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CONTENTS

November 2002 ■ Volume 79, No. 11

FOCUS ON REFLECTIONS

22 / THE FLUTE AND THE BRICKMAKER

Shortly before his 90th birthday, a retired FSO reflects appreciatively on a life of adventures as a railroad hobo, a palace guest and in many other roles.

By John Nelson Hutchison

26 / PALAZZO CORPI: A NATIONAL TREASURE

This mansion's frescoed walls hold more than 100 years of American diplomatic history, peopled with richly interesting characters and events.

By Thomas J. Carolan, Jr.

31 / WILLIS CONOVER, THE VOA AND JAZZ

A retired FSO recalls a broadcasting legend's pivotal role in thawing the Cold War in Hungary in 1956.

By Ernest A. Nagy

34 / REFLECTIONS ON THE CHURCH ATTACK IN ISLAMABAD

An FSO reflects on religion and forgiveness from afar.

By Jonathan Addleton

37 / TWO HEADS OF STATE, TWO KINDS OF FATE

Connections abound between Persian poetry and a Robert Frost poem and the lives of John F. Kennedy and the king of Afghanistan.

By Edward H. Thomas

40 / THE POPE'S RING

A visit with the pope leads to an unexpected blessing.

By Solie Reinhardt

43 / HAITI: INCOMPARABLE SPIRIT, UNIQUE HISTORY

An FSO sheds light on a many-layered and intriguing culture.

By Dan Whitman

FEATURES

THE SPECTER OF A NEW "GREAT GAME" IN CENTRAL ASIA / 48

Last year's U.S.-led intervention in Afghanistan pushed the age-old "Great Game" into a new and more dangerous phase.

By Alec Razizade

RADIO SAWA: MUSIC AS A TOOL / 53

VOA's Radio Sawa uses a mix of American and Arab popular music and news to get the U.S. message out to the Arab world. But how is it being received?

By George Gedda

APPRECIATION / 57

From Hardhat to Diplomat: Clarence A. Wendel, 1912-2001

By James A. Williams

COLUMNS

PRESIDENT'S VIEWS / 5

Overseas Comparability Pay

By John K. Naland

FS FINANCES / 15

Education Savings Accounts:

A Comparison

By Stephen H. Thompson

SPEAKING OUT / 17

Solving the "Cambodian Conundrum"

By Kenneth M. Quinn

LETTER FROM THE EDITOR / 20

By Steven Alan Honley

REFLECTIONS / 68

By Mike Morrow



Page 22

DEPARTMENTS

LETTERS / 7

CYBERNOTES / 12

BOOKS / 60

INDEX TO

ADVERTISERS / 66

AFSA NEWS /

CENTER INSERT

Cover and inside illustrations by Elizabeth Scott

FOREIGN SERVICE JOURNAL

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J. KIRBY SIMON FOREIGN SERVICE TRUST

AN INVITATION TO PROPOSE PROJECTS FOR FUNDING BY THE J. KIRBY SIMON FOREIGN SERVICE TRUST IN 2003

The J. Kirby Simon Foreign Service Trust is a charitable fund established in the memory of Kirby Simon, a Foreign Service Officer who died in 1995 while serving in Taiwan. The Trust is committed to expanding the opportunities for professional fulfillment and community service of active Foreign Service Officers and Specialists and their families.

The principal activity of the Trust is to support projects that are initiated and carried out, not in an official capacity and not on official time, by Foreign Service personnel or members of their families, wherever located. The Trust, however, will also consider proposals from other U.S. Government employees or members of their families, regardless of nationality, who are located at American diplomatic posts abroad.

In 2002 the Trust made its sixth round of grants — 26 in number, ranging in amount from \$550 to \$3500, for a total of \$43,802. These grants supported the involvement of Foreign Service personnel in the following projects (further described under "Grants Awarded in 2002," to be posted in late November 2002 on the Trust's Website: www.kirbysimontrust.org).

- **Programs for Victims of Oppression or Natural Disaster:** Supplies for a Burkina Faso center for destitute women and children banished on accusations of sorcery; athletic equipment for a camp in Nepal for Tibetan refugees; rebuilt homes for Greek earthquake victims.

- **Educational Programs:** Training of teachers for squatter settlement schools in Niger; computer equipment and training for a Nepalese rural community library; stimulation toys for abandoned babies in Kosovo; supplies for a shantytown pre-school in the Dominican Republic; English language training for workers in Togo; shipment of books to South African schools.

- **Educational Facilities:** Renovation of a school building for street children in Bangladesh; a Bolivian pre-kindergarten classroom; a mobile library for a school in El Salvador.

- **Other Facilities for Children:** A washer and other equipment for a home for abandoned children in the Philippines; a play area at a missionary hospital in Guinea; orphanage projects — bunk beds (Mexico), educational and medical supplies (Vietnam), playground equipment for the terminally ill (Haiti), hygienic equipment for the handicapped (India).

- **Skills Training Programs:** Equipment for a vocational training center for handicapped children in the West Bank; sewing machines for a Peruvian women's microenterprise group; sewing classes for rural immigrants in Turkey; woodcarving instruction for rural Black communities in Bolivia.

- **Civic Program:** A clean-up project and new trash cans for a city park in Macedonia.

- **Public Health Programs:** Clean water and health

education for Guatemalan poor families; a spay/neuter clinic for abandoned, homeless animals in Guatemala.

- **Program Related to the Work of the Foreign Service:** Computer facilities for the electronic magazine American Diplomacy.

The Trust now invites the submission of proposals for support in 2003. It is anticipated that most of the new grants will fall within the same funding range as the 2002 awards and that projects assisted by the Trust will reflect a variety of interests and approaches, some of which are illustrated by the 2002 grants.

Grants provided by the Trust can be used to defray a wide range of project expenses, such as acquisition of equipment, books and supplies, travel and data collection costs, and dissemination of materials. Grant funds from the Trust, however, cannot be used to pay salaries or other compensation to U.S. Government employees or their family members. Because of the limited resources available to the Trust, it is not in a position to support projects that have reasonable prospects of obtaining all the funds they need from other sources, or that propose to conduct activities closely similar to those undertaken by other public or private programs, or that cannot be carried out effectively with Trust-size grants.

The Trustees wish to emphasize that the Trust will provide support for a project operated by a charitable or educational organization only where the Foreign Service-related applicant(s) play an active part in initiating and carrying out the project, apart from fund-raising.

A proposal should include a description of the project, its goals, and the role to be played by the applicant(s); a preliminary plan for disseminating the results of the project; a budget; other available funding, if any; and a brief biography of the applicant(s). Proposals should not be longer than five double-spaced pages (exclusive of budget and biographical material).

Proposals for projects to be funded during calendar year 2003 must be received by the Trust no later than February 28, 2003.

Proposals should be sent to the J. Kirby Simon Foreign Service Trust:

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PRESIDENT'S VIEWS

Overseas Comparability Pay

By JOHN K. NALAND

The exclusion of overseas Foreign Service members from the locality pay system has created an ever-growing financial disincentive to serve

abroad. The current 11.48-percent locality pay rate in Washington, D.C. means that overseas employees at 5- and 10-percent hardship posts now earn less than their Washington colleagues. As detailed in a June 2002 General Accounting Office report on problems with staffing overseas hardship posts, without a change in the law, the salaries of employees at 15-percent differential posts will fall behind their D.C. colleagues in just four years and employees at 20-percent posts will be passed in 2010.

To understand why this threatens to undermine diplomatic readiness, we need to review a little history. In the early days of our republic, American envoys received no allowances. They paid their own way to post and paid for their overseas housing. Consequently, America's envoys in the 19th century were almost all "men of private means." Early in the 20th century, however, Congress decided that was no way for a world power to operate. So it established incentives to overseas service: post allowances (1916), government-provided housing (1926),



The current lack of overseas comparability pay for Foreign Service employees threatens to undermine diplomatic readiness.

and hardship allowances (1946).

Although categorized as employee benefits, these incentives are really the cost of recruiting and retaining a talented, diverse workforce dedicated to overseas service. Or, as explained in the Foreign Service Act of 1980, "providing salaries, allowances, and benefits that will permit the Foreign Service to attract and retain qualified personnel" makes possible a Service that is "representative of the American people."

Thus, the erosion of these incentives caused by the exclusion of overseas Foreign Service employees from the locality pay system threatens to undermine nearly a century's progress. Besides constituting what is in effect a double-digit pay cut (perhaps we should call it "overseas disincentive pay"), the lack of locality pay abroad also reduces the value of post-specific cost of living allowances and dramatically reduces employees' retirement savings (including the Thrift Savings Plan).

Certainly, most of us joined the Foreign Service because of the psycho-

logical, not financial, rewards of serving our great nation. However, a continued slicing of overseas salaries by 1 percent a year compared to domestic salaries would inevitably make it more difficult for the foreign affairs agencies to attract and retain a talented, diverse Foreign Service.

Therefore, one of AFSA's top objectives for the 108th Congress that convenes next January will be to secure passage of overseas comparability pay for Foreign Service employees that is equal to the Washington, D.C. locality pay rate. A proposal to do just that was sent — with the strong support of Secretary of State Colin Powell — by the Office of Personnel Management to the Office of Management and Budget last March. As I write these words, OMB has not yet responded. If State and OPM can convince OMB to give the green light, funding for overseas locality pay will be sought in the FY 2004 budget request in order to permit payments beginning in January 2004.

Although AFSA began briefing key congressional staffers on this issue last April, it will undoubtedly require a concerted lobbying campaign to secure passage of the legislation needed to implement overseas locality pay. When the time comes, AFSA plans to call on its members for help. Those who are interested should make sure that they are signed up for up-to-the-minute news and action requests via our AFSANet e-mail service (to sign up, e-mail member@afsa.org). Then, early next year, look for our call to action. ■

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

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AFSA's Bludgeon

Judging from the latest appearance of the *FSJ*'s biennial "Congressional Scorecard" (September), AFSA obviously remains convinced that the bludgeon is better than tact in dealing with Congress and continues to employ dubious criteria in making its judgments.

Some things are the same in this year's presentation; for example, John McCain and Jesse Helms remain among the most isolationist senators. But they are now surpassed in the AFSA doghouse by Ted Kennedy and Russell Feingold. Perhaps this year's news regarding Feingold and McCain will demonstrate a high correlation between advocacy of campaign finance reform and poor attitudes toward foreign policy excellence?

The Scorecard does carry a new apologia this time acknowledging that its methodology may show a bias of sorts in favor of the party in power. The new data support that with respect to the Senate but not for the House. Of 23 senators with perfect scores (10), 18 are Republicans. This does not include the leaders of either party, but the fall-off is not enormous and no senator scores under six.

The House is another matter, although not at first blush, since the only four members to score a perfect 10 are Republicans, including

former FSO Jim Leach and Maryland's Connie Morella (tough luck, young Chris). The House figures are scattered enormously below the anointed four, however, and go all the way down to the ones and twos. I counted everyone with a score below five and note that these 37 real dregs (by AFSA standards) were composed of one Democrat, one independent and 35 Republicans, including the Speaker. Since the sainted category was so small, I arbitrarily picked a larger group of members who scored eight or nine and found a sizable Democratic advantage (109 to 79).

Minority Leader Dick Gephardt, Majority Leader Dick Armey and House Whip Tom DeLay earned middling scores but still came in way above Speaker Hastert. The latter's dismal score may reflect his position rather than anything personal, however, since old Newt Gingrich was also at the bottom of the heap in previous Scorecards. One thing seems sure, however: on a regional basis, Louisiana and Connecticut are clearly the pre-eminent centers of foreign policy excellence by AFSA standards, with all members from those two states scoring eight or higher. Recruiters, take note.

So why not send all these brilliant data to each and every member of Congress? Surely the poor performers will be induced by our

Foreign Service brilliance to shape up. And if a few get angry, so what? The bludgeon remains AFSA's preferred weapon rather than tact and sophisticated analysis, those once-upon-a-time supposed attributes of the diplomatic profession.

*Robert J. Martens
FSO, retired
Bethesda, Md.*

AFSA President John Naland replies:

Mr. Martens mocks AFSA's Congressional Scorecard for, among other supposed faults, singling out Louisiana as one of our nation's "pre-eminent centers of foreign policy excellence." I happen to have grown up in Louisiana, so I am pleased to see that its delegation to the House of Representatives was indeed second only to Connecticut's in supporting funding for U.S. engagement in world affairs and in promoting U.S. participation in the international arena. We welcome such support wherever it may come from.

AFSA, like scores of other groups, compiles congressional scorecards for a number of reasons:

First, we think that our members should know if their senators and representatives are voting for or against resource issues such as Secretary Powell's FY 2002 budget request and international engagement issues such as President Bush's

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LETTERS



bid for "fast track" trade promotion authority.

Second, we want lawmakers to know that there is a domestic constituency for international affairs and to know that constituents are watching their lawmakers' votes on key issues. That said, as we stressed in the introduction to our Scorecard, this important tool for accountability does not tell the whole story because it does not capture votes in committees or behind-the-scenes efforts by lawmakers.

The AFSA Congressional Scorecard is but one of many tools in advancing our legislative agenda on behalf of active-duty and retired members. We make no apology for it.

Learning from the Past

John K. Naland's September "President's Views" column warns about the dangers to the Foreign Service when some "outside force" tries to strip away functions in the name of reform, citing the most recent real threat of the loss of the visa function. He cites the decision a generation ago to transfer the commercial function from State to Commerce as based on the argument, similar to that ventured for the visa transfer, that the culture of the Foreign Service placed a higher value on good bilateral relations (i.e., keeping foreign governments and publics happy) than on actively promoting vital American interests.

I am sorry to say that the loss of the commercial function occurred on my watch, when I was the office director in charge. But while there is truth in Naland's justification, a more weighty reason was that at the time the State Department was threatened with the loss not only of the commercial function but also of a number of key economic ones

involving analysis and negotiations. These included commodities and finance, in which State often held a key, if not dominant, role among other agencies at the negotiating table. Many in Washington viewed commercial work then just as the visa and consular functions are probably viewed today, as important but of isolated or focused interest (e.g., promoting exports, fighting terrorism), transferable to domestic agencies, and certainly without the cachet of the more "substantive" overseas political and purely economic jobs.

Confronted by a hostile OMB and White House, and a Congress that had little appreciation for the department's and Foreign Service's roles in the international commercial dynamic, and over many career FSOs' objections, including mine and AFSA's, the department decided to trade off the commercial function. This trade-off included, of course, approximately 167 commercial positions that were offered up in sacrifice to the Commerce Department. We will give up this one, this time, but please leave the others be, we told OMB and the White House. At that time, regrettably, we did not have strong key players at the highest levels of the department (as we do now) who were willing to openly confront Congress, the White House or OMB on the merits of a particularly important foreign affairs function. Commercial work and consular work should someday be fully recognized for what they are: important and indeed vital parts of the substantive elements that formed an integral part of State's diplomatic resources for most of the postwar era.

So it seems each Foreign Service generation must fight old battles again for different func-

LETTERS

tions, and the old tried-and-true moral still holds: maintain the strongest ties possible with Congress at all levels and ensure that every new administration is well briefed at the outset about the Foreign Service and the irreplaceable services it performs.

*Albert L. Zucca
FSO, retired
West Palm Beach, Florida*

Into the New Millennium

I was delighted and educated by the September 2002 issue of the *Foreign Service Journal*, which focused on USAID. I was employed in various U.S. government foreign aid agencies from 1951 to retirement in 1976, and spent an additional 12 years as a private consultant in Asia.

I was particularly impressed with Andrew S. Natsios' article on "America's Development Challenge," and by his approach to the world's problems. President Bush's New Compact for Development indicates that we are on the right road. I believe Natsios will make a first-class administrator.

Ben Barber, in "Andrew Natsios: Getting USAID on Its Feet," comments that Brian Atwood managed to defeat Senator Jesse Helms' campaign to merge USAID into State. I believe I played a role in getting Sen. Helms to change his mind.

During the controversy, I wrote to Sen. Helms and told him that merging USAID into State would result in a real mess. It would be preferable to return to the terms of the Foreign Assistance Act of 1961, which I had written. These stated that each USAID mission director would report to the U.S. ambassador and that the administrator would report to the secretary of State. Helms replied that it was good to get advice from such experienced constituents. He knew

that I resided in North Carolina.

I also enjoyed the other articles, including the one written by an old colleague, Joseph C. Guardiano. I would take issue with the one written by Doug Bandow, but I believe AFSA does wish to give equal chance to those who criticize us.

*Carl R. Fritz
FSO, retired
Chapel Hill, N.C.*

Biased Reporting on Israel

The full-page letter from John W. Hoffman in the September *FSJ* is an unbecoming example of the boilerplate, knee-jerk, Israeli activist's reaction to any public, open statement that reaches a significant number of Americans. "Smear sheet," "rehashed propaganda," in the view of Hoffman, perhaps, but Israel's dark side gets rare coverage in our country except by people who know something about the Palestinians and their tragic condition. The publishing world of the United States, for whatever reason, has seen to it that bias remains unchallenged in reporting and commenting upon this continuing history of plunder that brazenly characterizes the Israeli takeover of Palestine. It is a story largely untold, avoided. Israel continues freely to scrupulously implement its grim policies against a helpless, desperate people, protected and funded by us.

*Lee Dinsmore
FSO, retired
Elcho, Wis.*

Memories of Kabul

When we lived in Kabul from 1954 to 1957 (with the embassy) and again from 1967 to 1968 (Fulbright), our family thoroughly enjoyed life there. Our son Peter was so homesick for Kabul, you'd have thought he was an Afghan. I, too, had that sense of belonging and longing.

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LETTERS

Peter is now 49, but I believe that a poem he wrote at age 15 speaks for the thousands of young people who were privileged to live and work in the old Afghanistan and have never forgotten or given up on that country.

A flute
Trilling softly
While towering mountains
Surround the eye
A sunset passing
Of tall camels
And wandering kuchi
Fill the heart
A hot winds blast
From blazing deserts
And heat shimmers
As hot sand blows
Stuns the mind
A steep walled gorge
Whose foaming rapids
Roar past
A stark moment to man's dead
glory
Conquers the soul
All this incomparable
Unfathomable
But never forgotten
Is
Afghanistan
Poem by Peter Poullada, 1969
Leila Poullada,
Widow of retired FSO
Leon Poullada
Saint Paul, Minn.

Consular and Human Rights

As someone who served as a consular officer in Jerusalem 50 years ago and had something to do with getting and keeping Americans out of jail, I hope we are going to hear from our consular people about what seems to have been a less than dynamic response on their part to the violations of human rights that Jerri Bird describes (June FSJ).

Richard B. Parker
FSO, retired
Washington, D.C.

Remembering History?

With the anniversary of the Trade Towers tragedy upon us, the media have been full of apologies of Islam, including a recent television program praising the tolerance and prosperity of Moorish Spain, asserting that all was sweetness and light until the Christians started the Reconquista — which, it was imputed, brought to an end this era of near-perfection.

Does no one study history anymore? The Christian reaction to Muslim expansion was delayed until the Moors had conquered not only all of Portugal and Spain, but had advanced as far as Poitiers (only two hours south of Paris); had pushed eastward, arriving in the high Alps near Geneva; and were knocking on the gates of Vienna, which was rescued only by the last-minute arrival of a Polish army. This close-run contest for European language, culture, and religion was the result of too much tolerance and appeasement — not European aggression. And in it we can find lessons for our day.

It isn't Europe or America blowing up Muslim embassies by the handfuls, nor sending terrorist bombers to blow up Saudi business complexes in Riyadh or Mecca, nor flying shanghaied Jordanian aircraft into skyscrapers, nor publicly shooting or hanging Muslims in the streets of Chicago or Atlanta for having converted several thousand unchurched Americans to Islam since Sept. 11.

Literally hundreds of Christians in Nigeria (and other Muslim countries) have in recent days been shot in the head or hung simply for professing a religion other than Islam, while the papers are full of accounts of Christian churches being burned almost every day in Pakistan.

Where's reality? We are remarkably tolerant here at home. But it is something else to fool ourselves into thinking that all we have to do is be patient and our shining example of toleration will somehow win over our sworn enemies. President Bush is on the right — and only — track. Until we hit back hard enough to get their attention, the success of the Trade Towers attack will only be incentive to try more and even bolder attacks. Did anyone see the joy on the faces of the 8- and 10-year-old boys in the Near East when a TV reporter was asking them about their feelings regarding the Trade Towers attack? The responses went mostly like this: "It felt rather good," and, "They should have killed even more."

Yes, some people actually hate us — just as the Saracens hated the forces of Charlemagne and the soldiers in the armies of Poland and Bohemia five hundred years ago. Other peoples' memories are not as short as Americans', given our brief history. Think of France and Germany, who have fought over Alsace and Lorraine since A.D. 850. Think of our neighbors to the south, who still consider Texas and everything west of Missouri part of "Mexico Integral." Just remember Mexican President Fox's reaction only a few weeks ago to a question about illegal immigration, which he simply called "migration." If we don't take care of ourselves and our borders, no one else will.

David Timmins
FSO, retired
Salt Lake City, Utah ■

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CYBERNOTES

The Medium and the Message: Public Diplomacy in the Spotlight

As questions of why and how reverberated in the collective American consciousness and in public discourse during the year since the Sept. 11 terrorist attacks, the U.S. government's public diplomacy function came under increasingly intense scrutiny. It seemed more and more apparent that America's message — the way we live, our values, hopes, policies and vision as a nation — was not getting out to where it needed to be effectively. Now, as we go to press, the unofficial White House Office of Global Communications awaits its official debut, and America's public diplomacy effort is poised for a major promotion.

