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Annual
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PRESIDENT'S VIEWS

AFSA's Goals for 2002

By JOHN K. NALAND

You will find AFSA's annual report for 2001 in the center section of this month's *Foreign Service Journal*. In it, we try to give a sense of the wide scope of our efforts last year to actively promote the interests of the career Foreign Service.



That said, we are well aware that AFSA is judged not just on what we have done in the recent past, but also on what we are doing now. Therefore, I would like to report to you the highlights of AFSA's action agenda for this year. Here are the key tasks that we have set for ourselves:

- **Diplomatic readiness:** Make the case to Congress and the American people for a sustained infusion of resources for security, people, operations, and infrastructure. (Performance indicator to judge our success: Enactment of an FY03 budget for diplomatic readiness that meets or exceeds the administration's request.)

- **Legislation:** Secure enactment of "bread and butter" items such as overseas comparability pay, capital gains tax relief on the sale of principal residence, and lifting the dual compensation cap; increase the effectiveness of our advocacy effort with Congress by expanding our "Hill Day" initiative and

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

AFSA will continue to pursue a wide-ranging action agenda in 2002. Here is what we are working on.

seeking other ways to augment our traditional educational efforts. (Performance indicator: Enactment of AFSA-supported legislation.)

- **Foreign Service reform initiative:** Seek reforms to the personnel system in order to ensure that the Foreign Service a) has the ideal mix of abilities, outlooks, and organization to carry out its role of implementing the President's foreign policy and b) is a profession affording a reasonable balance between the rewards and burdens of service. (Performance indicator: Implementation of the majority of AFSA's proposals.)

- **Communications:** Improve outreach to AFSA members and the public at large through such actions as improving AFSA's Web site, expanding *AFSA News*, publishing a revised "Inside A U.S. Embassy" book, using technology to expand the Speaker's Bureau, continuing to support the Elderhostel program, and implementing new membership/accounting software. (Performance indicators: Increase tempo of outreach

efforts; expand content on Web site and in *AFSA News*; hold two teleconferences; publish book; and implement new software.)

- **Membership:** Increase membership from 11,000 to 12,000 by recruiting new hires, existing employees and retirees. (Performance indicator: Reach target of 12,000 members.)

- **AFSA Professional Staff:** Ensure that AFSA continues to attract, develop, motivate, and retain top talent. (Performance indicators: Sustain staff morale; retain current staff; and continue high staff performance.)

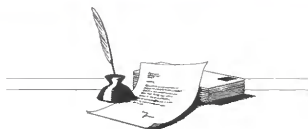
If AFSA had stockholders instead of members, we would be required to file a report forecasting possible developments that could prevent us from reaching our performance targets. That has always seemed to me to be a good mental exercise for any organization, so here is my list of some of the things that, if they occurred, could block AFSA from achieving our 2002 goals:

- AFSA could fail to adequately communicate what we are doing and why we are doing it, thereby alienating our members.

- Employees could give up on achieving progress and reduce their active support of AFSA, thereby weakening our ability to achieve progress.

- Senior management could tire of AFSA's constructive criticism and end their cooperative relationship with us, thereby reducing what both sides can accomplish.

Note to self: Let's work to avoid these three pitfalls. ■



LETTERS

History vs. Reality

Articles by Don North ("The Colombian Drug Quagmire" and "Aerial Spraying And The Siege Of Tibu") and Amb. James Mack ("Why Support Of Colombia Is Crucial to The War On Drugs") in the January issue of the *Journal* prompt me to write. Both authors exemplify American attitudes, analysis and thought. Yet, while noble, both also ignore Colombian history and American reality.

First, let me note that I lived in Colombia, have a daughter born there and keep current about the area by reviewing history and political science texts on Latin America for Helder Publications in Washington, D.C.

Throughout much of its national history, Colombia has had a relatively weak central government and has tolerated armed bands. From time to time, those bands, with conscious political cooperation, have virtually ruled certain regions of that country. This crystallized 50 years ago in the period known as "La Violencia," subsequently died down and has now re-emerged. This time it enjoys Marxist

rebel leadership, Castro's "help," Irish Republican Army collaboration and financing by huge drug trade profits.

Without an army of occupation we will not resolve Colombia's ongoing civil war nor stop the highly profitable drug supply (from there) to the U.S. In fact, it is preposterous, an exercise in hubris, to believe that we can do so with anything short of extreme measures. Yet our present government policies try to have Colombians reduce the supply of the drugs our society demands. Is there not something wrong with this picture?

Having framed the problems, what are the solutions? First, we must reduce American demand for illegal narcotics. American reality is that we pay for and consume enormous amounts of drugs coming from Colombia. Nothing we have done so far has changed this business pattern. During a radio talk show on Jan. 16, a Fairfax, Va. cheerleader said that 80 to 90 percent of secondary school students in that county use illegal drugs. If we may extrapolate, even using lower figures, our main problem is dealing with demand — our demand.

To do that, we must either increase penalties, enforce the law and control our borders, or eliminate sanctions. Personally, I would just accept the American doped-up reality and legalize those drugs. Substances now illegal could be regulated, prices would fall and the profits could be taxed. But in any case, we must make a choice and not just continue, much less reinforce, obviously failed policies.

Second, we must let Colombians settle their own societal problems. It is far too complex a situation for us to believe that limited American military involvement will help end it. Yes, as a friend, we should respond with assistance when friends ask us for help. At the same time, as the "price" for our support, we must ask them, in the most friendly manner, to provide reasonable plans for dealing with their internal conflict and to establish quantifiable goals.

Once they treat their own illness with their own prescription, given time, they may even be effective. But our direct involvement in their conflict only causes resentment.

Finally, it might help if we could devise a way to encourage Americans to drink more Colombian coffee, use more Colombian oil, import more Colombian handicrafts, enjoy more Colombian flowers and snort less Colombian cocaine!

*Sheldon Avenius
FSO, retired
Arlington, Va.*

It's the Policy

The administration has taken an aggressive public position, embraced by a disturbingly sycophantic media and reflected in the dangerously shallow thinking of Neal Rosendorf's January letter ("Globalization and Terrorism"), that some people in the Middle East hate us because of our freedoms, or perhaps because Britney Spears has a navel. Anyone willing to accept the idea that the horror of

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Sept. 11 was not related to our Middle East policies is probably equally confident that bombs in London, for example, have nothing to do with Northern Ireland.

Doubtless there are many who envy our successes, others who resent our excesses, and still many more who do not believe that our policies in that part of the world accord with our belligerent protestations about human rights and international law, but they are unlikely to kill and die because of those concerns. Those who do are reacting to far stronger stimuli. Their rage results from a perception that we are doing terrible things to the people of Iraq, directly, and facilitating terrible things being done to the people of Palestine.

There is no requirement to abandon a policy because it generates a negative reaction, of course. On the other hand, if that reaction is virtually worldwide, there are compelling reasons for taking a hard look to determine if the policy requires modification to better advance our interests.

To do otherwise in the face of a serious threat, to delude ourselves about its causes, is to court a potential catastrophe. Deciding how to deal with such a problem requires open, thorough consideration of why there is a problem, after which rational decisions can be made. That is the basic process that has made our nation great.

*Edward L. Peck
FSO, retired
Chevy Chase, Md.*

Vance and the Hostage Crisis

Secretary of State Cyrus Vance was on the seventh floor of the department when I was director of the Iran desk on the fifth. The news of his recent death called to mind several brief encounters I had with him during the Iranian hostage crisis.

In January 1980, we finally opened secret, indirect negotiations with the Iranians. Sputtering exchanges continued into March. Mid-month I learned that three of my colleagues — Farsi speakers who well understood the country — had submitted a memorandum directly to Vance arguing that it was futile to seek a diplomatic solution to the crisis; Iranians only reacted to force. The trio insisted that was the only American option if we were to halt the erosion in our position as a respected world power.

I had resisted the use of force to free the hostages as most unlikely to succeed and certain to cause the death of many of them. I was furious that my three friends, knowing my opposition, had sent their memorandum around me, preventing me from adding my arguments. Vance called them to a meeting and heard them out. I never had a report of the meeting or learned his reaction.

By April our indirect talks with the Iranians had just about failed. Ham Jordan, the principal American negotiator, and I flew to Paris alone on Air Force One for a "one last chance" meeting with Sadeq Ghotbzadeh, the Iranian Foreign Minister. He agreed to make a further effort. Then we flew to Geneva for we had heard a Red Cross representative had finally met with the hostages. I interviewed him on an exceptional basis because the Red Cross does not normally discuss its work with diplomats. He told me that he had met with all of the hostages in the embassy chancery. I cabled a report to Washington.

A few hours later, Deputy Secretary Warren Christopher telephoned me at the American ambassador's residence. "Did he say all of the hostages were in the chancery?" was the burden of his questions. Plainly, a rescue mission was in the works. We in the State Department



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had heard rumors of such planning in Defense and CIA but were never invited to participate because of our strong opposition.

A week or so later, I was at my desk on Easter Sunday when Vance's secretary asked me to come to his office. He asked me, "What do you think would happen if we tried to use force to free the hostages?" I knew I had only a few minutes to make my case. Without any pause for reflection, I presented the worst scenario I could devise. Not only would many of the hostages lose their lives but other Americans in Iran, in the Persian Gulf and in Pakistan would be placed in grave danger. There would be serious consequences across the Middle East and our relations with Europe could suffer. He replied without elaboration, "That's what I think, too." Within a few days the rescue mission failed and Mr. Vance left office. He had been right and those who knew exactly what he thought had been reckless not to take his advice in the pursuit of their political ends.

*Henry Precht
FSO, retired
Bethesda, Md.*

Why Niger Stays Friendly

The people of Niger are more than 90 percent Muslim, and Islam is a vital part of their daily lives. While the government of Niger is constitutionally secular, and animist and Christian minorities are well tolerated, Niger is a very Islamic country.

Furthermore, the people of Niger are wretchedly poor. As measured by the United Nations Development Program, Niger is the second poorest country in the world, ahead only of war-ravaged Sierra Leone. The standard of living for most Nigeriens has been in decline for more than three decades. This is because of rapid population growth, continuing desertification and a host of other factors.

And in addition, Niger is located in a very tough global neighborhood. Four of the seven states on its borders — Algeria, Libya, Chad and Nigeria — are poster countries for various sorts of terrorism, anti-Americanism, political and religious extremism, and bloody ethnic warfare. And those borders are highly porous.

Yet since Sept. 11, some 400 Americans — Peace Corps Volunteers, embassy staff, non-governmental organization employees and missionaries — have continued to live and work throughout the country without serious incident or threat. There have been no anti-American demonstrations and no hostile media campaigns. Many Nigeriens, from President Tandja to ordinary villagers, have expressed their condolences and have spoken out against terrorism and Islamic extremism. Within its limited means, the government has been exemplary in responding to our security concerns and in discouraging violence.

So why doesn't all this make Niger a hotbed for international terrorism and a very dangerous place for Americans to be these days?

First, most Nigeriens are not Islamic extremists. They are proud of Niger's record of tolerance and see Osama bin Laden as perverting Islam. Moreover, Niger does not have a tradition of terrorism or religious conflict, and even its political turbulence has not involved widespread violence.

Another reason for Niger's relative tranquility in the current storm is that 39 years of continuous Peace Corps presence here has built a reservoir of good will toward America that makes Nigeriens less susceptible than they might otherwise be to the anti-American message of the extremists. It is far easier to induce people to hate an abstraction, an ugly American stereotype, than to hate the friendly young man who lives in your village or

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the dedicated young woman who taught you English. In addition to those whose lives are touched by the 100 current Volunteers, I'm constantly meeting senior-level Nigeriens who tell me how they were influenced by a Volunteer from many years ago who lived in their village or taught in their school. This effect can't be quantified, but it's real.

The Peace Corps was born and flourished in the 1960s, at the height of the Cold War. President Kennedy saw that in addition to confronting communism militarily, we also needed to address its challenge for the hearts and minds of people in poor countries who had no understanding of Americans and the ideals we embrace.

Kennedy's vision for the Peace Corps was not as an instrument to achieve short-term foreign policy objectives but as a global showcase of American ideals in action that would at the same time productively engage the enthusiasm of Americans to serve their country through service to others. It would be an instrument not only to promote economic development but also to promote mutual understanding between Americans and people in poor countries.

I believe the Peace Corps can contribute to our long-term success in the war on terrorism. While it should not be explicitly or organizationally linked to the war effort, the current international context offers an unparalleled opportunity for its modernization, expansion and rejuvenation. Today's Americans would be likely to respond to a call to join the Peace Corps in service to their country and their fellow man much as their parents did in the 1960s.

J. R. Bullington
FSO, retired
Peace Corps Country
Director
Niamey, Niger ■

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civilians. That's
a violation of
the laws of
war."*

— VICE PRESIDENT

DICK CHENEY,

JAN. 25, 2002

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KUDOS TO AFGHAN FSNs IN KABUL

The Afghan Foreign Service National employees of the U.S. embassy in Kabul received a special award from Secretary of State Colin Powell on Jan. 17, reports Reuters online. The award was given for protecting and maintaining the American embassy during the 12 years since its evacuation in 1989, when there was no American presence in Afghanistan. Powell said, "This Special Afghanistan Service Recognition Award is presented to the employees of the American Embassy in Kabul as an expression of the appreciation of the Department of State and the American people." The award also cites their "unparalleled dedication and loyalty to the people of the United States of America during the most difficult circumstances."

One of the award recipients was embassy employee Gholam Saqhi, who spent 10 years jailed in solitary confinement following the Soviet invasion. Powell also gave Nawab Ali a replacement for his 1996 Foreign Service National of the Year Award. According to State, the Taliban destroyed Ali's first medal when a government-led mob stormed the embassy and set fire to maintenance buildings just before the U.S. carried out threats to bomb Afghanistan. (No Foreign Service Nationals were hurt in the attack.) Their loyalty allowed for the successful reopening of the chancery in December 2001, in time for the installation of the Afghan interim government. They then facilitated the upgrade of the liaison office to a full-fledged embassy, headed by Ambassador Ryan Crocker, on Jan. 17, 2002.

DEPARTMENT OF STATE PROGRESS REPORT

The Department of State failed to meet its 2000 performance goals in several areas, according to a General Accounting Office report released Dec. 7. According to a Dec. 7 item on Govexec.com, the GAO said that the State Department met its goal of better information distribution via the Web site but failed in other key areas. The other goals include reducing international crime and availability and/or use of illegal drugs, reducing international terrorist attacks, especially against the U.S. and its citizens, and enhancing the ability of American citizens to travel and live abroad securely.

The GAO report, "Department of State: Status of Achieving Key Outcomes and Addressing Major Management Challenges (GAO-02-42)," was requested by the top Republican on the Senate Governmental Affairs Committee, Sen. Fred Thompson, R-Tenn. The GAO found that many of the weaknesses found in the 2000 report had been noted in State's 1999 report but it also called the 2002 performance plan a significant improvement. The 2002 plan incorporates an agency-wide approach instead of the regional focus of the previous year. The GAO report also noted that the targets discussed in the reports were devised before the Sept. 11 terrorist attacks, which subsequently altered State's strategic approaches and objectives. Little progress was made in the key area of the elimination of the threat from weapons of mass destruction, but State reported substantial progress toward achieving the other four key



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goals. However, the GAO disagrees with State's self-assessment on several counts, observing that "It is difficult to determine the level of progress on the five outcomes because the performance report does not always clearly describe what State sought to accomplish." The GAO also said that many of State's performance objectives are action-based instead of results-oriented.

The State Department said that they had improved in some fields, including establishing an improved method of tracking child smuggling. According to the report, they will continue to use the consular Web sites in 2002, make improvements in the passport system, and instigate computerized tracking to trace international adoptions and Americans imprisoned abroad.

A NEWER, FRIENDLIER BAGHDAD?

The Guardian's Brian Whitaker writes on Feb. 4 that Iraq is currently in the midst of a foreign policy makeover in reaction to the Bush administration's post-Sept. 11 stance. Isolated and worried about the newly martial tone of American foreign policy, Saddam Hussein is desperately trying to make some friends, and quick.

Viewing the approaching Arab League summit in Lebanon as an important window of opportunity, Iraqi diplomats are thus trying to smooth over the thorny Kuwait issue. Whitaker quotes an unnamed Iraqi diplomat who claims that "We recognize Kuwait as a sovereign country, and we recognize the borders that were enforced by the U.N." But have we heard the last of all

the "19th Province" talk from Baghdad? Probably not, according to several sources in the article who characterize the maneuver as little more than the desperate pragmatism of a nervous foreign ministry.

Nor is Kuwait the only old foe that Baghdad appears to be reaching out to. Whitaker reports that relations with Iran, Iraq's historical nemesis, are also on the upswing. With commercial flights between the two countries resuming and a flurry of POW exchanges, Iraq-Iran relations are at their best since the savage eight-year war that devastated both countries in the 1980's. Still, mutual suspicion runs deep in both Baghdad and Tehran, and, despite Bush's characterization of them as partners with North Korea in the "axis of evil," this is clearly not Rome-Berlin in 1938.

On the European front, Whitaker notes that Iraq has also recently reopened its embassy in Switzerland (it closed its previous mission 11 years ago), and has made overtures to Spain, which currently holds the presidency of the European Union. In addition, Iraq's U.N. strategy continues to focus on Russia's critical Security Council veto. As Whitaker points out, Russia, perhaps more than anyone else, stands to gain from the rebuilding of the Iraqi petroleum infrastructure.

So is all of this activity buying Saddam Hussein some diplomatic breathing space? Probably not, says Whitaker, who points out that the Iraqi leader has a tendency to overestimate the level of international support he receives. Thus, the recent round of diplomacy may very well be a case of too little, too late.

50 YEARS AGO

"His (life) reveals an understanding of the finest traditions of the Foreign Service. One hears much about 'loyalty' these days. Matsuo's life was an example of loyalty, loyalty to an ideal — the betterment of relations between his country and ours. He expressed it well (while) in prison: 'My own sacrifice is as nothing.'"

— "LOYALTY OF
LOCAL EMPLOYEES"
By GERALD WARNER
FSJ, MARCH 1952

Chuhe Matsuo served as an FSN for 36 years, was imprisoned for three years by the Japanese military police and was the first Japanese national to win a State Department Meritorious Service Award.

*"War does not
determine who
is right — only
who is left."*

— BERTRAND RUSSELL

FROM THE RAINBOW ROOM

Proving yet again that there is indeed life after the Foreign Service, retired FSO Dave Burns and his Washington-based "Hot Mustard Jazz" group have just released their fourth CD, "Rainbow Room: Songs of the Art Deco Era."

The mere titles of the 16 songs contained on the disk evoke the romance and rhythm of New York in the 1920s and 1930s: "I Concentrate On You," "Lullaby In Rhythm," "It Don't Mean A Thing (If It Ain't Got That Swing)," "Autumn In New York," "I'll Take Romance," and "Manhattan Serenade," to name but a few.

Burns, an FSO from 1955 to 1980 who served mostly in the Middle East, is as adept at playing the trombone and keeping the up-tempo numbers danc-

ing along (a la Glenn Miller) as he is at lovingly crooning the ballads. And he has strong backing from the instrumentalists, who play the skillful arrangements by Chuck Redd (who also plays vibes in the band) with authentic stylishness. It is worth noting, incidentally, that while the group, which Burns founded and has led for over 30 years now, is based in Washington, it has performed in Jakarta, Sumatra and Bali.

Regrettably, you probably won't find "Rainbow Room: Songs of the Art Deco Era" in stores, but you can order it for \$15 (including shipping and handling) — or any of the group's previous recordings (three CDs and four LPs) — by calling (888) 843-0933 (toll free); e-mailing davesand@starpower.net; or searching www.google.com for "Hot Mustard Jazz." (You can use Visa or MasterCard to order.) You'll be glad you did!

— Steven Alan Honley ■

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SPEAKING OUT

U.S. Aid: Balancing Interests and Values in a Changed World

By JOHN UNLACK DAVIS

As U.S. policy-makers determine appropriate priorities for our foreign assistance programs in the wake of the Sept. 11 attacks, we must seek an organizational response that supports American interests, is consistent with our values, and takes particular note not only of the fact that nearly half of the world's population lives on less than two dollars per day, but that many of these people are Muslims.

I submit that a highly effective way to respond would be to redouble our humanitarian efforts in extremely poor Muslim countries (many of which are in sub-Saharan Africa), and in so doing endeavor to win the hearts, minds and bellies of the world's poorest, most dispossessed citizens.

Such an approach would create alternatives to rage and violence for the world's dispossessed while responding to pressing humanitarian needs. It would also offer an effective way to promote sustainable, results-oriented development, not only in those countries but elsewhere.

Non-Identical Twins

Once we make the decision to redouble our humanitarian efforts in extremely poor Muslim countries, we must then retool our foreign aid bureaucracy to be more flexible and responsive to the development and humanitarian needs of a broader array of countries than we currently assist. Current debates in USAID over where to keep open and close

To craft an organizational response that accounts for our most critical interests and dearest values will require a re-thinking of aid priority countries.

missions, the number of U.S. direct hire employees to post in various missions, and how much aid to provide to so-called "non-presence" countries are especially pertinent as we seek to craft policies that are relevant in light of recent events.

As resources have become ever more scarce and priorities have changed, the U.S. has closed numerous USAID bilateral missions over the past ten years. For example, in Africa alone, 16 bilateral missions have closed since 1990. Six of the world's 10 poorest countries were included in those closings, and all but two of the countries where missions were closed were among the world's 50 poorest.

In fact, sub-Saharan Africa currently hosts bilateral missions in only 22 of 47 countries — fewer than half — and "twins" USAID bilateral missions with U.S. embassies in non-presence countries. "Twinning" is

actually a bit of a misnomer, however, since it implies pairing rather than grouping; for example, the Mali mission has to look after "twins" in Burkina Faso, Chad, Côte d'Ivoire and Niger.

In theory, the twinning concept should reduce administrative costs and free up more funds for programming. Yet in spite of USAID's best intentions in trying to respond to the needs of non-presence countries, finding the proper bureaucratic formula has been difficult and occasionally frustrating.

The heart of the problem is the fact that the affected bilateral missions are assigned "twinning" countries but not allocated the additional budget resources they need to support new activities in those countries. As a consequence, the temptation is to stick to managing residual activities rather than initiating new ones, even when expanded or additional programs are urgently needed.

Nor does it help that no USAID personnel work exclusively on programs in twinned countries, leaving the non-presence "twins" (I'll resist the temptation to say "illegitimate step-children") at a severe disadvantage in competing with bilateral mission countries for scarce personnel time and attention. In addition, individual mission directors vary in their commitment to finding resources for and supporting new activities in non-presence countries.

Given all these personnel and resource constraints, it is understandable that many USAID employ-



ees now operate under the philosophy that "out means out" as far as a significant U.S. foreign assistance relationship with non-presence countries is concerned.

In addition, recognizing that many development challenges cross national borders and have regional implications, USAID has created three regional programs: the Regional Economic Development Support Offices/East and Southern Africa, based in Nairobi; the Regional Center for Southern Africa, based in Gabarone; and the West Africa Regional Program (whose infelicitous acronym is WARP), based in Bamako. However, there is often an unclear division of labor between regional teams and twinning missions, and even for regional activities recognized as important, available resources are paltry when one considers the large number of countries in which they are supposed to work. For example, WARP's Family Health and AIDS Program has done an outstanding job fighting the epidemic in four non-presence countries since 1995. Now, however, it is being asked to expand activities to all 16 countries in the sub-region without a commensurate increase in resources.

