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# PRESIDENT'S VIEWS

## *A Higher Level of Effectiveness*

By JOHN K. NALAND

Over the past decade, successive AFSA Governing Boards have steadily increased the scope of AFSA's advocacy on Capitol Hill.



Starting with no staff or budget dedicated to lobbying, AFSA slowly added resources until reaching the point where we now have a full-time Congressional Relations director, a part-time consultant, and occasional interns staffing an office with an annual budget of nearly \$150,000.

These investments are paying substantial dividends. AFSA has been fairly successful in recent years in securing legislative changes on behalf of the Foreign Service and in supporting increases in funding for diplomatic readiness.

It is increasingly obvious, however, that we have been working with one hand tied behind our back. While we enjoy good access to influential congressional staffers who value our views as the "Voice of the Foreign Service," we find it difficult to get the opportunity to make our case directly to the busy senators and representatives who ultimately decide legislation.

Repeatedly in recent months, when we have gone to Capitol Hill advocating proposals concerning Foreign Service conditions of service, staffers

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

*AFSA has been working with one hand tied behind its back.*

have told us: "Nobody doubts that your proposal is reasonable, but what you lack is a member of Congress at the table during the legislative end-game who will tell colleagues that it is personally important to him or her that AFSA's proposal be included in the final bill."

Because their ability to continue to serve their constituents depends on securing re-election, the busy lawmakers whose support we need typically spend the majority of their time on two activities: working to achieve things for their constituents and raising the funds they need to communicate with their constituents. Acting largely on this constituent connection, D.C.-area lawmakers like Sens. Paul Sarbanes, D-Md., Barbara Mikulski, D-Md., and George Allen, R-Va., and Reps. Frank Wolf, R-Va., James Moran, D-Va., and Connie Morella, R-Md., have been very helpful to us.

Unfortunately, because Foreign Service members (active and retired) are relatively scarce outside of the D.C. area, most other lawmakers do not view our issues as being constituent issues. But we could get on their radar screens if we were able to assist them in obtaining the funds they need to

communicate with their constituents.

Therefore, the AFSA Governing Board, after extensive study and discussion, has voted to establish a Political Action Committee. AFSA-PAC will contribute to the campaigns of candidates who either a) have key roles on committees responsible for funding or oversight of the foreign affairs agencies or b) have elsewhere demonstrated concern for the Foreign Service. AFSA-PAC will make these contributions at events that members of Congress will make time to attend and at which we can explain our proposals on key professional and "bread and butter" issues.

To maintain a strictly bipartisan stance, contributions by AFSA-PAC will be divided evenly between the two major political parties. AFSA-PAC will focus exclusively on candidates for the Senate and House of Representatives. It will not participate in other elections (e.g., presidential, state, county, local, referenda).

Voluntary donations by individuals will be the source of 100 percent of AFSA-PAC's resources. By law, no dues may be transferred to AFSA-PAC. In other words, only those AFSA members who voluntarily contribute will be supporting this lobbying effort.

AFSA members will soon receive a letter explaining this in detail. That letter, along with Questions and Answers, is also posted at [www.afsa.org/pac.html](http://www.afsa.org/pac.html). Members with questions may contact us at [afsapac@afsa.org](mailto:afsapac@afsa.org). ■



# LETTER FROM THE EDITOR

BY STEVEN ALAN HONLEY

I am happy to report that some changes are coming to the *Journal* that we hope will make our 83-year-old publication even more relevant and responsive to the needs of the Foreign Service community.

One such change you will see in this issue: In place of Clippings, which has been a standing department of the magazine since 1984, we are instituting a new department, Cybernotes. As the name implies, the new roundup is primarily Web-based, though it will still draw on print media to some extent as it highlights news coverage of the Foreign Service and related subjects. But it will cast a wider net (pardon the pun), offering a broad selection of useful and interesting Web sites, as well as reviews of TV shows, movies and music CDs about or by Foreign Service personnel.

Another change is prospective. As part of our coverage of FS-specific lifestyle issues, we are instituting a periodic column looking at financial issues. Toward that end, I invite you to send us basic financial questions you would like to see answered by experts. These could relate to investments, retirement planning, saving for your children's education, property management, or any other subject that could reasonably come under the heading of finances for Foreign Service personnel. (We cannot, of course, promise to answer all questions in print, nor can we acknowledge receipt of those we do not use.)

Our Advertising & Circulation Manager, Ed Miltenberger, has

*Cybernotes will bring you a broad selection of useful and interesting Foreign Service- and foreign affairs-related Web sites.*

agreed to be in charge of matching the questions to the appropriate experts. The resulting Q&A columns will appear in AFSA News, rotating with the Personnel Issues Q&A by James Yorke and the Retiree Issues Q&A by Ward Thompson that already run there. So please send your questions to Ed Miltenberger via e-mail at [miltenberger@afsa.org](mailto:miltenberger@afsa.org) as soon as possible. We hope to begin this new feature this summer.

Simultaneously and in addition, we will seek longer, more detailed articles covering various aspects of FS finances to run in the "white pages" of the *FSJ* on an occasional basis. We believe this two-pronged approach will enable us to offer practical advice responding to your real-life concerns.

Other changes to the magazine are in the works, but I will save those for future columns. Instead, I want to close with two reminders:

Please bear in mind that the Speaking Out column is your opportunity to highlight professional con-

cerns or personnel issues, or offer policy recommendations. We would especially like to hear from Foreign Service specialists and employees of USAID, FCS, FAS and IBB, but all FS personnel and family members are encouraged to write us. For information on how to submit a column (or an article or letter), please contact us at [journal@afsa.org](mailto:journal@afsa.org) and we will be delighted to respond.

Finally, to give you a chance to use the other side of your brain, once again we are seeking works of fiction of up to 3,000 words for our 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.

All stories must be previously unpublished. Submissions should be unsigned and accompanied by a cover sheet with author's name, address, telephone numbers and e-mail address. Please note that the deadline for submissions is May 1 — no exceptions.

Please send fiction submissions to the attention of Business Manager Mikkela V. Thompson, preferably by e-mail at [thompsonm@afsa.org](mailto:thompsonm@afsa.org). Stories will also be accepted by mail: Foreign Service Journal, 2101 E St., NW, Washington, D.C., 20037-2990.

Let us hear from you. ■



# LETTERS

## Do What Needs to Be Done

Hume Horan's "The U.S. and Islam" in the February 2002 *FSJ* is an excellent lesson/analysis of the state of Arab-Islamic affairs at this historic juncture of international relations. It deserves a much broader dissemination than the limited outreach of *Journal* subscribers and readers.

Having said that, allow me to offer an observation that, I believe, would do justice to his intent, i.e., to enlighten readers on three subjects: Islam, the Israeli/Palestinian question, and Arab regimes.

The American understanding and regard for each of these matters is so flawed, so biased, so ill-informed as to make a policy that addresses them all together, somehow necessarily linked, impossible of implementation. I quite agree that "the United States with its never-equalled political and economic and military might, should preemptorily put a stop to the Arab-Israeli conflict." This conflict is stoppable, if only the U.S. would do what I have no doubt its various leaders have long understood could be done. And this does not depend

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upon simultaneous approaches to the wider, other questions of relations with the Islamic or Arab worlds. The freedom that such a move by us might release among Arab populations and governments to look at the disrepair of their own systems is seductive to contemplate.

*Lee Dinsmore  
FSO, retired  
Elcho, Wis.*

## Assert American Leadership

The thoughtful February articles by Hume Horan ("The U.S. and Islam in the Modern World") and John Dickson ("Why Do They Hate Us? A View from Mexico"), especially if considered together, shed considerable light on the problem of mistaken perceptions about the United States and American foreign policy in the Muslim world and parts of Latin America. The same could be said of Europe, especially Western Europe, where, as the recent hubbub about the treatment of al-Qaida prisoners in Guantanamo shows, acknowledgement of America's strength and commitment is frequently counterbalanced by suspicion, resentment and willful misrepresentation of fact.

If much of the world, especially Islamic nations, cannot credit our efforts and historic achievements and chooses instead to dwell on past wrongs — real or imagined — American capacity to lead the fight against al-Qaida and terrorism will

be hindered. We must live with this phenomenon even while trying to mitigate it.

It would help, however, to assuage resentment abroad if American leadership were exerted, as Amb. Horan asserts, "more forcefully and consistently [to] reflect America's ideals." While the reasons for Islamic animosity are complex, there is one area where we could regain respect by those not wholly lost to us. We could approach the present crisis in Palestine from the standpoint of peacemaker and honest broker. Valuing the lives of both parties as equally precious, we could work to bring about a settlement that would, at a minimum, assure the existence of a Palestinian state free of outside settlers and forge a mutually tolerable compromise on Jerusalem, while guaranteeing the existence of Israel in its pre-1967 boundaries.

In light of the movement to extremes in both parties and the rising disaffection of Arab states hitherto reconciled to Israel, our chances of success may be small, but are worth trying. We cannot easily alter the prejudices of those prone to condemn us, but the effort would further bolster our moral authority to lead the fight against terrorism.

The Bush administration now enjoys an unprecedented level of domestic popular support, which would offset criticism from special interest groups of any persuasion, in the United States and elsewhere. Unfortunately, the administration

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## LETTERS

has shown insufficient patience and a tendency to blame one side for the crisis. It also seems to be setting up a psychological framework for a preemptive military strike against Iraq, which, however loathsome its leadership, has not yet been implicated in the Sept. 11 massacre.

As a world leader that must use deadly force against foes when necessary, we will never be universally popular, but we ought to make every reasonable effort to convince others that our minds are open and our deeds are just. It is to be hoped that Secretary of State Powell will continue to represent such a philosophy in the high council of this administration.

*Kenneth N. Skoug, Jr.*  
*FSO, retired*  
*Alexandria, Va.*

### John Walker's Rights

Concerning the February letter to the editor titled "Give Walker Representation," I found it most strange that Mr. Purdy would write such a letter or that it would be printed, in particular his questions concerning John Walker of "Why has consular representation not been provided Walker? Why doesn't he have a legal representative? Has anyone explained to Walker his rights as an American?"

Mr. Purdy and the *Journal* seem to have forgotten that John Walker was not being held by a foreign government, rather by his own government, and that consular services are for our citizens in their dealing with foreign governments. The U.S. Department of Defense is not a foreign government either for Walker or for the U.S. Department of State.

There is of course the other factor that we did not at that time have either diplomatic or consular presence in Afghanistan.

*Peter Rice*  
*FSO, retired*  
*Sarasota, Fla.*

### Facts on Aerial Spraying

As Ambassador to Colombia since August 2000 and a former member of the AFSA Governing Board, I write in response to the articles by Don North in the January issue of the *Journal* ("The Colombian Drug Quagmire" and "Aerial Spraying and The Siege of Tibu.") Given that the *Journal* reaches such an important worldwide readership, it is regrettable that Mr. North's articles are poorly researched and based on faulty assumptions.

First, in prominent print preceding the main text of the first article is the statement "Colombia is on the brink of anarchy, largely because of the U.S.-sponsored drug war." The accusation that U.S. policy is somehow responsible for the problems in Colombia is irresponsible, and nowhere does Mr. North even attempt to support it.

Mr. North correctly notes that an important focus of U.S. support to Colombia is the program for aerial eradication of illicit coca and opium poppy crops. His research, however, appears to have consisted almost entirely of speaking with those who oppose the program for obvious reasons of self-interest, such as local government officials in the spray zones of southern Colombia. These officials come from desperately poor areas where many people depend heavily on the coca trade and where economic options are limited. Obviously, the narco-terrorists who control the growing and processing of coca and opium poppy oppose aerial eradication and will go to great lengths to generate opposition to it, including attempting to pressure, and even inflict violence, on elected officials. In the last 13 years, 200 Colombian mayors have been killed and almost 1,000 kidnapped by these narco-terrorists, making this position one of the most dangerous in the world. Thus it is hardly surprising that many local offi-

## LETTERS

cially publicly oppose the spray program — many of the few brave officials who have publicly supported it have been murdered.

Mr. North also suggests that spraying drives farmers to clear new areas of virgin rain forest, thus contributing to environmental harm. He has it backwards. In fact, it was the absence of a credible eradication program that caused cultivation to skyrocket in Colombia. Over the eight-year period 1992-2000, coca cultivation in Putumayo Department (now the heart of coca cultivation) increased almost twelve-fold, from 4,000 hectares in 1993 to 47,200 hectares in 2000. Clearing and deforestation took place at a corresponding rate. Yet virtually no aerial eradication took place there until the very end of 2000. The conclusion is inescapable: it was in the absence of effective eradication that cultivation skyrocketed.

Moreover, our field observations indicate that coca growers whose fields have been sprayed do replant extensively, but in the same fields. There has been no "mass migration" into the forests. From the grower's perspective, this makes perfect sense and is consistent with what experience has shown us in other areas of Colombia: growers tend to stay put and replant, hoping the planes will not return, rather than make the investment in capital and labor involved in moving to a new area and clearing new land. Where clearing is taking place — and it is — it is most likely the result of expansion by existing growers and new growers coming into the business. This is perfectly predictable in the absence of effective eradication: in strictly economic terms, the land is rising to its highest and best use. What is driving deforestation here is profit, not spraying. The corollary to this is that if there is not effective eradication — and only the aerial spraying program can possibly be effective in the

Colombian context — more and more forest will be cleared to make way for coca cultivation.

One must ask what the growers who are now cultivating coca were doing eight to 10 years ago, when the amount of coca in Putumayo was much smaller. It is likely they were engaged in legal cultivation there or elsewhere. It is important to bear this fact in mind when considering Mr. North's suggestion that the eradication program is targeting "innocent" campesinos who have depended on coca for many years and know no other livelihood. The Colombian growers bear little resemblance to the indigenous peoples in some regions of the Andes for whom coca cultivation does indeed go back centuries. Rural poverty is a harsh reality in Colombia, but it cannot be an excuse for tolerating a criminal enterprise that has deadly consequences in the United States and that funds terrorist organizations making war on Colombia.

There is some irony in the fact that Mr. North has apparently been seduced by the notion that spraying, not cultivation, is the problem. If a multinational corporation engaged in a billion-dollar-a-year agricultural enterprise moved into rural Colombia and began clearing large areas of forest and dumping millions of gallons of toxic chemicals into the rivers (as do the growers of illegal crops), there would no doubt be a worldwide outcry to stop such an activity and little sympathy for the economically disadvantaged workers who might lose their jobs as a result.

Finally, it is ironic that in his second article Mr. North chose to focus on civil unrest in the northern Colombian town of Tibu as illustrative of Colombian opposition to the spray program. It is widely known in Colombia that the Tibu demonstrations were sponsored by one of the illegal armed groups that the U.S.

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government has designated as a terrorist group. The real significance of the demonstration is that the ordinary citizens of Tibu, weary of narcotics-related violence, massed on the demonstrators' camp and drove them away.

I recognize and respect that there are a number of people and groups who have entirely legitimate questions about the spray program. I frequently meet with such people, and am happy to provide background information on the program to all who inquire. Mr. North failed to seek such information from either the embassy or the government of Colombia, and his articles lack credibility as a result. I am confident that those who choose to study the facts more carefully will understand that what we are doing is safe and effective.

Anne W. Patterson  
U.S. Ambassador to  
Colombia  
Bogota

### Bring On the Reserve Corps

In his January "Speaking Out," Bill Farrand expressed his unhappiness with the department's failure to effectively implement the Foreign Affairs Reserve Corps (FARC). I am equally unhappy.

After retirement, while living in Beijing with my still-active Foreign Service wife, I was invited to a group meeting with the visiting director general. As the only senior retired FSO present, I was asked to stay for a personal exchange. The DG asked me what I thought of his notion of an FSO retiree reserve corps. At the time I was working at the embassy as an ad hoc functionary at minimum wage drafting letters to senators and congressmen for the consul general and ambassador. I thought a reserve corps was a great idea.

When the plan was implemented,

I was one of the first to qualify for the FARC. But the only experience I had with FARC was to be recalled to set up the Agricultural Workers Visa processing center in Hermosillo, Mexico in 1987. I hadn't done consular work since my first post 32 years previously. Frankly, this was not a very satisfying experience.

I have not been approached again since then on the basis of the FARC list. I therefore support AFSA in its efforts to get the department to pay more attention to the FARC list.

David Timmins  
FSO, retired  
Scottsdale, Ariz.

### Dealing with Complexities

One of my greatest concerns about the absorption of USIA into the Department of State, apart from budgetary problems, has been its burial in the department's bureaucracy and the resulting damage to its effectiveness. AFSA's State Vice President Louise Crane's article in the January *AFSA News* attests to this situation, and Deputy Secretary of State Richard Armitage's interview in the January *FSJ*, in which he admits to the under-utilization of the public diplomacy asset, provides further confirmation.

I am encouraged that the public diplomacy arm of the department will receive more funds in the future but I wonder what the powers that be were thinking when they sent a brand-new hire, Charlotte Beers, out on a mission to the Middle East to explain U.S. policy. As an executive from a New York advertising firm, I assume she was hired to manage public diplomacy programs in Washington, not to deal with the complexities of the Islamic world without knowledge of the history, culture, religion and languages of that world. No wonder *The New York Times* reported that Middle

Eastern officials expressed the view that the United States continues to misunderstand them.

Dorothy Dillon  
Former Assistant Director,  
USIA  
Washington, D.C.

### Vance the Hero

During my 24 years in the Foreign Service, I twice had the privilege of working fairly closely with Cyrus Vance, a true hero. He was one of the few secretaries of State I knew, or know of, who cared sincerely about the Foreign Service. And he was a fine, fine man.

When you work in and for Washington as long as I did, it is easy to become cynical. You learn that rabid ambition and self-promotion are Washington commonalities. But you also see a few figures who stand apart, who put the national welfare above any selfish consideration. Rare heroes. Vance was one.

Vance's rock-solid mind and his knack for getting right down to the critical issues impressed me unforgettably. When he said something, it was as if he were carving it in granite.

The memories of Vance that rouse my admiration most are the scenes of his grappling with the horrible issues of nuclear weapons, whether fighting out American positions in Washington or negotiating grimly with Gromyko in Geneva or Moscow. This was a protracted struggle, which, in fact, is still going on. The fight between those who believe in American superiority and invulnerability, and those who believe that accommodation with adversaries must eventually be found, still endures. Cy Vance was a hero in that struggle as well.

Jack Perry  
FSO, retired  
Davidson, N.C. ■



# CYBERNOTES

## State's "Net" Gain

In December 1998, the State Department's Information Resources Management team produced a sweeping information technology overhaul plan. "Diplomacy for the 21st Century: IT Goals for the First Five Years — Building the New Information Organization" envisions a secure, managed global network based on commercial technologies and open standards to support foreign affairs activities, diplomatic readiness and the underlying business processes required to operate America's foreign affairs enterprise. When complete, in 2005, the network will feature capabilities for online collaboration and sharing of information, use of multiple databases and streamlined administrative applications, as well as a new unified messaging and document management system to replace the venerable cable — all with built-in security and access controls.