While details of the White House approach are not known at this writing, key elements in a reinvigorated public diplomacy effort have been brought to the fore in a series of reports. The Council on Foreign Relations' independent task force, formed shortly after Sept. 11 and mandated "to examine the current limitations in U.S. public diplomacy and to develop practical, innovative recommendations for improving America's messages and messengers," released its final report "Public Diplomacy: A Strategy for Reform," on July 30 (www.cfr.org/publication.php?id=4682).

The pre-eminent conclusion of the task force is that public diplomacy must be a central element of foreign policy. "To be effective, [public diplomacy] must be in on the take-offs, not just the crash landings," as Task Force Chairman Peter G. Peterson put it.

We have to think constructively about what can and should justify intervention by the international community in the internal affairs of a sovereign state. We have to think equally constructively about whether the global rule book that has by and large governed our affairs for the last 50 years is still valid or whether it requires some changes...

— Christopher Patten, E.U. External Relations Commissioner, in a speech on Sept. 4, 2002.

The group calls for a presidential directive on public diplomacy and a "Public Diplomacy Coordinating Structure" a la the National Security Council to "advise, synthesize and prioritize" America's public diplomacy effort at the highest level.

The CFR report also advocates "reform" of the State Department to provide the necessary organization and resources to conduct public diplomacy, including making PD a prominent responsibility of bureaus and ambassadors. Creating better access for foreign journalists in Washington and setting up a nonprofit "Corporation for Public Diplomacy" modeled on the Corporation for Public Broadcasting are recommended. The Council also advocates more "listening" — the U.S. currently spends about \$5 million in polling and

surveys abroad, less than the polling costs of some U.S. Senate campaigns — and an "engagement model" (as opposed to one-way, "push-down" approaches).

On Sept. 18, 2002, the U.S. Advisory Commission on Public Diplomacy put its chips on the table, with release of its report, "Building America's Public Diplomacy through a Reformed Structure and Additional Resources" (www.state.gov/documents/organization/13622.pdf). The commission, set up by President Truman in 1948 as a six-member body appointed by the president to provide oversight of U.S. government PD activities, and, like its subject, virtually ignored for the past decade, emphasizes the need for proper organization and adequate funding to get PD back on track.

The Commission also distinguishes between a short-term focus on issues, and the longer-term goal of promoting dialogue, sharing of ideas and personal and institutional relationships with foreign publics, which focuses on values. The latter requires a greater investment in cross-cultural initiatives and more listening. "There's more to America than Calvin Klein jeans, and that's the point," Harold C. Pachios, Commission chairman and former deputy press secretary to President Lyndon Johnson, stated. "We are thought of as superficial, so we need to avoid anything that smacks of the superficial."

A presidential mandate, full implementation of the White House Office of Global Communications, increased funding, and a congressionally-mandated quadrennial review of public



CYBERNOTES

SITE OF THE MONTH: www.funbrain.com

FunBrain.com is one of the top five most-visited kids learning sites on the Internet, with more than 50 educational games that youngsters from pre-school to age 17 love to play. Rated among the top four sites for kids by PC magazine in February, *FunBrain.com* is not only fun for kids; it also can help parents and teachers evaluate each child's progress. The site is backed up by the Family Education Network, an excellent online resource in itself — indeed a world of learning and information resources for parents, teachers and students of all ages.

For kids, the most important parts of *FunBrain.com* are the Kids and Free Games departments. A click on Kids takes you right into the game showcase and links to games at different age levels in a variety of subject areas: numbers, words, universe, culture and extra. Ditto for Free Games. These are just plain fun. Another department, the Quiz Lab, is unique: it boasts the Internet's largest database of online assessment quizzes, searchable by age and subject, and a user base of more than 150,000 teachers.

Quiz Lab is useful for parents and homeschoolers, and no less fun for kids. An informative tour and preview of

the different elements of the Lab are available. Quizzes in varying formats — multiple choice, fill-in-the-blank, written answer, etc. — can be selected for access by students in a library, classroom or at home; they are graded automatically, with the results e-mailed to the parent or teacher. The Quiz Lab Pro alternative, with more refined analysis and reporting features, is clearly aimed more at professional teachers and is not free, but Quiz Lab Basic very adequately serves the needs of parents and costs nothing.

FunBrain's Parent department is the door to the Family Education Network's *Parent Channel*, launched in 1996 as the first parenting site on the Web. Here you find a navigation guide to the *FunBrain.com* site and a range of links to useful and thought-provoking ideas on parenting and schooling, including advice from experts in a Q&A format and the opportunity to exchange tested tips with other parents in "What Works." The FEN family includes a separate *Teacher Channel*, a web-hosting service for schools and PTAs, and two reference resources — *Infoplease* and *Fact Monster* (itself an award-winning site for reference and homework help for kids).

diplomacy by the secretary of State in consultation with the commission, are among its recommendations. The commission also wants to see additional funding tied to specific short- and long-term objectives and strategies.

Following congressional hearings in the spring and a lively public debate, it is widely acknowledged that public diplomacy was a casualty of the precipitous decline in foreign affairs spending during the 1990s, further complicated by the demise of the U.S. Information Agency and absorption of its remains into the State Department in 1998. In its report, the Advisory Commission on Public Diplomacy charges that the reductions in public diplomacy are "part of

a long-term militarization of foreign affairs in which the share of the national budget devoted to military spending has increased, while the amount committed to international affairs has decreased."

The U.S. spends \$25 billion a year on traditional diplomacy and another \$30 billion on intelligence and counter-intelligence activities — relatively tiny amounts by comparison with the \$300-plus billion defense budget. And only 1/25 of the foreign affairs budget, or \$1 billion is devoted to public diplomacy. The Bush administration took preliminary steps to address the PD deficit following the Sept. 11 attacks, such as appointing Charlotte Beers as under-secretary of state for public diplomacy,

launching an Arabic-language radio station, and establishing the White House Coalition Information Center to coordinate global communication related to the war against terror.

Some serious and knowledgeable commentators, however, say that PD is being given a "mission impossible." Graham Fuller, a former vice chairman of the CIA's National Intelligence Council and longtime analyst, told the Advisory Commission in May, "If fundamental policies are seen to be flawed, a prettied-up package will not make a difference."

Google Gagged in China

The premier search engine, *Google*, is immensely popular in China because

50 Years Ago



It may also at times be advisable to go a long way up what you know to be a blind alley, which someone else has suggested, in order that when the time comes to turn back you may on a second venture be accepted as the guide.

— Sir Charles K. Webster, member of the British delegation to the Dumbarton Oaks and San Francisco Conferences, in "The Art and Practice of Diplomacy," reprinted in the *FSJ*, November 1952.

CYBERNOTES

it provides nearly instantaneous links to millions of Chinese Web sites and documents, replete with a special page enabling users to search for Web content in Chinese characters. But, as of mid-September, users attempting to access *Google* were being redirected automatically to sites like *GlobePage* or *Shanghai Hotline* that are registered with the Chinese government and follow strict censorship procedures. Joseph Kahn reported from Shanghai in *The New York Times* on the Web (www.nytimes.com).

The *Beijing Legal Times*, a government-controlled newspaper, reported that the China Telecommunications Administration and the Public Security Bureau shut down *Google* because it contained "harmful content" and provided services for American intelligence agencies. But

observers attribute the crackdown to the leadership transition scheduled to begin in November, when President and Communist Party Secretary Jiang Zemin will begin to appoint a new generation of party officials.

It's not hard to see what Beijing's bosses are worried about. A search for information related to Jiang Zemin on *Google* turned up 154,000 references, the first a link to a bitterly critical Web site run by the Falun Gong, a religious sect the Chinese government has sought to suppress. An identical search on *Yahoo*, which has a subsidiary based in China and subject to Beijing's rules, produced just six references — the first to Jiang's life story, written by the *People's Daily*, the voice of the Chinese Communist Party. ■

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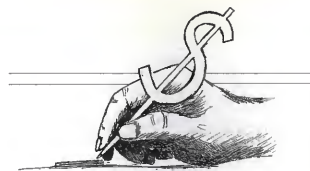
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FS FINANCES

529 Plans vs. Coverdell Education Savings Accounts: A Comparison

BY STEPHEN H. THOMPSON

The Foreign Service provides many advantages. One of the principal ones is the opportunity to live in countries throughout the world. However, frequent moves and life in sometimes remote areas make it a true challenge to manage one's personal finances effectively over time. Consequently, those posted abroad probably devote more effort to planning for their family's education-related expenses than most people, since assignments often necessitate the selection of private schools or even boarding schools for children. College planning is critical to the process, as well.

Paying for college has never been easy, especially for families with competing financial goals. Fortunately, however, various options are now available that allow saving for a child or loved one's education on a tax-deferred basis. Tax legislation passed in June 2001 has created new financial opportunities for investors. Specifically, the legislation has improved the benefits of two existing, tax-advantaged college savings programs: the 529 Plan and the Coverdell Education Savings Account, formerly known as the Education Individual Retirement Account (IRA).

The discussion below examines the advantages of each type of account as well as the differentiating features between the two.

*Both 529 plans
and Coverdell
Education Savings
Accounts provide
significant
education savings
opportunities for
many investors.*



529 Plans

Named for Section 529 of the Internal Revenue Code, a 529 plan is an investment plan operated by a state and is designed to help families save for future college costs. Any U.S. citizen or permanent resident, including parents, grandparents, other family members, and friends (known as "account owners") can contribute to a 529 plan on behalf of a designated beneficiary. The account owner may designate anyone he or she chooses as the beneficiary, including him or herself. A resident of one state can use the 529 plan of that state or any other.

Contribution limits to 529 plans are not as straightforward as are the

limits to other types of savings vehicles, however. The overall maximum total amount that can be contributed is set by federal guidelines and is based on the average costs of seven years of tuition and room and board expenses at eligible U.S. educational institutions. This total amount is calculated by each 529-sponsoring program independently — the current range falls roughly between \$225,000 and \$250,000. To reach that total, a married couple can contribute as much as \$110,000 within a single year (the limit is \$55,000 for individuals) and, as long as no more is contributed in the ensuing four years, the entire amount qualifies for five years of the gift-tax exclusion. Contributions to a 529 plan are non-deductible and are invested in professionally managed mutual fund portfolios; earnings accumulate tax-deferred over the life of the account.

Withdrawals from a 529 plan may be made federal income tax and penalty-free for qualified higher education expenses including tuition, fees, books, supplies, room and board, transportation, and other services in connection with the enrollment or attendance of the student at an eligible public or private college or university. Eligible institutions include those in the United States and a few abroad. Withdrawals may be used to pay these expenses at any accredited,



eligible post-secondary school in the United States. If withdrawals are made for other expenses, earnings are typically subject to a 10 percent penalty and ordinary income taxes.

The beneficiary of a 529 plan may be changed at any time and for any reason. However, contributed amounts to the 529 plan transferred from a Uniform Gifts to Minors Act (UGMA) account or a Uniform Transfers to Minors Act (UTMA) account may not be redirected.

Coverdell Education Savings Accounts

The Coverdell Education Savings Account (ESA) has replaced the Education IRA as an enhanced option for education savings. Any U.S. citizen or permanent resident, including parents, grandparents, other family members and friends can contribute to a Coverdell ESA on behalf of a designated beneficiary. Corporations and other entities, including tax-exempt organizations, may also contribute to the Coverdell ESA.

A Coverdell ESA may be established for any child under the age of 18. In addition, an account may be established for a beneficiary over the age of 18 if he or she is deemed by the IRS to have "special needs." Coverdell ESAs may be transferred from one beneficiary to another if the assets are not depleted by the original owner.

Up to \$2,000 may be contributed annually to a Coverdell ESA. The income cap for contributing individuals is as follows: \$110,000 adjusted gross income for single filers and \$220,000 AGI for married filing jointly. The taxpayer with AGI above these amounts is not eligible to contribute. Although all contributions to a

For those planning to study abroad, expenditures at the post-secondary school level may be made only at eligible institutions, which include many in the United States and a few abroad.

Coverdell ESA are non-deductible, earnings accumulate tax-deferred until withdrawn.

Withdrawals from a Coverdell ESA may be made federal income tax and penalty-free for qualified education expenses including tuition, fees, books, supplies, room and board, transportation, and other services in connection with the enrollment or attendance of the student at an accredited, eligible public or private college, university, or post-secondary school. In addition, unlike the 529 Plan, withdrawals from a Coverdell ESA may also be used to pay these expenses at any accredited elementary or secondary school. The Coverdell ESA offers great flexibility in terms of covered expenses and location through the secondary school level. While withdrawals can be made for other expenses, earnings are typically subject to a 10-percent penalty and ordinary income taxes.

Additional Information

Both 529 plans and Coverdell

Education Savings Accounts provide significant education savings opportunities for many investors. Please note for those planning to study abroad, expenditures at the post-secondary school level may be made only at eligible institutions, which include many in the United States and a few abroad. Thus, given the complexity of these programs, when planning your education savings strategy, be sure to consult with a qualified financial professional to discuss the benefits of these two types of accounts. Excellent sources of information about the college savings programs are available and some are easily accessible to those assigned abroad with Internet access.

Useful documents available from the Internal Revenue Service are Publication 970, "Tax Benefits for Higher Education" and Publication 553, "Highlights of 2001 Tax Changes." In addition, the list of eligible educational institutions under these programs is available at <http://www.fafsa.ed.gov>. In general, however, an eligible educational institution is any college, university, vocational school, or other post-secondary educational institution eligible to participate in a student aid program administered by the Department of Education. ■

Retired FSO Stephen H. Thompson is a financial advisor at Legg Mason Wood Walker, Inc., a diversified securities brokerage and financial services firm that is a member of the New York Stock Exchange, Inc., and of the Securities Investor Protection Corporation (SIPC). He has been an AFSA member for more than 25 years. The views expressed herein are the author's own.



SPEAKING OUT

Solving the "Cambodian Conundrum"

BY KENNETH M. QUINN

In his article "The Cambodian Conundrum" (March 2002 *FSJ*), Nate Thayer charges that while serving as U.S. ambassador to Cambodia in 1997, I prematurely terminated the FBI investigation of a terrorist attack on an opposition political rally in Phnom Penh on March 30, 1997, during which an American citizen had been wounded.

Thayer alleges I did this because the FBI investigators told me they had concluded that Cambodian Prime Minister Hun Sen had ordered his bodyguard force to carry out this attack. He further claims that after hearing that report, I immediately ordered the FBI team to leave Cambodia, citing threats to their safety from the Khmer Rouge, but that my actual motive was to keep the investigation from reaching the prime minister and thereby upsetting political stability in Cambodia.

Few things could be worse than to be accused of stymieing a law enforcement investigation of a terrorist attack, particularly one in which an American citizen was harmed. To do so in order to promote some vague foreign policy goal or to protect a foreign official would be especially heinous. So I want to be absolutely clear that what Nate Thayer has charged is not true.

In fact, just the opposite was the case. As ambassador, I personally obtained agreement from Prime

*I took great pride
in Embassy Phnom
Penh's efforts to
facilitate the
work of U.S.
judicial and police
agencies.*



Minister Hun Sen for the FBI to come to Cambodia in the first place and interview his bodyguards, and sought to maintain an FBI presence in the country after the team's investigation was completed.

What Really Happened

I hope the following detailed chronology will clearly demonstrate what my attitude and actions were vis-a-vis the FBI at this crucial juncture in U.S.-Cambodian relations:

- Contrary to what Thayer wrote in his *FSJ* article, the departure of the FBI agent on May 29, 1997, due to a Khmer Rouge threat did not halt the FBI investigation. In fact, the three-man FBI team had already completed its investigation on May 16 and transmitted its report to Washington, as they personally informed me that same

afternoon in a briefing at my residence. The team also informed me at that time that all three agents would be departing the country the next day.

- After that meeting, at my personal request, one FBI agent was authorized to remain in Phnom Penh to act as an adviser to the Cambodian police. At the insistence of the FBI, there was an exchange of letters with the host government stipulating that the team had completed its investigation and that the agent who remained would only be serving as an adviser. Those letters are part of the embassy, FBI and State Department's records.

- At no point during their time in Phnom Penh did the FBI team ever tell me, as Thayer claims, that it believed Hun Sen had ordered his bodyguards to carry out the terrorist attack. In fact, on May 22, the FBI adviser shared with Cambodian interlocutors his belief that the investigation of the incident should not focus on Hun Sen or his bodyguard force, but rather on possible Khmer Rouge elements inside the opposition political movement.

- On May 27, the FBI adviser reported to me that he had received two separate threats that the Khmer Rouge terrorist organization was targeting him, including a death threat. He said he took the threats very seriously and had already reported them to his headquarters



through FBI channels.

• On May 28, FBI headquarters in Washington directed the adviser to leave Cambodia immediately. I appealed this decision in writing, recommending that the agent be allowed to return after a few days outside the country. However, on May 29, the agent's photo ran in many Cambodian newspapers, greatly increasing his profile and exposure. FBI headquarters turned down my appeal and, with my concurrence, the adviser departed later that day.

• That same day, however, I personally obtained the agreement of the Hun Sen government for other FBI agents to come to Cambodia in the near future. And on June 18, 1997, at my request, two new FBI agents arrived in Cambodia to continue the agency's work on this case.

All of the above information is contained in Embassy Phnom Penh cables written at that time. All of these cables were turned over to congressional committees, which included several members who were highly critical of Hun Sen. In addition, during my discussions with congressional staff members in both 1997 and 1998, I offered to testify under oath on this event and any other matters that took place while I was ambassador to Cambodia. I repeat that offer today.

An Axe to Grind?

When Thayer first made these charges about my actions vis-a-vis the FBI in July 1997 in a *Far Eastern Economic Review* article, he was informed through his editors that the FBI team members had declared that they had finished their investigation two weeks before he claims I acted to halt the

I personally obtained the agreement of the Hun Sen government for other FBI agents to come to Cambodia in the near future.

investigation. He was also told at that time that different FBI agents came to Phnom Penh in June shortly after the threatened agent departed. This information was confirmed to him by the supervising FBI agent involved in the case. Furthermore, a representative of FBI headquarters in Washington wrote the magazine in 1997, stating that there was no truth to the allegation that I removed the FBI agent to halt their investigation. The *Far Eastern Economic Review* duly published that letter.

It would seem fair to ask why Thayer did not include any of this input in his *FSJ* piece, or contact me for a comment. While no journalist is under an obligation to accept any government official's version of events, fairness would seem to dictate that he, at least, include our side of the story.

In the article, Thayer claims that I did not respond to his request for comment about his charges. Again, that is absolutely not true. While he reportedly told the *Journal* staff he had tried to reach me, no such request was ever received at my office or my home. Had he con-

tacted me, I would not have hesitated to reply to his allegations. In fact, at the very time he was preparing his *FSJ* article, I was responding — on the record — to another journalist, one of his colleagues, who had asked me many of the same questions about the FBI investigation. Since I was already on the record with that journalist with the information, I would have had no reason to avoid Thayer's questions.

While I am disappointed that Thayer chose to omit our side of the story, I regret to say this is not the first time he has published an article critical of Embassy Phnom Penh and myself without either seeking a comment from us or including factual information we have furnished to him. The same thing occurred earlier in an article he wrote on drug trafficking in Cambodia. Moreover, he seems to have a personal grudge against Embassy Phnom Penh. On Oct. 1, 1998, Mr. Thayer phoned the embassy and shouted that he would discredit the embassy — and me personally — in his future reporting. His statement was written down by the embassy duty officer, who received the phone call, and was immediately cabled back to Washington, where it is part of the State Department's records.

I took great pride in my embassy's efforts to facilitate the work of U.S. judicial and police agencies. During my nearly four years as chief of mission in Cambodia, my embassy and I were commended on several occasions by U.S. law enforcement agencies for our efforts to apprehend drug traffickers and terrorists.

When my tour in Phnom Penh was finished and I returned to Washington in 1999, I was invited to come to FBI headquarters. To

My embassy and I were commended on several occasions by U.S. law enforcement agencies for our efforts to apprehend drug traffickers and terrorists.

my surprise, I was escorted to the office of the director, who officially thanked me for all I had done to assist the FBI in its work in Cambodia. He even offered me a job on his staff (which I could not accept because of my imminent retirement).

I leave it to the reader to judge whether that would have happened if the FBI believed that, as Thayer charges, I had interfered with — much less halted — its investigation of the March 1997 terrorist incident. ■

Kenneth Quinn was U.S. ambassador to Cambodia from 1996 to 1999. Prior to that he served as Deputy Assistant Secretary for Southeast Asian Affairs, DCM in Manila and Deputy Executive Secretary, as well as on the National Security Council staff. Under his leadership, Embassy Phnom Penh received the State Department's Human Rights and Democracy Award in 1999 and the Director of Central Intelligence's Award for Exceptional Reporting in three consecutive years.

Amb. Quinn also received

numerous individual awards during his 32-year Foreign Service career, including the Presidential Rank Distinguished Service Award, the Secretary's Award for Heroism and Valor, the Arnie Raphael Award for mentoring younger officers, a Superior Honor Award for successful prosecution of two persons engaged in espionage and a Meritorious Honor Award for work on refugee issues while at the White House. He is also the only three-time recipient of AFSA awards for constructive dissent, winning the William R. Rivkin Award for mid-level officers in 1979 and the Christian A. Herter Award for senior Foreign Service officers in 1993 and again in 2000.

Since retiring from the Service in 1999, Amb. Quinn has served as president of The World Food Prize Foundation in Des Moines, Iowa.