Meanwhile, USAID is seeking a new organizational model to promote U.S. interests and values effectively and flexibly worldwide while containing costs. A three-tiered ("clusters") overseas mission prioritization system emerged at one point, although it has apparently since been squelched. Under that system, USAID missions would have competed for financial and personnel resources both within and across clusters. In any case, countries without missions still constitute an invisible, voiceless fourth cluster apart, with their aid needs automatically accorded lower priority

The View from Niger

To craft an organizational response that accounts for our most critical interests and dearest values will require a re-thinking of aid priority countries. Indeed, several of the highest-priority countries with regard to extremist threat and humanitarian need do not currently have a USAID mission of any size. This raises another important argument for aid flexibility. Because national interests and priorities are often quite fluid, the mission-based structure and "out means out" attitude make for a sluggish bureaucratic beast that does not quickly adapt to new imperatives. One solution to this would be for the U.S. foreign affairs bureaucracy to put at least one direct-hire aid professional in every country in Africa and leave them there regardless of perceived short-term U.S. interests. These individuals would provide institutional memory and the capacity to quickly respond to needs or seize opportunities. Such a lean, pared-down USAID presence is particularly feasible because of the capable, committed U.S. NGOs that remain on the ground in most of the poorest countries and do the heavy lifting in many development programs.

The Niger model is instructive in this regard. After 36 years of continuous presence, USAID closed its doors due to Section 508 sanctions after Niger's 1996 coup d'état by Ibrahim Maïnassara Baré. When Niger returned to the democratic fold in late 1999, the U.S. ambassador, Barbro Owens-Kirkpatrick, began lobbying for aid to the world's second poorest country and poorest democracy. One of her strongest arguments was about the incentive effect of political conditionality: If the U.S. withdraws aid from undemocratic thugs, it should restore aid when a country demonstrates the

vision and courage to fight the odds and return to democracy.

Nevertheless, in spite of being both the world's poorest Muslim country and a functioning democracy, Niger still lacks a resident USAID mission. This motivates me to ask, "If our humanitarian values do not move us to help Niger, do values truly play a role in any foreign assistance decisions?" Even if the answer is that "only interests matter," then the current state of the world should still provide the impetus we need to assist poor Muslim nations like Niger.

USAID keeps insisting that "out means out" and has thus far rebuffed Embassy Niamey's most fervent entreaties for some sort of return. Undaunted, the ambassador created a State Department-funded position called "development assistance coordinator," hired me, and charged me with the task of doing everything possible to try to attract funding for a critical mass of development activities to help Niger. We have had some success in securing resources, particularly in the area of HIV/AIDS and food security, but we find ourselves continually being confronted with and constrained by the non-presence stigma. Nevertheless, we continue to have a rich dialogue with our colleagues at USAID, encouraging them to see "presence" as a flexible continuum rather than a rigid dichotomy.

Rethinking Priorities

These current debates on why, how, and where to carry out foreign assistance are important and useful. They lead us to question fundamental assumptions and reflect on our role in the world. In aid decisions, function should precede form. In other words, we have to be clear about the interests and values that are important to us and what these

SPEAKING OUT

interests and values imply, before totally rearranging the deck chairs of our foreign assistance vessels.

Yet in the aftermath of Sept. 11, our interests and values actually converge. In the poorest Muslim countries, there exists a vast pool of alienated, angry young people with nothing to lose, from which demagogues like Osama bin Laden recruit their most zealous followers. Surely it is in our national interest to devote the comparatively modest levels of additional resources required to address their needs, restore hope, and thereby deny bin Laden and his kind the ideological leverage to attract more supporters.

Similarly, we would be true to our most humane values by providing significant amounts of foreign aid to the poorest nations, particularly Muslim ones, whether or not they previously appeared on our strategic radar screen.

As a bonus, once the U.S. public sees development assistance as proactively protecting our national security and not simply as an abstract enterprise of do-gooders, two further benefits will follow. First, foreign aid will develop a larger domestic constituency than it has ever had. Second, when public officials and the public at large perceive themselves as having a vital stake in the success of poverty alleviation in extremely poor countries, we may see a more hard-nosed focus on achieving clear-cut results than has previously been the case. ■

John Uniack Davis is development assistance coordinator in Namey. He previously served as a USAID democratic governance consultant in Bamako and Lagos and has also worked and done development consulting in Burkina Faso and Tanzania.

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AN EXCHANGE PROGRAM IN THE ISLAMIC WORLD MIGHT REAP THE BENEFITS THAT OTHER EXCHANGE PROGRAMS HAVE GARNERED FOR AMERICAN FOREIGN POLICY.

By MICHAEL MCCARRY

On Oct. 10, 2001 — one month after the Sept. 11 attacks — the House International Relations Committee held an unusual event: a hearing on public diplomacy. In recent years, the field of public diplomacy — the State Department's exchange and information programs designed to increase understanding and appreciation of American policies and society — has received considerable attention on Capitol Hill at the staff level, but rarely, if ever, has commanded a public forum like a full committee hearing.

Chairman Henry Hyde, R-Ill., opened the packed hearing by asking why, despite a long American tradition of helping others, "a poisonous image of the United States is deliberately propagated around the world" and the "descriptions of America in the foreign press are full of hatred." Hyde continued by recognizing "the many valuable programs that

constitute our public diplomacy efforts overseas," but questioned whether "the sum of our efforts has been sufficient."

Under Secretary for Public Diplomacy and Public Affairs Charlotte Beers, only eight days into her job, spent some 90 minutes in the witness chair, and while questions about broadcasting dominated the discourse, she found opportunities to stress the importance of exchange programs. Beers suggested that the benefits of exchanges were apparent

in our rapid success in building a broad international anti-terrorism coalition, and that more exchanges with Afghanistan might have contributed to a more positive bilateral relationship.

She also pointed to the need for more such programs in the Islamic world: "We are using the contacts we earned over the years with exchanges and scholarships to develop a whole new level of diplomacy and speaking between moderate Muslims and the United States. We have to be mindful that we are in a long-lived engagement to reach new audiences in different ways."

At the same hearing, the Alliance for International Educational and Cultural Exchange, represented by its chair, Amb. Kenton Keith of Meridian International Center, called for a new exchange initiative in the Islamic world. Such an initiative, which might be modeled on the Freedom Support Act programs designed for the New Independent States (NIS) after the demise of the Soviet Union, would likely require \$75 million above current exchange appropriations. The initiative could help to build a broader web of productive contacts, and thus strengthen mutual understanding and respect between the United States and Islamic countries through increased Fulbright and International Visitor exchanges, university linkages, youth programs oriented toward students and teachers, and English teaching, to name but a few possibilities.

Michael McCarry is the executive director of the Alliance for International Cultural and Educational Exchange. He was an FSO from 1977 to 1994 and served in Bangkok, Chiang Mai, Beijing and Washington.

***"We have to be mindful
that we are in a
long-lived engagement
to reach new audiences
in different ways."***

— ***Under Secretary for Public
Diplomacy and Public Affairs
Charlotte Beers***

Despite the apparent bipartisan enthusiasm at the Oct. 10 hearing, the Bush administration requested no additional money for such exchanges and Congress provided none, even though the cost involved is small in the context of the billions appropriated in response to Sept. 11. By contrast, the international education programs of the Department of Education, funded by a different set of committees and designed to strengthen American expertise in foreign languages and cultures, received a 26 percent boost in

an appropriations bill approved near the end of the same congressional session.

The president's FY 2003 budget request includes a welcome but modest five percent increase for State exchanges globally, but no significant new exchange resources for intensified engagement with the Muslim world. Given the relatively low cost of such programs, their proven effectiveness over time, and a clearly understood national need for deeper, more productive interaction with Islamic peoples, one can't help wondering why it did not.

Real Dollars for Exchange Keep Shrinking

Even without new money for an Islamic exchange initiative, worldwide exchange program funding has shrunk alarmingly over the last decade in real-dollar terms. In FY 1993, the exchange program appropriation for USIA's Bureau of Educational and Cultural Affairs was \$286 million. The FY 2002 appropriation, only \$237 million, thus represents approximately a 40 percent reduction in constant dollars. (Note: The exchange appropriation was reconfigured in FY 1998 to include administrative costs previously captured in the salaries and expenses account. For purposes of ensuring a meaningful comparison, I have added the appropriate S&E to the 1993 exchange budget.)

One must hasten to add, however, that ECA administers resources significantly larger than its congressional appropriation, due to interagency transfers from the U.S. Agency for International Development. These monies, authorized by the Freedom Support Act (FSA) and totaling \$107 million in FY 2002, fund a menu of exchange programs in the former Soviet republics. The programs span academic levels from high school students to senior scholars.

Freedom Support Act funding for the NIS reflects a

political consensus that exchange programs are an effective, sustained response to a critical foreign policy priority: encouraging the former Soviet republics in the direction of peaceful, democratic governance and productive relationships with the U.S. and its allies.

Effectiveness Evident

Anecdotal evidence continues to suggest strongly that exchanges make a profound difference, both in their effect on individuals and in their cumulative impact.

Fulbright program alumni, both Americans and those from overseas, constitute a network of leaders in constructive, positive collaboration. Syafii Maarif, head of a large and extremely prominent Muslim social service organization in Indonesia, earned a Fulbright grant to the University of Chicago. According to the Jan. 8, 2002, *Wall Street Journal*, Maarif's time in Hyde Park and the various points of view he encountered contributed directly to his evolution into one of Indonesia's leading political moderates. "To truly understand Islam, you must realize that it has many different sources. And then you'll come to understand that it stands for peace," Maarif told the *Journal*.

State's International Visitor program maintains an eminent list of present and former heads of state who were program participants. The count has reached 165 previous heads of state or government, and 47 current holders of such positions, including such current notables as Prime Ministers Lionel Jospin of France and Tony Blair of the U.K., President Kim Dae Jung of Korea, and Hamid Karzai, interim leader of Afghanistan.

In a 2000 television interview, another prominent alumnus, German Chancellor Gerhard Schroeder, spoke of his IV experience 20 years earlier. Schroeder first described the 1981 version of himself as a left-wing, vaguely anti-American Bundestag member. Reflecting on his time as an International Visitor, he said, "If you are not completely pig-headed, this is one of the most intelligent ways of giving young politicians a positive attitude about America."

Occasionally, the impact of exchanges can be quantified. In 1998, USIA's Office of Research compared the attitudes of alumni of the Future Leaders Exchange

***Given the low cost of
exchange programs and
their effectiveness,
one wonders why State is
not pushing for greater
funding for them.***

Program, the NIS high school exchange program funded through the Freedom Support Act, with those of similarly-aged countrymen who had not participated in the program. The results were quite encouraging: by wide margins, FLEX alumni held more positive attitudes toward democracy, elections, free markets, foreign investment and press freedom. Moreover, the alumni aspired to

play leadership roles in their own societies much more than those who had not participated.

These findings must be tempered a bit by acknowledging that the FLEX group, by virtue of the program's rigorous competition and selection process, represent the "best and brightest," while others in their age cohort form a more differentiated pool. Nevertheless, the FLEX alumni attitudes are emphatically supportive of the policy goals of the program.

Administration Support Lacking

Given that consensus about the impact of exchange programs in the NIS, and its annual expression in significant appropriations, the question arises why exchanges are not similarly valued for other regions of the world, and why ECA's base budget continues to force reductions in non-NIS participation levels, reductions totaling now about 30 percent, for such successful programs as Fulbright, International Visitors and citizen exchanges.

One answer is that the White House has rarely stood up for exchanges in recent years. Administration requests for exchange programs since FY 1997 have been modest. Statements by Secretary Powell make clear that the department's current leadership values exchange programs, but after the publicly opaque OMB budget process, that appreciation expressed itself as only a modest increase in the FY 2002 request. Even in the final year of the Clinton administration, when exchange funding received a meaningful boost, Congress appropriated more money than the president requested.

None of us in the exchange community is unrealistic enough to believe that exchanges are likely to make the first page of a State Department wish list often. We understand clearly that pressing foreign policy and

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resource priorities require the department to focus on issues that are more urgent. But urgency and importance are not always synonymous.

Exchanges can be used to address urgent problems, such as those we face in the Islamic world, but they cannot usually produce quick results. But that does not mean that exchanges are ineffective, or that they do not have important outcomes. They will only be able to do that, however, with adequate resources and leadership, and State must do better at providing these.

Roots of the Problem in USIA

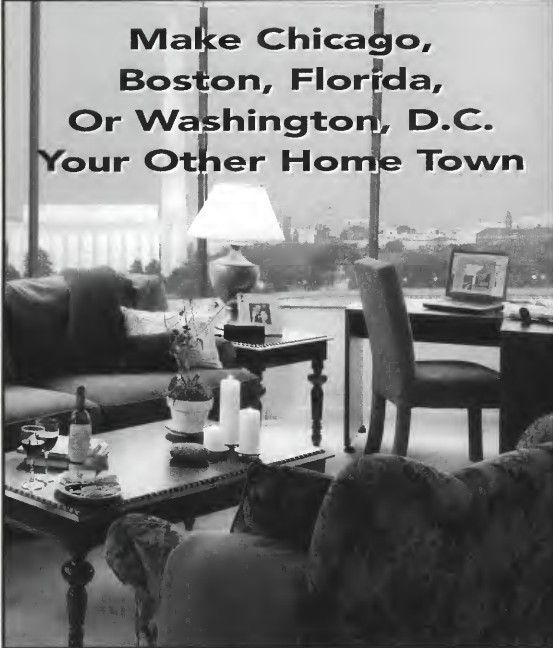
The problem of timid budget requests predates the move of exchanges into the State Department. In what turned out to be the final years of the U.S. Information Agency, the agency's leadership never made a vigorous public case for the value of exchange programs, or indeed, for the agency's mission. Exchange funding fell precipitously in FY 1996 and FY 1997, and has never fully recovered.

Just as harmful, USIA's leadership consistently chose to

take the brunt of budget cuts in its field operations. This resulted in the closing of branch posts, cultural centers, and libraries, and in crippling reductions in both Foreign Service and Foreign Service National positions at USIS posts. Since 1993, 28 overseas posts closed their doors, and the number of overseas public diplomacy positions for direct-hire Americans dropped by about 40 percent.

As the assistant cultural affairs officer became an endangered species, the capacity to carry out exchange programs diminished greatly. This loss of junior public diplomacy slots (assistant information officer and branch public affairs officer positions were similarly affected) also has a damaging longer-term impact. Without sufficient junior positions in the public diplomacy cone, State will find it difficult to develop adequate numbers of skilled mid-level and senior officers with deep experience in public diplomacy work. This is a problem traceable to USIA's stewardship, but State must now address it if exchanges and public diplomacy are to succeed under its management.

Another problem, this one created by the foreign affairs reorganization, is a State Department organization



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chart that disconnects public diplomacy elements in Washington — the Bureau of Educational and Cultural Affairs and the Office of International Information Programs — from the overseas posts that conduct public diplomacy on the ground. One of the unfortunate consequences of USIA's demise was the morphing of USIS field posts into embassy public diplomacy sections, reporting to State's regional bureaus. The result is that oversight of public diplomacy overseas resides in units that generally consider public diplomacy a middling priority at best.

This bureaucratic disconnect has attracted attention in Congress, which provided the initial impetus for the merger. Both House and Senate versions of the State Department authorization bill address the structural problem, though the House International Relations Committee expresses its concern only in report language. The stronger Senate version mandates that the secretary of State develop an action plan for better integrating public diplomacy into the department and establishing a meaningful connection between overseas public diplomacy operations and the under secretary for public diploma-

cy and public affairs. The House approved its bill in May, but the Senate version never reached the floor. Public diplomacy supporters remain hopeful that an authorization bill will be enacted in the current session.

Exchange Visitor Program: A Success at State

One area in which State's management has led to meaningful improvements is the Exchange Visitor Program. This program, authorized by the Fulbright-Hays Act but not nearly well-enough known or appreciated, brings roughly 275,000 foreign visitors to the U.S. every year as scholars, high school and university students, trainees, camp counselors, summer workers, and au pairs. Universities and non-governmental organizations run most of these programs at no cost to the taxpayer.

Beginning in 1982, USIA administered the Exchange Visitor Program from its Office of the General Counsel. The agency's role involved publishing regulations governing the operations of program sponsors, approving organizations that sought to be sponsors, and providing and regulating the supply of IAP-66 forms to sponsoring organi-

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zations. Sponsors in turn provide forms to prospective exchange participants who use them to apply for J visas.

Under USIA's aegis, the Exchange Visitor Program generated significant controversy between the agency and the exchange community. From the community's perspective, USIA regulated the programs far too tightly, taking a lowest common denominator approach that restricted all sponsors because of the bad practices of a few.

When USIA merged into State, the Exchange Visitor Program returned to the Bureau of Educational and Cultural Affairs. After a shaky start and a change of leadership, the program is fast becoming a model of public-private cooperation. For example, in response to a very critical Inspector General's report on training programs, the bureau and the community have engaged in a highly cooperative effort to craft new regulations that will eliminate abuses and improve the quality of a valuable program.

There have been other successes for exchanges since the merger. On April 19, 2000, President Clinton articulated a national policy on international education, which made plain the national interest in enhancing exchange

opportunities for Americans and future leaders from around the world. For the first time ever, the Clinton administration declared an International Education Week in November 2000, a new tradition continued by President Bush this past November. The exchange community remains hopeful that President Bush and his cabinet will demonstrate leadership on this issue.

Amb. Arthur Burns once observed that "The achievement of true understanding between any two governments depends fundamentally on the kind of relationship that exists between the peoples, rather than on the foreign ministers and ambassadors." Yet notwithstanding their successes, State often seems to treat exchanges as a peripheral activity, rather than as an integral part of a long-term effort to strengthen American relationships and support American interests around the world.

To achieve the greater understanding Amb. Burns praised, our country needs to renew its commitment to exchange programs around the world — but nowhere more than in Islamic countries.

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An Islamic Exchange Initiative

Changing minds — or merely opening them — in the Islamic world will be a long, painstaking process. The task will require us to be creative, disciplined and patient as we try to reach audiences whose attitudes toward the U.S. range from profoundly skeptical to openly hostile. We will not succeed in opening every mind, but we do not need to do so. What we must succeed in doing is challenging and changing a climate of opinion that unjustly paints the United States as a source of evil. If we succeed, terrorists will find it much more difficult to garner support, either from governments or from general publics.

Would that effort not be aided by greater numbers of Fulbrighters working together on issues such as public health, conflict resolution, cultural studies, the environment, and economic development? Would it not be served by more International Visitors who come to the U.S. for intensive exposure to American society and interactions with their counterparts in government, education, journalism, and business? Would we not advance our

interests by fostering linkages between universities in the U.S. and the Islamic world in fields like journalism and American studies? Or by increasing our capacity to teach English in those countries? Or by exchanging teachers and fostering school-to-school connections?

All of these exchange activities would contribute to a broader web of positive, productive contacts between our countries — contacts based not just on specific policy objectives but built on the foundation of shared, long-term interests and relationships between talented individuals and significant institutions. These sorts of relationships will provide the underpinning for a stronger set of bilateral ties and a climate of opinion more conducive to cooperation than to conflict.

However, building these relationships in the Islamic world will require sustained effort by the U.S. government and its non-governmental partners. It also will require new resources, and the State Department's proactive, vocal support with OMB, Congress and the general public. ■

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A S P R E V I O U S L Y I N S U R E D T H R O U G H H T B I N S U R A N C E

THE POWER OF CITIZEN DIPLOMACY



IN THE POST-SEPT. 11 WORLD, THE POWER OF CITIZEN DIPLOMATS AND COMMUNITY ORGANIZATIONS TO SHAPE OUR COLLECTIVE DESTINIES HAS NEVER BEEN MORE APPARENT.

BY SHERRY MUELLER

In Taulabe, Honduras, small sugar cane producers are abandoning the environmentally destructive process of burning old tires for fuel when making a hard brown sugar known as rapadura. Thanks to the Farmer-to-Farmer Program of Partners of the Americas, they are learning to adapt environmentally friendly techniques used by Vermont maple sugar farmers. Another community organization, Sister Cities International, has launched the "Wheelchairs for Peace" project. In partnership with the Wheelchair Foundation and local Rotary clubs, SCI chapters will provide more than 60,000 wheelchairs over the next five years to sister cities around the world.

Farmer-to-Farmer and SCI are but two community organizations staffed primarily by citizen diplomats — volunteers who contribute to American foreign policy by engaging other cultures and peoples in projects such as these. If war is too

important to be left to the generals, as the old maxim asserts, then diplomacy is too important to be the exclusive domain of official diplomats. Those who promote citizen diplomacy believe that in a democracy the individual citizen has the right — indeed, the responsibility — to help shape foreign relations, as many phrase it, “one hand-shake at a time.”

Community organizations take many forms. Members of the nationwide network of volunteer organizations engaged in citizen diplomacy include People-to-People (launched by President Eisenhower in 1956), Friendship Force (founded by President Carter in 1977), Partners of the Americas (established in 1966 as part of the Alliance for Progress) and Sister Cities International (established as a separate nonprofit in 1976), to name several of the most prominent. All are dynamic groups whose impact on U.S. foreign relations is profound — and will become more widespread with advances in communications technology and the accompanying devolution of power from the national to local and state levels.

It is a tribute to the wisdom of State Department officials in the formative years of exchange programs that they realized early on the pivotal role citizen diplomats could play. In 1965, Secretary of State Dean Rusk said: “The government simply can’t do what you are doing. We cannot render the kind of individual, sensitive, and personalized service such as you can and do render in your own communities. This voluntary spirit is a keystone in the understanding other peoples may have of us.”

Similar sentiments have been echoed by his successors ever since. At the swearing-in ceremony for Patricia Harrison, the new assistant secretary of State for educational and cultural affairs, Secretary of State Colin Powell stressed the importance of State’s exchange programs that “expose people to who we are and what we are,” and noted that “the positive power of our example” is the best antidote to the negative stereotypes that fuel terrorism.

Public-Private Partnerships

One of the most important ways citizen diplomats can contribute to American foreign policy is through exchange programs, and community organizations often work with

Sherry Mueller is the president of the National Council for International Visitors, which helps administer the International Visitor program for the State Department.

the U.S. Department of State in the actual administration of the Department’s exchange programs. For instance, the Institute of International Education (IIE), founded in 1919, helps State administer the Fulbright program.

Another of these organizations, the National Council for International Visitors (NCIV), of which I am the president, organizes professional schedules, cultural activities and home visits for participants in the State Department’s International Visitor Program. Each year thousands of NCIV volunteers open their homes, offices, factories, farms and educational institutions to foreign leaders and scholars — strengthening America’s commercial, cultural, and educational ties with the rest of the world.

NCIV also works with State’s Office of Citizen Exchanges to implement “Community Connections” programs, lining up internships and homestays for young leaders from the former Soviet Union. In addition to working with the State Department, NCIV community organizations arrange programs for other exchange program participants: international students, Eisenhower fellows, Library of Congress Russian Leadership Program participants, and foreign military officials.

The Impact of Exchanges

What impact do exchanges and the work of citizen diplomats have on U.S. foreign relations? The perennial search for “evidence of effectiveness” is complex — in part because few longitudinal evaluation studies have been conducted. Also, even if a researcher could document that participation in an exchange program resulted in a vote with the United States in the United Nations or some other concrete political decision, it would not necessarily be in everyone’s best interest to publicize that fact.