But it took three years and the arrival of Colin Powell to make the plan more than an academic exercise. Powell put upgrading the department's IT systems on his top-three-priorities list. He argued forcefully in Congress for the Bush administration's FY 2002 budget request of \$210 million for the IT upgrade — more than double the FY 2001 allocation — to jump-start the process. More memorably, speaking on Sept. 5 at the department's NetDiplomacy 2001 conference, Powell waxed passionate on the efficacy and urgency of this initiative ("I am not just an advocate of this: I am almost theologian on the subject"). The IT revolution is giving us tools of unprecedented power, Powell insisted, and we ought to use them. "We cannot fight this battle of values and

information with one hand tied behind our back," he said. In particular, the secretary emphasized his determination to put an Internet connection on every desktop.

Six months later, how is the initiative faring? By all accounts, the crucial initial phase — completion of the OpenNet Plus and Classified Connectivity programs, the underpinnings of the new IT infrastructure — is being held to an aggressive schedule. OpenNet Plus will allow secure Internet browsing and Web transaction services via the department's existing OpenNet network. So far, 2,640 of the department's 32,000 users have OpenNet Plus connectivity, and the project is on target to be completed at all of the more than 285 bureaus and posts by May 2003. The Classified Connectivity program will put e-mail, access to SIPRNET (the government's closed network for conducting business at the "secret" level), and other office automation tools on all overseas classified desktops by the end of Calendar Year 2003. Eighty of 250 posts have been fully wired at this writing.

Meanwhile, work is proceeding apace on the second major goal of the strategic plan, a modern, worldwide messaging system that will unify how all State communications (including internal memoranda, e-mails, telegrams, records, documents and mail) are generated, processed, utilized, distributed, archived, and retrieved. FY 2002 will see completion of the studies and business process re-engineering activities needed for such a major undertaking. Implementation and demonstration of a prototype system are slated for FY 2003. Watch this space for updates.

## 50 Years Ago

Unfortunately, experience has proven that we cannot gain many converts by preaching in Asia about either the American Revolution or about life in America today .... Our words must follow action and the action must be related to the individual on his own ground, in his own terms, and with a firm basis of reality.

— *Earl J. Wilson, Attache, Manila*  
*"Advice to a Public Affairs Officer" (heading to the Far East), in the FSJ, April 1952*



A few years ago I heard [the late Amb. Vernon Walters] interviewed in front of a thousand businessmen and women in Melbourne, Australia, and the interviewer gave him a great question. "Tell me, General, in your diplomatic activities, did you ever use flattery? And if you did, how did it work?"

Walters answered in a nanosecond: "Anyone who thinks flattery doesn't work obviously has never had any."

— *Michael Ledeen,*  
*"Vernon Walters, R.I.P."*  
*Feb. 15, 2002 in*  
*National Review Online*

## Get Your 'Stans' Straight

Until last September, if one were to take a map of the world and list regions of highest U.S. interest, Central Asia and the Caucasus would surely not rank near the top. True, a rich literature on New Great Games, Rebuilding Silk Routes and the like emerged after 1991, but this interest remained mostly confined to the sphere of academia.

But now, U.S. troops have been deployed in Pakistan, Uzbekistan, Afghanistan, Tajikistan and Kyrgyzstan. Afghanistan's interim leader, the charismatic Hamid Karzai, was on hand at the State of the Union address, the smiling symbol of the region's new priority in Washington. Overall, Central Asia is finally getting the attention some say it deserved long ago.

So where can those of us with little knowledge of the region look to get our 'stans' straight? One particularly useful resource is The Central Asia-Caucasus Institute, of Washington, D.C. ([www.cacianalyst.org](http://www.cacianalyst.org)). Part of the Johns Hopkins School of Advanced International Studies, the Institute was established in 1996 and has become one of the hubs of Central Asia policy discussion in the Washington area. The Institute's Web site features a biweekly news analysis and a collection of articles and links offering a glimpse of the complicated political, economic and security issues facing the former Soviet South today. The analysis is balanced and thoughtful and, though perhaps a bit technical at times for non-specialists, remains accessible to most Central Asia rookies. What the site offers in content is not, however, matched by its format: a number of links in the navigation bar and elsewhere are broken and there is no search engine.

Another good resource is EurasiaNet ([www.eurasianet.org](http://www.eurasianet.org)), the Web site of the Open Society Institute-sponsored Central Eurasia Project. Also established in 1996, EurasiaNet is a very professional one-stop shop, with the polish and drive one might expect from a constituent of international financier George Soros' well-

heeled foundation network. EurasiaNet combines up-to-date news with in-depth issue and policy discussion of business and economics, political, social, cultural and environmental developments. The site also includes Russia, the Middle East and Southwest Asia within its scope, and is readily searchable.

## Nonproliferation Is Hot Again

During the Cold War, much of the language and content of foreign affairs was defined by the grim lexicon of nuclear security. But with the end of the Soviet-American rivalry, talk of MAD, MIRVs and Minutemen abated, and concerns about chemical and biological warfare stayed put behind closed doors. That honeymoon proved to be short-lived however, and today, in the era of macroterrorism, the bomb is back, along with a demonic host of other weapons of mass destruction (WMD).

The Bush administration has placed nukes squarely at the center of its foreign policy and security platform. Besides moving to construct a National Missile Defense system and withdrawing from the ABM treaty, there is a new priority on the nonproliferation of WMD, as exemplified in Bush's "Axis of Evil."

The WMD watchdog community is a large one, and Internet resources plentiful. Here are a few good places to start brushing up on nuclear and other WMD issues:

[www.ceip.org/files/projects/npp/npp\\_home.ASP](http://www.ceip.org/files/projects/npp/npp_home.ASP)

The Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, of course, is one of the nonproliferation heavy-hitters.

[www.mackinac.org/features/debate/2001/National/links.htm](http://www.mackinac.org/features/debate/2001/National/links.htm)

The Mackinac Center for Public Policy provides a large collection of governmental and nongovernmental links.

[www.cns.misis.edu](http://www.cns.misis.edu)

The Center for Nonproliferation Studies offers a huge searchable database on WMD. Excellent for research.

[www.iraqwatch.org](http://www.iraqwatch.org)

Iraq Watch, part of the Washington-based



Wisconsin Project, keeps an eye on Saddam Hussein's WMD programs.

**www.ransac.org**

The Russian-American Nuclear Security Advisory Council works to strengthen existing Russian-American nuclear disarmament initiatives.

**Selfless Surfing**

Advertising on the Internet may be ubiquitous and invasive, but it's not all bad. A growing number of charities are harnessing capitalism's garish art of self-promotion to fund everything from orphanages to AIDS research. Visiting the sites below (just a few of the many out there), even for a moment, generates advertising revenue for the charity. To make a contribution to your favorite cause, all you have to do is visit the relevant Web site and follow the prompts. No one asks you for the money that is put toward fighting the good fight of your choice —

clicking on an icon is all that is required to make a small donation. Everything is paid for out of the goodness of Madison Avenue's heart. However, purchases of items advertised on the site do generate larger contributions to the charity.

**www.therainforestsite.com**

The Rain Forest Site

**www.thebreastcancersite.com**

The Breast Cancer Site

**www.endhomelessnessnow.org/index.htm**

htm

End Homelessness Now

**www.ecologyfund.com**

Ecology Fund

**www.stopthefood.com/hunger**

Stop the Hunger

**www.thehumanitariansite.org**

The Humanitarian Site

**www.clearlandmines.com**

Landmines

**www.freedonation.com/children**

For the Children ■

Though peace be made, yet it is interest that keeps peace.

— Oliver Cromwell, 1654

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# SPEAKING OUT

## *We Are The Key To Reform*

BY DON JACOBSON

During his first year as secretary of State, Colin Powell has made some important inroads in reforming the State Department and making it a better place to work. He clearly views himself as the department's top manager and its leader, with a mission to support and inspire his "troops." Concretely, he has already won us a substantial budget increase in FY 2002 to hire more personnel, improve our computer systems, and beef up security at our facilities around the world, and he continues to seek increased funding for our work.

So now that we have growing resources and a strong leader who is making institutional transformation a priority, will State finally turn the corner after so many years of shrinking budgets, institutional rigidity and deteriorating infrastructure? Is Secretary Powell going to succeed where so many of his predecessors have fallen short? We all hope so. But a key part of the answer actually lies with those of us at the working level. For in the words of management guru Peter Block, "change from the top down happens at the will and whim of those below."

The good news is that every supervisor at every level of State has the power — and the responsibility — to transform his or her part of the department into the dynamic, flexible and enlightened organization we would all like it to be.

Here are seven simple management principles that every manager

*Will Secretary Powell succeed in reforming State? A key part of the answer lies with those of us at the working level.*

---

can adopt to maximize all employees' development and sense of fulfillment. These principles have already been applied to foster innovation (with great effect) in some of our busiest consular sections overseas and can be applied to any type of work setting.

**1. Remember that the most fundamental job of all supervisors is to train and motivate their staff.**

If we all focus on developing our subordinates' abilities instead of just positioning ourselves for career advancement, the department will quickly develop a much stronger corps of leaders — which is vital to fulfilling any aspirations State has to maintain a leadership role in foreign policy. While developing our subordinates will often extract a short-term price in terms of staffing shortages, we must learn to view each developmental opportunity as an investment that will pay huge dividends down the road.

A supervisor who focuses on developing his or her employees virtually ensures that they will all

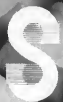
become more motivated and effective, enhancing the overall performance of the office or unit and, eventually, enabling the supervisor to delegate more. The unit's improved operational effectiveness will, in turn, reflect well on the leadership skills of the supervisor. Changing our focus thus does not require giving up any ambitions we might have for career advancement. It is simply a frequently overlooked approach to getting ahead — and one that has far greater benefits for the State Department as an institution.

**2. Actively seek ideas and input from your staff.**

A huge body of evidence shows that a group's performance improves substantially when its members have a say in how the work is done. Insist that every member of your staff take a hard look at the entire operation and make recommendations for improvements. This should be written into each individual's work requirements statement, and evaluations should comment on how innovative the employee was. In Guadalajara, we further reinforce this mandate both by giving a monthly "Great Idea Award" and by having consular section employees experience our services from the public's perspective as an "applicant-for-a-day." These kinds of stimuli encourage risk-taking, initiative and creative thinking, all of which are good for both the employee's professional development and the department's diplomatic readiness.

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**3. Provide clear direction and delegate as much as possible.**

In order to proceed with any assignment, an employee should receive appropriate guidance from his or her supervisor. If the project is a new initiative that the employee came up with while analyzing the whole operation, he or she should have wide latitude to develop solutions to the problems he identified. If the task originated with you, provide clear parameters for what the end product should look like, but don't micromanage how to get there. The level of intervention will vary with the capabilities of each employee, but managers should push their own comfort zone with respect to letting the employee develop the project on his or her own.

**4. Earn the respect of your subordinates every day.**

Although the State Department's hierarchical structure vests a certain level of respect in rank and position, supervisors must still lead by example, look after the well-being of their staff, and take a strong interest in the development of their employees. Supervisors who do these things consistently should have little trouble earning the respect of their subordinates. Respect begets loyalty and commitment, which, in turn, build a more productive and enjoyable workplace.

**5. Never underestimate the capabilities and dedication of your staff.**

"We're too busy," or "There is no time for special projects" should never be used as excuses to put off training and empowerment of your staff. Junior officers are always eager to make their mark, and will find ways to finish their routine work more efficiently in order to find time to work on their pet projects. Those who do not find the time have probably not been challenged to do so. If you think

*A very wise senior officer once said,*

*"There are no jobs in the State Department that are inherently career-enhancing."*

your staff is not up to a challenge, it may only be necessary to motivate them differently or give them more training.

**6. Reward the achievers.**

A very wise senior officer once said, "There are no jobs in the State Department that are inherently career-enhancing. The two most important factors influencing your success are whether you do an outstanding job, and have a boss who rewards you for it."

An employee will be more likely to put in the extra effort if he or she feels appreciated. So supervisors need to remember to reward stellar performance with the appropriate pats on the back, performance appraisals and awards when the time comes. But don't wait until evaluation time to tell each of your employees that you appreciate their efforts. Simple public acknowledgment of an outstanding achievement (e.g., praising someone during a staff meeting) can do wonders for morale.

However, it is equally important to be honest about underachievers at evaluation time. Inflated performance appraisals are most often the result of a supervisor unwilling to confront poor performance in a meaningful way. This breeds a highly destructive form of cynicism.

**7. Take responsibility for your own development as a leader and manager.**

In order to develop and mentor subordinates effectively, each of us needs to make a long-term commitment to cultivating and keeping up-to-date the necessary personnel skills. All of us can benefit from more formal leadership and management training, and the Foreign Service Institute has recently responded to this need by establishing the School of Leadership and Management. While finding time to attend training courses is often problematic due to pressures caused by staffing gaps, do everything you can to get scheduled for the courses that look most useful to you — and let your subordinates do the same.

Formal training is only one of several possible ways to start, however. There is nothing to stop each of us from picking up a few good books on management and leadership. Whether we get formal training before or after commencing our effort to become better leaders, the leadership training will have the greatest benefits if we internalize the lessons taught and become committed, long-term students of the subject.

Finally, remember that you are not alone. There are many other State Department employees at all levels who would like to right the ship. Find a group of like-minded individuals with whom you can discuss management issues and share experiences about what kinds of methods have worked well in the State Department context.

The first installment of new resources is starting to pour in. The rest is up to us. ■

*Don Jacobson, an FSO since 1992, is the consular section chief at ConGen Guadalajara. He has also served in Ciudad Juarez, Seoul, and Bogota.*

# U.S. WAR ON TERROR — A MIDDLE EASTERN PERSPECTIVE

A decade ago, when the U.S. was in the process of building a broad coalition with the aim of kicking the invading Iraqi army out of Kuwait, average Arabs and Muslims were heavily lectured on the need to put in place a “New World Order.” Since the Sept. 11 attacks, the predominant American theme has been “The War on Terrorism.” On the streets of Arab and Muslim countries, skepticism and cynicism are the prevailing reaction then and now. The most recent U.S. campaign again raises questions about U.S. credibility in the region. This skepticism reveals that an extremely large proportion of Arabs and Muslims do not trust Americans.

In fact, whenever something is suspected of being fake, the spontaneous question asked by an average Egyptian is “Is that genuine or American?” The Americans, in their turn, have a growing belief that all Arabs and Muslims do hate them. Whenever an anti-American attack takes place, fingers of blame are immediately pointed at an Arab or a Muslim. It seems, then, that the roots of skepticism are pretty mutual. And furthermore, they date back far before the destruction of the WTC and the Pentagon.

It would be ludicrous and illogical to assume that any in-depth analysis, however thorough or objective it may be, can provide the one and only explanation for the growing wall of distrust between the U.S. and many in the Middle Eastern countries — Arab and Muslim peoples. A recipe for bringing down that wall of mutual mistrust is neither handy nor

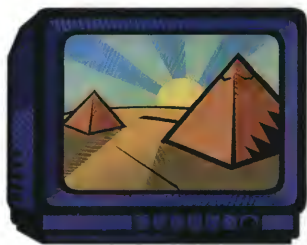
expected. Yet it would be a shame not to at least try for an explanation.

## Clash of Civilizations

Over the past decade, many in the Muslim world have developed a strong belief that since the demise of communism as a viable blueprint for the right ideological foundation for any given group of nations, Islam has been painted as the West’s Enemy No. 1. Israel, according to the proponents of this belief, has been very much behind promoting a vicious picture of Islam as posing a political, cultural and security menace for the U.S. and Europe — as was the case with the now-defeated enemy communism. Many think that the Jewish state and its lobbies have sought to implant this idea to serve their own ends. Surely one of these purposes is a massive crackdown on Palestinian resistance groups as part of the “war against terror” or “Israel’s strike back,” as many U.S. media outlets have called it.

During the Cold War era, the West saw communism as more than an ideology embraced by a group of people and a number of societies. The U.S.-led camp saw it as a set of political, economic and social doctrines diametrically opposed to those followed by the West. Just as the Western media focused on the “ugly face” of communism, Islam is now being demonized. The media are making a point of reporting the marked differences between life in the West and life in the Muslim societies.

“Either with us or with the terrorists,” “Dead or alive,” and other bellicose slogans repeatedly used by senior U.S. officials, led by President George Bush himself, have not gone over very well in the Arab world. Muslims have inter-



Jude Macerem

## ON THE ARAB STREET, SKEPTICISM AND CYNICISM ABOUT THE U.S. PREVAIL.

BY KHALED ABDULKAREEM

preted it as an indication that they are in the 'other' camp. It was also a reminder of the Churchillian language that dominated the years following World War II and the Truman Doctrine, which remained an integral part of American foreign policy for four decades.

Unfortunately, some voices in the West and in the U.S. media appeared to re-echo the core ideas of *The Clash of Civilizations*, in which Samuel Huntington contends that "the principal conflicts of global politics will occur between nations and groups of different civilizations. The clash of civilizations will dominate world politics. The fault lines between civilizations will be the battle lines of the future." Or consider Italian Prime Minister Silvio Berlusconi, who recently spoke of the superiority of Western civilization over that of Muslims and Arabs, whom he painted as lagging behind in the "race of civilizations." And President Bush has slipped more than once into using the word "crusade" in reference to the campaign against al-Qaida, the Taliban and any other "terrorist" entity. That term did not go over well with Arabs and Muslims.

#### **War Hawks Fly Again**

Mere references to the Crusades by Western leaders are enough to cause skepticism in the Middle East. Arabs and Muslims still remember that the expansion of land, trade and religious relics were among the ulterior motives of the religious battles whose declared goal was to recover the "Holy Land" (Palestine) from the Muslims. And as the Crusades began with an impassioned sermon given by Pope Urban II, Mr. Bush began the "war on terror" with a remarkable speech to Congress on Sept. 20. Both messages found great appeal, but many of those who answered the call in both cases took up arms, not for the causes of "Christianity" and uprooting "terrorism," but to serve their own agendas. It is true that the Bush administration has been trying assiduously to avoid the ideological underpinning of its "war on terror." Yet recurrent negative references to "Islamic militants," "Islamic extremism," and "Islamic charities," and the law

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*Khaled Abdulkareem is the Washington correspondent of Egypt's Middle East News Agency. The views reflected in this piece do not necessarily reflect the positions of MENA.*

### *The term "crusade" did not go over well with Arabs and Muslims.*

enforcement campaign against Arabs and Muslims, push many to question U.S. efforts.

U.S. history books refer to the "War Hawks" — a group of Republicans in the United States Congress who advocated war with Britain in 1812. It was the War Hawks who swung the close vote when Congress was called upon by President

James Madison to declare war on the British in June 1812. Some historians believe the true motive behind the War Hawks was not resolution of shipping problems with Britain, but rather the desire to annex parts of southern Canada to the United States.

As fate would have it, such "War Hawks" have the upper hand in U.S. politics once again. Both in Congress and the Bush administration, there is a group of ardent "War Hawks" who are advocating expansion into countries such as Iraq, Somalia, Sudan, Yemen, Iran and Syria — all of which are Muslim. It is a coincidence, of course, but it adds to deep-seated Muslim doubts about American intentions.

Some speak of Arabs and Muslims as people obsessed with conspiracy theories, self-defeating scenarios and the inability to look into the root causes of "poverty and extremism" plaguing their societies. This could be a legitimate line of thought. But there is also a need to acknowledge the legitimate concerns of Arabs and Muslims, which should not be sidetracked or ignored in the tendency toward American unilateralism.