COMING IN NEXT MONTH'S ISSUE:

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THE FLUTE AND THE BRICKMAKER



I A RETIRED FSO REFLECTS APPRECIATIVELY
ON A LIFE OF ADVENTURES AS A HOBO, A
PALACE GUEST AND IN MANY OTHER ROLES.

BY JOHN NELSON HUTCHISON

I have lived in eight states and 10 countries, and lived in or visited every continent, including Antarctica. I have been a farmer, Eagle Scout, hobo, printer, newspaperman, Army officer, author, publicist, diplomat and foreign correspondent. Enough already.

Something recently awakened my recall of one of those incidents which, however unimportant, remain half-buried in the mind for decades, then suddenly pop into sharp, indelible clarity.

On the bank of a tiny river on the edge of the Sahara, I sat one day long ago, listening to a man play softly on

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a homemade flute while another did his laundry in the running water, pounding cleanliness into it with a wooden club. I could also watch a boy approaching, wielding a stick to keep a donkey in motion. And downstream past the launderer, a man was making bricks, one at a time, in a wooden mold, from clay dug nearby. No one hurried — not even the sad little donkey so cruelly assailed. Time slowed almost to a stop-action frame. Like a still photo, that scene remains sharp in the album of my mind.

Memory triggers other reminiscences. By most measurements, I have lived (as an ordinary man) an extraordinary life. Performing often minor duties but sometimes as a participant in great events, I have witnessed history from its near periphery or been directly involved in it. I am going to try to scamper rapidly through many more memories, helter-skelter and at random.

I have stood at the base of the cone in the crater of

I have been borne on the shoulders of a thousand friendships.

Vesuvius while it chuffed up red-hot cinders that rolled down almost to my feet. Only months later that fierce furnace blew off the whole crest of the peak, and one night I watched from a rooftop as the magma poured down the slopes and engulfed whole

buildings of the town a few streets away. I have also seen Etna and Stromboli and Tail and Ruapehu fume and belch.

I was in the small group at Casablanca that watched Roosevelt and Churchill introduce de Gaulle and Giraud to war correspondents. I attended what may have been the most bizarre audience faced by a pope in the history of the papacy. I found Wilhelm Frick, Hitler's minister of the interior, in Bavaria. As a result, he was captured by the Allies and subsequently hanged at Nuremberg.

For two-and-a-half years during World War II, I was General George Patton's public relations officer. I landed on beaches in assaults on three countries. I was the attaché in the American embassy in London assigned to assist Adlai Stevenson on two of his visits there as ambassador to the United Nations. And I was with him in the last hour before he left his office to have tea with Marietta Tree and died in the street. I attended a super-secret meeting of Averell Harriman's Marshall Plan staff in Paris on his return from an urgent trip to Washington; Harriman told us that President Truman had decided to declare war on North Korea. He did, that very day.

I have walked among the ancient marbles and columned temples of Greece and Rome; Carthage and Volubilis. I have marveled at Avebury and Stonehenge and pondered the huge stones manhandled by Tongans a millennium ago to mark the solstices. I have hugged the South Pole, walked New Zealand's Milford Track and climbed to the crest of Vaia to visit the Samoan tomb of Robert Louis Stevenson.

My parents taught me to love reading and nurtured me with gentle guidance through my early years. They never flagged in their concern and confidence in me, even in the Great Depression of the 1930s, when they had to give up amenities they had long taken for granted: electricity and the telephone. The '30s wrecked their dreams and took away their farm. My parents also taught me the virtues of tolerance and honesty;

John Nelson Hutchison was born in 1911 and died in 2001. Following service in World War II, he spent several years as a Marshall Plan official. In 1952 he was appointed head of the European Branch of the Press and Publications Service at the State Department. "Hutch" rose rapidly through the newly-created United States Information Agency, eventually becoming director of the International Press and Publications Service. In 1955, disgusted by a climate of political backstabbing and manipulation, Hutch left USIA for five years, working for United Crusade and the American Red Cross. Returning to USIA in 1960, he briefly headed IPS again, then switched to the Foreign Service. He served in London, Manila and Wellington. In retirement, he wrote columns on politics and wine and a self-published autobiography, The Road to Anywhere.

Hutch was married twice, first for 53 years to Sarabel Roberts. Several years after her death, he married New Zealander Vivienne Barnett. He is survived by his second wife, as well as Judith and Susan, daughters from his first marriage.

J. Michael Houlahan, a retired FSO who worked for Hutch during his last assignment as PAO in New Zealand and who maintained regular correspondence with him, sent the Journal this eloquent farewell essay, completed by Hutch a few weeks shy of his 90th birthday.

F O C U S

that hard work is honorable and that citizenship is a duty. When I became a railroad hobo, shoved about by joblessness, they welcomed me back home and helped me toward a college degree.

For long spring days I have followed a horse-drawn plow. In snowy winter I have cut down big oaks and hickories for fence posts and firewood with axe and crosscut, long before the chainsaw was invented. I have arranged for John Glenn to meet with the prime minister of the United Kingdom, been a cocktail guest of the King of Morocco, had lunch at a table for four with Harold Wilson, been the Queen's guest in Buckingham Palace and at her summer garden party. I have ridden a camel in the Sahara, a Goodyear blimp in Tennessee and a dugout canoe on a jungle river in Luzon.

In Chesapeake Bay I caught striped bass; in the

*In Chesapeake Bay
I caught striped bass;
in the Trinity Alps,
steelhead; outside the
Golden Gate, salmon.*

Trinity Alps, steelhead; outside the Golden Gate, salmon. I have picked beans and strawberries in the hot May sun, and in the fall, apples for 10 cents an hour six days a week. I have shoveled wheat in the Kansas harvest, husked corn in Iowa, been a witness before committees of the U.S. Senate and the House of Representatives, and held a job in the federal govern-

ment in which I had two deputies, a special assistant and two secretaries.

The U.S. Army gave me a promotion to lieutenant colonel and the Bronze Star in 1944.

The United States Information Service gave me a silver medal for superior service in 1973.

I have been a reporter on three big daily newspapers and the national public relations director of the American Red Cross. For 20 years after retirement I was a contributing editor of a wine magazine,

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F O C U S

co-authored two large books on wine, and was the West Coast correspondent for several New Zealand newspapers and a business journal.

Woven into the complex and curious basket that has held my life down all these years are fibers, wefts and warps which amaze me in their exciting, patternless design. But it is the silver vein of more than 50 years which gleams among the weaving which was my first enduring, loving marriage with Sarabel. It brought us two talented daughters who sustain me with their affection and care.

And for nearly 10 years more, the basket has been adorned with strands as bright as new gold and the steel-strong bonds that tied together the new marriage with Vivienne, who is the treasure of my devotion, the deep pool of my joy and caretaker of my spirit. I am

*But it is the silver vein
of more than 50 years
which gleams among
the weaving which was
my first enduring, loving
marriage with Sarabel.*

much loved and I am in love.

A broad streak of vanity runs through this recitation. It is unjustified. Most of what has happened to me was owing to no special talent or expertise, but was the result of my doing what authority and my conscience told me to do. In the course of my long journey two external forces have awarded me a happy life.

One is my remarkably good luck.

The other: I have been borne on the shoulders of a thousand friendships.

The boy and his donkey have long since disappeared into their horizon. The song of the flute has melted into the murmur of the river; the brickmaker's work has crumbled.

I am content. ■

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PALAZZO CORPI: A NATIONAL TREASURE



Elizabeth Scott

THIS MANSION'S ELEGANTLY-FRESCOED WALLS HOLD MORE THAN 100 YEARS OF AMERICAN DIPLOMATIC HISTORY, PEOPLED WITH RICHLY INTERESTING CHARACTERS AND EVENTS.

By THOMAS J. CAROLAN, JR.

Readers familiar with the Palazzo Corpi, scene of the ghost story in the *FSJ*'s July/August issue, will know it as the venerable jewel which for one hundred and twenty years — more than half of independent America's life — has sheltered the official U.S. presence in Istanbul. What many of them may not know is that, with a new, more secure consulate general facility now under construction, the future disposition of the Palazzo is uncertain. Some may also wonder why the Palazzo has yet to be included in the Secretary of State's Register of Culturally Significant Property, established in 2001. This state of affairs would not seem to be a very sensible way to treat

what constitutes, by any measure, an American national treasure.

Palazzo Corpi is situated in the old Genoese/Venetian and later European Quarter, in Istanbul's Beyoglu district, known in former times as Pera. The area contains a number of imposing edifices that served as embassies of the Great Powers prior to the dissolution of the Ottoman Empire after World War I. Some of those old buildings, which today house consulates general, are massive affairs, evocative of bygone splendor. A few others, less grand in size, are no less remarkable in terms of architecture and historical merit. One such is the Palazzo Corpi, whose classical facade bears the American eagle and crest embossed in stone, high over an imposing entrance. Palazzo Corpi boasts a long and honored place in U.S. relations with Ottoman and now Republican Turkey — serving as the U.S. legation and residence from 1882, as the U.S. embassy and residence after 1906, and as the U.S. consulate general since 1937.

Palazzo Corpi was the first U.S. government-owned diplomatic premises in Europe, and probably — with the exception of the former American Legation building at Tangier (now a museum) — in the entire world. Its walls hold not only the exotic mysteries of its original owner, but more than 100 years of American diplomatic history, peopled with famous names and many not-so-famous but richly interesting characters and events.

A Cultural Gem

In the year 1830, a young Genoese shipowner named Ignazio Corpi established himself at

Thomas J. Carolan, Jr. retired from the Foreign Service in 1994. His overseas postings during a 35-year career included Lebanon (twice), Persian Gulf/Saudi Arabia, Jordan, Egypt and Cyprus. Mr. Carolan served as consul general in Istanbul from 1988 to 1992. Should any readers wish to share their own memories or experiences regarding the Palazzo, he would be pleased to hear from them at tjcarolan@aol.com.

***Palazzo Corpi has the
unique distinction of
being the first and
only U.S. diplomatic
premises to be won in
a poker game.***

Constantinople with his mother, sister and one or more brothers. Signor Corpi and his family prospered, becoming prominent in local charitable activities on behalf of indigent and elderly Latin Catholics. The Corpis were instrumental in building the local Italian hospital, which functions to this day. In 1873, Signor Corpi called the architect Giacomo Leoni from Italy, and charged him with building a palatial residence that would

bear the Corpi family's name. Georgio Stampa, another architect, who worked on the British and Persian embassies and other important buildings in Constantinople at that time, apparently also took part in Palazzo Corpi's construction. Most of the building materials were imported from Italy — doors and window frames of rosewood from Piemonte, and marble flooring and facings from Carrara. The ground-floor reception hall was remarkable for the beauty of frescoes representing mythological scenes, while frescoes over the grand stairway and Great Hall upstairs represented Bacchic and other classical subjects. To the magnificent frescoes were added finely etched glasswork, inlaid parquet floors, elegant fireplaces and other exquisite artistic/architectural features too numerous to mention.

All the frescoes were executed by Italian artists brought to Constantinople by the architect Leoni. Sadly, during a "renovation" in 1937, the walls and ceilings on the ground floor were plastered and/or painted over. Left untouched on the ceiling of the upstairs Great Hall, but vulnerable to annual accumulations of Istanbul grime, were depictions of Diana, Neptune, eight Muses, various Graces, Bacchantes and other mythological figures. These decorations remained largely hidden until 1992, when a series of expert restorations undertaken by post management with the cooperation of Turkish artisans and the Department's Office of Overseas Buildings Operations gradually returned them to their original splendor.

It is recorded that 99,000 Ottoman gold liras (about \$7 million in today's dollars) were expended on Palazzo Corpi's construction, which spanned the entire decade of the 1870s. The building was barely finished when

FOCUS

Ignazio Corpi died, and the Palazzo was inherited by his nephews, who rented it to the American government starting in 1882. The circumstances under which the U.S. government assumed outright possession of Palazzo Corpi in 1907 make a fascinating and dramatic story in its own right.

A Rich History

The American legation at Constantinople was raised to embassy status in 1906, at a time when, with the exception of the legation at Tangier, acquired as a gift from the Sultan of Morocco in the 1790s, the United States did not own any real estate abroad. According to the State Department's official historian, this condition was viewed as ridiculous by the American ambassador, John G.A. Leishman. Using his personal funds, Leishman proceeded to purchase the property in 1907 for 28,000 Ottoman gold liras (equivalent to about \$2.5 million today) on the assumption that he would be reimbursed when he returned on leave to the U.S.

Upon arrival in Washington, he was taken aback to learn that Congress was in no particular mood to compensate him for this "personal expense."

According to a memoir written in 1948 by the late Harry Dwight, an English professor at Robert College and a longtime resident of Istanbul, Amb. Leishman rose to the occasion with a "stratagem." A wealthy steel magnate and former partner of Andrew Carnegie, with contacts and influence on Capitol Hill, the ambassador went to Washington and gave a great stag party, to which he invited the Speaker of the House, the members of committees of both Houses having to do with foreign affairs, and the key members of the House Appropriations Committee.

As Professor Dwight tells it, there were rich meats, unlimited quantities of first-class drinks and, finally, there was poker, which lasted deep into the night. After Mr. Leishman had lost conspicuous sums to certain potent gentlemen, he humorously suggested that they play for his embassy. If they won, he would pay for it. If he won,

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they would pay for it. They humorously agreed, highballs in hand. Leishman then began to play in earnest, neglecting his glass, and won. "The debt of honor was accordingly paid by Congress, not without protests from isolationists who had not attended Mr. Leishman's party," reports Dwight, "and the Constantinople Embassy was the first we acquired in Europe."

Palazzo Corpi thereby acquired the unique distinction of being the first and only U.S. diplomatic premises to be won in a poker game.

An office wing, with the word "Chancery" and the Great Seal of the United States emblazoned in stone over its front door, was added in 1910. In 1922, Americans in Constantinople dedicated a large bronze tablet, situated directly opposite the main gate to the

*To the magnificent
frescoes were added finely
etched glasswork, inlaid
parquet floors, elegant
fireplaces and other
exquisite features.*

consulate general compound, honoring Commodore David Porter, U.S.N. Porter was the first diplomatic representative of the U.S., who exchanged ratifications with the Reis Effendi of the first treaty between the U.S. and the Ottoman Empire on Oct. 3, 1831. An adjacent building, formerly the Constantinople Club, located across a street from the famed Pera Palas Hotel, was purchased in 1948. (Today it houses the con-

sular section, various administrative offices and those of other U.S. government agencies.) After Ankara's designation as capital of the Turkish Republic in 1923, the functions of the embassy were gradually transferred there. The last American ambassador resident in Istanbul, John Van A. MacMurray, moved definitively to Ankara in 1937.

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A Significant Property?

The Department of State holds title to over 150 foreign properties that are historically, architecturally or culturally significant to one degree or another. M/OBO's Cultural Resources Committee, formed in early 2001 to select which of those properties deserve inclusion in the Secretary of State's newly-created Register of Culturally Significant Property, meets periodically to consider nominations. The criteria are: designation or acknowledgement by a host government as a significant property; part of the United States' overseas heritage; association with a significant historical event or person; important architecture and/or association with an important architect; distinctive theme or assembly; unique object or visual feature; and archaeological site.

As Palazzo Corpi arguably meets at least six of

*For now,
the future disposition
of Palazzo Corpi
remains unclear.*

these criteria, one might have expected that M/OBO would have selected it as a charter member of the Secretary's Register. Unaccountably, this did not happen, even though of the 12 overseas buildings placed in the Register so far, several cannot be said to rival the

Palazzo in historical, architectural or cultural significance. One hopes M/OBO will see fit to correct this situation in the not-too-distant future.

Sometime next year, the consulate general will move its offices to a new, modern and more secure facility being built on a hill overlooking the European shore of the Bosphorus. For now, the future disposition of Palazzo Corpi remains unclear. It should be reasonable to expect, however, that some use can be found that will respect the building's history, its cultural value and its longstanding service as a focal point for American diplomatic relations with Turkey. ■

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WILLIS CONOVER, THE VOA AND JAZZ



A RETIRED FSO RECALLS A BROADCASTING
LEGEND'S PIVOTAL ROLE IN THAWING THE
COLD WAR IN HUNGARY IN 1956.

By ERNEST A. NAGY

Along about 1954, I became acquainted with a number of Hungarian young people who had formed the clandestine Budapest Hot Club. Jazz was then illegal under the communists, so we would meet surreptitiously and walk irregular routes to the given place of meeting — someone's flat. I would supply them with *Down Beat* magazines, sheet music and records. They were mostly educated, professional young people crazy about the liberating influences of jazz. Their inspiration was being supplied by the Voice of America's Willis Conover in his "Music USA" program. The program was widely listened to, and

Jazz was still considered decadent in Eastern Europe at that time.

Conover, as its purveyor, was venerated. He had a marvelous, orotund voice and his comments were always on a high, literate, cultural plane.

When it came time for us to be transferred in September 1956 (a month before the Hungarian Revolution), the political climate had eased somewhat due to Khrushchev's revelations of Stalin's crimes, at the 20th Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union shortly before. Though jazz was still described as decadent, the authorities sought to somehow embrace its palpable popularity by sponsoring what they called "esztrad" orchestras. The aficionados, of course, accepted no substitutes, let alone communist ones.

I got the notion that I'd love to have a musical souvenir of my association with the Hot Club and its members, so I boldly called up the Qualiton (old Victor) studios to see if I could rent their facilities for an afternoon. To my considerable amazement, the answer was yes. Numerous Hot Club members gathered on the appointed day by various forms of transportation, including my Olds 88 convertible. I can still see the bass fiddle sticking up in the back seat (top down, of course).

Quite a bit of time was used in practice and forming groups, etc. These fellows had practically never played together before. Finally, we got about 40 minutes of improvised jazz music on tape, including one number titled "Here Comes Mr. Nagy."

Ernest A. Nagy was in the Foreign Service from 1952 to 1986. He married Foreign Service secretary Helen Stephens in 1953. They served in Budapest, Salzburg, Berlin, Copenhagen, Rome, Heidelberg, Berlin (again) and London, as well as in Washington and as a diplomat in residence at the University of Arkansas. They have one son, David. Since retirement they have resided in Washington, D.C.

Not long after the emotional farewells when we left Budapest, certain we'd not see each other again, the revolution broke out. A number of these fellows were involved in the uprising and some were killed. I was on home leave in Cincinnati when the State Department called and asked if I would be willing to go to Salzburg to open a refugee camp. I jumped at the chance. Then I remembered my special souvenir and called Willis Conover, whom I had not met before, to describe what I possessed and to suggest he might want to incorporate it somehow into one of his broadcasts. He was eagerly receptive, so the tape was handed over, and I was off to Salzburg.

I won't go into the details of my adventures in opening Camp Roeder. Suffice it to say that one day I received a telegram from Conover. He said a program had been broadcast, built around the music on the tape. The program had been so popular that it was going to be rebroadcast on a certain imminent date. Meanwhile, I somehow learned that a couple of my closest Hot Club friends were in a camp in Styria. On my first free day, I jumped into the Morris Minor that had been issued to me and hurried there. I found my friends, who knew that Roy and Eva Schmidt were in Vienna, but nothing further. Roy was my closest friend (and remains my best friend in the world to this day) and the president of the Hot Club.

I stuffed the three people into my car and we took off for Vienna. When we got there, we began walking along Mariahilfe Strasse, which was teeming with people. Incredibly, we ran into Roy and Eva in the crowd. Cutting to the chase, I hauled everybody to Salzburg. There, one Sunday night in the Oesterreichischer Hof Hotel, where I was staying, we listened to Conover's broadcast of their music. It was the most emotional moment in my life, barring only the day my son was born.

All five people eventually got out to the U.S., but

FOCUS

*We listened to Conover's broadcast
of their music. It was the most
emotional moment of my life.*

Gabor Szabo was the only one who made a career as a musician. He was very successful (we attended a concert of his one night at Carnegie Hall), played with Chico Hamilton and Lena Horne and had a very successful group of his own. (He also made recordings.) Alas, he died a number of years ago in Budapest after he was called back there to help in making a film of his life. He died of the effects of excessive drug usage, the fate of all too many jazz musicians. Ty Ginter is a very successful civil engineer in Hollywood. Roy Schmidt had a brilliant career as an

architect, ultimately becoming the CEO of Wm. Pereira & Sons, the largest architectural firm in the West (based in Los Angeles). He was the chief architect on many well-known projects, including the Transamerica Building in San Francisco, the L.A. Forum and the Dallas-Fort Worth Airport.

Willis Conover died in 1996, just when I was getting ready to re-establish contact with him. It wasn't Gorbachev or Reagan who brought down the Soviet Union. As much as anyone in the world, it was Willis Conover. ■

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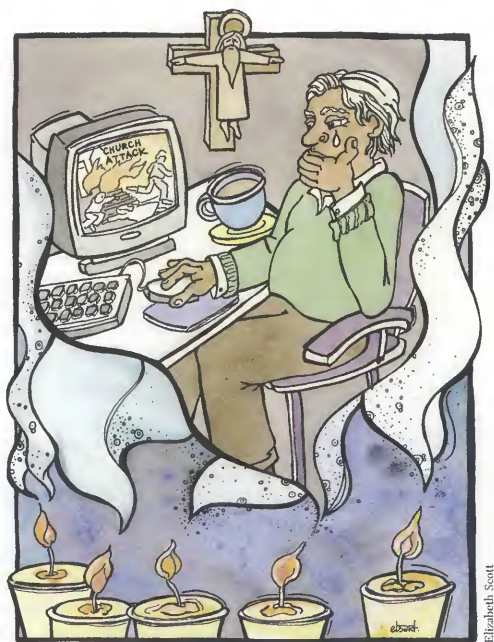
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REFLECTIONS ON THE CHURCH ATTACK IN ISLAMABAD



Elizabeth Scott

T

AN FSO REFLECTS ON
RELIGION AND FORGIVENESS
FROM AFAR.

