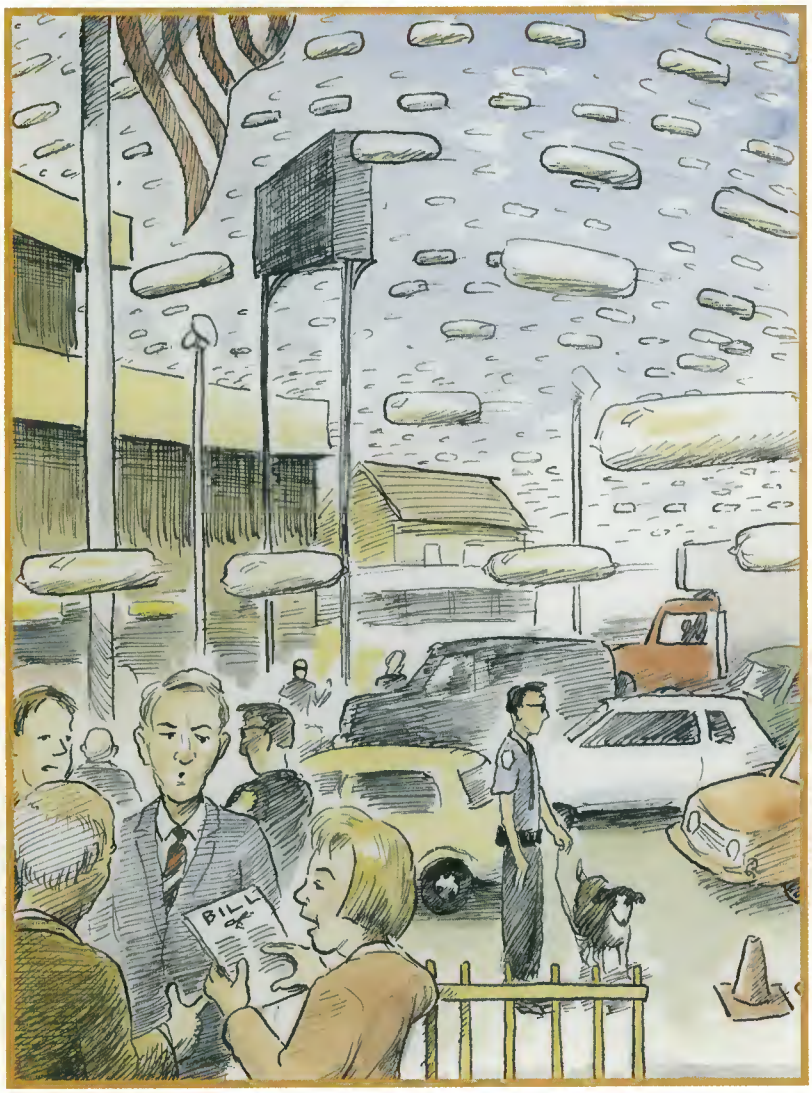
A Talk With "D" ■ Diplomacy, British Style ■ Why We Fight

$3.50 / January 2002

Foreign Service Journal

The Magazine For Foreign Affairs Professionals



The (Perpetual) War On Drugs

Dispatches From The Front

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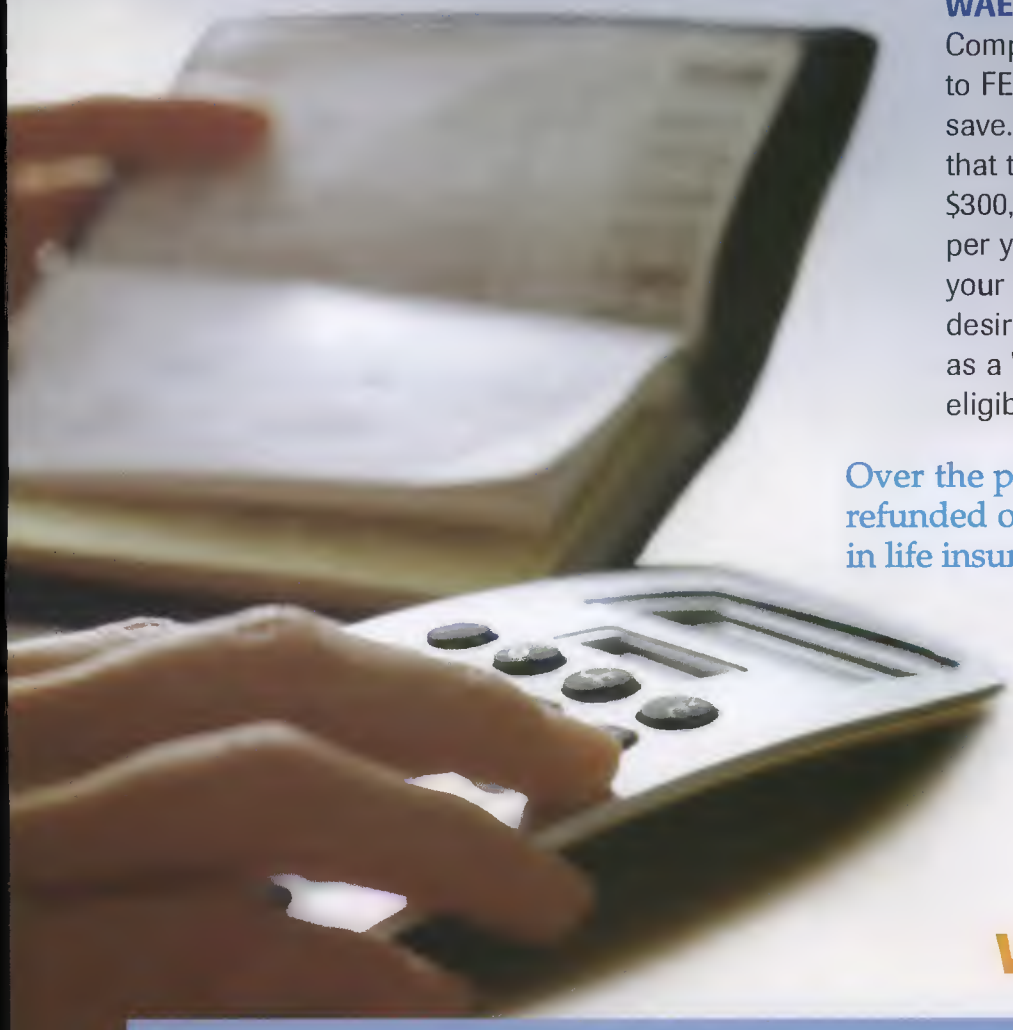

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President's Views

Why We Fight

By John K. Naland

Several months ago, I got an abusive phone call from a senior Foreign Service officer working for a high-level State Department official. I tell you about it because I believe that this disturbing incident demonstrates how important, yet sometimes unappreciated, AFSA's role is as the independent voice of the Foreign Service.

The call came at the height of last fall's anthrax scare just after the State Department Town Hall meeting at which employees faulted State officials for a lack of responsiveness in the frightening first days after the discovery of anthrax contamination at several State Department facilities. My caller, referring to an AFSA update cable/AFSANet that I wrote which had been transmitted earlier that day, berated me for several things:

First, he claimed that I "lied" in my message, which reported that State officials did not inform anxious employees of the decision to expand environmental testing until 24 hours after they told the news media. The truth is that my statement was accurate. The department was initially slow off the mark in communicating with employees.

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

> *Far from trying to win a popularity contest, AFSA's only objective is to live up to our members' expectations.*

I invited my caller to prove otherwise, but I got no response (then or subsequently).

Second, he charged that my message had claimed that AFSA deserved the credit for convincing State officials to reverse their initial decision to test only a few mailrooms for contamination. The truth is that I made no such claim. I do not know what caused State officials to change their minds, but it is certainly true that AFSA represented our members' interests by urging State to expand testing.

Third, he charged that I was trying to make State management look bad in order to win a "popularity contest." The truth is that I was only reporting facts and AFSA actions. In reality, the only contest that AFSA is engaged in is a contest to live up to our members' expectations. If that makes us more "popular" with members, that is fine. But our objective is responsiveness.

After the call ended, it took me a while to figure out what had just happened.

I wondered if the caller — a management official who telephoned from his office with the assistance of a staffer — had acted in an official capacity in an attempt to intimidate AFSA into silencing our constructive criticism of the department. After reflection, I concluded that he appeared to have been speaking in a personal capacity. If so, he would not be the first person to express disagreement with something that AFSA did or said (although few have done so in so abusive a manner).

I wondered why he had reacted so negatively to an AFSA message that was generally laudatory of State management (the message highlighted Secretary Powell's participation in the Town Hall on anthrax, noted that State officials were working hard to overcome unprecedented challenges, and applauded some of their initial actions). After reflection, I concluded that my caller might just have had a particularly tough week.

Tough week or not, in attacking that AFSA message the caller demonstrated a lack of respect for the vital role that AFSA plays in advancing U.S. diplomatic readiness. If that senior FSO did not understand AFSA's role, it might be

useful to others to review some fundamental facts.

Why We Fight. President Bush told the nation on Sept. 11, 2001, that "America was targeted for attack because we're the brightest beacon for freedom and opportunity in the world." Those freedoms and opportunities are made possible by the uniquely successful framework of government that was crafted in Philadelphia in 1787. In an essay that many of us studied in high school, founding father James Madison wrote:

"If men were angels, no government would be necessary. If angels were to govern men, neither external nor internal controls on government would be necessary. In framing a government which is to be administered by men over men, the great difficulty lies in this: You must first enable the government to control the government; and in the next place, oblige it to control itself. A dependence on the people is no doubt the primary control on the government; but experience has taught mankind the necessity of auxiliary precautions."

While Madison may not have had employee groups such as AFSA in mind when he discussed checks and balances, the Congress and president did nearly 200 years later when they authorized the Foreign Service to unionize. The opening section of the Foreign Service Act of 1980 states, in part:

"Experience in both private and public employment indicates that the statutory protection of the right of workers to organize, bargain collectively, and participate through labor organizations of their own choosing in decisions which affect them: a) safeguards the public interest, b) contributes to the effective conduct of public business, and c) facilitates and encourages the amicable settlement of disputes between workers and their employers involving conditions of service."

The success of AFSA's advocacy depends on the willingness of members to actively support our work.

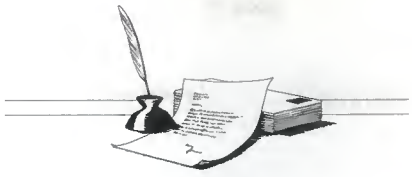
"The unique conditions of Foreign Service employment require a distinct framework for the development and implementation of modern, constructive and cooperative relationships between management officials and organizations representing members of the Service. Therefore, labor organizations and collective bargaining in the Service are in the public interest and are consistent with the requirement of an effective and efficient government."

Before I was elected to the AFSA Governing Board, I did not fully appreciate just how great a

force for good AFSA is. But now I do. Day in and day out, AFSA's professional staff members, elected officials and post representatives fight for the interests of our members. AFSA negotiates improvements in your conditions of service, lobbies for legislation to improve your quality of life, shines the spotlight on backroom dealing, and speaks up for those who are shut out of the corridors of power. All of this serves to make the Foreign Service a better place in which to spend a career and raise a family. That, in turn, makes our agencies more effective and improves our nation's diplomatic readiness.

AFSA has been the voice of the Foreign Service for as long as the Service itself has existed. But the success of AFSA's advocacy depends on the willingness of members to actively support our work. That support can and must continue. When I leave this job in 18 months, one of you will need to take my place. Twenty-one members will be needed to fill the other positions on the AFSA Governing Board. Nearly 200 members will be needed to volunteer as AFSA post representatives or to participate in one of AFSA's domestic standing committees. The rest of us — 11,000 AFSA members — will need to continue to pay the dues that enable AFSA to maintain and expand its vital work.

In so doing, we will be continuing the proud tradition of mutual support dating back to 1924. And the Foreign Service will be the better for it. ■



LETTER FROM THE EDITOR

BY STEVEN ALAN HONLEY

You may recall that the September 2001 issue of the *Foreign Service Journal* contained a reader survey intended to gauge directly how well we are meeting the needs of our readers. Despite post-Sept. 11 turmoil and the resulting disruptions to mail service, over 400 of you were kind enough to fill out and return the survey. We thank all the respondents, and are particularly grateful to those who not only checked the various boxes but suggested article topics and made specific comments — positive, negative and mixed — in the narrative portion at the bottom of the form.

Because we wanted to give as many of you as possible an opportunity to respond, we delayed final tabulation of the forms until November. Here now are some highlights from the results:

A majority of readers — 58 percent — are very satisfied with the *Journal*, while another 37 percent are somewhat satisfied, and five percent are dissatisfied.

• Over half the respondents (58 percent) would like to see more space devoted to coverage of Foreign Service-specific professional/personnel/lifestyle issues. At the same time, however, the results do not indicate that they want the *Journal* to pay any less attention to substantive foreign policy issues.

A majority of readers, 58 percent, are very satisfied with the Journal, *while another 37 percent are somewhat satisfied, and five percent are dissatisfied.*

• Similarly, a 45 percent plurality of readers expressed approval of having Foreign Service professionals analyze foreign policy topics in our pages, but not necessarily at the expense of coverage by outside experts: a third said they wanted more of that, a third said less, and the other third thought the balance was fine as is.

Citing this feedback, the AFSA Governing Board has expressed the desire, and the Editorial Board has agreed, that the *Journal* place renewed emphasis on Foreign Service-specific coverage (although substantive foreign policy issues will continue to play an important part of the mix, I hasten to add). The Governing Board has further stipulated that this approach be reflected both in the choice of focus/cover topics and in overall content, although there will inevitably be some fluctuations in the ratio of the two categories from issue to issue.

But we need *your* help to accomplish this!

Although the *Journal* does commission some articles (primarily for each month's focus section), the majority of our content comes from you, our readers. So if you feel we have not devoted enough space to a particular professional concern or functional issue, or if you want to advocate a policy, statutory or regulatory change, I urge you to consider writing about it yourself, or suggest someone else to do so. In particular, the survey results make clear that those of you who are Foreign Service specialists, or employees of USAID and the smaller foreign affairs agencies, are especially eager to see more of your concerns reflected in our pages.

If you would like information on how to submit an article or "Speaking Out" column, please contact us at journal@afsa.org and we will be delighted to respond. We look forward to hearing from you. ■

LETTERS

This is Tolerance?

One of the November letters criticizing Dale Slaght's "Speaking Out" (*FSJ*, September) drips with contempt for Slaght's religious views and deserves a response.

Edgar Fulton calls Slaght's argument "an indefensible affront to our American traditions of religious freedom." Indefensible affront? Arguments similar to Slaght's are discussed, debated and defended every day in this country in opinion journals and newspapers and on radio and TV talk shows. Does Fulton believe the Foreign Service should be exempt from the rough and tumble of democracy? Isn't basing an argument on religious principles an affirmation of religious freedom rather than an affront to it? Religious freedom as defined by Fulton appears to be a one-way street. Slaght is free to agree with Fulton, or he can have his beliefs branded "an arrogant assault on the spiritual journeys of everyone else." This is tolerance?

Fulton does not even attempt to address any of the specific arguments raised by Slaght. Instead he attempts to tar and feather him as an extremist. Fulton accuses Slaght of suggesting that "we subordinate our social progress to an inflexible theocracy." Nowhere does Slaght write this, suggest it, or even imply it.

It seems that the commitment to "diversity" in the Foreign Service so trumpeted by Fulton and others is of a very narrow sort that does not include religious conservatives, nor for that matter anyone who does not hold liberal views on social issues like homosexuality. Therein, I think, lies the answer to an unavoidable conundrum. Thoughtful people wonder why the Department of State and the Foreign Service do not enjoy the same prestige and occupy the same positions of respect as other national institutions, like the military. Perhaps this is because so many Foreign Service officers have given up truly respecting the values of middle America, in favor of the orthodoxies championed by narrow coastal elites.

The quasi-official acceptance by the Department of State of same-sex partners, rooted in executive fiat, is but the latest example of this disconnection. If supporters truly believe that this policy reflects the views of most Americans, then they should seek to have it codified democratically through the legislative process. If not, they should not be surprised when many Americans, aware of the contempt with which their values are held by State, return the favor.

Richard G. Miles
FSO
Washington, D.C.

The Foreign Service Journal *welcomes your signed letters to the editor. Please send letters via e-mail to journal@afsa.org; fax to (202) 338-8244; or mail to the* Journal, *2101 E St., NW, Washington, D.C., 20037. Letters, which are subject to editing, should include full name, title and post, address and daytime telephone number.*

Globalization and Terrorism

The horrifying terrorist attacks on the World Trade Center and the Pentagon have dramatically, indeed grotesquely, illustrated at least two key themes of contemporary cultural globalization. First, the attacks and the motives behind them underline the cultural connection of far-flung peoples, as well as the centrality of American culture. One hundred years ago the great majority of the colonized peoples of the Muslim world were largely unaffected culturally by the Western conquerors in their midst, whose main impact was on local elites.

Now, American popular culture — with its portrayals of individualism, socially empowered and sexually active women, consumer culture and diversity — reaches deep into the more modest socio-economic strata in these societies. Satellite dishes proliferate throughout the Middle East and South Asia, and "Baywatch" and other American television shows and movies are popular fare, as are American music, fashion and sports icons. It is a measure of how convinced fanatical Islamist terrorists are of the reality of an American-driven global cultural connection and convergence that their obscene equation is to destroy America, bring the process to a halt, and thus save their regions. The terrorists are, of course, on a fool's mission, as the process of cultural convergence is, frankly, the natural

order of cultural evolution and has historically spared only the most far-flung regions.

Second, the United States is not alone in its capacity to produce spell-binding global iconography. Others' cultural output is often most effectively disseminated globally via American cultural channels. I do not mean to seem arch in offering this point — I do not look upon the unspeakable evil perpetrated by the terrorists as "art," as a European musical conductor stupidly and callously declared in the aftermath of the attack. However, the terrorists *were* very deliberately crafting images. As more than one media critique has observed, the 18-minute interval between the first and second crashes into the Twin Towers guaranteed that coverage of the second impact was going to be broadcast live around the world via CNN. Ever since Sept. 11, the images of destruction have continued to be shown, over and over again, on television, via the Internet, and in heart-rending newspaper and magazine photographs. All of this was done in the service of a cause as ultimately hopeless and fundamentally warped in its fear and abhorrence of modernity as Nazism. Indeed, like the Nazis, the al-Qaida terrorists have demonstrated a proficiency in the use of modernity's tools. They have manipulated such American cultural values as open borders, diversity via immigration, and the right to privacy. They have shown an astute understanding of the mechanisms of global media coverage. They have used the Internet and cell phones as secure, or at least hard-to-trace, communications. All of this has been done in order to plot modernity's destruction.

Neal Rosendorf
Visiting Professor of History
State University of New York-Plattsburgh College

Differential in Hades?

The great Christian apologist, C. S. Lewis, offers us the following working definition of hell, which may resonate with some readers:

It is a place in which "everyone is perpetually concerned about his own dignity and advancement, where everyone has a grievance, and where everyone lives the deadly serious passions of envy, self-importance, and resentment."

As the afterlife (for some) may closely mirror our temporal working world, might I ask the consequences of not making the celestial senior Foreign Service? If we don't get promoted to the top, how long will we be in limbo, or worse? In view of climatic conditions, can we expect a differential in Hades? And who will review an evaluation prepared by St. Peter?

William Dawson, Jr.
FSO, retired
Lexington, Va. ■

CLIPPINGS

"We have had to face our own vulnerability as never before. As we support the victims' families and set about to prevent future terrorist attacks, we should also rededicate ourselves to upholding the principles (of): freedom, tolerance, diversity and respect for [the worth of] every individual. If our leaders appeal to these values — then this trial by fire will refine us, instead of coarsen us."

— SEN. PATRICK LEAHY, D-VT.

OCT. 31, 2001 IN THE CONGRESSIONAL RECORD

KEEPING AN EYE ON SOUTHEAST ASIA

In the Nov. 26 issue of *In These Times* from the Institute for Public Affairs, Joshua Schenker reports on the "second front" in the global war on terrorism developing in Southeast Asia. He cites Abu Sayyaf, a Muslim terrorist organization in the southern Philippines, as a prime example of the threat coming from this region of the world. Abu Sayyaf has been linked to groups like al-Qaida, and has been described as seeking contact with foreign terrorist groups in order to receive logistics, training, and access to the international terrorist network. According to Philippine military sources, Abu Sayyaf members have studied in al-Qaida training camps in Afghanistan, and the group as a whole has vowed to kill all Americans in the Philippines.

In Malaysia, police believe there are links between Osama bin Laden and Kumpulan Mujahideen Malaysia, a group of Islamic militants who have received training in Kabul. An offshoot of their group has also established itself in Indonesia.

In general, Southeast Asian leaders have expressed worry that Islamic militants based in Indonesia, Thailand, the Philippines and Malaysia give foreign terrorists sanctuary, financial assistance and other aid.

According to the article, Southeast Asian terrorists have begun to focus more pointedly on American targets, where in the past they were mainly concerned with local actors. Accordingly, since Sept. 11 the United States has raised its counterintelligence profile in this region, and U.S. officials have said that certain groups in the Philippines are among Washington's top counter-terrorism targets.

Many Southeast Asian leaders have reportedly welcomed advances by the U.S. against terrorism in their countries. Many are also taking advantage of the current political climate to move against militant Islamic groups within their own borders, something they have long wanted to do.

Some observers remain skeptical that forces in Southeast Asia will be able to combat terrorism without committing human rights abuses or adding to the pool of radical Islamists. Schenker quotes Dwight King, an Indonesia specialist at Northern Illinois University, "The armed forces have purposely prolonged conflict with militant groups in order to retain the army's influence over the country, in the process committing many abuses."

Schenker nonetheless concludes that, as the terrorist threat increases, it will take greater cooperation between the U.S. and Southeast Asian governments to combat it.