Various measurements do exist, however. For instance, the fact that, as of September 2001, 46 current and 165 former heads of government and chiefs of state have participated in the International Visitor Program is remarkable. The list includes U.K. Prime Minister Tony Blair as well as the head of Afghanistan’s new interim government, Hamid Karzai, who traveled in the United States as an International Visitor in 1987. Still the list is more a positive commentary on the selection process than a definitive statement of impact. The value that top U.S. diplomats place on exchange programs is certainly a testament to their effectiveness.

In a 2000 survey, U.S. ambassadors ranked the International Visitor Program first in a long list of public

diplomacy tools at their disposal. As former Under Secretary of State Thomas Pickering has emphasized from time to time, we deal better with those people who understand us.

One International Visitor Program alumna eloquently captured the impact of these programs. Madhura Chatrapathy, Trustee Director of the Asian Centre for Entrepreneurial Initiatives, Bangalore, India, told a Boston audience: "You welcomed a stranger; you sent home a friend." Exchanges, and the volunteers who make them possible, develop the web of human connections that provides a more receptive context for the efforts of official diplomats. Whether building coalitions to fight terrorism or negotiating a trade agreement, U.S. diplomats find that foreign decision-makers who have firsthand experience in the United States are more understanding of the factors

***"The government cannot
render the kind of
individual, sensitive and
personalized service you
[citizen diplomats] can."***

— Secretary of State Dean Rusk

that shape our foreign policy and more open to U.S. positions.

Exchanges are also a long-term investment. For example, former French President Valéry Giscard d'Estaing traveled on one of these programs to the United States in 1956 while he was a young parliamentarian. Forty-three years later, he observed: "The America that I experienced was vigorous, self-confident and all the while welcoming us

with generosity: an indelible image I always remember when our relations are involved." An International Visitor in 1981, German Chancellor Gerhard Schröder stated that the IV Program is "one of the most intelligent ways of giving young politicians a positive attitude about America."

Last year John Dickson, the U.S. public affairs officer in Mexico City, reported at an NCIV regional meet-

An Invitation For Summer Fiction

Once again the *FSJ* is seeking works of fiction of up to 3,000 words for its annual summer fiction issue. Story lines or characters involving the Foreign Service are preferred, but not required. The top stories, selected by the *Journal's* Editorial Board, will receive simultaneous publication in the July/August issue and on the *Journal's* Web site. The writer of each story will receive an honorarium of \$250, payable upon publication.

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

**Deadline for submissions is May 1, 2002.
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ing in Fort Worth on the research of a journalism professor from Tulane who visited the U.S. embassy in Mexico. The professor described how the new, more professional journalism in Mexico is playing a big role in that country's historic transition. For example, the change to more in-depth, serious coverage of the last two Mexican presidential elections was primarily attributable to foreign exposure — specifically the International Visitor program.

Building professional expertise and forging friendships around the world are critically important in an era where the limits of military prowess are abundantly clear. Our children's security depends not only on our power but also on our ability to build constructive relationships with decision-makers around the globe — to project the best of our values and culture.

What Is the Motivation?

What motivates these citizen diplomats, these ambassadors on Main Street, to share their hospitality and professional expertise to an extent that amazes foreign

exchange program participants and wins their admiration and affection? The answers to this question reveal not only incentives but the benefits of citizen diplomacy to U.S. communities as well.

I conducted a formal study of 175 seasoned volunteers in seven locations when I worked for the Institute of International Education. Volunteers most frequently cite the following five reasons for their involvement:

First, volunteer work hosting international visitors contributes significantly to the education of volunteers' children. Often noting deficiencies in U.S. students' knowledge of geography and current events, many volunteers view opportunities for their sons and daughters to interact with foreign guests as essential supplements to their academic work. As one volunteer from Freeport, Illinois expressed it: "My daughter can intelligently discuss countries her classmates cannot locate on a map — you can't buy that."

Second, the State Department's International Visitor Program and other exchanges improve the image of the United States abroad. Expressing concern about growing

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anti-Americanism and the negative and distorted images of America conveyed by so many exported films and television programs, volunteers see their work as helping foreign leaders and scholars develop a more accurate and sympathetic understanding of the United States. One volunteer emphatically stated: "America is more than car chases, chewing gum, and crime." Particularly since the tragic sequence of events on Sept. 11, countering the "ugly American" image is a strong motivation for volunteers.

Third, international exchange programs and development projects give individual citizens a chance to make a difference. As one volunteer from the Arkansas Council for International Visitors commented: "Viewing the international news every day only serves to make me cynical and depressed; meeting one-on-one with people of other cultures is the only way I feel that I, personally, can make a difference. It is a lifetime task."

Fourth, many citizen diplomats are involved because they are committed to the economic development of their communities. They want to be sure their cities are on the

map for potential trading partners and investors around the world. They know an internationally savvy workforce is critical in this era of pervasive globalization. Some of our members report that representatives of smaller and medium-size businesses in their communities get important first cross-cultural experiences through their programs.

Finally, many volunteers are active in citizen diplomacy because they believe the United States should be encouraging the development of democratic values and institutions. More fully appreciating U.S. institutions after working with exchange program participants from countries that have recently emerged from command economies and communist political systems, these citizen diplomats want "to give back."

Domestic Constituency for Foreign Affairs

Citizen diplomats are also vital to building a domestic constituency for foreign affairs. While it is tempting to bemoan the lack of such a constituency, in fact it is expanding — as evidenced by growing numbers of coalitions and communications with Congress reflecting inter-

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national concerns. Citizen diplomacy networks are active advocates for sound policies and adequate resources for effective American engagement in the world. They are building long-term relationships with members of Congress and their legislative aides who determine the spending for, and scope of, U.S. diplomacy.

NCIV members build these relationships for programmatic as well as advocacy purposes. If they are organizing a schedule for a member of parliament participating in the International Visitor Program, they want to be sure to get appropriate appointments with members of Congress — not only in Washington but in their home districts. By involving members of Congress in their work, they spark or reinforce congressional interest in international affairs. Thanks to the efforts of Nancy Gilboy and Bob Frye at the International Visitors Council in Philadelphia, in which they involved Sen. Arlen Specter in IVC programs, the senator nominated NCIV's volunteer citizen diplomats for the Nobel Peace Prize in 2001.

An NCIV initiative to raise the visibility of State's International Visitor Program, Senate Resolution 87, passed in the spring of 2000. It commemorated the 60th anniversary of the International Visitor Program and celebrated the generosity of the citizen diplomats who support and sustain it. NCIV members recruited the 40-plus senators from both sides of the aisle who cosponsored it, as well as primary sponsors Sen. Kit Bond, R-Mo., Sen. Richard Durbin, D-Ill., and Sen. Daniel Patrick Moynihan, D-N.Y.

Many leaders of NCIV member organizations and other groups of citizen diplomats also play leadership roles in other grass-roots organizations. Some are elected officials in their own right. They are well placed to communicate effectively with their representatives and senators.

The NCIV national office issues periodic Action Alerts asking members to write, fax or call their members of Congress to educate them about the impact of exchange programs on U.S. communities. During national conferences in Washington and on other occasions, NCIV members visit Capitol Hill. Thus, in the process of encouraging support for State Department exchanges, NCIV members are underscoring constituent interest in international affairs in general.

NCIV and other organizations promoting citizen diplomacy work closely with coalitions to accomplish their advocacy goals. They are active in the Alliance for

International Educational and Cultural Exchange. This coalition of 64 organizations supports a staff of four who monitor legislation affecting both State Department exchange programs and USAID training projects.

Some are also active in COLEAD — the Coalition for American Leadership Abroad — whose express purpose is to secure adequate funding for "the 150 account" (the Office of Management and Budget's designation for all foreign affairs agencies). Inspired by Harry Blaney and Tex Harris of the American Foreign Service Association and founded in 1995, COLEAD represents the foreign affairs NGO community. More than 40 nonprofit organizations are members and the coalition is growing in size and effectiveness. Chic Dambach (former director of the National Peace Corps Association and now global consultant for the National Center for Nonprofit Boards) serves as chairman of the board, and retired FSO Harry Blaney serves as president of this nonprofit coalition.

Building Partnerships, Securing Resources

Heeding the Peter Drucker admonition to "partner or die," growing numbers of international organizations are joining forces to stretch resources and maximize clout in various types of partnerships. In an economy characterized by corporate downsizing and mergers, the challenge of raising funds from the business community is much more difficult not only for citizen diplomats but for nonprofit organizations in general. Declining tax revenues increase competition for government dollars at all levels. Individual donors (by far the largest source of revenue) are becoming more cautious as competing causes solicit their support. The single most urgent challenge is making the case for exchanges and citizen diplomacy. We have to learn to take time out from managing these programs and shift effort to their evaluation and the public relations needed to underscore the value of this long-term investment. Hence, we have an unprecedented push to forge new partnerships and search for synergy.

In 1995 the International Center of Tulsa (formerly the Tulsa Council for International Visitors) and the Tulsa Sister Cities chapter merged to form the Tulsa Global Alliance — presaging a trend of mergers of NCIV members with other international organizations in their communities. For example, last year, NCIV's member, WorldBoston, merged with the Boston World

FOCUS

Affairs Council and retained the WorldBoston name.

The International Resource Center, NCIV's member in Jacksonville, Florida, has spearheaded the formation of the "I Team" — a coalition of organizations in Jacksonville that have international missions. Initially an information sharing entity, the "I Team" plans to coordinate their respective efforts and continue to host joint events. Similar collaborations are under way in many communities from Akron to San Diego. The stronger our partnerships locally, the better equipped we are to build strong ties abroad.

The call for partnership is being issued at the national level as well. Last October the leaders of American Committees on Foreign Relations, Fulbright Association, National Council for International Visitors, National Peace Corps Association, Sister Cities International, and World Affairs Councils of America issued the following statement, accompanied by a memo outlining possible activities, to their members: "Our collective voice is much stronger than the

single voice of one organization. Therefore, we call on each of you to cooperate with your sister organizations in hosting programs and initiating activities that will strengthen the messages we want to convey."

There is a need to search for synergy in other ways — to share lessons learned over the years. Organizing joint professional development activities and leadership seminars will help all citizen diplomacy organizations attract a new generation of volunteers and develop their already awesome capabilities.

In a post-Sept. 11 world, the power of individuals and organizations to shape our collective destinies has never been more apparent. Now more than ever, the remarkable accomplishments of America's citizen diplomats should be acknowledged and encouraged. The "Voice of America" not only refers to a radio station with an impressive history: It also includes the individual voices and actions of dedicated citizen diplomats — a number of whom just happen to be retired Foreign Service officers. ■

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W HERE ARE SIX AND A HALF WAYS OF LOOKING AT CULTURE, AND WHY IT MIGHT NOT BE A BAD IDEA TO HAVE MORE OF IT IN OUR EMBASSIES.

By MARK JACOBS

Wallace Stevens once wrote a poem that has inspired more spinoffs than Sylvester Stallone's Rocky. The title, at least, of "Thirteen Ways of Looking at a Blackbird" really caught on. People still write about "Nine Ways of Looking at Garbage Dumps," or "Twelve Ways of Looking at 7-11 Stores," or any number of ways to look at any number of objects, sometimes without knowing the Stevens original. But I'd like to get past the catchy title to the spirit of the Stevens poem, which is about, among other things, shaking up the way we see common things.

Culture is one of those common things. Contrary to the way that most of us have been schooled to think, culture does not belong to the privileged few — to the experts and the elite. It's as ordinary and as useful as your favorite chair, or that old pair of Reeboks you can't bring yourself to toss out. (I learned this from the English critic Raymond Williams,

AFSA NEWS

American Foreign Service Association • March 2002

Annual Report 2001

A Message from AFSA President John K. Naland

With your support and encouragement, AFSA made substantial progress during 2001 in the four areas in which we focused our efforts:

- **Making the case to the Congress and the American people for a sustained infusion of additional resources for diplomatic readiness.** AFSA worked hard in support of the Bush administration's budget request to increase funding for foreign affairs staffing, security, information technology, facilities and training. We submitted congressional testimony, met with members of Congress and their staffs, and placed op-ed articles in major daily newspapers.

Our speakers program arranged 177 appearances in 28 states by retired Foreign Service members to explain to public audiences the importance of funding diplomacy. AFSA retirees led 17 one-week programs on the Foreign Service under the auspices of the Elderhostel organization, reaching an audience of nearly 900 retired professionals from some 40 states.

Ironically, at the instant that the tragic events of Sept. 11 began to unfold, a 59-person AFSA delegation composed of Foreign Service retirees, AFSA staff, and AFSA officers was on Capitol Hill urging funding for diplomatic readiness. The Pentagon was hit just as many of us were en route to appointments with five members of Congress and senior staffers for 18 other senators and representatives. We managed to begin seven of those meetings before Capitol Hill was evacuated. In the end, Congress approved an 18.6 percent increase in the basic funding for the State Department.

- **Strengthening the career Foreign Service so that it may continue and improve its proud service to our nation.** AFSA launched a major initiative in 2001 seeking reforms to assure that the Foreign Service a) has the ideal mix of abilities, out-

looks, and organization to carry out its role of implementing U.S. foreign policy and b) is a profession affording a reasonable balance between the rewards and burdens of service.

After an inclusive process that sought the input of AFSA members worldwide, in November we submitted a package of proposals to reform the personnel system. At year's end, State management was still reviewing those initial proposals.

- **Making the Foreign Service a better place in which to work, live, and raise a family.** AFSA made progress on a number of bread-and-butter issues during 2001. For example, we secured the first increase in the Foreign Transfer Allowance in 18 years. We launched a major campaign to secure enactment of overseas locality pay.

In actions focused on the State Department, we persuaded management to exempt 46 non-differential posts from the new four-year tour policy. We pushed for increases in long-term per diem rates, for full implementation of student loan reimbursements, and for fairness in the implementation of a new entry-level salary scale for generalists.

When anthrax closed down the State Department's pouch operations, AFSA volunteered to receive and forward personal mail from pouch posts. In total, we processed over 20,000 pieces of mail. Overseas members faced hardships related to the payment of bills and receipt of medicines due to anthrax-related mail problems and delays, so AFSA communicated with the State Department Federal Credit Union regarding mail-related financial problems and with Merk-Medco regarding safe ship-



ment of medicines.

- **Making AFSA a more responsive and more effective pro-employee advocate.** As we do each year, AFSA helped hundreds of members with inquiries and problems concerning

members' careers and lives. We distributed weekly update messages reporting on developments impacting members' careers and lives.

Innovations in 2001 included publication of an "AFSA Values" statement to guide AFSA's professional staff and officers toward mission accomplishment. After surveying members on their satisfaction with AFSA's *Foreign Service Journal*, we adopted new editorial guidelines calling for increased coverage of Foreign Service-specific issues.

Addressing the concerns of Foreign Service retirees, we successfully urged Secretary Powell to restore unescorted building access to retirees. AFSA continued to hold ceremonies honoring retiring employees on their last day of work. We initiated efforts to obtain a repeal of the dual compensation cap and to obtain greater flexibility for deductions from annuities.

We had great success in communicating the views of the career Foreign Service to the general public. Many media outlets quoted AFSA officers, including "NBC Nightly News," *U.S. News and World Report*, *The Washington Post*, and *The New York Times*.

In 2002, we will work to broaden these accomplishments and pursue new initiatives to assist our members around the world. □

AFSA Annual Report 2001

YEAR IN REVIEW

January

AFSA organized well-attended ceremony welcoming Colin Powell to the department on his first day as secretary of State.

OPM agreed to AFSA's request for FS inclusion in student loan reimbursement program.

AFSA President Marshall Adair spoke at Fletcher School of Law and Diplomacy in Massachusetts.

AFSANET, which delivers the latest association news to members via e-mail, grew to over 3,500 subscribers.

February

AFSA launched a campaign for all overseas employees to receive the same 10.23 percent pay adjustment (locality pay) received in Washington.

Over 80 private citizens from around the U.S. participated in the first Arizona AFSA Elderhostel educational program with the help of Arizona retirees and American Consulate Nogales.

As a result of AFSA's campaign to reestablish retiree access to the State Department, Secretary Powell issued a new directive granting limited access.

AFSA's contract negotiations with Foreign Agricultural Service management led to improved language training and monetary proficiency incentives and to clearer procedures on tours-of-duty, overseas assignments, selection board precepts and Senior Foreign Service time-in-class calculations.

AFSA initiated a new e-mail forwarding service to AFSA members, allowing members to use a single e-mail address for multiple e-mail accounts.

March

AFSA met with newly appointed State Department retiree coordinator to push for greater attention to retiree issues.

Presented AFSA-sponsored Matilda W. Sindaire Awards to 13 FS personnel for achievement in the study of hard languages.

Joined with AFGE, the Civil Service union, in relaying the concerns of IT professionals about management failings in the IRM bureau.

Adair spoke to FS retirees and members of the Extended Learning Institute in Sarasota, Fla.

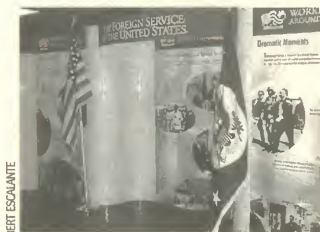
April

AFSA convinced State to exempt 46 non-differential posts from the new four-year tour policy.

Houston Chronicle carried an op-ed by Adair, "Support for U.S. Diplomacy Far Too Inadequate."

"NBC Nightly News" broadcast an interview with AFSA Vice President John Naland in a story about political appointee ambassadors.

The AFSA-sponsored exhibit, "The Foreign Service of the U.S.: Working for You Around the World," was attended by hundreds of college students during appearances at Howard University and Georgetown University in Washington, D.C.



BERT ESCOLANTE

The Foreign Service Exhibit.

AFSA submitted testimony to the House Commerce, Justice, State and the Judiciary Appropriations Subcommittee on funding the State Department in FY 2002 and beyond.

May

The secretary of State agreed to retain the words "Foreign Service" in the title of the honor given to those injured or killed while serving at an embassy or consulate.

AFSA convinced State management to raise the miscellaneous expense portion of the Foreign Transfer Allowance/Home Service Transfer Allowance by \$150 for singles and \$300 for families.

AFSA and AAFSW awarded academic and merit scholarships totaling \$33,150 to 26 students.

The House passed legislation (H.R.1646) containing AFSA language bringing Presidential Awards for Senior Foreign Service back to an equal standing with the Civil Service's Senior Executive Service.

Adair spoke to the World Affairs Councils in Portland and Seattle.



Foreign Service Journal devoted entire issue to analyzing various proposals for reforming the State Department; the issue was one of the most read and commented on in years.

June

AFSA urged the director general to increase the per diem rate for employees in long-term training.

AFSA concluded negotiations on promotion precepts for 2001 State Boards and State Open Assignment procedures for 2002 assignment cycle.

Deputy Secretary of State Richard Armitage presided over AFSA Awards ceremony. Congressman Lee Hamilton received award for Lifetime Contributions to American Diplomacy. AFSA also conferred

four awards for constructive dissent and three awards for exemplary service.

AFSA awarded Financial Aid Scholarships to 64 students, totaling \$123,490 for the 2001-2002 school year.

July

New AFSA Governing Board, elected on the "New AFSA, New Foreign Service" platform, took office.

AFSA clarified with the Washington, D.C. government that overseas FS employees are not subject to D.C. income or sales tax simply for having a D.C. pouch address.

Launched a "Members-Only" section on the AFSA Web site's Discussion Forum, giving members the opportunity to discuss foreign affairs with their Foreign Service colleagues.

Japan Desk Director Brian Mohler and Tokyo-based Nobuo Tanaka, Vice President of the Ministry of Economy, Trade and Industry's Research Institute, discussed Japan's trade and economic growth with the AFSA Corporate International Associates.



MARK BURNS

Lifetime Achievement Award winner Lee Hamilton.



BERT ESCOLANTE

New AFSA President John Naland (right) takes the helm from former AFSA President Marshall Adair.

AFSA Annual Report 2001

YEAR IN REVIEW

August

AFSA urged State management to change the housing standards and regulations overseas and to implement the law allowing reimbursement of property management expenses for personnel serving overseas.

Reached agreement with the Foreign Commercial Service on a new assignment and tour of duty policy, resulting in the most transparent bidding process FCS has ever had.

AFSA President John Naland and Retiree Vice President Bill Farrand hosted reception for Job Search Program graduates at FSI.

The Senate reported out S. 1401, containing several AFSA-originated or supported positions, including virtual locality pay and PIT retirement.

Redesigned the marketplace section of the AFSA Web site to provide members greater access to goods and services relevant to the foreign affairs community.



Secretary of State Colin Powell presented AFSA's High School Essay Contest winner, Marguerite Gabriele of Dallas, Texas, with her award.

September

Secretary of State Colin Powell opened the first Foreign Affairs Day program. Foreign Service retirees turned out in strength.



AFSA added the names of 10 Foreign Service employees who lost their lives overseas in the line of duty to the AFSA Memorial Plaque.

Following Foreign Affairs Day, 59 AFSA members and staff went to Capitol Hill the morning of September 11 to meet with members of Congress. The 'Day on the Hill' visits were cut short by the terrorist attacks.

AFSA responded to and suggested changes to State Department proposals for the student loan repayment program and for the assessment process for post differentials.

AFSA recognized Claire and John Simon for the establishment of the J. Kirby Simon Foreign Service Trust.

AFSA sponsored Elderhostel program at Chautauqua, N.Y. Five FS retiree program leaders reach 170 participants.

Portland Oregonian carried op-ed by Naland, "Don't Forget Vital Role of Diplomacy."

Naland met with retirees in Northern Virginia.

October

AFSA encouraged State to call on retirees for assistance in meeting diplomatic needs of the war on terrorism.

Urged extended testing of State mailrooms in light of the discovery of anthrax contamination in a limited number.

Urged management to find an early resolution of mail problems during the anthrax crisis. Offered to receive and forward personal mail for pouch-only posts.



Processed and forwarded over 20,000 pieces of mail for FS employees and family members overseas.

Persuaded State management to establish equity of salary levels for all untenured Foreign Service officers.

AFSA Retiree Vice President Bill Farrand met with the Director of Retirement at State to urge action on deductions from annuities.

Record number of incoming FS specialists and officers joined AFSA during 16 recruiting luncheons held in 2001. 513 new members joined, an average of 82 percent joining per event.

November

Recruitment bonuses won for incoming Information Management Specialists, after AFSA convinced State management to reverse its position.

AFSA met three times with the Office of Personnel Management regarding compensation for travel time for Diplomatic Security agents and other specialists.

Asked State to publish within one month the results of Tenuring Board deliberations.

Held first formal negotiating session with FCS management under the new ground rules agreed upon in July.

The 50th AFSA Elderhostel program was held, in Florida, bringing total participation to 2,500 students.

Upon learning that, due to the anthrax-caused mail shut-down, retirees might not receive the State Department's annual health benefits open season mailing in time to meet the deadline, AFSA e-mailed the mailing and posted it on the AFSA Web site.

AFSA's Foreign Service Exhibit was displayed in the Russell Senate Office Building on Capitol Hill. Senator Paul Sarbanes, D-Md., supported the exhibit and hosted a reception to publicize it.

AFSA participated in training class for new Foreign Agricultural Service FSOs, and held the first AFSA recruitment luncheon for incoming FAS officers.

The efforts of AFSA and the Uniformed Services Coalition to push for legislation for the Foreign Service and military exclusion of the capital gains tax on the sale of a principal residence gained support from the secretary of State, the Joint Chiefs of Staff, and 40 senators.

AFSA submitted to State management the first of several planned packages of proposals to reform the Foreign Service personnel system.