By JONATHAN ADDLETON

Time marches on and new tragedies happen. By the time this appears in print, accounts of the attack on the Protestant International Church in Islamabad will be old news. Yet those who survived the service that morning on March 17, 2002, will never forget. And those who have some link to the PIC, however tenuous and however long ago, feel an unbearable sense of grief when we see images of the shattered building.

International congregations, transient as they are, provide a spiritual home for a time, a place of worship that

AFSA NEWS

American Foreign Service Association • November 2002

AFSA'S 2003 DISSENT AWARD NOMINATIONS

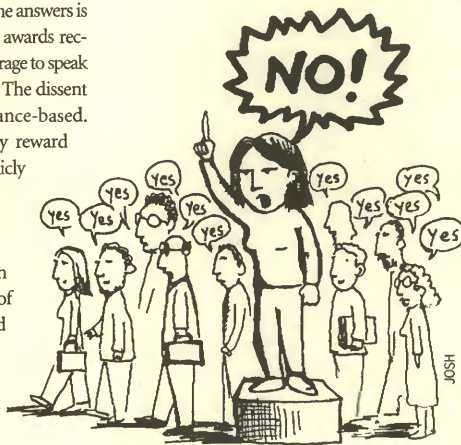
AFSA Recognition for Those Who Challenge the System

Please give some thought NOW to identifying colleagues who have had the courage to challenge the system — on any subject. Success is not a requirement. The willingness to ask the tough questions and pursue the answers is what counts. AFSA's dissent awards recognize those who have the courage to speak out, on any and all subjects. The dissent awards are not performance-based. Winners receive a monetary reward of \$2,500. They are publicly recognized during a ceremony in the State Department's Benjamin Franklin Diplomatic Reception Room (attended by Secretary of State Colin Powell in 2002 and Deputy Secretary Richard Armitage in 2001). There is wide media coverage of the event and the award winners.

Past recipients of these awards include:

- An ambassador and DCM who refused to implement the department's decision to construct a new chancery in a loca-

Continued on page 4



EYE ON REFORM

State Adopts AFSA's Suggestions on Esprit de Corps

Director General Ruth A. Davis has accepted AFSA's proposal that the DG send a welcome letter to all Foreign Service employees as they enter the Service. AFSA sent the proposal to Ambassador Davis in August, after receiving feedback on the draft letter from AFSA members around the world. AFSA sug-

gested that the letter outline the rewards and challenges of a Foreign Service career. The purpose of the letter would be to help enhance the sense of professionalism, responsibility, service and esprit de corps among new hires and help prepare them for the practical demands

Continued on page 3



This Issue in Brief:

NEWS BRIEFS:

HARDSHIP, LEAP & SCHOLARS	2
AFSA ELECTION	5
OUTSOURCING COMMENTS	6
Q&A: R&R AND MORE	7
INSIDE THE FS COMMUNITY	8

AFSA AND THE FOREIGN COMMERCIAL SERVICE

AFSA-FCS Meeting Opens Door to Better Relations

AFSA and Foreign Commercial Service management have made significant progress in recent months toward better and more productive relations. This new trend began with a letter from AFSA to the secretary of Commerce, which expressed concern about the many barriers to productive AFSA-FCS negotiations. As a follow-on to the letter, FCS Director General Maria Cino initiated a meeting with AFSA President John Naland in August.

Anyone who has ever read Pete Frederick's VP columns in *AFSA News* knows that AFSA has for many years been frustrated by FCS management's unwillingness to negotiate with AFSA in good faith. Pete never attributed the problems to any specific individual, in part because he did not know exactly "who was putting epoxy in the wheels of progress," as he put

Continued on page 9

AFFSA NEWS BRIEFS



Final Chance for Governing Board Nominations

Nov. 14 is the deadline to get in your nominations for candidates to run for the AFSA 2003-2005 Governing Board. For more information, see the call for nominations in the September *AFSA News* (on the Web at www.afsa.org/news) or contact Susan Reardon by phone at (202) 944-5505.

Key Legislation ALMOST Final

By the time you receive this magazine (but not by the time we go to print), it is likely that some key AFSA-supported legislation will have been passed by Congress. The State Department authorization bill includes virtual locality pay for annuity computations. AFSA's four-year effort to amend the tax code to change the 2-in-5 years residency requirement for exclusion from capital gains taxation on the sale of a primary residence appears close to passage. Look for a full update in the December *AFSA News*.

Life in the Foreign Service

■ BY BRIAN AGGELER, FOREIGN SERVICE OFFICER & CARTOONIST



AFSA Legislative Action Supports You

AFSA advocacy on Capitol Hill is vital to your interests. AFSA legislative action is funded primarily by the Legislative Action Fund. There is no fat in this



fund: it pays the salary of Director of Legislative Affairs Ken Nakamura, and directly supports our Hill efforts. The fund helps AFSA to be highly

effective in influencing legislation that directly impacts the lives of Foreign Service personnel and retirees.

Please mail your contributions to the AFSA Legislative Action Fund, P.O. Box 98026, Washington, DC 20077-7093, or go to the AFSA Web site: www.afsa.org/laffom.html. Make checks payable to "Legislative Action Fund." Every contribution makes a difference and is appreciated.

Working Group on Hardship Posts

Following a June suggestion from AFSA, the State Department has agreed to convene a working group to examine ways to make service at hardship posts less of a hardship. AFSA has already forwarded 11 suggestions. The first meeting has been scheduled for Oct. 18.

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AFSA NEWS BRIEFS

Reform • Continued from page 1

Family Finances: Good News and Bad News

The bad news first: FEHBP health insurance premiums will rise an average of 11 percent in 2003, according to info released by the Office of Personnel Management. A typical employee with family coverage will pay an average of \$265 more a year. Actual premium increases, of course, will vary by health care plan. Plan-by-plan details on premiums and coverage will be announced prior to the annual FEHBP open season that begins on Nov. 11 and ends Dec. 10 for active employees.

The good news is that OPM also announced that federal employees will be able to cut their tax bills starting in July 2003 when the government implements flexible spending accounts (a benefit already offered by 70 percent of private sector firms — including AFSA — to their employees). The flexible spending accounts will allow employees each year to reduce their taxable income by up to \$3,000 for out-of-pocket medical expenses and up to \$5,000 for childcare and eldercare expenses (just as TSP contributions and health insurance premiums are already excluded from employees' taxable income). For example, an employee earning \$60,000 a year who puts aside \$2,000 for medical expenses and \$2,000 for childcare expenses would reduce their federal tax bill by \$906. Money put in the flexible spending accounts via payroll allotment will be available to be withdrawn by employees to pay for covered expenses such as health insurance co-payments, dental care, eyeglasses, and contact lenses. Full details will be provided later this year or early in 2003.

Interagency Collaboration on Personnel Issues

It is a common occurrence during AFSA Governing Board meetings to have a State AFSA representative mention a new personnel policy or benefit, and colleagues in the other foreign affairs agencies express surprise. These non-State reps often follow up by pushing their own agencies to implement a parallel policy. In many cases, the lack of information-sharing between management of the different foreign affairs agencies results in a delay in implementation of parallel policies for employees of the other agencies.

In her column in the September 2002 issue of *State* magazine, Director General of the Foreign Service Ruth A. Davis announced "that one of her top goals during the coming year will be to improve collaboration among the foreign affairs agencies on human resource issues. AFSA strongly applauds this undertaking and stands ready to assist.

USAA for Specialists

USAA Insurance Company has announced the date it will open its membership to current Department of State Foreign Service specialists: Dec. 1. This expansion of State employee membership eligibility has come in response to a request from Secretary Powell to USAA, made earlier this year at AFSA's suggestion. While interested specialists may research USAA services now at www.usaa.com (click on "insurance and financial services" under the heading "Join the USAA Family"), they should refrain from calling USAA until Dec. 1. USAA customer service reps are not yet ready to open accounts or to respond to related questions.

AFSA News Briefs • Continued on page 6

of Foreign Service life. It would also reinforce and perpetuate a distinctive Foreign Service culture characterized by Service discipline, dedication to duty and patriotism.

In early September, management representatives told AFSA they liked the idea of sending a letter to new hires and appreciated AFSA's suggestion. State has already implemented this AFSA reform

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proposal, and now sends an official welcome letter from the director general to new hires. The director general used her own language for the letter, but it does reflect some of the key points AFSA wanted to see in the document.

Following is an excerpt from Amb. Davis' letter:

"Congratulations on your appointment to the Foreign Service of the United States of America. The Foreign Service is more than just a job; it is a rewarding way of life. ...

"We expect the best of you. We need your leadership and your energy. You will be the face of America to the world; your honesty and integrity in promoting our national interests must be unassailable. A Foreign Service career may take you and your family to any corner of the globe. Our work is unlike anything you have done before; it is challenging, demanding, and may involve personal risk. It requires discipline and commitment from both you and your family. But you will be serving the people of the United States, and there is no higher calling. ... Congratulations and welcome to the Foreign Service. It is a wonderful career and a fascinating adventure." □



Update Your Address with AFSA

If you are an AFSA member but have not received the *Foreign Service Journal* lately, that is a sure sign that AFSA does not have your current address. Send the updated address to member@afsa.org.

Who Gets Punished and for What

I've made the point before that the Foreign Service is an institution responsible for policing itself. There is no Office of Personnel Management that comes up with the rules regulating Foreign Service conduct. As our colleagues rise in the ranks and are promoted into senior positions, they take on responsibility not just for crafting foreign policy recommendations, but also discipline decisions.

I thought I'd spend some time here on the question of punishment. What kind of conduct provokes discipline? The director general has considerable power. For example, there's the notice that comes with the Open Assignments package warning you to comply with the bidding instructions or risk being "designated," i.e., being assigned to a position regardless of whether you have bid on it. The DG has not exercised this power in recent years. It could be that the mere threat of it is enough to cow miscreants into compliance.

Other punishments include letters of admonishment and reprimand placed in employees' official performance files. The presence of these letters clearly has an effect on selection board decisions on whom to tenure, to promote, to low rank, etc. Then there are the suspensions, whereby the employee is essentially placed on leave without pay for periods ranging from one to 120 days. A record of this is also placed in the employee's official performance file.

What kind of conduct provokes these punishments which, in an up-or-out system, can resonate for years? The most common breach of discipline deals with security violations. The department takes security seriously and the rules are spelled out clearly, as are the punishments, which range from a letter of admonishment to suspension to removal. The second category is misuse of the Internet, which is a euphemism for using the government's Internet facilities to view adult material on the Web.

The rest of the cases fall into a miscellaneous category. For example, there is a category termed "failure to follow instructions" that in one case triggered a two-day suspension for delay in filing the annual ethics report. Other discipline cases involved the misuse of a government vehicle, weapons violations and misuse of the e-mail system.

Now, how many cases are we talking about here? In 2001, there were 85 cases of discipline. Of these, no action was taken in 11 of them after investigation. Two employees retired. Of the remaining 72, fully half involved the security rules. The rest were an assortment of offenses such as improper use of government vehicles, insubordination, poor judgment, weapons violations and misuse of the Internet.

In the "disposition" column, the report notes that one person was "removed" for off-duty misconduct and one was separated for "theft and fraud." One individual resigned and two retired before their cases were resolved. For those who were not separated, the most serious punishment was a 30-day suspension.

It is clear to me that we Foreign Service employees are a pretty disciplined, law-abiding group. There are thousands of us out there, working under some extremely adverse conditions where temptation abounds. Yet, there are very few cases of outright fraud. I also think the standards of conduct are quite high; otherwise, there would be more cases for the Department's Program Manager for Conduct, Suitability and Discipline. □



The most common
breach of discipline deals
with security violations.

Dissent • Continued from page 1

tion they viewed as being highly vulnerable to terrorist attack.

■ A political counselor at an embassy who challenged longtime U.S. policy on security assistance to the host country and urged that it be related to human rights concerns.

■ A group of mid-level officers who displayed integrity and constructive dissent in developing and advocating alternatives to the established U.S. policy toward the Balkans and carried their challenge as far as the secretary of State's office.

A Foreign Service dedicated to individual excellence, independent thinking and the intellectual courage to challenge conventional wisdom is especially needed now, as our nation continues to face the challenges of a post-9/11 world. Foreign Service employees at all grades and in all agencies put their lives and the lives of their families at risk to advance America's interests. AFSA dissent awards offer an opportunity to recognize these contributions made by our colleagues over and above their assigned responsibilities.

The official call for dissent award nominations will be in the December *AFSA News*. The four awards are: the Tex Harris Award for specialists, the W. Averell Harriman Award for junior officers, the William Rivkin Award for mid-level officers and the Christian Herter Award for senior officers. In addition to the four dissent awards, AFSA also presents awards for exemplary performance and extraordinary contributions to effectiveness, professionalism and morale. The Delavan Award acknowledges the work of a Foreign Service office management specialist who has made a significant contribution to post or office effectiveness and morale beyond the framework of her or his job responsibilities. The Avis Bohlen Award recognizes the accomplishments of a Foreign Service family member whose relations with the American and foreign communities at post have done the most to advance the interests of the United States. The M. Juanita Guess Award is conferred on a community liaison officer who has demonstrated outstanding leadership, dedication, initiative or imagination. □

DACOR Offers Financial Support for Students

Children of FSOs, active and retired, are eligible to apply for several scholarships and fellowships to study at the Hotchkiss School and Yale University for the 2003-2004 academic year. The DACOR Bacon House Foundation sponsors the awards, made possible by a gift from the late Ambassador Louis G. Dreyfus, Jr.

The Hotchkiss School seeks to select one qualified enrolled student for a \$5,000 scholarship. Applicants should contact the Director of Financial Aid, The Hotchkiss School, Lakeville, CT 06039-0800, providing evidence of a parent's or grandparent's Foreign Service status.

Awards to Yale students, based on merit, will be made by the DACOR Bacon House Foundation in consultation with Yale University. At Yale, the fellowships are coordinated by the Yale Center for International and Area Studies, Henry R. Luce Hall, 34 Hillhouse Ave., New Haven, CT 06520. Awards for undergraduates may be up to \$5,000 and up to \$10,000 for graduate students. Applicants may apply for the Dreyfus Awards at the time of their application for admission to Yale. The award is contingent upon confirmation by Yale that the student has been admitted or is a current student in good standing. Application materials must be sent to William Hamilton at the DACOR Bacon House Foundation, 1801 F St., NW, Washington, D.C. 20006. For further information, contact Taushia Walker at DACOR by phone: (202) 682-0500, ext. 17 or 1 (800) 344-9127, or by e-mail: prog.coord@dacorbacon.org.

The application deadline is March 15, 2003. □



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

Join the AFSA Election Process

The time to elect a new AFSA Governing Board has rolled around, and I would like to nominate an interested retiree to succeed me. Frankly, I know many of you who would fill the bill, but it would be imprudent to throw a name into the ring without first sharing some of my impressions of the job.

The past year has been an eye-opener. It has been invigorating to be on the inside of important issues. Serving as VP has been a marvelous way to give back to a career that — for all its pluses and minuses — provided a unique window on the world. To those of you saying to yourselves, "I haven't the time for it," let me say I did not need to expend a great deal of time defining the issues that would occupy my attention. They either presented themselves or were packaged by AFSA's able staff for consideration by the governing board at its monthly meetings. That said, I did enjoy the opportunity to be in on important decisions and to be able to help shape the AFSA agenda.

The September 11 attacks sparked an intense discussion of how AFSA might support the foreign affairs community in responding to the stark new reality of a nation at war with terrorism.

Our first effort, you may recall, was to suggest that the State Department look to its own retirees to provide temporary surge capacity on the personnel front. The department itself was slow to take us up on our offer, but over time we began to receive direct inquiries from various offices looking for good people to fill jobs on a temporary basis. Today, the Afghan Working Group in the Operations Center is virtually fully staffed by retirees. In order to free up more retiree reserves for duty, we have pressed Congress to lift the pay cap on WAE (when actually employed) annuitants so that the department can more easily assign them for longer periods of time.

During my tenure, I had the privilege to engage in the lengthy debate leading to the formation of AFSA-PAC to improve our clout on Capitol Hill. The brainchild of Ambassador Tom Boyatt, the AFSA-PAC concept was carefully scrutinized before the board gave its assent. As one of AFSA-PAC's charter members, I am proud to note that 71 percent of the initial contributions to the PAC came from retirees. So much for the myth that upon retirement we lose our interest in the Foreign Service. More good news: 140 retirees have either joined or renewed their AFSA membership as a result of the recent drive to boost retiree members.

Having spent the best years of my life in the Foreign Service, I am proud to serve AFSA, its only independent voice. The wonderful people I have met among the members, AFSA staff and on the board itself — and the issues we have wrestled with — have made this a stimulating and fulfilling experience. If you reside in the Washington area and would consider serving, or if you know of another good candidate that you would like to nominate for AFSA Retiree VP, please let me know by e-mail: Farrand@afsa.org or by fax: (202) 338-6820. □



Having spent the best years of my life in the Foreign Service, I am proud to serve AFSA, its only independent voice.

Comments on Outsourcing

My last column, which recommended outsourcing the FCS human resources function, generated an impressive response. Approximately 50 percent of our members offered comments or suggestions, and FCS management responded indirectly but positively. About eight percent of the responses from members were strongly opposed to outsourcing. "The devil we know is better than the one we don't" would be a good summary of their comments. The consensus was to build on the parts of the Office of Foreign Service Human Resources that function well to develop a stronger overall organization.

Not surprisingly, 57 percent of the respondents strongly endorsed outsourcing the HR functions. Most comments reflected the belief that "anything would be better than what we have today." We all tend to make the assumption that everything related to personnel is handled by OFSHR and forget that other parts of FCS and the International Trade Administration can insert themselves into what we perceive as the venue of OFSHR. The consensus of this group was that FCS needed to find a new way to manage personnel.

The remaining 35 percent of respondents were harder to categorize. Some agreed that the current situation must be changed but noted that allowing State to take over HR functions would be the first step toward reabsorbing FCS back into State, not a desirable end. Officers opined that State's management of the HR function would eliminate the discrepancies between the State and Commerce interpretations of the Foreign Affairs Manual and Foreign Service Act. Several noted that in some cases these discrepancies favor the FCS. As a smaller agency we should have the ability to be more user-friendly than State, but unfortunately, we're not. One respondent commented that State already controls most of the HR functions and OFSHR is simply a filter or hurdle between the officer and service provider.

FCS management responded indirectly, but quite positively. An OFSHR staff person has been assigned to ITA labor relations to help move our issues forward. There has been some progress that indicates ITA may have been more of a problem than OFSHR. In response to numerous complaints about our poor training programs, FCS has expanded the professional development group and is transferring some of the training responsibilities out of OFSHR to the newly created Office of Professional Development. The director general probably did not view this action as the first step toward outsourcing HR, but one could argue that it was. The action is not only consistent with the DG's announced prerogatives but also in line with the recommendations of the officer corps. The DG appears to be investing the resources needed to recruit and retain qualified personnel to manage the ongoing program.

There is consensus that the HR functions must be better handled. Closer management control of the existing HR function may be more effective in the near term than outsourcing. Recent actions indicate that the director general recognizes this and is taking positive steps to improve the situation.

Outsourcing within the existing framework may be a partial solution. Removing ITA personnel from the mix may be a plus. Direct and meaningful communications between AFSA and FCS, which have now begun, undoubtedly represent a positive step toward resolving the HR question. □



AFSA NEWS BRIEFS

Continued from page 3

Dues Payment by Annuity Deduction Now Available

Foreign Service retirees now have the option of having AFSA dues automatically deducted from their annuities. For current retired members, AFSA has begun a one-year transition period. When your membership is up for renewal, you will receive a form with your invoice that can be used to authorize the State Department to deduct a monthly amount from your annuity equal to one-twelfth of your annual dues. Your dues will be sent directly to AFSA. If you choose this option, the deduction will continue indefinitely with no further action from you. Any dues increases (limited by AFSA bylaws to the equivalent of the annual COLA) will be automatically made by State at AFSA's request. You may opt out of the annuity deduction at any time. Those wishing to begin deductions before or after their renewal date may request the form from AFSA.

For retirees not already members of AFSA, the annuity deduction may make joining more attractive. Please help spread the word to those colleagues.

AFSA Gives Money for College

AFSA merit and financial aid scholarship applications are available now at afsa.org/scholar/index.html. Foreign Service high school seniors and college undergraduates are eligible to apply. The application deadline is Feb. 6, 2003. Awards range from \$1,000 to \$3,000.

Contact Scholarship Director Lori Dec at dec@afsa.org for more information.



AFSA News Briefs • Continued on page 9

Q&A

Personnel Issues

BY JAMES YORKE,
LABOR MANAGEMENT SPECIALIST

Counseling

Q: I have not had a counseling session with my supervisor yet. Should I insist on one?

A: Yes. It is now over halfway through the rating year and 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 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 Folder. It is very important, for both the rater and the rated officer, that a DS-1974 be completed 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.

Evaluations and the Mission Program Plan

Q: During recent rating cycles there has been a requirement that my EER cover my performance in relation to the objectives of the Mission or Bureau Program Plan. Is this still required for the current 2002-2003 rating cycle?