ANTI-AMERICAN EXHIBIT IN TEHRAN

For the first time since the hostage seizure of 52 American diplomats in 1979, the doors of the former American Embassy in Tehran were opened to the public early this past November. As Jonathan Steele reports in the Nov. 5 issue of *The Guardian* (London), this year's "national day of fighting against global arrogance" in Iran was marked by the opening of the embassy, where there now sits a waxwork of William Sullivan,

CLIPPINGS

the last U.S. ambassador to Iran.

In the empty rooms of the embassy Iranians have placed exhibits celebrating movements that oppose Israel and U.S. policy in the Middle East, such as Islamic Jihad and Hizbillah. One room is dedicated to the current war on Afghanistan. It contains pictures of ruined houses in Kandahar and a caption which reads "Result of bomb-drops of American and English fighters."

Iran presently sits with U.S. diplomats as part of the six-plus-two forum on Afghanistan, which consists of the U.S., Russia, and Afghanistan's six neighbors. Iran also wants Washington to take it off the blacklist of states which sponsor terrorism. While these facts may signal a desire to cooperate with the U.S. in its present campaign, Steele comments that current attitudes within the country seem to oppose closer relations with America. An art teacher who was leading her class in designing anti-American drawings at the embassy in Tehran stated that "the Taliban are killers, but so is the United States." Such views among the Iranian people point to complications, to say the least, for any attempt at cooperation between Iran and the U.S.

TERRORISTS HELD IN BRITAIN

In the Oct. 23 issue of *The Times* (London), Dominic Kennedy reports on the detention of three men in London wanted in the United States for their part in the bombings of U.S. embassies in Kenya and Tanzania in 1998. Khalid al-Fawwaz, a Saudi, is alleged to have been appointed by Osama bin Laden as his representative in Britain. Adel Abdel Bary and Ibrahim Eidarous are allegedly members of Egyptian Islamic Jihad, each operating at different times as leader of its London cell.

At issue is the length of time it is taking for Britain to make a decision on the extradition of the three men to the U.S., and Britain's reported "reputation as a haven for suspected international terrorists."

Mr. al-Fawwaz has been on Britain's "extradition row" since 1998, and Mr. Bary and Mr. Eidarous have been held since 1999. Their extradition has been approved at hearings before Bow Street magistrates and the British High Court. If the House of Lords gives its approval, an official decision will still have to be made by the Home Secretary.

By contrast, Kennedy notes, African countries handed over suspects in the embassy bombings much more quickly, without any extradition procedures. However, the British High Court found last year that it could not allow the U.S. to extradite suspects unless a crime had been committed on American soil. At that time the court reportedly stated that "whether this is a sensible rule, in a world of major international crime and of the regular passage of persons involved in such crime between different jurisdictions, is no doubt not for us to say."

STATE MIGHT NEED 'MORE THAN A HUG'

Tish Durkin writes in the Nov. 5 issue of the *National Journal* about the need for increased funding for America's Foreign Service. Durkin cites Secretary Powell's appeal last spring for an increase of five percent in the

50 YEARS AGO

"A policy of indiscriminate acceptance of all demands stemming from irrational nationalism fostered by local leaders seeking to focus the attention of their dissatisfied masses on the 'foreign devils' can be but a palliative. So-called absolute independence — and how much absolute independence is there in the world today — achieved ... could gravitate all too easily toward the mirage of communism which can be coated with a fine Moslem veneer or any other which may be locally desirable."

— *FROM GEORGE F. KENNAN'S BOOK* AMERICAN DIPLOMACY 1900-1951, *REVIEWED IN THE* FSJ, *JANUARY 1952*

"It is no doubt a good thing to conquer on the field of battle, but it needs greater wisdom and greater skill to make use of victory."

— POLYBIUS, *c. 125 B.C.*

department's budget, calling it a countermove to past budget slices due to "post-Cold War contraction, deficit reduction, public indifference, [and] easy political point-making." Durkin asserts that "Powell's rank and file could use a graham cracker and a hug." (In light of recent events, perhaps rather more than a hug is called for.)

Durkin cites longstanding complaints by people such as Frank Wisner, who has served as U.S. ambassador to Egypt, the Philippines, Zambia, and India, and has said, "Walk into our embassy in Beijing — you'd think you're in a slum."

Besides material and financial problems, the article discusses a change in policy which has shifted emphasis from officers with regional expertise to officers with managerial or technical skills. Peter Bechtold, the chair for Near East and North Africa Studies at the Foreign Service Institute, complains of "gigantic embassies of the Near East staffed by people who can't even say 'good morning'." According to Bechtold, "Anybody who talks about the importance of area studies instead of management issues gets cut off at the knees."

Lack of Internet training for Foreign Service officers is also cited as an important problem. As others have noted in the past, career officers in the armed services receive much more such training than do their counterparts in the Foreign Service.

Durkin concludes by asking whether the recent increase in funding for the Foreign Service will be sustained, given the post-Sept. 11 recognition that the U.S. can no longer "afford to stint on the international front." Or will the opposite be true, in light of the many other demands on the nation's resources and on Secretary Powell's immediate attention? ■

SPEAKING OUT

Time For State To Draw On Its Reserves

BY BILL FARRAND

Within days of the Sept. 11 attacks, several retired AFSA members contacted me in my capacity as AFSA's Vice President for Retiree Affairs to volunteer their time and expertise to the State Department to assist in the war on terrorism. Two things quickly became evident: Many, perhaps most, retirees do not have a clear understanding of how to make their interest known, and State Department management has even less idea of how to draw on the wealth of linguistic ability, in-country experience and substantive knowledge that our retiree corps has to offer.

This is the case even though the State Department, at AFSA's urging, created a Foreign Affairs Reserve Corps (FARC) for exactly that purpose nearly a decade ago. As the February 1993 *Foreign Service Journal* reported, on Jan. 11, 1993, Secretary of State Lawrence Eagleburger, about to retire, received the first appointment as a reservist.

The current set-up allows bureau executive directors to "wire" WAE assignments even when more qualified candidates are available.

A small number of retired FSOs were hired via the FARC in the early years of the program, in large part for assignment to the many posts being opened at that time in the former Soviet Union. However, the system never really got off the ground. When the FARC began, all retirees were eligible to enroll and those who did were given new security clearances, at some cost to the taxpayer. That policy was not stopped until 1999, when the department, at the insistence of the Bureau of Diplomatic Security, belatedly implemented a 1997 executive order that prohibited the issuance of blanket security clearances.

A 'WAE'-Off System

But the low rate of hiring during the seven years when clearances were not an issue reveals the real obstacle to FARC's becoming a successful vehicle for retiree hiring: the WAE (when actually employed) system. Under the WAE legal construct, dating back at least to 1978 and still in effect, the State Department is able to bring back retired members with requisite skills for a limited time under the Civil Service rank structure and with a strict pay cap. (As the *Journal* has previously reported, AFSA is energetically pursuing the lifting of this WAE pay cap through legislation.)

The procedure one follows to be included on WAE rolls, however, is irregular and ad hoc: i.e., you become qualified for rehire essentially by acquiring a good "corridor reputation" while on active duty and cultivating someone in a hiring position in the active service. Furthermore, WAE suffers from a crucial weakness: each bureau activates its own, in-house list of retirees, rather than calling up Human Resources and requesting qualified retirees through the central system. That arrangement effectively gives bureau executive directors the ability to "wire" assignments, a power they were (and likely still are) unwilling to give up even

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Bill Farrand is AFSA's Retiree Vice President. During his 34 years in the Foreign Service, he served in Kuala Lumpur, Moscow, Prague, Port Moresby, Brcko (Bosnia) and Washington. Following his retirement in 1998, he continued to supervise the Bosnian city of Brcko until 2000 on contract with the State Department. Farrand is now a senior fellow and lecturer in George Mason University's program on peacekeeping policy and a part-time consultant to the U.S. Army on peace operations. He is currently writing a book on implementation of the Dayton Peace Accord in Brcko under a grant from the United States Institute for Peace.

AFSA has repeatedly encouraged department managers to tap our retiree database for help in the current crisis.

when more qualified candidates are available for those positions.

This "system," if one can call it that, may work in time of relative stability and calm, but it lacks transparency and risks overlooking many excellent prospects for hiring in a crisis. A more regular and reliable process is needed to locate qualified people with the right skills to fill surge-driven jobs, particularly in times of grave crisis like these.

Recognizing that WAE is at best an imperfect substitute for the original Foreign Service Reserve system, AFSA acted in February 2000, shortly after the demise of FARC, to compile its own online database of retired members to fill the information void. Then-Retiree VP Harry Cahill informed the membership that DS, aided by a new executive order, would do its best to grant the necessary security clearances.

Even a cursory look at the database, which AFSA expends considerable time and effort to maintain and update, leaves no doubt that FS retirees constitute a vast and deep talent pool. We have also repeatedly encouraged department managers to tap this valuable resource, rather than to continue to rely on the spotty memories of desk officers and office directors who, in moments of haste, may fail to identify highly competent retired employees whose area background, functional skills, security and medical clearances are fresh and relevant.

Using Our Human Resources

We are all only too familiar with the managerial emphasis on massive downsizing of the federal bureaucracy that has produced record numbers of retirees in recent years — many of whom are relatively young Foreign Service personnel retiring in the prime of their lives. By the lowest estimate, the FS staffing structure is 700 people short of filling all currently vacant positions. Consequently, foreign affairs agencies have rarely had a greater need to rehire Foreign Service retirees to fill specific jobs for which they are uniquely qualified.

On a related theme, retired colleague Ed Marks recently drew my attention to a special section of the Nov. 3, 2001 issue of *The Economist* entitled "The Next Society: a Survey of the Near Future." This commentary focuses on challenges facing human resource managers in large organizations — corporations, government institutions, universities, et al. — and points to the emerging reality that the old paradigm under which a workforce is comprised almost wholly of full-time, relatively younger employees is rapidly changing. Instead, it is common today to find a surprisingly high percentage of employees to be working part-time and under contract to their employer. The survey highlights the loss in productivity entailed when an organization pushes older workers into early retirement to make way for younger, less expensive hires, who often prove to be no more productive than their predecessors.

In pointing to this new trend, I do not suggest the State Department consider rolling back its "up or out" program for human resource management, so long as it leads to a reasonably — repeat, reasonably — predictable rate of retirement among Foreign Service members. That principle, which also governs retirement from all branches of military service, is now an accepted feature of the Foreign Service career and should not be disturbed. That said, top State Department managers might well contemplate a central thesis of the *Economist* survey: "highly skilled and educated older people, instead of being retired, might be offered a choice of continuing relationships that convert them into long-term 'inside outsiders,' preserving their skills and knowledge for the enterprise and yet giving them the flexibility and freedom they expect and can afford." The survey points to academia where professors emeriti, having vacated their chairs, remain free to teach and to be paid only for the time they spend in front of the classroom.

A reinvigorated Foreign Service Ready Reserve, built on the principles of inclusiveness and professional competence, would go a long way to restore confidence in America's diplomacy, at home and abroad. Secretary Powell said recently he would like to encourage retired military officers to take the Foreign Service examination and enter the service laterally to help restore vitality to the system. Whatever the merits of that suggestion, there is another significant, cost-effective response to the State Department's current staffing gaps that could be implemented under existing authority and budgetary ceilings: use AFSA's own comprehensive retiree roster as the model and foundation for a uniform databank of skills and expertise among retired Foreign Service personnel.

The resulting central clearinghouse could be tapped to meet a myriad of immediate, short-term needs, starting with proficiency in Pashtun, Dari, Urdu, Arabic and other hard languages that are particularly relevant to the war on terrorism. Such an approach would be a win-win for the American taxpayer, improving the efficiency of our diplomatic corps by putting to work again retiree skills that the taxpayer has, in effect, already paid for.

The task of integrating AFSA's roster and databank into the department's human resources system — thus enabling executive directors and crisis managers to fill surge positions competently and quickly — could be accomplished by, say, two or three retired members brought back on short-term WAE contracts to work out the technical details. (They could also begin addressing the admittedly knotty, but tractable, question of security clearances.) This new "ready" reserve corps would stand prepared to help our nation's premier diplomatic agency weather the inevitable short-term, operational demands that an unpredictable and dangerous world is increasingly foisting upon it.

As with the aborted Foreign Affairs Reserve Corps, however, the problem remains that even when the pool of hundreds of retirees — all of whom have signaled their willingness to serve again in a useful capacity — is presented in a usable form, the State Department has failed, with very few exceptions, to exploit it meaningfully. Precisely because the need has never been greater, however, I am hopeful the department will take full advantage of AFSA's offer this time. ■

THE LIMITS OF DRUG CONTROL

Drew Thurston

U.S. POLICY AIMS TO INCREASE THE PRICE AND RESTRICT THE AVAILABILITY OF ILLEGAL DRUGS. IT HASN'T WORKED. HERE'S WHY.

BY PETER REUTER

U.S. drug policy has been frozen in place since crack hit American cities in the mid-1980s. Those policies are punitive (in both rhetoric and reality), divisive (certainly by race, probably by age and perhaps by class), intrusive (in small ways for many and in large ways for some) and expensive ($30 billion to $35 billion annually). Yet the nation has a drug problem more severe than that of any other rich Western society, whether measured in terms of the extent of drug use, dependence on expensive drugs, drug-related AIDS cases or the level of violence associated with these drugs. Other Western nations troubled by drugs, such as Australia or Italy, have a per-capita heroin problem about the same size as in the United States and a cocaine or methamphetamine problem that is vastly smaller than ours.

U.S. policies are heavily supply-side oriented — that is, they aim primarily to increase the price and restrict the avail-

ability of illegal drugs. Though drugs are indeed extraordinarily expensive and somewhat difficult to get, these control efforts seem powerless to make cocaine or heroin more expensive or less accessible.

International drug control gets a lot of media coverage but not much financial support. Overseas efforts never have attracted more than five percent of the federal drug budget. Congress is ever eager to support programs in other countries, but there simply are few opportunities to intervene effectively overseas, let alone accomplish much there by way of reduction in U.S. drug use.

Drug control is a $35 billion government program, up from $10 billion only 15 years ago.

Scaling the Problem

In some ways the American drug problem is narrow and static. No more than about two million Americans have substantial problems with cocaine or heroin — less than one-fifth the number for alcohol. They are heavily concentrated in urban minority communities. Methamphetamine abuse remains a much smaller problem, while marijuana dependence, a real phenomenon affecting many more people, has much less consequence for those who experience it.

The recent epidemics of cocaine and heroin addiction have apparently run their course. There have been few new heroin addicts since the early 1970s, or cocaine addicts since the mid-1980s. The addict population is getting older and sicker, though still criminally very active; the average age of heroin addicts is now probably about 45. With early deaths and increasing incarceration, the number of active cocaine and heroin addicts is very slowly declining. Marijuana use has risen among adolescents; whether that presages a new cocaine, amphetamine or heroin epidemic remains to be seen.

The most striking characteristics of the United States response to illicit drugs in the last decade have been its scale and its punitive nature. The federal government spends about $18 billion annually on drug control, which is carried out in almost all cabinet departments, from the Department of Education to the Department of Defense. State and local governments spend at least as much, though it is far more difficult to obtain good estimates of these expenditures. Thus, government drug control programs cost roughly $35 billion a year during the late 1990s, a massive increase from the $10 billion annual level in the mid-1980s.

Source-Country Control

Most of the illegal drugs consumed in the United States are produced abroad, which explains the emphasis on programs aimed at reducing production or export from the source countries. Thus, international programs attract a great deal of political attention. Polls consistently show that more than half of the American population believes this is the most promising way of controlling drugs.

The sources of supply to the United States have never been very diverse: Bolivia, Peru and Colombia for cocaine and Afghanistan, Burma and Mexico for heroin in the early 1990s. Since 1995 the sources have become very few indeed; almost all narcotics come from Colombia and Mexico. Colombia now dominates production, refining and export of cocaine, with Bolivia and Peru of secondary importance in the growing sector. Colombia has also supplanted Southeast Asia in the U.S. heroin market; Mexico and Colombia now account for about two thirds of U.S. heroin imports. Mexico is the principal source of imported marijuana and methamphetamine, though a substantial share of both these drugs is produced domestically.

Three types of programs have been tried to reduce source-country production: eradication, alternative development and in-country enforcement. Eradication, usually involving aerial spraying, aims either to literally limit the quantity of the drug available in the United States or to raise the costs of those drugs or otherwise discourage farmers from producing them. Alternative development is the "soft" version of this; it encourages farmers growing coca or poppies to switch to legitimate crops by increasing earnings from these other products — for example, by introducing new and more productive strains of traditional

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crops, better transportation to get the crops to market or more effective marketing schemes. Finally, the United States pushes other countries to pursue traffickers and refiners more vigorously.

None of these programs receive much money. In Fiscal Year 2001, even including the much trumpeted Plan Colombia, expenditures overseas totaled only $610 million out of a total federal drug control budget of $19 billion. The vast majority of that money went to the Andean region, since Mexico has so far, as a matter of national sovereignty, been unwilling to allow the operation of U.S. programs on its territory. Though Asia is the dominant producer of heroin, there are no meaningful opportunities to intervene in the major producing nations. Even before Sept. 11, the United States had hostile relations with Afghanistan's government, and it still has no ambassador in Burma (Myanmar).

The certification process has been tarnished by its obvious divorce from drug control.

Few countries are willing to allow aerial eradication, which may cause environmental damage; it is also politically unattractive, since the immediate targets, peasant farmers, are among the poorest citizens, even when growing coca or poppies. Colombia and Mexico, neither a traditional producer of drugs, have been the countries most willing to allow spraying.

Eradication advocates can claim only one instance in which this approach was able to substantially reduce the flow of drugs to the United States for a few years: the spraying of Mexican opium fields in the mid-1970s. An industry that had operated fairly openly in five northern states, with large, unprotected fields, took approximately five years to adapt to spraying. Production became much more widely dispersed and fields moved to smaller, more hidden locations. But by the early 1980s, Mexico was again supplying as much heroin as before the spraying.

Alternative development presents a very different challenge to source-country governments. In contrast to spraying, it is politically attractive, since it tries to help the marginalized farmers who grow opium poppies and coca. However, it requires that the farmers believe the government will maintain its commitment over a long period; otherwise they will not be willing to incur the costs of shifting crops. In situations of political instability there will understandably be skepticism about the ability of the government to assure a market for, say, pineapples from the Chapare, which require a good transportation infrastructure.

Though there are a few instances of well-executed local crop-substitution programs, it does not appear that they have reduced drug production in any region of the world; instead, production has simply shifted areas within the region. For example, the government of Thailand provided the hill people in the north with new crops and marketing schemes, part of the rapid growth of the Thai economy in the 1970s and 1980s. Thailand, once an important component of the Golden Triangle, no longer produces a significant quantity of opium. However, neighboring Burma (Myanmar), where there has been no economic boom, has taken up the slack, and supplies Thailand's substantial heroin addict population.

The United States has also invested in building institutional capacity to deal with the drug trade. Each year the State Department's International Narcotics Control Strategy Report argues that the central problem of drug control in other countries is lack of political will and integrity. Training investigators, strengthening the judiciary and improving extradition procedures are the very core of efforts to deal with this issue. Unfortunately, in both Colombia and Mexico the corruption problems have been seemingly endless, imbedded in a larger system of weak integrity controls. In Colombia the army has taken on a major role in drug control, particularly with respect to coca-growing; allegations of involvement in mass killings of peasants suspected of supporting left-wing guerrillas are well substantiated and have been a major source of controversy about U.S. funding.

Since 1986, the president has been required to certify that each country identified as a producer and/or transshipment nation has cooperated fully with the United States in trying to reduce production and trafficking. If a nation is not certified, the United States will withhold certain aid and trade preferences, as well as vote against loans from international banks, such as the Asian Development Bank.

Whatever the rationale of the certification process, it has been tarnished in practice by its obvious divorce from drug control. Certain pariah nations (e.g., Nigeria until 1999 and Syria) are routinely decertified, while the largest single source for the United States market, Mexico, with a long history of corruption in its drug control efforts, has

never been denied certification. The political costs of deeertifying Mexico, given the elose and complex relations between Mexico and the United States, are unaceeptably high. The one strategie use of decertification was in 1995 and 1996, when the Clinton Administration deeertified the Samper government in Colombia amid allegations that drug traffickers had finaneed the presidential eampaign. This turned out to have little effeet on collaboration between agencies in the two countries; it simply meant that the president's office in Colombia became isolated from the rest of the government. As of 2001, with a growing acceptance that the problem is less other nations' production than U.S. demand, there is growing support for repealing the certification law.

The interdiction program is an unending series of adaptations by smugglers and agencies.

Prospects of Success

Can these programs make a difference to America's drug problems? Answering that question requires an understanding of the nature of the market for expensive drugs. Start with eradication, which has always had a peculiar appeal to a eulture that looks to Tom Clancy for solutions to problems. But source-country programs for eocaine are doomed from the start, because the price of coca leaf is a negligible fraetion of the retail price of cocaine in the United States.

It costs approximately $300 to purchase the coca leaf needed to produce a kilogram (2.2 pounds) of eocaine, whieh retails for about $150,000 in the United States when sold in one-gram lots (of two-thirds purity) for $100. The modest share of costs associated with cocaine produetion is easily explained. Production involves cheap land and labor in poor countries; it requires no specialized inputs. Even Bolivia, the smallest of the three producer countries, is over 500,000 square miles — much of it difficult to monitor.

In addition, eocaine refiners pay what is neeessary to purehase the leaf to meet cocaine demand. Assume that eradication efforts lead to a doubling of the priee of eoea leaf, so that it now eosts $600 for the leaf that goes into a kilogram of eocaine. The change in retail priee, assuming the cost is passed along, will be negligible. Indeed, leaf prices have varied enormously over the last decade, while the retail priee of cocaine has steadily fallen in the same period. If retail prices do not rise, then total eonsumption in the United States will not decline as a eonsequence of eradication. In this scenario, there will be no reduction in total production — just more land torn up in more places to plant an environmentally damaging crop.

The argument for alternative development is just as flawed. It assumes that the price of leaf will not inerease enough to tempt the peasants back to eoea-growing. But refiners have every incentive to offer a high enough price to get back the land and labor needed to meet the needs of the eocaine market in the developed world beeause the price of leaf is so small compared to the street price of Bolivian marching powder. Peasants will be better off than before the alternative development, but only because they will make more money growing coca.