#### **Way Out**

It would not be practical at all to imagine that a quick fix is possible for years of eroding trust between Muslims and the West, especially the U.S. But one possible way toward bridging the gap is for the Americans to show more respect — not just in words but in actions as well — to the cultural and religious make-up of the Arabs. A less biased policy (nobody is expecting full justice) may help improve America's image in the Middle East. Arabs and Muslims have their side of the story as well. A fresh perspective, free from exaggeration, should be adopted in painting the Western world to the average people in the East. Such a process of healing may take many years. In short, the camp fond of demonizing each side should give us a break. ■

## SOUND BITES, ISLAM AND FOGGY BOTTOM

In the light of the Sept. 11 attacks, many questions have been raised about the United States, her leadership, and her war against terrorism. At the same time, questions have been raised about anti-Americanism, Islam and the Arab world — as well as the oft-repeated question: “Why do they [i.e., Muslims, Arabs and others] hate us?” At this point real confusion emerges, when everybody mentions “we,” “they,” and “us,” assuming you know exactly who he or she is referring to. This is not a philosophical issue. It is a reality, or at least a perception we have all been living through since Sept. 11.

For these frequently raised questions, the pundits, talking heads and “experts” on Islam, on terrorism and the Middle East (very often the same individuals) are ready to give answers (never saying “I don’t know”) — albeit mostly fast, ready-made ones. The ease with which they answer these questions sometimes leads me to wonder, if the answer is so simple and clear, how did the policy-makers and strategists miss it — or, if the answer is known already, why do people keep asking the same question again and again? Is it to show their knowledge or to hide their ignorance — or both?

Unfortunately, over six months after the attacks, the sound-bite mentality remains the dominant approach in explaining and justifying the war against terrorism — and in understanding “the enemy.” Where else can you find a 24-hour flood — practically a bombardment — of sound bites, if not on CNN and Fox News (the latter just a bit louder)? CNN did not wait long before coining the term “America’s New War.” We

all remember “Desert Storm,” the “line in the sand” and other terms, made for television, with every crisis and subsequent military involvement in the last decade and more.

And, in each of those crises over the last 12 or so years, international correspondent Christiane Amanpour was there, on each new front line. Wherever she shows up, a war is coming if it is not there already — as many colleagues and friends reminded me at the beginning of last October. Welcome to CNN-ized foreign policy and the “Amanpour factor,” which is shaping the mood in the United States and abroad. Are these exaggerated observations, or a realistic characterization of what Americans — and the rest of the world too — have watched since Sept. 11?

These are thoughts in the middle of the road, just a few months after the launching of the war on terrorism. It is hard to be objective, especially when everyone — whether here or abroad — wants you to

be subjective: to fight their fight, to adopt their point of view, not to raise any doubt about the “right action,” not to question the whole issue. Not even to question the means used to explain what happened, how to avoid other terrorist attacks and how to combat terrorism in all forms. How many times in public or private discussions with people who assume they know who I am, and how I think and feel about the whole issue, has the same confrontation taken place? It was and still is painful, insulting and offensive to see that sometimes the “rules of engagement” boil down to just one: “With us or with the terrorists.”



AMERICANS HAVE  
TO REVIEW AND  
RESHAPE THE WAY  
THEY SEE THE WORLD.

By THOMAS GORGUISSIAN

## F O C U S

What if I disagree with you but am also against the terrorists?

Still, so long after Sept. 11, I and many others continue to be reminded of how “sound bites” are occupying people’s minds and hearts. Even highly educated and extensively traveled people sometimes repeat the same ignorant sound bites and demonstrate insensitivity toward others’ culture, religion and civilization. Many examples of these insensitivities have surfaced in the past weeks and months.

Apologies and retractions for political or diplomatic reasons have become commonplace in the aftermath of Sept. 11. The White House itself apologized for the use

*Thomas Gorguissian is the Washington correspondent for Al-Wafd, an Egyptian opposition daily newspaper. He wrote on the U.S. presidential elections for the Foreign Service Journal in September 2000.*

### *What if I disagree with you but am against the terrorists?*

of the loaded term “crusade” by President Bush, for example. The Pentagon changed the name of the military operation in Afghanistan from “Infinite Justice” to “Enduring Freedom.” What I have read and heard in the last weeks has urged me to stress that Islam and Muslims more than ever deserve a serious approach and deep understanding. Cultural considerations and cultural sensitivities are both vital components of a desired international coalition — not just during wartime but also during periods (years, one hopes) of peace — whether the approach is traditional diplomacy or public diplomacy. For the rest of the world to “buy American” requires not just better marketing — as many even in Foggy Bottom think — but a better product, which besides being tasty has to be healthy, or at least not harmful.

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the latter more has to be done than watching CNN, or viewing the world through the equation of *The Lexus and the Olive Tree*, or even weighing all crises with the measure of "clashes of civilizations." The superpower has to review not just its policies but its ways and means of shaping those policies. "Why do they hate us?" The question and the issue still remain unanswered, or answered without knowledge, depth and sincerity. By changing the phrasing of this question itself to "How do they see us?" a great service would be done to the issue of understanding and sharing of global issues.

This more civilized title was the name of a panel organized by the Chicago Humanities Festival early last November, with foreign journalists as participants. Such panels remind us that there are many

*The rest of the world is expecting that Americans will come out of their arrogance and pay some attention to what is going on in the world.*

ways to look at our world, to handle the issues and to find solutions. Pardon me for saying so, but sound bites, tailored polls and well-phrased statements are not enough to popularize U.S. actions. And indeed, "smart bombs" cannot correct or fix "dumb" policies.

The day of peace is coming — we all hope soon. The anger, grievances and resentment toward America, which many like to call "hate," are not because of how Americans live, or how wealthy they are, or how healthy they appear, or because of their lifestyle. The rest of the world is expecting that, because Americans are the most powerful, most resourceful country in the world, they will come out of their arrogance and pay some attention to what is going on in the world. Americans have to review, reshape and reformulate the way they see the world — us. ■

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## THE WAR'S MISSING FRONT

**W**e all learned a great deal from the events of Sept. 11. For me, the Turkish public's reaction to this tragedy was a lesson in itself. The Turkish government was quick to condemn the attacks and to announce its willingness to stand by the United States in the fight against terrorism. Yet the initial reaction of the Turkish people was not much different from that of many nations in the region. Turks from various cultural and ideological backgrounds basically said, "Yes, these attacks were terrible, but..." Implied in their response, along with their sympathy for the victims, was their belief that the United States had somehow brought these attacks on itself.

In Osama bin Laden's taped statement that was aired by Al-Jazeera on Oct. 7, 2001, there was one especially intriguing sentence, in which the terrorist mastermind made a reference to the "humiliation and disgrace" that Islam has suffered for "more than 80 years." As the historian Bernard Lewis pointed out, bin Laden was alluding to 1918, the year when the Ottoman sultanate, in Lewis's words, "the last of the great Moslem empires," was finally defeated, and its capital, Istanbul, was occupied (*The New Yorker*, Nov. 19, 2001). The Turkish republic, which eventually replaced the Ottoman Empire, represented a success that was, in its strong nationalism and secularism, foreign to the Muslim world.

Turks managed to liberate and modernize their country but they did not do this in the name of Islam. Bin Laden's words reflect a sentiment that has since been present throughout the Muslim world: regret for the loss of its power and influence, and blame of the West for this loss. What then prompts the children of the modern Turkish republic to look for ways to justify rather than outrightly condemn the attacks of Sept. 11?

Turkish novelist Orhan Pamuk thinks it was sheer poverty that made one of his elderly neighbors in Istanbul react to the events of Sept. 11 by saying, "Sir, have you seen, they have bombed America. They did the right thing." Pamuk draws attention to the feelings of individuals in those societies where there is much poverty and not much democracy. These people are aware of how insubstantial their share of the world's wealth is; they know they live under conditions that are much harsher than those of Westerners, and that they are condemned to a

much shorter life. "The Western world is scarcely aware of this overwhelming feeling of humiliation that is experienced by most of the world's population," says Pamuk. "What prompts an impoverished old man in Istanbul to condone the terror in New York in a moment of anger, or a Palestinian youth fed up with Israeli oppression to admire the Taliban, is the feeling of impotence deriving from degradation, the failure to be understood, and the inability of such people to make their voices heard" (*The New York Review of Books*, Nov. 15, 2001).

To those who are familiar with the anger of the despondent,



Jude Macceron

THE PSYCHOLOGY  
OF DESPAIR  
MUST BE  
UNDERSTOOD.

BY YASEMIN CONGAR

## F O C U S

President Bush's definition of the problem as a "war between good and evil" sounds much too simplistic. There is no doubt bin Laden is an evil man and the suicide attackers who took innocent lives were evildoers. But to which side does the angry old man in Istanbul belong? Are those "yes, but" nay-sayers who fail to unequivocally condemn terrorism really the enemies of good? Are they against freedom, modernity, democracy and wealth? Or are they angry that their own lives are not free, not modern, not democratic, not wealthy and essentially not good?

For those of us who come from countries where millions of people despair, our countrymen's reaction to Sept. 11 reflects a more complex problem. Unwilling and unable to accept that their failures are their own responsibility rather than a result of the policies of the United States, many essentially good people express anger toward America rather than the terrorists.

To ultimately win its war against terrorism, the United States will have to find ways to understand this psychology of despair, whether it results from "the humiliation of Islam" or merely the lack of a good life. This requires opening a new front — not another theater to exercise American military superiority, but a moral and ideological struggle to end humiliation and lead Muslim societies toward the necessary changes to achieve wealth and democracy. The West won the Cold War because those who lived under the socialist system understood that their own system was responsible for their misfortune, not capitalism. That old system collapsed when it could not transform itself in a way to provide wealth and democracy. If a new world order is to be established in the post-Sept. 11 era, at the heart of this order will

*If a new world order  
is to arise in the  
post-Sept. 11 era,  
at its heart will be  
the fate of the  
Muslim world.*

be the fate of the Muslim world. Will the Muslim societies be able to open themselves up to become partners in the global order? And will the West, particularly the United States, take the political steps to encourage such a change?

Islamic terrorism can only be defeated when the Muslim world manages to re-establish itself on principles of humanism and secularism. If the United States wants to win this war, it will need

to take a principled stance against the anti-democratic regimes in the Middle East which it has thus far embraced. Such a front would require the United States to make an effort to hear and be heard by the despairing millions. It will not be an easy task. ■

### 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.

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*Yasemin Congar is the Washington bureau chief of the Turkish newspaper Milliyet, for which she writes two weekly columns on U.S. politics and culture, and the TV network CNNTURK. She is married to FSO Chris Mason.*

# TRADE AND OTHER FACTORS SHAPE BRAZIL'S VIEWS OF U.S.

Americans should not read too much into the Osama bin Laden masks that were seen in the streets of Rio during Carnival this year. After all, the devil has always been a common figure in this most pagan of popular festivals. And to the horror of Muslim fundamentalists and sympathizers of the terrorist leader around the world, for every Osama, there was a scantily dressed woman — or man — sweating under a burqa in the Carnival balls and parades.

Masks and costumes were not enough, however, to disguise the ambivalence of Brazilians' reaction to the Sept. 11 terrorist attacks against the United States and their aftermath. The spectacular and brutal bombings of the World Trade Center and the Pentagon provoked genuine shock and condemnation of the terrorists' actions in public opinion. But the decision of President Fernando Henrique Cardoso to mobilize domestic and regional political solidarity with the United States, and tacitly endorse the American military response to the attacks, by invoking the Inter-American Treaty of Reciprocal Assistance (Rio Treaty) at the Organization of American States, generated less enthusiasm and approval. Cardoso himself has expressed anxiety over the direction of American diplomacy after the attacks, especially in the economic and trade area, the most important dimension of the post-Sept. 11 world from the Brazilian perspective.

The government's actions in support of the United States, such as the invocation of the Rio Treaty, were promptly criticized by various

elements of the political and intellectual establishment, from both the left and the right. They may differ in many respects, but are united in their nationalistic feelings, often expressed in anti-American rhetoric. Luiz Inácio "Lula" da Silva, the chairman of the leftist Workers Party, who leads the opinion polls for the presidential election of October 2002, recently said, "The foreign policy mistakes the United States made [in the past] should not justify the [terrorists'] violence against innocent people." But he also criticized the government's support for America's war on terrorism and said the attacks were the consequence of Washington's past interventions in many countries.

American military interventions and support for military regimes abroad during much of the 20th century are probably the main reason behind the popular discomfort with the U.S. response to the attacks. The greater economic insecurity and sense of loss and alienation brought about by globalization, which is often viewed as synonymous with American global power, are also part of the explanation for the lack of broader popular support for the war on terrorism in Latin America. As in other nations of the region and the world, including European countries like Greece, a majority of Brazilians consulted in opinion polls condemned both the terrorists and the U.S. campaign in Afghanistan.

It is remarkable that, in the face of this public attitude, Brazil's official support for the war against terrorism went beyond words and political gestures. The government upgraded intelligence cooperation with the United States, especially in the tri-border area of Brazil, Argentina and Paraguay, to investigate suspected fund-raising activities for al-Qaida in the prosperous



IN BRAZIL,  
THE GOVERNMENT  
DEFIES PUBLIC OPINION  
TO SUPPORT THE WAR  
AGAINST TERRORISM.

BY PAULO SOTERO

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Muslim community in that area. The Brazilian authorities also approved a pending Washington request to open a Secret Service office in the American consulate-general in São Paulo, to help track money laundering and other types of criminal activities.

Less surprising is the sense of frustration in Brasília with what the attacks failed to produce so far: a review of the "go it alone" foreign policy of the early months of the Bush administration in favor of a more inclusive diplomacy. In the first weeks after the tragedy there was an expectation (not only in Brazil) that Washington would move away from the unilateralist tone it had adopted in favor of a broader strategy of connection and engagement with the world. With U.S. territory suddenly vulnerable to terrorist attacks and more American lives at stake, newspapers and magazines published editorials expressing the hope that Washington would start to pay more attention to the social and economic neglect that breeds radicalism and eventually terrorism in many parts of the developing world.

The American contribution to the successful launching of a new round of global trade liberalization talks at the World Trade Organization, in Doha, in mid-November, raised these hopes. Then, just three weeks later, the Bush administration accepted the draconian protectionist conditions set by the textile, agricultural and steel lobbies in the House of Representatives in order to win renewed trade promotion authority — by just one vote. The connection between the U.S. response to the Sept. 11 attacks and trade matters may not be apparent from the American point of view. Indeed, the launching of the new WTO round and the TPA vote would probably have happened even without the attacks. But since issues related to trade are at the top of Brazil's bilateral agenda with the United States, the limitations the House placed on the ability of the Bush administration to make concessions to its trading partners after Sept. 11 became part of the Brazilian perception of the U.S. response.

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*Paulo Sotero is the chief North American correspondent for O Estado de S. Paulo, a Brazilian daily newspaper. He is also a frequent lecturer on Brazilian affairs and Brazil-U.S. relations at public fora. He wrote on the U.S. presidential elections for the Journal in September 2000.*

*Washington's passivity  
in Argentina  
gives Latin  
Americans pause.*

While the Brazilian External Relations Ministry put out a diplomatic note welcoming the approval of TPA by the House as "an important step for multilateral and regional negotiations," President Cardoso called attention to the negative implications of the limitations the Congress

seems bound to impose on U.S. negotiators. "Taken to the letter, this [version of the TPA] means that there will be no Free Trade Area of the Americas," he said. In another statement, Cardoso went as far as to imply that the growing protectionism in the developed world can be as "barbaric" in its consequences for the developing countries as the actions of the terrorists.

Three other concerns are of relevance for the analysis of the evolving Brazilian attitude vis-à-vis the United States post-Sept. 11. The first, shared by most countries in the region, is the still-uncertain implications of the war on terrorism for the American strategy in the combat of narco-trafficking in Colombia. The second issue is the Bush administration's passivity in Argentina. As understandable as it may be, Washington's tough-love attitude in the face of the collapse of the third-largest economy in Latin America has reinforced the perception that the region, or at least South America, really does not matter for the United States, regardless of Washington's pronouncements to the contrary. Press reports in Buenos Aires about concerns that the State Department conveyed to Argentina regarding that country's search for closer relations with Brazil have also reinforced old suspicions about U.S. efforts to undermine Mercosur (also known as the Common Market of the South) — an economic integration initiative involving Argentina, Brazil, Paraguay and Uruguay. Against that backdrop, President Bush's speech at the OAS on Jan. 16 provoked a strong negative reaction in the Brazilian media.

Last but not least, the forces engaged in the arduous tasks of promoting democracy and civil rights in Brazil and neighboring countries share the apprehension of many in the United States about the threat that the war on terrorism poses to the open and democratic nature of American society. For them, the price of victory against terror cannot be the very freedoms and liberties that make the United States the great nation it is and that were so viciously attacked on Sept. 11. ■

# UNIVERSAL MORAL STANDARDS: IS THE U.S. ABOVE THEM?

**B**etter than anyone, we former Soviets know that arrogance breeds resentment, that a system under which, to borrow a phrase from Orwell, some animals are more equal than the others is inherently unstable. The Soviet Union failed in part because its leaders believed they knew what was best not only for their own people but for the rest of the world. If the current U.S. administration persists in its unilateralist policies it will risk leading America into the same trap.

The year 2001 in international politics ended the way it began, with a unilateral action by the administration of George W. Bush. This time the victim is the ABM treaty, but its killing reinforces the general impression that America wants to stand above international law. It is very dangerous not only for the world at large but also for the U.S. itself. Why do some people fear and hate Americans? Why is even the most egregious anti-Americanism sometimes cheered? The explanation offered by the Bush team — that “we stand for freedom and peace and our evil adversaries find it unbearable” — is disingenuous at best. Like the main point of the Bush doctrine — “who is not with us is with the terrorists” — it sounds exactly like the kind of thing that communist propaganda used to produce.

Many Americans say that their country bears the burden of international leadership only reluctantly. “We feel we are damned if we do and damned if we don’t,” they complain. There is some truth to that. The world does look to the U.S. for leader-

ship; people do come to America’s door with their grievances even if they are not especially welcome. And they always expect from the U.S. a fair consideration of their views. They feel they do not always get it.

The most obvious and important example of concern to Russia is the war in Chechnya. It took the horrible tragedy of Sept. 11 for the U.S. to finally start acknowledging what the Russians had been saying for years: that international terrorism was a major part of the problem in that region. It is by no means the only element in a complex situation, but to ask Russians to hold talks with criminals who blew up apartment houses and held hostages at maternity wards would be like asking Americans to negotiate with Osama bin Laden.

Therein lies the answer to those Americans wondering what their country can do to quell other nations’ apprehension and mistrust. Equal standards and equal treatment for everyone, including America itself, are the only solution. Nothing more can be asked; nothing less should be expected. Until the Americans in actions

as in rhetoric show a willingness to submit to the same international laws and procedures as everybody else, they will remain suspect in the eyes of less powerful members of the world community. Jettisoning treaties and conventions and refusing to recognize the jurisdiction of international courts do not help. Neither does a knee-jerk reaction of blaming others in situations like the one when Washington — with the acquiescence of many of its own friends — was voted off the U.N. Human Rights Commission last May.

From a moral standpoint, losing may actually be preferable to winning. If you lose, you have to



STANDARDS OF  
INTERNATIONAL  
BEHAVIOR SHOULD  
BE THE SAME FOR ALL.