A: No. A May 2002 State cable (02 State 92709) delinked the EER from the Bureau/Mission Performance Plan for the 2002-2003 rating cycle. There is no longer a requirement to incorporate—either in Section III(B) or in Section IV(B)—objectives identified in the Bureau/Mission Performance Plan and a discussion of per-

formance including comments on the employee's contribution to the Bureau or Mission Performance Plan. This change was the result of efforts to streamline the MPP by limiting the number of performance goals to five. In section IV(B), raters can now concentrate on a discussion of the work requirements, identifying at least three of the work requirements, including continuing responsibilities and specific objectives mentioned in Section III(B).

employee. All the other provisions in 3 FAM 3720 must be followed and the travel by family members must provide relief from conditions at post. The new regulations will allow employees greater flexibility in making R&R plans and catering to their families' varied interests and requirements.

Q: My wife's family lives in Puerto Rico. Can we fly there for R&R at government expense?

A: No. The new rules only allow an employee to fly either to the official R&R point or to anywhere in the continental United States. However, the requirement that you spend at least 50 percent of your leave in the United States does not prohibit you from using all your leave in Puerto Rico or other U.S. states or territories outside the continental United States.

In this case, the government would pay for you to fly to Miami, but the onward flight to Puerto Rico would be at your own expense.

Q: I was on official travel, and was bumped involuntarily from my return domestic flight. I was given a ticket on another airline and was also given a \$300 voucher, made out

to me, for use on the original airline, valid for one year. May I keep this voucher or must I hand it in?

A: You may keep it. GSA has determined that in cases where there is a delay, cancellation or other event that results in the airline offering a goodwill ticket, cash or credit to all passengers, that offer is considered to be a promotional item and the employee is allowed to retain the benefit for his/her own personal use. □



R & R

Q: I heard that my whole family must travel to the same destination when we go on R&R. My son is going to camp in Maine, but my husband and I are going to see my family in Georgia. What can we do?

A: The rules have recently changed. Effective July 17, 2002, per 02 State 136990, State management announced that the R&R destination of family members may be different from the R&R destination of the

INSIDE THE FS COMMUNITY

Pickering Receives Public Diplomacy Award

Ambassador Thomas Pickering has been selected to receive the Public Diplomacy Award from the Public Members Association of the Foreign Service. Pickering is being honored for "outstanding service in increasing public appreciation of the foreign policy of the United States and international issues facing this country."

This award is given only occasionally. The only other recipients of the award thus far were Vernon Walters, Lawrence Eagleburger, George Vest, Rozanne Ridgway and Terence Todman. PMA is an association of private citizens who have served on promotion panels and in other advisory capacities representing the general public in relation to the State Department and other federal agencies with Foreign Service components.



Tom Pickering receives the Public Diplomacy Award at a September luncheon given by the Public Members Association in his honor.

A Taste of the Foreign Service on Tilghman Island

Retired Foreign Service officer William "Jake" Jacobsen and his wife Monica, recently retired from UNICEF, have returned to the U.S. after many years overseas. They met in Guinea-Bissau, where Jake was the ambassador and Monica was an international officer with UNICEF. In Indonesia for the last few years on Monica's final UNICEF assignment, Jake served as an election official during the 1999 U.N.-sponsored referendum in East Timor and in 2000 returned to Dili to help open the U.S. Diplomatic Liaison Office in East Timor.



Monica and Jake Jacobsen and the Sinclair House.

Between them, Jake and Monica served in Peru, South Africa, Namibia, Botswana, Mozambique, Guinea-Bissau, Lesotho, Morocco, and Indonesia. They have now found a way to share all the treasures they collected over the years by opening a bed and breakfast inn on the Eastern Shore's Tilghman Island.

Sinclair House, which the Jacobsens have renovated, is now decorated with the art and handicrafts they collected during a lifetime of travel. The inn's four guest rooms are named "Africa," "Indonesia," "Morocco" and "Peru." Go to www.tilghmanisland.com/sinclair for more information, or call (410) 886-2147 or, toll-free, 1 (888) 859-2147. □

Elderhostel Expands Foreign Service Programs

What do the LBJ Library, the inside of NORAD's Cheyenne Mountain, and a California winery have in common? They are new lecture venues in AFSA's expanding Elderhostel program, in

which Foreign Service retirees acquaint the American public with the diplomatic profession. Still going strong in the Washington, D.C. area where it was founded, the program this year opened in Austin, where Texas colleagues explored issues faced by the Johnson administra-

tion, and in Colorado Springs, where participants got some expert views on missile defense from Ambassador Jim Swihart, retiring political advisor at the U.S. Space Command. The 2003 program will be launched at another new site, in Ventura, Calif., where retirees will stress diplomacy's role in promoting the export of U.S. products, including California wine.

COLEAD Push for Public Diplomacy Resources

On Sept. 20, the Coalition for American Leadership Abroad, in cooperation with the Center for Arts and Culture, held a second meeting at the AFSA building to discuss how to improve and strengthen American cultural diplomacy abroad. Some 35 persons attended the meeting from both the arts and foreign affairs community including former ambassadors, a former head of the National Endowment for the Arts, heads of both arts and foreign affairs non-governmental organizations, and former high-level practitioners of public diplomacy.

The meeting established a liaison group of interested people supporting international arts and cultural programs and the group established sever-

al task groups on research and program definition, advocacy and private sector outreach. It was agreed that significant additional resources for cultural diplomacy should be sought from both federal funding and from the private sector. The consensus was that American arts and humanities was one of the most important resources we have to tell the American story and exemplify American values to the world, especially in a time of turmoil and strife. It was also agreed that such programs should be global in reach and oriented to long-term objectives.

FSO Mayor Copes with Tropical Storm

Larry Piper is a retired FSO who is now the mayor of Sweeny, Texas. In September, he courageously helped his community cope with the aftermath of Tropical Storm Fay.

The storm dumped 22 inches of rain in less than six hours on Sweeny, which is about 23 feet above sea level, about 20 miles from the Gulf Coast. FSO retiree Bill Cunningham of Houston, Texas, spoke with Larry who reported that he was seeking the necessary declarations to qualify for disaster assistance for the town. His own house survived the storm intact, but about 40 percent of the homes in Sweeny—a town of 3,000—suffered some damage. □

AFSA NEWS BRIEFS

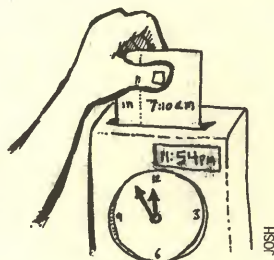
AFSA Honors George F. Kennan

AFSA has recognized our most distinguished living member by renaming in his honor the annual writing award AFSA gives to a foreign affairs agency graduate of the National War College. Ambassador Kennan joined the Foreign Service in 1926 and, while teaching at the National War College in 1947, wrote the pivotal Mr. "X" article that became the basis for U.S. policy toward the Soviet Union during the Cold War. Having received the enthusiastic concurrence of the Commandant of the National War College, Major Gen. Reggie Clemmons, we look forward to honoring future graduates with the now aptly named George F. Kennan Award for Excellence in Writing.

LEAP and Diplomatic Security

AFSA has renewed its request that OPM reconsider the April 2001 decision not to credit diplomatic security agents with hours of work under Law Enforcement Availability Pay (LEAP) for travel outside the basic workweek. AFSA President John Naland personally handed our appeal to the OPM chief on Sept. 13 and was able to talk with her about it. DS agents must often travel on their regularly scheduled days off half-way around the world. Yet, they are not entitled to either overtime compensation or LEAP credit hours. These employees' services are needed urgently. To require frequent arduous travel without any compensation is unfair and a negative morale factor.

AFSA argues that these travel regulations date back more than 50 years and are based on domestic travel. They did not anticipate the arduous conditions of overseas travel. When we last met with OPM, it acknowledged that the travel regulations were very old and that OPM is in the process of reviewing them.



AFSA News Briefs • Continued on page 10

FCS • Continued from page 1

it. The meeting between AFSA and DG Cino helped open lines of communication and helped identify problems. AFSA is pleased to report that the DG is committed to resolving the issues currently on the table, including assignments policy, grievances adjudication, and amount of time the AFSA VP may spend on union activities. DG Cino and AFSA have reached agreement on the Commissioning and Tenure Policy and Precepts. AFSA looks forward to the successful conclusion of negotiations on these issues.

DG Cino sent out a message to all FCS colleagues noting that she and AFSA

had agreed to increase the frequency of meetings between FCS management and AFSA, to, in her words, "proactively address

The DG also noted that
"more open and frequent
communication and collaboration
with AFSA will allow CS
management to see and address
more issues before they become
problems for folks in the field."

issues and to jointly explore new areas of collaboration and cooperation." The DG also noted that "more open and frequent communication and collaboration with AFSA will allow CS management to see and address more issues before they become problems for folks in the field."

AFSA welcomes these positive developments and looks forward to working with FCS management on current and future issues. □

AFSANEWSBRIEFS

State Adopts Another AFSA Proposal

As AFSA recommended late last year, the State Department has updated its 2000 report, "Diplomatic Readiness: The Human Resources Strategy," to highlight recent accomplishments and document remaining unmet funding needs in the area of staffing. It will soon be distributed to posts around the world and will also be available on the HR Web site. The copiously illustrated 24-page booklet begins with an introduction by Secretary Powell. It details the department's human resources needs and explains how meeting them will advance America's vital interests abroad. We hope that it is widely read on Capitol Hill.

Included in the document are some notable facts:

- Sixty-five percent of the department's operating budget goes to salaries and related expenses.
- From 1994 to 1997, the department hired enough people to replace only 53 percent of those employees lost through retirements or resignations.
- Department of State employees and their families have experienced 188 post evacuations since 1988.
- In the last half century, more ambassadors than generals have died in the line of duty.
- Fifty-five State employees were killed in the line of duty in the last 10 years.
- Department of State personnel experienced 16 terrorist-related incidents worldwide in 2001.

AFSA Post Reps Needed

During the transfer season that is now over, some of our overseas post AFSA representatives moved on to other assignments. Members at those posts that have not yet elected a successor are urged to do so. While employees increasingly contact AFSA Washington directly when they need assistance, it is still vital that AFSA have a representative at each post. AFSA Reps can help resolve important quality-of-life issues at post. For details on what AFSA Reps do and how they are elected, see www.afsa.org/postreps/index.html or contact our membership office at member@afsa.org or (202) 338-4045, ext. 525.

Seeking WWII Information on Indigenous Peoples

Robert Clark is an American Indian conducting research about World War II. He would like to hear from anyone with information about whether any Foreign Service members commented or advocated on behalf of indigenous peoples during WWII. His address is: PO Box 685, Collinsville, IL 62234.



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*It was "our" church
that had been affected.*

crosses the boundaries of class, culture, nationality and denomination. There are several hundred such churches scattered around the world. Some advertise in local newspapers or in the *International Herald Tribune*, with its wide readership among the expatriate community. In other instances, information about service times and locations depends largely on word-of-mouth contact. Some international congregations meet in private homes, such as in Saudi Arabia, where public worship for any faith other than the official one is illegal. Others manage to buy or construct purpose-built buildings, lending some sense of "permanence" that few members of an international congregation will ever experience for themselves.

Our family attended PIC regularly for four years, in the late 1980s when I was posted at the U.S. embassy in Islamabad. We served on various committees, helped raise funds for the building that was eventually constructed, made lasting friendships and broadened our view of what it means to be a Christian in a world subject to constant change.

Respect for places of worship — whether Muslim or not — has long been a tradition in Pakistan, though that sanctity now seems to be increasingly called into question. Last year, 15 Pakistani Christians — Protestants worshipping in a Catholic church in Bahawalpur — were killed by unknown gunmen. In recent months, other religious institutions including schools and charities have also been attacked.

The first Internet reporting on the Islamabad tragedy mentioned "five dead in attack on a church in Pakistan." Within hours, the magnitude of the tragedy became clear. Five dead, one of them possibly an attacker. Dozens injured.

Then the photographs and more detailed accounts

began to appear, leaving no doubt that it was "our" church that had been affected, "our" friends that were experiencing loss and pain, "our" spiritual home that had been violated. The damaged structure, recognizable from the architectural drawings that the building committee had agonized over more than a decade ago, was still largely intact. The faces of the survivors, including friends and colleagues of past years, reflected shock and horror.

The casualty list of those who died brought the tragedy even closer to home. Barbara Green and her 17-year-old daughter Kristen Wormsley were part of the American embassy community in Islamabad. A young Pakistani woman named Reba was also killed, the daughter of Eddie Good, a regular at the church for years who was badly injured but survived. Back in the 1980s he often arrived by motor scooter with his half-dozen small children, now all grown up. Each winter, he sold handmade Christmas cards to far wealthier members of a congregation that included both locals and expatriates. Finally, a young Afghan man was killed, possibly attending the service only out of curiosity.

The list of wounded included other familiar names. A couple teaching at the International School of Islamabad, their young son injured in the hand, the mother who was protecting him narrowly escaping death when a piece of shrapnel lodged within an inch of her heart. Another couple who were teaching English to Afghan refugees, the husband recovering from two badly perforated eardrums. The chairman of the PIC board, a Pakistani-American, in critical condition. The wife of a Japanese diplomat, the family of a Sri Lankan diplomat. The 6-year-old son of an American missionary was flown home for emergency treatment, a fragment of a grenade embedded in his brain. Other countries represented at church that morning included Canada, Germany, Britain, Iraq, Iran, Switzerland, Australia and Ethiopia.

It could have been far worse. That particular morning the congregation numbered perhaps 70. Attendance was lower than usual because several regular attendees

*Jonathan Addleton is director of the USAID Mission in Ulaanbaatar, Mongolia. He has written two books on Pakistan, *Some Far and Distant Place* (University of Georgia Press, 1997) and *Undermining the Center* (Oxford University Press, 1992).*

*My "forgiveness" means nothing in
the aftermath of an event that I did
not experience firsthand.*

were away on that fateful day. The children attending Sunday School in the next room had left the congregation only a few minutes earlier. And several of the grenades tossed by the two attackers did not explode.

A formal interfaith memorial service was organized by officialdom in Islamabad to remember those who died. Many ambassadors and other dignitaries attended along with some of the survivors. Predictably, the service commenced with a recitation from a familiar text: Bismillah al-rahman al-rahim (In the name of God,

the compassionate and merciful.) A jarring note, I would imagine, to those who were actually attending PIC when the attack occurred. Very likely, these same words were on the lips of the attackers when the grenades started to fall.

Yet, for reasons that I can hardly fathom, my alarming slide toward bitterness is foreign to many of those who attended the service at PIC on the morning of March 17, 2002.

The initial stream of e-mails became a flood over the next few days, providing brief details of the attack and offering support. "Our hope and trust is in the Lord," stated one such e-mail. "May we remain faithful and be able to encourage others," said another one.

"I want to thank all of you who have sent e-mails," someone wrote a couple of days after the tragedy. "They have been a great encouragement . . . We are not out for revenge for what happened but rather want to show love."

Other accounts reflect a similar theme. The music leader, badly injured in the attack, had just led the congregation in singing and prayers. He had selected Psalm 103 as his theme, focusing as it does on mercy and forgiveness. "And we do forgive them," he was reported in the *Los Angeles Times* as saying from his hospital bed.

My own "forgiveness" means nothing in the aftermath of an event that I did not experience firsthand. The feeling that lingers longest is numbness — a numbness that only grows deeper following subsequent terrorist attacks in other parts of Pakistan, first on the school in Murree that I attended for 10 years and then at the hospital in Taxila that I visited so many times as a child. Why a church, why a school, why a hospital? I try to answer those questions, but I still can't. Instead, I mostly think about the people I once knew, the awful trauma they experienced and a grief that never ends. ■

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TWO HEADS OF STATE, TWO KINDS OF FATE



CONNECTIONS AROUND BETWEEN PERSIAN POETRY
AND A ROBERT FROST POEM AND THE LIVES OF JOHN
F. KENNEDY AND THE KING OF AFGHANISTAN.

By EDWARD H. THOMAS

In September 1963 a president of the United States received, for the first and only time, a king of Afghanistan. Serving on State's Iran desk, I was temporarily detailed to Language Services to serve as an interpreter during the 12-day state visit of King Mohammad Zahir Shah and his royal party. The social highlight of the visit was a dinner at the White House. At the head table, I had the duty of interpreting between the king and the hostess, who was Eunice Kennedy Shriver on that occasion. Rather early in the conversation, Mrs. Shriver, who had apparently been well briefed, said she had heard that the king enjoyed poetry

*The verse seems
indeed to capture
John Kennedy's approach to life.*

and asked him to recite some for her. For Zahir Shah, as for many cultivated Afghans and others in that part of the world, complying with such a request posed no problem. From an assuredly large volume of Persian poetry familiar to him, he readily selected a few lines from the *Golestan* (Flower Garden) of Sa'di. My task, translating the poetry, was more difficult, but I did my best to convey in English prose the meaning of the words, which was approximately as follows:

Obeying divine command, the clouds, wind,
moon, sun, and sky work in concert
on our behalf to ensure that we get our daily
bread. We must not eat it with indifference.
Rather, in return for this beneficence,
the just obligation for us is
to obey the divine will.

For her part, Mrs. Shriver recited some lines of Robert Frost, which were not too difficult for me to put into Persian:

The woods are lovely, dark and deep,
But I have promises to keep,
And miles to go before I sleep,
And miles to go before I sleep.

Later that evening, I found myself with an erudite Afghan scholar and poet, Khalilullah Khalili, who was accompanying the king. One of the other guests we spoke with was Edward R. Murrow, then director of USIA. After we joined the line of guests filing out of the White House, I introduced Professor Khalili to our host. President Kennedy, who had heard this man described as the court poet, shook his hand enthusiastically and then asked him if he recognized a Persian

poem with the words "take the cash and let the credit go." No sooner had I rendered into Persian the words "cash" and "credit" than Professor Khalili launched into a recitation in Persian of the relevant quatrain from the "Ruba'iyat" of Omar Khayyam. In Edward Fitzgerald's well-known translation it goes like this:

Some for the Glories of This World, and some
Sigh for the Prophet's Paradise to come;
Ah, take the Cash, and let the Credit go,
Nor heed the music of a distant Drum!

Those lines seem indeed to capture John Kennedy's approach to life. I certainly did not think of it as a portent, even when I first heard the terrifying news, little more than two months later, of Kennedy's assassination. I was back in my job on the Iran desk then. When the funeral took place three days later, however, I remembered those words of Khayyam as I accompanied a half-brother of the shah through the somber rituals and the slow procession to Arlington Cemetery. In the poem, the drum refers to the ones beaten to announce the departure of a caravan, and the image is of a caravan leaving this world for the next one. Now, living in Dallas many years later, I sometimes take a guest in the International Visitors program to the memorial in what is called the Sixth Floor Museum, set in the place from which the fatal shots were fired. For me, the drums that roll throughout the film of the funeral shown repeatedly at this museum symbolize what Khayyam spoke of, which for Kennedy was not so distant after all.

The practice of interpreting poems to foretell events has long been common in Middle Eastern and Central Asian cultures. What thoughts might be inspired, then, by those other poems heard that evening, the ones recited by and to the royal visitor? Mohammad Zahir, born three years before Kennedy, reigned in Afghanistan for another 10 years after

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FOCUS

The former king has covered many miles and years since he was the guest of an American president.

meeting him. That period, with the approval of a new constitution by a traditional council of notables (loya jirga) in 1964, was marked by great changes: genuinely contested elections to a more influential national assembly, a freer press, the presence of a few women in government, and considerable expansion of education for both sexes at all levels. But then in 1973 Zahir, while on a trip abroad, was overthrown in a coup d'état and the monarchy was abolished. His very existence was largely forgotten until the attacks on America of Sept. 11, 2001, suddenly made Afghanistan headline news again.

On April 18, 2002, Mohammad Zahir returned to his homeland as a private citizen, after an exile of 29 years. During his long absence, various ruthless men arrogantly claiming to know the divine will (or Marxist inevitability) have oppressed their fellow countrymen (and, even more severely, countrywomen), fought against each other, and brought much of their country to ruin, while many ordinary Afghans have been unable to get their daily bread. Now 87, the former king has covered many miles of life since he was the guest of an American president at the White House. Does he still have promises to keep before he sleeps? In June he presided at the opening of another loya jirga, this one given the task of choosing a transitional government for a reborn Afghanistan. There were some who wanted Muhammad Zahir to become head of state once again, but he himself, never a man of overweening ambition, was quite content to support the overwhelming choice of the body, interim leader Hamid Karzai, as president. Since then the ex-king has received little attention from the media. Nevertheless, his presence as the symbol of a calmer past may continue to be helpful as the Karzai government works (with, it must be hoped, steadfast and not merely self-interested international support) to steer the country toward a happier future. ■

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THE POPE'S RING



“D A VISIT WITH THE
POPE LEADS TO AN
UNEXPECTED BLESSING.

BY SOLIE REINHARDT

“Do we get to go, too?” queried the children as they read the official acknowledgement of a private audience with Pope John XXIII, for the American ambassador and his family. “Of course you get to go,” we assured them. “You are the family.”

In 1961 when my husband, Ambassador Fred Reinhardt, arrived from Cairo to take up his new post in Italy, there was no U.S. mission to the Vatican, and there never had been. For Americans, it was a question of church and state. The Vatican was a church, and you don't send a diplomatic mission to a church. Fred went to call on his former boss,

*At the time, we had no connection with the
Church and he thought that a mistake.*

retired Ambassador Jefferson Caffery (now living in Rome), to report on his service in Egypt and to remind Caffery that the Egyptians remember that he was the only ambassador to have climbed to the top of the great pyramid. "Yes, yes, thank you for the news of Egypt, but now I want to give you some advice," said Caffery. "You must see the pope, and I think he should see you. We have no connection with the Church and I think that a mistake."