In the face of this depressing economic logic, the supporters of the recent Colombia initiative point to the apparent suecess of the eombination of eradication and alternative development in Bolivia and Peru, where land under eoea cultivation fell from 150,000 aeres in 1992 to 60,000 acres in 1999. Certainly U.S. support of aggressive efforts to reduce the flow of raw material from Peru to Colombia has helped make Peru a less attraetive source for Colombian refiners and traffickers. But two other ehanges, which fans of eradication and alternative development efforts don't talk about, are probably as important in explaining the deeline.

First, there has been a huge internal migration within Colombia, with perhaps as many as 800,000 people moving away from areas where paramilitary forces have committed massaeres to more remote areas, where farmers have few commercial alternatives to growing coca. Seeond, the breakup of the Cali cartel may have favored the rise of traffiekers with less international reach — traffickers more oriented toward buying their leaf or coca paste from Colombian sources. Consequently, compared with 10 years ago, Colombia is a more attraetive source of leaf, and thus, produetion has shifted there.

This refleets the eocaine produetion industry's regional, rather than national, base. The location of produetion ean change for many reasons, ineluding interdiction, but there is no evidence that any intervention has lowered total regional production. The package of interventions being implemented in Colombia has little ehance of making an observable difference to the flow of drugs to the United States.

Interdiction

Protecting U.S. borders from unwanted imports seems a fundamental government role. Failure to do so has many consequences; a surprising number of Americans believe indeed that the federal government must be complicit in the drug trade because otherwise such vast quantities of drugs would not be able to enter the country.

The vast quantities, though generating tens of billions of dollars in sales ($40 billion for cocaine; $12 billion for heroin), are in fact tiny quantities. Estimated imports are about 15 tons for heroin and 400 tons for cocaine. Given the volume of traffic and commerce across U.S. borders, specifically those from Mexico and the Caribbean, it is not hard to hide a few hundred tons. Indeed, one can marvel rather at the fact that interdiction seizes such a large share of cocaine, perhaps 35 to 40 percent over the whole production and import system. Heroin seizures are closer to the 10 percent that orthodoxy has enshrined as the share always seized by enforcement agencies; the drug generally enters in small packages, which reduces the potential for seizure. One particularly troubling mode of smuggling is "body packing"; the smuggler swallows a number of packages of the drug wrapped in condoms or similar material. Enough body packers have had problems with packages bursting that there is even a small medical literature on the phenomenon; unsurprisingly, an early contribution to that literature came from an emergency room near the Los Angeles airport.

The interdiction program is an unending series of adaptations by smugglers and agencies. There are large-scale shifts in routes, modes of transportation and techniques for hiding. In the early 1980s, most cocaine came in through Florida; an early Reagan interdiction effort, run by Vice President George Bush, pushed traffickers farther out in the Caribbean and into Mexico.

In the 1980s, a large share of cocaine was brought in by private planes, typically carrying 250 to 500 kilograms on each trip. By the early 1990s, smugglers had shifted to placing their loads in legitimate commerce, such as in a cargo ship with frozen fruit pulp or in furniture. Technological innovations are announced from time to time, such as machines that can scan a container from the outside and detect cocaine through its pattern of heat

reflection. None seem to have much impact; import price has not risen and there seems no diminution in the total quantity entering the country.

The economic logic underlying the limited effects of interdiction is the same as for source-country programs. Cocaine travels in large bundles in international shipping; seizures suggest that shipments of 250 to 500 kilograms (enough to supply 500,000 retail sales) are quite common. Though large sums may be paid to pilots for flying small planes carrying cocaine or to Honduran army colonels for ignoring their landing, these costs still represent a relatively small percentage of the market value of the drugs. A pilot who demands $500,000 for flying a plane with 250 kilograms of cocaine is generating costs of only $2,000 per kilogram — less than two percent of the retail price. Even if the plane has to be abandoned after one flight, it adds only another $2,000 to the kilogram price.

For shipments by container cargo ship, seizure constitutes little more than a random tax collection. The replacement cost of the seized drugs is substantially less than the landed price, so high seizure rates have a modest effect even on wholesale prices. Interdiction in fact seizes a quite high share — perhaps one-third of the cocaine that is destined for the United States. Nonetheless, this still leaves plenty of product to support the large U.S. cocaine market at prices that are modest by historical standards.

The Limits of the Demand Side

Fairness requires an equally objective review of demand-side programs: drug prevention and treatment. Everyone likes the idea of preventing kids from starting drug use or at least not going beyond experimentation. It appeals to the American preference for fundamental solutions rather than Band-Aids, and it is hard to think of negative side effects. Unfortunately, there is no reason to believe that we know how to immunize kids against drug abuse. A few experimental programs show promising results. But it is unclear how they will perform when scaled up and put in the hands of schools, already under pressure to spend more of their limited class time on basic academic subjects.

Moreover, the political marketplace for choosing anti-drug programs is wretchedly inefficient. DARE (the Drug Abuse Resistance Effort), perhaps the only program that has been subject to frequent evaluations — all of which have been negative except those paid for by the DARE organization itself — was the most popular choice of school districts throughout the nation until early 2001, when the program admitted that its curriculum was fundamentally flawed and went back to the drawing board. Mass media campaigns are notoriously difficult to evaluate. There is an absence of credible evidence of effectiveness on the high-profile media campaign funded by the federal government in the last few years.

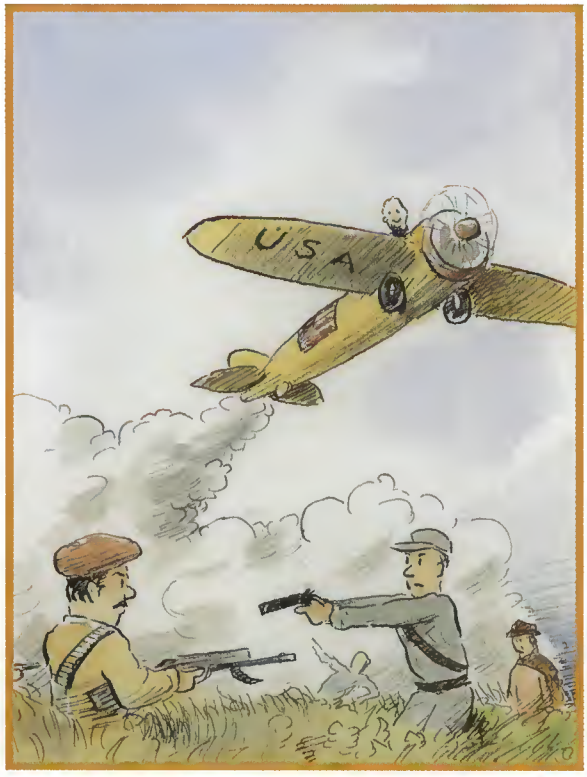
The case for treatment is much stronger. Methadone unquestionably helps a substantial fraction of heroin addicts cut down on their use of expensive illegal drugs; this has a direct effect on crime rates, reducing them by three quarters or more while the addicts are in treatment. Other mainstream treatments seem to make a difference, too. The ratios of benefits to costs, even when discounted to allow for the biases of the evaluators, are reasonably high, almost certainly higher than those from source-country control of investigating and prosecuting high level dealers.

But it's tough to get most addicts to enter treatment in the first place. Building stronger drug treatment programs that are not so marginalized by the health care system would no doubt help. It would be optimistic, though, to suggest that treatment could reduce America's drug problems by, say, as much as one-third in the next five years.

Prices have fallen and the drugs remain available to many teenagers. So why has there not been a new epidemic of cocaine or heroin use? The most likely answer is the intellectually boring one: fashion. Cocaine, once seen as exciting and not very harmful, is now viewed as dangerous; there are certainly enough miserable-looking cocaine addicts on the streets of bad neighborhoods to make the case for the drug's perils to any moderately rational youth. Heroin can now be snorted rather than injected, overcoming the AIDS-fear barrier. But even in the era of heroin-chic fashion models, the drug retains a sense of menace for most. It would take a real shift in attitudes to start any major new upturn in these drugs.

Yet illicit drugs *are* a permanent part of the American scene. So is legalization an appropriate policy option? Over the past decade, I have been assessing the likely consequences of legalizing cocaine, heroin and marijuana, drawing on the experiences of other countries, the U.S. historical experience with legal cocaine and heroin around 1900, and the record of regulation of other vices such as gambling and cigarettes. My conclusion is not so much that legalization of drugs is a bad idea but that it is impossible to tell if it is a good one. We must think less of eliminating the drug problem than of finding ways to manage it better. International programs don't offer much toward this end. ■

THE COLOMBIAN DRUG QUAGMIRE



Drew Thurston

COLOMBIA IS ON THE BRINK OF ANARCHY, LARGELY BECAUSE OF THE U.S.-SPONSORED DRUG WAR.

BY DON NORTH

For a Washington journalist, traveling to Colombia to attempt an understanding of the drug war is like being Alice stepping through the looking glass. It looks very different from a Colombian perspective.

From that perspective, it is the "demand" countries — like the United States — that provide the market for drugs, sell the precursor chemicals necessary to process the drugs, encourage the banks through which the proceeds are being laundered and also sell the guns and helicopters with which Colombians are killing each other.

Journalist Juan Salas, writing in the Bogota daily newspaper *El Tiempo*, mirrors Colombian public opinion. Although he may have an exaggerated concept of market prices, his commentaries complaining of U.S. drug war hypocrisy are well received: "A kilo of cocaine fetches about $2,000 in Colombia. By the time it lands in the U.S.,

after transportation and bribery costs, it usually sells for $20,000. Then, via a chain of intermediaries, it sells on the streets for the phenomenal sum of $60,000. With $40,000 in profit, the big drug barons are North Americans. We have a few skeletons in our closets to be aware of, but our big neighbor in the North is up to his eyeballs in hypocrisy — a hypocrisy which we pay for in blood whilst they pick up the dollars."

A weak central government has virtually ceded control of Colombia outside the major cities to armed gangs of drug traffickers.

As a correspondent in Vietnam and El Salvador for many years, I tend to gauge new conflicts in terms of the old ones I have covered. There are some parallels here, to be sure. Colombia feels like Vietnam in the mid-'60s, when the Saigon government held the cities, the Viet Cong controlled the countryside and the U.S. military thought spraying the country with the toxic defoliant Agent Orange was a good idea. It also reminds me of El Salvador in 1980 with its great divide between the rich and the landless poor; inequalities that drove unemployed and hopeless youths to join the guerrilla forces.

However, Colombia is unique. Her problems, which are largely a by-product of the drug war, are deep and complex, and they defy easy comparisons or solutions.

Colombia is on the brink of anarchy and civil war. It is the most violent country in the world. The Colombia Commission of Jurists reports that 6,067 people were killed in 2000 as a result of "socio-political violence" — an increase of 50 percent over the previous year. The jurists blamed the right-wing forces, paramilitary, Autodefensas Unidas de Colombia (AUC), for 49 percent of the killings and the leftist guerrillas, Fuerzas Armadas Revolucionarias de Colombia (FARC), for an additional 11 percent. Over the past decade an estimated 40,000 Colombians have died violently.

Last year over 3,700 people were abducted by guerrillas, "paras" (paramilitary troops) or thugs who traffic in kidnapped people. That's about 10 a day, a pace that continues even now. This constant conflict has caused two million Colombians to crowd into satanic slums adjacent to the cities to escape rural violence. More and more displaced Colombians arrive in the capital, Bogota, every day. One million of the more affluent have fled to neighboring countries or to the United States.

Yet Colombia is also one of the oldest democracies in the Western Hemisphere, with millions of well-educated and industrious citizens. Its 40 universities are all crowded to overflowing. For much of the last century, Colombia was a model of economic stability and success in Latin America. Although overdue for political and judicial reforms, and in spite of its history of corruption and exploitation by drug lords, Colombia is a much more vibrant and deserving society than any other ally we have tried to help since World War II. Its collapse would unleash a flood of illegal drugs and destitute refugees, spilling the conflict into neighboring states and seriously destabilizing the economy of South America and ultimately the United States.

A weak and ineffective central government has virtually ceded control of Colombia outside the dozen major cities to armed gangs of drug traffickers, leftist guerrillas and rightist paras — assuring the country's increasing economic deterioration and social disintegration.

World's Leading Producer

In the early 1990s, Colombia was primarily a refining center for coca harvested in Bolivia and Peru. By 1997 Colombia had become the world's largest producer. Peru, once the top producer of coca in the world has, with U.S.-financed repression programs, almost

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eradicated drug production. In Bolivia, troops fanned out across the country and uprooted coca crops. However, the demand for cocaine did not diminish, and coca cultivation shifted to Colombia.

Seventy percent of Colombia's cocaine production is exported to the United States. State Department figures, considered the most reliable, estimate that in 1999, 520 tons — 80 percent of the world's production — left Colombia. Today, United Nations drug officers say the export may have increased to about 700 tons a year. About 200 tons are seized by the authorities, leaving more than 500 tons a year making their way into international drug markets.

Seventy percent of Colombia's cocaine production ends up in the United States.

Colombia is also the Western Hemisphere's largest producer and distributor of refined heroin. In 1999, State Department estimates showed Colombian poppy cultivation to be 7,500 hectares, a crop capable of producing eight tons of refined heroin.

The U.S. government for the last two years has supported Plan Colombia, described by the State Department as "an integrated strategy to meet the most pressing challenges confronting Colombia today — promoting the peace process, combating the narcotics industry, reviving the Colombian economy and strengthening the democratic pillars of Colombian society." As part of its $1.3 billion support for the plan, the U.S. provides assistance, including equipment, manpower and training, to the Colombian military and police for its anti-drug efforts. It is these programs that have proven particularly controversial.

Colombian Criticism

There are growing numbers of influential Colombians increasingly opposed to the anti-drug policies sponsored and financed by the United States. Typical is German Martinez, a government official in Putamayo, an area targeted by the plan for anti-drug efforts. He believes the U.S. initiatives show a flawed understanding of the drug trade, which he sees as a troika of grower, dealer and consumer. "The people of North America are not distinguishing between the different links in the chain of narco-trafficking," he says. "The Colombian state should regain autonomy in policy for dealing with coca cultivation, because this plan is not a vision of Bogota, but responds only to the drug and counterinsurgency interests of the United States."

Colombians are also puzzled by Washington's zeal for fumigation of coca and poppy crops while maintaining the suspension of U.S. drug surveillance flights over Peru and Colombia. An investigation is continuing into the incident in April 2001 when an American Baptist missionary and her infant daughter were killed when Peruvian Air Force fighters mistakenly identified the missionary plane as an illegal drug flight. In late November, Colombian President Andres Pastrana complained that Colombian drug smugglers were taking advantage of the ban on U.S. anti-drug flights. Gen. Hector Velasco, the Colombian Air Force commander, said that more than 100 illegal drug planes had passed unhindered through Colombian air space since the suspension was put into effect last year.

It is not easy to intimidate Colombia's coca growers, who are supported by over 30,000 heavily armed guerrillas and paramilitaries. During the pervasive drug wars in the Andes over the past 10 years there has been one very basic yardstick to measure the policy's failure: The price of an ounce of cocaine on the streets of New York has dropped from $100 in 1990 to less than $30 today.

U.S. Focus

The main focus of the U.S. anti-drug initiatives is to combat the cocaine and heroin enterprise by fumigating crops and destroying labs. There is a growing chorus of critics of this approach both within the Colombian government and in the international community. Klaus Nyholm, chief of the United Nations drug control efforts in Colombia, has maps that document over 400,000 acres of coca fields growing today, an increase of about 10 percent despite the U.S.-sponsored eradication efforts.

Nyholm is particularly critical of the crop fumigation offensive. Crops can be replanted within three months of fumigation, and the spraying appears to have driven coca farmers to clearing and cultivating vast new areas of virgin jungle to make up for any losses, he said. It also alienates peasant farmers who grow small plots to survive in a desperate economy. "It's not fair, in our view. The peasants and indigenous people are not criminals," said Nyholm.

The United Nations opposes spraying of peasant plots of fewer than seven acres. It accepts spraying of larger plantations, which the Colombian government claims are run by drug traffickers, but believes all spraying must be monitored for environmental effects. Nyholm has called for an international audit of the cocaine crop-spraying program. "We believe an international and neutral verification is needed," he said. "There's lots of data, but it all comes from people who have an interest in the issue. That's why we need verification, to find out what is true and what is not true."

U.S. aid focuses primarily on fumigating crops and destroying drug labs.

U.N. figures show no indication that repression at the source has had any impact on the world price of cocaine, as the cost of the leaves represents less than one-half of one percent of the cost of cocaine on the streets of the U.S. and Europe.

A growing chorus of opposition from local governors and politicians is asking why it is necessary to escalate an unwinnable war by adding to the social chaos destroying Colombia in order to save it from growing coca. Four governors from southern Colombian states and two senators in the Colombian Congress recently told a news conference in Washington that the fumigation is ineffective in stemming drug exports, endangers the environment and violates the human rights of Colombian farmers.

Even the official government ombudsman, Eduardo Cifuentes, has demanded suspension of the spraying. He questions the lack of an environmental management plan and accurate information about the effects of the chemicals used in fumigation. Neighboring Ecuador has asked that spraying be kept six miles from its border.

But U.S. and Colombian government authorities say the fumigation will not only continue but increase in the coming months. U.S. Ambassador Anne Patterson warned that a halt in fumigation would have what she described as an "immediate and devastating effect on further U.S. support."

In a rare on-the-record statement to journalists in July 2001, she acknowledged that there was far more cocaine and heroin growing in Colombia than previously believed. Although about 135,000 acres of coca has been fumigated, the overall cultivation of coca in Colombia increased by 11 percent. "The pace of fumigation will pick up very dramatically," Patterson said. "We expect drug cultivation to level off in about 18 months." The number of crop-dusting planes in Colombia will more than double over the next year, and there are also plans to outfit some crop dusters with night-vision scopes to enable pilots to spray after dark, when they are less exposed to fire from guerrillas, paramilitaries or farmers who grow coca.

The Aftermath of Sept. 11

The events of Sept. 11 have produced a radical shift in U.S. relations with the world. Colombia is no exception. The Bush administration has indicated it will be even less supportive of the peace process in Colombia, which it believes has not worked. This applies particularly to the demilitarized zone, a Switzerland-sized area of southern Colombia controlled by the FARC, that officials in Washington claim is being used for drug trafficking and training guerrillas.

While the FARC, the AUC and another insurgency group known as the ELN all appear on the State Department's terrorist list, it is clear that the FARC is the principal target of U.S. counterterrorism efforts. Francis Taylor, the State Department's senior counterterrorism official, has commented that Washington's strategy for fighting terrorism in the Western Hemisphere will include "where appropriate, as we are doing in Afghanistan, the use of military power." Taylor left little doubt that "appropriate" targets included the FARC, which he described as "the most dangerous international terrorist group based in this hemisphere."

Colombia-watchers in Washington have differed widely in their assessment of the effects on Colombia of the new international war on terrorism. With official attention focused on Central Asia and the Middle East, Washington is far less likely to get involved in a major effort against the FARC in pursuit of either the drug war or counterinsurgency, some believe. But others say that some Colombian politicians will feel a new urgency to push the peace process forward, while those opposed to the peace process will manipulate the new attitude toward international terrorism to bolster greater counterterrorism and escalate the war.

On Colombia Human Rights Day, Sept. 9, newly appointed U.N. Special Representative for Human Rights Hina Jilani said: "The best way to achieve peace in Colombia lies in the promotion and protection of human rights." Since then the FARC has kidnapped and murdered a popular former minister of culture, Consuelo Araujo, and killed 18 villagers near Tierralta, while the paras have massacred 176 civilians, assassinated two elected representatives and five indigenous leaders.

And the U.N.'s Nyholm has admitted, "As long as the war continues, there is no anti-drug strategy that will have any significant level of success. Peace is the answer."

But the outlook for both peace in Colombia and curtailing the massive drug exports is grim. The guerrillas remain strong and unresponsive to President Pastrana's peace overtures. The FARC has grown rapidly in strength to about 20,000 members on 70 fronts. Control of the demilitarized zone in southern Colombia — an area given as a condition of negotiations with the Pastrana government — has given the FARC a major strategic asset. The future of the zone will be a major issue of this year's presidential campaign, which culminates in elections in May. Pastrana is not a candidate.

The paramilitary AUC is quickly becoming the force to reckon with in Colombia's 40-year-old civil war. According to Alfredo Rangel, a military analyst, the paras are growing at an even faster rate than the FARC in power and influence. Last year the paras had an estimated strength of 8,000 troops; it is now estimated at over 11,000. If they continue to grow at the same rate, they will equal the FARC within two years.

Both groups will attempt to boldly demonstrate their power and influence before the presidential elections. Colombian analysts say the U.S. policy of fighting only the drug problem while ignoring the civil war is futile, as guerrillas and paras, flush with money from not only drugs but kidnaping and extortion, gradually take over the country. ■

AERIAL SPRAYING AND THE SIEGE OF TIBU

BY DON NORTH

The plane spraying chemicals on Edgar Estoban's farm came by surprise one morning in June 2001, escorted by several police helicopters. Within two days the poison took effect and the majority of coca plants on his three-acre farm turned brown and died. So did his adjacent crops of bananas, tomatoes and corn. As his family and hired pickers known as "raspuchines" hurried to pick the coca plants the spray planes missed, Estoban pointed out the crisp, dried-up remains of what was once the family vegetable garden.

Estoban and other farmers in the northeastern Colombian province of North Santander, near the Venezuelan border, say they would be willing to destroy the coca themselves and plant other crops if the government would help them get their produce to markets. "We requested the government spray for malaria mosquitos," Estoban explained, "but we got poison for our crops instead. If they bring us fairness instead of fumigation, find us decent prices for our crops and build some roads to get to markets, then we will rip out the coca ourselves. If not, we'll grow it as long as there's demand — and nothing will stop us."

The fumigation of crops without notice from the government infuriated local residents and sent 3,000 angry "raspuchines" and farmers into nearby Tibu, a town of 12,000, to confront local government officials. It was the

most open and violent display so far of opposition by coca farmers to the U.S.-supported fumigation program and a harbinger of future violence. For three days they camped in the town's stadium, demanding negotiations with government officials who never appeared.