Acting on the results of a readers' survey, AFSA moved to increase coverage of Foreign Service-specific issues in the *Foreign Service Journal*.

December

AFSA communicated at length with SDFCU and Merck-Medco concerning the difficulties caused by USPS and pouch problems in the wake of anthrax contamination of the mail system.

The Foreign Service Grievance Board ruled that, in a case where the grievant ultimately prevailed, the State Department was responsible for attorney's fees incurred at agency level even though AFSA and not the attorney represented grievant on appeal.

AFSA established scholarships in honor of William P. and Adele Langston Rogers, Theodore and Dorothy Xanthaky, William E. and Elizabeth M. Cole, and Harriet P. Culley. The first AFSA perpetual academic merit awards were established by the Becker and Spigler families.

AFSA USAID launched discussions on the impact of appointing non-FSOs as USAID mission directors. □

AFSA Annual Report 2001

Staff

Finance and Administration



From left: Controller Kalpna Srimal and Executive Director Susan Reardon.

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

Foreign Service Journal



Clockwise from left: AFSA News Editor Shawn Dorman, Editor Steve Honley, Business Manager Mikkela Thompson, Art Director Caryn Suko, Advertising & Circulation Manager Ed Miltenberger.

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

Labor Management



From left: Labor Management Specialist James Yorke, Grievance Attorney Neera Parikh, Labor Management Attorney Zlatana Badrich, USAID AFSA Office Manager Suzan Reager, General Counsel Sharon Papp, AFSA Labor Management Office Manager Christine Warren, Senior Labor Management Advisor Doug Broome, Grievance Attorney Harry Sizer.

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

Outreach Programs



Clockwise from left: Congressional Affairs Director Ken Nakamura, Professional Issues Coordinator Barbara Berger, Director of Communications Tom Switzer, Executive Assistant Marc Goldberg, and Retiree Liaison Ward Thompson. Not pictured is Corporate Relations Director Tema Razavi.

Public Outreach

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

Congressional Affairs

- ☐ Lobbying
- ☐ Tracking Legislation
- ☐ Hill Testimony
- ☐ Grassroots Campaigns

Retiree Services

- ☐ Member Inquiries
- ☐ Retiree Newsletter
- ☐ Retiree Directory

Member Services



From left: Membership Representative Ingrid Hubbard, Membership Director Janet Hedrick, and Administrative Assistant Ana Lopez.

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

Scholarships



Scholarship Administrator Lori Dec.

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

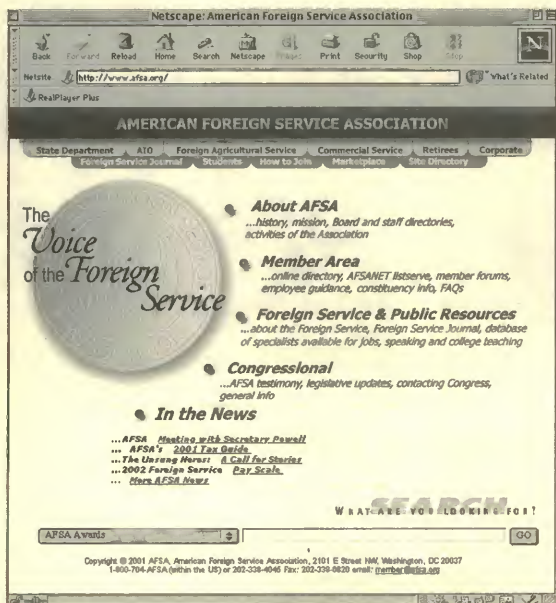
AFSA Annual Report 2001

Governing Board

Since taking office in July 2001, the new AFSA Governing Board has been hard at work addressing the issues that face Foreign Service personnel around the world. Front Row (left to right): Secretary Tex Harris, Treasurer Tom Boyatt, President John Naland, State Vice President Louise Crane, USAID Vice President Joe Pastic. Second Row: Retiree Representative Dick Scissors, State Representative Lynn Sever, Retiree Representative David Reuther, Retiree Vice President Bill Farrand, State Representative Lisa Kierans, USAID Representative Woody Navin. Back Row: State Representative John Boulanger, Retiree Representative Ted Wilkinson, FCS Vice President Peter Frederick, State Representative Hugh Neighbour, FAS Vice President Ed Porter, FAS Representative Eric Wenberg. Not Pictured: State Representative George Colvin, Retiree Representative Bill Harrop, FCS Representative James Joy, State Representative Hollis Summers.

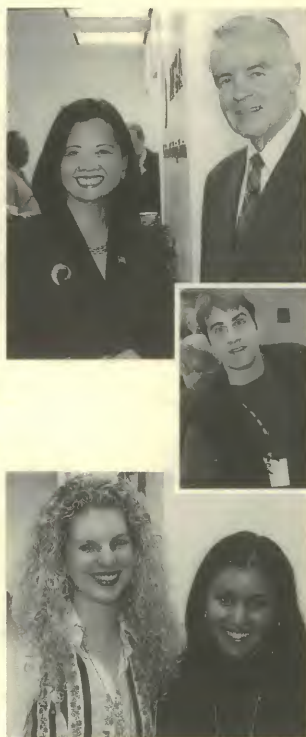


www.afsa.org



Changes and improvements were made in 2001 to the AFSA Web site, including: the addition of a member discussion forum; the introduction of a special e-mail forwarding service; an improved and easier-to-use marketplace page, including links to many Foreign Service-related businesses and services; an updated schools-at-a-glance page; and an expanded skills database.

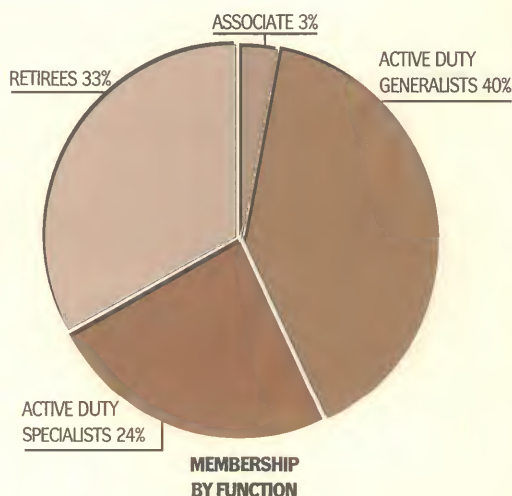
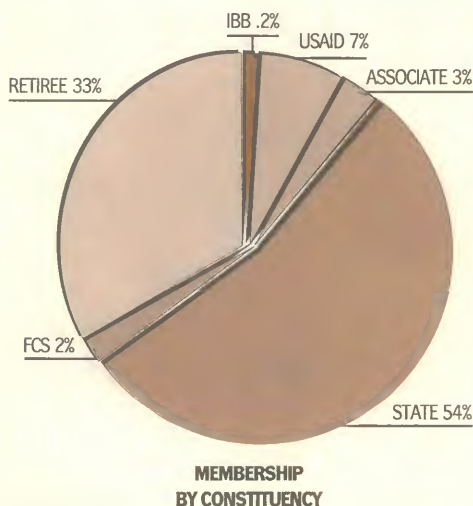
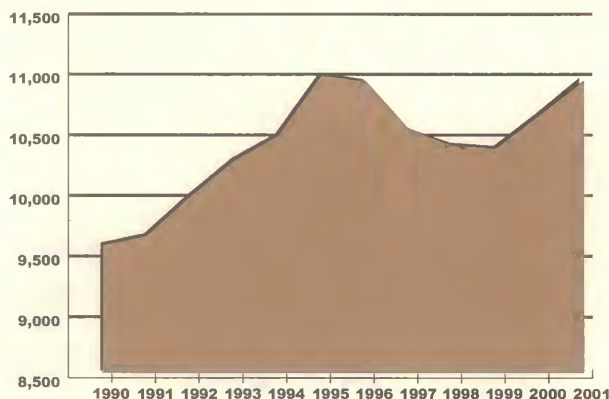
The total number of unique visitors to the site increased approximately 30 percent in 2001. The average number of users per day was 316. AFSA encourages all members to visit the AFSA Web site at www.afsa.org and sign up for the AFSANET e-mail service designed to provide updates on items of interest to the foreign affairs community.



AFSA staff celebrating another year of service.

AFSA Annual Report 2001

**TOTAL MEMBERSHIP
1990-2001**



Budget in Brief

INCOME

Dues	1,670,000
Foreign Service Journal	438,600
Insurance Programs	30,000
Legislative Action Fund	35,000
Publications and Other	63,650
Professional Programs and Outreach	345,419
Scholarships.....	354,739

TOTAL 2,937,408

EXPENSES

Membership Programs	964,521
Foreign Service Journal	659,572
Legislative Affairs	158,735
Professional Programs and Outreach	404,408
Scholarships.....	341,114
Administration.....	353,054
Contribution to Endowment and Reserves	56,004

TOTAL 2,937,408

AFSA Annual Report 2001

AFSA in 2001: By the Numbers

5	Foreign affairs agencies represented
10	Fallen colleagues added to the AFSA Memorial Plaque
11	AFSA op-eds published in major newspapers nationwide
26	Professionals on AFSA's staff
82	Percent of new Foreign Service members joining AFSA
90	Students receiving AFSA-sponsored scholarships
200	Members represented by AFSA lawyers in grievances
535	Members of Congress receiving AFSA's <i>Foreign Service Journal</i>
671	New members joining AFSA
750	Students participating in AFSA's High School Essay Contest
900	Participants in AFSA's Elderhostel programs
3,500	Subscribers to the AFSA e-mail service
11,050	AFSA members at year's end
2,937,408	Dollar amount of AFSA's annual budget

Benefits of AFSA Membership

LABOR MANAGEMENT RELATIONS: AFSA negotiates the regulations affecting employees' careers. We work to make the Foreign Service a better place in which to work, live, and raise a family. Our network of AFSA Post Reps provides on-site assistance to overseas members.

CONGRESSIONAL ADVOCACY: AFSA is your advocate before Congress on issues affecting the careers of active members and the annuities of retired members.

OMBUDSMAN: We work to resolve member problems with pay, allowances, claims, annuities, health care, and many other issues.

VOICE OF THE FOREIGN SERVICE: As the professional association of the Foreign Service since 1924, AFSA works to strengthen our profession and is ever vigilant for threats to the career Foreign Service.

GRIEVANCE REPRESENTATION: AFSA's legal staff provides hands-on assistance with grievance proceedings when your rights are violated.

OUTREACH: AFSA communicates the views of the Foreign Service on professional issues to the news media and directly to the general public.

FOREIGN SERVICE JOURNAL: Our monthly magazine offers provocative articles that will keep you current on developments in the foreign affairs profession. The *AFSA News* section highlights issues impacting your daily life.

LEGAL SERVICES: Free legal advice and representation on employment issues, including security and OIG investigations.

INSURANCE PROGRAMS: Competitively priced insurance programs designed for the Foreign Service community, including professional liability insurance, accident, dental, and personal property/transit.

RETIREE SKILLS DATABASE: Online database of AFSA members who are available for jobs, college teaching, and speaking engagements in a wide variety of areas.

AFSA SCHOLARSHIPS: AFSA grants around 100 merit and financial need scholarships a year to Foreign Service family members.

AFSA AWARDS: Unique awards program honoring constructive dissent and outstanding performance.

RETIREE NEWSLETTER: Bimonthly newsletter exclusively for retired members.

DIRECTORY OF RETIRED MEMBERS: An annual listing of names and addresses of retired members, by state, provided to all retired members.

AFSA WEB SITE: Online member area including member directory and member forums.

MAGAZINE DISCOUNTS: Member-only discounts to major foreign affairs journals.

ESPRIT DE CORPS: AFSA works to build a sense of common cause and professional pride between all Foreign Service members—active and retired; officer and specialist; junior and veteran.

For more information, go to www.afsa.org, e-mail member@afsa.org, or phone (202) 338-4045, ext. 525. □

AFSA Core Values

The American Foreign Service Association

Established in 1924

Mission

To make the Foreign Service a more effective agent of United States international leadership.

Vision

We work to make the Foreign Service a better-supported, more respected, more satisfying place in which to spend a career and raise a family.



• **RESPONSIVENESS:** We listen to our members and actively promote their interests.

• **EFFECTIVENESS:** We act with a sense of urgency, get results, and make a difference.

• **INTEGRITY:** We demonstrate openness, honesty, and fairness in everything we do.

• **EFFICIENCY:** We carefully expend our resources where they can have maximum impact.

• **COMMUNITY:** We foster teamwork, respect each other, and enjoy our time together.

• **COURAGE:** We encourage responsible risk taking in order to achieve results.

• **PATRIOTISM:** We are faithful to the grand and enduring ideals that gave our nation birth.

• **EMPOWERMENT:** We trust each other to give our best efforts guided by these core values. □

AFSA NEWS BRIEFS

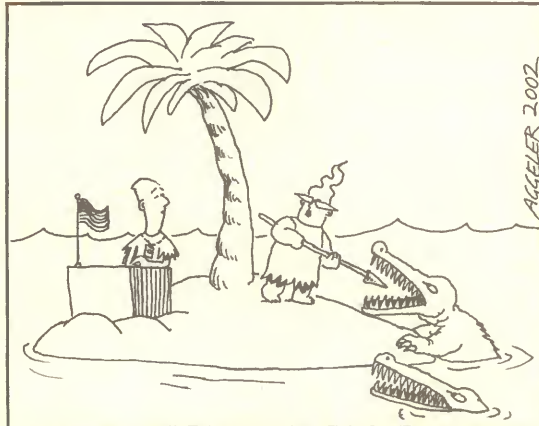


Foreign Affairs Day in May

The department, after consultations with AFSA, has agreed to hold Foreign Affairs Day on May 10. AFSA had advocated holding Foreign Affairs Day in May and not in September to best take advantage of the presence of Foreign Service retirees in Washington for the event. AFSA will hold a "Day on the Hill" event May 9, inviting retirees to attend meetings on Capitol Hill to discuss Foreign Service-related issues.

Life in the Foreign Service

■ BY BRIAN AGGELER, FOREIGN SERVICE OFFICER & CARTOONIST



"ON THE BRIGHT SIDE, THIS MIGHT HELP US QUALIFY FOR DANGER PAY..."



Are We Ready for Prime Time?

The Foreign Service is about to get a dose of prime time exposure the likes of which it has never before seen. "The American Embassy" is a six-episode pilot following the

adventures of single, first-tour Foreign Service officer Emma Brody serving as a vice consul at Embassy London. The show premieres March 11 at 9:00 p.m. EST on Fox TV. While it has its share of sex and other Fox necessities, our sources say the show paints a pretty positive picture of the Foreign Service. The show could go a long way toward introducing the American public to at least some elements of life in the Foreign Service. For more details, go to www.fox.com/embassy/

Call for FS Spouse Writers

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

AFSA Tax Guide is on the Web

In case you missed the AFSA Tax Guide last month in AFSA News, you can find it on the AFSA Web site at www.afsa.org/taxguide2002.html. The guide includes an update on current tax regulations as well as a state-by-state guide for residents of each state.

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Governing Board:

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STATE VICE PRESIDENT: Louise K. Crane
USAID VICE PRESIDENT: Joe Pastic
FCS VICE PRESIDENT: Peter G. Frederick
FAS VICE PRESIDENT: Edwin Porter
RETIREE VICE PRESIDENT: Robert W. Farnand
SECRETARY: FA "Tex" Harris
TREASURER: Thomas D. Boyatt
STATE REPRESENTATIVES: John P. Boulanger, George W. Colvin, Lisa S. Kierans, Hugh M. Neighbour, Lynn G. Sever, Hollis S. Summers
USAID REPRESENTATIVE: Woody Navin
FCS REPRESENTATIVE: James Joy
RETIREE REPRESENTATIVES: William C. Harrop, David E. Reuther, Richard C. Scissors, Theodore S. Wilkerson, III
IBB REPRESENTATIVE: Vacant
FAS REPRESENTATIVE: Eric Wernberg

2001 Sindaire Awards for the Study of Hard Languages Winners

AFSA would like to congratulate the winners of the AFSA Matilda W. Sindaire Awards for achievement in the study of hard languages and their associated cultures. Each of the seven winners will receive \$1,000 and a certificate. Three Honorable Mention winners were also chosen this year, each of whom will receive \$500 awards.

Christina J. Agor	Urdu
Paul Fritch	Russian
Daniel T. Froats	Japanese
Thomas Mark Hodges	Estonian
Charles W. Levesque	Albanian
Nancy McEldowney	Azerbaijani
Raymond Daniel Toma, Jr.	Hebrew

Honorable Mentions:

Thomas S. Miller	Turkish
Thomas K. Seeker	Greek
Janice G. Weiner	Polish



The Unsung Heroes: A Call for Stories

Members of the U.S. Foreign Service are the unsung heroes of foreign policy, quietly advancing U.S. interests around the world. AFSA wants to help spread the word about the important role played by the Foreign Service in foreign policy and even in history. We need your help to do this. We are re-doing the 1996 book "Inside a U.S. Embassy: How the Foreign Service Works for America." We are collecting new stories of Foreign Service employees in action that highlight the importance, dangers, sacrifices, and excitement of our unique profession. Stories can be tales of active courage (i.e. responding to an emergency situation) or of the quiet courage of representing America's interests every day in a hardship environment. Try to include enough context to convey what national interests were being pursued. Stories tied to recent historic events are especially welcome, and all submissions should be based on events that took place from 1990 to today.

We are seeking 600- to 800-word essays. Essays submitted previously are still under consideration. Those selected for publication will be subject to editing. Deadline for submissions is April 1. Please send essays to "Inside Embassy" Editor Shawn Dorman by e-mail (preferably): dorman@afsa.org; by mail: Foreign Service Journal/Inside Embassy, 2101 E St., N.W., Washington, DC 20037; or by fax: (202) 338-8244.

News Briefs Continued on page 13

GRIEVANCE BOARD SUPPORTS AFSA POSITION

Commercial Service Must Follow Procedures in Filling Vacancies

BY KATHRYN PUSATERI, AFSA LAW CLERK

In January, the Foreign Service Grievance Board issued an important ruling on AFSA's institutional grievance appeal against the Foreign Commercial Service (CS). The ruling confirmed AFSA's position that the director general (DG) could not unilaterally make assignments, that all vacancies must be announced, and that the Assignments Panel must be utilized when making assignments. However, because the CS rescinded the directed assignment at issue and then followed the correct procedures in filling the position, the board found CS had cured its violation of the regulations.

In October 1999, the DG of the Commercial Service curtailed and immediately reassigned an FSO from one embassy to another. This assignment was made without advertising the position or using the assignment panel. Upon learning of this, AFSA filed an agency-level implementation dispute alleging that the

Commercial Service had changed a past practice and violated published regulations governing the Foreign Service assignment process when it directly assigned an FSO without announcing the vacancy and soliciting bids, and without action by the assignment panel. The same day, the DG rescinded the order directing the curtailment and reassignment of the FSO and the agency transmitted a telegram announcing the opening and soliciting bids.

The Commercial Service denied AFSA's implementation dispute in December 1999, stating the DG had the reserved right to make assignments without announcing vacancies or utilizing the assignment panel. AFSA filed an appeal with the Foreign Service Grievance Board in January 2000. AFSA argued that the regulations and past practice required all vacancies to be announced and all assignments to be made using the assignment panel. Under the CS-AFSA Collective Bargaining Agreement and established case

law, the agency may not change a past practice without first notifying and (if requested) negotiating with AFSA. In this case, the DG's initial instruction to assign the FSO was not acted upon by the CS personnel staff and the position was subsequently filled following a vacancy announcement, bid solicitation, and action by the assignment panel. Therefore, the board held that there was no violation of law, regulation or guideline.

However, the board found that the regulations and past practice require the agency to announce all regular overseas vacancies and to solicit bids, followed by action. In its decision, the board stated: "The Agency's action (past practice) over the past seven-plus years confirms AFSA's interpretation of the language of [the regulations]. That is, the [assignment panel] shall review and approve all assignments to overseas positions and domestic rotational assignments." The board also found that any assignment more than six months long must be announced and bids must be accepted. The board stated that "This finding affirms the underlying principle of the open assignments process wherein all qualified candidates are informed of openings and have the right to bid on positions of interest to them." □

Time for Action on the SMG

The Senior Management Group (SMG), comprised of the assistant administrators, deputy assistant administrators and mission directors, is responsible for assignments of management officials excluded from the AFSA "bargaining unit." That relationship must be examined in light of the recent appointment of a non-Foreign Service mission director.

AFSA is not questioning the qualifications of the person named to the position, who reportedly has the support of the National Security Council. The issue AFSA does want to raise is the fact that the SMG desperately needs to operate with greater transparency and as a deliberate workforce planning and career development tool.

The mission director appointment was made over the recommendation of the SMG, which selected a candidate from a slate of qualified Foreign Service officers. This appointment has had severe repercussions on Foreign Service morale, as seen from this sampling of member comments:

- "Several USAID FSOs, at least equally qualified, are available to fill the position."
- "(This appointment is) a slap in the face to experienced and qualified FSOs."
- "(It) discourages all who hope someday to achieve those senior positions."
- "We are kicked instead of rewarded with news that someone from the outside has again been placed in one of the very positions we aspire to fill."

While SMG positions are excluded from those under AFSA's "bargaining unit," our interest is nevertheless legitimate and vital. The rank-and-file AFSA membership aspires to selection for SMG positions. Our members toil long and hard throughout their careers for the recognition needed to make the "big time." Once there, they need a sufficient number of opportunities to remain in the SMG.

Aspirants to the SMG deserve a transparent and unambiguous "road map" for success. This requires substantially more commitment to workforce planning by the agency and the provision of career development services for employees. These needs are especially vital now, in order to complement the Woods Report review, Washington reorganization, and overseas staffing studies now under way. We need far more than a one-shot picture in time of agency needs. We need a dynamic system in place. The SMG should have a ready pool of Foreign Service officers from which to tap candidates for any assignment, especially those overseas. To select someone from outside the Foreign Service for an overseas management position contradicts the intent of the Foreign Service Act, subverts individual career planning by the rank-and-file, undermines morale and weakens employee loyalty. It is a compelling signal that the SMG needs attention.

USAID AFSA members need an agreement with the agency that lays out procedures for SMG selection that the rank-and-file can use to prepare for competition. The agency must demonstrate its commitment to transparent SMG procedures that facilitate the selection of Foreign Service officers for senior overseas management positions. We also need an agreement on specific workforce planning and career development initiatives that the agency, AFSA, and other employee organizations can use for effective career planning. The agency, as much as the employees, needs these agreements in place to coincide with the reorganization efforts. □



Aspirants to the Senior Management
Group deserve a transparent and
unambiguous "road map" for success.

AFSA MEETS WITH POWELL

Secretary Powell Requests AFSA Input

AFSA President John Naland and AFSA State Vice President Louise Crane met with Secretary Powell on Jan. 28. Director General Ruth Davis also participated in the meeting, which was held at Powell's request. The secretary said he wanted to hear about AFSA priorities and issues of concern.

Naland thanked the secretary for all that he and his team had already accomplished to improve diplomatic readiness. These accomplishments included: obtaining a

AFSA's top priority for 2002 is to make the case for passage of the president's Fiscal Year 2003 budget request for international affairs to provide additional resources for people, security, operations, and infrastructure.

first-year infusion of resources, putting many career Foreign Service employees in key leadership positions, opening the FSI childcare center and beginning the push for overseas comparability pay.