BY ANDREI SITOV

ask yourself why it happened and face your own shortcomings, weaknesses and lies. Meanwhile the propaganda and lies of the winning side are usually justified and reinforced.

If the Americans turn a blind eye to this risk, an unintended consequence is that it pushes other countries onto a high moral ground vis-à-vis the U.S. Last April a British writer, George Szamuely, declared in the pages of *The Observer* that the time had come "for all those who value freedom to change sides." Elsewhere, he wrote: "Today the aggressive, imperial power bent on imposing its hegemony on the world is the United States. And the power upholding the sanctity of international law is Russia."

True, Mr. Szamuely is known for his staunchly anti-American views. And Russia certainly needs to go a long way before even its own people recognize it as a bastion of freedom. Yet just as the Russians should take such praise with more than a grain of salt, the Americans would do a disservice to themselves if they simply dismissed such rhetorical attacks out of hand.

If America, as the most powerful nation on earth, allows itself to bend some international rules or simply disregard them why shouldn't others do the same? And the others may include not only Iran and Iraq, but also, for example, China and India.

In U.S.-Russian relations the past year has brought mixed results. In the first months after the Sept. 11 attacks, the two countries were growing closer so rapidly that Colin Powell called the process — in a mixed metaphor — "a seismic sea change." But the more recent American withdrawal from the ABM Treaty was taken by the Russian public as new evidence that a true partnership based on the willingness to accommodate each other's interests was still a long way off. Traditionally, the Russians tended to believe that it was easier to deal with Republican administrations for tacti-

*From a moral  
standpoint, losing may  
actually be preferable  
to winning.*

cal reasons: the GOP "hard-liners" could be counted on to deliver on their promises. Today Russia's rejection of communism in favor of democracy and individual freedom seems to create a basis for an even deeper, almost ideological affinity between the two countries.

The biggest transition going on in Russia over the past decade is the one in people's minds. The Russians are slowly learning the benefits of true liberty, of relying on oneself rather than on somebody else, first and foremost the paternalistic government. The Clinton administration's attempts to lead former communist nations, yet again without much regard for their own preferences, to a "bright capitalist future" deservedly failed. People can only build a free and prosperous future for themselves through their own efforts. The government may help but it mostly should stay out of the way. The new Republican administration's approach seems to follow this principle. It includes taking a skeptical attitude to IMF handouts, substituting a business dialogue for a former intergovernmental commission and helping the Russian press learn the basics of business management. Yet one obvious problem with all these plans is that so far they mostly remain on paper.

Incidentally, that brings to mind one of the Clintonians' arguments before the elections on the subject of "Who lost Russia?" They responded: Just how real is the "new realism?" The Democrats were using it to cast doubt on Russia's intentions, but it can obviously be turned around to ask whether the Republicans can put their money where their mouths are. If they do, the new multifaceted strategic relationship with Russia that they keep talking about may actually become a reality.

Generally, despite what looks like instinctive unilateralism on the part of at least some members of the Bush team, there seems to be ground for optimism among those who wish for a more internationalist approach. Since Sept. 11, the U.S. is at last rediscovering the need to talk to the outside world. We in the foreign press community in Washington appreciate the better access to senior American diplomats and other officials. Maybe the willingness to listen will come next. President Bush once said that humility is a virtue. And true humility, as a wise man once said, lies in being teachable. ■

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*Andrei Sitov is the Washington bureau chief for ITAR-TASS, the Russian News Service. A graduate of the Maurice Thorez Moscow State Institute of Foreign Languages, in 1981 he began as a translator at TASS before being transferred to the American desk in 1984. He spent five years covering the U.S. from the TASS New York desk before becoming its Washington bureau chief.*

# AFSA NEWS

American Foreign Service Association • April 2002

## AN INVITATION TO RETIREES

### Join AFSA for Foreign Affairs Day

Foreign Affairs Day will be held on May 10 at the State Department.

With input from AFSA, Secretary of State Colin Powell decided to move Foreign Affairs Day back from September to May, where it will probably remain for future years. AFSA activities during Foreign Affairs Day will include an AFSA Memorial Plaque ceremony, during which new names will be added to the plaque. The plaque honors members of the Foreign Service and others who lost their lives serving their country. AFSA also plans to honor AFSA scholarship winners on May 10.

In response to requests for "more substance" from many of last year's Foreign Affairs Day participants, and from AFSA, the schedule for the day will differ from last year. Oral presentations from different organizations will be eliminated, and seminars on regional and policy topics have been added to the morning program.

Sec. Powell will address the participants and will lead the plaque ceremony. Seminars will start following the secretary's address.

The State Department will be sending out invitations to everyone who was invited to last year's event, and to everyone who retired since March 2000. Anyone who does not fit in either of those categories who would like to attend can

  
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request an invitation by e-mailing [foreignaffairsday@state.gov](mailto:foreignaffairsday@state.gov) or calling Patricia Able at (202) 663-3600. □

## DAY ON THE HILL WITH AFSA

### Make the FS Case on Capitol Hill

In connection with Foreign Affairs Day, AFSA will hold a "Day on the Hill" program on May 9, and encourages retirees to participate in this important event. Participants will join AFSA officials and staff on a visit to Capitol Hill to attend meetings with congressional representatives and staff. This event provides a unique opportunity for retirees to confer with key legislators and discuss Foreign Service and foreign affairs issues.

AFSA is sending out invitations for the "Day on the Hill" program to Foreign Service retirees (members and non-members). If you need more information, send an e-mail to [Marc.Goldberg@afsa.org](mailto:Marc.Goldberg@afsa.org). □

## ENID LONG APPRECIATION

### AFSA Mourns the Loss of a Dissent Award Pioneer

BY BARBARA BERGER, PROFESSIONAL ISSUES COORDINATOR



MARK BURNS

Enid Long presents the 2001 Rivkin Award to mid-level Foreign Service officer Edward Kulakowski.

Enid H. Long, who passed away Jan. 27 after a long illness, was a great friend of the Foreign Service and of AFSA. She was the widow of William R. Rivkin, who served as ambassador to Luxembourg from 1962 to 1965, and to Senegal, where he died suddenly of a heart

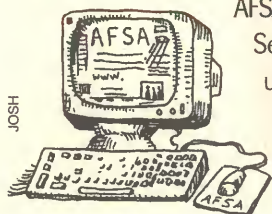
attack in 1967. One year after his death, Ms. Long established the William R. Rivkin Award for mid-level Foreign Service officers who demonstrated the qualities of independent thought and intellectual courage that were so greatly admired and

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# AFSANewsBriefs



## Are You Signed Up for AFSANet?



AFSANet is a free service of the American Foreign Service Association, designed to provide e-mail updates of AFSA activities and other items of interest to the foreign affairs community.

To subscribe to the newsletter go to [www.afsa.org/forms/maillist.html](http://www.afsa.org/forms/maillist.html).

## Life in the Foreign Service

■ BY BRIAN AGGELER, FOREIGN SERVICE OFFICER & CARTOONIST



"WELL, THAT DOESN'T DO MUCH TO ENCOURAGE CONSTRUCTIVE DISSENT ..."

## Welcome to New AFSA Staff

Susan Maitra, our new associate editor, is a refugee from the tech sector, where she was a writer and editor for the past several years. Before that she and her family lived in India, where Susan worked as a freelance editor on projects ranging from a monthly magazine on science and technology to children's books on Islam. Susan's husband is a consultant. They have a teenage daughter and an 11-year-old son.

Mikkela V. Thompson has signed on as the *Foreign Service Journal's* new business manager. Mikkela already knows AFSA well: she filled five interim positions in four different AFSA departments in 2001. The most recent, as managing editor for the *FSJ*, provided opportunities to utilize her writing and artistic skills. As a Foreign Service child, Mikkela's posts included Seoul, Helsinki, Gothenburg and Copenhagen. She studied in London and has a B.A. from Ithaca College. She engaged in further studies at the University of Copenhagen, and spent several years working in Denmark.

Christa Nyamekye joins AFSA as the accounting assistant. She is from nearby Silver Spring, Md., and recently graduated from The Catholic University of America with a B.S. in Financial Management. Christa enjoys community activities and works as a volunteer with The Girl Scouts of America.

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**FAS REPRESENTATIVE:** Eric Wenberg

## Call on Your Colleagues to Join AFSA

**A**FSA's operating budget is largely dependent on member dues. AFSA needs your help in our efforts to ensure that those who benefit from AFSA services support AFSA in return by becoming members. AFSA would like to request that each member who receives this issue of the *Foreign Service Journal* pass it on — with a mention of this page of *AFSA News* — to a colleague who is not a member of AFSA. Gentle encouragement from our members to their non-member friends will be much appreciated.

### Dear Colleague:

I am writing to you because you are on AFSA's BBNP list: Benefiting But Not Participating. As a Foreign Service member, you have benefited from AFSA's activities over the years. But, according to our records, you are not a dues-paying member (whereas over 7,100 of your active-duty colleagues are!). I would like to ask you to do one of two things. If our records are wrong and you are a dues-paying member, please send me a sharply worded message suggesting that we get our records straight. If, however, our records are correct, please seriously consider joining (or re-joining) AFSA.

The American Foreign Service Association is the professional association and union elected by members of the career Foreign Service to represent them. As an organization, we do many good things. Please check out our Web site at [www.afsa.org](http://www.afsa.org) to get the details. In summary, we have five key activities.

**LOBBYING:** AFSA is the only organization that can legally go to Capitol Hill on behalf of the Foreign Service. Among other goals, we are now working for legislation to expand locality pay to overseas employees and to remove the current capital gains tax penalty against employees who have not lived in their primary residence two of the past five years because they were assigned abroad. If we are successful, the salary of overseas employ-

ees will rise by 11.43 percent and employees who sell their primary residence will avoid capital gains taxes, like other Americans.

**NEGOTIATING WITH MANAGEMENT:** AFSA officers meet frequently with agency management to propose improvements in conditions of service that can benefit you. Recent successes have been to increase your home leave when you return to a domestic assignment and to increase the allowance you get when you transfer. We are currently pushing for a student loan repayment program, a real estate management fee repayment plan, and an increase in the amount of per diem you get during training.

**ADVOCACY:** The AFSA vice presidents spend approximately 40 percent of their time counseling fellow members on just about every subject imaginable. In a recent survey, a resounding number of members indicated that the number-one reason they joined AFSA is for its various activities advocating and defending individual employee rights. AFSA's professional staff researches many issues, stays current on changes to the FAM, and gives excellent advice to ensure that you benefit fully from the programs Congress has authorized.

**YOUR WATCHDOG:** To be blunt, not all of the threats to the career Foreign Service come from foreign terrorists. Sometimes agency managers fail to follow the rules, to the detriment of employees. When that

happens, AFSA does not hesitate to file institutional grievances or formal charges of unfair labor practices to defend our Service. At other times, we fulfill our 78-year-old role as the professional association of the Foreign Service by working to strengthen our profession.

**GRIEVANCE ASSISTANCE:** No one ever joins the Foreign Service expecting to file a grievance, but many of our colleagues have done so during their careers. AFSA has skilled lawyers on staff who understand the Foreign Service personnel system better than anyone. Grievance lawyers in Washington typically demand a \$5,000 retainer just to get started. Our lawyers and staff work for dues-paying members gratis.

I could go on, but I won't. If you have any questions, please contact us at [member@afsa.org](mailto:member@afsa.org) or (202)338-4045, ext.525. You can also ask your colleagues about AFSA. I bet most are members who feel they get good value for their dues.

The easiest way to join AFSA is to go to our Web site and fill out the new member form. Go to [www.afsa.org/members](http://www.afsa.org/members) to choose the membership program right for you. I hope that you will sign up so that we may welcome you as a member and move your name to the BANP (Benefiting And Now Participating) list.

*Sincerely,  
John K. Naland  
President*

## Reform, Right Here in River City

The buzzwords around the department these days are “leadership and management training.” The need is obvious and well documented. It’s both formal—the McKinsey Report—and anecdotal. What do you think is the principal complaint of first- and second-tour officers? The low pay? The hardship? Nope, it’s the lousy supervision. The department is now paying closer attention to supervisors’ basic responsibilities, such as getting employee evaluations in on time. Supervisors who scream to motivate their subordinates are being quietly told that’s unacceptable. The department is about to embark on an ambitious program of bringing staff up to snuff on how to lead, how to supervise, and how to manage human talent. It’s a welcome initiative, one AFSA has long advocated.

I don’t usually pay much attention to *State Magazine*, the house organ. It’s mostly puff. One article in the April 2000 issue did catch my eye, however. It said the department was serious about talent management, especially the ability of senior supervisors to develop, inspire and lead their junior colleagues. Most interesting was the sidebar on the 12 leadership tenets of the Bureau of Western Hemisphere Affairs, which were framed and posted in each WHA office. WHA claimed it would hold supervisors and employees accountable. Wow. This sounded serious.

Fast forward to last year. I was back from Tokyo and had begun serving as the AFSA VP for State. I decided to follow up on that article, and asked for an appointment with WHA leadership.

Just what are the leadership tenets? They include the following pledges:

- Supervisors will reward exceptional performance.
- Supervisors will delegate authority to the fullest extent.
- First-time supervisors will receive leadership and management training.
- Candidates from all cones will have an equal chance to compete for positions within the bureau.
- Supervisors will hold a minimum of three counseling sessions a year with rated employees and provide constructive feedback.

This is revolutionary stuff. I had never seen any bureau come remotely close to such a manifesto. Informal snooping among those currently working in WHA revealed that they were living up to these tenets here in Washington. The next step was to see how it was working overseas. I e-mailed the AFSA representatives at WHA posts to ask them if the leadership tenets were being honored in the observance or in the breach.

Here’s where the glitch is. Most of the AFSA reps had never heard about the tenets. We went back to the bureau and asked how it disseminated the tenets overseas, and were told it was the responsibility of the chiefs of mission and deputy chiefs of mission. Maybe it’s the press of business, but the tenets were not framed and prominently displayed in overseas missions as they were in the Harry S. Truman Building.

So, AFSA sent the leadership tenets out to the AFSA reps. We asked them to pass them out and conduct an informal poll among their State colleagues to find out how well the tenets are being observed. I’ll publish the results in my next column.

If they are being observed over there as they are over here, then there’s no need for any new study. It will mean there is some grass roots reform going on right here in River City that may very well deserve copying elsewhere in the department. □



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Enid Long • Continued from page 1

valued by Amb. Rivkin. After his death, many of his friends and family generously contributed funds in his memory.

Ms. Long conceived of the Rivkin Award as a living tribute to her husband, and then convinced AFSA to create and sponsor it. She deserves credit for establishing the criterion of “creative dissent” to recognize those members of the Foreign Service who were not afraid to stand up for their beliefs and to challenge the system from within, regardless of the consequences of their actions. AFSA later established additional dissent awards for junior officers

Ms. Long faithfully and tirelessly dedicated her time and efforts each year to supporting and promoting the Rivkin Award. She personally presented the award each year to the recipient.

(Harriman Award), senior officers (Herter Award) and Foreign Service specialists (Harris Award). These awards are now known collectively as “Constructive Dissent Awards” and are presented each year to individuals who have demonstrated the willingness to challenge conventional wisdom by asking the tough questions and coming up with some unconventional answers.

Ms. Long faithfully and tirelessly dedicated her time and efforts each year to supporting and promoting the Rivkin Award. She attended every AFSA awards ceremony held at the Department of State, and personally presented the award each year to the recipient. She also recruited many prominent individuals who had known or served with her late husband to serve as judges. Ms. Long’s children have pledged to continue to support the Rivkin Award in the future, to encourage the men and women of the Foreign Service to challenge the status quo and not be afraid to speak up when they feel it necessary, in the belief that U.S. policy is best served by open and vigorous debate on the issues. □

## Putting a Face on the Foreign Service

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

"Putting a Face on the Foreign Service" is designed to spread the word about the role of the Foreign Service in U.S. foreign policy.

The important work of the Foreign Service and the intricacies of life overseas are under-appreciated and often misunderstood by the American public. AFSA is sponsoring an informational campaign, "Putting a Face on the Foreign Service," designed to spread the word about the role of the Foreign Service in U.S. foreign policy. The campaign involves placing stories about Foreign Service employees, their families, and their experiences in their hometown newspapers and alumni magazines. We need to hear from you in order to make the campaign a success. We also welcome contributions from Foreign Service spouses, as their stories are no less compelling.

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

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

V.P. VOICE ■ RETIREE ■ BY ROBERT W. "BILL" FARRAND

## A Call to Serve

The attacks of Sept. 11 stirred among Americans the desire to help their government and fellow citizens confront the aftermath of that terrible day. But for too long after Sept. 11, too little was being asked of us—only that we continue to fly, to shop, to take vacations, and to spend money, as though nothing bad had happened.

While I understood the reasoning behind this approach, I could not help being disappointed that such was to be the sum total of "sacrifices" asked of us as our nation embarked on a global war against terrorists. This clearly was also the reaction of many of our retired colleagues, who signaled willingness to help, offering their experience, skills, and judgment either at home in the various foreign affairs agencies or abroad, wherever help was urgently needed. One of you even offered to serve for a dollar a year! Alas, these genuine, heartfelt offers went by the wayside for lack of a formal mechanism that would have allowed them to be properly considered and, as necessary, funded.

In his January "State of the Union" message, President Bush took a different tack. He asked Americans to donate two years of their time and energy to our nation's welfare and, as he put it, "to extend the compassion of our country to every part of the world." I found the president's decision to tap into the can-do spirit and generosity of the American people a heartening development that could offer significant opportunities to retired FSOs eager to contribute, either officially or as volunteers.

The immediate issue, of course, is how to seize the moment. My "Speaking Out" article in the January issue of the *Foreign Service Journal* elicited several thoughtful ideas about reestablishing the Foreign Service Reserve Corps on a more useful basis to help fill critical temporary staffing gaps in State and other foreign affairs agencies. In light of the president's call to action, this should now be vigorously pursued.

In addition, as part of the president's initiative, retired Foreign Service members could help organize and volunteer to serve in a small but effective Overseas Service Corps, an idea brought to me by our colleague George Jaeger. He discovered, on numerous volunteer gigs in Bosnia and Kosovo, that the Danish Foreign Office has, since 1995, maintained a list of vetted, highly effective citizen volunteers in various skill categories able to serve on international projects of interest to Denmark. (For more on this, go to the Web site [www.um.dk/danida/evalueringssrapporter/1999-11/1999-11-final/ann6.asp](http://www.um.dk/danida/evalueringssrapporter/1999-11/1999-11-final/ann6.asp). Whew! Got that?) AFSA will try to pursue this idea, which holds promise for making effective use of experienced Foreign Service retirees as both organizers and highly qualified volunteers.

Whatever we come up with, we think the president's call to service provides just the right vehicle to enable us finally to catch the attention of top management in the foreign affairs agencies. □



I found the president's decision to tap into the can-do spirit and generosity of the American people a heartening development that could offer significant opportunities to retired FSOs eager to contribute, either officially or as volunteers.

# Q&A

## Personnel Issues

BY JAMES YORKE, AFSA LABOR  
MANAGEMENT SPECIALIST

### Getting EERs Right

**Q: I understand that an EER is required upon a change of rating officer if I was supervised by that rating officer for more than 120 days (or 60 days for untenured officers). My previous rating officer left post some months ago without completing my rating. What should I do?**

**A:** If reminders by phone and e-mail have not managed to elicit the required statement, post should follow up, and should involve the rating officer's supervisor (normally the reviewing officer). If that effort is not successful, post should contact HR/PE for advice and action.

