.

The highlight for Chinese visitors to the park is an opportunity to walk a dog for 10 minutes. For this, you must pay an additional two yuan (about 30 U.S. cents) on top of the 20-yuan entrance fee. There is also a 50-yuan deposit fee.

As a visitor approaches the cage where the smaller breeds are housed — lively little beagles, gentle, sad-eyed spaniels, dapper dachshunds and proud terriers — all hell breaks loose. As the visitor nears the fence, carrying a choker

leash, the combined yelping, barking and howling reaches a crescendo. After days, weeks and perhaps even months being kept in a hard, dirt-floored cage with no other distraction save the movement of the clouds overhead, here is a rare chance for 10 minutes of escape.

The beagle I chose bounded out of his cage, dragging me behind. His destination: a grassy knoll under the shade of a big oak tree. As soon as he reached it, he dropped on his back and rolled over in the dark grass, chewing, tearing and savoring its cool green softness. Barking in delight, and egged on by the bellowing of his cellmates — who watched wide-eyed from their cages — he then spent the whole 10 minutes playing in the grass.

When the time came to return to his cell, the feisty little hound refused to surrender his brief freedom willingly, and had to be dragged back. After seeing the gate slammed shut behind him, and the other dogs watching carefully for any subtle sign from me that another of them might be chosen for a walk, I seriously considered returning to the Dog Loving Park under cover of darkness to organize a Canine Great Escape.

The discovery of any of the dogs outside the park would have meant certain death for them, of course. But I knew in my heart there wasn't a hound on the ground at the Dog Loving Park who wouldn't have taken his chances. ■

A person's hands are shown holding a globe of the Earth. The globe is the central focus, with the person's hands visible at the top and bottom. The background is dark and out of focus.

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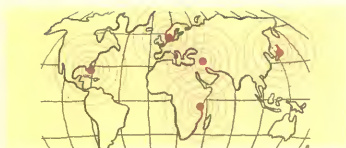
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