Naland told the secretary that AFSA's top priority for 2002 is to make the case to Congress and the American people for passage of the president's Fiscal Year 2003 budget request for international affairs to provide additional resources for people, security, operations, and infrastructure. Naland outlined AFSA's numerous efforts to help accomplish that goal. Naland also highlighted the urgent need to institute overseas comparability pay. On these resource issues, the secretary pledged to continue to work hard to get the department the resources it needs to accomplish its vital missions.

Continued on page 11



AFSA OUTREACH EFFORTS IN 2001

Gaining Public Support for Diplomatic Readiness Funding

BY TOM SWITZER, AFSA DIRECTOR OF COMMUNICATIONS

AFSA conducted a vigorous national outreach campaign in 2001 aimed at broadening public support for diplomatic readiness funding. One of the most effective outreach elements was the AFSA Speakers Program, which arranged 177 Foreign Service retiree speakers (up 38 percent from 2000) to explain the importance of U.S. diplomacy for American national interests to diverse audiences in 28 states and Washington, D.C. Audiences ranged from major world affairs councils and universities to local community-service organizations, "town meetings," churches, and high schools. One of the best examples was our provision of Ambassadors William Gleysteen, Donald Norland, and Edward Peck for Johns Hopkins University's prestigious "Evergreen" adult education series in which some 240 retired professionals participated.

AFSA provided talking points to all the speakers, and encouraged them to urge their audiences to contact their congressional representatives and appeal for sustained support for U.S. diplomacy and the State Department budget generally. Many of the speakers placed special emphasis on encouraging talented youth, especially minority-group members, to consider Foreign Service careers.

We also held the first-ever AFSA video conference with a town meeting in Indiana featuring Ambassador Phil Wilcox. Video conferencing is an inexpensive, convenient

outreach tool which AFSA plans to increasingly utilize to reach wider audiences nationwide, especially in smaller communities not easily accessible to retired Foreign Service speakers.

AFSA outreach efforts also included a traveling photo exhibit, "The Foreign Service of the U.S.: Working for You Around the World," developed with support from the Nelson B. Delavan Foundation, which attracted wide attention to the challenges and opportunities of Foreign Service careers. Exhibit venues in 2001 included the Foreign Service School of Georgetown University, the student center at Howard University in Washington, D.C., the Exhibit Hall in the Department of State, and the Rotunda of the Russell Office Building of the U.S. Senate (sponsored by Senator Paul Sarbanes, D-Md.).

AFSA's media outreach efforts were also intensive in 2001. We placed, either directly or through AFSA retirees, 11 op-ed articles advocating increased public and congressional support for U.S. diplomacy in leading regional papers, including the *San Francisco Chronicle*, *Cincinnati Post*, *Houston Chronicle*, *Portland Oregonian*, and *Daytona Beach News-Tribune*. AFSA placed only one op-ed in 2000. Additionally, AFSA's president and communications director provided numerous press releases, on-record and background interviews, and other information on AFSA-related issues to leading media nationwide, including

the *Washington Post*, *The New York Times*, NPR, CNN, CBS, NBC, ABC and "Fox News," among others.

A prime example of our effective media outreach was AFSA President John Naland's interview concerning political appointee ambassadors, which was carried by "NBC Nightly News" on April 13. AFSA outreach efforts were intensified during the aftermath of Sept. 11, when we deployed more than 50 AFSA retiree experts on terrorism, Middle East and South Asia issues for speaker and media programs nationwide, all of whom were able to emphasize the vital role played by U.S. diplomacy in the ongoing struggle against terrorism. The director of the department's Office of Public Liaison thanked AFSA for its efforts, since many USG officials were constrained by policy sensitivities from speaking publicly. AFSA's communications director also held frequent discussions concerning AFSA issues with the more than 30 diplomatic correspondents of the State Department's press office, as well as with senior editors and bureau chiefs of national media based in Washington.

The outreach programs have promoted three important AFSA goals: broadening the Foreign Service constituency through outreach to the public, enhancing public awareness of global affairs and of the key role of the Foreign Service and diplomacy, and activating the AFSA retired constituency by involving it in significant programs which draw on their backgrounds and on their skills in telling our story to audiences nationwide. If you want to be involved in AFSA outreach, contact Tom Switzer at Switzer@afsa.org or call toll-free (800) 704-2372 ext. 501. □

POWELL • Continued from page 10

Naland endorsed the secretary's recent call for a "reinvigoration of our Foreign Service." Naland outlined AFSA's collaborative effort with the Director General to implement reforms that will permit the Foreign Service to most effectively discharge its vital role in the active promo-

tion of American interests abroad. The secretary welcomed that effort.

AFSA detailed for the secretary the mail problems being encountered by overseas employees due to irradiation and other post-9/11 factors. AFSA also raised the issue of overseas housing, commenting on how critical adequate

housing is to Foreign Service families.

Secretary Powell noted that he fully understood and highly valued the role of constructive critic played by AFSA. AFSA appreciates the secretary's interest and attention and looks forward to continued cooperation with him and his team. □

Q&A



Retiree Issues

BY WARD THOMPSON,
AFSA RETIREE LIAISON

Q: Where can I find an up-to-date overview of retirement benefits?

A. Start with the State Department Office of Retirement (HR/RET), the authority on the several categories of benefits: annuities, Thrift Savings Plan (TSP), Social Security, and life and health insurance (FEGLI and FEHB). Basic information may be requested from HR/RET by phone: (202) 261-8960 (no toll-free number available), or by e-mail: retirement@state.gov. HR/RET's new Web site, www.state.gov/m/dghr/ret, does not yet have extensive online material but, like AFSA's site, www.afsa.org, it has links to other sites. Some useful Web sites are: www.tsp.gov, for detailed information on the TSP; www.ssa.gov, for Social Security information; and, from the Office of Personnel Management (OPM),

www.opm.gov/insure/life, for information on FEGLI, www.opm.gov/insure/health, for information on FEHB and www.opm.gov/insure/life, for information on the new Long-Term Care plan.

Q: What about the many retirees who are not online?

A. AFSA is committed to providing excellent service through traditional means, as are the agencies mentioned above. We also want to use electronic opportunities to full advantage in communicating with our members. The National Association of Retired Federal Employees (NARFE) reported in January that over 40 percent of its members have access to computers and over half of inquiries now come in by e-mail. While the AFSA percentages are probably higher, all of our members are important and deserve access to the best information we can provide. We welcome written queries on retirement benefits. We also encourage members to call us toll-free at 1-800-704-2372. And the greater availability of information from online resources makes it easier to respond to telephone and inquiries as well, so all members benefit.

Q: Can these sources provide information about my individual benefits?

A. Individual TSP and Social Security information is available from those sites, or by calling (504) 255-8777 for TSP and 1-800-772-1213 for Social

Security. For other benefits, the HR/RET site has a helpful listing of its responsibilities and those of the Retirement Accounts Division (OCP/RAD). HR/RET is the contact for annuity calculations, FEHB and FEGLI, and survivor and former spouse entitlements. OCP/RAD, which has a toll-free number, 1-800-521-2553, is the contact for annuity checks, cost-of-living adjustments and tax withholding and issuance of form 1099R.

Q: How much of my annuity is taxable?

A. IRS Publication 721 explains how to calculate the tax-free part of your annuity. There are different formulas according to when your annuity commenced, based on your age (and that of your spouse if your annuity began after 1997 and includes a survivor benefit) and on your contributions.

Q: How do I know what my contributions were?

A. Each Foreign Service employee receives a statement at retirement listing the total of contributions made during his or her career. This is an important document to retain, as form 1099R to be filed with your tax return does not state how much of the annuity is taxable.

Q: What if I have lost the original statement?

A. OCP/RAD is the source of this information. □

AFSA REFORM INITIATIVE

Working Together on Foreign Service Reform

The reform initiative AFSA began in August has produced its first accomplishments and led to a Foreign Service reform statement issued jointly by AFSA and Director General Ruth A. Davis. AFSA and the director general met Jan. 10 at which time the DG accepted the majority of the first set of reform proposals submitted by AFSA to management in mid-November. Among the reforms to be implemented are:

- establishing training requirements that

employees must meet at key stages of their career;

- strengthening service discipline by tightening enforcement of "fair share" bidding rules and reducing the number of non-medical waivers given to the 8-year rule limiting the length of domestic tours;

- putting added weight to leadership and management abilities and good interpersonal skills when selecting DCMs and other senior officials; and

- increasing rotational opportunities for Junior Officers.

The joint statement from AFSA and the director general begins with the following:

"Both State Department management and the American Foreign Service Association see the need for reforming and

reinvigorating the Foreign Service so that it may most effectively discharge its indispensable role in the active promotion of American interests abroad. Change is needed in four areas:

• TRAINING AND CAREER DEVELOPMENT:

Close the training gap that has left the Foreign Service under-prepared to carry out its duties in an increasingly complex world.

• WORKFORCE UTILIZATION:

Strengthen the service discipline that makes the Foreign Service an indispensable corps of individuals available for worldwide duty.

• 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 bet-

ter balance the rewards and burdens of service in order to keep the Foreign Service as a viable career for talented Americans."

AFSA has already been hard at work formulating additional reform proposals. After obtaining input from members during January, AFSA presented a second package of proposals to the DG in early February. This package, focusing on Foreign Service specialists and, especially, Office Management Specialists, included the following: reimbursement for major out-of-pocket expenses related to lack of diplomatic status; amending housing space standards to authorize specialists more space based on years of service; upgrade existing OMS positions and take other steps to dramatically increase OMS promotion opportunities.

AFSA will keep members informed of developments on the reform front, and appreciates member input. □

AFSA NEWS BRIEFS

Still Supporting AFSA at 100

Happy Birthday to AFSA's oldest member, Aldene Barrington, who celebrated her 100th birthday on January 31. She was born in North Dakota and graduated from Barnard College. Before joining the Foreign Commercial Service in 1927, she taught school in Puerto Rico for the War Department and worked in a New York law office. She served in Bogota, Rio de Janeiro and at Commerce and State before resigning in 1948. She rejoined the FS in 1956 and served in Buenos Aires until her 1966 retirement.

During retirement, Barrington has remained active in AFSA and Diplomatic and Consular Officers, Retired (DACOR). Her oral history is included in the first CD-Rom issued by the Association for Diplomatic Studies and Training.

AFSA President Joins COLEAD

AFSA President John Naland has been elected to the board of the Coalition for American Leadership Abroad (COLEAD), a coalition of some 40 non-governmental foreign affairs groups. The goal of COLEAD is to further well informed public debate on international issues affecting U.S. national interests.

CORRECTION: In the answer to the second question in December's Overtime Q&A, the first sentence of the second paragraph should have read: If your basic pay is less than a GS-10, Step 1, the overtime hourly rate is 150 percent of your basic hourly rate of pay (except for DS Special Agents receiving LEAP, who have a higher cap). □

FS VOICE: FAMILY MEMBER MATTERS ■ BY SHERI MESTAN BOCHANTIN

The EFM Prize Package

Congratulations! You have been selected to be an Eligible Family Member. Here are the prizes for which you are eligible:

You are hereby eligible to be shipped anywhere in the world, of your choosing or not. You have the option of bearing children (location is not always your choice).

You are eligible to receive housing that will be too small, too big, or just right. It will be furnished with standard dark wood or whitewashed Drexel or Pennsylvania House furniture. Your bed will be too soft, too hard or just right. You will receive water, though any guarantee of quantity, frequency, or cleanliness is hereby null and void.

You may or may not be awarded additional prizes in the form of giardia, dysentery, malaria, and other diseases that would cause a meltdown in this spellchecker.

You will be given multiple opportunities to purchase objets d'art from all world sources, and will most likely also accumulate an interesting selection of coffee mugs, paper weights and carved pencil boxes given to you as gestures of gratitude.

You will be the recipient of superficial relationships that will self-destruct in the span of an assigned tour. You will also be rewarded with numerous long-lasting friendships that will span the globe and offer refuge and cheap lodging in undetermined locations for years to come.

The eligible family member's memory bank and photo albums will be stocked with the sights and smells of other cultures, horrors of war and unidentified crawling creatures, and

remembrances of a sunset atop the highest mountain peak, a school of incredible fish, and other indescribable experiences that you could never duplicate in your hometown.

You will be the target of family concern, envy, apathy, and home-cooked, artery-clogging comfort foods during all home visits. You will also have the option to enlighten local media spectators on real world events and adjust the sensationalized version viewed on a color box.

Language skills, club memberships, Scout troop leader obligations, and official-function invitations are all available for sale in the option package. The option package for eligible family member children includes the right to hate the offending employee and/or spouse for ruining their lives, but they will finally select the option to accept that they are different from other children and appreciate every worldly opportunity that was afforded to them.

As an EFM prize winner, you retain the right to revoke this package at any time, with the understanding that you will be rejecting an incredible character-building, life-changing, mind-altering lifestyle that has captivated and addicted many eligible family members before you.

Congratulations on your choice! □

Sheri Mestan Bochantin is a long-time Foreign Service spouse who collected her EFM prizes in Liberia, Ghana, and the Overseas Briefing Center at FSI. She is currently working on the EFM option package in the Czech Republic. Her portable bag of tricks includes trainer, writer/editor, and mother of two young livewires.

EYE ON GRIEVANCES

Attorney Fees: A New Wrinkle

BY DOUG BROOME, AFSA SENIOR LABOR
MANAGEMENT ADVISOR

Foreign Service employees who engage a private attorney in grievances before a foreign affairs agency and the Foreign Service Grievance Board (FSGB) may recover attorney fees and costs, if certain criteria are met. Section 1107(b) of the Foreign Service Act empowers the FSGB to direct an agency to reimburse fees, which it has often done. There are no guarantees, however, even when a grievant's substantive case has been deemed meritorious. Agencies also may agree to pay fees as part of a settlement agreement. There is an established body of administrative and court jurisprudence on attorney fee awards.

What happens when an agency and a grievant, represented by counsel, reach a settlement that provides a significant remedy but does not specify reimbursement of

fees? If this occurs while the matter is still at the agency level and has not been appealed to the FSGB, the latter has no jurisdiction to consider a fee award. Thus, the employee is not reimbursed for the fees in those cases.

Once a case is appealed to the FSGB, however, the situation is different.

Sometimes the mere fact of an appeal to the FSGB motivates an agency's decision to settle with a grievant or to issue a unilateral decision granting some or all of the grievant's request.

Sometimes the mere fact of an appeal to the FSGB motivates an agency's decision to settle with a grievant or to issue a unilateral decision granting some or all of the grievant's request. If the facts demonstrate that the appeal was a "catalyst" for the

agency to settle, the FSGB could decide to award fees, according to established criteria, despite agency opposition. That has happened a number of times.

Last year the Supreme Court issued a decision that expressly rejected the catalyst theory that had long been applied by several federal circuit courts, the Merit Systems Protection Board, and the FSGB. Under the catalyst theory a plaintiff/grievant/appellant could be considered a "prevailing party" even without a judgment rendered. The Supreme Court held that where the defendant agency voluntarily grants the relief sought — whether the case is still before the agency or after it has been appealed — the employee is not a "prevailing party" under fee-shifting statutes.

The Supreme Court ruling represents an important change that sharply limits the circumstances under which fees may be awarded in cases that are settled (including a unilateral agency capitulation) while an appeal is pending. In its first fees decision since the Supreme Court's ruling (FSGB 99-10, dated Dec. 26, 2001), the FSGB recognized the new limits. □

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who gets it exactly right in a very short essay called, appropriately enough, "Culture is Ordinary.") Culture is who we are, what we have in common, our collective voice. It's the social context of our singularity. Culture is people going about the ordinary, extraordinary business of expression. In the U.S., right now, we're lucky. We live in a kind of cultural dynamo. It's big, it's noisy, it's messy, it's free, and it's a big part of who we are.

With apologies to Stevens, who probably had something else in mind when he pictured blackbirds, here are six and a half ways of looking at culture, and why it might not be a bad idea to have more of it in our embassies.

1. Investing in National Security

Does this sound like a stretch? I don't think it is. We'll never convert our enemies; we don't need to try. But as the dominant nation (and culture) in the world in 2002, we will continue to be observed, analyzed, criticized and loved-hated by just about everybody on the planet. That's okay. It's the price of power, and we pay it willingly. As long as they're watching us, though, it makes sense to be aware of what we say and how we say it. We say it with F-16s. We say it with Mickey Mouse ears. We say it with demarches on intellectual property rights. Think of it as vocabulary. Culture increases the number of words we have with which to construct interesting sentences about the U.S. Since Sept. 11, we've begun to understand the connection between national security and how we are viewed by other nations and peoples. Now we have to make another connection: between our culture and how those same nations and peoples view us.

2. Access, and Building Relationships

During the Cold War, cultural programs bought access for American diplomats. In the Soviet orbit, particularly, but elsewhere as well, the rules of the game established cultural venues not exactly as neutral ground but as a kind of privileged space in which both sides sized each other up and pressed for advantage. In a few places, including the more closed societies of the Arab world, culture continues to play a similar role. Does that mean we should limit our cultural footprint to the places in which it's hard to talk to government officials? No. It's in our interest selectively to use culture anywhere it puts us in touch with people we seek to influence who are interested in things that do not fall tidily into their own

'in boxes': the U.S. desk officer at the foreign ministry who free-lances for an environmental NGO in his spare time; the education ministry official who reads (or writes) history books; the deputy director of customs who collects vinyl recordings of the early rock & roll greats. The list is endless. They're out there, we deal with them every day, and culture helps us build a stronger relationship with them.

3. A Counterpoint to Wonkery

A few years ago, former USIA officer Mike Canning wrote a series of articles for the *FSJ* looking at how FSOs are portrayed in books and the movies. As an identifiable social group, we came out looking pretty bad. There are virtually no sympathetic portraits of American diplomats anywhere in the arts or the media. Typical is the way FSOs are portrayed in the movie *Missing*: cold, calculating, and craven sums it up. For our professional contacts overseas, FSOs make the same sort of easy target. Stereotypes rule: U.S. diplomats are policy wonks. Press a button and they'll spit out a policy position, with up-to-the-moment nuances, but try to engage them in something beyond wonkery and they're at a loss; they'll mumble and move on down the reception line.

Even as stereotypes go, this one is particularly egregious. I know a B&F guy who knows more about jazz than most music historians do. I know a consular officer who grew up with Chuck Berry and other legends visiting the house; when he talks about the blues, I listen. (For that matter, I know an F-16 pilot who has Neil Young down, note by note, on guitar and harmonica both.) Culture allows our foreign interlocutors to see us as the multi-faceted people we are. Why should we care? Because the more credible we are as individuals (as opposed to efficient wonks), the more successful we will be at our essential job of promoting the national interest.

More generally, as the FSO image goes, so goes the image of the U.S. as a whole. Serving in an embassy, we have all been witness to the kind of anti-American tirade that identifies everything that is mercenary, small and unimaginative as somehow quintessentially Yankee; we're practical people with a talent for making money, but we have no soul. Providing targeted foreign audiences with representations and examples of our very vigorous culture is one telling way to refute that obnoxious stereotype.

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4. Playing to a Strength

It's hard not to notice a major disconnect here. While dissing the U.S., its policies, its soulless pursuit of Mammon, and its insidious quarterly plan to take over the world, people around that same world are being stimulated, influenced and sometimes even liberated by one or another aspect of our culture. In fact, American culture, broadly conceived, is one of the nation's major strengths. While often misunderstood and sometimes deliberately distorted, our culture exerts something close to a universal appeal. Culture represents a strength at least the equal of our capacity to build computers. Jazz offers the cleanest analogy. Acknowledged as the primary American art form, jazz is the result of who we are as a people, our particular history and cross-cultural interactions, a specifically American way of being. And it plays everywhere.

In the hostile public environment we face in today's embassies, not to exploit that strength seems like going to war without bothering to pick up all the weapons that have been made available to us. Of course there are artists who reject any association with the government, either for political reasons or just because they are indifferent to anything outside their private circle. More often than not, however, the practitioners and promoters of culture have an open mind and an eagerness to engage foreign audiences and interlocutors with their art, their work and their thought. They represent the single greatest untapped strength available to the Department of State today.

5. Hey, It Works...

Speaking of jazz, it's worth noting that the handful of

Mark Jacobs has been an FSO since 1984, serving in Ankara, Izmir, La Paz, Tegucigalpa, Asuncion, Madrid and Washington. He is currently special advisor to the Coordinator in the Office of Information Programs. His publications include more than 60 short stories in magazines ranging from The Atlantic Monthly to The Iowa Review, and three books, A Cast of Spaniards (Talisman House, 1994), the novel Stone Cowboy (Soho Press, 1997), and The Liberation of Little Heaven (Soho Press, 1999).

*In the U.S.,
we're lucky to live in a
cultural dynamo.*

*It's big, it's noisy, it's
messy, it's free, and it's a
big part of who we are.*

cultural programs currently supported by the Bureau of Educational and Cultural Affairs are responsible for some outstanding successes. The "Jazz Ambassadors" do it all: They allow FSOs and ambassadors to gain access and to build relationships. They highlight a specifically American way of approaching and appropriating human experience. They defuse those ugly perceptions of soulless wonkery. And they provide a context for the policy objectives we are working to achieve. Such programs are not cheap, in terms either of money or of the human labor required to put them together, but they're not all that expensive. The periodic surveys about what sorts of programs ambassadors want typically come back ranking cultural programs high. Some of that can be written off to a chief of mission's natural desire to host something in the residence that goes beyond a standard-issue cocktail event. Most of it, though, should be understood as that same chief of mission's recognition of the value of representing the U.S. in its compelling entirety.

6. Projecting American Values

Who are we as a people, and what do we value? Americans have been asking those two questions since our nation began. Today, we understand what we didn't see a generation or two ago, that our strength lies in our diversity. And American culture is an extraordinarily diverse enterprise. In its power and its irresistible push into the future, culture can't help but illuminate the values that Americans cherish: We respect those who push the envelope, and those who manufacture envelopes (in 57 sizes and colors). We value a spirit of play, along with a commitment to work. We express our respect for tradition at the same time cheering anyone bold enough to embrace the new. We applaud virtuosity and invention equally. Looking over our shoulder at the old, we struggle to make it new. We're part hedgehog, part fox; we know one essential thing, we know a whole bunch of interesting things.

Contemporary American culture in all its manifestations is not without its faults and critics, its irritants and its dangerously weak points. Sometimes it comes off

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looking and sounding like the tiresome expression of hubris and self-celebration (sometimes it is that). Even worse, the open sewer of trash video culture is hard to defend on any grounds except freedom of expression. But in its complexity and contradictions, our culture tells us who we are, and we ought to take advantage of its unique persuasive power when we attempt to engage and persuade others.

6 1/2. Read On...

There's a phrase in the Fulbright-Hays legislation that charges the State Department with undertaking exchange programs that achieve "mutual understanding." For certain hard-nosed types, that's the softie approach to foreign policy, the window dressing, a nice thing to do as long as

*Ambassadors typically
rank cultural programs
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there exists a separate appropriation. Let them get to know us, the exchange community is cast as saying with an innocuous smile, and they'll like us. Hard-nosed types say that's wrong on two counts: Exchanges don't really lead to mutual understanding, and anyway who cares whether they like us? It's about policy, and achieving our goals.

More seasoned senior officers will usually have a different take on exchanges and culture. Yes, it's about policy, they recognize, and about achieving our goals. But those goals don't exist in a vacuum. They develop in a specific context, the consequence of the interplay between competing interests, opinions and values in American society. Providing the context for our policy goals strengthens the likelihood of our achieving them. Our culture, in a word, is our context. Let's use it. ■

An Invitation For Summer Fiction

Once again the *FSJ* is seeking works of fiction of up to 3,000 words for its annual summer fiction issue. Story lines or characters involving the Foreign Service are preferred, but not required. The top stories, selected by the *Journal's* Editorial Board, will receive simultaneous publication in the July/August issue and on the *Journal's* Web site. The writer of each story will receive an honorarium of \$250, payable upon publication.