"The government has never done anything to answer the needs of these very poor people, and it could get a lot worse."

The shops on the main street of Tibu were shuttered and the streets deserted. Late in the afternoon of the fourth day the "raspuchines" laid siege, hurling rocks and Molotov cocktails at 120 National Police who held the line between demonstrators and City Hall. The policemen were well-protected in bulletproof vests, helmets and visors and clear plastic shields, but were armed with only wooden batons and rarely got close enough to the taunting protesters to use them. After a three-hour pitched battle, the coca farmers and pickers broke off their attack and retreated to their campsite.

Gonzalo Gardenas, the acting mayor of Tibu spent those days barricaded inside the City Hall. Ironically, the previous mayor had died the week before from malaria, the very mosquito-borne affliction local residents had been urging the government to control through aerial spraying.

"The situation is a little difficult," Gardenas admitted. "The government has never done anything to answer the needs of these very poor people, and it could get a lot worse."

According to State Department figures, 145,750 gallons of glyphosate, a chemical herbicide sold commercially as Roundup, were sprayed on Colombia in 2000. At least 70,000 gallons have been sprayed in 2001.

During the Vietnam War, the St. Louis-based chemical company Monsanto was also accused of marketing a product causing ecological damage and death to humans and other living creatures during wartime. The application of Agent Orange, another Monsanto product, not only defoliated large areas of Vietnam, but allegedly caused over 50,000 birth defects, as well as cancers in both Vietnamese civilians and soldiers and U.S troops who had served in Vietnam. The effects of Agent Orange are still being experienced in Vietnam, decades after the war's end. Monsanto settled a lawsuit with U.S. veterans out of court, paying them $80 million in damages. The Vietnamese victims have received nothing.

It is no surprise, then, that Monsanto is not publicizing its contract with the U.S. government to provide Roundup for spraying on Colombian coca fields. Unlike Agent Orange, Roundup is marketed as a safe weedkiller in about 130 countries. The U.S. Department of Agriculture, Embassy Bogota and the company all deny that the product is harmful to humans when used as directed. Yet Monsanto's own warning label (mandated by the U.S. Environmental Protection Agency) points to potential problems. "After an area has been sprayed with Roundup, people and pets should stay out of the area until it is thoroughly dry. We recommend that grazing animals such as horses, cattle, sheep, goats, rabbits and fowl remain out of the treated area for two weeks. Allow 21 days before eating fruit or nuts from areas sprayed by Roundup." However, residents of two regions sprayed with glyphosate, North Santender and Putamayo, claim they were never given any of these warnings.

Increasing local concerns are new reports that a chemical additive, Cosmo-Flux, was being added to make the spray less likely to drift in the wind and adhere more effectively to the drug crops. Imperial Chemical Industries, a British company that sells Cosmo-Flux, recently said it would no longer provide it for the fumigation program in Colombia. A company spokesman, John Edgar, in confirming the halt in sales, said the company had not tested Cosmo-Flux for that purpose. However, the additive is readily available from other chemical companies.

An even more controversial solution may be waiting in the wings: a U.S.-developed killer fungus called *Fusarium oxysporum,* which kills cocoa plants. But along with killing coca, the fungus may also pose serious dangers to the environment and human health — threats so compelling that Florida recently suspended plans to test the fungus for its own anti-drug programs. Colombian scientists have petitioned their government to continue withholding approval for *Fusarium* use. Nevertheless, the United States is reported to be pressing Colombia to give the fungus a role in the drug war. Washington researchers Jeremy Bigwood and Sharon Stevenson have created a Web site, www.mycoherbicide.net, that documents concerns that the fungus could cause widespread environmental damage. ■

AFSANEWS

American Foreign Service Association • January 2002

RECOGNIZE OUTSTANDING COLLEAGUES

AFSA Award Nominations Due Feb. 8

Please do not forget to send in your nominations for the 2002 AFSA Awards. The constructive dissent awards publicly recognize individuals who have demonstrated the courage to challenge the system from within, no matter the issue or the consequences of their actions.

- The Herter Award is for a member of the Senior Foreign Service, (FE-OC through FE-CA).
- The Rivkin Award is conferred on 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 a Foreign Service specialist.

There are three awards honoring exemplary performance and extraordinary contributions to effectiveness, professionalism and morale.

- The Delavan Award is for 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.

Continued on page 4

Mikkela Thompson

The Opening of the AFSA Foreign Service Exhibit on Capitol Hill

Mikkela Thompson

From left: AFSA President John Naland, Senator Paul Sarbanes, and AFSA Retiree Representative Ted Wilkinson.
See story page 6.

This Issue in Brief:

AFSA PROMOTING REFORM

Reform Proposals Welcomed by the DG

Back in August, the AFSA Governing Board formed the Professional Issues Committee to work on proposals for personnel reform that AFSA could present to management for action. On Nov. 13, AFSA submitted 18 reform proposals to Director General Ruth Davis, who had expressed interest in working with AFSA on reform initiatives. AFSA President John Naland met with Amb. Davis on Nov. 19 to discuss the proposals and plans for how to proceed. Davis welcomed the AFSA initiative and presented her own list of reform initiatives.

As Naland said in his letter to the DG, "Over the decades, the personnel system that manages the careers of Foreign Service members has undergone numerous changes. In recent years, however, it has

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AFSA NEWS BRIEFS

Do You Get AFSANET?

You should. AFSANET is a free service of the American Foreign Service Association, designed to provide e-mail updates on items of interest to the foreign affairs community. To subscribe to the newsletter go to http://www.afsa.org/forms/maillist.html.

Looking Ahead to Tax Season

Keep an eye out for AFSA's annual Tax Guide, which will be published in *AFSA News* next month. In the guide you'll find an update on tax regulations as they apply to Foreign Service employees as well as a state-by-state guide for residents of each state. You can find the 2000 Tax Guide on AFSA's Web site at: www.afsa.org/taxguide2001.html.

Bookfair Success

Despite the Sept. 11 events and increased security concerns, the Associates of the American Foreign Service Worldwide October Bookfair grossed almost $70,000, which was less than last year, but still a success. Proceeds from the Bookfair allow AAFSW to contribute to activities such as the AAFSW/Secretary of State Awards for Volunteerism, youth scholarships, and other charitable endeavors.

AFSA Scholarships

AFSA scholarship applications are due on Feb. 4. For more information, go to the AFSA Web site at www.afsa.org and click on the "students" tab and then the "scholarships" tab, or call the AFSA scholarship office at (202) 338-4045, ext. 504.

Hanssen Damage Assessment

FBI Special Agent Robert Hanssen pleaded guilty last summer to 15 counts of espionage and conspiracy. Federal counter-intelligence officials have asked AFSA to distribute the following government notice to active and retired employees who may have had contact with Hanssen while he was detailed to work at the Department of State:

"An intelligence community team has begun assessing the damage done to U.S. national security by the espionage of FBI Special Agent Robert Phillip Hanssen. The Damage Assessment Team needs to establish details of Hanssen's access to classified information, but would also be interested in information on the full range of his official and unofficial activities — including his computer skills, relationships with others, and potential motivation. Anyone who remembers contact with Hanssen — and has not already reported that information to the FBI — should call toll free (866) 819-5319. The team will arrange in-person interviews to handle any classified information."

Foreign Service Journal Seeking Associate Editor

The *Foreign Service Journal* is looking for a full-time associate editor. Applicants should have at least three years of editorial experience, excellent editing skills and strong background in international issues. Knowledge of the U.S. Foreign Service is a plus. Job involves editing for substance and style, commissioning articles and working with authors.

The salary is in the low- to mid-40's, and AFSA offers excellent benefits including health and dental insurance and 401k plan.

To apply send cover letter and resume to:
Editor
Foreign Service Journal
2101 E Street, N.W.
Washington, DC 20037
Fax: (202) 338-8244
E-Mail: honley@afsa.org

For more information, visit the AFSA Web site at www.afsa.org/fsj/index.html.

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AFSA NEWS BRIEFS

Life in the Foreign Service

■ BY BRIAN AGGELER, FOREIGN SERVICE OFFICER & CARTOONIST

USAID Headquarters Parking

D.C. Delegate Eleanor Holmes Norton has taken an interest in the public parking issue at USAID's headquarters at the Ronald Reagan Building, in part because she does not want USAID to move out of the RRB. Her office has indicated an interest in holding hearings about the request to close the building to public parking. GSA indicated it might consider eliminating public access parking during workday hours if the agencies in the building were willing to commit to covering the lost revenue.

Your *AFSA News*

Are there issues you would like to see *AFSA News* covering more, or less? Tell us what you want to hear from us, and which features you find most or least useful. Send your ideas by e-mail to afsanews@afsa.org.

Master's Degree Fits FS Lifestyle

The University of the Pacific's School of International Studies, in partnership with the Intercultural Communication Institute of Portland, Ore., offers a Master of Arts degree in Intercultural Relations (MAIR). The program seeks to provide educational support for those individuals who want to respond to the challenges of working across cultures in both national and international organizations. The MAIR takes about two and a half years to complete, and requires very limited on-site attendance. For further information, contact MAIR Program Coordinator Katrina Jaggears by e-mail: kjaggears@uop.edu; phone: (209) 946-2836; or go to the Web site at www.intercultural.org/mair.html.

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V.P. VOICE: **STATE** ■ BY LOUISE CRANE

Make It Right!

USIA personnel warned that it was a bad idea to shut down the agency. The Cold War had not rendered public diplomacy irrelevant. Getting a fair hearing for our side of the policy argument is important. Presenting American society and culture in greater depth than that pictured on TV and in movies is still relevant. Programs showing the U.S. as a model for ethnically diverse societies in the process of democratizing have intellectual value. Exchange programs like the Fulbright and the International Visitors Programs are valuable. Cultural centers and American libraries are excellent vehicles for molding the opinions of future leaders while they are still young and malleable.

These programs have an indispensable place in America's post-Cold War diplomacy. Thus, abolishing the U.S. Information Agency has not strengthened our nation's public diplomacy efforts.

Invoking the mantra of government efficiency, Congress went ahead and merged what was left of the U.S. Information Agency after years of slow death by budget cuts, into the Department of State. A decade ago, politicians and the Congress, posturing against big government, began starving foreign affairs agencies of the resources they needed to enhance our country's security. What was once managed by a cadre of well-trained, committed professionals was dispersed among the various bureaus of the Department of State. Some of our State colleagues are focused on the Western-educated elite staffing the Foreign Ministry and do not appreciate the value of engaging in a dialogue with the faculty and students at the local polytechnic or teacher training school.

It's not too late to give public diplomacy a higher priority in our foreign policy. The time to do this is now.

Within one week last November, op-ed pieces were published in the *New York Times*, *Washington Post* and the *Wall Street Journal* with titles like "Why they Don't Know Us" and "America's Muffled Voice," all lamenting the closing of cultural centers in Pakistan and Turkey. They deplored the laughably few academic awards for Pakistani graduate students (eight), the closing of American libraries, the demise of book translation programs which got cheap editions of classics on America into the hands of university students. In Pakistan, 40 percent of the population is 14 or under. The figures for Saudi Arabia, Iraq and the West Bank are even higher. An astonishing 45 percent of the Palestinian population is 14 or under. The administration should expand the kinds of programs that can reach them.

AFSA applauds the work of Under Secretary for Public Diplomacy Charlotte Beers to get a fair hearing for our side of the policy argument in the Middle East. But it will take more than a spate of radio broadcasts or appearances on Al-Jazeera to turn public opinion around. The United States should strengthen its cultural programs and beef up its exchanges in the Middle East. This is not just a public relations problem. The United States has a compelling story to tell.

It's not too late to give public diplomacy a higher priority in our foreign policy. We do not want a future president to repeat what President Bush said: "I'm amazed that there is such misunderstanding of what our country is about. We've got to do a better job of making our case."

The time to do this is now. □

This is the first article in our new series, "Retirees in Action," which will focus on retirees making a difference, promoting awareness of foreign affairs issues and support for the Foreign Service.

RETIREES IN ACTION

Bob Ryan Making the Case for Involvement

BY SHAWN DORMAN

If more Foreign Service retirees were as active in promoting interest in foreign affairs as retired ambassador Robert Ryan, Sr., we might find that "Foreign Service" would not be a foreign term to most Americans. Ryan is one of those rare individuals who, after an outstanding career serving his country, has dedicated himself in retirement to promoting foreign affairs and the Foreign Service.

Mary and Bob Ryan

Ryan began his career in the passport section in 1937, went on to administrative assignments, and joined the Foreign Service in 1955 as part of the Wristonization program, which converted a number of civil servants to the Foreign Service ranks. He served in Paris for six years (1959-1964), followed by four years as ambassador to Niger. After a year in Washington and an assignment to the U.N., Ryan retired from the FS in 1970. He continued working at the U.N., becoming an assistant secretary general under Kurt Waldheim in 1972. He held that position until 1977, when he retired a second time.

During retirement, Ryan has consistently and passionately advocated for greater support for foreign affairs. He does this by maintaining contact with the State Department, the United Nations and other international organizations, non-governmental organizations and the press. He keeps in contact with members of Congress to push for support for the foreign affairs accounts. He contributes articles regularly to his local newspaper, the *Daytona Beach News-Journal.*

Ryan credits his continued involvement in foreign affairs in part to his wife Mary, who is still active in maintaining contact with all the organizations with which they have worked over the years.

Many retirees do not want to become involved in advocacy work after leaving the service. Ryan believes the department should address the fact that many FSOs retire with some bitterness, and suggests the department create a retiree liaison office to cultivate better relations with FSO retirees.

Ryan, now age 87, is one of AFSA's strongest advocates for Foreign Service retiree involvement in foreign affairs outreach, always pushing State management, AFSA and other organizations to take full advantage of the vast retiree network spread around the country. AFSA's Retiree Liaison Ward Thompson had this to say about Ryan's contributions: "Throughout my decade at AFSA, Amb. Ryan has been a textbook example of how a retired Foreign Service officer can contribute significantly to raising the quality of public discussion of foreign affairs. Our colleagues outside Washington have an advantage in being close to grassroots America, where they can have an impact on the voters who ultimately decide where Congress stands on the issues. But this advantage must be used. Bob Ryan, through his public speaking, letters to newspapers, work with

Continued on page 7

Another example of the multiplier effect: Ryan and his two FSO sons, who have between them over 100 years of public service. From left, retired FSO Thomas W. Ryan, Bob Ryan Sr., and retired ambassador Robert Ryan, Jr.

Awards • Continued from page 1

■ 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.

For information on how to submit a nomination, see December's *AFSA News*, or go to the AFSA Web site at www.afsa.org/nominations.html.

The constructive dissent awards publicly recognize individuals who have demonstrated the courage to challenge the system from within, no matter the issue or the consequences of their actions.

JOSH

Nominations should be sent to the AFSA Awards Committee by mail to: 2101 E Street N.W., Washington DC 20037; 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. □

IN THE LINE OF DUTY

Adding Names to the Memorial Plaque

Last Spring, the AFSA Governing Board amended the criteria used to determine whether a Foreign Service employee who dies overseas should have his/her name inscribed on the AFSA

Family Member Matters, a periodic column in AFSA News, *is a forum for Foreign Service family member opinion on issues relating to life in the Foreign Service. Send your 400- to 500-word essay to* AFSA News *Editor Shawn Dorman at Dorman@afsa.org. All submissions will be seriously considered. A $60 honorarium is paid for any article published as part of this series.*

FS VOICE: **FAMILY MEMBER MATTERS** ■ BY RUBY E. CARLINO

Preparedness 101

Foreign Service employees and their families overseas are America's first line of defense, living and working in harm's way to promote and protect our country's interests abroad. As civilians, we have no firepower to protect ourselves; instead we assume America's public face overseas and become our enemy's prime targets. Between 1989 and 1997, approximately 148 attacks on U.S. embassies and installations occurred. The embassy bombings in Africa, the attack on the *USS Cole*, the horrors of Sept. 11, and the public warnings issued by the State Department itself, all suggest that attacks on U.S. interests will not stop anytime soon.

A key recommendation made by the two Accountability Review Boards convened by Secretary of State Madeleine Albright in the aftermath of the 1998 embassy bombings was for the department to establish ways of defending against and minimizing the effect of terrorist attacks by providing appropriate equipment, medical supplies and first responder training. First-responder training teaches people how to respond to on-site emergencies, so they can provide immediate lifesaving treatment to injured mission members, and can also prioritize the order of treatment and how to communicate critical information that would assist in the development of a plan from medical professionals.

The ARB report came out in 1999. However, I have yet to hear what the department is doing to provide the recommended first responder training. In the light of Sept. 11 and the anthrax attacks, it has become more imperative that such training be funded and provided for all State Department employees and their dependents.

After the embassy bombings, the department's Foreign Emergency Support Teams took about 40 hours to arrive in Nairobi and Dar Es Salaam, and the first military evacuation did not take place until nearly two days after the bombing. At remote posts where emergency medical care is lacking or substandard, or where only a minimally staffed embassy health unit is available, what are we to do? What if help is not available for 40 hours or more? The State Department should prepare every employee and each dependent for this eventuality by giving us first-responder training before we are posted overseas.

The first-responder training would ideally be delivered in a CD-ROM and made available to every U.S. government employee and family member posted overseas and to every Foreign Service National. This would allow all employees and their families to review the training as necessary. The training could cover four main areas, namely: terrorism, medical emergency and CPR, bio-chemical/nuclear attack, and disaster preparedness. The terrorism unit could include relevant security procedures on what to do in cases of vehicle bombing, firebombing, hijacking, carjacking or rocket attacks. The biological chemical/nuclear unit could include descriptions and symptoms of contaminants and procedures for decontamination. Disaster preparedness instructions could include procedures for earthquakes, hurricanes, tomadoes and fire, and also instructions on the basic emergency tools, medical supplies and personal records to keep on hand in anticipation of mass destruction of the embassy or heavy casualties. Finally, a simulated exercise, with a time component for users to gauge their progress and level of preparedness, could be included in the interactive training package.

While it is true that service abroad can never be made completely safe, the department can reduce some of the risks by giving us the knowledge and skills necessary to care for ourselves and our loved ones should the unthinkable happen to us overseas. □

Ruby E. Carlino is a Foreign Service spouse and until recently, an analyst for a technology firm. She is currently a stay-at-home mom.

Memorial Plaque located in the lobby of the Harry S. Truman Building (formerly Main State). The new criterion added deaths that occur "in the line of duty" to the previous criteria of "heroic or inspirational circumstances," and is applied retroactively to 1972.

As a result, the names of ten Foreign Service employees who died overseas in the line of duty were added to the AFSA Memorial Plaque during a Sept. 10, 2001, ceremony attended by Secretary of State Colin Powell. Since then, AFSA has been soliciting the names of other individuals who may meet this expanded criterion for inscription and has received additional submissions. Names and accompanying background information were reviewed by AFSA's Awards and Plaque Committee. The committee recommended several names to the AFSA Governing Board for final approval and inscription during next year's memorial plaque ceremony.

AFSA continues to welcome suggestions of other names for consideration for the AFSA Memorial Plaque. Please send suggestions, questions or comments to Professional Issues Coordinator Barbara Berger by e-mail to berger@afsa.org; by phone: (202) 338-4045, ext. 521; or fax: (202) 338-6820. □

Q&A

Retiree Issues

BY WARD THOMPSON,
AFSA RETIREE LIAISON

Q. How can I be sure of getting annuity checks when the mail is disrupted?

A. October's anthrax delays underscored the value of direct deposit. Retirees are strongly advised to have their annuities sent to their bank accounts electronically. This enables them to have immediate and flexible access to their funds. Direct deposit, like voluntary allotments, can even be started or changed electronically, further eliminating dependence on the mail.

Q. What are voluntary allotments?

A. As of this writing, voluntary allotments from Foreign Service annuities are limited to deductions designated to financial institutions by annuitants. However, the State Department has announced that in 2002 it will expand available allotments to include deductions for union dues (including AFSA dues), Combined Federal Campaign contributions, Medicare B premiums and U.S. savings bonds. This will give Foreign Service annuitants the same opportunities for deductions currently available to other federal annuitants.

Q. What about state and federal income tax withholding?

A. The initial request for withholding must be made to the Office of Compensation and Pension (OCP) and is usually done at retirement through the Office of Retirement. If you did not do so at retirement or you move to a new state, you can call OCP at (800) 521-2553 for assistance. Once instituted, federal and state withholding may be changed electronically.

Q. How are deductions handled electronically?

A. Deductions are handled through "Annuitant Direct," the automated system instituted by State, working with the Office of Personnel Management (OPM). To access Annuitant Direct, just dial one of the following numbers: (888) 866-5166 (toll-free) or (478) 757-3137. You will need to use a touch-tone telephone and have your Social Security Number and your assigned PIN (personal identification number) ready. A voice system will assist you in processing your deductions. This system is available around the clock.

Q. What if I do not have a PIN?

A. You may call Annuitant Direct to request or change a PIN. If necessary, you may talk to someone at the Annuitant Direct Help Desk during working hours, 7:30 a.m. to 5:30 p.m. EST. You can access the Help Desk through Annuitant Direct or directly at (478) 757-3106.

Q. What else can I do through Annuitant Direct?

A. You can change your home address. You can also request a duplicate form 1099R, a service that has proven helpful at tax time and will be increasingly valuable if there continue to be problems with the mail.

Q. I live overseas. Can I use direct deposit?

A. It is advisable to keep an account with a U.S. bank into which your annuity can be deposited electronically. That bank, in turn, can arrange for funds to be sent to you or to a local financial institution. □

EDUCATING THE PUBLIC

Senator Sarbanes Hosts Foreign Service Exhibit

BY MIKKELA THOMPSON

Another small step towards educating the public about the importance of the Foreign Service was taken on Nov. 27 on Capitol Hill. Members of the AFSA Governing Board, AFSA staff and other Foreign Service colleagues attended a small reception in the Russell Senate Office Building in honor of the opening of the AFSA-sponsored exhibit, "The Foreign Service of the U.S.: Working for You Around the World."