"But you know that I cannot, as a diplomat assigned to the Italian government, have any business with the Vatican," Fred replied.

"I know, I know. But I'll speak to the pope. We have lunch together about every ten days. He was the nuncio in Paris when I was the American ambassador there, and we are close friends. We will find a way," Caffery said. Then came the card inviting us to a family audience with the pope, which would have no political overtones.

Court dress at the Vatican was long black dress and black veil for women, and white tie or diplomatic uniform for men. When the day arrived, I wore a black satin cocktail dress with a jacket that buttoned high and the black mantilla my mother had purchased in Seville when she was 18. (Only a Queen of Spain could wear white.) As my husband was not part of the Vatican diplomatic scene he was asked to wear the formal attire of the Italian government, striped trousers and morning coats. The children were dressed in their "church" clothes,

Solie Reinhardt was 17 when she met her future husband, FSO Frederic Reinhardt, in Vienna. Eleven years later, after working for the Red Cross in Algiers and Naples, Time Magazine in New York and the Marshall Plan in Paris, she became an enthusiastic diplomatic wife. She accompanied her husband to France, Vietnam, Washington, Egypt, Yemen, Assyria and Italy. After his retirement from the foreign service, Frederic Reinhardt had a successful second career in business. Since his death, Solie Reinhardt has resided in New York where she is working on her autobiography.

clean fingernails, white hair ribbons, polished shoes.

When our car drove into the inner courtyard of the Vatican we were met by a covey of chamberlains and priests. Monsignor Carew, a Canadian in the Secretariat of State, came forward to greet our children as friends and form them into a procession to follow their parents: Fritz (9), Cathy (5), Aura (7) and Harry (6). As we walked down the long corridor to the pope's study-library we passed endless reception rooms with two guards before each door; the Swiss in their gold and red uniforms designed by Michelangelo, the Vatican Noble Guard and the gendarmes in their Napoleonic garb. Our boys walked backwards after each door to watch the guards return to their "at ease" stance.

When the door to the pope's library opened, our guides withdrew. Pope John XXIII greeted us warmly and we followed him to the far end of the room where there were five large armchairs with red silk seats in a semicircle. The pope seated himself in the middle, putting me on his right and Fred on his left and two children to a chair on either side. After a little chatter with my husband and me, he turned to the children and spoke in French (they had not been in Rome long enough to speak Italian but they were all in French schools), "I understand that you all live at the Villa La Pariola. I used to play soccer there when I was a student in Rome."

The children knew that the embassy residence had belonged to the Vatican until 1923 so they were not surprised, especially when he said that a stone statue of a pope had been used as a goal post. "We play soccer in the garden also, but the pope's statue is now against a wall and we use garden chairs," they responded. "I suppose that you also visit the catacombs," he continued. "We're not allowed to go down there unless accompanying visitors. There's too much water there," Fritz replied. Then the pope resumed his conversation with my husband in Italian and Harry leaned behind his sister to whisper to me, "He's awfully nice, isn't he?"

F O C U S

Knowing the Ecumenical Council was imminent, Fred asked: "Your Holiness, if items arise, which I would like to discuss, whom should I see in the Vatican?"

"Oh, Mr. Ambassador, don't bother about that; just come and see me."

When the pope rose we followed him to the other end of the room to his desk by the door. He had a small box for each one of us (a gold coin with his profile for the parents, and a bronze coin with the same profile for the children). I then asked him to bless the rosaries I had in my purse for our servants, and it was time to say goodbye. The girls stepped forward to shake his hand and curtsy, and the boys shook his hand and bowed. Being a Protestant, I shook his hand and did not kneel to kiss his ring, but bowed my head in reverence. But when he asked, "Would you like to see my ring?" we all gave an enthusiastic "Yes!"

He took off his ring and as he handed it to me he explained, "The antique gold coin in the ring was given to me by a French diplomat with whom I served in

Turkey. He found it in the bazaar in Istanbul. I had it set with a cabochon crystal to protect the lovely Byzantine face of Christ, which is held on by a tiny crown of thorns. Under the crystal there are a few grains of sand from the Holy Land. Shake it; you can hear them in there." I did and I could. "Now turn it over to see the other side of the coin," the pope said. There were two stiff crusaders holding a large cross between them. Each of us in turn held the ring, turned it over and shook it before passing it on. Fred did the same thing, then handed it back to the pope with a warm smile and grateful handshake.

I had always thought that the pope's ring was like a crown handed down from one to another, but this is not so. It merely becomes the pope's ring when the man wearing it becomes the pope. Tradition had it that the ring had to be broken when the pope died, as it had been used in sealing wax to sign papal bulls and edicts ... it was a signature. This is no longer the case, however, and when Pope John XXIII died, we hope that his lovely ring was not destroyed. ■

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TFSOs POSTED TO HAITI EITHER SPEND THEIR TOUR IN TOTAL BEWILDERMENT OR APPROACH KNOWLEDGE OF A MANY-LAYERED AND INTRIGUING CULTURE.

BY DAN WHITMAN

urmoil, necklacings, gorgeous tropical landscapes, Tonton Macoutes, unique art, environmental disaster in the making, immense generosity and unspeakable cruelty: Haiti may make extravagant claims on the senses, but can never be accused of being bland. A nation 200 years behind the rest of the hemisphere in economic development and plagued with illiteracy and hunger, Haiti draws its visitors with an incomparable spirit and unique history.

The descendants of African slaves brought by French and Spanish plantation owners in the 16th and 17th

*Rugged, determined, musical, perhaps on the
obstinate side at times, Haitians are a nation of
principle and principles betrayed.*

centuries to replace a decimated indigenous population, Haitians retain West African religious and cultural practices — notably voodoo, whose “Vatican” is sometimes cited as Ouidah, Benin. Though situated in close proximity to the 21st-century sophistication of the United States, and shaped by three centuries of education and economic links to France, Haiti is a place where secret societies and unexplainable powers still exist. Only in this tiny island nation would the easternmost province be called “The West,” or could there be a Prince of Limonade and a Duke of Marmelade.

Indeed, no country replicates Haiti in terms of a picturesque history, a vivid sensory overload or in the subtlety of its people’s self-deprecating humor. A local proverb: “If work were as good as they say, the rich would have taken it from us long ago.”

A Successful Slave Revolt

Haiti was created in 1804, the product of Toussaint Louverture’s and Jean-Jacques Dessalines’ successful slave revolt against the French. Illiterate Haitian peasants defeated Europe’s most advanced army through discipline and communal sacrifice. They repelled 50,000 French troops sent by Napoleon to preserve for France the “Pearl of the Antilles,” whose annual production of coffee and sugar had supplied all of Europe throughout the 18th century. Denied this lucrative supply post, Napoleon sold off Louisiana to U.S. President Jefferson: and thus, the territory of the United States was doubled thanks to the impertinent slaves of one-third of a smallish Caribbean island!

Dan Whitman is an FSO in the Office of Press and Public Diplomacy in the Bureau of European and Eurasian Affairs in Washington. He joined USIA in 1985, serving in Copenhagen, Madrid and Pretoria. He was public affairs officer in Port-au-Prince from 1999 to 2001.

Frederick Douglass, W.E.B. Dubois and William Faulkner all had links with and a fascination for the dark courage of this determined people — Douglass was Abraham Lincoln’s ambassador to Haiti and Dubois had family roots on the island, and Haiti and its people figured in William Faulkner’s novel, *Absalom, Absalom*. Even the Haitians’ opponents were charmed. A contingent of Polish conscripts under Napoleon’s ill-fated General Leclerc defected, and fought side by side with slaves who knew they faced either slavery, freedom, or death, yet chose freedom and the risk of death rather than submission. Much, much later, even under the opportunistic and cruel regime of Francois Duvalier (Papa Doc) at the height of the Cold War, the Haitian government welcomed Polish citizens without visas as an expression of undying gratitude. Blue-eyed Haitians can still be found in the southwestern region of the country.

After Columbus’ first voyage to the present site of Cape Haitian, Queen Isabela of Spain asked him to describe the land he called “Hispaniola.” According to legend he took a sheet of paper, crumpled it in his hand and placed it on a table before the Queen, to describe its rugged and mountainous landscape. The land has been Haiti’s blessing and its curse ever since: it was the most fertile and productive land in the world in the 18th century, yet is now a partial wasteland of deforested hills. Today hunger and poverty prevail. In the marketplaces shopkeepers peddle a hamburger-shaped comestible made of clay and sugar, made to “deceive hunger” for citizens in one of the world’s hungriest and most densely populated countries.

The mountainous terrain — “Deye mon, gen mon” (beyond the mountains, more mountains) — has isolated the different parts of the country from each other, retarding true nation-building. The geographical barriers are compounded by the local Creole language, which, while expressive and colorful, cuts off the citizenry from world markets and culture. Curse and

FOCUS

blessing, mixed: Haiti developed its own crafts, folklore and graphic arts unparalleled in the Caribbean or other regions. Wrought-iron sculptures carved by welding experts squatting in the streets near the traffic in Port-au-Prince's inner city areas mold stirring scenes of local folklore and legend, the beast and the spirit of a complex nation.

Kaleidoscopic Images

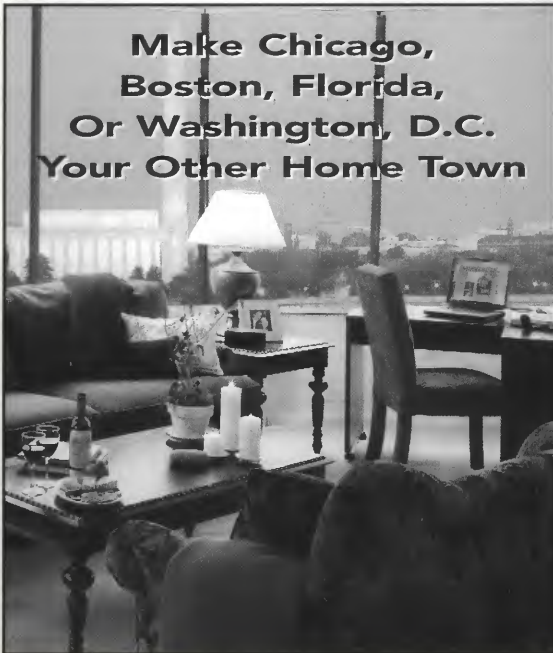
To the reflective eye, Haiti presents a series of indelible images. Watch a platoon of teenage girls in pressed white dresses run along the side of a country road singing Easter songs with deafening enthusiasm. Or visit Jacmel during the Lenten season, and be spooked by disguised youngsters, swooping around the visitor with wordless tauntings, silent in their playful getups depicting monsters and goblins adorned with beaks and ribbed satin batwings from traditions now so intertwined as to be inseparable.

Turn around, and a crowd, unable to find sticks or

stones, kicks a suspected thief to death in front of the U.S. embassy, later to learn they were mistaken over the identity of the victim. Turn again, and a community radio station the size of a phone booth intrepidly emits objective information through a spindly transmission tower that seems more like a straightened paper clip than an instrument of mass communication. Pivot once more, and a leper without feet ambulates on leather stumps along La Martiniere asking alms of the passers-by.

Just ahead, a man draws a two-wheeled cart through dense traffic, trying to deliver his freight, a large block of ice, before it melts in the tropical heat. Another spin, and a woman driven by the need for order sweeps the public area of a street in the middle of a rainstorm. Turn again, and a smiling embassy guard expresses his ultimate fantasy and fondest aspiration: work and work; work at night, work in the day; then visit Miami.

Another twist, and a hotel of faded splendor, once



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the hideaway of Liz Taylor and Richard Burton, languishes in decadence in Petit-Goave, its brass bathtub bereft of water in the shadowy 19th-century walls decorated with framed erotica from the 1950s. A leopard skin adorns the wall of the bar, crowded with the ghosts of a bygone era. Outside, a silent procession passes in the street, wordlessly displaying the black armbands of mourning for the postponed elections of March 26, 2000.

Through it all, Haitians love the joke. Provisional Electoral Council President Leon Manus, forced into exile at the age of 78 during the political boilings of June 2000, believed he would be murdered for not rendering electoral findings agreeable to certain factions. On the eve of his departure, a friend asked how he found the fortitude to carry on. "Because I am not Minus," he answered. "I am Manus."

Wild Horses

Marronnage is the revealing socio-historical term for a unique characteristic of Haitian society. Prior to Haiti's successful slave revolt beginning at the Bois Cayman in 1792, slaves took to the hills to escape their taskmasters. Known as "marrons," from a Spanish word referring to wild horses, the mountain people lived on deceit and escape-artistry. Their survival depended on it. The notion exists still, as something akin to "double-facedness" or "hypocrisy." The subtlety of Haitian negotiators today, while causing premature aging among foreign diplomats and well-intentioned peace makers, outdoes the plainspeak of literalist North Americans. Codes imbedded in Haitian public communications evade and challenge the outside observer. "Why can't they just sit down and agree?" one asks. Haitians know better.

Wary Haitians avoid their given names, exchanging the last with the first, or making up nicknames that stick, so as to avoid possible encounters with neighbors or authorities. Legality and reality are never one and the same. Cheerful despite the betrayals suffered by every family, they have become a nation of philosophers. A Washington visitor seeks the "meaning" of a corpse seen on the street on the way to the airport. He earnestly asks the laconic embassy driver. "This, sir, appears to be a person who undertook a venture but did not have time to finish," is the driver's wry reply.

Rugged, determined, musical, perhaps on the obstinate side at times, Haitians are a nation of principle and principles betrayed. "We are ugly," says one proverb, "but we are here." A speaker at a conference tells of turning in his green card to the Immigration and Naturalization Service after seven years in the U.S. so as to return to his native Haiti, which needs him. Without prompting, the audience of 600 rises as one to sing the "Desalinienne," the national anthem.

Surprising Rewards

The Foreign Service officer either sits through a two- or three-year posting in total bewilderment, or, alternately, approaches knowledge of a many-layered and intriguing culture. A disproportionate number of State officers choose multiple postings in Haiti, opting to go back a second time to find what they missed earlier in their careers. The negatives are evident and striking: poverty, filth, disease and the frustrations of paralyzing political stalemate. The positives are intangible and difficult to articulate, yet they captivate and hold the visitor. As the bumper sticker states: "No phone, no water, no electricity. I still love Haiti."

Few postings provide the challenge, frustrations, or gratification of Port-au-Prince, where politicians play cat-and-mouse with consummate and maddening skill, opportunists weave baroque plots, and where the citizenry take care of their own and show an unparalleled hospitality to the stranger. In no other country do the seeds of developmental and exchange projects take root so quickly, their beneficiaries ignited with inspiration after a minimalist voyage to Miami just to see how things are done "lot bo dlo" (on the other side of the water).

Haiti's dynamic and indefatigable professionals take notions and ideas from abroad and send them for local adaptation and ready absorption. Private school principals visit a school bridge program in Worcester, Mass., and return invigorated to immediately apply the principles learned. They filter, they gauge and invent. Give them an example of another way to approach things, and they will make it into their own, rendering the examples usable in the reefs and shoals of Haiti's uncharted culture. No nation seems to have risen so many times from its own ashes, lifting itself up by dint of necessity from the cruel tumbles which would break the spirit of a lesser people. ■

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THE SPECTER OF A NEW “GREAT GAME” IN CENTRAL ASIA

LAST YEAR'S U.S.-LED INTERVENTION IN AFGHANISTAN TRANSFORMED CENTRAL ASIA FROM A STRATEGIC BACKWATER INTO A CRUCIBLE OF INTERNATIONAL DIPLOMACY, BUT IT HAS ALSO PUSHED THE AGE-OLD “GREAT GAME” INTO A NEW AND MORE DANGEROUS PHASE.

By ALEC RASIZADE

The term “Great Game” was originally coined by Rudyard Kipling to label the 19th century Anglo-Russian rivalry for hegemony in Central Asia. After the demise of the USSR a century later, this buzzword was revived by analysts and observers of the region to describe maneuvers by the major powers (Russia, China, the U.S. and Iran) to fill the strategic void there, in ways ranging from military alliances to competition for the oil and gas wealth of the Caspian Basin.

Recognizing full well the potential benefits of a bidding war for their support and resources, the leaders of the five former Soviet republics in the region — Uzbekistan, Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Turkmenistan and Tajikistan — have (with varying degrees of alacrity) sought closer ties to the U.S. They have naturally portrayed their cooperation, including openness to American troop deployments, as a favor to us that should be rewarded. Nothing could be farther from the truth, however: in fact, each state has its own motives for seeking American patronage.

For example, over the past decade, the region has faced growing pressures from Islamic radicalism, terrorism and drug trafficking, all of which emanated largely

from Afghanistan. To address these threats, Central Asian governments have arrested countless suspects, frequently without being overly concerned with their human rights or due process. (On the other hand, we must be careful. After all, when we demand that Presidents Musharraf, Arafat or Mubarrak crack down hard on Islamic Jihad groups, Palestinian terrorists and Muslim brotherhoods, respectively, are we not asking them to do exactly what we criticize Central Asian governments for doing?)

In pursuit of its ambition to become the dominant regional power, **Uzbekistan** early on recognized the value of American support, manifested in the form of economic assistance and security guarantees. President Islam Karimov therefore readily agreed last year to the deployment of American troops at Hanabad Air Base — in return for \$162 million in U.S. aid in 2002, an increase of \$100 million over earlier figures, half of which is earmarked for modernization of the Uzbek armed forces. For its part, Washington is providing the additional funds despite the Uzbek government's deteriorating record on human rights and democracy.

Meanwhile, this past June, Uzbekistan left the anti-Russian GUUAM Group that it joined three years ago, undermining efforts by the other members of that coalition — Georgia, Ukraine, Azerbaijan and Moldova — to establish a peacekeeping battalion and a free economic zone. (The group has now reverted to its original acronym of GUAM.)

Since obtaining its independence in 1991, **Kazakhstan** has pursued a “multi-vector” foreign policy that seeks strong relations with Russia and with China. As part of that effort, President Nursultan Nazarbaev has also fostered amicable ties with the U.S., especially in the sphere of energy development. But the anti-terrorism campaign has increased the pressure on him to abandon this policy,

Alec Rasizade is a senior associate at the Historical Research Center in Washington. He holds a doctorate in modern history from Moscow State University and is the author of Turkey in the System of NATO (USSR Academy of Sciences, 1990) and The United States and Turkey from the Truman Doctrine to the Atlantic Alliance (Baku: Academia Publishers, 1986). He has also written numerous scholarly essays and articles for such periodicals as Central Asian Survey, Contemporary Review, The Brown Journal of World Affairs, Belleten and Glasnost.

and settle on one strategic partner. Local observers believe that the government is inclined to align itself with the United States, given Washington's capacity to develop and pay for Kazakhstan's natural resources.

However, Kazakhstan's long border with Russia and its six-million-strong ethnic Russian population ensure that it cannot break with Moscow. The Russian minority includes the restive Siberian Cossack militia, restored after the fall of communism on both sides of the border. They have already attempted to create a Russian autonomous zone in northern Kazakhstan, raising the specter of a Republic of Texas scenario as a potential solution, in which the region would first proclaim territorial autonomy or outright independence from Kazakhstan to "protect" its national identity, and then reunite with Mother Russia. Thus, from the start of the anti-terrorism campaign, Nazarbaev has proceeded cautiously, offering words of support for American actions, but hesitating on the implementation of concrete cooperation measures.

The United States is also engaged in a rapid military build-up in **Kyrgyzstan**, building a 37-acre air force base at the Manas Airport near the capital, Bishkek. This base will also serve as administrative headquarters and contain warehouses to store munitions. Manas is suitable for both military and relief flights since it can accommodate fighter jets as well as large cargo and refueling planes. Construction of this base should establish Kyrgyzstan as a hub for reconstruction operations in Afghanistan and for Central Asian stabilization efforts.

Toward that end, favorable terms have been secured for American soldiers serving in Kyrgyzstan. They will be free to enter and leave the country, to wear uniforms and to carry weapons. They will also be immune from prosecution by the local authorities. Washington also has signed basing agreements with Tajikistan and Uzbekistan, which provided airport facilities for the war in Afghanistan, and is discussing a similar arrangement with Kazakhstan.

In addition, the United States is planning to relocate fighter jets from Pakistan to Uzbekistan and Kyrgyzstan. Given that the American buildup is coming at a time when anti-terrorism operations in Afghanistan are moving into the reconstruction phase, it appears likely that the U.S. military is settling in for an extended stay in Central Asia.

The possibility of extending the natural gas pipelines from Turkmenistan to southern Asia may also tempt Washington to maintain some sort of security presence east of the Caspian Sea.

Turkmenistan is one of the most tightly controlled places on the planet. President Saparmurat Niazov, who was the country's last Communist Party leader under Soviet rule, has constructed a personality cult of "Turkmenbashi" (literally, chief of the Turkmen) rivaled only in Baghdad and Pyongyang. A colossal golden figure

of Turkmenbashi stands on a rotating pedestal in Ashgabat's Neutrality Square, making him appear to summon the sun at dawn and bid it farewell at dusk.

Niazov has written a 500-page tome titled *Ruhnama* (Book of the Soul), a spiritual constitution that the Turkmen parliament has declared a holy text of advice and observations. Now it is a compulsory subject in all Turkmen schools. Since its independence, Turkmenistan has pro-

claimed a policy of "permanent neutrality" and remains the least engaged with the U.S. anti-terrorism efforts in the region.