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

Deadline for submissions is May 1, 2002.

NO EXCEPTIONS.

Please send submissions to the attention of:

Mikkela V. Thompson, preferably by e-mail at thompsonm@afsa.org or by mail:
Foreign Service Journal, 2101 E. St., NW, Washington, D.C., 20037.

WHAT U.S. IMAGE WILL LINGER?

During 40 years as a Cold Warrior, Willis Conover never fired a shot, piloted a spy plane or shepherded defectors across the Iron Curtain. Yet for as many as 30 million people in Eastern Europe and the former Soviet Union, he personified America, the West, and democracy itself.

Six nights a week, from 1955 virtually until his death in 1996, Conover hosted a jazz show on Voice of America called "Music USA." His laconic baritone and his selections from the big bands and bebop could be heard from Warsaw to Prague, from Moscow to Siberia. By eschewing the hard sell of propaganda, Conover let jazz serve as what he often called "the music of freedom."

Conover presents a model well worth emulating now, as the U.S. prosecutes its modern equivalent of the Cold War, an ongoing and decentralized struggle against Islamic terrorism. It will not be enough to defeat the Taliban, al-Qaida and their ilk on the battlefield; it will not be enough to freeze their assets and infiltrate their cells. Our nation must win the hearts and minds in the Muslim world rather than abandon another generation of destitute or disenfranchised young people to the apocalyptic enticement of jihad.

The answer, of course, goes well beyond broadcasting jazz into Kandahar, Cairo and Peshawar. It requires reinvigorating America's larger commitment to cultural diplomacy, of which Conover was one particularly successful representative. It means deliberately making America's better angels — arts, culture, political ideals — widely accessible to Muslim countries rather than being content to let the free market deliver whatever tawdry and tacky version of American culture happens to sell well.

As recently as the 1980s, as Stephen Kinzer has reported in *The New York Times*, the U.S. government supported libraries, art exhibits, opera performances and discussion groups in Pakistan, then Washington's ally against the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan. But with the defeat of the Russians and the demise of the USSR, such efforts lost their immediacy — and their funding.

These days, the image of America in the Pakistani capital of Islamabad is Britney Spears, the Backstreet Boys and "Gladiator." Or, to be more precise, that is the image of America to the relatively educated and affluent. Meanwhile, nearly a million young Pakistanis and Afghans, bereft of education or social services elsewhere,

soak up Islamic fanaticism and anti-American cant in the religious schools called madrasahs.

It seems no coincidence that Mohamed Atta spent one of his final nights before the suicide attack on the World Trade Center drinking vodka in a Florida bar, or that several presumed associates were buying lap dances at a strip club the

night before Sept. 11. If one views America solely as a country of forbidden temptations, then allure and disgust form two sides of the same coin.

The Marketplace of Ideas

There was a time not so many decades ago when Russian students were taught that American history consisted of one long saga of subjugating Indians, blacks and workers. There was a time when pupils in Poland started their school day by declaring in unison, "Stalin is the best friend of the Polish children."

During the Cold War, such indoctrination did not go unchallenged. The U.S. Information Agency operated libraries stocked with the classics of American literature and an array of current newspapers and magazines — and not just in the capitals of countries that "mattered," but in

THE U.S. NEEDS TO REINVIGORATE
ITS CULTURAL DIPLOMACY INSTEAD
OF LETTING THE FREE MARKET
DELIVER WHATEVER TACKY VERSION
OF AMERICA HAPPENS TO SELL WELL.

BY SAMUEL G. FREEDMAN

numerous smaller cities and towns, as well. USIA also sent countless scholars, speakers, artists and performers to every corner of the globe to share the diversity and range of American culture. The Voice of America broadcast news and cultural programs around the clock in dozens of languages. The famous "kitchen debate" in 1959 between Vice President Richard Nixon and Soviet Premier Nikita Khrushchev took place during a six-week-long exhibition in Moscow of American consumer goods and creative arts, ranging from color TVs and late-model cars to sculptures, photographs and multimedia displays.

Even before the Cold War ended, however, Washington's commitment to public diplomacy in general, and promotion of American culture in particular, began waning. The share of the national budget earmarked for international affairs — essentially, all non-military aspects of foreign policy — fell from four percent in the 1960s to barely one percent in 2000. The U.S. Information Agency disappeared in 1999, merged into the State Department. The Voice of America, which now reaches just two percent of the Middle East's population, and that largely via short-wave, was broadcasting only seven hours a day in Arabic until Sept. 11, and even now has expanded its coverage to just 11 hours daily.

In the aftermath of Sept. 11's atrocities, Americans have fumed and fulminated about how Osama bin Laden's terrorists attacked the U.S. because they hated our freedom, democracy and diversity. The more disturbing realization

Americans have projected our cultural values to the rest of the world not too much, but far too little.

might be that we have projected those values not too much, but far too little, into the Muslim world. By our lassitude, we have allowed ourselves to be cast as infidels.

The marketplace that matters now, as we are belatedly beginning to realize, is not the souk with its bootlegged copies of American CDs and sneakers. It is the marketplace of ideas. In late December, Congress voted to spend

\$19.2 million to create a Radio Free Afghanistan. Even before Sept. 11, Voice of America's governing board had proposed expanding Arabic-language programming to 24 hours a day on both AM and FM bands.

These efforts deserve support, but boosting radio service solves only part of the problem. Libraries and schools need to be reopened or newly established as competitors to the madrassas. Exchange programs need to be greatly expanded, bringing cultural, political and scientific figures from Muslim nations to America and vice versa. From 1958 to 1988, for example, some 50,000 Soviet citizens came to the United States under such auspices, experiencing firsthand the discrepancy between the reality of America and its portrayal by the Kremlin.

The effective public diplomacy of the Cold War grew out of factors beyond money alone, says John H. Brown, a career diplomat now teaching at Georgetown University's Institute for the Study of Diplomacy. As Brown points out, U.S. Foreign Service officers had flexibility in adapting programs to various countries; they spoke the native languages and made contact readily with artists and intellectuals; and they appreciated the importance of culture. A concert, an art show, a poetry reading in the ambassador's residence and, yes, a Willis Conover show all could touch the soul and the intellect of America's potential enemies in ways impossible for weaponry or overt propaganda.

When Kabul fell late in 2001, men flocked to have their beards cut, women removed the burqa, and families excavated the forbidden television sets, radios and tape players they had buried. The challenge in 2002 is for America to fill the vacuum created with the ouster of the Taliban with something more than food packages and winter blankets and prisoner-of-war camps — and to act likewise outside Afghanistan, as well. We might be doing nothing less than sparing ourselves the next Sept. 11. ■

Samuel G. Freedman, a professor of journalism at Columbia University, is the author of four books and a former reporter for The New York Times. He contributes regularly to the Times, Rolling Stone, Salon, New York magazine, and PBS's Religion and Ethics Newsweekly; he also serves as a member of USA Today's Board of Contributors. His books include Small Victories: The Real World of a Teacher, Her Students and Their High School (1990); Upon This Rock: The Miracles of a Black Church (1993); The Inheritance: How Three Families and America Moved from Roosevelt to Reagan and Beyond (1996); and Jew vs. Jew: The Struggle for the Soul of American Jewry (2000). This article is adapted from an op-ed piece published in the Jan. 2, 2002, edition of USA Today.

POWELL'S MAGICAL MYSTERY TOUR

A VETERAN STATE DEPARTMENT CORRESPONDENT GIVES A BEHIND-THE-SCENES LOOK AT SECRETARY OF STATE POWELL'S RECENT ASIA TRIP.

BY GEORGE GEDDA

The scene was the Hotel Okura in Tokyo on the morning of Jan. 21. Todd Purdum of *The New York Times* approached Andrea Mitchell of NBC and asked whether she had gotten any sleep. "Two hours," Mitchell said. "Good," said Purdum, without irony.

Two hours of sleep may seem like a recipe for exhaustion but, for those accompanying Secretary of State Colin Powell on his five-nation Asia trip in January, it was not bad. As one who has traveled with nine secretaries of State dating from 1977, this was, for me, probably the most taxing of the 65 or so such trips. For two nights, there was no need for a hotel room; sleeping was a catch-as-catch-can affair aboard the secretary's plane.

Tokyo was the last stop of the six-day trip, dubbed by someone in the press as "the magical mystery tour." In Pakistan and India, Powell admonished both nations' leaders not to go to war over a Dec. 13 terrorist attack against the Indian Parliament, apparently perpetrated by anti-Indian militants based in Pakistan. In Nepal, Powell — the first secretary of State to visit the Himalayan mountain kingdom — voiced support for the government in its struggle against Maoist terrorists, while gently suggesting that good governance would make the Maoist option less appealing for young Nepalese. And in Japan, Powell attended an international conference designed to raise money for Afghanistan's reconstruction in the post-Taliban era.

The common thread of the trip was the war on terrorism,

of course — the theme around which U.S. foreign policy has been organized since Sept. 11, much as the Cold War was during the latter half of the last century. Yet before the attacks, Powell had not given much thought to terrorism. During several hours of testimony before his Senate Foreign Relations Committee confirmation hearing the previous January, the subject barely came up. So no one would have predicted that almost precisely a year later, he would be an honored guest in the presidential palace in Kabul, telling the country's new leader, "Afghanistan is emblazoned on the president's [Bush's] heart."

Doing the Time Warp in Kabul

For most of the press, Afghanistan was the highlight of the trip. No secretary of State had visited there since 1976. There was an air of celebration during the Kabul visit, tempered by the realization that a mammoth reconstruction effort lay ahead. At one point, Powell called Afghanistan "a start-up country." It was an extraordinary day, with five takeoffs and landings — and, for some of us, only one meal.

Security obviously was a concern, and the press was asked to keep Powell's arrival there secret until he was safe on the ground in Kabul. Initially, a pre-dawn arrival was planned but that was later

changed to mid-morning. The night before the trip to Kabul, State Department staff handed notices to the media admonishing them to "use the bathroom" before departure. The unstated message: Don't expect to have the conveniences of home in Kabul.

We flew on a C-17 cargo plane from Islamabad to Bagram air base north of Kabul. We then switched to two Army Chinook helicopters for the flight to the capital. As we flew

There was an air of celebration during the Kabul visit. At one point, Powell called Afghanistan "a start-up country."

George Gedda is the State Department correspondent for the Associated Press.

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over barren hills and valleys, combat-ready troops were positioned at either side of the helicopters and at an open rear gate. Not surprisingly, Kabul Airport was rundown, symbolized by a sign atop a terminal building. It read: K_BU_. Presumably, some funds from the \$4.5 billion promised by donor countries in Tokyo over the next five years will be used to replace the missing "A" and "L." Or maybe Afghan officials will splurge and put up a fancy new sign worthy of what they hope will be a modern air traffic hub.

As for the city itself, many buildings were abandoned or were half-finished relics of never-completed construction projects. The low-slung adobe-like houses were substandard, to put it mildly. There was little street activity. Electricity was almost non-existent, as was phone service. To the extent that people were out and about, the great majority were male. There were few customers for shopkeepers who sat bundled up against the cold in front of their seen-better-days confines. Yet a U.S. diplomat assigned to one of the two press vans said this was the upscale part of town. Much of the rest of the city was rubble, dating from the early 1990s when Kabul was a battleground for factional fighting.

Powell's first stop was the presidential palace, where he met with Hamid Karzai, the first unabashedly pro-American leader Afghanistan has had in many years. Karzai, who heads a six-month interim government, was clearly a good choice for a country in desperate need of outside support. He speaks almost flawless English and when it comes to summoning anti-terrorism rhetoric, he's right up there with President Bush.

Powell then visited the U.S. embassy, where American soldiers were ubiquitous; some were manning gun emplacements on the roof. Kabul had been such a dangerous place that the embassy was shut down from 1989

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until just before Christmas last year. George P. Shultz was secretary of State when the mission was shuttered; his picture was still part of the decor in an embassy hallway. U.S. personnel used two bunkers behind the embassy as living quarters. The 50 or so staffers had but one shower to share among them.

After less than six hours, Powell left Kabul, taking rides aboard the same helicopter and cargo plane that he came in on. The cargo plane had jet fighter escorts on either side as it took off from Bagram for the flight to Islamabad, a little over an hour away. State Department correspondents have difficulty distinguishing between an F-16 and a B-52, so it fell to Powell himself to identify the escort aircraft. Peering out a window, he said, without hesitation: "F-14 Tomcats."

Traveling With Colin

For the news media, every trip with a secretary of State has ups and downs. The downs dominated on this trip but the more pleasant moments should not be overlooked. For starters, Powell is an engaging personality. He sometimes turns up in the back of the plane for small talk with the press. On this trip, without much prompting, he

burst into song and talked about his favorite recording artists (a Jamaican and a Trinidadian).

Having achieved extraordinary heights in his military career, Powell behaves as though he doesn't have anything to prove. He shuns fancy introductions prior to news conferences and seems to think that time spent shaking hands could be spent doing something more productive. On trips, shopping is not a priority. To the extent possible, he likes to stick to his schedule.

Like most of his predecessors, he rarely betrays anger, but does show annoyance from time to time. For example, on our way back to the States, I asked him whether the administration's \$296 million Afghanistan first-year reconstruction pledge, announced in Tokyo, was generous enough. After all, that figure was comparable to the cost of the new football stadium being built in the Boston area and about a third of fees charged by the Peter Angelos law firm to the state of Maryland for litigation against tobacco companies. He responded by saying that well before the donors' conference, the administration had already spent billions on the military effort in Afghanistan and \$400 million on humanitarian assistance.

As Powell returned to Washington after the stop in Japan, polls showed American interest in terrorism on the wane. But barely a week afterward, Bush made clear in his State of the Union address that the terrorism threat was still serious despite the successes in Afghanistan.

Terrorists, Bush said, "view the entire world as a battlefield, and we must pursue them wherever they are ... I will not stand by as peril draws closer and closer." For Powell and other members of the national security team, the message was clear: the terrorism challenge will remain at the top of the agenda for as far the eye can see. ■

WINNING THE PEACE: U.S. POLICY TOWARD SOUTH ASIA

JUST AS U.S. LEADERSHIP WAS CRUCIAL TO THE MILITARY VICTORY IN AFGHANISTAN, IT WILL REMAIN ESSENTIAL AS THE COUNTRY REBUILDS. YET WASHINGTON ALSO NEEDS TO BE MINDFUL OF THE LARGER REGIONAL PICTURE.

By AMB. SHIRIN R. TAHIR-KHELI

With the end of hostilities in Afghanistan, the routing of the Taliban and their al-Qaida patrons, and the installation of the Afghan interim government, it is now time to focus on the next phase of what President Bush and Secretary of State Powell have referred to as the "long battle against terrorism."

This new phase will require a broader approach to South Asian issues, utilizing some of the tools already put in place for the war in Afghanistan. Toward that end, this paper assesses the role of regional players as partners in the inter-

national coalition and outlines some of the steps needed for future security and stability in the region.

Above all, as the U.S. and its friends formulate postwar policy toward Afghanistan, we must not repeat the mistake we made back in 1989 after Soviet forces were finally expelled from the country following a decade of guerrilla warfare. That time, we essentially turned our backs on the country, allowing civil war to break out. Traditional tribal politics, combined with competing visions of Afghanistan's destiny, made the country virtually non-governable, while external patrons added fuel to existing fires.

Even after the Taliban took control of most of the country five years ago, its attempts to defeat the remaining opposition forces worsened the damage already done by so many years of in-fighting and neglect. Today, Kabul has been virtually reduced to rubble, with large areas resembling a moonscape. The country's population of 25 million is without an infrastructure or national institutions. Five million are refugees, mostly in Pakistan and Iran. Qualified Afghans who fled years of war in their homeland have to be encouraged to return and offer their expertise. It is a monumental effort and one that will take years. And even before reconstruction begins, food assistance and other humanitarian supplies are needed to prevent large-scale suffering following three years of drought.

Looking to Washington

Fortunately, the world is already focused on reviving the Afghan state. Many countries are pledging the billions of dollars it will take to rebuild the country after more than 20 years of war, though it remains to be seen whether the funds will be sufficient even if they are all given.

Yet while there is near-universal sympathy for the plight of Afghanistan, it is clear that the role of the United States remains crucial, both in undertaking the humanitarian effort as well as rebuilding the country.

Amb. Shirin R. Tahir-Kheli is director of the South Asia program at the Paul Nitze School of Advanced International Studies at Johns Hopkins University in Washington, D.C. She headed the United States delegation to the United Nations Commission on Human Rights session in 2001 and was appointed by President Bush to the U.S. Commission on International Religious Freedom for a two-year term ending in May 2003. She was a member of the Policy Planning Staff at the Department of State (1982-1984) and then served at the National Security Council as director of political-military affairs (1984-1986) and Near East and South Asian Affairs (1986-1989). In 1990, she was appointed Alternate United States Representative to the United Nations for Special Political Affairs, a post that carries the rank of ambassador. She served in that capacity until 1993.

Amb. Tahir-Kheli chairs the BALUSA group, made up of senior Indian and Pakistani members working toward lowered tensions and a more productive relationship between their countries. She is also involved in efforts to bring together experts and policy-makers from India and Pakistan for consideration of joint projects in energy and the environment, and is co-chair of a project on "Water and Security in South Asia."

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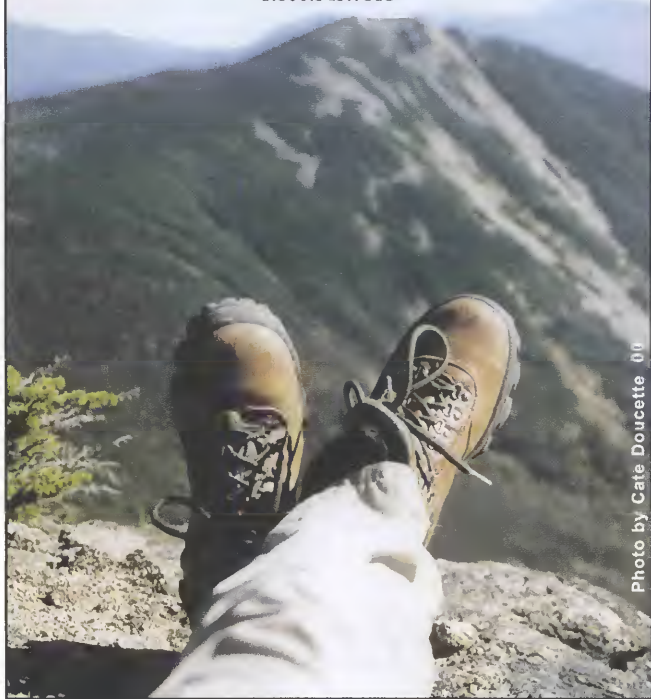


Photo by Cate Doucette 011

U.S. humanitarian assistance to Afghanistan increased steadily over the past four years, even as the Taliban ravaged the country. For example, in response to the worsening food situation in Afghanistan, U.S. assistance during FY 2001 rose to \$183 million, making it the country's largest single donor.

On Oct. 4, 2001, the President pledged \$320 million in U.S. assistance to Afghanistan. The bulk of the effort is to be carried out by USAID's Office of Foreign Development Assistance, the Department of State and the Department of Defense (which began air-dropping humanitarian daily rations to Afghanistan on Oct. 7). The current priorities for U.S. assistance are: food security, shelter, primary health care for the most vulnerable groups, particularly the internally displaced people and refugees.

Secretary of State Powell chaired a December meeting in Washington, D.C. of potential donors for Afghan reconstruction. The European Union, playing an important role in what will be a multi-year, multi-billion dollar reconstruction effort, then held its own meeting in Brussels in early January to define Afghan needs. That meeting was followed by the Tokyo conference in late January where nearly \$4.5 billion was pledged by the U.S., the European Union, Japan, Saudi Arabia, Iran, Pakistan, India and others for Afghan reconstruction. Still, the task is large enough to cost at least \$15 billion and to take over 10 years to complete. Equally important will be the commitment of outside financial and technical support for de-mining in Afghanistan, a monumental task which is critical to any hope of future normalcy in that war-torn country.

In addition to the provision of funds for reconstruction, the presence of international peacekeepers in Afghanistan is important. These

While there is near-universal sympathy for the plight of Afghanistan, it is clear that the U.S. must continue to lead the humanitarian efforts there.

troops already play an important role in Kabul. In time, they will be needed elsewhere in other larger cities as Afghans clamor for help in the maintenance of peace and order in all parts of the country. Most are already convinced that the U.S. is the single most important country in the world and hope that, if needed, America will step forward to help to add its presence to the international force already in the country. In fact, many Afghans see such a force as the only neutral arbiter in an otherwise highly factionalized society.

Recognition by the United States and the world community of the role of the new Afghan interim leader, Mr. Hamid Karzai, is also important in building a new Afghanistan which is multi-ethnic in its power base. Washington was the first and most important stop in Mr. Karzai's first foray outside his country, the first by any Afghan leader in 39 years. His meetings with President Bush, senior members of the administration and key members of Congress, and his presence at the State of the Union message as an honored guest of the president, are all bound to enhance his standing at home. The traditional Afghan antipathy to foreigners is diminished as most seem to recognize that their nation's very survival now

depends on a productive relationship with the outside world.

Thus, the U.S. will to remain engaged in the region even as the war nears an end is the crucial ingredient for ensuring that this time around, the end of war in Afghanistan results in the beginning of real peace.

Regional Factors

Yet security and stability in Afghanistan cannot be achieved if the region is in a perpetual state of conflict. Uzbekistan and Turkmenistan are important neighbors for access into Afghanistan and for Afghan routes for transporting natural gas from the region into South and Southwest Asia. But domestic difficulties in both countries, as well as charges of human rights abuses by their regimes, limit the potential for real help to Afghanistan from the international effort.

Besides Afghanistan, Pakistan is the country most likely to be affected by the current war on terrorism. Pakistani support for the Taliban cost it dearly in the end as the collapse of that group left a bitterness to relations with Kabul. As a neighbor with a 1,500-mile border, Pakistan will need to actively support the reconstruction of that war-torn country. Hence, the Pakistani pledge at Tokyo to contribute \$100 million toward Afghan reconstruction is a step in the right direction.

From the earliest years of Pakistan and continuing right through to the current situation, goods destined for Afghanistan have been shipped through its territory. Islamabad has supplied wheat at subsidized costs whenever there has been fear of famine because of the drought in Afghanistan. Pakistan's transport business is controlled by Afghans who fled their country during the Soviet occupation and continue to participate in the economic life of Pakistan. Nearly three million of the five mil-

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lion Afghan refugees live in Pakistan, on land that has been heavily deformed and taken over from the local owners.

Pakistan is the first recipient of heroin originating in Afghanistan as it makes its way to the West, creating millions of Pakistani addicts in a decade. In addition, the grim legacy of abundant guns and other weapons throughout Pakistan derives from the joint struggle with the U.S. in ousting the Soviet Union from Afghanistan in the 1980s. In other words, Pakistan has already paid a great price for its involvement in Afghanistan.

Thus, Pakistani Gen. Pervez Musharraf's cooperation with the international coalition in the war on terrorism places his government squarely behind a new reality in Afghanistan. There is no going back from that commitment.