The event was hosted by Senator Paul Sarbanes, D-Md. AFSA President John Naland introduced and thanked the senator, noting that Sarbanes "once again demonstrates his strong support for America's front-line diplomats by sponsoring the display of our special exhibit on the role of the Foreign Service." Naland explained that "The exhibit is designed to give busy people an appreciation of the many things the Foreign Service does to advance our country's vital interests around the globe."

Sen. Sarbanes used his welcoming remarks to express his support for the exhibit and the importance of the Foreign Service. He reminded us that even before the Foreign Service was created, there were U.S. diplomats overseas conducting successful negotiations. He offered the example of the 1783 Treaty of Paris: through diplomacy the U.S. doubled its landmass. He spoke of the dedication and sacrifice of U.S. diplomats, noting that more diplomats have been killed in the line of duty since World War II than generals and admirals.

Sen. Sarbanes said that the exhibit marked a first step towards preserving the history of the Foreign Service. He also related how pleased he was to see the increase of interest in public service careers as demonstrated by students at college career fairs. He remarked that he himself had considered joining the Foreign Service. The senator has long championed Foreign Service employee and family issues.

The exhibit was developed to commemorate the 75th anniversary of the Rogers Act of 1924. It was previously displayed at the Bush Library, the Carter Library, the Ford Museum, Georgetown University and Howard University. The exhibit was on display in the Russell Rotunda from Nov. 24-30 and will be moving to the George Washington University Elliot School of International Affairs in April 2002. □

FSO Retiree • Continued from page 4

the United Nations Association, and recruitment efforts among fellow retirees, is a model for Foreign Service retirees around the country who want to help increase public awareness of the importance of diplomacy for all Americans."

The Multiplier Effect

Bob Ryan is a strong proponent of the "multiplier effect," which he describes as finding "ways to multiply each local global affairs activity undertaken." For example, a local foreign affairs speaking event may attract a few hundred people, but media coverage of the event can get the message to thousands more.

One of Ryan's recent activities illustrates the point. An Oct. 6, 2001, article in the *Daytona Beach News-Journal* began like this: "America's war on terrorism would best be won by diplomats, not soldiers." It went on to cover discussions at the "World Affairs in the Millennium" event, a daylong symposium sponsored by the newspaper. Ryan played a major role in organizing the symposium, which brought together, before an audience of about 400, a number of foreign affairs experts to discuss 21st-century foreign affairs challenges. The newspaper put together a special edition made up of a collection of articles covering the event. This special edition will be inserted into the packets given to students from 15 colleges taking part in a January Model U.N. program at Bethune Cookman College in Florida.

AFSA Communications Director Tom Switzer said Ryan recently succeeded in placing an AFSA editorial in the *Daytona Beach News-Journal*, and had placed Foreign Service-related articles in several papers in New England last summer. Switzer commended Ryan "for his outstanding, long-term outreach efforts in support of AFSA objectives."

Foreign Service retirees can and should play a critical role in raising awareness of foreign affairs and the Foreign Service in communities around the country. The foreign affairs agencies need the support of retirees. And so does AFSA! Add your name to the AFSA database so you can be called for speaking engagements, employment or other opportunities. Contact AFSA's communications department if you want to help place articles in local newspapers. Join the team of FS retirees around the country speaking out in support of foreign affairs every day. □

In His Own Words

"We are trying to build a larger constituency for foreign affairs. We are not well supported, and we need to build a domestic constituency to support actions of the secretary of State in getting needed resources to conduct diplomatic programs. With our unique foreign affairs experiences, we retirees should be out there educating and informing the public about the increasing importance of foreign affairs and diplomacy in our daily lives. The events of Sept. 11 and their aftermath have again highlighted the importance of foreign affairs and should give us an opportunity to intensify our efforts to be in the forefront of educating the public and various segments of the population, including congress, business, students, etc. Retirees operate largely at the local level, where our unique experience is recognized and needed." —*Amb. Bob Ryan Sr.*

AFSA Promoting Reform • Continued from page 1

not adjusted adequately to changes in its operating environment. As a result, the Foreign Service lacks the ideal mix of abilities, outlooks, and organization needed for 21st-century diplomacy. Seeing the need for fundamental reform, the American Foreign Service Association initiated a review of the Foreign Service personnel system."

AFSA's Governing Board solicited input from AFSA members around the world on reform proposals. Taking the over 200 responses into account, the board finalized a packet of reform proposals, which fall in four categories:

- **WORKFORCE UTILIZATION:** Strengthen the service discipline that makes the Foreign Service an indispensable corps of individuals available for worldwide duty.
- **TRAINING AND CAREER DEVELOPMENT:** Close the training gap that has left the Foreign Service underprepared to carry out its duties in an increasingly complex world.
- **ORGANIZATIONAL CULTURE:** Shape a Foreign Service work force exhibiting the values and attitudes required for the successful conduct of 21st-century diplomacy.
- **CONDITIONS OF SERVICE:** Bring into better balance the rewards and burdens of service in order to keep the Foreign Service as a viable career for talented Americans.

During the Nov. 19 meeting, Amb. Davis proposed focusing first on the issue of training. AFSA readily agreed. The two sides formed a working group that met on Nov. 27 and adopted a two-pronged approach: a) establish training requirements that employees must meet at stages of their career while b) taking steps to assure that the personnel system actually makes employees available to take that training. The DG's staff is now developing detailed proposals to be discussed with AFSA in early 2002. The goal is to adopt new rules in time for employees transferring starting next winter to do so by way of newly required training.

The two sides also agreed to work jointly on the four other initiatives raised by the DG: rewarding employees who do "community service" such as serving on promotion panels, designing an employee job satisfaction survey, securing overseas comparability pay, and implementing the Student Loan Repayment Program.

Concerning AFSA's 14 non-training proposals (on workforce utilization, organizational culture, and conditions of service), Amb. Davis accepted AFSA's request that management quickly review them to identify any (even if only a few) that could be accepted without further discussion. She indicated that some would require detailed analysis. She agreed to have her staff complete the review quickly so that the two sides could meet to discuss those 14 proposals.

AFSA thanks all those members who offered feedback in the development of the AFSA proposals. We look forward to working with the DG on reform initiatives and will report back to members on progress made. □

AFSA NEWS BRIEFS

Continued from page 3

Award for Outstanding Volunteerism Abroad

The Secretary of State's Award for Outstanding Volunteerism Abroad is an annual award sponsored by the Associates of the American Foreign Service Worldwide, which honors outstanding volunteers who work tirelessly and often without recognition to improve the quality of life at posts abroad.

All U.S. government direct-hire employees and family members over 18 are eligible for the award. All overseas posts are encouraged to nominate a candidate for the award. Six awards are given each year, one for each geographic bureau. These awards will be presented on Foreign Affairs Day. **Nominations are due by Feb. 1.**

For more information, contact AAFSW at 5125 MacArthur Blvd. NW, Suite 36, Washington, DC 20016, attention: Claire Bogosian, or phone: (202) 362-6514, fax: (202) 362-6589, or e-mail: AAFSW@erols.com.

Globe Trotters Seeks Program Director

Globe Trotters, the teen branch of the Foreign Service Youth Foundation, has an immediate opening for a program director. The ideal candidate would be a young adult who has significant experience or knowledge of family life in the Foreign Service, overseas living experience; a relevant degree (e.g., counseling, intercultural communications education); high energy; enthusiasm; creativity; and experience working in a leadership position with children ages 9 - 12. The Globe Trotters Program Director must be a leader who is able to provide structure while remaining flexible and open, discipline while remaining approachable, provide guidance without the interference of bias, and act as a mentor and guide to the members.

A few of the current responsibilities include: supervising production of the newsletter; planning activities; facilitating relationships between participants and encouraging involvement; and soliciting materials for the Globe Trotters Web page.

The position is part-time, approximately 10-15 hours per month, though the hours per month can be increased by the board. The program is based in Washington, D.C. The salary is $12.00 per hour. To apply, please send resume addressing qualifications to Kay Branaman Eakin by e-mail: kbeakin@aol.com; or fax: (480) 641-4898. For more information about Globe Trotters, visit the Web site at www.fsyf.org.

Help AFSA Find You

Was your June *Foreign Service Journal* forwarded to you in Kuala Lumpur from Santiago in October? Don't forget to keep AFSA up-to-date on your whereabouts. We cannot make sure you get the *Foreign Service Journal* and other AFSA mailings unless we know where you are. You can update your address on-line at www.afsa.org/directory.cfm; by e-mail to member@afsa.org; by phone to (202) 338-4045 ext. 525; or by mail to AFSA Membership, 2101 E St. N.W., Washington, DC 20037. Please include your e-mail address.

Excused Absences for Those without Home Leave

Recently, the department sensibly instituted a period of excused absence in lieu of home leave for GS employees returning from overseas excursion tours. This period allows returning employees to settle in to homes, enroll children in schools, etc. AFSA has written to management seeking a period of excused absence for two categories of Foreign Service employees who are not presently entitled to home leave: rovers and those returning to the U.S. for a final assignment before retirement. Rovers, although they serve the majority of their assignment overseas, are technically assigned to Washington and therefore have no entitlement to home leave, while employees returning for their final assignment cannot be granted home leave since they have no expectation of serving overseas again.

AFSA and Your Mail

JOSH

Unclassified pouch shipments, halted because of anthrax contamination in the system, resumed in late November. During the three-week-long shutdown, AFSA volunteered to receive express mail shipments from overseas missions and transfer the contents into the U.S. postal system or the State Department inter-office mail system. The response was quite remarkable, and by the end of November, we had processed over 10,000 pieces of mail from about 50 different posts. AFSA wants to recognize and thank AFSA member services representative Ingrid Hubbard for taking on this huge project.

State Department Foreign Affairs Fellowships


JOSH

The Thomas R. Pickering Foreign Affairs Fellowship Program (formerly the U.S. Department of State Foreign Affairs Fellowship Program) for undergraduates and graduate students provides funding to participants as they prepare academically and professionally to enter the Foreign Service. The goal of this program is to attract outstanding students from all ethnic and social backgrounds who have an interest in pursuing a Foreign Service career in the Department of State. Women, minorities and students with financial needs who are U.S. citizens are especially encouraged to apply.

The award includes tuition and a stipend for room and board. The deadline to apply for the undergraduate fellowship is Feb. 22, and the deadline for the graduate fellowship is March 1.

For more information about requirements and benefits, visit the Web site at www.woodrow.org or contact Dr. Richard Hope, Director, Thomas R. Pickering Foreign Affairs Fellowship Program, The Woodrow Wilson Foundation, P.O. Box 2437, Princeton, NJ 08543-2437.

Dreyfus Scholarship Program

Children, and now grandchildren, of Foreign Service officers are eligible to apply for the Dreyfus scholarships and fellowships for study at the Hotchkiss School and Yale University. The awards are sponsored by the DACOR Bacon House Foundation and are made possible through a generous bequest of the late Ambassador Louis G. Dreyfus, Jr.

The Hotchkiss School seeks to select one qualified enrolled student for a $5,000 scholarship. Applicants should contact the director of financial aid, The Hotchkiss School, Lakeville, CT 06039-0800.

Yale undergraduates who apply for the award can receive up to $5,000, while graduate students can receive up to $10,000. Applicants can apply for the Dreyfus awards at the time of their application for admission to Yale. The award is contingent upon confirmation from Yale that the student has been admitted or is a student in good standing. For more information about the Yale Dreyfus awards, contact the DACOR Bacon House Foundation at 1801 F St., N.W., Washington, DC 20006 or call DACOR's Education Committee at (202) 682-0500 or (800) 344-9127.

The application deadline is March 15. □

LEGISLATIVE UPDATE

It's a Good Start

BY KEN NAKAMURA, AFSA DIRECTOR OF CONGRESSIONAL RELATIONS

By votes of 411 to 15 and 98 to 1, the House and Senate respectively adopted the Conference Report for H.R. 2500, the FY 2002 Commerce, Justice, and State (CJS) appropriations bill, which was signed by President Bush on Nov. 28, 2001, as Public Law 107-77. Along with funding the operations and programs of the departments of Justice, Commerce, and State, it also funds the assessed contributions to international organizations and peacekeeping, certain international commissions, organizations such as the National Endowment for Democracy, and federal non-military international broadcasting.

Thanks to the hard work of Secretary Powell and his team, along with the strong support of friends like Chairman of the House CJS Appropriations Subcommittee Congressman Frank Wolf, R-Va., the department and the Foreign Service ended up with more funding than they might have. In early 2001, the administration requested an increase in the basic funding for the State Department of 18.6 percent above Fiscal Year 2001. The House bill came close to the request, but the Senate came in with an increase of only 8.79 percent. Much of the proposed decrease from the administration's request came in two areas: embassy security and the personnel-oriented "Diplomatic and Consular Programs" sub-account. However, by the final passage of the bill, the State Department level had been increased by 16.16 percent above FY01.

Major components are:

- Funding for worldwide security fully met the administration's request of $1,303.695 million. This was made up of $815.960 million for construction and perimeter security, and $487.735 million for technical and security upgrades, additional training and operational support, and the hiring of an additional 186 security personnel including 86 special agents. Included in the administration's original request was $50 million to construct new on-compound facilities for USAID in Nairobi and Kampala as well as cover projects in Abuja, Bogota, and Yerevan. The Congress, however, stated that the security funds could not be used for USAID facilities, but would have to go for capital security construction to projects at posts that are determined by the department to be most in need of secure replacement facilities.

- Within the personnel-oriented Diplomatic and Consular Programs (D&CP) sub-account, the administration included a category called "Resources for Diplomatic Readiness and Reform." This was made up of funding for personnel matters above current services and emphasized the Secretary of State's efforts to rebuild the diplomatic readiness infrastructure. Two key areas of interest to AFSA cover increased staffing and human resource programs. Within the staffing area, Congress met the administration's funding request of $106.895 million, with Congress expressing the expectation that those 360 new employees (300 Foreign Service and 60 Civil Service) above attrition will be hired in FY 2002.

- Funding for human resource programs came in lower than requested. The request was for $27.6 million and the funding level approved was $18.5 million. Within this amount, $3 million went for recruitment modernization instead of the $4.1 million requested; $10 million for service needs incentives instead of the requested $11.5 million; $2 million for the student loan repayment program as opposed to the $7 million requested, $1 million for the spousal employment program instead of the $2.2 million request; and $2.5 million for Civil Service mobility and mid-level training programs, which met the request. AFSA notes that State has some flexibility in moving appropriated funds. For example, although only $2 million was allocated out of the requested $7 million for the student loan program, State may be able to augment that amount by moving funds from other accounts. We will keep you posted.

- Improvements in the capital investment fund to continue upgrading the information technology and communications systems were funded at $203 million instead of the requested $210 million. However, the conference level is still a 109.7% increase above the FY01 figure.

Two important points to note are that this increased FY02 funding level becomes the base for the FY03 request, and it represents only a down payment on what is needed to rebuild and modernize the department. For example, the 360 new personnel above attrition represent about one-third of what is needed to meet current staffing shortfalls. The message AFSA wants to send to Congress is that this is an important start, but it is just that: a start. □

New Dues Schedule

In accordance with the AFSA Bylaws, the AFSA Governing Board has adjusted member dues for inflation by approving a dues increase of 2.6 percent. This change reflects the increase in the Consumer Price Index for 12 months ending Sept. 30, 2001. The new dues rates will take effect on Jan. 1, 2002. Members paying dues via payroll deduction will see a small, automatic increase in the amount deducted from their paychecks. Members who pay annually will be billed the new rate on their regularly scheduled renewal date. Membership dues account for approximately 75 percent of AFSA's total income. This revenue provides the association with a stable and predictable income source, which allows AFSA to continue offering excellent member services and benefits.

2002 AFSA Dues Schedule

Active Duty Category	2002 Annual	2002 Biweekly
FS 7, 8, 9	$70.70	$2.70
FS 6, 5, 4	$133.75	$5.15
FS 1, 2, 3	$233.75	$9.00
SFS	$302.25	$11.65

Retiree Category	2002 Dues
Annuity under $25,000	$59.00
Annuity $25-50,000	$81.50
Annuity $50-75,000	$109.00
Annuity over $75,000	$136.00
Retiree Spouse	$50.00
Retiree Associate	$51.00

Associate Category	2002 Dues
Non-Foreign Service	$84.00

AFSA'S INTERNATIONAL ASSOCIATES PROGRAM

Science and Technology in Foreign Policy

BY VIRGINIA SOPYLA, IA INTERN

AFSA's International Associates (IA) is an organization dedicated to facilitating communication between corporate executives and senior U.S. foreign policy-makers. IA brings in high-ranking speakers to discuss current issues of great importance to the American international business community.

On Oct. 30, IA presented "Science and Technology in U.S. Foreign Policy," a discussion of the current and future role of science and technology in implementing U.S. diplomatic objectives. Dr. Norman Neureiter, science and technology advisor to the Secretary of State, began the afternoon with a brief introduction to his department's role at State and then opened the floor to questions and comments. Attendees, including several major defense contractors and telecommunications companies, discussed the ways and means for cooperation between the corporate world and the State Department in furthering foreign policy goals in light of the recent acts of terrorism.

IA brings in high-ranking speakers to discuss current issues of great importance to the American international business community. ... IA members support the Foreign Service through donations to the Fund for American Diplomacy

Dr. Neureiter stated that perhaps one of the simplest, yet most important, ways that U.S. businesses can further U.S. diplomatic goals, is to act as good citizens of the country in which they are operating. When U.S. multinational corporations act as good citizens, they spread a positive image of American values. Dr. Neureiter also spoke of his department's efforts to reach out to the business community through the National Academy of Sciences and industry organizations. He invited corporations to sponsor employees for fellowships at the State Department and spoke of the need for more science and technology officers to serve at embassies abroad.

The event was followed by a reception allowing attendees an opportunity to socialize and network.

IA members support the Foreign Service through donations to the Fund for American Diplomacy, which sponsors professional development programs for Foreign Service employees, educates the public about the Foreign Service, and recognizes the contributions of Foreign Service employees.

If you know of a company that might be interested in becoming an IA member, please contact Tema Razavi in AFSA's Corporate Relations Office at (202) 338-4045 ext. 508, or pass along her number. □

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WHY SUPPORT OF COLOMBIA IS CRUCIAL TO THE WAR ON DRUGS

A STATE DEPARTMENT OFFICIAL EXPLAINS WHY PLAN COLOMBIA AND THE ANDEAN REGIONAL INITIATIVE ARE EVEN MORE IMPORTANT AFTER THE SEPT. 11 ATTACKS.

BY AMB. JAMES MACK

The attaeks against the United States on Sept. 11 stunned us all. They also made it clear that the mission of the State Departmcnt is critieally important now more than ever, especially on the counter-narcotics front. Very frequently, the criminal organizations involvcd in narcotics smuggling have links to other criminal activities and to terrorist groups. Just as we in the United States are trying to strengthen our homeland security, other nations are facing similar challenges. Deepening our law enforccment cooperation with these like-minded nations has thus become all the more urgent.

One way to combat terrorism worldwide is by helping foreign governments to strike at the very means that terrorists use to finance their activities. The methods used for moving and laundering money for general crime purposes are similar to those used to move money to support terrorist aetivities. The State Department has worked with the Departments of Justice and Treasury and with nations around the world to strengthen controls which could thwart the drug traffickers' attempts to launder their funds and to investigate and prosecute those who are involved in moving criminal proceeds. These same law enforcement controls would also help prevent the movement of funds by terrorist organizations.

Many of the skills and types of equipment needed to attack organized erime are applieable to combating terrorism. Much of the State Department's law enforcement assistance — such as the equipping of forensic labs, assistance with drafting asset forfeiture and money laundering legislation, and provision of basic training in investigation techniques, maritime enforeemcnt, and port sccurity — applies to both counter-narcotics and counter-terrorism.

In the Western Hemisphere, there are long historic links between terrorist groups and narcotics trafficking. The Shining Path preyed brutally upon Peru from the 1980s to the mid-1990s, largely funded by taxes on coeaine trafficking. In Ciudad del Este, Paraguay, and along the loosely controlled border region that it shares with Brazil and Argentina, members of radical Islamic groups are reported to be engaged in money laundering, intellectual property rights piracy, alien smuggling and arms trafficking.

It is well documented that designated foreign terrorist groups in Colombia, such as the Revolutionary Armed Forces of Colombia (FARC) and United Self-Defense Forces of Colombia (AUC), benefit substantially from their deep involvement in drug trafficking. Virtually all of the world's cocaine and an increasing amount of heroin now come from Colombia.

There are also strong indications that the FARC has established links with the Irish Republic Army (IRA) to increase its capability to conduct urban terrorism. In July 2001, the Colombian National Police arrested three members of the IRA who are believed to have used the demilitarized zone to train the FARC in use of explosives. We are monitoring this ongoing investigation with great concern.

Democracy is under pressure in all of the countries of the Andes. Eeonomic development is slow and progress towards liberalization is inconsistent. Sluggish economies,

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in turn, produce political unrest that threatens democracy and provides ready manpower for narcotics traffickers and illegal armed groups. The drug trade has a corrupting influence that undermines democratic institutions, fuels illegal armed groups and distorts the economy, discouraging legitimate investment. All of these problems are interrelated.

In 2000, the Colombian government developed a comprehensive strategy known as Plan Colombia to address these problems in its country, and the U.S. government responded with a $1.3 billion assistance package. Plan Colombia's positive results already include the following:

• Thanks to U.S. Special Forces, three Colombian counterdrug battalions are fully trained, equipped and operational. The battalions have destroyed over 600 cocaine labs to date, while maintaining a spotless human rights record.

• Some 37,000 families have signed alternative development pacts with the government of Colombia and agreed to voluntarily eradicate 37,000 hectares (91,000 acres) of coca, although the security situation limits the delivery of the assistance that would bring about that eradication.

• Thousands of internally displaced Colombians have received assistance through health, education, and income and employment generation programs funded by the U.S. Agency for International Development.

• USAID has also established 18 "justice houses" (multi-agency judical centers) and is working in 31 drug-producing municipalities to extend the rule of law to previously underserved areas.