**Q: What if my reviewing officer did the same?**

**A:** An EER is not required when reviewing officers change, but if a reviewing officer departs post during the course of the rating period, he or she should leave notes to assist the person who will need to complete the review statement.

**Q: How can I, the rated officer, play my part?**

**A:** In all cases a proactive approach on the part of the rated officer is strongly advised, by providing bullet points and lists of achievements for use by both the rating and reviewing officers. Even if the rating officer does not ask for input, time is well spent putting together a list of the achievements of which you are most proud, activities in which you have been involved, and aspects of your perfor-

mance that you would like the rating officer to mention. Although the rating officer is not required to use this input, he or she usually appreciates it, especially if it helps him or her gain insight into how you yourself view your performance. Compiling such a list will also help you prepare to write your own statement.

**Q: When do EERs have to be completed?**

**A:** EERs must arrive in HR/PE by May 15, so that they can be included in updated Official Performance Files for the Promotion Boards who begin to sit in mid-June. Rating officer, reviewing officer and rated officer statements must be completed in time to meet the deadline. AFSA has been informed by HR/PE that, where appropriate, sanctions will be imposed for the late submission of EERs.

**Q: What are the rules regarding counseling statements?**

**A:** The rules say that at least two counseling sessions must be held during the rating period, at least one of which must be documented on the

pleted for at least one counseling session during the rating period, in case confirmation that proper counseling took place is required at any time in the future.

**Q: I am an untenured generalist. My boss believes my rating period ends on April 15, like everyone else's. Is this correct?**

**A:** Not unless you arrived at post on April 15 and have been in the same position for the previous year. For all untenured generalists, the rating period ends on the anniversary of the day you arrived at post, or the anniversary of the day you acquired another supervisor at post. An updated EER will also be required immediately prior to your review by the Commissioning and Tenure Board.

**Q: Why has the personal statement come to be known as the "suicide box," and is it really best to write as little as possible in that space?**

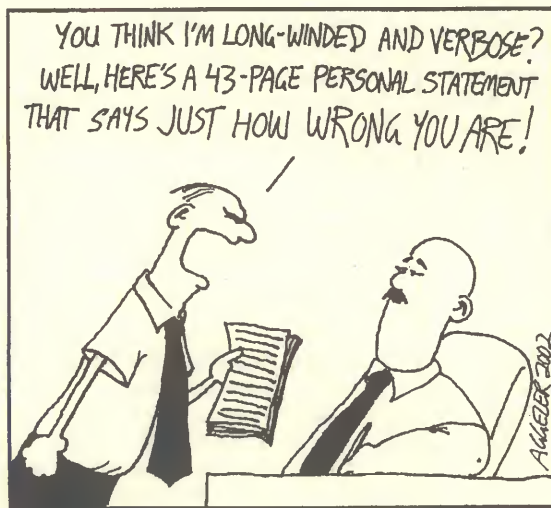
**A:** It is not necessarily a good idea to write as little as possible in the rated officer's statement. This section serves as a valuable aid for the Promotion

Boards, allowing you to show the board what you thought of your performance over the rating period and giving them an idea of your aspirations for the future. A cursory or poorly written rated officer's statement can be interpreted as an indication that the officer has little interest in his or her career.

Properly crafted, the statement can also give you a chance to counter any adverse comments in the main body of the EER and put other aspects of the report in perspective.

However, in some cases we in AFSA see a rated officer's

statement that has become, in effect, a "suicide box." This usually occurs when rated officers are too long-winded (try to avoid going over one page), or counter adverse comments by digging a deeper hole into which they promptly throw themselves. Vituperative or snide responses to



Counseling Form (Form DS-1974). The rated officer must receive a copy, and the rater keeps the original for his or her files. No other copies are produced and it does not form part of the Official Performance File. It is very important, for both the rater and the rated officer, that a DS-1974 is com-

criticism do not help, nor do self-serving statements that might cause board members to question your judgement.

Consider very carefully what image you want to project in your statement. A positive tone should generally prevail, highlighting accomplishments and challenges faced. If the rater's or reviewer's statements are strongly damaging, it may be necessary to devote some space to a brief defense, in order to avoid seeming to accept the criticisms through silence. However, this should never be a prominent feature of the statement or be cast in extreme terms. In short, read the EER instructions carefully, avoid inadmissible statements, think twice before you hit the "send" button, and, when in doubt, get advice from a colleague or one of our grievance attorneys.

## Using Frequent-Flyer Miles

**Q: Can I use the frequent-flyer miles I have accrued on government travel?**

**A:** Yes, you may now use your frequent-flyer miles to obtain upgrades or for private travel use. Any promotional benefits or material received from a travel service provider in connection with official travel may be retained for personal use, if such items are obtained under the same conditions as those offered to the general public at no additional cost to the government. This includes all frequent-flyer miles earned, including those earned before enactment of the National Defense Authorization Act for Fiscal Year 2002.

**Q: May I use frequent-flyer travel benefits to upgrade my transportation class when on official travel?**

**A:** Although it is government policy that employees travel by coach-class accommodations, you may upgrade to premium class at your own expense. You may therefore use any frequent-flyer travel benefits you have earned to upgrade to premium service. Some airlines will not permit upgrades on contract fare tickets, so always check with the airline.

Continued on page 10

V.P. VOICE: FCS ■ BY PETER FREDERICK

## Who Worries about the FCSO?

My six-month medical leave provided several therapeutic benefits. Not only did my back problems disappear, but I also had the benefit of looking at the AFSA-Commercial Service relationship from a fresh perspective. Because of its relatively small size within the Department of Commerce, the Commercial Service is unlike any other foreign affairs organization. The CS also has a unique relationship with AFSA, one that can cause frustration on both sides.



Over the past year, AFSA and the CS have discussed seven or eight significant issues. Here are a few examples. 1) I looked into the "care and feeding" of retired CS officers, only to find that Commerce has nothing to do with FCS retirees. Their records are administered by State. 2) I tried to develop a student loan repayment program, only to be told that doing so was not a CS responsibility. The Commerce Department must develop a program. 3) AFSA has been diligently working the comparable pay issue. CS management has yet to take a position on the issue, acknowledging that it will have to do whatever State does. 4) We have been negotiating a new commissioning and tenure policy for over two years. In one response to an AFSA statement about commissioning and tenure decisions, we were told the Foreign Affairs Manual does not cover Commerce. This claim was later retracted, but is indicative of the mindset of those with whom we negotiate Foreign Service personnel issues.

It has been relatively easy to identify key issues affecting our relationship.

One significant AFSA-Commerce agreement signed by the director general could not be implemented until Commerce conducted a technical review. In another instance, Commerce required an agency head review before the director general could sign a memorandum of understanding. It appears that the lawyers in the Office of the General Counsel (OGC) have more control over the CS-AFSA relationship than the director general.

AFSA has had just one formal negotiating session with CS during the past three years. The chief negotiator is a non-Foreign Service International Trade Administration human resources specialist. An OGC lawyer and the director of Foreign Service Human Resources are the other "regulars." The group is augmented by regional directors and other officers, when they are available. No wonder our comments about comparability pay fall on deaf ears: all those with whom we negotiate already receive locality pay, and question why those working overseas should receive it.

The director general is responsible for US&FCS, but appears to have little direct operational control. How can Commerce insist that the director general can decide to grant or deny tenure without benefit of the Commissioning and Tenure Board, but may not negotiate a student loan repayment program?

Thanks to input from the field and glaring missteps by management, it has been relatively easy to identify key issues affecting our relationship. The problem is figuring out who has the authority to address these issues. The Foreign Commercial Service is more affected by the decisions made by the larger foreign affairs agencies than those made by the Commerce Department. AFSA represents the whole Foreign Service and is involved in personnel decisions made at the larger agencies that can apply to smaller agencies. Consequently, AFSA is looking out for the interests of Foreign Commercial Service officers, even when Commerce is not. Now you have one more reason to join AFSA! □



## Federal Long-Term Care Now Available

The new Long-Term Care (LTC) plan for federal employees (including military) and annuitants is on schedule for this fall. Early enrollment began March 25, with a full open season from July to December. The Office of Personnel Management, which administers the plan, signed a contract in late 2001 with Metropolitan Life and John Hancock, which together formed "Long-Term Care Partners LLC." OPM has not yet announced premium levels but is confident that costs will be lower than for corresponding private LTC plans. Individuals will bear the entire cost of the premiums, with no government contribution.

**CORRECTION:** The FAS part of the pie in the AFSA Annual Report pie chart of membership by constituency was inadvertently omitted in production. FAS makes up (an important) one percent of AFSA membership. We regret the error.

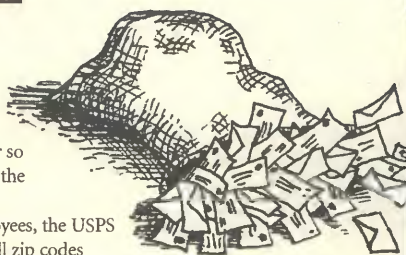
## Mail Woes

The pouch system that serves 110 or so overseas posts has been in crisis since the anthrax attacks last October.

To protect the lives of federal employees, the USPS is irradiating U.S. mail addressed to all zip codes assigned to U.S. government facilities, including all pouch mail. Personal mail sent to APO/FPO addresses is not being irradiated.

The State Department has been working hard to overcome the problems caused by the pouch mail situation. One possible solution — establishing a separate private zip code for personal mail that would not be irradiated — has met with resistance from the USPS, though State is still pushing this option. As of early March, pouch letter mail was still talking about six weeks to reach posts. AFSA has been actively engaged on this issue, working with State management and the department's ChemBio Working Group, as well as with organizations that send important mail to FS employees (such as the State Department Federal Credit Union and Merck-Medco), to find ways to get the mail moving normally again.

In the meantime, AFSA suggests that employees make certain adjustments to limit the damage to their finances and credit ratings. Paying bills online is one good option. The SDFCU has a "Bill Payer" service ([www.sdfcuonline.org](http://www.sdfcuonline.org)), as do many other financial institutions. Two of these online services can be found at [www.checkfree.com](http://www.checkfree.com) or [www.paytrust.com](http://www.paytrust.com). Keep in touch with AFSA and with the department about the "real-world impact" of the pouch crisis, so that we can best identify what needs to be done and help get it done. Send input to AFSA via AFSA Channel cable or to [yorkej@state.gov](mailto:yorkej@state.gov), and/or to State management at [Chembiowg@state.gov](mailto:Chembiowg@state.gov).

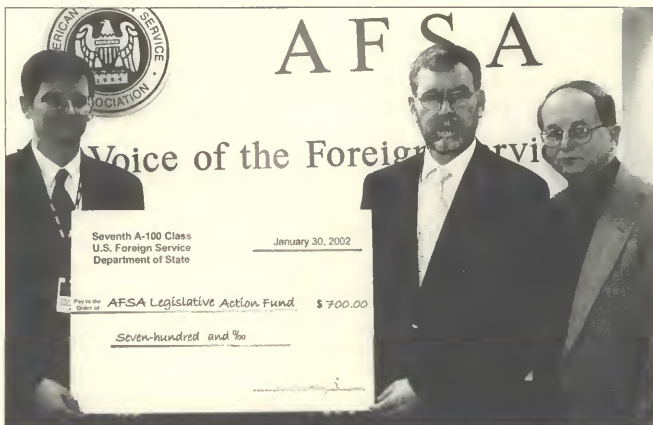


## Helping AFSA Help You

Members of the 7th A-100 class, on their 20th anniversary of joining the Foreign Service, contributed to two important funds: the "AFSA Legislative Action Fund" and the "Foreign Service National Relief Fund." AFSA appreciates the contributions made by the 7th A-100 class, and encourages any and all other A-100 classes to join together to support worthy Foreign Service causes.

To donate to the AFSA Legislative Action Fund, send a check payable to "Legislative Action Fund" to AFSA at P.O. Box 98026, Washington, D.C. 20077-7093.

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



AFSA President John Naland accepts a generous gift from the 7th A-100 class, represented by Greg Engle and David Rabadan.

## AFSA Facilitates Connections for Rebuilding Afghanistan

On Jan. 29, AFSA's International Associates program hosted an event, "The Reconstruction of Afghanistan: Opportunities for U.S. Business." Dr. Jeff Lunstead, Senior Adviser and Afghanistan Coordinator at the Department of State, spoke to a diverse audience of telecommunications, construction, engineering, power, and medical equipment companies. Dr. Lunstead spoke of opportunities for U.S. business to play an active role in the development of infrastructure in Afghanistan. He answered specific questions concerning U.S. government financial commitments, and provided an overview of how the funds would be expended. Attendees offered their suggestions for a successful rebuilding of Afghanistan.

AFSA's International Associates is an organization dedicated to facilitating communication between corporate executives and senior U.S. foreign policy-makers. IA attracts high-ranking speakers to discuss current issues of great importance to the American international business community. Dues are in the form of a donation that supports AFSA's Fund for American Diplomacy.

If you know of a company that might be interested in becoming an IA member, please contact Tema Razavi in AFSA's Corporate Relations Office at (202) 944-5508, or pass along her number. □

### EYE ON GRIEVANCES

## A Pressured "Voluntary" Curtailment Invalidated

BY HARRY SIZER, AFSA GRIEVANCE ATTORNEY

In a 2-to-1 decision, the Foreign Service Grievance Board recently declared that a State Department employee's curtailment from an assignment overseas had been improperly carried out. The evidence showed that the "voluntary" nature of the action had masked intense pressure from department officials to remove the employee from post.

The facts demonstrated that the department had irreversibly opted at an early stage to curtail the employee, and that this had been made clear to him informally. Only generalized reasons for the department's decision were conveyed to him, and he was not given any practical chance to comment. By maneuvering him into a "voluntary" curtailment, the ensuing process avoided the employee's right of notice and defense outlined in 3 FAM 2446(c), the regulation governing this type of involuntary curtailment of the State Department's Foreign Service employees. The grievance board held that this action was improper and remanded the case to the department to reconstitute the decision-making process leading to the employee's departure, with a view to determining whether the curtailment would have occurred absent any failure to comply with the regulation.

The dissenting member of the board argued that the department's decision to curtail had not yet been made formally and finally when the employee initiated the alternative voluntary route. Therefore, in this view, he still had the opportunity to get notice of the reasons for the curtailment and to rebut them before a final decision was taken. The board's majority, however, determined that whether a curtailment is coerced and when it becomes final must be judged from the totality of the circumstances, as seen from the perspective

of a reasonable employee, not from the formalities. The board found that the curtailment in this case was firmly predetermined and truly involuntary.

AFSA counseled this employee throughout the grievance process, and considers this an important decision. It should help to end the unfortunate practice in the Foreign Service of getting rid of a perceived difficulty at a post by simply pressuring an employee to "voluntarily" curtail, without giving the employee a real chance to rebut any charges or even to know exactly why he/she is being targeted. Properly understood, it does not remove the option of a voluntary curtailment as an alternative to a looming involuntary one, provided the employee is honestly given the protection of the regulatory process. □

### CALLING ALL FS WRITERS

## 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.

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

**Deadline for submissions is May 1. No exceptions.**

Please send submissions to the attention of Mikkela V. Thompson, preferably by e-mail at [Thompsonm@afsa.org](mailto:Thompsonm@afsa.org). Stories will also be accepted by fax at (202) 338-8244, or by mail: Foreign Service Journal, 2101 E St., NW, Washington, D.C., 20037-2990. □



## Retirees: Paying AFSA Dues Just Got Easier

AFSA has been informed that the State Department will soon begin allowing voluntary allotments for AFSA dues, Combined Federal Campaign contributions and Treasury Bonds, probably within a month or two. State and AFSA will be sending out information on how to arrange for these deductions.

## Invitation to Host a Newsletter Event for FSFY

The Foreign Service Youth Foundation is hiring one-time newsletter coordinators (at \$14/hour) at Foreign Service posts around the world to host one newsletter event at post for Foreign Service youth, ages 9 to 18. These young people will have the opportunity to

write articles, poems and stories about life overseas, international schools, international moves or anything else. The articles from that post will then be incorporated as "post of the month" in the D.C.-edited newsletter, which is distributed around the world. This program will help bring new perspectives and voices to the *Around the World in a Lifetime (AWAL)* and *Globe Trotters'* newsletters sponsored by the FSFY. For more information, please e-mail [fsyf@fsyf.org](mailto:fsyf@fsyf.org).

## A Request for Assistance

Danielle Flood Morin is writing a memoir about her late father, James Flood, who was a career Foreign Service officer with U.S.I.A. and the State Department and whose last two posts were Madras and New Delhi. Morin requests that anyone who knew James Flood or worked with him, especially in Saigon (1951-52) or Southeast Asia (1953-55, and then on and off until 1968) please contact her via e-mail: [daniflood@mindspring.com](mailto:daniflood@mindspring.com) or by phone: (305) 441-7997. She is particularly eager to locate Tom Peck, the best man at Flood's Saigon wedding. □

## Q: Are my frequent-flyer miles taxable?

**A:** No. The IRS has announced that frequent-flyer miles and other promotional travel benefits are not taxable. According to IRS Announcement 2002-18, "consistent with prior practice, the IRS will not assert that any taxpayer has understated his federal tax liability by reason of receipt or personal use of frequent-flyer miles or other in-kind promotional benefits attributable to the taxpayer's business or official travel.... This relief does not apply to travel or other promotional benefits that are converted to cash, to compensation that is paid in the form of travel or other promotional benefits, or in other circumstances where these benefits are used for tax avoidance purposes."

For more information you can e-mail the IRS directly at [notice.comments@irs.counsel.treas.gov](mailto:notice.comments@irs.counsel.treas.gov), and make sure to include "announcement 2002-18" in the subject line. □

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# CREATIVITY AND PATIENCE: PUBLIC DIPLOMACY POST-SEPT. 11

**T**he terrorist attacks on the U.S. of Sept. 11, 2001, jolted Americans with the realization that young men filled with hatred of the U.S. could, with limited training and guidance, become focused instruments of mass terror, willing and able to kill thousands of Americans. Soon thereafter, Americans grew more aware of another baffling fact: prevailing sentiment in the Arab and Muslim world explained away the attacks in an absurd collection of conspiracy theories, and viewed them as an inevitable, even justifiable, reaction to American hegemony.

True, there were only a few instances of outright celebration over the events of Sept. 11 in the streets of the Arab and Muslim world, and few serious public demonstrations following the launch of Operation Enduring Freedom in October. And most Arab and Muslim governments and wide segments of the population expressed horror at the attacks and sympathy for the victims. Those who knew us mourned, and our embassies overseas received heartfelt expressions of shock and sympathy from governments and publics alike.

Yet the general public reaction in the Arab-Muslim world highlighted a problem that has festered for over a decade: a deep and abiding resentment of the United States. This is clear to anyone who reads the Arab press, or watches television coverage of street demonstrations in Pakistan or Indonesia. It leaves most Americans puzzled — how can such large segments of the world sympathize with terrorists, lionize Osama bin Laden, and exhibit such

hatred of the U.S.? *New York Times* columnist Thomas Friedman accurately described the current situation as “an iron curtain of misunderstanding separating America and the Arab-Muslim world.” The challenge to U.S. public diplomacy is to break through that iron curtain.