Finally, **Tajikistan** represents a unique experiment of Islamist participation in a Central Asian government since the 1997 signing of a power-sharing agreement that ended five years of Tajik civil war. Under that agreement, the Islamic Revival Party of Tajikistan was promised a 30-percent share of representation in government structures. The IRP remains the lone example in Central Asia of an Islamic movement attempting to advance its agenda within the established political framework. Its gain in popularity is connected with Tajikistan's continuing economic difficulties: the party's power base rests among the impoverished 80 percent of Tajiks who live below the poverty line.

The Shanghai Group's Response

The U.S.-led intervention in Afghanistan last year not only transformed Central Asia from a strategic backwater into a crucible of international diplomacy. In the process, it has pushed the "Great Game" into a new and more dangerous phase.

As a result, **Russia** sees its historic role as Central Asia's principal security manager threatened. Moscow

*Over the past decade, Central Asia
has faced growing threats from
Islamic radicalism, terrorism and
drug trafficking, all of which
emanated largely from Afghanistan.*

was happy to see the destruction of the Taliban, and President Vladimir Putin has scored some important diplomatic gains in return for Russian cooperation — most notably a more understanding attitude in the West about Russian military operations in Chechnya. But in the absence of any timetable for the departure of American troops from Central Asia, Moscow is likely to perceive the U.S. response to terrorism as little more than an excuse to extend American military presence into the region, which Russian strategists have regarded since the end of the 19th century as the country's soft underbelly.

The Russian policy-making elite is divided over how to respond to the geopolitical shift that has occurred in Central Asia. The sudden arrival of U.S. forces in Central Asia has prompted some analysts in Moscow to accuse the government of "losing" Central Asia. Hawkish statements are coming from such leading figures as the State Duma speaker Gennadiy Seleznyov, who said during his recent tour of the region: "Russia will not endorse the emergence of permanent U.S. military bases in Central Asia." In addition, Russian security officials claim there are a score of top-secret Russian military facilities in Central Asia that the U.S. and NATO are keen to gather information on. In Kazakhstan, there is the Sary-Shagan Anti-Missile Launching Site and Radar Station, part of Russia's early-warning system. In Kyrgyzstan, the Russian navy operates a long-distance communications center, as well as a testing site on Lake Issyk-Kul for its nuclear submarines' rockets. Russia also has a space surveillance station in Nurek, Tajikistan.

China also initially acquiesced in the U.S. action in Afghanistan, not least because of evidence that al-

*In pursuit of its
ambition to become
the dominant regional
power, Uzbekistan
early on recognized
the value of
American support.*

Qaida was training Muslim separatists operating in the Xinjiang Autonomous Province of western China. Beijing has generally deferred to Moscow regarding security issues in Central Asia, preferring instead to focus on expanding trade links across the region. But China now states publicly and unapologetically that it views the U.S. presence as a hindrance to its strategic objectives in the region. In its view, the American base rights in Kazakhstan and Kyrgyzstan are part of a broader strategy to contain the expansion of Chinese influence. Specifically, Beijing has alleged that the U.S. is seeking access to an air base near Semipalatinsk in northern Kazakhstan, the old site of Soviet nuclear tests, which was designed by the USSR precisely to support possible strategic operations against China.

Beijing also sent a delegation to the Central Asian republics in January to strengthen its regional relations. In Tashkent the delegation announced a Chinese economic assistance package for Uzbekistan totaling \$600 million (nearly

four times the \$162 million pledged by the U.S. a few months before).

Russia and China have also moved on a multilateral basis to counter America's expansion into Central Asia, acting to overhaul the **Shanghai Cooperation Organization**. Created in 1996, the SCO encompasses Russia, China and all the Central Asian states mentioned above except the neutral Turkmenistan. Until last year, it was primarily a forum for border demilitarization and trade promotion, but at the organization's St. Petersburg meeting on June 7, 2002, the presidents of Russia, China, Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Tajikistan and Uzbekistan signed a charter transforming the SCO security bloc into a full-fledged international organization with a permanent secretariat based in Beijing. They further agreed to set up a regional antiterrorist structure to be based in the Kyrgyz capital, Bishkek, and signed a political declaration underlining the SCO's new joint goals: to fight terrorism, prevent conflicts, and ensure security in Central Asia. But there is little doubt that the true aim is to reduce the rationale for a Western security presence in the region.

The Role of Iran

Iran has also become more active in this increasingly volatile environment, partly in response to President Bush's declaration that he reserves the right to extend the war on terrorism to other countries. Iran, Iraq and North Korea were the three members of an "axis of evil" he named in his State of the Union address last January as future potential targets. While he reserved his harshest words for Saddam Hussein, Bush's language about Tehran was nearly as harsh: "Iran aggressively pursues 'weapons of mass destruction' and exports terror, while an unelected few repress the Iranian

people's hope for freedom."

Specifically, the president cited the Iranian nuclear program built around the Russian nuclear power reactors at Bushehr, as well as Iran's ballistic missile program. Reinforcing such fears, former Iranian President Hashemi Rafsanjani has called for his country to use nuclear weapons against Israel.

Meanwhile, U.S. intelligence agencies have spotted scores of Iranian intelligence and military personnel deep inside Afghanistan working to obstruct and destabilize the fragile pro-American government now in place in Kabul so that it either falls or rejects the presence of Western military forces. Such an outcome would also weaken Iranian reformers in their power struggle with Shiite fundamentalists.

U.S. Special Envoy for Afghanistan Zalmay Khalilzad has repeatedly charged that hard-line elements around Iran's spiritual leader, Ayatollah Ali Khamenei, are helping to arm and finance groups within Afghanistan in a bid to establish centers of Iranian influence in Herat (80 kilometers from the Iranian border) and in surrounding provinces. Khalilzad has also alleged that the Revolutionary Guard Corps helped members of al-Qaida escape from Afghanistan to Iran and were helping the fleeing fighters to travel on to other destinations abroad.

After the failure of the five Caspian littoral states to reach an agreement on delimitation of the Caspian Sea at their April 2002 presidential summit in Ashgabat, Iranian president Mohammed Khatami toured Central Asian capitals to discuss two issues: energy routes and the American presence. He called for regional leaders to step up exports of oil and gas through Iran as the shortest route to world markets. At the same time, he sharply criticized progress

***Kazakhstan has
traditionally pursued a
"multi-vector" foreign
policy, but the
anti-terrorism campaign
has increased the
pressure on it to choose
one strategic partner.***

by the U.S. in developing a military presence in the region for its war on terrorism. Referring to Washington,

Khatami said in Almaty: "One must not get entrenched on this or that territory, setting up bases under the disguise of an antiterrorist campaign. This is sheer humiliation for our nations that have the right to resolve their problems on their own and decide themselves what is good and bad for them."

Three Challenges for the U.S.

At the risk of oversimplification, I would suggest that three fundamental challenges confront any model of American involvement in Central Asia. These pertain to local politics, public welfare and regional security:

1. Uphold human rights.

Without exception, all Central Asian leaders have cited national security and stability to justify the concentration of power in the hands of the executive, the avoidance of elections, the retarded development of



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participatory government, and the curtailment of civil liberties. They clearly hope that American patronage will deflect international criticism of their human rights records and failure to democratize.

The situation is painfully reminiscent of the Cold War, when the U.S. supported anticommunist countries no matter how poor their human rights records. Yet proponents of the current stance say the end justifies the means and that Washington's new containment policy might work against terrorism just as they believe it did against communism.

Thus, Uzbek President Karimov has justified his political repression (including the jailing of over 7,000 political prisoners) by pointing to the threat posed by the Islamic Movement of Uzbekistan. Now that IMU leader Juma Namangani is presumed dead, Karimov says his regime is threatened by another Islamic movement known as the Hizb-ut-Tahrir (Party of Islamic Liberation), which advocates the creation of a caliphate (multinational theocratic state) in Central Asia. Although that party's members claim they want to attain their political objectives by peaceful means, they are being harassed by authorities in Uzbekistan, Tajikistan and Kyrgyzstan, and even in Azerbaijan.

In spite of his abysmal record, Karimov was invited to visit the United States earlier this year. On March 12, 2002, he had a private White House meeting with President Bush, where he signed a five-point "Declaration on Strategic Partnership and Cooperation Framework." Among other things, that document obliges the U.S. to provide aid that encourages "civil society development" in Uzbekistan. But unless Washington continues to pressure Karimov to live

*It appears likely
that the U.S. military
is settling in for an
extended stay in
Central Asia.*

up to his end of the bargain, there is little hope that democratic reforms will come to Uzbekistan.

2. Promote meaningful economic development. The fundamental source of internal instability throughout the region is neither religious extremism nor ethnic conflict but lack of economic opportunity. The United Nations estimates that over 80 percent of the populations of Tajikistan and Kyrgyzstan live below the poverty level. The average monthly wage in Tajikistan is \$10 or less. In parts of Kyrgyzstan, one hears of people eating rats and dogs. In Uzbekistan people say flatly that young men who do not have political connections simply cannot find a job. Such conditions offer militant Islamic groups ripe ground for recruitment.

In the Fergana Valley, for instance, 70 percent of the population live on the minimum salary, which equals \$15 a month. This is barely enough to purchase 100 loaves of flat bread a month, yet the typical Uzbek family consists of six or more persons, each of whom usually consumes a loaf of bread per day. Clearly, until Central Asians and Afghans are able to feed

their families and find jobs, there will be no end to opium production and drug trafficking, and no peace in the region.

This will not be accomplished through the vast infrastructure projects proposed at the international conference on rebuilding Afghanistan held in Tokyo in January 2002 or a Central Asian 'Marshall Plan,' however. Instead, the focus should be on fostering village-level agriculture, small businesses and farms, and removing impediments to entrepreneurship at all levels. It is particularly important to open the ancient trade routes that linked Central Asia and Afghanistan to their natural ports and trading partners in Iran and Pakistan. Neither security arrangements nor political reforms will survive without economic development.

3. Stay engaged in the region for the long haul. In the new geopolitical environment, Washington remains dangerously ambiguous about its ultimate intentions and exit strategy. Some American foreign policy planners hold that after achieving the destruction of al-Qaida and the Taliban in Afghanistan, the U.S. should leave postwar stabilization and reconstruction to others. But such a course runs the danger of condemning all Central Asia to further waves of instability from Afghanistan.

In this context, Washington must be careful not to raise expectations it cannot fulfill. Instead, it should develop and implement a longer-term strategy or doctrine for regional security in Central Asia. Such a strategy is essential for the viability and sustainability of the states of Central Asia. No less, it is essential for the United States' own long-term interest in helping build a stable world. ■

RADIO SAWA: MUSIC AS A TOOL

VOA'S RADIO SAWA USES A MIX OF AMERICAN AND ARAB POPULAR MUSIC, NEWS
AND OTHER PROGRAMMING TO GET THE U.S. MESSAGE OUT TO THE ARAB WORLD.
BUT HOW IS IT BEING RECEIVED?

By GEORGE GEDDA

It shouldn't be surprising that Norman Pattiz usually walks around with a smile. Pattiz is a millionaire many times over, has a plush estate in Beverly Hills, flies around in his own jet and pals with Sylvester Stallone, Heather Locklear, Jack Nicholson and Shaquille O'Neil.

But he also has a serious side and a penchant for hard work. Entrepreneurial skills helped him found Westwood One, now a \$3.5 billion operation that is America's largest distributor of commercial radio programming. He serves as its chairman.

Lately, though, he has become more identified with a new venture, an attempt to get America's message across to the Arab world through an innovative U.S. government-sponsored radio network that went on the air last March.

For Pattiz, a fortuitous sequence of events led him down this unexpected new career path. Eight years ago, he befriended President Clinton, who appointed him to a seat on the Broadcasting Board of Governors in November 2000. The board presides over all non-military U.S. government broadcast operations overseas.

On assuming his new duties, Pattiz was dismayed at the anemic condition of the Voice of America's Arabic

service. Over 98 percent of those surveyed in the region said they had never listened to VOA — no surprise since it only broadcast seven hours a day of Arabic-language programming in a "one-size-fits-all" approach on short-wave and a very weak medium-wave signal from Rhodes.

Pattiz, putting his radio background to good use, decided a revolutionary approach was needed. A subsequent appointment as chairman of the Board of Governors' Middle East Committee gave him a bureaucratic power base from which to push his ideas. And thanks in large measure to his efforts, VOA's Middle East Radio Network went on the air March 23, 2002, featuring music, news, information and other programming 24 hours a day, every day.

***Before Radio Sawa's debut,
over 98 percent of those
surveyed in the Middle East
said they had never
listened to VOA.***

Music As a Tool

MERN has its headquarters in Washington, with offices in Amman, Cairo and Jerusalem.

Its regional broadcast center, an AM-FM station known as "Radio Sawa" ("Radio Together" in Arabic), is located in Dubai.

Through the use of modern marketing techniques, Sawa seeks to lure the majority younger population of the region with music while also giving them news — balanced reporting that contrasts with the one-sided fare that has dominated the Middle East. The music features American favorites such as Britney Spears, Jennifer Lopez and the Back Street Boys — and Arab pop stars from Egypt (Amr Diab), Lebanon (Rashid al-Majid) and other countries.

George Gedda, the State Department correspondent for the Associated Press, is a frequent contributor to the Journal.

"Music is a tool," says Pattiz, 59, who wears a gray buzz cut and a stubble that is far trimmer and less chaotic than Yasser Arafat's. MERN's target audience is 25 and under. "The best way to reach them is with music," he says, adding that in the selection of talent and other programming decisions, nothing is left to guesswork. Through comprehensive research, Pattiz says MERN knows "well before we ever play our first song or broadcast our first feature or news program, who our audience is; what they like to hear; what type of news presentations, features and production values appeal to them."

He adds that the network also takes into account what is already available in the marketplace and what has the best chance of delivering the largest possible target audience to get the message across. "We call this marrying the mission to the market, and it's working," he says. Sawa has already become the No. 1 music station in Amman, the Jordanian capital. More than 40 percent of the 100 young fans of Arab and Western music polled there in Radio Sawa's weekly survey in August said it is the station they listen to most.

An early September survey in Amman showed that 90 percent of young listeners had tuned in to Sawa during the previous week. The number who said Sawa was the radio station they went to most for news had grown from 1 percent in July to 22 percent. Meanwhile, listenership for the BBC has been falling, the survey noted.

At the outset, the network was heard only in a handful of countries but its reach is growing. It is scheduled to be fully operational by late 2002. It has the avowed aim of getting the ear of Arabs in more than a dozen countries stretching from Morocco to Oman

***"The best way to reach
[MERN's target
audience of Arab
youths] is with music."***

***— Norman Pattiz, Chairman of
the Broadcasting Board of
Governors' Middle East
Committee***

— containing a potential audience of 300 million listeners under the age of 30.

Getting Out America's Message

Pattiz began laying the groundwork for MERN at a time when the U.S. government was becoming increasingly concerned about an erosion of America's standing in the Arab world. Those concerns accelerated markedly in 2001 as growing violence between Israel and the Palestinians alienated many Arabs who felt that Israeli policies were only possible because of American backing.

The stakes for the United States rose further after the events of Sept. 11, 2001. All Muslim countries except Iraq condemned the attacks, but on the "Arab street" there were strong indications of support for terrorist mastermind Osama bin Laden and his al-Qaida and Taliban partners. When the administration went to war last October in Afghanistan, many Muslims expressed doubts about whether the United States was targeting the real perpetrators of the attacks. "Where's the evidence?" was a familiar refrain, at least

among those who didn't find the televised admissions of bin Laden to be convincing.

Any doubts about congressional funding for MERN evaporated after Sept. 11. It helped that an early backer was Senate Foreign Relations Committee Chairman Joseph Biden, D-Del., a Pattiz friend. Congress approved \$35 million for FY 2002, of which more than \$16 million was earmarked for transmitters. The administration has requested \$21.7 million for 2003. As of late September, the VOA was expecting the full amount to be appropriated.

During congressional testimony in June, Pattiz said there was a "media war" going on in the Middle East. "The weapons of that war include disinformation, incitement to violence, hate radio, government censorship and journalistic self-censorship. The opinions that the Arab street has of the United States of America come out of that environment. We haven't had a horse in this race. But we do now."

Newton Minow, a former Federal Communications Commission chairman, noted in a recent *USA Today* column that much of the Arab world learns about the United States from one source: Al-Jazeera, the Qatar-based, 24-hour news network. Though it has operated since 1996, it only gained widespread U.S. attention following the Sept. 11 attacks when it broadcast interviews by bin Laden and other al-Qaida figures.

Meanwhile, other key players in the Middle East are intensifying their efforts to disseminate their viewpoints beyond their own borders. The *Washington Post* reported in July that the Arab League is spending \$22 million to produce English and Hebrew programming. Egypt is broadcasting two hours of Hebrew television each day via its

Nilesat satellite. Iran is providing its slant on the news through broadcasts to Jewish listeners throughout the Middle East, and particularly in Israel.

Syria and the Shiite fundamentalist organization Hezbollah do the same. And in June, Israel struck back with an Arab-language satellite station that Israeli official Raanan Cohen said would be a "counterbalance to the sea of venomous propaganda surrounding us."

MERN Hits the Airwaves

Radio Sawa went on the air five months after the bombs started dropping on Afghanistan, with a mission, in Pattiz's words, "to promote freedom and democracy through the dissemination of accurate, reliable and credible news and information about America and the world to audiences overseas." When Secretary of State Colin Powell traveled to the Middle East just weeks after Sawa aired its first program in March, listeners could hear his words moments after he uttered them. But no one doubts it that will take more than soundbites from top American officials on Radio Sawa to have an impact on Middle East sentiment.

As of late summer, the station was broadcasting in FM from Jordan, Kuwait, Qatar and two locations in the United Arab Emirates: Abu Dhabi and Dubai. Palestinians can hear the feed from Jordan. The U.S. government has signed agreements for FM frequencies in Bahrain, and is negotiating similar agreements with other countries. AM signals are being transmitted from the Greek island of Rhodes and Kuwait, whose broadcasts serve Iraq. The Iraq service is tailored for Iraqi listeners. A daily press roundup

**VOA's Middle East
Radio Network went on
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includes news about Iraq gleaned from the Western press.

By the time Sawa is fully operational, it will have six separate "streams," to use the Sawa vernac-

ular — all crafted for specific countries, each using broadcasters whose dialect and accent are familiar to local audiences. The six will target Iraq, Jordan and the West Bank, Egypt, Sudan, the Gulf States and North Africa. A 600-watt AM transmitter under construction on Cyprus became operational in late summer. It is targeted at Egypt, but is heard in Lebanon and other nearby countries. A similar transmitter under construction in Djibouti is expected to be completed in March 2003.

Sawa can also be heard on the satellite channels of Nilesat, Arabsat and Eutelsat Hotbird, which reach listeners with radio satellite dishes throughout the Middle East. In June, Sawa began streaming audio on its Internet site (www.radiosawa.com). Pattiz said that step will help achieve its goal of interacting with listeners.

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Eventually, a satellite television station for Arab countries may be launched. A debate in Congress on the subject has thus far been inconclusive.

Newscast Content

Since its inception, Sawa has been running 48 newscasts a day, ranging from three to 10 minutes each, depending on the time of day. There also are occasional specials, including one on Sept. 11, 2002, that featured interviews with leading Mideast intellectuals and writers. The programming also includes interviews with administration officials, policy speeches translated into Arabic and public service announcements that warn against drunk driving and drug use.

Sawa vows balance in its news output, but there is an ongoing debate over how much airtime, if any, should be given to Islamic militants and their supporters. "VOA does not give a platform to terrorists, extremists or any special interest group," says Broadcasting Board of Governors spokeswoman Joan Mower.

But following that seemingly straightforward guideline has not proved easy. *New York Times* columnist William Safire reported in July that then-VOA director Robert Reilly, on four occasions in one week, had to pull stories from MERN that featured Arab justification of suicide bombing. Safire also expressed outrage that VOA had given air time to Yasir al Serri, who warned that Americans must make no accusations against Islamists "before knowing the full truth." What irked Safire was that the broadcast failed to say that al Serri had served as spokesman for Gama'a Islamiyya, a group that killed 58 foreign tourists and four Egyptians in a terrorist bombing in Egypt in 1997.

Sawa vows balance in its news output but there is an ongoing debate over how much airtime, if any, should be given to Islamic militants and their supporters.

Mower said a VOA inquiry found that the piece needed "more development and context" and should have called attention to the group's responsibility for the 1997 attack.

Safire was also unnerved by an award (the Tex Harris Award for constructive dissent by a Foreign Service specialist) bestowed in June on the VOA's Andre de Nesnera by the American Foreign Service Association, for the "courage to challenge the system from within." De Nesnera had refused to yield to State Department pressure not to air an interview with Taliban leader Mohammed Omar after the Sept. 11 attacks, though VOA did accompany the interview with U.S. government commentary. He currently runs the VOA newsroom, with responsibility for all VOA services except MERN.

An Uncertain Impact

It's too early to predict whether Sawa will have its desired impact. Mower says the station's Internet comments page receives about 50

e-mails a day, most of them favorable. But Ayman El-Amir, writing for the weekly online service of *Al-Ahram*, Egypt's leading newspaper, says Sawa has an intriguing flaw: "If the U.S. government will invest millions of dollars to let 'us' know 'them,' will it also strive to let 'them' know 'us'?" he asks. "We must stand up and postulate the outrageous assumption that in order for us to know the American people, appreciate their ideals and value systems, they, too will have to know the same about us. Otherwise, the result will be a lopsided knowledge, a case of unrequited love."