• Spray planes have treated over 77,000 hectares (190,000 acres) of coca fields from December 2000 through November 2001. The Colombian aerial spray program is aimed at large-scale "industrial" coca drug plantations and the expansion of new coca cultivation. Every effort is made to minimize the possibility of damage to legitimate agriculture, and spraying has not been carried out in areas where alternative development agreements exist or are being developed.

Aerial spraying of illicit drug crops has been carried out on a continuing basis in various departments of Colombia for more than 10 years, without any demonstrably-related ill effects on the health of the population in these areas. Nonetheless, we felt compelled to probe assertions that the glyphosate-based herbicide was making people sick in Colombia. Embassy Bogota contracted Colombia's leading toxicologist to evaluate several hundred reports of health problems in southern Colombia, and he found those cases to be inconsistent with glyphosate exposure.

We believe Plan Colombia will result in a major disruption of the cocaine industry and traffickers will undoubtedly try to relocate as their operations in southern Colombia are disrupted. They may first try to migrate to other areas inside Colombia, then try to return to traditional growing areas in Peru and Bolivia. But if those efforts are forestalled, they may well seek to move more cultivation, processing and trafficking routes into other countries, such as Ecuador, Brazil or Venezuela.

Anticipating that spillover, the Andean Regional Initiative was developed to support the efforts of Colombia and neighboring countries plagued with drug production and trafficking and to prevent the use of illegal activity to finance terrorism, and any other criminal activity. As U.S. military and law enforcement detection and monitoring assets are shifted from transit zones in the Caribbean and Central America to homeland defense and the war against terrorism, our counternarcotics training and assistance programs in the Andean source countries become more essential.

The region's governments have taken significant measures to establish security along the borders, which will be a critical element in the success of this regional plan. Ecuador has established a Northern Border Initiative to promote better security and development in the region bordering Colombia; Brazil has launched Operation Cobra, a law enforcement effort concentrated in the Dog's Head region bordering Colombia; Panama has taken concrete steps to improve security and development in the Darien region; and Venezuelan authorities have cooperated admirably on drug interdiction, exemplified by last year's record multi-ton seizure during Operation Orinoco.

When looking at U.S. programs in the Andean region, it is important to keep in mind the situation in Colombia just a few years ago. The large drug lords and organizations had embarked on an extensive campaign of violence to bring the government to its knees, and almost succeeded. Their symbiotic relationship with illegal armed groups continues to keep the government weak. And one can imagine the threat to U.S. national security that would have been posed by a narco-trafficking state used as a springboard for international terrorist groups, and in our hemisphere. That is why Plan Colombia and the Andean Regional Initiative continue to be critical in our efforts to address the drug problem and cut funding to terrorists at the same time. ■

RANGOON: KEY TO STOPPING THE OPIUM TRADE

Drew Thurston

THE UNITED STATES AND BURMA DIFFER OVER DEMOCRACY AND HUMAN RIGHTS, BUT THAT SHOULDN'T STOP THEM FROM COOPERATING IN THE WAR ON DRUGS.

BY BARRY BROMAN

The United States may have declared a war on illegal narcotics, but it hasn't spent much ammunition in Burma (Myanmar), where most of Southeast Asia's illicit drugs are produced. At one time, the United States had an effective overt program of cooperation with Burma aimed at eradicating opium production in the Shan State. This effort was run by the State Department and was considered one of the best programs of its type worldwide. But the program came to a sudden end in 1988 after internal political violence in Burma ended American aid and most counternarcotics cooperation. In the decade-plus that has passed since aid stopped, the cultivation of opium in Burma has risen tenfold.

Opium has been produced in the mountains of northeastern Burma for more than two centuries, the result of a

trade that was initiated and aggressively promoted by British administrators in India who forced opium on China to redress their trade deficit. Opium was a state monopoly of the British in India and Burma, and of the French in Indochina. Not until 1912, when Burma participated in the International Opium Convention at the Hague, did new laws restrict the sale of opium in Burma. These laws did not apply to the Shan State, however, which the British ruled only indirectly through the region's traditional feudal rulers (sawbwas). Thus, legal opium production east of the Salween River continued until 1964.

After World War II, with the Chinese communists taking power on the mainland, Nationalist Chinese troops retreated from Yunnan Province into the rugged hills of Shan State. There, with the support of the United States, they established themselves, and over time moved into the narcotics-smuggling business. Eventually, many of these Chinese troops were relocated to Taiwan or shifted into Thailand, where they served as a buffer in the north against communist subversion or invasion. They continued their drug trafficking, often with the support of local officials. Despite much misinformation, or disinformation, regarding this activity, the United States government was at no point involved in the drug trade there.

After independence in 1948, the Burmese were immediately confronted with insurrection by various ethnic minorities seeking freedom from the dominant Burmans. Among these groups were the Shan, who had enjoyed considerable autonomy under the British and wanted at least the same from the Burmese. Large portions of the Shan State were outside the control of the Burmese army, which was also at war with Burma's Communist Party. Taking advantage of the weakness of the central government, several groups, all led by or connected to Chinese traffickers, increased the flow of narcotics out of the area, now known as the Golden Triangle, to the point where most of the world's opium and heroin was being produced in this poor, mountainous region.

Barry Broman received a master of arts degree from the University of Washington in Southeast Asian studies. More than half of his 30-year career in government service was spent in Southeast Asia. Between 1994 and 1996 he served as counselor for regional affairs at the U.S. Embassy in Rangoon, Burma.

There is a popular impression, fostered internationally by political opponents of the military regime in Rangoon, that the military are leading, or are at least complicit in, drug trafficking in Burma. While corruption is a problem in the country and there are undoubtedly officials who are involved for personal gain, there is no "smoking gun" that suggests that the government is a narco-dictatorship. On the contrary, the government has lost thousands of soldiers killed in operations against drug traffickers. It is drug money that is financing military operations against the central government, which therefore wants to see drug trafficking ended in Burma.

Going After Khun Sa

The most infamous of the traffickers is the Sino-Shan opium warlord Chang Ch'i-fu, who goes by the name Khun Sa. Posing as a freedom fighter for the independence of the Shan State from Burma, Khun Sa built an army of more than 15,000 men and boys and controlled a large area in the eastern Shan State adjacent to Thailand by the 1990s. Known as the Mong Thai Army, it was a formidable force armed with weapons, including heavy mortars and ground-to-air missiles, purchased in Thailand and other nearby countries.

From his headquarters at Ho Mong, nestled near the Thai border with a paved road running south to Thailand, Khun Sa directed his opium empire. He operated heroin laboratories along the Thai-Burma border, quickly converting opium to heroin and reducing its volume by 90 percent. The transformation from opium to heroin is a simple matter requiring only a trained chemist and a few chemicals. (Ironically, heroin was first synthesized by a British scientist in 1874 seeking a non-addictive substitute for morphine, which as also an opium derivative. Later, German scientists revived interest in this new drug, diacetylmorphine, and the pharmaceutical company Bayer trademarked the product as Heroin.)

In 1995 the Burmese Army launched a complex campaign against Khun Sa, who had already been condemned to death in absentia by a Burmese court for drug trafficking. Part of the effort to crush Khun Sa was the defection of a large part of his manpower, ethnic Shans, who resented the ethnic Chinese who led Khun Sa's army. The Burmese Army closed in on Khun Sa's mountain redoubts and attacked using long-range artillery provided by China. At the same time, the

Burmese encouraged a rival drug trafficking organization, the United Wa State Army, to attack Khun Sa's positions along the Thai border, and the Royal Thai Army moved to cut off Khun Sa's line of supply, all of which came from Thailand. Khun Sa realized that his days as a warlord were numbered and surrendered his army in early 1996. Today he lives obscurely under a modified type of house arrest at an army installation near Rangoon. He professes to be in poor health and has asked permission to return to his home on the Thai border. He is probably safer where he is; the U.S. government has offered a $1 million reward for Khun Sa's capture and delivery to American law enforcement officials.

The State Department's eradication program, which ended in 1988, was considered one of the best worldwide.

The surrender of Khun Sa was an impressive feat of coordinated diplomacy and military action by the Burmese, who succeeded in neutralizing one of the world's most notorious heroin traffickers. But the U.S. government did not applaud this event. Instead, officials demanded his extradition (he has been indicted in the United States) and cited the deal that Khun Sa cut with the authorities as evidence of collusion between the drug dealer and the military.

The void created by the departure of the Mong Thai Army was filled by the United Wa State Army. This tribal group, known as "the Wild Wa" by the British for their custom of headhunting, was never subdued in the colonial period. After independence, Burma fought a long, bloody war with the Communist Party of Burma, which drew on the Wa for much of its manpower. The Wa also received considerable material support and encouragement from China. In 1988 this rebellion ended with a cease-fire and the promise that the Wa would end their involvement in the drug trade.

The Wa have not lived up to the terms of the agreement and under the guidance of Wei Xuekang have become increasingly involved in drug smuggling. In fact, they have diversified; in addition to producing and smuggling heroin, they are manufacturing methamphetamines, largely for the Thai market. This drug, known to the Thai as ya ba ("crazy medicine"), is causing major social and crime problems in Thailand and has put a strain on its already troubled relations with Burma.

Realizing that they need to do something, the Burmese, with very little in the way of resources, have instituted a crop substitution program — an outgrowth of the program that the State Department successfully ran in the Shan State until 1988. The United Nations and countries such as Japan have given modest support to this effort; the United States has contributed a few million dollars as well. But much more needs to be done, especially to expand the program into areas controlled by the Wa.

Heroin produced in Burma is still finding its way into the United States. There is a heroin glut on the world market, thanks to production in Afghanistan and South America, and the product is cheap. It is in the interest of Burma to suppress the trade because the Burmese want to establish sovereignty in the Shan Hills. It is the profits from the drug trade that sustain the Wa and their soldiers. The same is also true for other trafficking groups in the area, including the Kokang and Eastern Shan State Army and the Shan State Army. By putting an end to the drug trade, Rangoon will find it easier to establish control over its remote territory. It will also address two increasingly serious problems for the Burmese: heroin addiction and HIV infection, often spread by sharing needles.

Common Interests

It is also in the self-interest of the United States to join the war on drugs in Burma, despite the differences between the two governments over democracy and human rights issues. A good start would be the resumption of the U.S.-Burmese crop substitution and eradication program. Similar projects in Thailand have proved very successful, and opium cultivation has largely ended there. The project in Burma was considered the best of its type in the world by Al Bryant, a State Department expert on narcotics who worked in the Shan Hills in the 1980s.

During the 1990s, the Burmese provided considerable support to the United States in conducting opium yield surveys in the Shan State. These surveys, conducted under the direction of U.S. Agriculture Service scientists, were supported in the field by the Myanmar Agriculture Service and several American agencies. The Burmese Army provided physical security for the

surveys and the Burmese Air Force provided helicopters for transportation.

The surveys were conducted at the request of the United States government, which considered them important in providing a database on the amount of opium under cultivation in Burma. Joint U.S.-Burmese teams were flown into three main opium-growing areas of the Shan State, including areas under at least the partial control of Khun Sa, the Wa and the Kokang.

A typical survey lasted two weeks, as teams would scientifically sample more than 100 opium fields at harvest time. After drying the poppies in Rangoon, the yield of the opium was determined in laboratories, giving researchers a good idea of the size of the crop. Different surveys over the years have provided valuable data for both the scientific and the law enforcement communities. This type of mutually useful program should be continued and expanded.

If the United States is reluctant or unwilling to directly work with the Burmese, several options are available. Greater support, especially financial, could be provided to the United Nations to expand its programs in Burma. Another option would be to provide support to the Royal Thai Government, which already has extensive experience in crop substitution/eradication programs in northern Thailand, so it could assist the Burmese with their experience, along with financial and technical support from the United States.

The United States could also make technology and equipment available to both the Thais and the Burmese to help stem the flow of drugs out of Burma. Finally, China could be brought into this effort, as it has a growing drug problem of its own and much of the opium growing area is along the border of China's Yunnan Province.

The United States has declared a very public war on drugs, but until now the war has been fought largely in South America against the cocaine target. Today, as every police chief in America knows, heroin is a major problem. It is time to spend more resources to bring the war against drugs to Southeast Asia. ■

THE MILITARY'S FIGHT AGAINST THE DRUG TRADE

FROM SOUTHEAST ASIA TO SOUTH AMERICA, THE U.S. PACIFIC COMMAND WORKS BEHIND THE SCENES TO KEEP DRUGS OUT OF THE U.S.

BY THE U.S. PACIFIC COMMAND

The heavily forested hills that roll along the expansive Burma-Thailand border provide a spider-web network of trails and roads, ideally suited for the illicit flow of drugs. The drugs come from numerous labs operated by the United Wa State Army and other armed groups located in Burma. The drug flow from Burma to Thailand, particularly of methamphetamines, has grown to a torrent over the last several years and has become a threat to the welfare and stability of Thailand, a key Southeast Asian ally. The government of Thailand is aggressively confronting what has become its main national security threat: the use of illicit drugs by a rapidly growing portion of the population.

East of Thailand, the Pacific Ocean provides another ideal thoroughfare for drugs: cocaine from South America destined for U.S. consumers. Fishing vessels and high-speed boats taking the long journey north through the eastern Pacific have become the primary method of transportation for the narco-traffickers. Today, more than half of the cocaine entering the U.S. travels this route.

These two problems, an ocean apart, intersect at a small headquarters building on Coast Guard Island in Alameda, Calif. This building is home to the Joint Interagency Task Force West, better known as JIATF West. A subordinate command of United States Pacific Command (USPACOM), JIATF West is responsible for the coordination of all military counter-drug operations in the United States Pacific Command area. This area stretches across 52 percent of the earth's surface, from the west coast of the United States through the Pacific and Indian Oceans to the east coast of Africa. It includes 43 countries with over 60 percent of the world's population.

JIATF West's efforts in the Pacific Command area are mirrored in Latin America, the Caribbean and a portion of the Eastern Pacific by the efforts of a sister command, JIATF East, headquartered in Key West, Fla. Although they report to different commanders and are responsible for different areas, both JIATFs are staffed by personnel from the U.S. Coast Guard, all four military services and several other agencies, including the Drug Enforcement Administration, U.S. Customs Service, the Defense Intelligence Agency and the Federal Bureau of Investigation.

Both JIATFs rely on the synergy developed by their interagency structure to effectively accomplish their missions, though for security reasons many of the details cannot be discussed here.

Department of Defense involvement in this area began to take shape about 20 years ago. In the early 1980s, when President Reagan declared a "war on drugs," Congress supported him by passing the Anti-Drug Abuse Act, which gave the executive branch of the federal government the authority to combat drugs. In 1988, Congress created the Office of National Drug Control Policy within the executive branch in order to establish a coherent national policy to combat drugs. The Department of Defense's role was further increased in 1989 when it was assigned responsibility as the lead agency for detection and monitoring of drug traffickers bound for the U.S. via either air or sea. To assist DOD in carrying out this new responsibility, Congress authorized the creation of several joint task forces that evolved into the current JIATF West and JIATF East. In 1991, Congress further refined Defense's role by enumerating 10 specific areas of support it could provide to U.S. federal, state, local and foreign drug law enforcement agencies. This support included transportation of personnel and supplies; detection and monitoring of air, sea and surface traffic; training for U.S. and partner nation personnel; construction of support facilities or infrastructure; and the maintenance and repair of certain types of equipment. As a result, the Department of Defense's counterdrug mission is focused in two primary areas: detection and monitoring of drug traffic to the U.S. and providing support to U.S. federal, state, local and foreign drug agencies.

To perform its detection and monitoring mission in the Eastern Pacific, JIATF West maintains an around-the-clock command center, which passes specific intelligence to aircraft flying surveillance missions to locate suspect vessels. The surveillance aircraft then sends a U.S. Coast Guard or U.S. Navy surface vessel to intercept the suspected narco-trafficker. If a Navy vessel intercepts the suspect, Coast Guard personnel go on board and apprehend the suspects, thus avoiding legal restrictions on Department of Defense personnel conducting law-enforcement activities.

JIATF West has had numerous recent successes. In February 2001, it was credited with the fourth largest maritime cocaine seizure in history when the fishing vessel *Forever My Friend* was seized with 19,884 pounds of cocaine on board. Then in April 2001, the fishing vessel *Svesda Maru* was stopped with 26,397 pounds of cocaine on board. This still stands as the largest maritime cocaine seizure in history. Overall, from October 2000 to June 2001, JIATF West seized over 108,000 pounds of cocaine in the eastern Pacific.

JIATF West has also had success working with law enforcement officials in Mexico. In April 2001, JIATF West assets turned over to Mexican authorities a fishing vessel with over 9,000 pounds of cocaine on board. They have also delivered several narco-trafficking speedboats to Mexican law-enforcement officials in a cooperative effort that continues to develop. However, even with these recent successes, much remains to be done in the Eastern Pacific campaign to reduce drug trafficking.

JIATF West's mission of providing support to other countries is not nearly as straightforward as the detection and monitoring mission in the Eastern Pacific, either in concept or execution. It acts elsewhere only after a request has been made by both the officials of the country involved and the local U.S. embassy. Here, for example, is how USPACOM and JIATF West became involved in assisting the Royal Thai Government in countering the drug flow across its border with Burma.

Specifically, during a May 2000 meeting between Adm. Dennis C. Blair, the commander-in-chief of the U.S. Pacific Command, and Gen. Mongkon Ampornpisit, the supreme commander of the Royal Thai Armed Forces, the general expressed tremendous frustration with the enormous quantities of methamphetamine entering Thailand from Burma. He asked Adm. Blair for U.S. assistance. At the same time, other Thai officials asked the U.S. ambassador to Thailand for help with the drug problem. Based on these requests, Adm. Blair directed the USPACOM staff to develop a plan to refocus selected engagement and training events in Thailand to address the counterdrug problem. He assigned JIATF West responsibility for this effort. Over the next several months, JIATF West-led planning helped the Thais produce a comprehensive, two-year assistance plan. The centerpiece of this plan is a border security task force com-

prised of Royal Thai Army and Thai Border Patrol Police personnel. These forces operate jointly to execute border interdiction missions based on actionable intelligence provided by an organic intelligence fusion center. While the concept of the military and the police working together brought initial skepticism, support from senior leadership in both institutions has sustained the program.

On Oct. 1, 2001, following an extensive series of training events, U.S. Special Forces personnel packed their bags and prepared to leave Thailand for the trip home to Fort Lewis, Wash. Eighteen months after the initial request for assistance from Thailand, the first phase of the USCINCPAC counterdrug assistance plan had been successfully completed. A Thai border security task force, Task Force 399, has been trained and is ready to conduct border security missions in northern Thailand. While there may be a need for additional training (due to regularly scheduled troop rotations) to reinforce the skills taught, the task force is conducting independent operations and does not require any permanent U.S. support. This is in keeping with Adm. Blair's intent to provide assistance to a key ally while recognizing that the flow of illegal drugs across their border remains a Thai problem that must ultimately be solved by Bangkok.

While the intelligence center initiative is still in its infancy, it will continue to be the focus of cooperative efforts during the coming year as U.S. trainers assist the Thais in developing the ability to effectively share intelligence among the various military, police and other law enforcement agencies in the country. Ultimately, the intelligence fusion center will provide all-source counterdrug intelligence in direct support of Task Force 399.

Although the JIATF West missions in Thailand and the Eastern Pacific are 9,000 miles apart and focused on two entirely different aspects of the Department of Defense's counterdrug mission, the common theme is the fight against narco-traffickers who have no respect for international law or national boundaries. The transnational threat of illegal drug trafficking is receiving renewed attention as the relationship between drugs, terrorism and other transnational crimes becomes more complex. ■

A Talk with Deputy Secretary of State Richard Armitage

Nearly a year into his tenure, Deputy Secretary of State Richard Armitage assesses the Powell team's management record and talks about how State compares, and contrasts, with Defense.

By Steven Alan Honley

It is tempting to think of Deputy Seeretary of State Richard Lee Armitage primarily as a military man. After all, he attended the U.S. Naval Academy and then completed four tours of duty in Vietnam, and has reeeived the Department of Defense Distinguished Serviee Medal four times, as well as the Department of Defense Medal for Outstanding Publie Serviee, the Presidential Citizen's Award and the Department of State Distinguished Honor Award. And during the previous Bush administration, he served as a deputy assistant seeretary of defense and assistant seeretary, among other posts.

However, Deputy Seeretary Armitage also has extensive diplomatic experience. He has been a eoordinator, with the rank of ambassador, for technical and humanitarian assistance to the New Independent States of the former Soviet Union, a presidential special negotiator for the Philippines military base agreement, a special mediator for water in the Middle East and a Special Emissary to Jordan during the 1991 Persian Gulf War.

Foreign Service Journal *editor Steven Alan Honley conducted the following interview in Deputy Seeretary Armitage's offiee on Nov. 7, 2001.*

FSJ: Looking back at your first year as Deputy Secretary of State, what has surprised you the most about working in what has been popularly known as Foggy Bottom?

RA: I was surprised at how hierarchical the Department of State is. Coming from the Defense Department bureaucracy, I thought that was the epitome of hierarchical organization. But I actually found, once things are directed by management here, they get done much more efficiently and much more quickly than was the case in my previous bureaucracy. Things go according to plan.

In fact, Secretary Powell and I have to actually be careful what we say because people are so alert to do it.

FSJ: "Who will rid me of this troublesome priest?"

RA: (laughs) We wouldn't say that out loud. Too dramatic. Is that from *Henry II*?

FSJ: I believe so.

FSJ: Can you give me an example of a management decision you've had to make that would have been handled differently if you had come across an equivalent situation at Defense?

RA: I think management decisions are management decisions no matter where you are. Generally, the issues that get up to this level are 51/49 percent decisions. 60/40 and 70/30 percent decisions get made at the lower ranks. And that's the same whatever bureaucracy you're in.

FSJ: Secretary Powell and his team have had remarkable success in convincing first the Office of Management and Budget and then the Congress to increase funding for diplomatic readiness in the Fiscal Year 2002 budget. But it took nearly a dozen Hill appearances by the secretary and an untold amount of behind-the-scenes lobbying to achieve this success. Were you surprised at how much effort senior department managers had to put into this in order to achieve success? Or were you pretty much braced for that?