## The Engine of Anti-Americanism

The current state of affairs did not just erupt on Sept. 11, of course. It has been developing over a period of years following the end of the Cold War, during which the U.S. has become predominant in the realms of economy, popular culture, and political and military affairs. Abiding resentment of the U.S. has helped generate ideas believed so strongly and widely in the Arab-Muslim world that they are accepted as self-evident truths: the U.S. is anti-Islam; the U.S. conspires to keep Arabs and Muslims disunited and weak; the U.S. supports any injustice as long as it is in its political and economic interests; and the U.S. is a well-spring of disrespect for religion and the destruction of families and communities.

These concepts are the engine of anti-U.S. terrorism. As the Sept. 11 attacks showed us, widespread misunderstanding and resentment can be deftly manipulated by ruthless individuals, preying on a plentiful supply of young people drifting through societies mired in economic and political stagnation. These ideas are reinforced — but not necessarily created by — unpopular U.S. foreign policies in the region.

The ongoing violence between Israelis and Palestinians provides opportunities for adversaries of the U.S., but we must remember that Osama bin Laden made his public call for the killing of Americans in 1998, at a time when the Middle East peace process was showing great



Jude Macerren

OUR PUBLIC DIPLOMACY  
EFFORTS IN THE WAR ON  
TERRORISM SHOULD BE A  
SLOW AND STEADY  
CAMPAIGN.

BY MATT LUSSENHOP

promise. Not surprisingly, bin Laden has attempted to link his cause to that of the Palestinians, as did Saddam Hussein during the 1990-91 Gulf War. There is no doubt that the raw emotions generated by the ongoing violence between Palestinians and Israelis

create an environment in which messages of incitement and extremism can more easily gain traction. However, even if a quick and easy solution to the Arab-Israeli conflict were somehow imposed tomorrow, that does not mean that the threat of international terrorism would fade away. Nor does it mean that our public diplomacy problems in the Arab and Muslim world would be resolved.

The campaign in Afghanistan has demonstrated that Osama bin Laden and his al-Qaida operatives can be rooted out, their networks disrupted and their assets frozen. But how do we root out and discredit the deeply-held beliefs that provide moral and intellectual cover for terrorists, their sympathizers and apologists? How do we deprive enemies of the ability to gain ground with their ideas, while providing young and rapidly growing Arab and Muslim populations with alternative visions of the future that are as compelling as bin Laden's vision, but based on tolerance, security, stability and prosperity? Or at the very least, how do we blunt this damaging antipathy toward the U.S.?

### **The U.S. Response**

Immediately after the attacks, the challenge to U.S. public diplomacy in the Arab and Muslim world has been to make clear that:

- The U.S. was a victim of an unjustifiable terrorist act;
- The U.S. is neither anti-Islam nor engaged in a war against Muslims; and
- The U.S. will bring to justice the terrorist networks that planned and carried out the attacks, and will eliminate terrorism in the world.

Our message is clear. But the challenge is to be heard and understood in an atmosphere rife with criticism, resentment and suspicion of the U.S.

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## *Most Americans are puzzled that such large segments of the world sympathize with terrorists.*

One effective way of addressing both mass and elite audiences in the Arab world has been through the Arabic-language satellite TV networks popular among Arab viewers dissatisfied with state-owned television networks that have long been their only viewing option. Secretary

of State Colin Powell has been interviewed by Al-Jazeera, Egypt TV, and the Moroccan "2M" TV network, and held a roundtable with representatives from the major Arab print publications. Other senior officials from State (Deputy Secretary Richard Armitage, Under Secretary Marc Grossman, Under Secretary Alan Larson, and many more), USAID and the Defense Department have also appeared in recent months on news and information shows to present the U.S. point of view. In addition, National Security Advisor Condoleezza Rice has met with a major Arab media outlet every week since January, and other administration officials have reached out to major international Arabic-language newspapers and international Arabic-language TV networks such as Al-Jazeera, the Middle East Broadcasting Centre, Abu Dhabi Satellite TV, and Lebanese Broadcasting Corporation International. These efforts are ongoing.

Recognizing the need to speak directly to the Arab world in Arabic, retired Ambassador Chris Ross — a former U.S. ambassador to Syria and Algeria and a fluent speaker of Arabic — returned to the State Department as a senior coordinator in October. Amb. Ross has given dozens of interviews to Arab TV and radio networks and newspapers, and continues to engage in direct dialogues in Arabic via digital video-conference with opinion leaders in the Middle East.

One of the most important aspects of U.S. public diplomacy in the Arab and Muslim world is an untold story — the work of our U.S. embassies overseas. U.S. ambassadors and diplomats have appeared on television talk shows, hosted roundtables and seminars on U.S. policy and society, aggressively disseminated information and argued our points face-to-face not only with host government officials, but with academics, journalists, editors, and students — on camera and on-the-record, at college campuses and in private homes.

To list just a few highlights of the creativity of America's diplomats in the field:

- U.S. ambassadors across the Muslim world hosted

## F O C U S

traditional "iftar" (breaking of the fast) dinners during the month of Ramadan (mid-November to mid-December). For example, U.S. Ambassador to Saudi Arabia Robert Jordan's iftar dinner for prominent Saudis was widely covered in the Saudi media; one Saudi Arabian newspaper bannered the headline "U.S. Ambassador to the Kingdom Calls for Taking the Occasion of Ramadan to Promote Tolerance and Brotherhood."

- In November, Embassy Cairo instituted a mobile messaging system in recognition of the fact that millions of Egyptians rely on cell phones. Through this service, subscribers can regularly receive U.S. information, texts and statements by contacting the embassy and signing up. The embassy's efforts have been so intensive and widespread that they have been extensively covered by both Egyptian and international media.

- Embassy Islamabad assisted a team from Pakistan Television and Radio with a visit to the U.S. in late November, during which the team filmed interviews with high-level administration officials and Muslim-Americans,


visited Ground Zero in New York City, and personally witnessed — and reported on — U.S. determination to prevail in the war on terrorism. These reports, including one on Pakistani victims of the Sept. 11 attacks, were aired on both Pakistan TV and radio.

- Embassy Rabat disseminated audiotapes of interviews with Islamic personalities condemning the attacks widely among Morocco's Islamic authorities. These made such an impression that the leading Arabic-language newspaper *Al-Ahram* transcribed the entire tape and published the transcript as a full-page article on Jan. 9.

- A U.S. embassy-sponsored series of lectures on the relationship between Islam and the West in November drew standing-room-only crowds at universities in the cities of Damascus and Homs, with many Syrian students traveling from remote villages to attend the lectures.

### Does It Matter?

Both practitioners and observers of public diplomacy would agree we have a difficult, long-term challenge ahead



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of us as the war on terrorism moves on to its next phases. While our military campaign in Afghanistan has proceeded at lightning speed, characterized by quick strikes and special operations, it would be more realistic to think of the public diplomacy campaign in the war on terrorism along the lines of World War I — a slow and steady campaign fought over inches and years.

U.S. pundits and commentators have been quick to weigh in with their criticisms and prescriptions of what Washington must do to win over hearts and minds in the Arab and Muslim world. It is not surprising that most of the opinions have been highly critical of our efforts, and some have questioned the point of public diplomacy at all. Some have argued that our quick military success in Afghanistan is the best public diplomacy we can have. True, but military victories can go only so far, and their impact fades over time. We need to build on our military and political successes, and translate them into long-term public diplomacy gains.

This requires sustained efforts involving academic, pro-

fessional and cultural exchanges that build understanding of core American values. It includes expanding existing programs that have shown true success, such as the Fulbright scholarships and the International Visitor program, and creating new programs that focus on youth, education and dialogue among civilizations. As one Egyptian alumnus of the Fulbright scholarship program explained in an article in the *Washington Post* of Jan. 20, his scholarship to study in the United States accounted for "How I Became a Recruit for America." More recruits are sorely needed.

While it is vital to get our message out quickly and consistently, public diplomacy does not consist only of delivering information. It involves convincing the peoples of the Arab and Muslim world that our information is accurate and truthful, that we share core values of tolerance and respect, that our policies flow from these shared values, and that these policies are ultimately good for the world. It is a task requiring immense creativity, dedication and above all, patience. ■

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## A CALL TO ARMS: JUMP-STARTING DIPLOMACY

Late last summer, the Bush administration finally started to address the erosion of American credibility throughout the Islamic world, which had plummeted to alarmingly low levels since the al-Aqsa intifada began last year. Despite a growing anger on the Arab street and in regional media over Washington's perceived anti-Muslim bias and unyielding support for Israel, U.S. policies had gone largely undefended.

Even after the Sept. 11 attacks, it took the administration several weeks to gain its footing and begin countering the image it had allowed its enemies to define. Initially, foreign media requests went largely unanswered. This benign neglect of Islamic public opinion only proved a boon for the anti-American rhetoric of Osama bin Laden and his followers, who argued with some success that the U.S. deserved such horror.

But as the Pentagon prepared to battle bin Laden in Afghanistan, the State Department began to arm itself for the battlefield of ideas. Secretary of State Colin Powell sent out the word to all posts that public diplomacy would be a top priority. Toward that end, he dispatched Charlotte Beers, his brand-new under secretary for public diplomacy and public affairs, to do for the U.S. image what she had done for Uncle Ben's Rice, the highly successful ad campaign for which she was best known before assuming her position in October.

Even under the best of circumstances, convincing a highly skeptical Arab and Muslim world that the United States was not at war with

Islam, while the U.S. undertook a massive bombing campaign over Afghanistan, would have been a daunting challenge. Making matters worse, as funding for the Foreign Service steadily declined since the end of the Cold War, public diplomacy programs were hit particularly hard.

Beers first tried to establish a dialogue between the Arab and Western worlds by opening up lines of communication between the State Department and the foreign press. She sought the counsel of Arab and Muslim leaders and Arab-Americans to help craft a message that Washington could communicate effectively in the region. She also recently toured Egypt and Morocco, countries where the Arab media have traditionally been particularly critical of the U.S., and anti-American protests have been among the largest.

In an interview, Beers said that she has found herself "deeply interested in the many facets of Islam." She noted that "in other circumstances where we were engaged in a conflict, we had enough time and shared history that we knew enough to develop a point of view. Now we find as a country that we're told that so many people do not like us and we don't even have a frame of reference for why they feel that way and what they're talking about."

Technology proved a crucial platform for deploying the U.S. message, with the State Department Web site becoming the first line of offense in the public diplomacy campaign. Immediately following Sept. 11, State's home page featured a map illustrating the more than 60 countries whose citizens perished in the attacks and photos of worldwide vigils for the victims. Popular Web search engines, such as Yahoo, carried banner ads that allowed Internet users in over 20 countries to click through directly to State's Web site



DESPITE A SLOW  
START AFTER SEPT. 11,  
THE ADMINISTRATION  
IS DOING BETTER.

BY ELISE LABOTT

and read the latest in the war on terror in seven languages. And the foreign press center increased its use of digital video conferencing to institute dialogues with foreign journalists.

The State Department's Rewards for Justice Program also received a makeover. Advertising experts donated their time to design a new series of radio and print ads asking for Americans' support in tracking down terrorists by being aware of potential suspicious activity in their own backyard. Plans are under way to translate the ads into over 30 languages.

In November, Beers introduced a hard-copy brochure, also posted on the Web site, offering a graphic, photo-laden account of the Sept. 11 tragedy. The booklet laid out a case for bin Laden's involvement in the attacks and hailed the U.S. military action in Afghanistan as an attempt to root out terrorism. The brochure was translated into 30 languages and sent to U.S. posts throughout the Islamic world. It also ran as a full insert in *Newsweek's* Arabic edition.

### Justifying the War

To reinforce the central theme — the U.S. military campaign against the Taliban and al-Qaida in Afghanistan is not a war against Islam — another campaign sought to educate Islamic countries about Islam in American life. President Bush visited an American mosque and spoke of Islam as a peace-loving religion, and an online photo essay portrayed the life of American Muslims. A series of U.S. documentaries and radio programs co-produced with Muslim-Americans are also under way, as are plans for more speaking engagements and editorial pieces by Muslim-Americans.

Despite the new outreach efforts, the administration struggled to find the right voice and message to explain its goals in Afghanistan. There was widespread concern that while the military battles were going well, the war of ideas was already lost. As Ramadan approached, heads of state

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## *The administration initially struggled to find the right voice to explain its goals in Afghanistan.*

publicly called on the administration to stop bombing during the holy Muslim holiday.

To counter the 24-hour assault on the U.S. message, Washington and London established information "war rooms" in their capitals and in Islamabad, modeled after those used to plot strategy for political campaigns. These offices became clearinghouses of information for reporters and may have served as a turning point for the public relations effort. Rapid response teams were ready with anything from numbers on casualties to statistics on humanitarian aid delivered to Afghanistan. Because there was no coalition spokesman in Pakistan, where the Taliban ambassador briefed the press daily, former Ambassador to Qatar Kenton Keith was brought out of retirement and dispatched to Islamabad.

The coalition also coordinated interviews and designed proactive diplomatic messages for each day. Condemnation of the brutal treatment of women under the Taliban typified the strategy. First Lady Laura Bush and British Prime Minister Tony Blair's wife Cherie both gave speeches on the topic, and every U.S. cabinet member speaking in public the same day addressed the issue.

The war room staffers also orchestrated a campaign to illustrate American respect for Ramadan. In addition to the annual State Department iftar (breaking of the Ramadan daily fast) dinner, President Bush hosted 50 ambassadors from Muslim countries at a White House dinner and every U.S. ambassador abroad hosted Muslims in their host countries. The worldwide remembrance ceremonies on Dec. 11, three months after the attacks, were another war room idea designed to remind people of the brutality of the attacks and why the military campaign against Afghanistan was under way.

Still, the TV images of Afghan victims of the coalition military campaign have proven a powerful counterpoint to the administration's public relations initiatives. Arabs and Muslims saw their Afghan brothers fall prey to the U.S. bombs on satellite television networks, such as Qatar's Al-Jazeera, just as they saw Washington's ally, Israel, roll tanks into Palestinian villages. To counter such images, at first the administration used traditional means of diplomacy. When the Emir of Qatar came to Washington, for example, Secretary Powell publicly asked him to tone down programming he considered hostile to America.

### Reaching Out to Regional Media

When that approach failed to stem the anti-American tide among Arabs and Muslims, administration officials say they felt an urgent need to take to the airwaves as well. By early October, Powell and other top U.S. figures flooded Arab television and newspapers throughout the region.

For example, Hafez al-Mirazi, Al-Jazeera's Washington bureau chief, contends that the network's requests for interviews were ignored in the weeks following Sept. 11, forcing it to air press briefings by the White House, State Department and Pentagon in order to portray the U.S. viewpoint. But once the administration realized that Al-Jazeera offered an instant platform to reach 35 million Arabs, al-Mirazi notes, "the skies opened." For a short while the network became a favorite outlet for the Bush administration, and nearly every cabinet member was offered up for interviews. Beers even suggested she would consider advertising on the network.

Unfortunately, the interviews didn't have the desired effect. National Security Advisor Condoleezza Rice's reference to Syria's support for Hezbollah as akin to supporting terrorism only fueled anger amongst an Arab public who views the guerillas as freedom fighters against Israeli oppression. Defense Secretary Donald Rumsfeld, and even President Bush himself, also antagonized viewers. Furthermore, the president's further comments during a speech in the days following Sept. 11, calling for a "crusade" against terrorism, evoked a painful history of Christian attacks on Islamic nations. Only Secretary Powell, who has acknowledged the desperation and helplessness felt by many in the region, is viewed as a power-broker who understands the grievances Arabs and Muslims carry against the U.S.

Meanwhile, Beers hired Christopher Ross, former ambassador to Syria, as her deputy. The belief was that Ross, a fluent Arabic speaker and veteran Mid-East traveler, would not only translate American policy into the primary language used by Muslims, but explain the Islamic mindset to an administration desperately trying to play catch-up. Each time a bin Laden tape aired on Al-Jazeera, Ross was on hand to defuse the power of his words and rebut his allegations point by point.

But despite his language skills, Ross lacks credibility with many Arab viewers. Many Arab diplomats and journalists say that someone who understands U.S. policy but is able to speak more freely, such as a former State Department official, would be more effective. Nor did it

help that that some observers felt the administration was more interested in advertising its public diplomacy efforts than actually conducting them successfully.

"It was as if they were carpet-bombing the Arab world in an attempt to make us love them," says Moufac Harb, former Washington bureau chief for the Arabic newspaper *al-Hayat*. "They are using gimmicks used in U.S. political campaigns for the entire Arab world. It can't be a one-size-fits-all approach." And recent reports that the Pentagon's Office of Strategic Influence might leak false information to foreign media outlets (though they were subsequently disavowed) reinforced perceptions that Washington wanted to "brainwash" the Islamic world, rather than understand it.

It is also unclear whether even the most skillful public diplomacy campaign can resonate with the youth burning effigies of President Bush and wearing T-shirts of bin Laden. Nearly one-half of the world's population is under 25, many of whom aren't able to reach the State Department Web site on a personal computer. The most crucial audience the United States must reach are young men studying in religious schools (madrassas), where hating America is Lesson Number 1.

Toward that end, Congress has coughed up \$30 million to develop a radio network for broadcast throughout the Arab world geared to reaching listeners under 25. The new 24-hour network will take a modern approach to delivering the U.S. point of view, featuring music, news and talk shows to be broadcast in 22 countries with localized programming blocks. Norm Pattuz of the Broadcasting Board of Governors said the network will introduce American democratic values by allowing listeners to call in and participate in talk shows, make song requests and vote in daily polls — options which are not readily available in many countries with state-run media. Another initiative, advocated by Senator Joe Biden, could expand the new U.S. broadcasting goals to all countries with significant Muslim populations. Dubbed the "9/11 Initiative," it calls for the expansion of the current radio network and the establishment of a television station.

Officials acknowledge mass media alone are unlikely to forge understanding between populations whose current realities are worlds apart, however. Patricia Harrison, assistant secretary of state for the State Department's Bureau of Cultural Affairs, said her department is increasing cultural exchanges, with a focus on bringing more Arab youth and journalists to the United States.

Similarly, while U.S. ambassadors have increased public outreach in their host countries, a discussion with Arab and Muslim publics cannot be the sole privilege of elite journalists and professionals. The U.S. must reach out to more clerics, students and public servants from all walks of life, to help build a civil society where public opinion is respected and tolerated.

Toward that end, the administration is formulating a campaign to promote democracy throughout the Middle East and convince school systems to stop the kind of fundamentalist, extremist teachings that foster terrorist mindsets. However, selling democracy may be no easier than selling the war on terrorism.

### **Sustaining the Initiative**

That is why public diplomacy must not be a one-shot deal, but rather a permanent core objective of U.S. foreign policy. Anti-American sentiment throughout Europe and Asia over Washington's perceived arrogance and unilateralism is as disturbing as the current anger in the Muslim world. Barry Fulton, who served as an associate director of USIA for 30 years, contends that "Public diplomacy should be thinking right now not only about the Islamic world but the rest of the world."

Such a goal, he points out, will take more money than is currently allotted for public outreach. The State Department FY 2003 budget requests \$287 million for public diplomacy activities related to the war on terrorism, including \$60 million for broadcasting, and another \$247 million for educational and cultural exchange programs. But an increase in broad-based cultural exchanges and public awareness campaigns can only be sustained if the administration and Congress recognize the importance of public diplomacy as a down payment in national security and make the new programs a permanent fixture of the U.S. budget. Recently, administration officials said they are considering making the information war room permanent — a good sign public diplomacy has truly joined the diplomatic arsenal.