Ayman Bardawil, a Palestinian broadcaster with al-Quds Educational TV in Ramallah in the West Bank, praised Sawa's mostly music format. "We have plenty of local stations for pop music — but it's only Arabic music," he said, quoted by *The New York Times*. But he spoke contemptuously of the news content. "I am fed up with hearing everything through the American filters — how the president reacts to this and how the American government is reacting to whatever is happening, rather than the action itself." He wondered whether the news on Sawa might prevent some people from listening to the music instead of the other way around. If they find the news hard to swallow, at least they will be able to wash it down with the crooning of Amr Diab: "Habibi, Habibi ya nour elain, Ya sakin khayali ... (My darling, my darling, the light of my eyes, you live in my dreams ...)."

Pattiz knows that winning hearts and minds won't be easy, and he is careful not to overpromise. "Will they like us when they know us in an accurate fashion?" he asks. "Put it this way. We stand a better chance." ■

APPRECIATION

FROM HARDHAT TO DIPLOMAT

CLARENCE A. WENDEL

1912 – 2001

BY JAMES A. WILLIAMS

Over a long career one encounters many memorable characters, domestic and foreign. The most unforgettable person in my pantheon was Clarence A. Wendel, a crusty FSO who died last December at the age of 89. *Journal* readers may recall the obituary notice on Clarence that appeared in May. That notice brought home to my wife and me how much Clarence and his wife, Nancy, had contributed to our love of the Foreign Service, and above all to unforgettable adventures at our first posting in Ankara, Turkey.

When Anne and I arrived in Turkey in early March 1966 — an enthusiastic but untested JO and his wife — the Wendels had already lived there several years. Clarence was the Regional Minerals Attaché, a position so exotic that the State Department had only two others like it in the world. We soon learned that it also had no one like Clarence.

For one thing, the man pivoted on his right leg as he walked, due to a knee that could not bend. That knee had

been immobilized as a result of a tragic accident in the 1930s. While a student at the Montana School of Mines in Butte, Clarence one evening got into his car and for reasons that were never fully explained decided to race a freight train to a crossing. Clarence and the car lost. So bad was the injury that the doctors advised amputation of the right leg above the knee. Clarence spurned their advice, knowing that a mining engineer needed two legs. In a stubborn

and creative gesture, he persuaded the doctors to run a saline solution continuously over his mangled leg for many weeks and it somehow did the trick in that era before penicillin. Clarence was able to avoid infection and keep his leg, but the price was a permanently frozen knee.

Persons who first noticed Clarence's odd gait from a distance would learn its cause when they sat down across the table as his bridge partner.

Without warning, an insistent and well-polished shoe landed in your lap. It was Clarence, sitting down. He smiled sheepishly and usually opened with a no-trump bid. Many women — including my wife, Anne, who had been briefed by an aunt on life in the "old" Foreign Service — at first thought their partner was making a crude pass. They quickly concluded, however, that the unbending leg was innocent and charming, as was the man to whom it belonged.

Minerals Attaché Wendel hiked all over Asia Minor and a dozen other countries in his region. He knew more about the subsoil realities of Turkey than any American, and at

*Persons who first noticed
Clarence's odd gait from a
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table as his bridge partner.*

James A. Williams retired from the Foreign Service in September 2002. Over a 37-year career he and his family were assigned to Ankara, Nicosia, Bonn, Berlin, and Athens. Often stimulated and rarely bored by Foreign Service life, Jim never met a person more fascinating than the subject of this article. He is still looking. Jim and his wife reside in Arlington, Va.

least as much about what happened topside. Clarence's Turkish was direct but effective; his affable interactions with peasants were a marvel of diplomacy. Turks were impressed — and sometimes intimidated — by this American diplomat who spoke their odd tongue so well, knew in such detail their land and their culture, and who was able and willing to crawl, hike or climb anywhere. Few of them, or us, could keep up with Clarence. Not many tried.

Archeo-Picnic Adventures

Clarence and Nancy made it their project to initiate my wife and me into the joys of Foreign Service life. These included hard work in the office and in volunteer activities sponsored by the American Women's Group of Turkey, fun-filled social events, lots of bridge and tennis, educational and enjoyable field trips, and good conversation — heady stuff for any JO couple.

Clarence found time to write a regular travel column in the embassy newsletter, *The Ankara Scene*. Those articles, titled "Archeo-Picnic Tour" or "Geo-Picnic Tour," blended history, culture and science with directions on how to drive to the site and a crude map. They were the product of Clarence's field trips, or weekend excursions that Nancy and he made with a passel of friends. Typically, a long caravan of cars left the embassy's back parking lot on a Saturday morning — this was before martial law, terrorism, dragon's teeth, and security fences — and drove to a spot that Clarence had picked. It could be a Seljuk dynasty bridge, a fossil bed, a crystal formation, a Hittite ruin or a melon patch.

We packed picnic lunches, and usually took along a softball, bat and Frisbee. Softball games always lured a crowd of curious villagers. Even if the area seemed devoid of humanity (usually our criterion for

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choosing it), Turkish kids invariably popped up, sitting on their haunches and staring intently. Often we persuaded them to play. It must be said that some Turks fielded and hit at least as well as some of us did. At the end of the day — worn-out, well-oiled and well-fed — we drove back to Ankara, satisfied that our labors had meaningfully enhanced Turkish-American relations. We were immensely grateful to Clarence for his intellectual and logistical leadership of these Anatolian adventures.

At one memorable archeo-picnic tour, Clarence assembled a clutch of embassy folk and a visiting Englishman on a hill near a Hittite ruin that lay 100 kilometers north-east of Ankara. At picnics Clarence liked to open wine bottles by placing the corkscrew between his feet and pulling; amazingly, he rarely spilled a drop. That afternoon, lazily savoring our meal, we eventually spied a group of Turkish children in the distance. On opening another bottle of wine, Clarence took out his binoculars, studied the distant frolickers, and declared emphatically that they were all female. "Those are good glasses," someone observed, as half a mile or more separated us from the

Turks. After more gazing through the glasses, reinforced by more wine, Clarence announced that those gamboling girls were "vestal virgins."

"My," rejoined the Englishman, "those are *good* glasses." Adventures with Clarence were like that. He had humor and *joie de vivre*, and he brought those traits out in others.

Though no misogynist, Clarence's view of women would be charitably described in today's Foreign Service as "P.C.-challenged." One afternoon he was summoned to the ambassador's office to discuss the site of an ancient ruin with the visiting archaeologist engaged in its excavation. Entering the front office, Clarence learned that the female archaeologist was exploring a temple to Aphrodite on the remote southwestern coast of Turkey. Of equal note, as Clarence later recounted with some embellishment, the lady was "drop-dead gorgeous." Asked by the ambassador to assess the seismology in the temple area, Clarence allegedly replied that the visitor had the most stunning legs he had ever seen on a woman, marble or otherwise, and that he had seen plenty of both. His punch line omitted whatever the ambassador and his guest said in reply, but Clarence made clear that the meeting, at least his presence in it, ended rather promptly thereafter.

In the 1960s a "proper" American diplomat who played tennis always wore whites on the court. Despite his bad leg, Clarence was a good athlete who loved the game and took pride in wearing the requisite color. He played to win, disdaining doubles in favor of singles. On the court as at the bridge table, he gave no quarter and he expected none. Though I was many years younger than Clarence, I often found myself hitting the ball from corner to corner, in the belief — or hope — that

my stiff-gaited opponent could not keep up. He won his share of those exchanges, and in each set he took at least several games from me. Our matches always made an enjoyable workout, and they ended with good cheer on the terrace of the Kavaklidere Tennis Club.

A "Real FSO"

A proud man who chafed at his late arrival in the world of diplomacy, Clarence always wished that he had been able to have a longer career in the Foreign Service. Instead, he had held a range of jobs in the Office of Price Administration, the Office of the High Commissioner in Germany, the Atomic Energy Commission, and the Acheson-era Department of State. More than once, personal tragedy had forced him to switch jobs. Unable to turn back the clock, Clarence opted to shed his status as Foreign Service Reserve officer and become — as he indelicately put it — a "real FSO." He lobbied relentlessly toward that goal. In the 1960s the Foreign Service Reserve corps consisted of experts who had entered through lateral appointment. Like Clarence, they could reach senior rank, but as they had not come in at the bottom via competitive examinations it was widely believed that they lacked the "right stuff" to be a generalist officer.

Clarence was determined to prove that assumption wrong. His big chance came in 1967. Back in Washington on home leave, he was invited to take an oral exam designed to assess his credentials for becoming a senior generalist officer. When he passed that test easily, Foggy Bottom cabled Ankara that newly minted FSO-1 [old scale] Clarence Wendel would soon return to post. The ambassador was a distinguished Arabist and New Englander whose natural reserve

increased when he was the chair or the senior American official. Blessed with a gift for praising people, the ambassador decided to announce Clarence's remarkable achievement at the country team meeting.

When the time came and everyone, including Clarence, had sat down, the ambassador warmly saluted his regional minerals attaché on becoming a generalist Foreign Service officer. Clarence thanked the ambassador for that verbal bouquet, and noted with a grin that his long quest had been only natural. After all, he said, "every bastard craves legitimacy." The normally staid Ankara country team erupted in a rare burst of raucous laughter. The ambassador smiled but did not pursue the colloquy or his encomium. He knew when to leave well enough alone.

No American at Embassy Ankara had more Turkish friends and professional colleagues than Clarence. He visited them in their offices. He sipped endless cups of tea and coffee with them. He trekked down their mines. He hiked over their mountains. He met their families. He visited their villages. He counseled them on minerals extraction. For all this effort he got excellent and timely information that he reported to Washington. The man's outreach, networking and reporting were phenomenal. So, too, was his desire to share his knowledge and love of Turkey and its people. He did so with generations of Americans serving in Turkey. For years after Clarence's tour in Ankara had ended, the embassy "welcome kit" for new arrivals included a booklet of his picnic articles, titled *Discovering Anatolia*. Few FSOs have given their post a more lasting legacy.

Clarence's stiff gait eventually took a toll. In the early 1980s, he

had to have his worn-out right hip replaced. Less than 10 months after that procedure, my family and I visited Clarence and Nancy at their retirement home in Missoula, Mont. Over the next few weeks Clarence hiked us eastern greenhorns all over the western slope of the Rockies, and some of the eastern slope as well. His vigor was undiminished by the replacement surgery. Clarence gave our 12-year-old son, Ben, a chain saw to cut windfall, and taught him to drive a stick-shift truck. He showed Ben and our daughter, Laura, how to chop firewood, use a broom to shoo bats out of cabins, repel swarms of mosquitoes, catch trout in cold streams and cook them on a portable gas stove, pan for gold and garnets, bathe in hot outdoor springs, and savor natural beauty beyond belief. By the grace of God our family avoided both giardia and grizzlies on that vacation. Tireless and enthusiastic as ever, Clarence was determined to show us the territory that his ancestors had homesteaded. Once again, he succeeded. We became as fond of Montana as we had been of Turkey.

How does one sum up a life well spent, or a Foreign Service career well lived? There is no template, and anecdotes go only so far. Ultimately, the epitaph is a personal choice. What can be said without qualification about Clarence A. Wendel is that all who knew him recognized that he was a remarkable man. He enlivened and enriched each occasion. He overcame adversity without complaint. He strove to leave things in better shape than he had found them. Above all, he shared generously with countless others his profound love of adventure — in life, as in the Foreign Service. Those who had the pleasure of his friendship were privileged to have known this unique hardhat-turned-diplomat. ■



BOOKS

East vs. West?

What Went Wrong? Western Impact and Middle East Response

Bernard Lewis, Oxford University Press, 2002, \$23.00, hardcover, 180 pages.

REVIEWED BY RICHARD MCKEE

"Why do they hate us?" asked President Bush in his first speech after the Sept. 11 attacks. His response — that they hate the freedoms we enjoy — slights the pervasive influence of Western societies and states on the Middle East. The president might profitably read Bernard Lewis' new book, *What Went Wrong? Western Impact and Middle East Response*. A Princeton professor, prolific author, and learned linguist, Lewis finished the book just before the attacks. Nonetheless, it examines "the longer sequence and larger pattern of events, ideas and attitudes that preceded and in some measure produced them." Even more impressive, Lewis does so in only 180 pages, selecting the events and quotations that illuminate the larger picture.

Recalling the Islamic civilization of the Middle Ages that preserved classical science and made advances based on it, Lewis does not quite explain satisfactorily its "eclipse" by the West that began during the Renaissance. Many historians contend that the stifling of "ijtihad" —

*Throughout his book,
Lewis stresses the
difference between
Westernization and
modernization.*

inquiry and debate — caused the stagnation. Having expelled the Crusaders, Muslim rulers became complacent. The Ottomans' hermetic pride was shaken seriously by their failure to breach the walls of Vienna in 1683. The sultan then resorted for the first time to diplomacy to mitigate the impact of military defeat. Having earlier imported Western weaponry, the Ottomans began hiring European instructors in the art of war and later sending students to the lands of the infidels. Lewis shows that Napoleon's invasion of Egypt was not Islamic civilization's first wake-up call.

Throughout *What Went Wrong?*, Lewis stresses the difference between Westernization and modernization. Women, science, and, surprisingly, music are his touchstones. Recounting Ottoman diplomats' shock on encountering European courtesans, he assesses the status of women as "probably

the most profound single difference between the two civilizations." (Syed Qutb, Osama bin Laden's ideological guide, echoed the envoys' reaction after two years spent in Colorado in the 1940s.) Middle Easterners import Western technology to hasten modernization, but reject gender equality as an abhorrent emanation of Westernization. Anathema to pious Muslims, music can be politically potent: I recall attending an outdoor Beethoven concert with thousands of Turks who thus sought to show their detestation for the Islamist government then in power.

Many in the Middle East answer the question "What went wrong?" with "Who did this to us?," Lewis writes. They blame the Mongol invasions, Turkish domination, Arab obscurantism, European imperialism, the Jews, and American arrogance. But some inward-looking Muslims conclude that their civilization flagged and failed because they strayed from the true faith. They curse Ataturk, Nasser, Sadat, Assad and, yes, Saddam, as secular Westernizers. Their goal is to establish a truly Muslim polity. Osama bin Laden hopes to start by demolishing the House of Sa'ud; since Americans protect the Sa'udi regime, they're legitimate targets.

Lewis usefully notes that Jews evoked the Ottomans' derision and scorn but not their hatred: like Christians, they enjoyed a protected but second-class status. Given these attitudes, the Israeli defeat of the Arab armies in 1948 was all the

more humiliating. As a professor not of international relations but rather of history, Lewis effectively ends his chronicle there, making only cursory observations about the subsequent failure of Arab socialism and nationalism and to the emergence of the "fundamentalists" after the Arabs' second defeat in 1967. But perhaps that's his point: bin Laden reads history too, and didn't focus his jihad on "Jews and Crusaders" for nothing.

A former FSO, Richard McKee is now Executive Director of Diplomatic and Consular Officers, Retired (DACOR) Inc., and of the DACOR Bacon House Foundation. The views expressed here are his own.

A Frat Boy in South Africa

Power Lines: Two Years on South Africa's Borders

Jason Carter, *National Geographic*, 2002, \$26.00, hardcover, 278 pages.

REVIEWED BY DAVID W. BOYLE

In *Power Lines: Two Years on South Africa's Borders*, Jason Carter describes two years as a Peace Corps teacher in Lochiel, South Africa, a black community of 200 families on the western border of Swaziland. Carter enjoys several advantages as an author: he studied and visited Africa before joining the Peace Corps, he arrived in South Africa one year before national elections, and he is the grandson of ex-President Jimmy Carter. The book, however, suffers from a general lack of organization and a shallowness

that undermine the narrative and leave it with very little to say.

Carter is at his best — and the book is most interesting — when he describes the day-to-day life of Lochiel and of the children and teachers at the three schools where he worked. He details, for example, a third-grade classroom crammed with 90 children, each child sharing a desk and sometimes a chair with a classmate. Other vignettes are well done: a fetid ride to Johannesburg in an overcrowded bus, a late-night encounter with maggots at an overflowing toilet, a chicken dinner where family members eat everything, including the bones.

But these are isolated paragraphs, and the book spends too little time in Lochiel. Six chapters pass before Carter even begins his job, and he seems as interested in describing the bars and restaurants of the more prosperous town of Nelspruit. In both places, the narrative is constantly interrupted by discursive asides on South African politics and history.

Even in Lochiel, it is not clear that Carter is an unbiased observer. He describes himself as a "white Southern frat boy" who came to South Africa believing that "every Afrikaner was a brutal policeman, and every black person a freedom fighter." The Afrikaners he meets — a stranded motorist, a travel agent, college students — fit this picture. He describes the residents of Lochiel, by contrast, as almost universally pleasant, although details emerge suggesting the picture is more complex than Carter admits. His landlord, for example, grew rich collaborating with the apartheid-era government. The landlord also has several wives, even

COMING IN NEXT
MONTH'S ISSUE:

Year-End Roundup of

BOOKS BY FOREIGN SERVICE AUTHORS



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though he is a senior official in the Methodist Church. Carter never explores the details of this story or of others like it.

The organization of the book presents additional problems. Less than halfway through, *Power Lines* switches from a chronological organization to a topical approach. These latter chapters are disjointed. Chapter 16, for example, discusses national elections, AIDS, life in a village, and a trip to Lesotho. Carter leaves the topics unconnected, and the chapter ends without making a real point.

Sometimes, the book is just trite. When Jimmy Carter meets with President Mandela, Jason Carter is included in the discussion. He writes, "I had just seen one of the greatest liv-

**Power Lines suffers
from a general lack of
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undermine the narrative
and leave it with
very little to say.**

ing human beings, one of the pillars of our age," and he leaves the meeting with the revelation that "all people,

regardless of what they have accomplished, are still people."

Chapter 17 partially redeems the book with a lucid explanation of the South African idea of "ubuntu," which emphasizes the importance of interpersonal relations. Unlike his earlier attempts to explain unfamiliar African concepts to American readers, here Carter sticks to the topic, illustrates the idea with concrete examples and ties the examples to other parts of the book. But since *Power Lines* is only 18 chapters long, many readers may have given up on it long before reaching that point. ■

FSO David Boyle has served in Lagos and Malabo. He is currently a watch officer in the Nuclear Risk Reduction Center.

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Meyerson Group / 64
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REFLECTIONS

Football Diplomacy

By Mike Morrow

We sat cross-legged in the hot Kalahari sand, listening through a chain of interpreters to a small, aged man in tattered clothing. "I came to this place because the government made me," he said. "They shut off our water supply and told us to come here. But I don't know this place, don't know where to forage for melons, and don't know when I'll see the graves of my grandparents again."

The toothless man addressing us was a Basarwa, or "Bushman," of Botswana's Kalahari Desert. His people were depicted as the pristine, contented hunter-gatherers in the off-beat 1984 comic movie "The Gods Must Be Crazy." In real life, however, the Basarwa gave up this lifestyle long ago. Scraping by on government handouts, the Basarwa have become a disadvantaged and marginalized group.

The place we were in was called New lae, the exclamation point pronounced with a click of the tongue, a sound not unlike stepping on a section of bubble-wrap. We were there to assess the government's controversial policy of relocating indigenous Basarwa from the vast, desolate Central Kalahari Game Reserve to a more modern settlement with a health clinic, new school, and other services.

Mike Morrow served most recently in Gaborone and is currently deputy director of the Office of Russian Affairs. The stamp is courtesy of the AAFSW Bookfair "Stamp Corner."

*Our arrival, the
first by foreign
diplomats in five
years, passed
without fanfare.*



To get to New lae required a seven-hour trek from Gaborone on the Trans-Kalahari Highway, followed by a bone-jarring two hours on a dirt track. The mind-numbing journey was broken only by the desert's harsh beauty, and fleeting sightings of startled steenboks and an oblivious Kori bustard, the world's heaviest flying bird. Our arrival, the first by foreign diplomats in five years, passed without fanfare — and no opportunity to hand over our modest gratuities, including a brand-new soccer ball. We climbed stiff-legged from our hardy Land Rover and headed quickly for the shade of the local administration office — already the mid-morning Kalahari sun had asserted itself. There we met with some of the village's longer-established residents, who spoke in generally positive terms about life in New lae.

Then we moved on to speak with

the newest arrivals — those we'd recently seen, in a searing documentary, being bullied by officials into vacating the reserve. Under the scant shade of a thorny acacia tree, with fingers of smoke from distant bush fires trailing high into the brilliant blue sky, we listened to the barefoot old man question why the government had brought him here, where there was nothing familiar. He said the only Basarwa left in the reserve were those waiting for sick grandparents to die.

By the next day we were gone. We left under a stunning morning sky, with the sun fast boring holes in passing thunderheads that rumbled with promise but did nothing to relieve the parched land below. By and by we flashed past a three-hut roadside Basarwa village and glimpsed a group of boys playing soccer with what looked like a wad of rolled-up socks. The Land Rover's brakes screeched as an idea hit us — give them the ball we'd brought from Gaborone. The boys bubble-wrapped to us excitedly as we ceremoniously handed over the ball and took a photo to mark the occasion. As we drove off — disappearing as quickly as we had magically appeared — we were left with the small but warm pleasure that the real impact of our visit to New lae was not on the vexing question of modernization versus preservation, but on the boys who now had a proper ball. One embossed with the words "Courtesy of the Embassy of the United States of America." ■



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