RA: We've been very pleased at the response from the Congress and have found them to be very willing participants. It may be time-consuming but it's very worthwhile work because after all, it's the first time, in quite a while, that we've gotten an increase in State's budget. That had bipartisan support and hopefully will continue next year.

FSJ: Secretary Powell has indicated that improving our nation's diplomatic readiness in areas such as staffing, overseas security, and information technology will be a multi-year effort in which the Fiscal Year 2002 budget is just the down payment. How do you see the prospects for securing additional resources in Fiscal Year 2003 and 2004 for upgrading and modernizing the State Department?

RA: The secretary and I have met with both Mr. Mitch Daniels [the director of OMB] and Mr. Sean O'Keefe [deputy director] at OMB on several occasions regarding our '03 bud-

get. We will work assiduously to try to get the further increase in our budget from the $23.9 billion figure that we had this year. We believe we've gotten good buy-in from OMB and from the Hill on the secretary's proposal to bring up to snuff our staffing. That will allow us to make a real serious dent on diplomatic security issues, and to really improve the information technology capacity of the department and all of our posts. It's a three-year program and we're on a good glide path.

FSJ: I'd like to pick up on your mention of staffing. How can the department make better use of the Foreign Service retirees' professional corps, the reserve corps? It seems to me, as a lot of people have said, that there are a lot of retirees that would be happy to volunteer their language expertise, for example, particularly in South Asian languages such as Pushtun and others that we currently don't have a huge number of people who can speak. Is there any plan afoot to formalize such recruitment or to make a concerted effort to draw on retirees?

RA: I have asked to be provided a list of who is where with what language qualifications. As we move forward, for instance, in Afghanistan under the secretary's direction, but more closely with Richard Haass [Director of Policy Planning and U.S. Coordinator for the Future of Afghanistan] and Amb. James Dobbins [U.S. Special Representative to the Afghan Opposition], we'll be seeing if we need to bring people forward. There are cases where we searched and have to think of retirees and I'll give you the most recent example. We just asked Amb. Ted McNamara to come back to help us prepare for the recording responsibilities under U.N. Security Council Resolution 1373 which came forward in the United Nations in the wake of Sept. 11. So we're pretty keen to reach out, to bring back to the fold, some of our retirees.

FSJ: Just to be clear: The list you asked for, is that of current active duty or retirees?

RA: It was retirees.

FSJ: Secretary Powell has stated that, in addition to serving as the president's top foreign policy advisor, he is taking on the role of leader and manager of the Department of State. What examples can you give of management-focused activities that he, you, or other senior officials have undertaken that their predecessors in recent decades did not get involved in?

RA: Well, I don't think we should hold ourselves up to our predecessors. We'll just talk about what we're doing. The secretary, if you notice — you were kind enough to refer to his many Hill appearances — you'll find that in each of his budget appearances he made a very concerted effort to actually talk about the men and women of the Foreign Service, instead of just going up and engaging in so-called "foreign policy" talk. He knows those questions would come. He's trying to make the point that he is the chief executive officer and I am the chief operating officer of this organization.

In terms of his own management style, he has instituted daily staff meetings which are very well attended and they never last more than half an hour. The reason is he wants me and the different deputy secretaries, different representatives at that meeting, to go back to their organizations and have their own staff meetings so no matter where you are in this far-flung empire, you feel a direct connection to the secretary of State. You will find that he has participated in endeavors in every region, in every functional area. His view is there is no problem in this department, be it the mailroom, or in, say, the EUR Bureau, that's outside of his ken. And he has made that clear to the staff and he has made it clear to me.

Secretary Powell is trying to make the point that he is the chief executive officer and I am the chief operating officer of this organization.

FSJ: In that regard, do you or he have any concerns, given the massive effort that we are having to make in terms of leading the anti-terrorism coalition, that other important issues are being neglected because there simply aren't enough resources to go around?

RA: I think we have enough human capital to go around. Last night [Nov. 6] the secretary spoke at the Americare dinner making the point about our feelings for Africa and our hopes for the African people. He's been active daily with the Middle East peace process. He is working with the Iraq sanctions issues. He is preparing for the Bush-Putin summit conference. None of those activities stops in the wake of the tremendous effort we've all been putting forth since Sept. 11. We feel that we are moving forward on all counts.

FSJ: Shortly after taking office, Secretary Powell received a report from a group chaired by retired FSO and former Secretary of Defense Frank Carlucci that detailed the need for reform as well as resources at State. Among other things, the report found that "no government bureaucracy is in greater need of reform than the Department of State" and that "the State Department's human resources practices and administrative policies are dysfunctional." What reforms has Secretary Powell's team achieved so far? What further reforms are coming?

RA: Well, the first thing is that the Director General of the Foreign Service, the Director of Human Resources, Amb. Ruth Davis, told me the other day that she is lessening the time required to get a Foreign Service officer through the hiring process from 27 months to 10. And we want to get it down further. We are trying to make, with a combination of the sec-

retary, myself, [Under Secretary for Management] Grant Green and Chuck Williams in OBO [the Overseas Buildings Office], we are trying to make clear to each of our ambassadors in the field that they come first. They are the pointy edge of the sword. Their concerns are our concerns. I think at the end of the day, however, it very much comes down to money. We can give them good rhetoric, we can try to support them as best we can but the best way we can support them now, given the tremendous shortfalls that the State Department had been developing over the years, is to develop enough staff resources to be able to have a "float" to allow people to go to training without shorting some post or another. And to develop the type of IT capabilities which will allow all of our posts to be fully staffed at all times and to make sure that our people are as secure as humanly possible. These are the areas where we are making a difference in management.

FSJ: When Secretary Powell spoke to the NetDiplomacy conference the week before the Sept. 11 attacks, he reiterated the pledge he had made before to get an Internet-connected computer on every officer's desk. Do you have a sense that the funding is going to be available for that?

RA: Well, he's certainly working for it. I think we've already got two or three of the regions and one functional bureau fully wired. We are moving forward as rapidly as possible. It's ridiculous for the State Department, for the United States of America, to have officers who have to have the equivalent of "hot bunking" on computers. We ought to have what every modern business has, so the secretary has charged Chief Information Management Officer Fernando Burbano with making it happen. The secretary's job is to get the required resources. My job is to marshall them out. Fernando's job in this regard is to make sure that in three years the secretary's vision comes true.

I was surprised to find that the Department of State is even more hierarchical than Defense.

FSJ: Secretary Powell has frequently noted the fact that the military gives its people much more training than does the State Department. Do you want to see more training for State employees? What kinds? Are you making any efforts to make sure that people go into training and do not just skip it due to staffing shortages?

RA: If we can develop enough "float" in our staffing then we will not have people so able to skip training. But what the secretary was specifically referring to was leadership training. The secretary as a military officer was trained time and again to accept various leadership challenges. [But at State] we train young officers in languages and we train them in cable writing and we train them in interpersonal relations with our foreign friends — but nowhere in the young officer curriculum is there training for leadership. It's really only when you become a DCM that you face head-on leadership challenges.

Leadership is not management. Management is what you do with problems: You manage them. But you lead people. That's exactly what Secretary Powell is trying to bring about here: leadership of people. And that is the training that he was referring to.

FSJ: Every organization has a corporate culture that shapes the work environment and mission accomplishments. At Secretary Powell's first Town Hall meeting on Jan. 25, 2001, AFSA President John Naland asked him if he planned to lead the reform and revitalization of our organizational culture in order to make us more effective implementers of U.S. diplomacy. The secretary responded, in part, "Yes. You will start to see changes. You will start to see us identify specific problems that need to be worked on. I hope as a result of that the new culture will emerge. It's better if that culture sort of emerges rather than [having me say] here's my culture, you all fall in and this is it. It will emerge." How do you judge the progress to date on assuring that foreign affairs professionals are equipped with the mental outlooks and attitudes necessary for 21st-century diplomacy?

RA: Part of changing the culture is to have a realization that supporting and promoting U.S. business is part of our day-to-day lives. That is changing. You find ambassadors at post spending a lot more time on development of U.S. business interests. That was a cultural change. You also have earmarks of a cultural change in getting our Department of State comfortable with dealing with Capitol Hill. In the past, that was the preserve of H. And H were the only ones who could deal with Capitol Hill. Well, *our* view of H is that H is someone who helps us solve problems and points out pitfalls but it is up to the individual officers in the bureaus to go work with their committees and work with the members in the staff and we encourage this. That is another cultural change.

But the biggest cultural change of all refers to what I said previously regarding leadership. When Secretary Powell sends an ambassador to a post, it is a given that ambassador will provide us with the perspicacity and nuggets of wisdom necessary for the Washington bureaucracy to make good, informed judgments. And together with that post we will develop and bilaterally implement foreign poli-

Leadership is not management. You manage problems but you lead people.

cy. But what the secretary stresses is that as much as for wisdom and prudence, an ambassador will be judged by how well he or she leads our people. And the question that the secretary will ask at the end of someone's tour is this. Is every person at that post, Foreign Service and Civil Service and Foreign Service National alike, better now for this particular ambassador having served there? If the answer is "yes," then we are going to consider that person a great success. If the answer is "no," then we will have to rethink what we are doing.

FSJ: The exclusion of overseas employees from the locality pay system has created a large and growing financial disincentive to serve abroad. The pay cut this effectively imposes on Foreign Service members serving overseas not only reduces the value of post allowances and differentials, but also reduces employees' retirement savings. What prospects do you see for fixing this problem within the next year?

RA: I have spent a considerable amount of time working on this with both OMB and OPM. This is a government-wide bill. In the '02 budget, we came up with nine million dollars to put towards annuities — you know when you lose your annuity and a certain amount of money. We are able to redress that shortfall in this one year. We put in our '03 budget $43 million to try and resolve the locality pay issue but as I say, it's not just a State problem. And it's something we are working on with OPM. I think that you can

see by our past activities that with the $9 million, we put our finger in the dam, this past year and in '02.

FSJ: Did that provision remain in the bill? What about the coming year?

RA: Yes, we got that money. We have $43 million in our '03 budget which will get at our particular needs regarding locality pay. We continue to work with OPM. It has to be government-wide policy.

FSJ: Even before the current world crisis began, some critics both inside and outside of government argued that public diplomacy has been getting short shrift since USIA merged into State in 1999. Do you see any validity to this claim?

RA: I would say that public diplomacy was an underutilized asset. We all could talk the talk about the Internet, inter-connectivity and the speed of communication, but we weren't really walking the walk. Then, when Secretary Powell was successful in encouraging Charlotte Beers, one of the leading women entrepreneurs in the United States, to join us as the under secretary for public diplomacy and press affairs, she found herself flat in the middle of our present war. And I think many are judging that we are turning the tide of public diplomacy. If we are not yet winning the hearts and minds, at least we have neutralized some of the more negative aspects of the ongoing conflict. And we are going to be turning that corner of winning hearts and minds. So yes, I think there is some validity to the criticism you mentioned, but I think that we are turning the corner on that with Charlotte's excellent help.

FSJ: Do you anticipate that there will be an expansion of such efforts?

RA: Certainly there will be an expansion in the money because I just made a budget decision that provided Ms. Beers' organization with quite a bit more funding.

FSJ: Thank you very much.

RA: Thank you. ■

Changing Places: A Year in the British Foreign Office

An FSO describes the insights he gained into diplomacy British-style in the U.K. Foreign and Commonwealth Office — the model of a modern foreign ministry.

By Damian Leader

The physical setting was the first thing that struck me when I came to work at the U.K. Foreign and Commonwealth Office (FCO) in September 2000 for a year under the auspices of the "Fellowship of Hope" program.

The Fellowship of Hope is a State Department exchange program, established in the early 1990s, that assigns mid-level officers to serve a year in the foreign ministry of an Allied government before taking a follow-on assignment at the local American Embassy. The assignments vary from year to year and, in London, have included working on Middle East peace issues, European Union affairs or, in my case, the policy planning staff.

Ensconced in a Victorian building that once also housed the India, Colonial and Home Offices, the FCO's high ceilings, (blocked) fireplaces and tile floors give a sense of what State would be like if it were still housed in the Old Executive Office Building. Like the OEOB that overlooks the White House, the FCO shares Downing Street with Number 10 while also being half a block from the Houses of Parliament. There is a vivid sense of proximity to history and power.

Most officers in the FCO share rooms, which increases familiarity at the expense of privacy. My room had a view of Horse Guards Parade Road and St. James's Park and, when the window was cracked, I could hear the ducks quacking and Big Ben tolling. (The window was also important because, with no thermostats or air conditioning, it is the only way to control the temperature!) There is plenty of material to feed an outsider's preconceptions of British eccentricity: the stuffed anaconda in the library, or the incongruity of having a portrait of Sir Henry Wotton — the man who said "An ambassador is an honest man sent to lie abroad for the commonwealth" — smiling blandly down in the office of the most senior career officer. Statues of 18th-century generals decked out as Roman emperors, and allegorical murals with subjects such as "Britannia Teaches Her Sons the Arts of Peace," underscore the fact that much of the waves, and the world, were once ruled from here.

A visitor gets past all of that pretty quickly, though, because the FCO today is a modern foreign ministry which does pretty much the same things as State. People draft instruction cables on U.N. Security Council votes, coordinate interagency responses to crises, draft memos ("minutes"), arrange visits, seek resources, answer parliamentary questions, prepare press guidance, draft goals and objectives statements, and worry about their next overseas assignment. As a policy planner, I worked with a team charged with "challenging orthodoxies" and recommending alternative approaches to issues as diverse as NATO/EU enlargement and Middle East peace. It was a wonderful experience which gave me a chance to think more broadly and to escape the tyranny of the in-box. So here are a few reflections based on my own "special relationship" with the U.K. Foreign Office.

A Tale of Two Streams

The United Kingdom has 224 foreign posts in 190 countries, second only to the U.S. Foreign Service in world-wide coverage. Yet with less than half our personnel, the U.K. Foreign Service is smaller than ours and has a more informal and collegial operating style. I was easily accepted into the mix and soon felt like one of the team. There is generally less formality within the FCO than at State; for example, Fridays really are dress-down days, first names are nearly universal and nobody is addressed as "ambassador."

Only the most senior officers appear to generate any fear and trepidation, and they are less physically isolated from the rest of the FCO than some seventh-floor principals. The only exception is the top official, the U.K. Secretary of

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State: I never saw either of the incumbents in that position during my year there.

Despite the relative informality, the U.K. Foreign Service has institutionalized one major bifurcation in its hiring process. There are two streams into which all incoming officers are placed by competitive examination. Those with the strongest credentials go into the "policy stream" while the rest go into the "mainstream." There are no cones and in our terms they are all "generalists," but policy stream entrants are assigned to policy positions (political, economic, sometimes commercial) and do not normally do consular or administrative work unless at senior levels. Mainstream entrants can also be assigned to policy positions, but they mainly do the consular and administrative jobs not held by specialists.

The policy stream entrants start ahead of the mainstreamers, will never see a visa line, and can have real responsibility as heads of section and first secretaries within six years. If they live up to expectations, they can expect to become senior officers (their "senior management structure" being roughly equivalent to the U.S. Senior Foreign Service) within 15 years or less. (One friend of mine made it in seven years.) The system was recently modified so that mainstreamers can, after a few years of service and strong evaluations, catch up with the fast-stream entrants. For most, however, reaching the top will take much longer and very few will make it to the highest positions.

This division does appear to have a few advantages. Professional expectations are more realistic and there seems to be less bitterness over the promotion process than among American FSOs, who can find themselves on the wrong side of a more spectral division a few years into their careers and feel ill-used. For example, I have an A-100 classmate, an officer of considerable achievement, who nevertheless recently remarked to me that he felt there are two U.S. foreign services, "one for us and one for them" — one for those who have to punch all the tickets, and another for those who get to leap ahead and avoid tedious mid-level work.

The FCO has its eccentricities, but it does pretty much the same things as State does — and sometimes better.

At the FCO, those with the field marshal's baton in their rucksacks tend to know who they are from the start, which likely explains their collegiality. For their part, the mainstreamers know upfront that, although virtue and hard work might eventually be rewarded, it will not happen as fast as for their policy stream colleagues. While it may seem they are being ill-used, their rewards most reflect those enjoyed by the majority of American FSOs: an interesting, varied and honorable life in the service of their country doing mid-level work. Unlike the American system, there are no time-in-class limits regardless of stream, and everyone must retire upon turning 60.

When I told some of my fellow American FSOs of this two-tiered system, some thought it a relic of British class distinctions and generally unfair. I eventually concluded that it was probably more fair to officers in that it helped manage career expectations better than our system. As in the U.S. business world, it recognizes that not everyone is a star and that responsibility should not be entrusted based on time in class. The system was modified in recent years to allow movement from the mainstream into the policy stream based on outstanding performance. It generally seems more nimble than our system (not a high standard, granted) in identifying and nurturing talent.

More Like Britain

Assignments are as eagerly pursued at the FCO as at State and the U.K. assignment system, while very different, can appear to an outsider to be equally opaque and capricious. One difference that leaps out to an American is that heads of mission positions are ranked based on responsibilities. "Ambassador" is a job description rather than a title (they have knighthoods and peerages for that). There are, accordingly, FS-01 equivalents who run small U.K. embassies in places where their U.S. counterpart might be a former deputy assistant secretary with 30 years of experience.

Officer evaluations include annual reports that rate performance by competency groups. They are nearly identical to those used in our EER process but they differ in two fundamental ways: the rater sees the rated officer's comments, so the process is more of a 360-degree dialogue. More strikingly, the language and judgments are not inflated. Almost no one gets the top boxes checked and officers with ratings well below the theoretical top can still become chiefs of mission as an onward assignment. Written evaluations are only a part of the promotion process. Selection for advancement to the equivalent of the Senior Foreign Service, is decided by evaluations carried out over a day and a half at offsite "assessment and development centers." These involve exercises and role play that are meant to give the assessors a sense of what the candidate is capable of, as well as allowing them to weed out bad managers.

The FCO wants, in its words, to make its foreign service "look more

like Britain." (Sound familiar?) Strength through diversity means something different in London than in Washington, however, since class and educational background get more attention in the press than race (which also can mean something different here; for example, the 2001 U.K. census form lists "Irish" as a race). The FCO gets attacked not so much for lack of officers with South Asian or West Indian backgrounds, but because too many officers, regardless of racial background, graduated from private secondary schools or the two most competitive British universities. Despite the Labor government's best efforts, the April 3, 2001, *Times* (of London) ran an article entitled "Foreign Office Elitism is Thriving." The reason adduced was that 57 percent of fast-track entrants in 2000 were graduates of Oxford or Cambridge.

The FCO is trying to recruit more women, but has the same retention problems as we do, for many of the same reasons (marriage, two-career families, child-care issues). There are probably proportionately fewer women in the most senior positions than in the U.S. Foreign Service, but not by much. At the moment, all of the top-level (under and deputy under secretary) positions are held by men.

The paucity of political appointees means the FCO has a fairly homogenous talent base. There isn't a continuing intake of people with diverse expertise into senior levels as in the American system. The FCO does, however, recruit into the policy stream people, including women, with more diverse professional backgrounds, which may mitigate this problem over the longer run. Such recruits are immediately given mid-level assignments, rather than making everyone go up through the ranks. There are also programs to allow people to spend time in think tanks, and officers can elect to take many years of leave without pay. I met officers who used this not only for a change of pace, but also to acquire valuable private-sector experience before returning to the Foreign Office.

Despite some criticism of the FCO by the press (which basically divides into accusations of elitism and sexism coming from the left and of insufficient patriotism — "not putting Britain first" — from the right), the U.K. Foreign Service remains the top career choice for university graduates. It is generally treated with respect and is considered an honorable profession that does important work advancing British interests abroad. I never saw evidence of the viciousness that can characterize discussion of the Foreign Service within Washington or in the U.S. press. Similarly, since there is no real executive-legislative branch distinction in Britain and there is no confirmation process, heads of mission appointments do not get caught up in settling scores.

My British counterparts are paid about 30 percent less than FSOs of comparable rank. Given London housing prices, that means many have horrendous commutes. There are allowances and perks that can soften the low pay, and some unique educational allowances for those with children. There are also a few perks that any FSO would envy, such as FCO employees, regardless of rank, always flying business class on trips over two and a half hours. On the more trivial end, in the unlikely event that work demands an appearance at a white-tie event, officers are allowed reimbursement of up to $225 for the rental of formal wear or ball gowns (an allowance one colleague referred to as the "Versace clause").

Growing E.U.-Centrism

The FCO is organized more or less like State, with functional and regional departments reporting upwards to the secretary of State. There are sometimes struggles between functional and regional departments that would be familiar in Washington. There are fewer bureaucratic levels, however, and the clearance process seems to be a little simpler. The interagency process also resembles ours, and the Cabinet Office, roughly the equivalent of the NSC and other White House satellites, can play a strong role on some issues.

Two aspects of the FCO strike an American diplomat immediately. The first is the lack of any real equivalent to S/ES and the staffs of seventh-floor principals. Papers are tasked directly by the staffs ("private offices") of senior officials, which are dramatically smaller than those found in Washington. The foreign secretary has just four staff officers, two special advisors, a parliamentary secretary, and a handful of secretaries, personal assistants, and schedulers. The permanent under secretary, who combines the roles of our under secretary for political affairs and director general of the Foreign Service, has two staff officers. The political director has only one. Yet, remarkably, British foreign policy continues to function.

The FCO is generally more informal than State; first names are nearly universal and nobody is addressed as "ambassador."

The second is the importance of relations with the European Union and of the departments that deal with it. British-E.U. relations are probably the most sensitive and politically important aspect of U.K. foreign relations, and they involve nearly every other branch of the government. The relative size and importance of the FCO's European Union office reflect that priority. There is an E.U. dimension to nearly everything the FCO does, including its bilateral relationship with the United States, and that is likely to increase.