Still, as Ned Walker, a former assistant secretary of State for Near East affairs and president of the Middle East Institute, notes, no matter how good a public relations campaign is, the policy must resonate within the region. "We have to overcome the premise of stereotypes that say we are arrogant, that we aren't listening, that we are led by Israel," Walker says. "The problem is what your policies do, and do they relate

to the region in a way they want to see and hear."

Similarly, President Bush's "axis of evil" reference to Iran, Iraq and North Korea in his State of the Union speech has already drawn criticism from the Arab world and, if taken at face value, could reinforce the perception that the U.S. doesn't want to settle its differences peacefully, but rather through a war with Islam.

Washington has its work cut out for it. A recent Gallup poll of residents in nine Muslim countries found that by a two-to-one margin, these nations have an unfavorable opinion of the U.S. Not only did respondents say they had a negative view of American values, but they believe the U.S. does not respect Islamic values and is unfair in its perception of Muslim countries. Even months after bin Laden and his al-Qaida network were fingered as the masterminds of the Sept. 11 attack, 61 percent of those surveyed still do not believe the attacks were committed by Arabs.

Ironically, some of the countries where anti-American sentiment looms largest are among the greatest recipients of U.S. assistance. In Kuwait, which the U.S. liberated from Iraq during the Gulf War, 36 percent of those surveyed believe the attacks were justified, the highest percentage of any country polled. The opinion of America is similarly low in Egypt, which receives a lion's share of U.S. aid. It seems Washington must work harder to illustrate America's generosity to these countries and, when necessary, use tough traditional diplomacy with their leaders to help leverage public opinion.

Many Arab diplomats and journalists suggest America has lost the ear of the Arab world due to a failure to balance its own interests with those causes of most concern to ordinary Arabs — the suffering of the Iraqi people as a result of the U.N. sanctions and perceived bias of the U.S. toward Israel at the expense of the Palestinian people. Although the latter issue does not affect most Muslims as dramatically as it does the Palestinians, it has come to symbolize the more general belief that America doesn't care about Arabs and Muslims as people, or take their concerns seriously. And as such, the Israeli-Palestinian conflict will continue to be the decisive factor affecting Arab and Muslim countries' relations with the U.S.

Thus, perhaps the greatest lesson America might take from its first post-Cold War public diplomacy campaign is the importance of hearing out the people with whom it seeks to communicate — no matter how painful the feedback it receives. ■

# AUTOMOTIVE INTERLUDES IN DIPLOMACY

THE QUEST FOR THE PERFECT AUTOMOBILE, LIKE THE PERFECT POSTING, IS OFTEN ELUSIVE. BUT DRIVING ANY CAR ABROAD CAN BRING PLEASURES AND ADVENTURES.

By PETER BRIDGES

**D**uring our decades abroad, my family and I have had many adventures — some sought-after, some unplanned; some work-related, some strictly touristic — involving various cars. Most of these are pleasant to recall, and even the vehicular experiences I am less nostalgic about still evoke a particular time and place for us.

My wife Mary Jane and I owed our first such experiences to an Austin A-40 — a modest black sedan acquired in France in 1956, when I was a U.S. Army private in an engineer battalion at Verdun. We spent every weekend in the Austin seeing Europe, and the birth of our first child did not stop our touring.

When David was just two months old, we drove over the Grand St. Bernard pass for two weeks at a little hotel in Cannes. The radiator boiled over as we climbed the pass — British engineering had perhaps not imagined Austins in the Alps — but we made it to the top. Disposable diapers had not yet been invented, so my wife rinsed out cloth diapers in service station restrooms, and hung them out the car's windows to dry. We reached the Riviera and came flapping along the Grande Corniche, not quite in the style of Grace Kelly and Cary Grant in their recent hit, "To Catch a Thief."

We took the Austin home with us to America in 1957.

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There I joined the Foreign Service, and for two years we lived in a small apartment in Arlington while I worked on the Soviet desk in the State Department. Our trusty sedan continued to serve us well on jaunts to Harpers Ferry and the Delaware coast. Then we (now four after the birth of Elizabeth) and the Austin went to the embassy in Panama, in 1959. The Austin liked the tropics better than it had the Alps. We drove it without problems across the Isthmus to Colon and out to the fertile province of Ocu and the cool heights of Cerro Azul.

From Panama we went, now five after the birth of Mary, to Bavaria. The Austin was full of miles, but we had no money for a new car so the A-40 went on its third sea voyage. It still boiled over on steep grades, but we kept it going until, eventually, I sold it for \$200 before we headed to Russia.

## Bidding Wars

My wife and I had hoped we would not need a car in Moscow; we were saving all we could to buy a house someday. However, we soon found that an automobile was a necessity in the USSR, so we began to assess our options.

We noted that the embassy's budget and fiscal officer had a Volkswagen and it worked well in the harsh Moscow winters. Equally important, VWs cost less than any American car. But the deputy chief of mission, Jack McSweeney, had improved on the State Department's edict against shipping foreign-made cars at government expense. He decreed there would be no foreign cars at Embassy Moscow at all, even if employees were willing to ship them at their own expense.

In vain, I pointed out to him that the B&F officer had a Volkswagen. She talked me into it, he said, and besides she's a woman. (While the accuracy of this observation was unassailable, its relevance has always eluded me.)

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Order a Ford or Chevy, he advised me. I bit my tongue and went away fuming.

Not long thereafter, the ambassadorial Cadillac drove into a Moscow mud puddle which turned out to be five feet deep. The frame cracked, and the car was shipped to Frankfurt for repair. When it returned, an older Cadillac that had been shipped in as an interim vehicle for the ambassador fell to none other than Jack McSweeney, who found it nicer than his official Ford. However, the department, which forgot about some things but not about Cadillacs, cabled the embassy that it must sell the older one. I was the assistant general services officer, and dutifully sent out notices offering the Cadillac for sale to embassies in Moscow, including our own.

Seizing the opportunity, I bid on the car myself — 500 rubles, around \$500. The only other bidder, an Egyptian diplomat, offered 300. I had won! My wife and I chuckled; we would drive through Moscow, me up-front in a chauffeur's cap and her lounging behind, the grand lady.

But McSweeney called me in to say my bid was no good. Don't you realize, he said, what the General Accounting Office would say about our contracting officer buying a Cadillac for several hundred dollars? I saw no problem; I had been scrupulous in following procedures. Nevertheless, he directed me to put out a new request for bids. I did, and upped my own bid to 700 rubles — and won again, only to be overruled by the DCM. Why, sir? Then came the real reason: You don't understand, he said, what people would think of a subordinate officer driving a Cadillac while his superior officer drove a Ford.

I did understand. I was tempted to tell him off, but it would have been the end of me in Moscow. The

*The DCM  
decreed there would be  
no foreign cars at  
Embassy Moscow at all,  
even if employees were  
willing to ship them at  
their own expense.*

third time around there were two bids. The Egyptian bid 600 rubles but the foppish aide to the British ambassador won by offering 1,500. I hoped our DCM would often find his Ford parked next to the Cadillac of Albion's junior representative.

### **A Falcon Flies**

Soviet restrictions on travel were severe, but we did all we could to try to learn what was going on in that secretive country. One April the assistant agricultural attaché and I took the embassy's new Ford station wagon to Ukraine. From Rostov we headed south toward Novorossisk, but never got there. Our Ford stopped dead on the empty steppe, miles from any village. We pulled up the hood and tried to locate the problem.

We knew the cops would come looking for us; they would not lose sight of two American diplomats for long. Sure enough, soon a militia car pulled up. The two officers asked politely what was wrong. The ignition, we said. They pulled up the hood but also failed to solve the problem, so they flagged down the next passing truck and ordered the driver to tow us to their Rostov headquarters. The colonel in charge had the Ford towed to a

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*I hoped our DCM  
would often find his  
Ford parked next to  
the Cadillac of  
Albion's junior  
representative.*

---

truck motor pool. Next morning the Ford was fixed. Defective points, said the burly mechanic; he had to remake them. We wanted to pay him, or at least give him a bottle of whisky (we took a modest supply on trips), but he would accept nothing; nor could the motor pool, a socialist enterprise, take in cash.

It seemed prudent to cut short our trip and head back to Moscow, 600 miles north. We progressed slowly; now our radiator was leaking. We stopped at the service station outside Novocherkassk and bought a useful Soviet invention, a truck inner tube with two pieces cut out of one end, leaving a strip for a handle to dip the tube in a well or a stream. We must have stopped 10 times en route to Moscow to refill the radiator. Fortunately, the leak stayed small.

(The next spring in Washington, I received a postcard postmarked Rostov on the Don, from my traveling companion. "Guess what?" he wrote. "Came here with a Mercury. Same problem, same mechanic. He says bring a Lincoln next time, he's never seen one. Cheers.")

Meanwhile, I borrowed \$2,000 and bought a red Ford Falcon. One afternoon my wife and our friend Evi Musser took our red Falcon up the Moscow River, to visit a village

with an ancient church tower that we had seen from the road across the river leading to the river beach where diplomats spent summer Sundays. Mary Jane and Evi found a little road to the village, and drove down through cornfields to photograph the church, closed for decades but still the most beautiful thing in the village.

Beyond, a track went down to a stream. On the other side was a paved road. The imperialists forded the stream and drove up into a very special place. There were large villas. In front of one stood a large ZIL convertible. Now, the only ZIL convertible ever seen in Moscow was used by the Minister of Defense to review troops at Red Square parades. That one was brown, this one pale green. (Later, we heard it belonged to Khrushchev's son-in-law.) The two Americans suddenly realized they were inside a resort for top Soviet officials — not a place where Westerners were welcome. What to do? Keep going; a gate was visible at the far end. The gatekeeper flagged down the Falcon. The game was up. There would be a nasty confrontation....Could the comrades kindly take a friend to Moscow? Da, da. The lady in question got into the back seat. She began to chat in Russian, while the two American women looked at each other, repressing giggles. The adventurers left the Russian at the nearest bus stop, drove away, and exploded in mirth.

The Soviet foreign ministry sent our embassy quarterly notes, listing our numerous alleged violations of Soviet regulations. Incredibly, they missed the Falcon's intrusion.

### A Swarm of "Bugs"

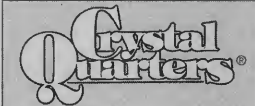
A couple of months before our departure from Moscow in 1964, I sold the Falcon to a colleague, took a succession of trains to Germany,

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and picked up a new Volkswagen at the factory in Wolfsburg. My family joined me, and we drove to a Quaker conference near Montreux that brought together diplomats from all over the world, including two Soviet officers, for a week's discussion. One afternoon the two Russians and five Bridges squeezed into the VW and drove to Gstaad for tea. The next evening, one of the Russians told me he had heard that there was fighting in the Gulf of Tonkin. We went down to the VW, which had a good radio, and listened to a broadcast in English. The Russian thought Beijing would enter the fray and there would be a greater U.S.-Chinese conflict than in Korea. I do not recall attempting a prediction.

While I returned to Moscow for my final weeks there, our friend Evi flew out to join Mary Jane, and they and our children went off in the Bug to visit beaches and old towns on the Dalmatian coast. When Evi returned, she informed me that I owed her \$500 — nearly a month's net pay for me. When I had last seen my wife she had more than enough cash to last until we met. (I speak of days when credit cards were little used and there were no ATMs.) What had happened?

The trouble began in Dubrovnik, where a gang of boys stole two wheels from the Volkswagen. My wife reported the theft to the police and went to the VW dealer, who had no wheels for sale but lent her two to drive the car onto the northbound ferry. At Rijeka, Mary Jane went to the Volkswagen dealer, borrowed two wheels again, and drove the car off the boat. Everyone, said Evi, had been very helpful. The party then took the train for Trieste.

As they neared the Italian border, Mary Jane realized she had left little Mary's passport in Dubrovnik. Nothing daunted, she showed the Yugoslav border guard just her own

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---

passport, which contained photos of all three children, included after their births and then crossed through after they had been issued their own passports. The Yugoslav guard pointed at the lines across the pictures. Mary Jane shrugged and, using her best Slavic, said "Ya nichevo ne ponimayu" — I don't know anything about that. And so the entourage crossed into Italy, bought two wheels in Trieste, and took them to the car in Rijeka. The ladies then decided to drive to Florence, where they stayed in a lovely if expensive hotel and went shopping to make up for their troubles.

And all that was why I owed Evi Musser \$500, which I paid gladly before joining my family in Paris to sail home on the *S.S. United States*.

From Washington we went to Embassy Rome, accompanied by our trusty VW Bug. We drove it all over Italy with the three children and our new dog Seumas in the back seat. Seumas was not small, the children were growing, but they almost fit. They also fought. One day we stopped in a village and Mary Jane bought a large wooden spoon. Henceforth VW discipline was maintained with the spoon. On a long trip the mother would not even look back to identify the troublemaker, but laid on indiscriminately. My three oldest

children still claim that this bent their young souls, but we have never assented to that proposition.

In April 1969 my wife took the children to Greece for spring vacation. Seumas stayed with me in Rome, but the VW was even more crowded because our friend Roberta Schneidman and two of her children went along. They returned full of stories. They had almost slid off a cliff on a muddy road; they had collided ("barely," said Mary Jane) with a bus in Patras. But the big news was that my wife thought she was pregnant.

The birth of Andrew necessitated a change of cars and housing. We moved from a crowded apartment near Piazza Navona to a house on two acres north of Rome. I bought a roomier Volkswagen, a station wagon. One evening Mary Jane and I drove into town to an after-dinner get-together at the house of Luigi Vittorio Ferraris, a senior Foreign Ministry officer, a brilliant man with interesting friends. We stayed until almost midnight. Home was 30 kilometers out the Via Flaminia. About 22 kilometers out, the car stopped dead and I could not revive it. We began to walk, my wife in high heels. There was almost no traffic, and no one would stop for us. But it was a fine spring night, and my wife remembers hearing the first nightingales of the year.

From Rome we went to Prague, three years after the Soviet army crushed Dubcek's "socialism with a human face." It had not crushed the Czech nation. We made good friends; we had never known a people with such a liking for Americans. But the security police trailed me on foot and in cars, sometimes quite visibly. I mentioned this to my wife, who had noticed nothing of the sort.

She had, however, discovered a number of used-goods shops in Prague, state-owned like all Prague businesses, with interesting things at modest prices. One weekend we went

browsing together; she drove, since she knew all the places. After visiting two stores, I told her I saw four cars following us: an old black Mercedes and a blue Simca which I knew from earlier occasions, plus two Skodas. Nonsense, she said. Still, perhaps this distracted her; she took a wrong turn and, driving up a narrow street in Mala Strana, we found ourselves in a blind alley. Backing out, we found backing out behind us a black Mercedes, a blue Simca, and two Skodas.

After Prague we spent seven years in Washington and then went back to Rome. This time I was the deputy chief of mission. It was the most responsible job I had had abroad, and I enjoyed it although we were concerned about terrorism. I had a good Italian driver and an armored Ford, but there were no guarantees. My friend Ray Hunt, who directed the Sinai peacekeeping force, was followed one day on his way home from

his Rome headquarters in his chauffeured Lancia. One of the followers leaped on the back bumper and shot at Ray through the armored back window. The second or third shot penetrated the armor and killed him.

One Saturday afternoon I drove myself down to the embassy in the armored Ford, which was an apricot color. I planned to get the car repainted, to make it less obvious. A Ford of any color was a rare sight in Italy, but no Italian cars were apricot — although taxis were then orange. Saturday afternoon was shopping time and the Via Veneto was jammed, so I was moving very slowly. A woman came running up the middle of the street, pointing at me as she came. Was she fingering me for accomplices? She came up to my window, and asked "Libero?" She thought I was a taxi.

My last post in the Foreign Service was Mogadishu. Somalia's

ghastly civil war lay in the future and I traveled widely, usually without escort — although on my first trip to the northwest, where the Isaq clans had begun to contest Siad Barre's dictatorship, I was accompanied by an army truck with a machine gun on the roof. The best driving in Somalia came when my friend Bill Fullerton, the British ambassador, and I took a Land Rover and a Toyota a hundred miles along the Gulf of Aden, not on a road but just on hard beach sand and gravel. Days later, after we had reached the Horn of Africa by plane, boat, and finally on foot, we did another long stretch inland. For miles we drove side by side across the great Daror plain, racing through the night across a treeless, roadless land. One big boulder could have been the end of us. There were many stars, and fortunately no boulders. Which, I may say, has been true for much of my life. ■

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# SEPT. 11 TRANSFORMED GERMAN FOREIGN POLICY

SEPT. 11 ENCOURAGED GERMANY'S NEWFOUND WILLINGNESS TO ENGAGE POLITICALLY,  
ECONOMICALLY AND EVEN MILITARILY IN WORLD AFFAIRS.

By ROBERT GERALD LIVINGSTON

The Sept. 11 attacks on the United States and the ensuing campaign against terrorism have accelerated a striking transformation in Germany's foreign policy: Berlin is now willing to engage economically, politically and even militarily around the world. For example, it hosted international conferences in Bonn and Berlin last December, at which the interim government of Afghanistan was organized, and has offered economic assistance to that war-devastated country, including significant long-term commitments to its pacification, reconstruction and democratization. Germany has committed its military to operations outside Afghanistan as well. It now has over 7,000 troops (more than the United States) in Bosnia; Macedonia, where a German general leads the peacekeeping force; and Kosovo, where Chancellor Gerhard Schroeder's former national security adviser has been named administrator of the U.N.'s protectorate.

Following the westward orientation of German foreign policy in the 1950s and 1960s and the eastward orientation of the 1970s and 1980s, Germany has entered into a third phase of its postwar foreign policy, a phase of global engagement marked by three characteristics: broadening horizons beyond central Europe to the Balkans, the Middle East and Asia; decisive expansion of German foreign policy instrumentalities to include military force; and efforts by Schroeder and his popular, energetic foreign minister, Joschka Fischer, to help resolve conflicts outside traditional areas of German interest in Europe.

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*Robert Gerald Livingston is a Senior Visiting Fellow at the German Historical Institute in Washington. He is also a former director of the American Institute for Contemporary German Studies at Johns Hopkins and a former president of the German Marshall Fund.*

The chancellor's government is shedding taboos that linger as legacies of Hitler's aggression. Somewhat surprisingly, this new assertiveness has aroused no suspicions among Germany's neighbors, nations who in two world wars suffered conquest and occupation by German troops. This is yet another sign that the legacy of World War II no longer shapes the foreign policies of European nations.

## "Without Us"

"The historically embellished interpretation ... that when military [force] is employed for peace and human rights we [Germans] do not feel ourselves called upon is that of the old Federal Republic ..., which could pursue its interests, so to speak, under the lee of its allies." So Chancellor Schroeder explained to his party at its national convention last November, just a couple of months after the terrorist attacks on the United States. He continued: "Only this interpretation is no longer available to us since German unification and achievement of full sovereignty."

To grasp the magnitude of the break with past practices that such words herald, we need only recall Germany's hesitancy at the time of the Gulf War. In 1991, Helmut Kohl's government was reluctant to answer the call to war. Although his government was made up of the two parties, the Free Democrats and Christian Democrats, who had always unquestioningly backed U.S. security policies, Kohl's center-right administration limited its contribution to a large payment for the expeditionary force against Saddam Hussein. Bundeswehr units did not join it.