Even more complicated is the India-Pakistan equation, under even greater stress since the start of the war in Afghanistan. The nexus between terrorism in Afghanistan and the situation in Jammu and Kashmir has brought the two subcontinental powers once again to the brink of war. Indian charges of Pakistani complicity in the attacks on its parliament last December and Islamabad's denials of involvement pose a new challenge; meanwhile, one million soldiers sit astride their common border stretching 1,800 miles around the disputed line of control in Kashmir. India demands that Pakistan shut down the groups that commit terrorist acts inside India. It says that proof of their complicity exists and that it is willing to share that proof with the Western world, but only reluctantly and in a limited fashion with Pakistan.

For their part, Pakistanis believe that the struggle for Kashmir is in a different category and regards the timing of the Indian demands simply as a corollary of the U.S. campaign inside Afghanistan. The level of sus-

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picion is extremely high and there is a total absence of any bilateral dialogue for the airing of differences, leaving a dangerous situation ripe for escalation, even war.

Washington has had to intervene constantly in order to keep the situation from boiling over. The U.S. has frozen the assets of some of the targeted groups India has identified, as has Pakistan. President Bush and Secretary Powell have been in touch with the leaders of India and Pakistan and counseled restraint. India has indicated that it is not willing to abide by that request indefinitely and reaffirmed that its restraint depends on Pakistan's actions vis-à-vis the terrorists on Pakistani soil. Further actions have already raised the level of confrontation. Among these is the recall of the Indian High Commissioner in Islamabad (the 1971 war between the two countries was the last time that envoy was recalled); the closing down, as of Jan. 1, of weekly rail and bus links via the only operating border crossing (particularly worrisome since, once shut down, India-Pakistan agreements are traditionally nearly impossible to revive); and the banning of overflights for the national carriers of each. Meanwhile, there is reason to doubt that India will maintain its adherence to the Indus Waters Treaty, which divided the waters of the sub-

continent in 1960 — the only longstanding agreement that both countries have abided by consistently.

Given all this, the U.S. wish to step away from the current zero-sum game between nuclear rivals India and Pakistan is not likely to be granted anytime soon. Rather, the weeks and months ahead are likely to be complicated by the need to retain the support of India and Pakistan, respectively, for the war on terrorism. Again and again, each side is likely to need assurances of the partnership with Washington. New Delhi, citing the U.S. position that the war on terrorism is global, has made clear its expectation that the U.S. will denounce such attacks on India. Pakistan, caught between a tough situation on the Afghan border and pressure to escalate on the Indian front, will find things extremely difficult even as President Musharraf pledges a crack-down against extremists inside Pakistan.

All of these elements were reflected in Powell's visit to both countries in mid-January. There, he sought to encourage cooperation between the two countries in dealing with the issues that divide them. He reiterated U.S. pleasure with Pakistani cooperation and with the new vision unveiled by Musharraf (just prior to Powell's visit) of a moderate, democratic and progressive Pakistan. In New Delhi he asserted that the U.S. would seek an end to all terrorism even as he reportedly asked for Indian patience in giving the Pakistani leader time to make good on his pledges of reasonable national behavior.

The recent resurgence of Iranian ties with the new regime in Afghanistan further complicates the tangle of relationships the U.S. must consider in conducting its foreign policy in the region. The Iranian foreign minister, Kamal Kharazmi, pledged at the swearing-in of the new interim government in Kabul on Dec. 22,

2001, that with the defeat and the ouster of the Taliban from Afghanistan, "Islamic countries will support you and Iran, as your great neighbor, will help you." On the positive side, that statement reflects a desire to eliminate tensions with Afghanistan and assist that landlocked country's development, as was reflected in the over \$500 million pledged by Iran at the Tokyo meeting for Afghan reconstruction. On the negative side, Iran's involvement could complicate efforts by the new interim government and the international security force to restore Afghan traditions of cultural, gender and religious tolerance.

The U.S. Role

So how can the U.S. use its considerable clout in South Asia to ensure that the region remains stable? A number of challenges lie ahead. Among these:

- Maintenance of current senior-level interaction with the leadership of the region. Politics in South Asia are highly personalized and beyond regular institutional channels, the value of personal diplomacy involving the leadership cannot be overstated.
- Continued pressure for de-escalation of India-Pakistan tensions and the resumption of dialogue. The history of the past 25 years has shown that there is virtually zero progress in building confidence between the two countries without active U.S. encouragement and specific ideas.
- Encouragement of a regional response to opportunities for reconstruction and development in Afghanistan, perhaps even via the South Asian Association for Regional Cooperation. This type of approach has other dividends as it will help create cooperation in a key region where any sense of regional cooperation is virtually nonexistent.
- Continued development of varied links with India, the largest and

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most important country in the region.

- Investment in the future of a moderate, democratic and economically strong Pakistan.
- Support for the development of economically viable and democratic states throughout the subcontinent.
- Continued leadership of the international coalition in the rehabilitation of Afghanistan.
- Creation of a South Asia Regional Fund for Development for the international community to support regional habits for cooperation in the development of energy, trade and infrastructure. The world has talked of cooperation in the subcontinent but all nations have merely focused on bilateral issues. The time is ripe to put some real resources that go to individual countries in the region into a common account for regional projects.
- Proposals for crisis management in nuclear and conventional arenas. The India-Pakistan relationship is perpetually fraught with crises. Thus far, serious consequences of escalation have been averted. We might not be so lucky the next time around!

Multilateral Diplomacy

American leadership was indispensable to the success of the war in

Afghanistan. It is equally necessary as the rehabilitation of the Afghan political process takes place and pulls the war-torn, exhausted country back from the brink. But at the same time, it is preferable that the U.S. not go it alone in working towards those goals.

The post-Sept. 11 international anti-terrorism coalition sought allies across geographical lines with a wide range of capabilities. It did more than add names to the roster of nations willing to fight terrorism. It allowed for greater participation and the creation of a truly international effort against a global menace. President Bush has said that America welcomes all partners in that campaign, and Secretary of State Powell and his team have led the effort to build the partnership. If terrorism is to be rooted out, then there is little option but to close all avenues of escape for the terrorists — a goal that necessarily requires skillful multilateral diplomacy.

In particular, the United Nations and its constituent parts constitute an important partner. The meeting in Bonn set the stage for the return to Afghanistan of civilian rule via the six-month interim government that will oversee the country until a national council (Loya Jirga) oversees the next stage of the political transition. The U.N. Security Council has already given guidance and legitimacy to the international security force, without which Afghan factions may be tempted to repeat the internecine warfare that destroyed much of Kabul and killed over 50,000 people a decade ago. The massive humanitarian effort that must be mounted if thousands are to be saved from starvation and exposure requires the assistance of NGOs experienced in such work.

In the final analysis, the use of an international coalition to assist Afghanistan's reconstruction will serve long-term U.S. interests better than the alternative of going it alone. ■

THE CAMBODIAN CONUNDRUM

CAMBODIA REPRESENTS A CASE STUDY OF WHAT CAN HAPPEN WHEN U.S. DRUG POLICY AND U.S. FOREIGN POLICY COLLIDE.

BY NATE THAYER

On April 8, 1997, Theng Bunma, Cambodia's most powerful tycoon, upset at "rude" treatment from airline personnel, marched out onto the tarmac of Cambodia's Poechenteng International Airport, pulled out a Russian K-59 automatic pistol and shot out the tires of the Royal Air Cambodge Boeing 737-400 he had just arrived on from Hong Kong.

Bunma complained that the national airline had lost his luggage and refused to adequately reimburse him: "So I said, 'If you [do not] pay me that, I will shoot your airplane — for compensation.'" He added: "If they were my employees, I would have shot them in the head."

Yet Theng Bunma is no bombastic, small-time thug: He is arguably the most powerful man in Cambodia. "In Khmer we say, 'He makes the rain. He makes the thunder,'" said a

senior Cambodian official. "Everybody knows that Theng Bunma can do what he wants."

Theng Bunma intimidates every Cambodian, from noodle vendors to the prime minister. As well as, the record shows, the government of the United States.

"We have reliable reporting that he [Theng Bunma] is closely and heavily involved in drug trafficking in Cambodia," a State Department spokesman, Nicholas Burns, said in July 1997.

But that public admission by the United States government was years in coming, and came only after an overwhelming and embarrassing mountain of public evidence emerged through the press, forcing Washington to acknowledge the reality it had long tried to suppress: Cambodia has become a classic narco-state.

Theng Bunma is a poster child for the weakness of America's so-called war on drugs in narco-states like Cambodia. The record shows that the United States government has gone through years of acrobatics to turn a blind eye to Theng Bunma and his benefactors in the Cambodian government.

The U.S. dilemma is simple: Successive administrations have been reluctant to implement strict "zero tolerance" policy directives against governments that protect, abet and benefit from narcotics traffickers. U.S. law requires that they "decertify" these nations as being cooperative in fighting the drug trade, thus cutting off bilateral aid and, potentially, multilateral aid to these governments. But decertification might, officials argue, derail concomitant attempts to develop otherwise good relations with governments they are trying to nurture as "emerging democracies." So, in Cambodia, the United States has avoided the mandate on the war on drugs.

It's not that the United States isn't aware of who Bunma is. "Theng Bunma is a well-known figure, widely reported to be involved in drug trafficking," a State Department official said in December 2001. But he also noted that Cambodian "cooperation with the Drug Enforcement Administration

*Nate Thayer is a journalist who was the Cambodia and then the Southeast Asia correspondent for the Far Eastern Economic Review. He has written for more than 40 other publications and news services, including as a correspondent for the Associated Press, the Washington Post, the Phnom Penh Post and Jane's Defense Weekly. His journalism awards include the 1998 Francis Frost Wood Award for Courage in Journalism, Overseas Press Club Award, the 1997 "Scoop of the Year" British press award, the Asian Editors and Publishers Excellence in Reporting award, the 1999 SAIS prize for Excellence in International Journalism and the first award given by the International Consortium of Investigative Journalists for outstanding international investigative reporting. In 1997, he gained exclusive access to the remote northern Cambodia field headquarters of the Khmer Rouge for both the trial of, and later an exclusive interview with, Pol Pot — the first such interview in 18 years. His book *Sympathy for the Devil: Inside Pol Pot's Cambodia* will be published in 2002.*

remains excellent" and said the U.S. government was pleased with "the reorganization of anti-narcotics coordination" within the Cambodian government.

"Cambodia has taken a number of positive steps," the official said, citing \$460,000 that the U.S. government gave in 2001 to the United Nations Drug Control Program to help Cambodian authorities combat drug trafficking.

Still, the U.S. reluctance to acknowledge the impunity with which Bunma conducts his international criminal enterprises provides a colorful case study of how organized crime, narcotics trafficking and political corruption, when left unchallenged, undermine fundamental tenets of democracy.

By 1997, Bunma represented the height of economic and political legitimacy in Cambodia. He had twice been elected president of the Cambodian Chamber of Commerce. His Cambodian diplomatic passport described him as "economic advisor" to the head of the ruling Cambodian Peoples Party. And because of his beneficence to royal charities, he held the high honorific title of "Okna," bestowed upon him by King Sihanouk.

He is also the country's single biggest taxpayer and landholder and owns its biggest newspaper. His Thai Boon Roong holding company owns banks, airlines, tobacco concessions, logging concessions, shipping fleets, hotels, casinos, and credit card concessions — among many other legitimate businesses.

With offices in Phnom Penh, Bangkok and Hong Kong, his company is the biggest single corporate entity in Cambodia. Financial records put his net worth in the billions of U.S. dollars.

But that is not the source of Theng Bunma's power. He is a narcotics trafficker. He runs a multibillion-dollar international criminal syndicate that lavishes money and gifts on Cambodia's leaders. In turn, he is given political protection by the Cambodian government to do just about anything he wants.

Booming Business

Before the 1990s, Cambodia was not involved in any significant narcotics activity. It was neither a producing country nor a transshipment route. But in 1991, the DEA began noticing — though not yet intercepting — shipments that left Cambodia and headed into a maze of fishing boats. The first drug shipment abroad ever identified as originating from Cambodia, according to international investigators, was in 1993.

"In the last two years, we have seen a dramatic increase in Cambodia being used as a heroin smuggling point," a senior Bangkok-based DEA official said in 1993. "Our intelligence is now picking up four to six shipments a year" of high-grade refined heroin with "a minimum of 300 kilograms. The largest we have detected so far is 800 kilos." (An

interception of 300 kilos — 660 pounds — of heroin would rank in the top 10 drug busts from the Golden Triangle.)

Regarding Cambodian government anti-drug efforts, the DEA official scoffed: "The only thing hampering them is the weather."

The formula is simple: Criminal syndicates involved in narcotics trafficking seek out weak governments that, through the exchange of corruption money for political protection, allow them to conduct their criminal activities. Cambodia in the early 1990s was just such a case, and organized crime descended to set up shop.

Bunma came to prominence in Cambodia in the late 1980s. Though born in Cambodia, he carried fake passports and identity cards that identified him as a citizen of Thailand. And he had plenty of money for Cambodia's political leadership, including both Prime Minister Norodom Ranariddh and Second Prime Minister Hun Sen, political enemies who shared power in an uneasy alliance as the result of United Nations-sponsored democratic elections held in 1993.

In February 1994, U.S. Ambassador to Cambodia Charles Twining invited Finance Minister Sam Rainsy and another senior government official to a private luncheon at his residence. In his living room, Twining turned up the music and lowered his voice. According to Rainsy, Twining offered this warning: "Please tell Ranariddh not to get involved with Theng Bunma because we Americans have evidence that Theng Bunma is involved in drug trafficking."

Twining, when asked to confirm the conversation, said through an embassy spokesman: "We don't comment about confidential conversations with a host government."

Airplanes and Limousines

The United States had reason to worry about penetration of the highest levels of Cambodia's government. Bunma's many gifts to officials were legendary. In 1993 he paid \$1.8 million for Ranariddh's personal King Air-200 plane and gave Hun Sen the Mercedes limousines that ferried him to official functions. When the government was low on funds in 1994, Bunma underwrote the state budget with several million dollars in interest-free "loans." He paid the entire salary of the Cambodian army during their 1994 dry-season offensive against the Khmer Rouge.

According to one American narcotics official, Cambodia in 1994 was a place where criminal syndicates were "using government planes, helicopters, military trucks, navy boats and soldiers to transport heroin."

It was also in February 1994 — the same month that Twining warned the Cambodian government to distance itself from Bunma — that the U.S. embassy did the opposite: Bunma was issued a U.S. visa so he could attend the Congressional Prayer Breakfast, with President Clinton as the keynote speaker.

Bunma was accompanied by Interior Minister Sin Song, a former Khmer Rouge officer who eight months earlier had led a coup attempt. The two Cambodians were given the red-carpet treatment in Washington. They asked for and were granted a meeting with U.S. officials.

Attending the meeting at the Pentagon were officials from the CIA, the State Department, the Department of Defense and other agencies. Sin Song, to the shock of the Americans, asked formally for U.S. support for another coup d'état. Bunma identified himself as "the financier" of the effort, according to three U.S. officials at the meeting.

In July 1994 a coup was indeed launched, but it too failed. Sin Song was arrested. So were 33 Thai citizens, connected to powerful figures within Thai military circles, who had flown in from Bangkok. Their airline tickets on Cambodian International Airlines were all booked under the credit card of Bunma's Thai Boon Roong holding company, according to the head of the airline. While dozens were jailed, no action was taken against Bunma.

In August 1994, the opposition newspaper *Voice of Khmer Youth* published a front-page profile of Bunma, accusing him, among other things, of having been arrested for drug smuggling in 1972. The report said he bribed his way out of jail and fled to Thailand. Less than a week after the article appeared, men in military uniforms gunned down its editor in broad daylight on a busy Phnom Penh street. No one has ever been arrested.

A Fine Line

In March 1995, the U.S. government issued its Narcotics Control Strategy Report, in which the State Department walked a fine line regarding Bunma and Cambodia: "Involvement [in the drug trade] of some leading businessmen with access to the highest levels of government is

Bunma's gifts to officials were legendary. He even paid the salary of the Cambodian army.

a known concern. There are indications that some high-level businessmen who give financial support to politicians are involved in heroin smuggling." No names were included, however.

The report, ironically, outlined the effectiveness of "public diplomacy" in the U.S. war on drugs: "It is in the drug trade's interest to remain behind the scenes working through corrupt government officials who can maintain a facade of probity and respectability. One of the best ways to routing out drug corruption is to expose it to public scrutiny. Corruption is a threat to any nation's security, for it allows criminal elements to undermine the legitimacy of the state from within."

Despite these concerns, the U.S. embassy issued Bunma another visa the following month, this time to accompany the Cambodian head of state, Chea Sim, and his official delegation to Washington. Chea Sim dined with U.S. Assistant Secretary of State Winston Lord, held talks with National Security Council officials and met — at the personal request of Amb. Twining — Sen. John McCain, R-Ariz., and Rep. Dana Rohrabacher, R-Calif., among others.

The entire Cambodian government delegation's rooms at the Willard Intercontinental Hotel in Washington during this visit were reserved for and paid in the name of Theng Bunma, according to the hotel.

Just prior to the U.S. visit, the State Department formally, but secretly, put

Bunma on the visa ban list, according to department documents, but decided to issue a de facto waiver so that Bunma, described in his diplomatic passport as an "economic advisor," could accompany Chea Sim. "We did not want to create problems at the start of what was an important bilateral visit," said one embassy official.

Grounds for Exclusion

Placing Bunma on the visa blacklist, according to the U.S. government document, was based on State Department provision P2C, which cites Section 212 of the U.S. Immigration and Nationality Act: "Controlled substance traffickers ... who the consular or immigration officer knows or has reason to believe [are] or [have] been illicit traffickers...[are] excludable." Bunma was also banned from entering the United States under another State Department provision (code "00") covering other unspecified "derogatory information."

"According to our records, he [Bunma] does not hold a U.S. visa," a State Department official said in December. "No determination regarding his eligibility to enter the U.S. can be made prior to a visa application, but we would obviously take all relevant facts into account."

In June 1995, after Bunma and Chea Sim left the United States, State Department spokesman Nicholas Burns reiterated longstanding official U.S. policy toward nations that fail to move against drug traffickers: "Governments that reward corruption and that allow trafficker influence to penetrate the highest levels of authority will have difficult relations with the United States." But he was referring to events in Colombia, not Cambodia, and U.S. officials continued to avoid confronting the Cambodian authorities.

In November 1995, the *Far Eastern Economic Review* published a

cover package entitled "Cambodia: Asia's New Narco-State?" It detailed Bunma's involvement in drug trafficking and criminal syndicates. A few days later, Hun Sen, a primary beneficiary of Bunma's largesse, threatened that "a million demonstrators" might take to the streets to protest foreign interference in Cambodian affairs.

"Diplomats should stay indoors," he warned. "I cannot guarantee their safety." The United States sent a special envoy, Kent Wiedemann, to try to calm the situation. Wiedemann, then deputy assistant secretary for East Asian and Pacific affairs, emerged from a private meeting with Hun Sen commending his "commitment to human rights and democracy." The French ambassador, who had just ordered the destruction of sensitive documents because of Hun Sen's threat, reacted to Wiedemann's praise of Hun Sen by commenting: "What planet did he arrive from?"

On Jan. 7, 1996 — at the dedication of the new "Hun Sen Park" on the Mekong River in Phnom Penh, paid for by Bunma — Hun Sen announced that his government would "never abandon" Bunma, "who has helped our party." On the VIP dais were both Bunma and U.S. charge d'affaires Robert Porter.

"Our Intelligence Was Clear"

Several months later, a U.S. government regional drug conference was held in Bangkok, with attendees from State, the CIA, the DEA and other agencies. The Phnom Penh embassy official who supervised narcotics issues argued with representatives from other U.S. embassies and agencies who questioned why the U.S. embassy in Cambodia was refusing to acknowledge — let alone confront — Bunma as a drug trafficker.

"Our intelligence was clear and overwhelming that Bunma was a major player," said a U.S. government official from another embassy who



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attended the conference. "We couldn't understand what the Phnom Penh embassy was doing."

The Phnom Penh embassy cited "suspicious, but no firm proof." Other American officials involved in narcotics policy were outraged.

On March 1, 1997, in its required annual report to Congress on narcotics, the State Department noted that "Cambodia made significant efforts towards taking control of the drug trafficking and transit problems" in 1996.

But according to Cambodian and Interpol records, the seizure by foreign law-enforcement authorities of drugs originating in Cambodia increased by more than 1,000 percent in 1996 over 1995.

The State Department report added that promises by the Cambodian government to crack down on officials involved in narcotics trafficking or corruption "have thus far yielded no concrete indictments or results."

Yet they again officially "waived" Cambodia from being decertified as a nation that failed to move against drug trafficking.

The FBI Investigates

Later that month a terrorist grenade attack targeting Cambodia's main opposition leader, Sam Rainsy, killed 19 and wounded more than 120 on a bright Sunday morning in a peaceful gathering outside the parliament building. Rainsy was long a vocal critic of Bunma and Hun Sen, publicly linking them to the narcotics trade.

Because an American citizen, an employee of the congressionally-funded International Republican Institute, was wounded in the attack, the FBI sent a team to Cambodia to assist in the investigation.

A State Department spokesman told me on April 14, 1997, that with regard to drug money supporting the Cambodian government, "we are

"It is in the drug trade's interest to remain behind the scenes," a U.S. report noted.

actively looking into reports that corrupt elements of the military and government may be facilitating drug trafficking, but we are not in a position to comment on those reports."

By May, the FBI's preliminary findings had concluded that the terrorists were linked not only to Bunma but to Hun Sen himself. They informed U.S. Ambassador Kenneth Quinn that their investigation pointed to some of the prime minister's top aides, including the head of his personal bodyguards.

Further, the FBI told Quinn, the grenade throwers appeared to be part of a paramilitary unit of assassins who were on the payroll of both the government and Bunma and operated out of one of Bunma's hotels.

The next step, the FBI said, was to interview Hun Sen and give him a polygraph test. Quinn was not pleased at the potential diplomatic ramifications. Within days, he ordered the FBI team to leave Cambodia, citing "threats" to their safety from the Khmer Rouge. The source of the threats? Hun Sen.

"There is no question our investigation was halted by the highest levels because it was leading to Hun Sen," said one American law enforcement official directly involved.

Quinn and others in the U.S. government privately argued that Cambodia's stability was already teetering on the brink of civil war. To continue the FBI investigation to its logi-

cal conclusion would push the country over the edge, they contended. (Quinn did not respond to my request for comment.)

The departure of the FBI team from Phnom Penh didn't, of course, help calm things down. It further bolstered those in the Cambodian government who felt, correctly, that they were capable of intimidating the United States and could act with impunity without harmful diplomatic consequences.

Between the growing fractious deterioration within the Cambodian coalition government, the rising international scrutiny focused directly on Hun Sen from the high-profile grenade attack on Sam Rainsy, and the very public international calls for increased pressure to stem the influence of organized-crime syndicates and drug traffickers over the corrupt Cambodian government, the pressure mounted — and the government imploded.

A bloody coup d'état occurred in early July 1997. The \$2.8 billion U.N. peacekeeping effort, which began with the signing of the 1991 Paris Peace Accords and culminated in the 1993 elections, was now formally a failure. Civil war had returned. The winners of the election — Ranariddh and his supporters — were ousted from power and in exile; the losers — backers of Hun Sen — had full control. The Khmer Rouge, now allied with the ousted government leaders, was fighting from the jungle. And parliament, the press, opposition politics, a coalition government, and other tenets of the "emerging fragile democracy" had collapsed.