There are also striking differences in how the craft of diplomacy is practiced. FCO style in telegrams, memoranda of conversations and memos is much briefer than at State. Cables are rarely more than three or four paragraphs and summaries only a sentence or two. Good examples I saw include cables entitled "Will Clinton make a last-minute trip to North Korea? Summary: No." and "Bush Appointments: Assistant Secretary for X. Summary: John Doe will be A/S for X. Good news." Cables reporting visits to capitals by U.K. principals are more succinct and deal with multiple meetings thematically: "Deputy Under Secretary met with A, B, and C and discussed topics X, Y, and Z" followed by a paragraph or two on each issue. Straphangers are not itemized. Sixteen-paragraph cables on "Under Secretary's Meeting with Ruritanian Deputy Foreign Minister" are unknown.

One extended drafting exercise that does exist is the requirement for annual narrative country overviews, done by every overseas mission, on current issues and the status of U.K. relations with that country. These head-of-mission reflections provide a snapshot of all that most readers need to know about U.K. relations with a given country over the previous year, along with thoughts about where relations are going in the future.

Briefing and action memoranda ("minutes") to the top level differ in often being signed by the drafter, usually a desk officer, rather than the assistant secretary-equivalent. It is a small thing, but it might give the drafter a bit more ownership and pride over the product than having it signed forward by the boss (who only signs if he or she has actually read it carefully).

The FCO, like State, has goals and objectives exercises, reinvention initiatives and personnel reforms, and has put a lot of effort into using information technology effectively. The ideal is to transform the FCO from a headquarters with outposts to a single, online global organization. To achieve that, a new system bringing together the Internet, intranets and confidential-level cable bases is being installed worldwide. The system will be able, for example, to run a search for economic information on the Fredonian Federation and produce results that include Internet sites as well as embassy reporting. When confronted with information technology security issues, the FCO recognizes that information moves and works differently now than it did 10 years ago, and speed

and efficiency ("need to flow") should, except in specific circumstances, trump "need to know." The FCO treats real secrets at least as seriously as the U.S. government does (my assignment here was held up for three weeks awaiting confirmation of certain clearances). In general, however, routine political reporting isn't as highly classified as it might be in Washington. Intra-E.U. sharing means that much Euro-specific reporting will eventually be shared with other governments anyway. There is talk of establishing a U.K. "freedom of information" law which may, however, cause an increase in classification.

Washington Tradecraft

The main challenges for any modern embassy, representing any nation, are to add value to information available publicly and shape influential opinions. There isn't much point in chasing the same stories as the wire services and CNN. In addition to reporting on public actions that affect its national interests, an embassy needs to identify those actors whose actions matter to its national interests, get to know them, and make sure its messages are delivered so as to have the best chance of influencing opinion and actions. That kind of diplomacy can't be done with short-term thinking, or reliance on e-mails, faxes, and invitations to national day receptions.

As a privileged observer, I found the British Embassy's coverage of the U.S. election and its aftermath a very impressive display of effective diplomacy. The groundwork had been laid years before, as judicious planning and identification of upcoming actors allowed officers to build a network of contacts inside and outside Washington. Not all of them proved valuable but, to take one example, the travel funds used eight years ago (1994) for a past ambassador to visit state capitals — including getting to know the new governor in Austin —

Almost no British Foreign Service officers get the top boxes checked on their evaluation forms.

proved in 2000 to have been money very well spent.

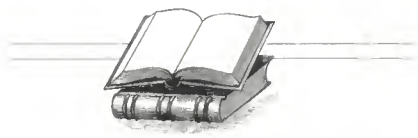
In other words, the embassy established rapport with people before, rather than after, it needed access. The ambassador was fully engaged in getting to know, one-on-one, the upcoming players, while other officers cultivated the many levels of American political life. The result? After the U.S. election, London immediately had avenues of communication in place at many levels and in all of the departments and offices that dealt with issues of interest to the U.K. The time and taxpayer resources spent over the years on travel and lunches proved to be wise business investments.

What makes this especially striking was that it came at no cost to the excellent continuing relationship that the U.K. enjoyed with the Clinton administration (and presumably hoped to maintain with a Gore administration). There was no overt sense of playing favorites, but rather of professional engagement with both the movers and shakers and those who might replace them in both parties. I watched such effective diplomacy with professional admiration.

British observers have long claimed their foreign service is the best in the world, and that it is key to allowing Britain to "punch above its weight" internationally. Whether the former claim is valid is certainly arguable, but there is no doubt that the U.K. thinks globally and acts accordingly. That's partly due to the burden of history, but more important factors today are its P-5 and G-8 memberships and wide-ranging commercial interests. In addition, the U.K. has nukes and can still project power outside Europe, as it has done in Africa and is currently doing in Afghanistan. It is aware of the limits of its influence, but also knows that it has something to bring to the table diplomatically and militarily when its vital national interests are at stake, as they are now.

The FCO, like State, does some things better than others on the process side and, like all institutions, can be obtuse. At more than one point I thought that we did things better at State. The FCO is more risk-averse when it comes to getting U.K. businesses to support policy goals and less willing to let policy disagreements go up to principals for decisions. In addition, the FCO budgeting system makes it harder to find money to pay for important, but unanticipated, programs. On the other hand, I can hear my former colleagues come back with comments about our wordy and inflexible instructions to U.S. delegations, our inability to let people in the field decide anything, our visiting delegations that number in the hundreds, and our all-purpose excuse, "We'd love to do it, but Congress won't let us."

My year at the FCO gave me insights into both its, and State's, institutional strengths and weaknesses. But the most important lesson I learned was this: men and women in both institutions share the same national values (for the most part), and work equally hard to tackle common challenges. The style may be different, but the goals are usually the same. In the months since I left the FCO, that has been made even more clear by the events of Sept. 11 and the U.K.'s solid support in the war on terrorism. Given that bedrock commonality of interest, it would be hard for an American FSO not to feel at home in Whitehall. ■



BOOKS

THE VIETNAM WAR IN HUMAN TERMS

Autumn Cloud: From Vietnamese War Widow to American Activist
Jackie Bong-Wright, Capital Books, Inc., 2001, $26.95, hardcover, 311 pages.

REVIEWED BY
RICHARD S. THOMPSON

Countless books have been written about Vietnam and the Vietnam War. But in *Autumn Cloud: From Vietnamese War Widow to American Activist*, Jackie Bong-Wright (originally named Thu Van, meaning "Autumn Cloud") offers a fascinating new perspective, telling how one Vietnamese family lived — and some died — through French colonialism, Japanese occupation, brief independence, lengthy conflicts involving France and the United States, and peace under Communism.

One thread of this narrative is the story of Bong-Wright's nine brothers and sisters, and how they adapted when their country was torn apart by civil war. Two sisters joined the communist side and married Viet Cong cadres (although one returned to Saigon several years later), while two brothers fought with the armed forces of the Republic of Vietnam. One was killed in action in 1966, while the other survived the war to become a businessman in Saigon, only to be imprisoned under miserable conditions after the communist takeover until he died in 1979. At present only one sister remains in Vietnam, while the other survivors have settled in the United States or France.

Only one of the author's nine siblings remains in Vietnam, evidence of the turmoil that country has undergone.

Family ties remained strong across ideological barriers, as demonstrated in the absorbing account of how the 13-year-old Thu Van traveled as an emissary of her mother from Saigon to the Mekong Delta to visit an older sister, married to a Viet Cong official. And when North Vietnam triumphed in 1975, the remaining sister on the communist side, whom they had not seen for 20 years, returned to Saigon to live with their mother.

The other main thread of this book is the development of Jackie Bong herself, from a sheltered product of traditional Vietnamese culture into a strong and dynamic woman, as she dealt with the vicissitudes of her life. Bong left her university studies in France in 1964 to return to Vietnam to marry a respected young political figure, Nguyen van Bong, a man of modest background but tremendous force of character who had worked his way through school and was director of the National School of Administration. In 1971, President Nguyen van Thieu privately asked Bong to become the next prime minister, replacing a general. But the very next morning, Bong was assassinated by the Viet Cong, forcing the young widow to find a way to support herself and her three children.

Following four years as director of cultural activities for the Vietnamese-American Association, a new period of trauma commenced when she and her children were evacuated in April 1975 on a U.S. military aircraft as Saigon fell to the advancing North Vietnamese forces. After some weeks in Guam, she arrived in the United States and again had to create a new life for herself, finding employment in a strange culture. To make life easier, she Westernized her name to Jackie Bong (Jackie comes from Jacqueline, the name she used in French schools as a child).

She soon became executive director of an organization helping other refugees, and by chance met again a young American diplomat, Lacy Wright, whom she had known slightly in Vietnam. In 1976 they were married, and her life became more stable as she accompanied her husband to a series of foreign posts and her children were educated and went on to successful lives of their own. Now living in Northern Virginia since her husband retired a few years ago, Jackie Bong-Wright continues to be active in Asian community activities.

By the end of this exciting account the reader is happy that the author has now achieved a more peaceful existence. And on a broader level, *Autumn Cloud* brings the Vietnam War alive and illuminates Vietnamese culture in vivid and human terms. ■

Richard Thompson is a retired Foreign Service officer who served in Saigon, among other posts.

In Memory

Gregory Paul Hulka, 44, consul general at Embassy Kiev, died Nov. 9 in an automobile crash. Also killed in the accident were Mr. Hulka's 10-year-old daughter, Abigail, and their relative Yuri Kotik, a Ukrainian national. The accident occurred on the road between Uman and Nemyriv. The three had set out from Kiev to attend the wedding of a Ukrainian relative in the Khmelnytsky region.

Mr. Hulka was born Oct. 31, 1957 in Inglewood, Calif. of Ukrainian ancestry. He arrived in Kiev in early September to begin an assignment as consul general of the embassy's consular section. It was his dream job, a position he had wanted since joining the Foreign Service 15 years ago. Previous assignments were to Moscow, St. Petersburg, Tegucigalpa, Beijing, Guangzhou, Shanghai, Washington and Guatemala City.

Abigail Hulka was a fifth grader at the Pechersk International School. She was an eager student and a good writer. She loved having sleepovers and was a Girl Scout. She was baptized at the age of 8 by her father.

Embassy Kiev's deputy chief of mission Masha Yovanovitch told the *Journal* that Mr. Hulka was a wonderful person, "a leader by example." He was active in outreach and helping the Boy Scouts. He was deeply religious, and his family was the most important part of his life.

Following the tragic accident, there was an outpouring of affection and support for the family from the community and from all over the world. Over 500 people attended Mr. Hulka's memorial service in Kiev.

Mr. Hulka is survived by his wife, Jane, and three children: Andrew, 12; Alexander, 6; and Aaron, 3.

Trust funds have been created for the children. Donations can be sent to account number 324377516746008422453, America First Credit Union, P.O. Box 9199, Ogden, Utah, 84409.

Mary Carol Adams, 65, wife of deceased FSO Madison M. Adams, passed away from a brain aneurysm on Oct. 31.

Mrs. Adams accompanied her husband on all his overseas assignments, which included Sydney, Santiago, Quito, Mexico City, Monrovia and San Jose. They also spent a great deal of time in Washington, D.C., where Mr. Adams served in the Office of the Inspector General.

Mrs. Adams was born in Meansville, Ga. and raised in Tampa, Fla., where she met her husband. He was, at the time, based in Tampa serving in the U.S. Air Force. They married in 1954. Survivors include a son, James Adams; three daughters: Debra Adams, Melanie Ackerman and Karen Hemme; seven grandsons; one great grandson; and two brothers.

Frances Plummer, retired USAID FSO, died on Aug. 25 of progressive supranuclear palsy. She willed her body to medical science.

Ms. Plummer was born on a farm in rural southwest Kansas. She completed her primary education in the local schools. At a time when the norm was for kids to graduate from high school, live with their parents for a few years, then get married and raise a family, she expanded her horizons and longed for freedom, independence and a chance to leave farm life behind.

Ms. Plummer attended Kansas State University, her studies focusing on journalism. In the early 1940s she followed her older brother to Los Angeles and worked in a variety of interesting jobs. In 1958 she resigned her position as an associate editor of *Vogue* magazine and joined the U.S. Agency for International Development.

Over the next 20 years Ms. Plummer served in Tunisia, Bolivia, Vietnam, Haiti and Manila. She retired in 1977 and purchased a home on Tilghman Island, Md., where she lived alone until illness forced her to move to a retirement community in Easton, Md.

She loved Tilghman Island, was fascinated by the sunsets and the work of the watermen. She was a perfect hostess and loved entertaining her numerous visitors.

She is survived by a brother and sister-in-law, Loyd and Patsy Brumfield of Beaumont, Texas.

A memorial service was held in Easton, Md. on Oct. 4.

Gladys K. Weintraub, 78, wife of retired FSO Sidney Weintraub, died on Oct. 28 from a stroke, accompanied and partly brought on by the lung cancer that she had been battling for two years.

Mrs. Weintraub was born in New York City and attended City College of New York before coming to Washington in 1949. She married Sidney in 1946 and accompanied him to assignments in Tananarive, Mexico City, Tokyo, Bangkok, and Santiago. Dr. Weintraub retired from the Foreign Service in 1975 to take a position at the University of Texas at Austin. The couple lived there until 1994, when they returned to Washington, D.C. so Sidney could take a position at the Center for Strategic and International Studies.

Mrs. Weintraub was an active art enthusiast. Between 1964 and 1966, she worked at the Inter-American Development Bank in Washington, D.C. as an expert on handicraft development in Latin America. She served from 1967 to 1969 as the only foreign member of the Contemporary Arts Society of Chile. She served on the City of Austin's Fine Arts Commission. More recently, she was serving as a docent at the Hirshhorn Museum in Washington.

Mrs. Weintraub is survived by her husband of 55 years, three children: Jeff of Bryn Mawr, Pa.; Marcia Plunkett of Ann Arbor; and Deborah Chilewich of Los Angeles; and five grandchildren.

John Lucien Kuhn, 88, retired FSO, died Sept. 22 of a heart attack.

Mr. Kuhn was born July 6, 1913 in Prides Crossing, Mass., the youngest of eight children. He graduated from Stanford University in 1935 and received a master's degree in history from Stanford. He was an avid swimmer and was captain of the Stanford swim team. After some years as a teacher in California, Massachusetts, and Connecticut, he joined the U.S. Navy at the beginning of World War II. He left the Navy in 1946 as a lieutenant commander.

In 1947, Mr. Kuhn joined the State Department as an FSO. His first posting was to Johannesburg, followed by nine years in France, where he served in Marseilles, Strasbourg and Paris. In 1969, he became consul general at the U.S. Embassy in Rome. After he retired from the State Department in 1973, he returned to Connecticut and continued following his passion for international affairs and community service. He became executive director of the Institute of World Affairs. He later became president of the Housatonic Valley Association, where he worked on environmental issues and land conservation.

He was most proud of his contribution during his last volunteer position as chairman of the Youth Exchange Program with the Rotary Club and Rotary District 7890. For 19 years, he was responsible for the exchange visits of over 600 students coming from overseas and for local students going to live abroad. He worked with Rotary Clubs all over the world, including in India, Japan, Turkey, Mexico and countries throughout South America and Europe. He loved the exchange students as if they were his own. He won awards for his contribution to the Youth Exchange Program.

Mr. Kuhn was also active in his church and sang in church choirs and in a barber shop chorus for many years.

Mr. Kuhn is survived by his wife Anita; three daughters: Marian Browning of Houston, Texas; Eleanore Boyse of Berlin, who worked at State as a presidential management intern for five years and married FSO Matthew Boyse; and Jacqueline Kuhn of Washington, D.C.; and five grandchildren including two recently adopted Russian grandchildren. He was predeceased by a son, William Speer Kuhn III, an FSO who died six years ago in the mountains of Kazakhstan.

In lieu of flowers, contributions may be made to the John L. Kuhn Scholarship Fund at the Litchfield County University Club, c/o Howard L. Aller III, Treasurer, 95 Interlaken Rd., Lakeville, CT 06039

Z. Kathryn Sodersten, 77, retired Foreign Service secretary, died of cancer on Oct. 12 in Dallas, Texas.

Ms. Sodersten joined the Foreign Service in 1964, serving in Rome, Naples, Izmir, Kingston and Mexico City. She enjoyed her posts immensely, but let her family know she saw the United States as the best country in the world.

Ms. Sodersten retired in 1980, returning to Dallas to be with her immediate family there. She is survived by her sister Ann Dutton of Dallas, Texas, as well as nieces and one nephew.

John A. Bovey, Jr., 88, retired FSO, died Sept. 21 in Cambridge, Mass.

Mr. Bovey was born in Minneapolis in 1913. He received both his bachelor's degree and master's degree from Harvard University and worked as an instructor in English at Harvard until 1942. During World War II, Mr. Bovey was an officer in the U.S. Navy. He was appointed to the Foreign Service Auxiliary in Rotterdam in Dec. 1945 and was

commissioned as an FSO there in July 1947.

He served in Casablanca, and then in the department, where he became deputy director of the Office of North African Affairs. He graduated from the National War College in 1960, and was assigned to Paris, where he became political counselor. He then served as deputy chief of mission in Oslo and The Hague.

Mr. Bovey retired in 1972, first to France and later to Cambridge, Mass. In retirement, he enjoyed writing stories based on his Foreign Service experiences and teaching English to foreign students.

His wife of 50 years, Marcia, preceded him in death by several years.

He is survived by a daughter, Rosamond Bovey of New York City.

Stephen J. Ocko, 66, former USIA FSO, died on Nov. 13, 2000.

Mr. Ocko served as an FSO for the U.S. Information Agency as Motion Picture Officer in the mid-1960s in what was then Leopoldville, Congo. He also served in Washington at USIA.

After leaving the Foreign Service, Mr. Ocko had a successful and varied career. He was a producer of a Disney film on the Congo; an innovative classroom curriculum developer; the inventor of model kits of historical American architecture; an in-house inventor for Milton Bradley and Parker Brothers; and the innovator who developed a learning system combining Lego toys with Logo, the computer language.

Mr. Ocko is survived by his wife, Susan Sjoberg Ocko of Wayland, Mass.; his son Peter Ocko of Los Angeles; and three grandchildren. ■

Send your obituary notices for Foreign Service employees and spouses to the *Journal* by e-mail (preferably): Dorman@afsa.org, by fax: (202) 338-8244, or by mail: AFSA, Foreign Service Journal, 2101 E St., N.W., Washington, DC 20037. Submissions of obituaries should include date and place of birth and death, posts served, immediate survivors, and name and address of a family member who would like to receive a complimentary copy of the magazine in which the obituary is published. The In Memory section runs every other month.

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POSTCARD FROM ABROAD

Walking the Seawall

BY WESLEY ANN GODARD

The alarm sounds: it's 5:30 a.m. in Georgetown, Guyana. My husband and I struggle out of bed and into walking clothes. Outside the gate we count 12 species of birds on our way to the seawall. Yellow-breasted great kiskadees swoop around the bushes; a tiny blue-black grassquit twitters and jumps a foot straight up, then lands in exactly the same spot; a long-legged jacana walks atop the water looking for insects. We wonder if the four-foot caiman we sighted recently, sunning itself on the road, is still lurking nearby. Was the long tail slipping over the curb just another mongoose?

Checking for cars on the East Coast Highway, we cross to the seawall. Advertisements painted on the wall exhort us to use Western Union ("Sen um, Me Get um!"), to buy Bakewell bread, and to avoid drugs ("Do prayers, don't do drugs").

Village signs recall the Europeans who ruled the land from the 17th to the 20th century: Liliendaal from the Dutch, Plaisance from the French, Cummings Lodge from the English. The villages were once plantations. From the air they look like piano keys lined up along the coast. Dutch and English settlers built the first sea defenses to reclaim coastal lands in the 1700s. Today the national sea defense system, both man-made sections and natural mangrove swamps, extends 202 miles along most of Guyana's Atlantic coast. About 45 miles of the system is a concrete seawall. Where we walk, the wall is about four feet high on the land side and about six feet across the top, with terraced steps leading to a wide cement embankment sloping into the sea. Without the wall Georgetown, which lies six feet below sea level at high tide, would disappear.

Advertisements painted on the wall exhort us to use Western Union, "Sen um, Me Get um!"

The wall is already crowded. The walkers who greet us are descendants of African slaves and East Indian, Chinese and Portuguese indentured servants, all brought to work on the plantations. A trim group of men, a polyglot of ethnic backgrounds, walk together regularly. Their easy camaraderie suggests longstanding friendships. An older Indo-Guyanese couple nods shyly as we pass. A lean Rastafarian, dreadlocks tucked under a towering knit hat, lopes by. A Muslim woman in slacks, long sleeves and black headdress strides briskly along. Only her serenely smiling face and her swinging hands are uncovered. Serious athletes coming up behind clap to warn us to move to one side. The top of the wall is only wide enough for two abreast.

We step around fishermen sorting shrimp. Throwing rejects on the ground, they are oblivious to the National Enhancement Committee's sign to "Nice Up Guyana." Their small wooden sailboats bob nearby in the brown water.

Some days we may come upon a Hindu family wading into the water to float huge lily leaves with burnt offerings of food out to the sea gods. Tall poles with colorful prayer flags whipping in the wind mark the spot for days to come.

Often we see men carrying small cages with songbirds inside. On Sundays these birds compete in "races." The first to emit its call 50 times wins. Evidently, walking them in the early morning stimulates their voices.

Turning to retrace our steps, the force of the wind, now at our faces, always surprises me. The sun is already bright in the eastern sky. Traffic has picked up. A troop of cyclists zips by in helmets and lycra. On the canal bordering the road to our house two men harvest grass, stacking it on their wooden flatbed cart while the horse that will pull it home grazes nearby. Back at our gate we feel like the racing songbirds, stimulated and ready for the day. ■

Wesley Ann Godard is a freelance writer who is currently in Georgetown, Guyana, where her husband is ambassador. She is also a past editor of AFSA News. *The stamp is courtesy of the AAFSW Bookfair "Stamp Corner."*

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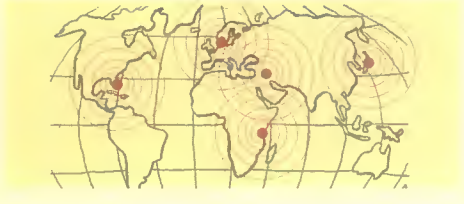

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