This time it is a center-left government, within whose Social Democratic (SPD) and Green ranks pacifist and anti-American sentiments have long run deep, that is broadening the geographic scope of foreign policy and deploying combat soldiers abroad. For decades, Americans have complained that where security policy is concerned, the Germans have limited their interests to Central Europe. Yet right after the

September terrorist attacks, Germany joined with its allies to invoke, for the first time ever, Article V of the NATO treaty, agreeing that terrorism threatened all alliance members together, no matter where in the world it might originate.

A joke now circulating among SPD parliamentarians sums up Germany's new attitude:

"In 1945, after the catastrophe of World War II, we in the SPD declared: 'No more wars!' In 1955, when the Christian Democrats rearmed Germany, we in the SPD declared 'Without us!' And what are we saying in 2002? 'No more wars without us!'"

To be sure, the national election campaign, in which Schroeder is facing a strongly pro-American, pro-defense conservative opponent from Bavaria, Edmund Stoiber, makes it tactically advisable to — as the chancellor did soon after Sept. 11 — assert "unlimited solidarity" with the United States and warn his party against anti-Americanism. More importantly, the decisions by his Red-Green government to send soldiers to the Balkans, to replace the British troops that were withdrawn in late September, and to Afghanistan provide assurance that this policy of solidarity with the United States will last. However, were these two parties not in power, they would certainly have mounted robust opposition in parliament and supported demonstrations in the streets against such deployments.

### Public Support for Global Engagement

Support among Germans for their country's expanded military role abroad has been solid. Polls in October and November by the weekly *Der Spiegel* and by the television network ZDF showed that 58 to 59 percent of Germans considered it right that their country participate in military action against Osama bin Laden's terrorists. How sudden the change! Just two years ago, only 19 percent approved the dispatch of ground troops to Kosovo.

Why was this change in sentiment so rapid? Angst has much to do with it. Some 57 percent of those polled right after Sept. 11 by the Hamburg weekly *Die Woche* feared a new world war and an astonishing 87 percent thought that, if it came, Germany was bound to be caught up in it. Germans could easily grasp President Bush's characterization of the terrorist threat as a global one, for they could only too easily imagine hijacked airliners being piloted into the towers of the Deutsche, Dresdner and Commerz banks of Frankfurt's skyline or into one of the many nuclear power plants that are scattered across Germany's landscape.

The change in German attitudes toward the deployment of German military forces outside Europe has been most

noteworthy. Even six months ago, former Secretary of State Henry Kissinger has said, dispatching troops beyond NATO boundaries would have been inconceivable for Germany. As noted, Berlin refused to send troops to aid in the Gulf War,

and as recently as last summer, the parliament tied itself into knots trying to decide whether to send 500 troops to Macedonia to collect machine pistols, rifles, and grenades from the Albanian rebels.

In November, however, the Bundestag speedily and overwhelmingly approved sending 3,900 soldiers and sailors to join the war in Afghanistan. Yet during the war-fighting phase there, the Pentagon showed little interest in having German troops on the ground and it made no use of

NATO command structures for the campaign. The sudden collapse of the Taliban meant that in the end it did not need to take Berlin up on much of its offer to send tanks that detect chemical agents, an airborne medical evacuation team, a commando unit, and naval vessels.

### Germany's Contribution in Afghanistan

Thus, Germany's contribution ended up consisting of a few special force members helping to mop up in Afghanistan's caves and 12 frigates, patrol boats and escorts patrolling off the Horn of Africa. However, its readiness to send combat troops to distant Afghanistan, its growing military role in the Balkans, and the speed with which this change came about, amount to "a revolution in German security policy" in the view of Karl Feldmeyer, the longtime defense correspondent of Germany's leading newspaper, the *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung*.

In December the German parliament then easily approved participation of a battalion of up to 1,200 in the Kabul-based international peacekeeping force that was put in place once the war-fighting phase had ended. German officials have since indicated that they even favor expanding that force and its mandate to the country as a whole. So pleased was Washington at this willingness to abandon old, self-imposed limitations that, according to press reports, officials in the Pentagon were at one point championing a German officer as commander of the peacekeeping force (a job that finally went to a British major general).

One can also see a more general transformation in German foreign policy in Fischer and Schroeder's willingness to apply economic pressure to other nations and to act as intermediaries in conflicts outside Europe in which Germany is not directly involved. Berlin was already an intermediary in the Middle East conflict well before

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September (Fischer successfully brokered a brief Palestinian-Israeli cease-fire last spring, a role that would have been unthinkable for any German political leader until very recently); since then, Fischer and Schroeder have toured Central Asia and the Indian subcontinent, tried to influence both India and Pakistan to cool the tensions between them, and offered economic inducements to the Central Asian republics near Afghanistan. As far as Afghanistan itself is concerned, Germany has pledged to help the country for the next few years, the longest-term commitment made by any European country. Specifically, it has promised substantial economic aid, rushed into place a schooling program for young girls, and is coordinating training of a national police force of 25,000.

Compared to the American military and economic effort, of course, the German effort in Afghanistan has not yet amounted to much. But its engagement has highlighted for the future advantages that Germany retains there and in other Asian and Near Eastern countries: It is not burdened by a colonialist past, as the British and French are, or by interventions in Asia, the Middle East or Africa during the Cold War, as the United States is; it has not engaged in combat in the Third World, as the others have many times since World War II; Hitler's record does not handicap it at all in the region now, not even in Israel; and Germany is known to have close links to Washington without being in its thrall. This record and reputation help explain why the European Union selected an experienced German diplomat as its representative in Afghanistan.

### **Disorientation in Germany**

The campaign against terrorism may have helped transform German foreign policy, but it has at the same time led to disorientation in Berlin, to

disquiet about American aims and to disagreements between Washington and Berlin that may grow as the immediacy of the Sept. 11 horrors recedes.

Particularly disorienting for Germany, whose security for 50 years was dependent on NATO, is the fact that the anti-terrorist campaign has shifted the center of security decision-making back to the nation state. NATO, for all its declaration of collective solidarity, was ignored as a military organization by Washington during the Afghan war. Moreover, the Afghan conflict, like those in Bosnia and Kosovo before it, revealed starkly once again that the European Union is not a player in the military field. Postwar Germany, the old Bonn republic to which Schroeder referred, had become accustomed to deferring big foreign policy decisions to the E.U. and to NATO. A resolutely multilateral Germany cannot help being uneasy when it sees the apparent military irrelevancy of the two intergovernmental organizations to which it has been devoted.

If the fight against terrorism continues for years, as President Bush has said it will, other German interests — economic and trade policy, in particular — will, of course, regain their previous salience. So will Germany's previous chief policy focus, the E.U. Berlin's advocacy of a strong role for the United Nations in conflicts such as Afghanistan — more pronounced now that the German case for a permanent seat on the Security Council has been revived — and its steadfast support of the network of East-West arms control agreements erected in the 1970s and 1980s hardly coincide with the priorities of the Bush administration.

The United States and Germany also differ on how each nation views security. The Bush administration defines it almost exclusively in military terms, while Germany insists that security has several dimensions: diplo-

matic, economic, even societal and cultural. Such differing viewpoints explain why the Federal Republic, like other European countries, is convinced that military force can only be a last resort against states which support terrorism or seek to acquire nuclear weapons.

Moreover, two paradoxes have surfaced as Germany assumes greater responsibilities outside central Europe. First, at the very moment when Berlin showed itself ready to participate militarily in Afghanistan, the United States seemed uninterested in calling upon it when the war was being fought. And second, Germany's growing interest in other parts of the world has made it ready to speak out frankly about them, as it has seldom done before. Warning President Bush against a unilateral campaign against Iraq, Fischer sharply reminded him that alliance partners "are not satellites."

In spite of these challenges, Berlin's new sense of responsibility will enhance global security and stability. Semi-permanent deployment of German infantry in the Balkans to relieve Americans stationed there and of German peacekeepers in new hot spots south of the Caucasus or on the Caspian and Black Sea littorals now becomes likely. German and American interests mesh in both nations' desire to build bridges between Russia and NATO. Their interests coincide when it comes to preventing the proliferation of chemical, biological and nuclear weapons, which Germany long ago forswore. Finally, Germany's powerful economy can provide greater developmental assistance once the current recession has passed and the costs of integrating eastern Germany have lessened.

This new direction in German foreign policy thus clearly counts as a highly positive consequence of Sept. 11 and its aftermath. ■



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## BUILDING A NEW INTERNATIONAL ORDER

### Does America Need a Foreign Policy?

Henry Kissinger, Simon and Schuster, 2001, \$30, hardcover, 318 pages.

REVIEWED BY CAROLINE BENNER

Diplomats who wonder what the United States might do about various foreign policy conundrums in the post-Sept. 11 international landscape need look no farther for ideas than former Secretary of State Henry Kissinger's latest book, *Does America Need a Foreign Policy?* (Naturally, Kissinger does not hesitate to answer his own question with a ringing "yes.") In it, he offers a very detailed set of policy recommendations for every region of the world, including many specific countries, and many major transnational issues. He also helpfully provides a primer on the history and current status of each issue or country before outlining exactly what he thinks needs to be done about the situation.

Kissinger's policy prescriptions will not surprise those who have read his previous works or follow his syndicated commentaries in the press. He believes the United States must take care that NATO does not lose its purpose in the post-Cold War security environment. He says America must engage with China unless it becomes hostile enough to

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*It seems that  
President Bush is  
following Kissinger's  
anti-terrorism policy  
prescription  
to a T.*

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be a direct threat. And he argues that a robust missile defense system is vital to American security in the 21st century.

Even though the book was published before Sept. 11, it is still surprising that he says so little about the threat of international terrorism. But had it come out after the attacks, it seems fair to assume that he would have expressed the view found in his Nov. 6, 2001, *Washington Post* op-ed: "An anti-terrorism campaign must improve security cooperation, interrupt the flow of funds, harass terrorist communications and subject the countries that provide safe haven to pressures including, in the extreme case, military pressure." It seems that President Bush is following his prescription to a T.

Kissinger went on to say in the same column that Sept. 11 created an "extraordinary opportunity to recast the international system." And in fact, the current international situation may make achieving

some of the ambitious policy goals he outlines in his book even easier because many countries are cultivating more cooperative relationships with the United States, including China, Pakistan and Russia.

Take United States-Russian relations. In his book, Kissinger argues that the United States must see to it that Russia's opinion is respected and valued in the international community and that it plays a significant role in the building of a 21st-century international order. As he noted in a Dec. 7 op-ed piece, the challenge is unchanged: the United States and Russia must "create consulting mechanisms capable of dealing jointly with the new common realities." But now, with Russia on board as a member of the anti-terror coalition, Kissinger believes there is a new opportunity for Bush to parlay his warmer relationship with President Putin into more formal ways of fostering U.S.-Russian cooperation.

Kissinger's thoughts on Iraq, as expressed in his book, are one of the few instances where he doesn't offer concrete advice to help the Bush administration formulate policy today. If press reports are accurate, the Bush administration seems increasingly intent on taking the war on terrorism to Saddam Hussein. Though Kissinger says he favors encouraging internal Iraqi resistance (if properly carried out), he does not go into detail about how such operations would work, nor does he explore other options for removing Saddam. He only recommends that America resort to "watchful waiting," since "no dramatic initiatives

are available" to create better relations with Iraq.

As U.S. policy-makers and diplomats strive to reorganize priorities and capitalize on changing international relationships after the September terrorist attacks, *Does America Need a Foreign Policy?*<sup>9</sup> is a timely and valuable guide.

Caroline Benner is a former managing editor of the Journal.

## THE TANGLED WEB

### Jihad: The Rise of Militant Islam in Central Asia

Ahmed Rashid, Yale University Press, 2002, \$24, hardcover, 281 pages.

REVIEWED BY BENJAMIN TUA

Ahmed Rashid, the Pakistan, Afghanistan and Central Asia correspondent for the *Far Eastern Economic Review* and the *Daily Telegraph*, has just come out with a new book on his favorite subject, Islamic fundamentalism. Written against the background of the Sept. 11 tragedy, *Jihad: The Rise of Militant Islam in Central Asia* is full of the same kind of firsthand detail and insight that characterized his bestseller *Taliban: Militant Islam, Oil and Fundamentalism in Central Asia* (2000; reviewed in the December 2001 FSJ). It deserves at least as much attention as that earlier work received.

Despite the similarities of the titles of the two books, *Jihad's* Central Asia is distinctly different from that discussed in *Taliban*. The focus of the new volume is primarily the situation in the five Central Asian republics of the former Soviet

**Jihad is a kind  
of early warning that  
the current problems  
of the Central Asian  
republics are also  
our problems.**

Union — Uzbekistan, Tajikistan, Kyrgyzstan, Kazakhstan and Turkmenistan. Of course, given the nature of the phenomenon of militant and fundamentalist Islam, *Jihad* could not have been written without reference to the Taliban, Afghanistan and Pakistan. By the same token, it was natural for Rashid to include a chapter entitled "The Taliban and Central Asia, Russia, Turkey and Israel" in *Taliban*.

Rashid's mastery of his material and his lucid and unadorned journalistic style make *Jihad* highly recommended reading for those seeking to understand the tangled strands and complex array of forces operating in a region of the world which is so little known by us and yet so important to our well-being. As Rashid reminds us, over 60 percent of the region's 50 million inhabitants are under the age of 25. This generation is "unemployed, poorly educated and hungry." How long, Rashid wonders, will it tolerate the decline in living standards and the lack of rudimentary freedoms?

*Jihad* is a kind of early warning that the current problems of the Central Asian republics are also our

problems and, as such, will deserve our close attention for years to come. Rashid's central message is that the repressive and corrupt regimes in these countries have created or exacerbated conditions that have facilitated the spread of the same types of extremist Islamic groups which hijacked Afghanistan after the withdrawal of the Soviet forces from that country. He further argues that, notwithstanding the strong U.S. interest in the large energy deposits in the region, Washington has been slow to fully appreciate the vulnerability of these countries and the need to foster their viability as democratic republics.

Throughout, Rashid is unsparing in allocating blame for what has gone wrong in Central Asia. His analysis ranges from the role of the U.S., Great Britain, Saudi Arabia and Pakistan in training thousands of Muslim radicals from around the world to fight for the mujahedeen against the Soviets 20 years ago, to the repressive policies of the post-Soviet rulers in the region, to Pakistan's continued cynical manipulation of the situation for its own ends up to Sept. 11.

As he acknowledges, however, the tragic events in New York and Washington and the recent fall of the Taliban have fundamentally reshuffled the cards for all the players. Rashid hopes all the actors, including Russia, the U.S., Pakistan, Iran, Turkey, China, as well as the Central Asian leaders themselves, will take advantage of the second chance they have been given. But he does not seem sure that they — and we — will do so. ■

*Benjamin Tua, a retired FSO, served in the Soviet Union, Kyrgyzstan, Ukraine and Russia.*

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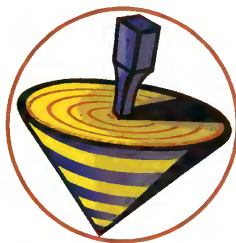
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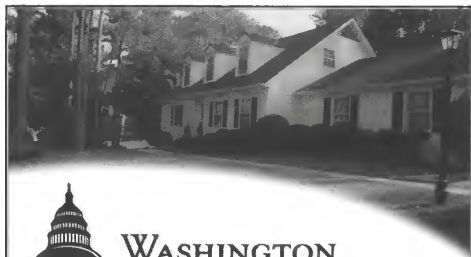
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(2) GS-garden style, HR-high rise, LR-low rise, TH-town homes.



# POSTCARD FROM ABROAD

## *A Prayer for Burma*

BY ANDREW R. YOUNG

Down Rangoon's Merchant Street, past trees that offered scant protection to democracy activists shot by soldiers in 1988, I walk to the Supreme Court on a spring day in 1998. Easy to find, the halls of justice are surrounded by troops and barbed wire. Burma's junta sealed off the court's front entrance, so now one enters via the back door — a fitting metaphor for a once-proud judicial system reduced to a mere adjunct of the military dictatorship.

A hundred National League for Democracy supporters have gathered to support Nobel Laureate Aung San Suu Kyi's attempt to end the illegal detention of parliamentarians. Elected in the NLD's 1990 landslide victory, they have been harassed for most of the past decade. The regime has detained them for a year now without charge in the latest effort to break their spirit.

These years have been rough on NLD supporters. Jailed in record numbers, they have lost jobs, family members, and seen a decade pass without freedom. Aung San Suu Kyi arrives to cheers of "Long Live the NLD." She and the elderly party leaders (the younger leaders are in prison) know the outcome of the case in advance. Just as I do. Aung San Suu Kyi persists in a nonviolent struggle

*Andrew R. Young, an FSO since 1991, has served in Hong Kong, Washington, Bombay, Rangoon and is currently assigned to the U.S. Consulate in Auckland. The stamp is courtesy of the AAFSW Bookfair "Stamp Corner."*

*A Burmese  
bureaucrat backed  
by gun-toting  
soldiers tells me  
I must leave.*



that inspires people to action against repression armed only with the conviction that they are right and protected only by party uniforms of home-spun cloth.

Today's court date is a cynical ploy to suggest rule of law prevails. But no witnesses are allowed into the court. In fact, I'm the only diplomat who even tries. Did the others give up? Or worse, have they begun to believe the lies put out by that classic oxymoron "military intelligence?" A Burmese bureaucrat backed by gun-toting soldiers tells me I must leave. Yet my refusal to have my freedom of movement further eroded is tolerated. Grabbing the regime's videographer, I explain that the junta's charade of judicial freedom is obvious. And by attempting to force me to leave, they only ensure that I will stay. I wait.


When all seems quiet, I return to the embassy, after surreptitiously indicating to NLD supporters that the United States is watching, that they are not alone in their struggle for freedom. Within 15 minutes, riot police clear the street using truncheons. Such is the duality of a diplomat's power and impotence. I can prevent

violence against democracy activists only as long as I can witness regime actions.

Weeks earlier a parliamentarian visited me. I suggested he not tarry, as covert operatives certainly saw him enter the embassy. He chastised me, saying, "I have a right to be here. A right to talk to anyone. I know what will happen to me. But before it does, I want to earn the trust of the people who elected me. I want to do something." Six months later, he was sentenced to 21 years in prison. He did nothing more than talk. Talk is dangerous in Burma. A monk once invited me into a monastery, through a locked door and down into a cave cut 35 feet into a granite hillside. At last he said, "Now, we can talk."

How courageous the Burmese are even when informants seem everywhere! I've met the bravest people in my life here. The Burmese struggle on for democracy despite the repression, despite setbacks. Here the State Department wages a righteous fight for justice. My tour will end soon. But these people will stay behind. Some day, they will win their freedom. I pray that change comes soon, comes peacefully, and comes before more lives are destroyed.

Although I left Rangoon 18 months ago, I continue to follow the developments there. The regime and the NLD have engaged in a dialogue designed to bring about national reconciliation. While many of these parliamentarians have been released, numerous political prisoners remain incarcerated in Burma. ■



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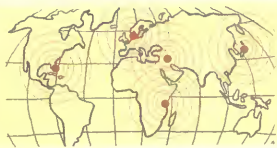
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