Perhaps no one was happier than Theng Bunma. In an interview shortly after the coup, he boasted of having given millions of dollars in cash and gold to Hun Sen to help finance it. "For the clash of 6 July 1997, I called Mr. Hun Sen and I talked to him. I gave him one million dollars to do

whatever to control the situation," said Bunma. "He asked me if I had the money in Cambodia. ... I said I would send one hundred kilograms of gold in a plane to Cambodia."

"I say what Hun Sen did was correct," Bunma said. "Why? One reason. Take the example of my hotel." Hun Sen "put three tanks and soldiers around to protect it."

No Formal Linkage

A few days after this interview appeared in the *Washington Post*, the U.S. government publicly stated, for the first time, that Theng Bunma was a drug trafficker. But State Department spokesman Nicholas Burns hastened to add that the United States "does not have evidence that links Hun Sen himself, personally, to these accusations of narcotics trafficking."

"We think the Cambodian government can do a lot more to purge itself of obvious corruption in the government, of obvious linkages between ... members of the government and narco-traffickers," Burns said.

Burns' careful separation of Bunma from Hun Sen was no coincidence. It allowed the State Department to avoid the conclusion that the Cambodian government itself was involved in drug trafficking. Such a conclusion would require the United States to decertify Cambodia, with all its implications — including cutting off bilateral aid and voting against loans from the IMF, the World Bank, the Asian Development Bank and other multilateral aid. That would have been the death knell for a government that derived almost half of its official annual budget in 1996 from such sources.

It was the same reason that the U.S. government refused to label the "events" of July as a coup d'état. That also would require a U.S. cessation of aid to Hun Sen's government.

In June 1998, the Thais issued an arrest warrant for Bunma, who was charged with fraud for allegedly providing false information to obtain a Thai national identity card and passport under two different names. In 1999, criminal charges were brought against Bunma in Hong Kong for falsifying immigration documents. Later the prosecution dropped all charges after the Cambodian foreign minister, Hor Nam Hong, presented a diplomatic note citing Bunma's "top honors and ranks" to the Hong Kong court. "Mr. Theng Bunma has claimed diplomatic immunity through his lawyers. The Royal Government of Cambodia has claimed diplomatic immunity on his behalf," the court said. "The administration has carefully considered the claims and has concluded that Mr. Theng is entitled to immunity from criminal jurisdiction. In those circumstances, the prosecution decided to drop the two charges," said the Hong Kong government spokesman.

And while the Thai arrest warrants remain open, Bunma's connections in powerful circles in Thailand have prevented any movement to touch him.

On June 18, 2000, Bunma's daughter was married to a Thai army officer in a lavish ceremony in Phnom Penh. It was hardly a quiet affair.

The Thai military's supreme commander, Gen. Mongkol Ampornpisit, chartered a military plane from Bangkok full of top army officers. Hun Sen's wife was guest of honor and a witness to the engagement ceremony. Cambodia's defense minister, Gen. Tea Banh, served as the bride-to-be's sponsor. The interior minister, Sar Kheng, also attended. The *Bangkok Post* reported that "diamond jewelry and stacks of cash" were presented to the bride and groom.

A "Transit Route"

After the coup of 1997, under pressure from Congress, the United

States suspended most of its bilateral aid to Cambodia. According to the State Department's Narcotics Control Strategy Report released in March 2001, "U.S.-Cambodia bilateral narcotics cooperation is hampered by restrictions on official assistance to the central government that have remained in place since the political disturbances of 1997" and "remained suspended in 2000."

"Cambodia's principal involvement in the international narcotics trade is as a transit route for Southeast Asian heroin to overseas markets, including ... the United States," the report says.

The report cites Cambodia's National Authority for Combating Drugs (NACD) as "playing a central role, provid[ing] more effective measures" and said the NACD had the potential "to become an effective policy and coordination tool for the government."

The same report also noted that in 2000 the deputy police commissioner had alleged that four senior Cambodian government officials — including the former and current heads of the NACD and a deputy commander-in-chief of the Cambodian military — had accepted bribes from narcotics traffickers.

Nevertheless, a few months later President Bush removed Cambodia from the list of "Major Drug-Producing or Transit Countries." According to the White House, "The only change to the list from the previous year is the removal of Cambodia."

"I have removed Cambodia from the Majors List," said President Bush in a prepared statement dated Nov. 1, 2001. "Cambodia was added to the Majors List in 1996 as a transit country for heroin destined for the United States. In recent years, there has been no evidence of any heroin transiting Cambodia coming to the United States."

Could it be that no one really wants to look for evidence? ■



BOOKS

DIPLOMACY 101

Breakthrough International Negotiation: How Great Negotiators Transformed The World's Toughest Post-Cold War Conflicts

Michael Watkins and Susan Rosegrant, Jossey-Bass, 2001, \$40, hardcover, 346 pages

REVIEWED BY HARRY C. BLANEY III

Breakthrough International Negotiation: How Great Negotiators Transformed The World's Toughest Post-Cold War Conflicts is a product of the Program on Negotiation at Harvard Law School. Co-authors Michael Watkins and Susan Rosegrant, professors in Harvard's JFK School of Government, take an academic approach to their subject, yet they also offer highly readable and lively accounts of various diplomatic initiatives based on interviews with key negotiators, such as James Baker, Terje Larsen, Robert Gallucci and Richard Holbrooke.

The book purports to provide "specific action-oriented frameworks" for future mediators, based on key diplomatic negotiations of the 1990s ranging from the Persian Gulf War to Bosnia and North Korea. However, the insights come more through the narratives of specific negotiations than through the broad, abstract generalizations scattered throughout the book.

For example, Baker's account of how the first Bush administration put together the coalition that drove Iraq back out of Kuwait offers useful

This book aims to provide guidance for future mediators, using case studies ranging from the Persian Gulf War to Bosnia and North Korea.

insights into his maneuvers to enlist Soviet support, assemble the "Arab coalition," and eventually pass a key U.N. resolution which imposed full economic sanctions on Iraq. (Although the book came out before Sept. 11, the parallels with the current administration's coalition-building for the recent Afghanistan conflict are nonetheless quite evident.)

At the same time, the authors show a degree of naivete when they praise as "revolutionary" Baker's efforts to push U.S. aims at U.N. headquarters, in foreign capitals and with ambassadors in Washington. Old hands will regard such diplomacy as more routine than innovative.

The North Korea case study illustrates the paramount need to ensure that "rogue" nations do not obtain an effective nuclear capacity. The chapter opens with a description of the visit of former President Carter to North Korea in 1994, which paved the way for eventual achievement of an agreement acceptable to both the U.S. and North Korea. At the time, Carter's efforts were harshly criticized by many

right-wing commentators, who, in their ignorance of the problem, were inherently against giving Clinton a "success" and against any deal with North Korea — even one that defanged their nuclear program.

Despite such opposition, Carter succeeded in laying the foundation for the eventual deal: namely, that the North would put a hold on its nuclear program in return for provision of far less dangerous light water reactors. But it was Amb. Robert Gallucci who then had the difficult task of resolving the specifics. Time and time again, the negotiations seemed stalemated but a "final agreed framework" was signed by the U.S. and North Korean negotiators in October 1994. The authors perceptively quote Gallucci: "It was a wonderful mating of the military instrument being ready and the diplomatic instrument being used."

The story of the diplomatic efforts leading up to and ending with the Dayton accords bringing peace to Bosnia has already been told in a number of places, including Richard Holbrooke's own book, *To End A War*. However, his observations here do add some insight, particularly regarding the importance of the realistic use of force via NATO air strikes in convincing the Serbs to negotiate seriously.

Overall, *Breakthrough International Negotiation* has many merits. However, at a minimum, readers should take the broad nostrums about how to close the "deal" and the schematic diagrams of negotiations with a grain of salt (though even those sections are sometimes useful). Many of the authors' recommendations are simply good common sense, while

others do not rise above the level of impenetrable academic jargon. Perhaps the best tip for all you budding high-stakes negotiators and deal-makers out there would be this: Learn how to live on just two hours of sleep and still be as sharp as a tack.

Harry C. Blaney III, is a retired Foreign Service officer who served in the Policy Planning Staff under Secretaries of State Kissinger and Vance. He is currently president of the Coalition for American Leadership Abroad (COLEAD).

A THOROUGHLY MODERN PRESIDENT

Theodore Rex

Edmund Morris, *Random House*, 2001, \$35.00, hardcover, 772 pages.

REVIEWED BY DAVID T. JONES

Edmund Morris' long-awaited second volume of his projected trilogy on Teddy Roosevelt was worth the wait. The initial volume, *The Rise of Theodore Roosevelt*, proved to be a double-edged sword: it won Morris a Pulitzer Prize in 1980 but also brought him a disastrous opportunity: the role of designated biographer for Ronald Reagan. Morris' effort to deal with the conundrums in Reagan's character led him to the highly questionable device of inserting fictional characters into *Dutch: A Memoir Of Ronald Reagan* (2000). His envious fellow historians denounced him, and many Reaganites were furious at Morris for wasting the unparalleled access he had been granted.

Nevertheless, Morris has recouped much of his standing as a historian with *Theodore Rex*; it may well win him a second Pulitzer. If not as engaging as the first volume, the absence of

Roosevelt's presidency was a century ago, but he was a modern president in foreign affairs.

profound revelation in the character of the mature Roosevelt can be traced to the reality that an individual's formative years are more interesting to incipient psychohistorians. Moreover, to a degree, every president has the same scenario for his public years: political campaigns; party infighting; executive vs. legislative conflict; and domestic challenges with racial, ethnic and financial overtones. Roosevelt has all of this legerdemain in rich profusion, but for the diplomat, he is particularly fascinating.

Roosevelt's presidency was a century ago, yet he was a "modern" president in foreign affairs. TR sent the "White Fleet" around the world to demonstrate that the U.S. "big stick" had a logistic reality outside the narrow successes in the 1898 war against Spain. But for Roosevelt, the epitome of power projection was the "Perdicaris alive or Raisuli dead" affair in 1904 in which the U.S. demanded the release of a presumed citizen by a Moroccan bandit/terrorist and sent a sizeable element of the fleet to stimulate Moroccan government attention. As that incident demonstrated, hostage situations are far from a 20th century phenomenon.

But Roosevelt's "speak softly" skills were even more adroit than his ability to employ power. Morris' descriptions of the maneuvers leading to the U.S. obtaining the rights to build the Panama Canal demonstrate how totally the Colombians, neck-deep in

corruption, overplayed their hand in seeking more money from Washington. A canal that had been talked about for a century was part of his legacy — but one gained more by letter-of-the-law guile than by force.

Roosevelt also remains the only U.S. president to win the Nobel Peace Prize, as a consequence of his orchestration of the peace treaty that ended the Japanese-Russian war in 1905. He saw the clash coming, anticipated the need for a neutral interlocutor, invited the combatants to meet at Portsmouth, and manipulated circumstances into an agreement that recognized the Japanese victory without humiliating the Russians. The descriptions of TR "herding emperors" are diplomatic history at its best.

Additionally, Morris has uncovered a largely forgotten 1902-03 Rooseveltian maneuver to eliminate a German threat to occupy parts of Venezuela as compensation for outstanding debts. He quietly invoked Monroe Doctrine principles, decoupled a British-German entente on forced repayment of these debts, and positioned a belligerent Admiral Dewey with a massive fleet in the Caribbean to force an end to the German blockade. Most of the positive results were the consequence of his personal diplomacy with the French, German and British ambassadors.

Morris depicts Roosevelt as a president in full, combining Nixon's world view without paranoia; Kennedy's physical vigor, without public relations puffery; Reagan's popular touch and Great Communicator skills, combined with the energy of a man in his forties; and Clinton's intellectual breadth, with a moral code. Today we would talk of cloning him. ■

David T. Jones, a retired senior Foreign Service officer, is a frequent contributor to the Journal.



IN MEMORY

Mark B. Lewis, 78, retired United States Information Agency Foreign Service officer, died of cancer on Dec. 28 at Surburban Hospital in Bethesda, Md.

During World War II, Mr. Lewis served in the U.S. Air Force in the European Theater, where he piloted a B-17 bomber and flew fifty combat missions. He received a B.A. from Yale University in 1947.

Mr. Lewis served as part of the White House press corps from 1955 to 1957 as the USIA and Voice of America correspondent. He served as director of public affairs in two African posts, Rhodesia (now Zimbabwe) and Ghana. He also served in Lebanon, Egypt and India. From 1969 to 1974 he was the director of the State Department's Office of Cultural Presentations. From 1964 to 1969 he was in charge of USIA's African Affairs Bureau, responsible for formulation of USIA communications policy and information programs in 35 African countries.

After retiring from the government, Mr. Lewis served as director of International Symposia in the United States from 1975 to 1982, where he organized and administered a seven-year series of educational, cultural and artistic symposia in 30 U.S. cities to educate Americans about foreign countries. From 1984 to 1993, he served as director of communications at the National Organization on Disability. Up until the time of his death, he was still writing free-lance articles and op-ed pieces.

Following his USIA assignments in Africa, Mr. Lewis was selected by

Life Magazine as one of "America's Hot Hundred" in a cover story entitled "The Take-Over Generation." He received an Outstanding Service Award from USIA for news coverage of the White House. He received a U.S. Department of State Superior Honor Award for sustained superior performance and innovative contributions. He received the Americans with Disabilities Act Award for historic contributions to the enactment of the world's first comprehensive civil rights law for people with disabilities.

Survivors include his wife of 50 years, Lillian Darragh Howard Lewis, of Chevy Chase, Md.; son Adam Howard Lewis of Kernersville, N.C.; daughter Deborah Hart Lewis Gadbois of Piedmont, Calif.; son Matthew Scudder Lewis of Charlottesville, Va.; and two grandchildren: Tyler Lewis Gadbois and Grant Lewis Gadbois of Piedmont, Calif.

Marshall Hays Noble, 78, retired FSO, died of cancer Jan. 8 at Lawrence and Memorial Hospital in New London, Conn.

Mr. Noble graduated from Culver Military Academy and Princeton University. He did graduate work at Yale and at Cornell in Burmese and Indonesian languages, respectively.

After serving in the U.S. Army Special Forces during World War II, he joined the Department of State as a Foreign Service officer. He served in Burma, Indonesia, Vietnam, The

Hague, and in Luxembourg as deputy chief of mission.

He is survived by his beloved wife Carolie Woods Noble; five stepchildren: Tracy Hollingsworth, Esq. of Alexandria, Va.; Dr. Helen M. Hollingsworth of Wayland, Mass.; Valentine Hollingsworth III of Dover, Mass.; Laura H. Hollingsworth of Farmington, Conn.; and Arthur W. Hollingsworth of Dallas, Texas.

The family requests that memorial contributions be sent to the Community Cancer Center, Lawrence & Memorial Hospital, 365 Montauk Ave., New London, CT 06320.

Edgar L. McGinnis, 94, retired FSO, died of natural causes Dec. 27 at Friends Home in Sandy Spring, Md.

Mr. McGinnis was born in Pitcairn, Pa. and graduated from the University of Pittsburgh.

He began his 37 years of government service in 1930. He served as the State Department's representative to the Board of Economic Warfare and the War Production Board, and later worked as a political economist and desk officer in the Latin America division. He served abroad in posts in South and Central America and in London and Tehran. He retired from the Foreign Service in 1967 from his last position as first secretary in Embassy London.

Mr. McGinnis lived in retirement at Leisure World in Silver Spring, Md., where he served as president of the Kiwanis Club, the Fireside Forum and the Environmental Club. He was

IN MEMORY

chairman of the Board of Directors of Mutual 12.

His wife of 64 years, Mary Brunner McGinnis, died in 2000. He is survived by two sons and a daughter: Dr. Edgar L. of Moraga, Calif.; Richard B. of Dumfries, Va.; and Mrs. Dennis R. Corcoran of Needham, Mass; and by three grandchildren and one great grandchild.

Mr. McGinnis is buried in Rock Creek Cemetery in Washington, D.C. in the section that accommodates many Foreign Service personnel. Memorial contributions can be made to the DACOR Bacon House Foundation or any charity.

Claire H. McKiernan, 84, wife of retired FSO Thomas D. McKiernan, died in Marblehead, Mass. Dec. 24 after a long illness.

Mrs. McKiernan (nee Laube) was born in Calw, Germany Aug. 5, 1917, and emigrated to the U.S. in 1921 when her family reunited after World War I. She grew up in New York City, graduated from the Katherine Gibbs School, and worked in New York as a legal secretary. During World War II she volunteered for service as a War Department employee in the occupation of Germany. There, in 1946, she met and married Thomas McKiernan, then a captain in the U.S. Army.

From 1946 on, Mrs. McKiernan assisted her husband throughout his career as a Foreign Service officer. They were assigned to Casablanca, Rotterdam, Berlin, Paris (NATO Defense College), Bamako, Nicosia and Izmir, and did three tours in Washington, two of which were in the Department of State and one in the Department of Defense (Air Staff).

After retirement in 1972, the McKiernans settled in Marblehead.

During retirement, Mrs. McKiernan enjoyed gardening, travel and various volunteer activities.

Mrs. McKiernan is survived by her husband and two cousins: Janet Patterson of Scarsdale, N.Y.; and Bruce Baum of Fair Oaks Ranch, Texas. The McKiernans had no children.

Herbert George Ihrig, 86, retired FSO, died Oct. 8 at his home on Bainbridge Island, Wash., where he had lived a retirement rich in friends and community service. He had been in ill health for three years.

Mr. Ihrig was born in Seattle in 1915. He graduated from high school at the age of 16 and earned a B.A. in economics from the University of Washington in 1936.

At the start of World War II, Mr. Ihrig was commissioned as an ensign in the U.S. Navy. He was given command of a minesweeper, and operated among the Gilbert, Ellice and Marshall Islands for two years. Near the end of the war, Mr. Ihrig received Japanese language training and was appointed as a temporary governor to the islands of Ponape and the Eastern Carolines. He then joined the U.S. occupation forces in Tokyo as a Department of the Army civilian, where he worked for 10 years in the labor division.

Mr. Ihrig's labor expertise brought him to the attention of the State Department, which he joined as a labor attaché in 1959. He was posted to Jakarta and Stockholm, and appreciated the chance to return to Japan to serve in Tokyo at the end of his career.

Mr. Ihrig retired in 1975, rebuilt his family home on Bainbridge Island and made it into a drop-in center for teenagers from around the island

who loved the chance to work, snack, joke and talk with an adult who cared and listened. Mr. Ihrig's five children fondly remember their overseas homes, Mitch Miller record sing-alongs, sushi dinners, sailing and swimming in the Bay of Jakarta, and regular returns to Bainbridge.

Mr. Ihrig is survived by his sons Ernie, Tom, and Peter; his daughters Mary and Cathy; 12 grandchildren; and five great grandchildren.

Donald Allen Young, 71, husband of retired FSO Virginia Carson Young, died Jan. 18 of pancreatic cancer at the Washington Hospital Center in Washington, D.C.

Mr. Young was a 30-year veteran of the Immigration and Naturalization Service. Before his retirement in 1982, he had served for eight years as the officer-in-charge of the INS district headquarters in Hong Kong, where he was responsible for the processing of thousands of Vietnamese boat people and other refugees from Southeast Asia.

It was in Hong Kong that Mr. Young met FSO Ginny Carson. They married in 1983, and he accompanied her to posts in Mexico, Romania and Peru.

He is survived by his wife Ginny of Washington; four children from a previous marriage; 11 grandchildren and three great grandchildren. Three of his grandsons serve in the U.S. military. His extended family includes Wendy Carson Yoder and Tom and Nancy Carson.

The family has requested donations in his name be forwarded to the Salvation Army, for use in their ministrations to orphans in Merida, Mexico, a charity that Mr. Young particularly admired and assisted while posted with his wife there. ■

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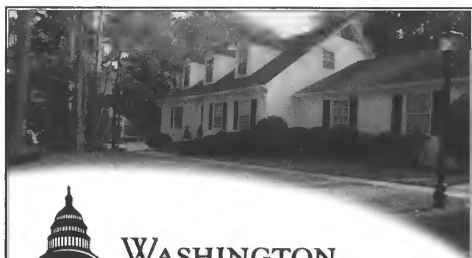
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POSTCARD FROM ABROAD

A Lesson in Observation

BY DANIEL F. McCULLOUGH

Meandering through a lush riverside park, I spotted a capuchin monkey running across a grassy area. It reached the trees and scampered up into the heavy foliage. Hoping to get a closer look, I crept toward the trees and scanned the thick canopy for signs of the capuchin. At first all I could make out were leaves and branches. As I fixed my gaze on the dark green maze above, I suddenly noticed a sea of furry faces, all staring down at me! The following day I would have an even greater opportunity to improve my observational skills.

Three months into my first tour with the Foreign Service in 2000, I traveled to eastern Venezuela as an election observer for the U.S. embassy and the Organization of American States. This final round of elections was to set the political stage for years to come. I could hardly suppress my excitement at being an important part of a momentous event.

I arrived in the city of Puerto Ordaz the day before the elections. After a morning meeting with regional election officials, I took advantage of the afternoon to explore. Puerto Ordaz, a major mining center, sits near the confluence of the Caroní and Orinoco Rivers. Cachamay Park, which runs along the Caroní River, lay

FSO Daniel McCullough recently finished his assignment in Venezuela and will serve next in Mumbai, India. The stamp is courtesy of the AAFSW Bookfair "Stamp Corner."

*These were not the
political operators
who had been my
handlers the
previous day:*



within walking distance from my hotel, so I'd walked there and seen the monkeys.

After spending the following morning visiting polling stations throughout the city, I headed out to a rural village, La Mata de Tapaquire. By then, the initial excitement over what I was doing had worn off. In contrast to the solicitous attention I'd received from the regional officials in Puerto Ordaz, I was now on my own. The village, a small collection of ramshackle farmers' bungalows, was quiet and dusty in the fierce afternoon heat.

I reached my destination, a forlorn, one-room schoolhouse of cinder block. The local officials were cordial but awkward. These were not the political operators who had been my handlers the previous day; they were farmers, and as I was unaccustomed to the local dialect, our conversation was limited. There was nothing to do until the polls closed, so as the afternoon wore on, boredom set in. I

checked in at the schoolhouse every hour, and in between I tried chatting with the two young soldiers ostensibly guarding the polling station. They made fun of my accent and I found amusement in their scuffed boots, dusty rifles, and boyish moustaches.

Upon closing the polls and starting the count, a disagreement about the proper way to tally the votes arose among the various political parties' representatives. They looked unprepared and disorganized as they recounted the ballots again and again. As the sun set, the debate intensified. Voices grew tense. From my side of the room, I strained to penetrate the local dialect. Finally, they decided to consult their election rulebook. It's about time, I thought, as I stepped outside to get some air.

I took a deep breath and scanned the darkening horizon. Lightning darted across the face of thunderclouds gathering above, and in the momentary illumination I caught a glimpse of the immensity of the Venezuelan savanna. I thought about the day. When I turned back to the schoolhouse, the scene had changed. The vote counters were still deliberating, but I wasn't seeing them in the same way. The long afternoon had stripped me of the pretensions I had held about my role. Instead of a group of provincial functionaries arguing in a shabby, dimly lit schoolhouse, I saw a body of citizens working in good faith to carry out fair elections. Suddenly, what I had viewed as tedious and frustrating became admirable. ■

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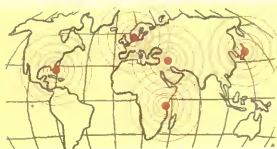
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